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THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

NEW SERIES.



VOLUME THE NINETEENTH.

LONDON:
TRÜBNER AND CO., 57 & 59, LUDGATE HILL.

MDCCCLXXXVII.

STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS,



PRINTERS, HERTFORD.

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¹ *Misprinted Dreads' on the Plate.*

JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*The Story of the Old Bamboo-Hewer. (Taketori no Okina no Monogatari.) A Japanese Romance of the Tenth Century.* Translated, with Notes, etc., by F. VICTOR DICKINS, M.R.A.S.

THE COMING OF THE LADY KAGUYA AND THE DAYS OF CHILDHOOD.

(KAGUYA HIME NO OITACHI.)

FORMERLY¹ there lived an old man, a bamboo-hewer, who hewed bamboos on the bosky hill-side, and manywise he wrought them to serve men's needs, and his name was Sanugi no Miyakko.² Now one day, while plying the hatchet in a grove of bamboos, was he suddenly ware of a tall stem, whence streamed forth through the gloom a dazzling light. Much marvelling, he drew nigh to the reed, and saw that the glory proceeded from the heart thereof, and he looked again and beheld a tiny creature, a palm's breadth in stature and of rare loveliness, which stood midmost the splendour. Then he said to himself, "Day after day, from dawn to dusk, toil I among these bamboo-reeds, and this child that abides amidst them I may surely claim as mine own." So he put forth his hand, and took the tiny being, and carried it home, and gave it to the goodwife and her

¹ *Mukashi*—here, as often, equivalent to the Latin 'olim.'

² Or Saruki, or Sadaki. Sanugi, or Sanuki, is a province of Shikoku. Miyakko is *miya-tsu-ko*, servant of the August Home, that is, of the Court or Palace, equivalent to *ason* (*asomi*, *asobi*) or Baron. The expression was also used in the sense of 'ruler,' 'governor.' But, like many other titles, it degenerated, as here, into a mere name.

women to be nourished. And passing fair was the child, but so frail and tender that it was needful to place it in a basket to be reared. But after lighting upon this gift whilst hewing bamboos, he ceased not from his daily toil, and night after night, as he shore through the reeds and opened their internodes, came he upon one filled with grain of gold, and so, ere long, he amassed great wealth. Meanwhile the child, being duly tended, grew daily in stature, and after three months—wonderful to relate!—her stature was as that of a maiden of full years. Then her tresses were lifted¹ and she donned the robe of maidenhood, but still came not forth from behind the curtain.² Thus cherished and watched over and tenderly reared, grew she fair of form, nor could the world show her like, and there was no gloom in any corner of the dwelling, but brightness reigned throughout, nor ever did the Ancient fall into a sorrowful mood but that his sadness was chased away when he beheld the maiden, nor was any angry word ever heard beneath that roof, and happily the days went by. Long the Ancient hewed bamboos, and gathered gold, and thus it was that he came to flourish exceedingly in the land. After this wise grew the girl to maidenhood, and the Ancient named her *Mimurodo Imube no Akita*, but she was more commonly called the Lady *Kaguya*, the Precious Slender Bamboo of the Field of Autumn.³ Then for three days a great feast was held, and

¹ Anciently the hair was allowed to fall in long tresses on either shoulder. At the age of 13 or 14 these were brought up and fastened in a sort of knot on the crown or side of the head. The custom is alluded to in a "tanka" of the *Manyōshū* (The Myriad Leaves—an Anthology of the tenth century):

Tachibana no	Under the long-roof bright with the hues reflected
tereru nagaya ni	from the orange-blooms,
waga ineshi :	have I slumbered—
unahi bakari wa	a girl of tender years,
kami agetsuran ka ?	shall my tresses ever be bound up ?

² Hung before the *toko*, or alcove, or upper end of the house-place. The meaning is that she remained within her mother's care, unbetrothed and unmarried.

³ *Mimurodo* means the place of three caves, alluding, perhaps, to the aboriginal habit (still practised in *Yezo*) of living in caves or half-underground huts. It is sometimes written *mimoro*, which has the signification of a sacred (*mi*) place. *Imube* (*imbe* or *imibe*) were originally the hereditary builders of Shinto shrines. In certain provinces—*Sanuki* was one—the designation became a family-name. Mr. Satow explains it as signifying an association (*me* or *be*) eschewing (*imi*) uncleanness. *Akita* is the Field of Autumn, more strictly the laboured field made

the neighbours, one and all, menfolk and womenfolk, were invited, and they came in merry crowds and noble was the revelry.¹

THE WOOING OF THE MAIDEN.

(Tsuma-goi.)

Now the gentles dwelling in those parts, men of name and eke men of low degree, thought of nothing but how they might win this fair maiden to wife, or even gaze upon her beauty, and so distracted were they with love that they let their passion be plain to all the world.² Around the fence and about the porch they lingered, but in vain, for no glimpse of the maiden could be got, nor slept they when night came but wandered out in the darkness, and made holes here and there in the fence and peered through these, but to no purpose did they strain their eyes, for never caught they sight of her on whom they longed to gaze, and thus sped their wooing from the twilight-hour of the monkey onwards. Well-nigh beside themselves were they with love and woe, but no sign was vouchsafed them, and though they essayed to gain speech of some among the household, no word of answer ever got they. So it was, yet many a noble suitor still lingered thereabouts, watching through the livelong day and through the livelong night, to catch some glimpse of the

ready in late autumn for the rice-sowing. It is a not uncommon place-name. The whole subject of Japanese place, family, and personal names awaits investigation. *Kaguya* is often written 赤赤映 'illumer of darkness,' hence, perhaps, the present legend. On the other hand, it may, and probably did originally, mean simply the Princess or Goddess (*hi me*, i.e. glorious lady) of Kaguyama, or Kagoyama (deer-hill, as Kagoshima is deer-island), the *ya* being an emphatic suffix. Kaguyama is the subject of an oft-quoted stanza, said to have been composed by the Emperor Jitō (A.D. 690-696) on beholding the mountain bathed in a flood of summer sunlight (some say moonlight):

Haru sugite	The spring hath passed away,
natsu ki ni kerashi :	and the summer hath come ;
shiro taye no	and the pure white raiment (of the gods)
koromo hosu chō	is spread out belike,
Ama no Kaguyama !	on the slopes of Amonokagu !

¹ Such appears to be the meaning of the text, here probably corrupt. The original is *otoko ōna kirawazu yobitsudoyete ito kashikoku asobu*, which the commentary thus explains, *otoko onna no kirai naku nigwashiku yobitsudoyetaru nari*. Another reading is *otoko wa ukekirawazu yo hi hodoyete*, etc.

² Which was contrary to good manners, and so a proof of the intensity of their love.

maiden; but those of low degree after a time bethought them 'twere vain to pace up and down thus bootlessly, and they departed and came no more. But there tarried five suitors, true lovers, and worthier of the name belike, in whose hearts, love died not down, and night and day they still haunted the spot. And these noble lovers were the Prince Ishizukuri¹ and the Prince Kuramochi, the Sadaijin Dainagon Abe no Miushi and the Chiunagon Ōtomo no Miyuki, and Morotada, the Lord of Iso.

When a woman is somewhat fairer than the crowd of women, how greatly do men long to gaze upon her beauty! How much more filled with desire to behold the rare loveliness of the Lady Kaguya were these lords, who would touch no food, nor could wean their thoughts from her, and continued to pace up and down without the fence, albeit their pain was thus in no wise eased. They indited supplications, but no answer was vouchsafed; they offered stanzas of complaint, but these too were disregarded; yet their love lessened no whit, and they affronted the ice and snow of winter and the thunderous heats of mid-summer² with equal fortitude. So passed the days, and upon a certain day these lords summoned the Hewer and prayed him to bestow his daughter upon one of them, bowing before him and rubbing their palms together suppliantwise. But he said: "No child of mine by blood is the maiden, nor can she be constrained to follow my will." And the days and the months went by, and the lords returned to their mansions, but their thoughts still dwelt upon the Maiden, and many a piteous prayer they made, and many a supplication they indited, nor cared they to cease their wooing, for surely, they said to themselves, the Maiden might not remain unmated for ever. And they

¹ These names, at least such as require it, will be explained below.

² *Minazuki*, i.e. *Kami-nashi-tsuki*, part of July and August under the old calendar. The name signifies "godless month," because during it all the gods were believed to be absent from the world holding council in the bed of the Stream of Heaven (the Milky Way), to determine the fortunes of men during the ensuing year. This legend is of Chinese origin, as indeed are most Japanese legends in a greater or less degree, and embodies, perhaps, some memory of the time when the ancestors of the Chinese dwelt about the sources of the Yellow River, which was supposed to be the continuation on earth of the Stream of Heaven.

continued their suit, and so plainly did they manifest the strength of their passion that the Ancient was constrained to say to the Maiden, "By the grace of Buddha,¹ through the cycle of changes hast thou come to us, daughter, and from babe to maid have we cherished thee, and I pray thee hearken to the words of an old man who loveth thee passing well."

And the Maiden answered :

"What might my father say that his daughter would not give dutiful ear to? I know not if I came to thee through the cycle of changes, but this I know, that thou art my dear father."

Then the Ancient replied :

"Right happy do thy words make me, daughter; but consider, I am an old man whose years outnumber seventy, to-day I may pass away or to-morrow, and 'tis the way of the world that the youth cleave to the maid, and the maid to the youth, for thus the world increaseth, nor otherwise are things ordered."

But Kaguya said :

"Oh father, what mean these words you utter; must it then be as you say?"

"Ay," replied the Ancient, "though strangely hast thou come to us through the cycle of changes, yet hast thou the nature of a woman, while such are thy father's years that he may not long tarry in the world to protect thee. These lords have sought thee to wife for months and years, listen, prithee, to their supplication, and let them have speech with thee, each in due turn."

Kaguya answered :

"Not so fair am I that I may be certain of a man's faith, and were I to mate with one whose heart proved fickle, what a miserable fate were mine! Noble lords, without doubt, are these of whom thou speakest, but I would not wed a man whose heart should be all untried and unknown."

¹ Or "my child, my Buddha," *i.e.* "my darling."

And the Ancient said :

“Thou speakest my very thoughts, daughter. But, prithee, what manner of man hast thou a mind to mate with? Assuredly these lords are of noble nature and nurture.”

Then she answered :

“Nay, 'tis but that that I would know what the quality of these noble gentlemen's constancy may be. So like are the hearts of men that one may by no means easily part the better from the worse; go, I pray you, to these lords, and say to them, your daughter will follow him who shall prove himself the worthiest to mate with.”

And the Ancient, nodding assent to her words, said :

“'Tis well.”

Now the night fell, and the suitors assembled and serenaded the Maiden with flute-music and with singing, with chanting to accompaniments and piping, and with cadenced tap and clap of fan, in the midst whereof came forth the Ancient, and thus spake them :

“Months and years have my lords tarried by this poor hut, and their servant presents his respectful homage and ventures to offer his humble gratitude for their high favour. But many are his years, and he knows not whether he may pass away to-day or to-morrow. After this wise hath he spoken to the Maiden and prayed her to choose one among your lordships for a husband; but she would fain learn which of you be the worthiest, and him alone will she wed. Fair seemed her speech to your servant, perchance your lordships, too, will not disdain her words.” And they nodded assent, saying: “It is well.” Whereupon the Ancient went within and spoke with the damsel, and thus she expressed her will :

“In Tenjiku¹ is a beggar's bowl of stone, which, of old, the Buddha himself bore, in quest whereof let Prince Ishizukuri depart and bring me the same. And on the mountain

¹ The Japanese form of the Chinese Buddhist name for Northern India, said to be a corruption of “Shintuh,” or the Chinese form of the name now known as Sindh.

Hôrai, that towers over the Eastern ocean, grows a tree with roots of silver and trunk of gold and fruitage of pure white jade, and I bid Prince Kuramochi fare thither and break off and bring me a branch thereof. Again in the land of Morokoshi men fashion fur-robcs of the pelt of the Flame-proof Rat, and I pray the Dainagon to find me one such. Then of the Chiunagon I require the rainbow-hued jewel that hides its sparkle deep in the dragon's head; and from the hands of the Lord of Iso would I fain receive the cowry-shell that the swallow brings hither over the broad sea-plain."

But the Ancient said :

"Terrible tasks these be—the things thou requirest, daughter, are not to be found within the four seas; how may one bid these noble lords depart upon like quests?"

"Nay," quoth the damsel, "these be no tasks beyond stout men's strength."

Thereupon the Ancient saw that there was nothing for it but to obey, and he went out from her, and told the suitors all that had passed, saying :

"Thus hath it been willed, and these are the tasks that must be accomplished that your worth may be known."

But the princes and the lords murmured among themselves, and said :

"'Tis, forsooth, that the Lady holds in disdain our courteous suit." So they turned and with heavy hearts fared each to his own home.

THE SACRED BEGGING-BOWL OF THE BUDDHA.

(HOTOKE NO MI ISHI NO HACHI.)

Now the days to come seemed void of pleasure to Prince Ishizukuri¹ if never he might gaze upon the Lady's beauty, and he fell to turning over in his mind whether he might not light upon the Holy Buddha's bowl if he went up and down the

¹ *Ishizukuri no miko.* *Miko* is noble (*mi*) child (*ko*), originally a prince of the blood royal. *Ishizukuri* (*tsukuri*) may mean 'stone-built,' or, in a bad sense, 'stone-counterfeit.' *Sei-yō zukuri* is still a common expression for 'western-fashioned.'

land of Tenjiku in search thereof. But the Prince cared not to set out lightly on such a journey, and after much pondering over the matter he bethought himself it were after all a vain quest to fare tens of thousands of leagues on the chance of finding, in all the broad land of Tenjiku, a certain beggar's dish. Therefore, he let it be made known to the Lady that he had that very day undertaken the Quest; but towards Tenjiku he fared not a league, but hid him in Yamato, and abode there three years, at the end whereof, in a hill-monastery in Tōchi, he found upon an altar of Binzuru¹ a bowl blackened by age and begrimed with smoke, which he took and wrapped in a web of brocade. He then attached the gift to an artificial Bloom-branch,² and sought again the dwelling of the Lady Kaguya, and caused the gift to be carried in to her. And as she looked upon the Bowl she marvelled greatly, and in it lay a scroll, which she opened, and a stanza was writ thereon:

Umi yama no	Over seas, over hills
michi no kokoro wo	hath thy servant fared, and weary
tsukushi-hate :	and wayworn he perisheth :
ishi no hachi no	O what tears hath cost this bowl of
	stone,
namida nagare wa ! ³	what floods of streaming tears !

Then the Lady looked again to see if the Bowl shone with light,⁴ but not so much as a firefly's twinkle could she discover, and she caused the bowl to be returned to the Prince, and with it was bestowed a scroll whereon was writ a verse :

¹ Pipdola, the Succourer in Sickness, one of the sixteen Rakan. In the *Butsu-zō-zui* this Arhat (Rakan) is the first enumerated, and is called Hatura tasha. He is represented as an old man seated by the edge of a precipice overlooking the sea, and holding in his right hand a feather-brush (?) to keep off flies, in his left a scroll (or tablet?) of the law.

² It was a pretty custom in Old Japan to accompany a gift with a branch of peach or plum or wild cherry in full bloom.

³ The last two lines, by a word-play, may be read *ishi no wa chi no namida nagare wa?* which would mean 'of a truth this stone hath been the bed of a stream of tears of blood.' In winter, when the rivers in Japan are at their driest, the stony central portion of the broad river-bed is laid bare, along which flows the diminished stream.

⁴ The intrinsic splendour of a true relic of the Buddha is meant.



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THE JEWEL-BEARING BRANCH OF MOUNT HŌRAI.

(HŌRAI NO TAMA NO YEDA.)

Of a wily turn was Prince Kuramochi, and he gave out to the world that he was about to take the baths in the land of Tsukushi, but to the Lady Kaguya he let it be declared that he was setting out upon the Quest after the Jewel-laden Branch. So he fared towards Naniwa with some of his squires, but not many, for he alleged him fain to travel without state, and took with him but a few of those who were in closest attendance upon their lord, and even these, after they had watched him with their eyes as he took boat, went back to Miako. Thus the Prince made folk think he had departed faring towards Tsukushi or towards Hōrai, but he tarried three days at Naniwa, and then turned him again capitalwards, being sculled up-stream. Beforehand all needful commands had been given, and six men of the Uchimaro family, the most noted craftsmen of the time, had been sought out and lodged in a dwelling aloof from the world-ways and surrounded with a triple fence, and there the Prince too retreated. Then he furnished the chief of the craftsmen with resources drawn from sixteen of his farms,¹ the produce of which he allotted to that purpose, and caused furnaces to be erected and a jewel-laden branch to be fashioned differing no whit from that which the Lady Kaguya had bidden him go in quest of. Thus cunningly the Prince laid his scheme, and taking the branch with him set off secretly, and embarking in a boat journeyed down to Naniwa, whence he let it be made known to his squires that he had returned, and assuming the guise of one terribly worn and spent with travel, awaited their coming. And his squires and retainers came accordingly to meet him, where-

¹ This seems to be the general sense of an obscure and probably corrupt passage—*shirasetamaitaru kagiri juroku so wo (o?) hami ni kudo wo akete*, etc. I have followed the hints given in the commentary of Ohide. Perhaps the passage ought to read, *juroku sho (so) no kami no kura*, etc. Another commentator suggests that *So o kami* is the county of Sōkami, and retains *kudo*, furnace. the reference then being to sixteen furnaces or pottery ovens in Sōkami. But this interpretation seems far-fetched. Possibly a sort of pun is intended on the Prince's name, Kuramochi, which really meaning (*Kuruma-mochi*), "guardian or keeper of the Mikado's carriages," may also be read as signifying "superintendent of the Royal treasuries or granaries."

upon the Prince caused the Branch to be placed in a coffer which was covered with brocade, and a clamour arose as he went through the city. "Wonderful! the Prince Kuramochi comes up to the capital, bearing with him the Udonge¹ in bloom." But the Lady Kaguya, when these tidings reached her, said to herself, "This Prince hath surely gotten the better of me," and her heart broke within her. While thus matters stood was heard a knocking at the entrance, and presently it was announced that the Prince had presented himself and begged to be permitted to speak with the Lady, although still wearing his travelling-garb, for he had perilled his life in the quest after the Jewel-laden Branch, and had won it, and now desired to lay it at her feet. The Ancient received the message, and took the Branch and carried it within, and attached to it was a scroll whereon was written a stanza :

Itazura ni,	Though it were at the peril
mi wa nashitsu tomo,	of my very life,
tama no ye wo	without the Jewel-laden Branch
taorade, saye wa	in my hands never again
kayerazaramashi!	would I have dared to return!

But the Lady looked on the Branch and was sad, and the Ancient came to her hastily, saying, "'Tis the very branch, daughter, thou desiredst the Prince to bring thee from Mount Hōrai, and he has accomplished the Quest thou badest him undertake without failing in any particular, nor mayst thou delay his guerdon; without tarrying to change his raiment, and before seeking his own mansion, has he hasted hither, nor longer canst thou refuse his suit."

But the maiden answered nothing, resting her chin mournfully on her palm, while the tears streamed in floods over her cheeks. Meanwhile the Prince, thinking that now he need dread no denial, remained waiting in the porch-way, and the Ancient resuming, said: "The like of this Jewel-laden Branch is not to be found within the four seas, thou

¹ The Buddhist Udumbara; the fig-tree (*Ficus glomerata*), believed to flower once only in three thousand years, hence the expression is used in respect of anything very rare and marvellous.

canst not refuse the promised guerdon, nor is the Prince uncomely of person."

But the Lady answered: "Hard it is thus still to oppose my father's will, but this thing is deemed unattainable whereof I laid the quest upon the Prince, yet how easily hath he won it; a bitter grief it is to thy daughter." Then the Ancient fell to busying himself with putting the chamber in order, and after awhile went out and accosted the Prince again, saying: "Your servant would fain know what manner of place it may be where grows this tree—how wonderful a thing it is, and lovely and pleasant to see!" And the Prince answered: "The year before yesteryear, on the tenth of the second month (*Kisaragi*), we took boat at Naniwa and sculled out into the ocean, not knowing what track to follow; but I thought to myself, what would be the profit of continuing life if I might not attain the desire of my heart; so pressed we onwards, blown where the wind listed. If we perished even what mattered it, while we lived we would make what way we could over the sea-plain, and perchance thus might we somehow reach the mountain men do call Hōrai. So resolved we sculled further and further over the heaving waters, until far behind us lay the shores of our own land. And as we wandered thus, now deep in the trough of the sea we saw its very bottom, now blown by the gale we came to strange lands, where creatures like demons fell upon us and were like to have slain us. Now, knowing neither whence we had come nor whither we tended, we were almost swallowed up by the sea; now, failing of food we were driven to live upon roots; now, again, indescribably terrible beings came forth and would have devoured us; or we had to sustain our bodies by eating of the spoil of the sea. Beneath strange skies were we, and no human creature was there to give us succour; to many diseases fell we prey as we drifted along knowing not whitherwards, and so tossed we over the sea-plain, letting our boat follow the wind for five hundred days. Then, about the hour of the dragon, four hours ere noon, saw we a high hill looming faintly over the watery waste. Long we gazed at it, and marvelled at the

majesty of the mountain rising out of the sea. Lofty it was and fair of form, and doubting not it was the mountain we were seeking, our hearts were filled with awe. We plied the oar, and coasted it for two days or three, and then we saw a woman, arrayed like an angel, come forth out of the hills, bearing a silver vessel which she filled with water. So we landed and accosted her, saying: 'How call men this mountain?' and she said, "'Tis Mount Hōrai,' whereat our hearts were filled with joy. 'And you, who tell us this, who then are you,' we inquired. 'My name is Hōkanruri,' she answered, and thereupon suddenly withdrew among the hills. On scanning the mountain, we saw no man could climb its slopes, so steep were they, and we wandered about the foot thereof, where grew trees bearing blooms the world cannot show the like of. There we found a stream flowing down from the mountain, the waters whereof were rainbow-hued, yellow as gold, white as silver, blue as precious ruri;¹ and the stream was spanned by bridges built up of divers gems, and by it grew trees laden with dazzling jewels, and from one of these I broke off the branch which I venture now to offer to the Lady Kaguya. An evil deed, I fear me, but how could I do otherwise than accomplish the object of my Quest? Delightful beyond all words is yonder mountain, in all the world there exists not its like. After I had plucked off the branch, my heart brake within me, and I hasted on board, and we sped hitherwards with a fair wind behind us, and after some four hundred days came to Naniwa, whence I departed without tarrying, so great was my desire to lay the Branch at the feet of the Lady, nor did I even change my raiment, soddened with the brine of ocean."

Moved by the piteous tale the Ancient composed a stanza :

Kuretake no yoyo no take toru noyama ni mo : saya wa wabishiki fushi wo nomi miji !	Amid the gloomy bamboo-groves long long have I hewed bamboos, even upon the wild hill-sides ; but thus sad an internode (thus sad a fortune) never have I beheld.
---	--

¹ See below.

The Prince read the verse and said: "For these many days have I endured misery, now methinks shall I know peace," and indited a stanza in reply:

<p>Waga tamoto kiyo kawakereba, wabishiki no chigusa¹ no kazu mo wasurarenubeshi!</p>	<p>The sleeve of my garment but this day hath become dry, and of miseries the countless kinds I have endured no longer will be remembered by me.</p>
--	--

At this juncture came six men within the fence, one after the other, and one of them carried a cleft bamboo, bearing a scroll in the cleft, and said: "The chief of the craftsmen, Ayabe no Uchimaro, humbly represents that he and his fellows for the space of a thousand days broke their hearts and spent their strength in fashioning the Jewel-laden Branch. Yet, though long and heavy their labours, they have received no wage for their toil, and he humbly prays that they may be accorded due payment that they may have wherewithal to buy food for their wives and little ones." Then he lifted up the bamboo with the scroll in its cleft. The Ancient, with his head on one side, marvelled as he heard the words of the craftsman, but the Prince was beside himself with dismay, and felt his liver perish within him. And the Lady Kaguya, hearing of the matter, commanded that the scroll should be brought to her, whereupon it was taken within and unrolled and thus was it writ thereon: "Lately His Highness shut himself up with us mean craftsmen, and caused a jewel-laden branch of the rarest beauty to be fashioned, and promised me by way of guerdon the mastership of the craft. And after pondering over the matter, coming to know that the Branch was to be bestowed upon the Lady Kaguya, who was about to become a Lady of the Palace, I deemed it well to seek aid at the Lady's dwelling that my guerdon might be given me and the wages due be paid to us."

¹ *Chigusa*, thousand herbs—an expression signifying a thousand kinds, or the innumerable, that is, all kinds and varieties of wretchedness.

As the Lady Kaguya read these words, her face, which had been clouded with grief, turned radiant with joy, and she summoned the Ancient and smilingly said to him: "Ha! a veritable Branch from Hōrai this; by my faith, let his false and trickful Highness be dismissed at once and take his Jewel-laden Branch with him!"

The Ancient nodded assent, saying: "As the Branch is clearly a counterfeit, there need be no hesitation about returning it."

And with the Branch the Lady Kaguya, her heart now free of gloom, sent this stanza:

<p>Makoto ka to kikite mitsureba, koto no ha wo kazareru tama no yeda ni zo arikeru!</p>	<p>Was it the true branch of Hōrai I asked as I gazed on thy gift: mere leaves of sound (words) were the jewels that adorned it, the Branch of Bloom thou broughtest me.</p>
--	--

So was the False Branch returned to the Prince. The Ancient remembered the lying tale wherewith he had been beguiled, and regarded His Highness with anger, who meanwhile stood still a space, not knowing whether to go or stay. But as the sun sank deeper in the west, he bethought him again, and slunk off. Now the Lady Kaguya summoned the craftsmen who had caused this pother, and praised them, giving them ample largesse, whereat they rejoiced greatly, saying, thus they knew things would be, and departed. But on their way homewards they were set upon and punished by order of the Prince, blood was shed, and all their treasure was taken from them, and thus despoiled they fled and vanished. But His Highness felt he was put to unexampled shame, and his discomfiture threw a shadow over the remainder of his days. "Not only," he complained, "have I lost my mistress, but my name has become a reproach throughout the land." Thereupon he fled to the deepest recesses of the hills, and dwelt there all the rest of his days. Times and again the chiefs and retainers of his household sought to discover their lord's retreat, but could not, and he

was as it were dead. And it was out of this history of His Highness Prince Kuramochi that arose the expression "tamazakaru."¹

THE FLAME-PROOF FUR-ROBE.
(HI-NEZUMI NO KAWAGOROMO.)

The Sadaijin² Abe no Miushi³ was a lord of wealth and substance, and mighty withal. In the year whereof we speak, came to our country a merchant of Morokoshi,⁴ by name Wōkei,⁵ on board a ship of that land, to whom was indited a letter requiring him to buy for the Sadaijin a fur-robe, which was said to exist, made of the pelt of the Flame-proof Rat,⁶ and Ono no Fusamori, one of the trustiest of his lord's squires, was despatched in charge of the missive. So Fusamori took the letter and went down to the coast,⁷ and delivered it to Wōkei, to whom he likewise gave gold. Wōkei unrolled the scroll and read it, and made answer thus:

"The Flame-proof Fur-Robe is not to be obtained in my country; men have talked of such a robe, but it has not been seen. If it exists anywhere, it is a thing that should assuredly be brought to this land, but 'tis very hard to get by way of trade. Nevertheless, if by any hap such a robe has been carried to India, the great merchants may be able to obtain it, and should they fail, the gold now bestowed upon me shall be returned to him who brought it, to hand back to the Lord Sadaijin."

Upon the ship's return from the land of Morokoshi,

¹ An expression which may be taken to mean either, "blooming with jewels," or "preciously blooming," or again, *tamashii-zakaru*, "to have one's wits gone a wool-gathering."

² *Sadaijin*, Left Great Minister, next in rank to the *Daijōdaijin* or Premier.

³ In some texts Abe no Mimuraji. *Mi-muraji* is Great Chieftain, see Mr. Chamberlain's translation of the *Kojiki*.

⁴ An invented name. The characters are 王卿.

⁵ A common designation of China, even up to recent times. Its derivation is uncertain.

⁶ *Hi-nezumi*. *Nezumi* (root-gnawer or perhaps rice (ine) gnawer) is a generic name for Rodents. In the legend is doubtless involved an allusion to the asbestos-cloth mentioned in Colonel Yule's admirable work on Marco Polo, as a product of the country lying north of China proper.

⁷ Probably to Hakata in Chikuzen, a favourite resort of Chinese traders in early times.



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carefully in the casket which he attached to a Branch of Bloom; and putting on his fairest apparel,¹ and feeling assured that the gift would win him his wooing, added a scroll, whereon was writ a stanza, and carried the gift to the Lady's abode.

Kagiri naki	Endless are the fires of love
omoi ni yakenu	that consume me, yet unconsumed
kawagoromo :	is the Robe of Fur :
tamoto kawakite	dry at last are my sleeves,
kiyō koso wa mime !	for shall I not see her face this day !

Thus cheering himself, the Sadaijin reached the entrance of the Lady's dwelling, and the Ancient came out and took the casket and bore it within to the Lady Kaguya. And she gazed awhile upon the Robe and said :

“A fair robe of fur it seems to be, but till it be proved, how can we know if it be not false.”

But the Ancient answered :

“However that may be, deign to invite the Sadaijin to enter; the like of yonder Robe the world doth not appear to hold; be not so distrustful, daughter, nor drive men to despair.”

Then he went out and invited the Sadaijin to enter. And now the Lady, though her heart was heavy, felt she must receive him, for greatly as the Ancient had grieved over her continued maidenhood, seeking ever to find her a worthy mate, yet never had he sought to constrain her, seeing how deeply she dreaded to give herself to any man.

But she said to the Ancient: “If this Robe be thrown amid the flames and be not burnt up, I shall know it is in very truth the Flame-proof Robe, and may no longer refuse this lord's suit. As it has not its fellow in the world, and 'tis averred to be, without doubt, the famous Robe that resists flame, the proof may well be dared.”

And the Ancient agreed, and told the Sadaijin it must be so, whereupon he answered: “What doubt can there be—

¹ More literally, taking the greatest pains with his personal appearance, as if he was going to a Court Levee—*on mi no kesō (keshō) ito itaku shite.*

even in the land of Morokoshi the Robe was not to be got, and could only be found after long and toilsome search ; nevertheless, as the Lady will have it so, let the Robe be cast among the flames.”

And a fire was kindled, and the Robe was flung therein and in a flash of flame perished utterly. So was it shown that it was not, in truth, made of the famous Flame-proof Fur. When the Sadaijin saw this, his face grew green as grass, and he stood there astonished. But the Lady Kaguya rejoiced exceedingly, and caused the casket to be returned with a scroll in it whereon was writ a verse :—

Nagori naku mo	Without a vestige even left
moyu to shiriseba,	thus to burn utterly away,
kawagoromo	had I dreamt it of this Robe of Fur,
omoi no hoka ni	Alas the pretty thing ! far otherwise
okite mimashi wo !	would I have dealt with it. ¹

But the Sadaijin withdrew discomfited and shut himself up in his mansion. And men, hearing that Abe had accomplished his Quest and was abiding with the Lady Kaguya, inquired at the Lady's dwelling if that were so, and were told the fate of the Robe of Fur and that he abode not with the Lady, and hearing this they exclaimed “An *ahenashi*,² piece of work in truth, this fruitless job.”

THE JEWEL IN THE DRAGON'S HEAD.

(TATSU NO KUBI NO TAMA.)

The Dainagon³ Ōtomo no Miyuki,⁴ being in his mansion, assembled his household and deigned to say : “In the head of the Dragon lies a jewel, rainbow-hued, and on him who

¹ There is a word-play here on the *i* (*hi*) of *omoi*, *hi* meaning ‘flame.’

² *Ahenashi* (*ayenashi*), with *nigori*, *abenashi*. *Ayenashi* 敢無 or 無端 is a locution used of a bootless undertaking, something feeble, awkward and unsuccessful.

³ *Dainagon*, Great Councillor, next in rank to the Udaijin, or Right Great Minister, who followed the Sadaijin.

⁴ Ōtomo seems to mean many multitudes or companies of men. Miyuki—the personal name—is homophonous with the word signifying a Royal Progress or Promenade.

shall win it me shall nought remain unbestowed he may desire." His men listened to their lord's words, and one said humbly: "The high behests of our lord his servants hear with trembling awe; but how shall a mortal man light upon such a jewel, or draw it forth from the head of a Dragon!" Whereto the Dainagon answered: "If ye call yourselves the servants of your lord, even at the peril of your lives are ye bound to do his bidding. The jewel whereof I speak is not to be found in our land,¹ nor yet in the land of Tenjiku, nor in that of Morokoshi; the Dragon is a monster that creeps up the hill-slopes from the sea and rushes down them into the ocean²—but of what can ye be thinking in shirking this Quest?" And they said: "As our lord wills, so must it be, and albeit the task were a perilous one, we will not shirk it." Whereupon the Dainagon regarded them with a smile, and cried, "Ye would not surely put shame on your lord's name nor refuse to do his bidding."

Then he dismissed them upon the Quest after the Dragon's head gem, and that they might not want for food and support on their way, endless store of silk and cotton and coin and other things needful were bestowed upon them. And the Dainagon promised that he would live in seclusion, awaiting their return, and bade them not cast their looks homewards until they had won the jewel. So they hearkened humbly each of them and departed.

They were bidden to take the jewel from the Dragon's head, but where to turn their steps they could not tell, and they fell to reproaching their lord for being thus bewitched by a fair face. Then they divided amongst them what had been bestowed upon them, and some withdrew to their houses, there to lie hid, while others went whither they

¹ That is, in none of the Sankoku (three countries, Japan, India, and China), of which, in imitation of the Chinese Sankwoh, the civilized world was supposed to consist.

² In some provinces, says the Commentary, the rivers, roaring down the narrow valleys to the sea during the heavy rains, are supposed to be changed into this particular form of Dragon, which has been seen to lift itself from the sea-surface towards a descending cloud—an interpretation doubtless of the phenomena attending the formation of a waterspout.

listed. 'Twas very well to be loyal to parent and prince, as the maxim runs, they muttered, but a behest so burdensome as this could not be obeyed, and bitterly they reproached their lord for having laid upon them such a task.

Meanwhile the Dainagon deeming his mansion common and mean, and unfit to receive the Lady Kaguya, caused it to be adorned throughout and made beautiful with curious lacquer-work in gold and silver, as well as with plain bright lacquer, and over the roof he ordered silken cloths of divers colours to be drawn, and every chamber to be hung with fine brocade, and the panels of the sliding partitions to be enriched with cunningly-wrought pictures, and the splendour of the mansion passed all description. And feeling sure that ere long he should obtain possession of the Lady Kaguya, he put away all the women of his household, and passed the days and the nights in solitude, and through the days and the nights awaited the return of his men; and so a year came and went, but still he heard no tidings of them. At last, weary of waiting, and sick at heart with the lack of news, he took two of his squires with him, and thus meanly served journeyed to Naniwa, and made inquiry there if any of his folk had taken boat in quest of the Dragon, to slay the monster and win the jewel that lay in his head; but the shipmen laughed and answered: "'Tis a strange thing thou speakest of; on such a business be sure no boat has left this haven." Thereupon the Dainagon said to himself: "These be but silly, feeble ship-folk, how should they know aught of this matter? Myself I will take my bow and despatch this monster, and draw the jewel from his head, nor wait longer for these laggard fellows of mine." So he took a boat, and embarked in it, and fared over sea until the land lay far behind him, and still he caused the boat to be sculled on until his keel rode on the waters of distant Tsukushi. Then without any foresign the wind rose and the air darkened, and the craft was driven hither and thither, blown about by the gale; now it seemed as though the boat must founder in the trough of the sea, now great billows threatened to topple over and overwhelm it, while the thunder-god

thundered so appallingly that his monstrous drums seemed to hang close overhead. So the Dainagon lost heart, and cried aloud, saying : “ Never before have I been in such perilous case, alas ! what help may be invoked ? ” And the helmsman answered : “ Long have I voyaged in these waters, yet so terrible an ill fortune as this never hath befallen me ; if we sink not to the bottom of the sea, the thunder will strike us ; if by good hap the favour of the gods save us from these perils, the gale will drive the boat far amid (the barbarian islands of) the southern ocean ; woe worth the day I took service with my lord of evil fate, where death, belike, must be the wages ! ” And as he spoke the shipman burst into tears. But the Dainagon said :

“ He who fares over sea must needs trust himself to the helmsman, who should be steadfast as a high hill. Why speakest thou then thus despairfully ? ” and as he uttered these words a terrible sickness came upon him. Then the helmsman answered : “ Is your servant then a god that he can render service now ? The howling of the wind and the raging of the waves and the mighty roar of the thunder are signs of the wrath of the god whom my lord offends, who would slay the dragon of the deep, for through the dragon is the storm raised, and well it were if my lord offered a prayer. ”

“ Thou sayest wisely, ” answered the Dainagon, and he fell to calling upon the god of seafolk, repenting him of his frowardness and folly who had sought to slay the Dragon, and vowing solemnly that never more would he strive to harm so much as a hair of the great ruler of the deep. A thousand times he repeated his prayer, neither standing nor sitting (but bowing him humbly before the god without ceasing). Then—was it not in answer to his prayer?—the thunder died down and the gloom lifted, but still the wind blew mightily. “ ’Tis the Dragon’s handiwork, ” said the helmsman after a while, “ a fair wind blows now, and drives the boat swiftly towards our own land. ” But the Dainagon could not understand him. For three or four days the bark sped before the wind till land came in sight, and they saw

it was the strand of Akashi in Harima. Nevertheless the Dainagon would not be persuaded they had not been blown southwards on some savage shore, and lay motionless and panting in the bottom of the boat, nor would he rise, when the governor of the district, to whom his squires had sent tidings of their lord's misadventure, presented himself. But under the pine trees that overshadowed the beach mats were spread, whereupon the Dainagon saw it was on no savage shore they had drifted, and he roused himself and got on land. And when the governor saw him, he could not forbear smiling at the wretched appearance of the discomfited lord, chilled to the very bone, with swollen belly and eyes lustreless as sloes. But the proper orders were given, and a litter got ready in which the Dainagon was borne slowly to his mansion. Then those of his followers whom he had sent upon the Quest got wind somehow of their lord's return, and presented themselves humbly before him, saying: "We have failed in our quest, and have lost all claim to an audience, but now 'tis known how terribly hard was the task imposed, and hither have we ventured to come, and we trust that a gracious forbearance will be extended and that we shall not be driven out of our lord's following."

The Dainagon went out to receive them and said: "Ye have done well to return, even empty-handed. Yonder Dragon, assuredly, has kinship with the Thunder-God, and whoever shall lay hands on him to take the jewel that gleams in his head shall find himself in parlous peril. Myself am sore spent with toil and hardship, and no guerdon have I won. A thief of men's souls, and a destroyer of their bodies, is the Lady Kaguya, nor ever will I seek her abode again, nor ever bend ye your steps thitherwards."

Then the Dainagon took what was left of his substance, and divided it among those whom he had bidden go in quest of the Jewel. And when his women, whom he had dismissed, heard of his misadventure, they laughed till their sides were sore, while the silken cloths he had caused to be drawn over the roof of his mansion were carried away, thread by thread, by the crows to line their nests with.

And when men asked whether the Dainagon Ōtomo had won the Dragon-Jewel, they were answered: "Not so, but his eyeballs are become two jewels very like a pair of sloes,¹ nor other jewels has he won." "Ana! tayegata,"² was the reply, and thus the expression first arose.

THE ROYAL HUNT.

(MI-KARI NO MIYUKI.)

Meanwhile the fame of the incomparable loveliness of the Lady Kaguya had reached the Court, and the Mikado caused one of the palace dames, Fusago by name, to be summoned, and said to her: "Of many a man has the strange beauty of this Kaguya been the ruin; go thou, therefore, and see what manner of damsel the girl be."

The Dame heard and departed, and came to the dwelling of the Bamboo-Hewer, where she was courteously received by the goodwife and invited to enter. "'Tis at the bidding of His Majesty I have journeyed hither, who has heard that the beauty of the Lady Kaguya passes all description, and has commanded me to seek audience of her."

So spoke she and the goodwife answered, "Your servant will humbly repeat your message," and sought the inner apartment, and prayed the maiden to receive the Palace Dame. But she would not, for that she was no wise beautiful, she said. Then the goodwife chided her for her churlish speech, and inquired how she dared treat thus rudely the King's message. But the Lady Kaguya still refused to receive the Dame, saying that His Majesty showed little wisdom in despatching one of his ladies upon such an errand. Nor might the Ancient nor his goodwife constrain her, for though she filled the place of a child born to them, ever she held herself aloof from the ways of the world. So the goodwife sought again the Palace Dame, and said, "Pity 'tis, but of so tender years

¹ *Sumomo*. Chinese 李 opposed to the 桃, the peach, symbol of beauty and plumpness.

² *Tayegata* (*tahegata*) means 'insupportable' but with *nigori* (*tabegata*), uneatable. The Dainagon had got his eyeballs swollen like sloes, and these were uneatable fruits, for his pains.



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a hat of nobility to me if never again I beheld thee? Yet, daughter, I pray thee, tell thy father why thou refusest to become a Lady of the Palace and why shouldst thou die if thou shouldst serve his Majesty?"

"Empty words seem thy daughter's," answered the Damsel, "but true will they prove if she be constrained to do this thing. Many a suitor has wooed her, lords of no mean estate, who nevertheless have been dismissed, and should she listen to his Majesty, her name would become a reproach among men."

Then the Ancient answered: "Little care I for matters of state, but thy days must know no peril, nor shalt thou be in any wise constrained, and I will hasten to the palace and humbly represent to His Majesty that thou mayest not become an inmate thereof."

Thereupon he went up to the Capital, and represented that the Lady Kaguya, after hearing the Royal Command, nevertheless willed not to become a Lady of the Palace, and might not be constrained without peril of her life; and further, that she was not the born child of Miyakko Maro, but had been found by him one day when hewing bamboos on the hill-side, and that she was in ways and moods of other fashion than the fashion of this world. Upon this being reported to his Majesty, he said: "Dwells not this Miyakko Maro among the hills hard by our capital? Let a Royal Hunt be ordered, and, perchance, thus we may gain a glimpse of the Maiden."

The Ancient, when the Royal pleasure was made known to him, said: "'Tis an excellent device; thus may his Majesty, without difficulty, on the Hunt being unexpectedly ordered, gain a glimpse of the Lady Kaguya ere a thought of it enters her heart."

So a day was appointed, and the Royal Hunt ordered, and the Mikado watched for an opportunity and entered the Bamboo-Hewer's dwelling. And as the threshold was crossed, it was seen that the house was filled with light, and midmost the glory stood a Being. "Ha! 'tis the Lady," cried the Mikado, and drew nigh, but she made to fly, and a

royal hand was laid upon her sleeve, and she covered her face, but not with such swiftness that a glimpse of it was not caught, and the loveliness of it was seen to be incomparable. And His Majesty would fain have led her forth, but she stood there and spoke these words: "No liege of your Majesty is his servant, and she may not therefore be thus led away." But it was answered that she must not resist the Royal Will, and a palace litter approached, whereupon of a sudden the Lady dissolved in thin air and vanished. The monarch stood dumb with astonishment, and understood that the Lady was of no mortal mould, and said: "It shall be as thou desirest, Maiden; but 'tis prayed that thou resume thy form, that once more thy beauty may be seen."

So she resumed her form and the glory of her loveliness filled the Royal heart with overwhelming delight; and graciously was the Ancient remembered, through whom this joy had come to His Majesty, and upon him was bestowed the rank of Chief of the Hiyak'kwan.¹

But great was the grief that the Lady willed not to dwell in the Palace, and as the Monarch was about to be borne away, it seemed as if the Royal soul was being left behind, and a stanza was composed whereof the words were these:

Kayeru sa no	Mournful the return
miyuki mono uku	of the Royal Hunt,
omohoyete ;	and full of sorrow the brooding
	heart ;
somukite tomaru	for she resists and stays behind,
Kaguya Hime yuye !	the Lady Kaguya !

And the Lady answered thuswise:—

Mugura hafu	Under the roof o'ergrown with
	hopbine
shimo ni mo toshi wa	long were the years
tōrinuru mi no ;	she passed,
nanika wa tama no	how may she dare to look upon
utena wo mo mimu !	the Palace of Precious Jade ?

¹ Here Chief of the Mikado's Retinue :—it was, however, merely an honorary, not a real appointment.

When the answer was read, more than ever was the Monarch disinclined to go back bootless to the Palace, and long the litter was delayed, for no resolve could be come to, until it seemed at last as though the dawn would be there waited for through the night; whereupon reluctantly was the order given to return. But the Ladies of the Court were disdained, for their beauty paled before that of the Lady Kaguya, aye the fairest of them, when compared with her image, lost all her charms. Only on the Lady could the Royal heart dwell, and on none other, and the apartments of the Palace Dames were abandoned and desolate, sad to say! while letter after letter was sent to the Lady Kaguya, who answered them not ungently,¹ and verses were composed and fairly writ on scrolls attached to posies, and interchanged, and thus the days passed by.

THE CELESTIAL ROBE OF FEATHERS.²

(AME NO HA-GOROMO.)

So in the Palace and in the Hut was consolation attained; and three years went by, when, in the early spring, the Lady Kaguya fell to gazing upon the shining orb of the rising moon, and a brooding sadness seemed to take possession of her. She was counselled not thus ceaselessly to contemplate the face of the moon, for so was bred mournfulness; but she still in solitude watched the orb, until tears of grief ran down her cheeks in floods. Then, on the mid-month day of the seventh month rose the full moon, and unutterable grew the misery, and the maidens who served the Lady sought the Ancient and said: "Long has the Lady Kaguya watched the moon, waxing in melancholy with the waxing thereof, and her woe now passes all measure, and sorely she weeps and wails; wherefore we counsel thee to speak with her."

¹ "Go henji sasuga ni nikukarazu kikoyekawashitamaite."

² The fifth quest - that of the Lord of Iso - is omitted, principally on account of its triviality and lack of interest. A brief account of it will be found in the concluding portion of this article.

And the Ancient went to her and said: "What hast thou on thy mind, daughter, that ever thou gazest thus sadly on yonder moon's pallid face? Lackest thou aught that may be needed for thy happiness?"

But she answered: "As I gaze upon the moon I am sad because my heart is broken as I consider the wretchedness of this world."

And deeper grew her melancholy each time the Ancient visited her chamber, till sorrow-struck by her distress, he said: "Ah! my darling, my Buddha, why broodest thou thus? what grief oppresses thee?"

"'Tis no grief, save the grief that breaks my heart because of the wretchedness of the world."

"Watch yonder moon no more, daughter; ever art thou gazing upon it, and thus thy woe deepens."

"How may I cease, father, to gaze upon the orb!" said the Lady, and still she watched the moon from its rising to its setting, her face wet with tears the while; but when the nights were moonless,¹ her woe departed from her. Yet as the new moon came and waxed again, the Lady wailed and wept, and her women whispered among themselves that ever deeper grew the misery; but they could not learn the secret of her woe, neither could the Ancient. So the eighth month came in due course, and when the moon was at its full the Lady wept floods of tears, nor essayed she to hide her grief. And again and again her foster-parents prayed her to tell them the cause of her wretchedness. The Lady yielded to their prayer, and said, weeping sorely the while: "Again and again have I willed to tell you all, but I felt assured your hearts would be wrung with grief by my words, and therefore have I forborne till now; and now is the hour come I may no longer abide with you. No maid of this mortal land am I, but the Capital of Moonland is my birth-place. Long ago it was decreed that I should descend upon this earth, and bide there somewhile; but now is the time at hand when I must go back whence I came, for when yonder orb shall be

¹ After the 21st day of the month, explains the Commentary.

at its fullest, a company of moonfolk will come down from the sky to bear me away. Well I knew this was my doom, and now ye can understand my misery and wherefore I have wept and wailed so sorely since the spring followed winter."

And as the Lady spoke, again the tears flowed in abundance down her cheeks. But the Ancient said: "What thing is this thou speakest, daughter? I found thee, 'tis true, in the hollow of a bamboo, but no bigger wert thou than a rape-seed, and have we not cherished thee while thou grewest up to full maidenhood? None dare take thee from us, by heaven! I will not let thee go."

And he clamoured, amid his tears, that he was like to die; unbearably piteous 'twas to see his misery. But the Lady answered: "My father and my mother are still numbered among the dwellers in yonder Moonland's capital. It was but for a while I came down to earth, and now many a year has gone by since you found me. So long have I dwelt among you that I have forgotten my father and my mother, and now I look upon you as though I were your very child; nor indeed would I fain do otherwise than remain with you, but, though terrible to me is the thought of quitting you, I may not flee my fate." And she fell to weeping, and the old folk wept also, and her women who had tended her through so many years and watched her grow up into perfect beauty, now hearing they must lose her whom they loved so well, could not swallow their tears, and, oppressed by a like woe, were consumed with grief.

Now the Mikado, hearing of these things, sent a messenger to the Hewer's dwelling, and the Ancient came out to receive him, weeping abundantly. So bitter had been his grief that his hair had turned white, and his limbs become bowed, and his eyes blear, and though his years were but fifty,¹ he seemed as if his woe had all at once turned him into an old man.

The messenger inquired if the tidings which had reached

¹ He has previously been described as a man of seventy. The Commentary treats the question with befitting gravity in a long note.

His Majesty as to the cause of the Hearer's distress were true, and the Ancient, still weeping, answered:

"At the full moon a company from the Moonland capital will come down to bear away our daughter. Deeply grateful am I to His Majesty, who deigns to make inquiry about this matter, and I humbly represent that if at the time of full moon a guard of soldiers be granted us, these Moonfolk, if they make their raid, may all be captured."

The messenger thereupon returned, and reported to the Mikado the plight wherein he found the Ancient.

And the Mikado said: "But a passing glimpse have I had of the Lady Kaguya, yet never shall I lose the memory of her exceeding loveliness; how hard then must it be for those who are wont to see her morning and evening to lose her!" So orders were given that the captains should be ready by the full moon, and the General Taka no Ōkuni was commanded to take a thousand men from each of the Left and Right Regiments of Royal Guards to protect the Hearer's dwelling against the raid of the Moonfolk. When the two thousand soldiers reached the Ancient's abode, one moiety was posted around it on the earth platform whereon it stood, and the other moiety on the roof of the house, all with bow bent and arrow on string, while the men of the household too were arrayed, and so many were the defenders that no spot remained unguarded, and even within the dwelling the women kept watch and ward, while the Lady was placed in the store-house, surrounded by her attendants, the door whereof the Ancient bolted, and posted himself outside thereof, saying: "Watch and ward thus strict, even Heavenfolk may not win through," and crying to the soldiers on the roof to look out for the first sign of a swoop being made through the air, and slay whatever creature might in this way approach them, whereto they answered: "Have no care, so keen our watch not even a bat shall escape our artillery, and due exposure of its head, by way of punishment, should it venture near our ranks."

And the Ancient was greatly comforted by these words, but the Lady Kaguya said: "Though ye thus surround me

and protect me and make ye ready to fight for me, yet ye cannot prevail over the folk of yonder land, nor will your artillery harm them nor your defences avail aught against them, for every door will fly open at their approach, nor may your valour help, for be ye never so stout-hearted, when the Moonfolk come, vain will be your struggle with them."

Then the Ancient was angered, and shouted: "If these Moonfolk come, my nails shall turn into talons to claw out their eyes. I will seize them by their forelocks and twist them off, and trample upon them; their hinder-parts will I tear to pieces; to shame will I put them before the face of these Royal warmen."

But the Lady said: "Make not so great a clamour, lest the warmen hear thee, which were unseemly. Ere long, alas! I shall no longer be within your love, ere long I must know the bitterness of parting, nor can I ever return to show my love and gratitude, for closed to me will be the world's ways. When I went out month after month to watch the waxing moon, I prayed for yet another year to bide with you; but the boon was refused me, and I could but wail and weep as ye saw me. I have beguiled your hearts to love me, and now must quit you; alas, alas! Of that pure essence are these Moonfolk that they know not old age nor ever suffer from any pain or grief, yet fain would I abide with my foster-parents; terrible it is to me to think that ye will grow old with no child to cherish you." So saying, the Lady wept sorely, but the Ancient, restraining his grief, said:

"Nay, daughter, thou must not anger beings so lovely as those thou speakest of."

Meanwhile, the night wore away, and, at the hour of the Rat, behold! a glory fell about the dwelling that exceeded the splendour of noon and was ten times as bright as the brightness of the full moon, so that the smallest hair-pore could be seen on the skin. In the midst thereof came down through the air a company of angels riding on a coil of cloud that descended until it hovered some cubits' height above the ground. And there the angels stood ranked in due order; and when the warmen on guard saw them, a great fear fell



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Thereupon the outer door of the storehouse, wherein stood the Lady Kaguya, flew open and the inner lattice-work, untouched by any hand, slid back and the Lady was seen in the light of the doorway, surrounded by her women, who, understanding that her departure could no longer be stayed, lifted up their hands and wept. But the Lady passed out, and drew nigh to where lay the Hearer, grovelling on the ground, weeping and stunned with grief, and said: "My fate bids me, father; will you not follow me with your eyes as I am borne away?"

But the Hearer answered: "Why in my misery should I follow thee with my eyes? Let it be done unto me as may be listed, let me be left desolate, let these angels who have come down from the sky to fetch thee bear thee thither with them." And the Ancient refused to be comforted. Then the Lady indited a scroll, seeing that her foster-father was too overcome with grief to listen to her words, and left it to be given him after she had gone, weeping sorely and saying that when her father should yearn after his daughter, the words she had written should be read. And these were the words she wrote: "Had I been born in this land, never should I have quitted it until the time came for my father to suffer no sorrow for his child;¹ but now, on the contrary, must I pass beyond the boundaries of this world, though sorely against my will. My silken mantle I leave behind me as a memorial, and when the moon lights up the night, let my father gaze upon it; now my eyes must take their last look, and I must mount to yonder sky, whence I fain would fall meteor-wise to earth."

Now the Angels brought with them a coffer, wherein were contained a Celestial Feather Robe and a joint of bamboo filled with the Elixir of Life, and one of them said to the Lady Kaguya: "Taste, I pray you, of this Elixir, for soiled has your spirit become with the grossnesses of this filthy world."

¹ An euphemistic phrase hinting at her longing to remain with her father till death took him, and her fate could no longer grieve him.

Then the Lady tasted of the Elixir, and would have privily wrapt up a portion in the mantle she was leaving behind, as a memorial of her; but an Angel stayed her, and drawing forth the Celestial Robe, made ready to throw it over her shoulders, whereupon she said: "Have patience yet awhile; who dons yonder robe changes his heart, and I have still somewhat to say ere I depart." And again she fell to writing, and an Angel said: "'Tis late, and you delay, Lady, overmuch." But she rebuked him, and before all, mournfully and composedly, she wrote on; and the words she wrote were these:

"Your Majesty deigned to send a host to protect your servant, but it was not to be, and now is the misery at hand of departing with those who have come to bear her away with them. Not permitted was it to her to serve your Majesty, and maugre her will was it that she yielded not obedience to the Royal Command, and wrung with grief is her heart thereat, and perchance your Majesty may have thought the Royal will was not understood, and was opposed by her, and so will she appear to your Majesty lacking in good manners, which she would not your Majesty deemed her to be, and therefore humbly she lays this writing at the Royal Feet. And now must she don the Feather Robe and mournfully bid her lord farewell." Then when she had finished writing the scroll, the captain of the host was called, and it was delivered over, together with the bamboo joint containing the Elixir, into his hands, and as he took it, the Feather Robe was thrown over the Lady Kaguya, and in a trice, all memory of her foster-father's woe vanished, for those who don yonder Robe know sorrow no more. Then the Lady entered the car, surrounded by the company of Angels, and mounted skywards, while the Hearer and his Dame and the women who had served the Lady shed tears of blood, and stood stunned with grief; but there was no help. And the scroll left for the Ancient was read to him, but he said:

"What have I to live for? a bitter old age is mine. Of what profit is my life? whom have I to love?" Nor would

he take of the Elixir, but lay prostrate on the ground and would not rise.

Meanwhile the Captain of the host returned to the capital with his men, and reported how vain had been the attempt to stay the departure of the Lady Kaguya, and all that had occurred, and gave the scroll, together with the bamboo joint containing the Elixir, to be laid before the Mikado. And His Majesty unrolled the scroll and read it, and was greatly moved, nor would take food nor any diversion. After a while a Grand Council was summoned, and it was inquired which among the mountains of the land towered highest towards heaven. And one said: "In Suruga stands a mountain, not remote from the capital, that towers highest towards heaven among all the mountains of the land." Whereof His Majesty being informed composed a stanza:

Au koto mo,	Never more to see her!
namida ni ukabu	Tears of grief overwhelm me,
waga mi ni wa;	and as for me,
shinanu kusuri wa	with the Elixir of Life
nani ni ka wa semu?	what have I to do?

And the scroll together with the Elixir was given into the hands of one of the ladies of the palace, and she was charged to deliver them to one Tsuki no Iwakasa, with the injunction to bear them to the summit of the highest mountain in Suruga, that there, standing on the top of the highest peak thereof, he should cause the scroll and the Elixir to be consumed with fire.

So Tsuki no Iwakasa heard humbly the Royal Command, and took with him a company of warriors, and climbed the mountain and did as he had been bidden. And it was from that time forth that the name of Fuji¹ was given to yonder mountain, and men say that the smoke of that burning still curls from its high peak to mingle with the clouds of Heaven.

¹ One among the many ways of writing Fuji (*Fusiyama*) was 不死, Immortal.

Japanese literature begins with the *Kojiki*¹ or Record of Ancient Matters, which appeared in A.D. 712. During the eighth and ninth centuries various works were produced, none of which, if we except the Anthologies, have any claim to admiration on literary grounds. But in the next century the Japanese mind seems to have taken a fresh flight, or rather to have awakened to a consciousness of its powers, and the remarkable series of *monogatari* or romances, of which the Tale of Taketori is at once the earliest example and the type, gave a lustre hitherto unknown to the literature of Japan.

Among these early romances, unsurpassed, probably unequalled, in literary quality, by the later fiction of Japan, the *Genji-monogatari*² holds the chief place in the estimation of native critics, who scarcely condescend to notice the Hewer's simple and tender story. To European readers, however, the record of Genji's love-adventures soon becomes wearisome, despite the clever dialogues upon the virtues and failings of women regarded as ministers to men's sensuous or æsthetic pleasures that relieve the monotony of the narrative—dialogues, by the way, that wear a strangely modern air, and might, with a few necessary changes, be transported bodily into a drawing-room novel of nineteenth-century London.

In the sense in which Shakespeare is said to have had little invention, the nameless author of the *Taketori* lacked originality. Most of the materials of his story are drawn from Chinese or Sinico-Indian sources. It could hardly

¹ This extraordinary farrago of feeble and often filthy myths and legends has had the good fortune to meet with so able a translator as Mr. B. H. Chamberlain. Trivial, even childish, as the collection is, it is interesting as furnishing striking instances of what myths in their crude beginnings really were. In addition, the traits of a fairly ample picture of the social life of the unsinicized Japanese may be gathered from it, and the songs it contains, though devoid of literary value, have considerable philological interest. Mr. Chamberlain has enriched his version with notes and commentaries that constitute an invaluable aid to the study of the origins of Dai Nippon.

² Many chapters of this history of a Japanese Don Juan have been recently translated by Mr. Suyematsu.

have been otherwise, for even as early as the tenth century the legends and traditions of his country had been either replaced by Chinese myths or recast in a Chinese mould, and, excepting in the Rituals of Shinto, and some of the songs quoted in the *Kojiki* or collected in the Anthologies, all vestiges of the unwritten literature of primitive Japan seem to have been lost. But the art and grace of the story of the Lady Kaguya are native, its unstrained pathos, its natural sweetness, are its own, and in simple charm and purity of thought and language it has no rival in the fiction either of the Middle Kingdom or of the Dragon-Fly Land. The tags of word-plays that close the tale of each Quest are, I cannot but believe, the additions of later hands, and I am loth to look upon the story of the fifth Quest¹ as other than the broad farce of some manipulator of a coarser period. Perhaps, indeed, the Moon-maiden's story stood originally alone, the work of some pious but not too orthodox Buddhist, who shaped a Taouist legend into an allegory exemplifying the great doctrine of *inguwa*, or Cause and Effect, in the maiden's recovery of her celestial home through subduance of the very feeling the indulgence of which had led her to exile, despite the circumstance that a Mikado sought to inspire, and a father to foster, the tender sentiment. In such a story the narratives of the Quests may have been afterwards interpolated, partly to display more fully the maiden's constancy and purity, partly by way of gentle

¹ The Chiunagon Marotada has to present the Lady with a Cowry shell (*Koyasugai*) brought by a swallow, *tsubakurame*, probably the *Hirundo gutturalis*, Scop., which, according to Messrs. Blakiston and Pryer, nests always in a house, where a shelf is provided for its accommodation. He has recourse to his retainers, who devise various schemes, more or less trivial and ridiculous, in pursuance of one of which the Chiunagon endeavours to catch a swallow sitting upon its nest and in the act of wagging its tail. Thus far he is successful, but only to be rewarded by a ball of dung, which he grasps firmly in his hand, believing he has obtained the much-desired prize. In being lowered from his post of observation, to which he had been raised in a sort of basket attached by a rope, he meets with a mishap, and falls into a rice cauldron, from which his retainers drag him out still grasping his supposed prize—the nature of which he then, to his stupefaction, discovers.

The *Koyasugai* is described in the *Wakan sanzai* as the shell currency of ancient China. The word is often written 子安, under a false notion of its etymology—probably *Koyasu* is a strengthened form of the root *Koye*, to bring over, import, etc.

satire upon the taste for love-adventures which all the early romances show to have characterized the peaceful age, when neither Hei nor Gen had yet raised the stormy din of factious arms.

To render literally an Oriental text involves the effacement of whatever charm the original may possess.¹ I have therefore sought to give an English dress to the ideas, rather than to the mere language of the teller of this old-world story, probably the most ancient work of fiction extant of the whole Altaic race. But I have desired, at the same time, to preserve in the version as much as possible of the spirit, as distinct from the structure, of the unsinicized tongue of early Japan; and with this object have reproduced, to some extent, the loosely composite paragraph and sentence characteristic of Japanese prose, and abhorred of Chinese writers, who delight in a terse and antithetic, but bald and artificial style, that too commonly sacrifices wit to an obscure brevity, and loses all naturalness in the strain after mere symmetry of literary form. I have endeavoured, also, to retain the impersonality which so markedly differentiates Turanian² from Aryan speech; but I have usually found this possible only so far as it resulted from avoidance of metaphorical forms of expression. Of the numerous word-plays that disfigure the text I have not attempted any explanation unless needed to give some definite meaning to the passages where they occur. The 'honorifics' in Japanese have often little more than a pronominal value, and I have not been careful to translate them when not used to emphasize respect. The word 'mi' is the honorific commonly employed in the text in relation to the Mikado, and is usually rendered

¹ An Italian version of the *Taketori* has been made by M. Severini, which I cannot greatly praise. It has also been translated into German, and through German into English. Of these latter versions I have seen neither. The present is, I believe, the first direct translation into English that has been produced, and the only one based on Daishu's text, or annotated with any approach to adequacy.

² (On this peculiar feature of Turanian languages the reader is referred to some excellent observations by Mr. Lowell in his *Chosön or Land of Morning Calm* (Korea). Mr. Aston, too, has some admirable remarks on the subject in a paper on the Korean and Japanese languages, which will be found in Vol. XI. Part III. of this Journal.

'imperial' or 'august,' expressions to which I have preferred the simpler 'royal.' In his preface Tanaka Daishu (the Sinico-Japanese pronunciation of the characters with which Ōhide is written) says that if you read the *Taketori* over lightly, it will seem quite easy to understand; but if you want to 'taste' it, you will find it no easy matter thoroughly to comprehend it, not only because the style is antique and concise, but because by dint of frequent copying the text is not unfrequently corrupt. I have experienced to the full the justice of these remarks, and am less certain now of the accuracy of many passages in my translation than I was at the beginning of my task; it was only after prolonged study of the text that I found I did not always fully 'taste' it.

Japanese art has but rarely drawn its motives from the scenes of the Tale of *Taketori*. The earliest edition I have met with is illustrated with coarse woodcuts, but these are destitute of all merit. My friend M. Philippe Burty, however, possesses the concluding roll of an illuminated *maki-mono*, which he has kindly lent me, and the second of the three chromo-lithographs, with which I have been allowed to illustrate this translation—the Upbearing of Kaguya—is a reduced reproduction of its last scene. The two remaining chromo-lithographs are taken from *makimonos* in my own possession; the View of Fujisan from a roll bearing the title *Sanka rekishōzu*, a Series of Pictures of Hills and Streams, and the other, which I have called The Oread's Haunt, from a roll that is partly calligraphic and partly a copy of a Chinese painting. The latter roll is contained in a case of black persimmon wood (*Diospyros kaki*), superscribed *Tōgen senseki*, 桃源仙蹟, and on the silk lining of its lid is a legend written in Chinese by the copyist, of which the subjoined version may be found interesting:—

“Hath any mortal, pray you, ever trod the streamy domains where the Fairy's¹ peach-tree blooms? Now the

¹ The Chinese Oread (西王母), Si Wang Mu, the Western Royal Mother, who on Mount Kwenlun rules over thousands of Taoist genii. A peach-tree growing within her domain on the borders of the Gem Lake (瑤池) bears fruits which confer immortality upon those who are allowed by the Mother to partake of them.



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intimately connected, in part at least, with that of Si Wang Mu, I have used a portion of Chao's picture, no adequate representation of the Island Mountain being known to me, as fairly conveying the Sinico-Japanese idea of the fabled Immortal Isle of the Eastern Ocean.¹

In the third volume of the *Gunsho ichiran* (a Japanese bibliography published about the year 1800), the early *monogatari*, among which the Hewer's tale holds the first place in merit as in time, are enumerated and briefly noticed, often with a good deal of learning and acumen. The account given of *Taketori* mentions as sources of some of the elements of the story the *Manyōshū* and the *Kojiki*,² and among others the *Naigeden* (内外典), whence a curious Buddhist legend is cited to the following effect. Three recluses, after long-continued meditation, found themselves possessed of the truth, and so great was their joy that their hearts broke and they died. Their souls thereupon took the form of bamboos with leaves of gold and roots of precious jade, and after a period of ten months had elapsed, the stems of these bamboos split open and disclosed each a beauteous boy. The three youths sat on the ground under their bamboos, and after seven days' meditation they, too, became possessed of the truth, whereupon their bodies assumed a golden hue and displayed the marks of saintliness, while the bamboos disappeared and were replaced by seven magnificent temples. The legend is manifestly of Indian origin, and seems to have been first quoted by Kūkai or Kōbō Daishi from a sutra intituled *Hōrokaku* (寶樓閣). Of the authorship of the *Taketori* nothing certain is said to be known, but it is doubtfully ascribed to one Minamoto Jun, who is also believed by some to have had a hand in the composition of the *Utsubo monogatari*,³ and the *Ochikubo monogatari*, both of which are

¹ See Mayers, *op. cit.*, Nos. 559 and 647. Compare also the description of Amida's Paradise in Prof. Max Müller's translation of the text of the *Sukhavatī* brought from Japan Part II. Vol. XII. of this Journal.

² Kaguya, for instance, is the name of a princess who is mentioned in the history of the Mikado Suinin (B.C. 70-A.D. 70), and one of her five lovers is, I believe, called Ōtomo no Miyuki (see the third Quest).

³ An account of this work will, I believe, be found in the *American Cyclopædia*, from the pen of Mr. Satow.

noticed in the *Gunsho*. The *Sumiyoshi monogatari* is a lengthy love-story, the plot turning mainly upon the craft and cruelty of a step-mother: it is considered one of the best of the series. An old writer, says the *Gunsho*, ascribes the authorship to the heroine of the tale, who is said to have written the whole story on a screen in a small room near the north-eastern gate of the Palace, which was a favourite rendezvous for lovers. More popular, perhaps, is another of the series, the *Yamato monogatari*, a collection of tales from which Mr. Chamberlain has taken his pretty story of the Maiden of Unai. It seems to have been, in part at all events, written by the Retired Mikado Kwanzan (A.D. 983-5), and the accepted editions contain nearly three hundred 'uta' or quintains. It is specially recommended, together with the *Ise monogatari* and the *Genji monogatari* to the attention of those who desire to become proficient in the art of composing 'uta' with elegance and rapidity, an art held in high honour at the court of the early Mikados. For an account of the *Genji* the reader is referred to Mr. Suyematsu's translation. The authoress, the Princess Murasaki Shikibu, was asked, says the *Gunsho*, to compose a story in a more modern style than that of the earlier romances such as the *Taketori*, and this she was able to do after passing a moonlit night in meditation and prayer. She repented towards the close of her life of the frivolities of her youth, and made with her own hands six hundred copies of the Hanniya Sutra in order to merit salvation. The *Izumi Shikibu monogatari*, which is next described, contains the lady's correspondence with her lover, the fourth son of the Mikado Reizei. Among the remaining *monogatari* a few only can be briefly mentioned here. The *Ima monogatari* is rather a series of poet-biographies than a romance, but it narrates, among other curious matters, a singular dream of one of its personages that Murasaki Shikibu may, after all, have gone down into Hell. The sixty volumes of the *Ima mukashi monogatari* (so called from its beginning with the time-honoured phrase *ima mukashi* 'once upon a time') describe the habits and customs of Japan

and India, the wonders to be found in both countries, the examples and effects of good and bad conduct they afford, and the traditions concerning the Buddha current in them.

The *Akinoyonaga no monogatari* (A Long Autumn-night's Story) is of later date. It narrates the unlawful loves of the priest Keikai, who lived in the reign of Horikawa II. (A.D. 1222-34), and is characterized as extremely pathetic and interesting. The priest finally repented of his evil ways and founded the temple of Unkyō. The *Matsuho monogatari* is similar to the last in style and matter. The *Omina meshi monogatari*, or 'Girls' Stories,' is a series of narratives of celebrated women, containing many wise saws and exemplary instances of successful diligence. Of the remainder of the nineteen *monogatari* enumerated, some are collections of essays rather than stories, and are evidently compilations. Indeed, in the Hewer's tale we have the only pure fiction of the whole series—at least the story of the Lady Kaguya may justly be so regarded—absolutely free from every trace of grossness, which is more than can be said of the *monogatari* which succeeded it. The word-plays it contains are its only blemishes, and these are far less common than in the later romances, where almost every page bristles with them. Even the narrative of the fifth Quest is rather vulgar and trivial than coarse in matter or manner, and in the imaginative literature of Japan which it ushered into being, the *Taketori monogatari* remains to the present day unsurpassed, nay unequalled, in purity, simplicity, pathos, and unstrained quality of style.

Three editions of the *Taketori* are known to me. One in two volumes has been already mentioned. Another, also in two volumes, published in the period Temmei 1781-9, is enriched with interpretative notes, by Koyama Tadashi. But the edition I have used is the work of Tanaka Daishu, a native of the province of Owari, which appeared in the year 1829. It is in six volumes, the first being an introductory essay upon the story and its sources, the remaining five volumes containing the text, distributed in short portions, each followed

by a commentary, in which obsolete expressions and customs are explained, and various readings are presented and discussed, often at great length, and always with considerable learning and critical power. I have subjoined Daishu's text romanized in accordance with the system adopted by the Rōmaji-kai (Society for the Romanization of Japanese—a reform I was the first to advocate some twenty years ago). It does not appear that the *Taketori* was printed before the middle of the last century, and the text has doubtless suffered considerably at the hands of the MS. copyists, whose labours have handed it down during a period of eight hundred years. The language of the text, the oldest prose of the Altaic races,¹ is almost wholly archaic Japanese (*Yamato kotoba*); but a few Chinese expressions occur in it. Originally it was probably written, like the *Manyōshū*, partly in syllabic partly in Chinese, character, and the rendering of the latter into *Yamato kotoba* has, doubtless, not been accurately preserved in all cases. It is worthy of notice, as showing the extent to which Japan merged whatever indigenous civilization she possessed in the imported civilization of China, that the *Taketori* hardly contains a single reference to Shintō or to any primitive tradition or myth. So at the present day we see modern Japan, discarding Chinese modes of life and thought, engaged in a strenuous endeavour, despite her geographical remoteness, to gain a place in the great family of Western nations.

It had been my intention to extend these somewhat superficial notes so as to include some criticism of the text and an adequate examination of the Chinese and Sinico-Indian sources whence the author of the *Taketori* drew most of his materials. But I found my own library quite insufficient for the purpose, and with regard to researches of the kind I had in view, the doors of the great library in Bloomsbury are practically closed to those who do not command a much more abundant leisure than I am ever likely to enjoy.

¹ The *Kojiki*, *Nihongi*, etc. are written in a style which is a bad imitation of Chinese.

THE TEXT.

KAGUYA HIME NO OI-TACHI.

Ima wa mukashi Taketori no okina to iyeru mono arikeri. Shigeyama ni majirite take wo toritsutsu, yorozu no koto ni tsukaikeri; na wo ba Sanugi no Miyakko to namu iikeru. Sono take no naka ni moto hikaru take namu hito suji arikeri. Ayashigarite yorite miru ni, tsutsu no naka hikaritari. Sore wo mireba, san sun bakari naru hito ito utsukushiute itari. Okina iu yō:

“Ware asa goto yū goto ni miru take no naka ni owasuru nite shirinu¹ ko ni naritamōbeki hito nameri.” To te, te ni uchi-irete, iye ye motte kinu, me no ōna² ni azukarite yashinawasū. Utsukushiki koto kagiri-nashi, ito osanakereba ko³ ni irete yashinau.

Taketori no okina take toru ni kono ko wo mitsukete, nochi ni take toru ni fushi wo hedatete, yo goto ni kogane aru take wo mitsukuru koto kasanarinu. Kakute okina yōyō yutaka ni nari-yuku. Kono chigo yashinau hodo ni sugu-suguto ōkini nari-masaru. Mi tsuki bakari ni naru hodo ni yoki hodo naru hito ni narinureba kamiage nado tadashite⁴ kami-age-sesase mo⁵ gisu chō⁶ no uchi yori idasazu. Itsuki-ka-hizuki yashinau hodo ni kono chigo no katachi kyōra⁷ naru koto yo ni naku, ya no uchi wa kuraki tokoro naku, hikari-michitari. Okina kokochi ashiku kurushiki toki mo kono ko wo mireba kurushiki koto mo yaminu haradatashiki koto mo nagusamikeri. Okina take wo toru koto hisashiku nari; ikioi mō⁸ no mono ni nari ni keru.

Kono ko ito ōki ni narinureba, na wo ba Mimuro Imube no Akita wo yobite tsukesasu Akita Nayotake no Kaguya Hime to tsuketsu. Kono hodo mi ka uchi-age-asobu yorozu no asobi wo zo shikeru, otoko ōna kirawazu yobi-tsudoyete ito kashikoku asobu.

Tsuma-goi.

Sekai no onoko, ate naru mo iyashiki mo, ikade kono Kaguya Hime wo yeteshi gana, miteshi gana to, oto ni kiki medete madō.

Sono atari no kaki ni mo, iye no to ni mo. oru hito da ni tawayasuku mirumajiki mono wo, yoru wa yasuki i mo nezu, yami no yo ni idete mo ana wo kujiri, koko kashiko yori nozoki, kaima mi-madoi ayeri, saru toki yori namu yobai to wa iikeru. Hito no monoshi to mo senu tokoro ni madoi aikedomo, nani no shirushi arubeku mo miyezu, iye no hito domo ni mono wo da ni iwamu tote iikakaredomo koto to mo sezu. Atari wo hanarenu kimi-tachi yoru wo akashi hi wo kurasu hito ōkari. Oroka naru hito wa yō naki ariki wa yoshinakarikeri tote kozu nari ni keru. Sono naka ni nawo iikeru wa; irogonomi to iwaruru hito go nin omoi yamu toki naku yoru hiru kitari keru. Sono na, hitori wa Ishizukuri no miko, hitori wa Kuramochi no miko, hitori wa Sadajin Abe no Miushi Dainagon, hitori wa Ōtomo no Miyuki Chiunagon, hitori wa Iso no Kami no Marotada kono hitobito narikeri. Yō no naka ni ōkaru hito wo da ni sukoshi mo katachi yoshi to kikite wa mimahoshiu suru hitobito narikereba, Kaguya Hime wo mimahoshiushite mono mo kuwazu omoitsutsu; kono iye ni yukite tatazumi arikikeredomo ka-i arubeku mo arazu, fumi wo kakite yaredomo kayeri-goto mo sezu, wabi-uta nado kakite yaredomo kayeshi mo sezu, ka-i nashi to omoyedomo, shimotsuki shiwasu no furi, kōri, minazuki no teri-hatataku ni mo sawarazu kikeri. Kono hitobito aru toki wa Taketori wo yobi-idete “musume wo ware ni tabe” to fushi-ogami te wo suri

¹ Shiru sometimes, as here, means to exercise power, have rights over, etc.

² omina, onna.

³ hako or kago.

⁴ Sa-u-shite (左右), sōshite, sōsoku (sōzoki?).

⁵ 装.

⁶ 帳 kichō.

⁷ kesō.

⁸ 搦. Most editions omit the sentence beginning with ikioi.

notamayeba “ Ono ga nasanu ko nareba kokoro ni mo shitagawazu namu aru ” to iite, tsuki hi wo sugusu. Kakareba kono hitobito iye ni kayarite mono wo omoi inori oshi guwan¹ wo tate omoi yamemu to suredomo yamubeku mo arazu. Saritomo tsui ni otoko awasezaramu ya wa to omoite, tanomi wo kaketari, anagachi ni kokoro-zashi wo miye arite, kore wo mitsukete Okina Kaguya Hime ni iu yō :

“ Waga ko no hotoke henguye no hito to mōshinagara warawa ōkisa made yashinaitatematsuru kokoro-zashi orokanarazu okina no mōsamu hito kiki-tamaiten ya.”

To iyeba, Kaguya Hime :

“ Nanigoto wo ka notomawamu koto wo uketamawarazaramu, henguye no mono nite haberikemu mi to mo shirazu, oya to koso omoi-tatematsure.” To iyeba, okina : “ Ureshiku notamō mono gana ! ” to iu : “ okina toshi nanasoji ni amarinu, kyō tomo asu to mo shirazu, kono yo no hito wa, otoko wa ōna ni ō koto wo su ōna wa otoko ni ō koto wo su, sono nochi namu kado mo hiroku nari-haberu, ikadeka saru koto nakute wa owashimasenu.”

Kaguya Hime no iwaku :

“ Najō, saru koto ka shihaberamu ” to iyeba, “ Henguye no hito to iu tomo, ōna no mi-mochi tamayeri, Okina no aramu kagiri wa kōte² mo imazu³ kari namu kashi, kono hitobito no toshi tsuki wo hete kō nomi imashitsutsu, notamō koto wo omoi-sadamete, hitori-bitori ni aiatematsuritamaine ” to iyeba, Kaguya Hime iwaku : “ Yoku mo aranu katachi wo fukaki kokoro mo shirade, ada kokoro tsukinaba, nochi kuyashiki koto mo arubeki wo to omō bakari nari, yo no kashikoki hito naritomo, fukaki kokorozashi wo shirade wa aigatashi to namu omō ” to iu. Okina iwaku : “ Omoi no gotoku mo notamō kana ! Somosomo ikayō naru kokorozashi aramu hito ni ka awamu to obosu kabakari, kokorozashi orokanaranu hito bito ni koso amere.” Kaguya Hime no iwaku : “ Nani bakari no fukaki wo ka mimu to iwamu isasaka no koto nari. Hito no kokorozashi hitoshi kannari, ikadeka naka ni otorimasari wa shiranu. Go nin bito no naka ni yukashiki mono wo misetamayaramu ni on kokorozashi masaritari tote tsukomatsuramu, to sono owasuramu hito bito ni moshi tamaye ” to iu, “ Yoki koto nari ” to uketsu. Hi kururu hodo rei no atsmarinu hitobito, aruiwa fuye wo fuke, aruiwa uta wo utai, aruiwa shōga⁴ wo shi, aruiwa uso wo fuki, ōgi wo narashi nado suru ni Okina idete iwaku : “ Katajikenaku mo kitanagenaru tokoro ni toshi tsuki wo hete mono shitamō koto kiwamaritaru kashikomari to mōsu, Okina no inochi kyō asu to mo shiranu wo kaku notamō,⁵ ‘ kimidachi ni mo yoku omoi sadamete tsukōmatsure to mōseba fukaki no kokoro wo shirade wa to namu mōsu, sa mōsu mo kotowari nari, izure otori-masari owashimaseneba yukashiki mono misetamayaramu ni on kokorozashi no hodo miyubeshi, tsukōmatsuramu koto wa sore ni namu sadamubeki ’ to iu ; kore yoki koto nari, hito no urami mo uramaji ” to iyeba, go nin no hitobito mo “ Yoki koto nari ” to iyeba, Okina irite iu⁶ : “ Kaguya Hime Ishizukuri no miko ni wa, Tenjiku ni Hotoke no mi ishi no hachi to iu mono ari, sore wo torite tamaye to iu ; Kuramochi no miko ni wa, Higashi no umi ni Hōrai to iu yama annari, sore ni shirogane wo ne to shi, kogane wo kuki to shi, shiraki tama wo mi to shite tateru ki are, sore hito yeda orite tamawaramu to iu ; ima hitori ni wa Morokoshi ni aru hinezumi no kawagoromo wo tamaye ; Ōtomo no Dainagon ni wa, tatsu no kubi ni go shiki ni hikaru tama ari, sore wo torite tamaye ; Iso no kami no Chiunagon ni wa,

¹ *negai*. The words from *omoi* to *suredomo* are omitted in other editions.

² i.e. *kakute*.

³ Perhaps *imazu* is a form of *ima zo*.

⁴ 唱歌.

⁵ The subject of *notamō* is the Lady Kaguya.

⁶ This very complicated sentence is a good example of the loose style of composition common among Japanese writers. The whole passage is corrupt ; another rendering is *to mōshi mo kotowari nari, izure mo otori masari owashimaseneba mi kokorozashi no wa mitamōbeshi tsukōmatsuran koto wa sore ni namu sadamubeki to iyeba. . . .*

tsubakarame no motaru koyasugai torite tamaye" to iu. Okina, "kataki kotodomo ni koso amere, kono kuni ni aru mono ni mo arazu, kaku kataki koto wo ba ika ni mōsan" to iu; Kaguya Hime, "nanika katakaramu" to iyeba, Okina tomare kakumare mosamu tote idete, "kaku namu kikoyuru yō ni misetamaye" to iyeba, mikotachi-kamudachibe¹ kikite, "Oiraka ni 'atari yori da ni na ariki so' to ya wa notamawanu" to iite, unjite mina kayerinu.

НОТОКЕ НО МИШИ НО ХАЧИ.

Nawo kono onna mide wa, yo ni arumajiki kokochi noshikereba, Temujiku ni aru mono mo mote konu mono ka wa to omoi megurashite, Ishizukuri no Miko wa, kokoro no shitakumi aru hito nite, Temujiku ni futatsu to naki hachi wo hyaku sen man ri no hodo ikitaru to mo, ikadeka torubeki to omoite, Kaguya Hime no moto ni wa kyō namu Temujiku ye ishi no hachi tori ni makaru to kikasete, mi tose bakari hete, Yamato no kuni, Tōchi no kōri ni aru yamadera ni Binzuru no maye naru hachi no hitakuro ni susuzukitaru wo torite, nishiki no fukuro ni irite, tsukuri-hana no yeda ni tsukite, Kaguya Hime no iye ni motekite misekereba, Kaguya Hime ayashigarite miru ni, hachi no nakani fumi ari, hirogete mireba :

"Umi yama no | michi ni kokoro wo | tsukushi-hate : | mi ishi no hachi no | namida nagare wa !"

Kaguya Hime hikari ya aru to miru ni hotaru bakari no hikari da ni nashi.

"Oku tsuyu no | hikari wo da ni mo | yado-sumashi : | Ogura no yama nite | nani motomekemu !"

Tote kayeshi-idasu. Hachi wo kado ni sutete kono uta no kayeshi wo su :

'Shirayama ni | ayeba, hikari no | usuru ka to ? | hachi wo sutete mo | tano-maruru kana !'

To yomite-iretari. Kaguya Hime kayeshi mo sezu narinu. Mimi ni mo kiki-irezarikereba iwazuraite kayerinu. Kano hachi wo sutete mata iikeru yori zo omonaki koto wo ba "Hachi wo suturu" to zo iikeru.

НӨРАИ НО ТАМА НО YEDA.

Kuramochi no miko wa, kokoro tabakari aru hito nite, ōyake ni wa, Tsukushi no kuni ni yuami ni makaramu tote, itoma mōshite Kaguya Hime no iye ni wa, tama no yeda tori ni namu makaru to iwasete, kudaritamō ni tsukōmatsurubeki hitobito mina Naniwa made okuri-shikeri.

Miko ito shinobite to notomawasete, hito mo amata ite owashimasezu, chikō tsukōmatsuru kagiri shite, idetamainu. mi okuri no hitobito mi-tatematsuri okurite kayerinu, owashimashinu to hito ni wa miyetamaite mitsu hi bakari arite kogi-kayeri tamainu.

Kanete koto mina ohosetarikereba, sono toki ichi no takumi² narikeru Uchi marora roku nin wo meshitorite, tawayasku hito yori-kumajiki iye wo tsukurite, kama ye wo miye ni shikomete, takumi-ra wo iritamaitsumu, miko mo onaji tokoro ni komoritamaite, shirasetamaitaru kagiri jiu-roku so wo kami ni kudo wo akete, tama no yeda wo tsukuritamō.

Kaguya Hime notamō yō ni tagawazu tsukuri-idetsu. Ito kashikoku tabakarite Naniwa ni misoka ni mote idenu, fune ni norite kayeriki ni keru to tonononoe ni tsuge yarite ito itaku kurushigenaru sama shite i-tamayeri.

Mukaye ni ni hito ohoku mairitari, tama no yeda wo zo nagahitsu ni irete, mono ohoite mochite mairu. "Itsuka kikemu Kuramochi no miko wa udomuguye no hana mochite nobori tamayeri !" to nonoshirikeri.

Kore wo Kaguya Hime kikite, "Ware wa kono miko ni makenu-beshi !" to mune tsuburete omoikeri. Kakaru hodo ni, kado wo tatakite "Kuramochi no miko owashitari" to tsugu.

¹ The word *be* has a collective force. Compare *Imibe*, etc. *Kamudachi* is equivalent to *kami-* or *kimi-tachi*.

² Of *ichi no takumi* a variant is *hitotsu no takaru*.



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To notamai ; kakaru hodo ni otokodomo roku nin tsuranete niwa ni idekitari ; hitori no otoko fubasami ni fumi wo hasamite mōsu :

“ Tsuku mo dokoro no zukasa no takumi Ayabe no Uchimaro mōsaku : Tama no ki wo tsukuritsukōmatsurishi kokoro wo kudakite, sen yo nichu ni chikara wo tsukushitaru koto sukunakurazu, shikaru ni roku imada tamawarazu, kore wo tamawarite wakachite kego ni tamawasen ” to iite sasagetaru.

Taketori no Okina kono takumira ga mōsu koto wa nanigoto zo to katabuki-ori, miko wa ware ni mo aranu kimo kiyenubeki kokochi shite itamayeri.

Kore wo Kaguya Hime kikite, kono tatematsuru fumi wo “ tore ” to iite mireba, fumi ni moshikeru yo “ Miko no Kimi sen yo michi iyashiki takumira to morotomo ni onaji tokoro ni kakure i-tamaite, kashikoki tama no yeda wo tsukurase-tamaite, tsukasa mo tamawamu to ose-tamaiki ; kore wo kono goro auzuru ni mi tsukai to owashimasubeki Kaguya Hime no yōji tamōbeki narikeri to uke tamawatte kono miya yori tamawaramu to mōshite tamawarubeki nari.”

Kaguya Hime kururu mama ni omoi-wabitsuru kokochi yemi sakayete, Okina wo yobitorite iu yō : Makoto Hōrai no ki ka to koso omoitsure ! kaku asamashiki sora goto nite arikereba, haya tote kayeshi tamaye,” to iyeba, Okina kotō : “ sadaka ni tsukurasetaru mono to kikitsureba, kayesamu koto ito yasushi to unazuki ori.”

Kaguya Hime no kokoro yukihatete aritsuru uta no kayeshi :

“ Makoto ka to | kikite mitsureba, | koto no ha wo | kazareru tama no | yeda ni zo arikeru ! ”

To iite, tama no yeda mo kayeshitsu. Taketori no Okina sabakari kataraitsuru ga sasuga ni oboyete neburi ori. Miko wa tatsu mo hashita, iru mo hashita nite itamayeri hi no kurenureba suberi detamainu.

Kano ureyeseshi takumi ra wo ba, Kaguya Hime yobisuyete, ureshiki hito domo nari to iite, roku ito ōku torase-tamō ; takumira imijiku yorokobite “ omoitsuru yō ni mo aru kana ! ” To iite, kayeru michi nite, Kuramochi no miko, chi no nagaruru made chōzesasetamō, roku yeshi kai mo naku, mina torisutesase tamaite kereba, nige-use ni keru.

Kakute kono miko isshō no haji, kore ni suguru wa araji, onna wo yezu narinuru nomi ni arazu ; ame no shita no hito no omowamu koto no hazukashi koto to notamaite, tada hito tokoro fukaki yama ye iritamainu. Miya-zukasa sōrō hito bito mina te wo wakachite motome-tatematsuredomo on shini mo ya shitamaikemu ye-mi-tsuke-tatematsurazu narinu. Miko wa mi tomo ni da ni kakushi-tamawamu tote, toshi goro miyetamawazarikeru narikeri. Kore wo namu tamazakaru to wa ii-hajimekeru.

HINEZUMI NO KAWAGOROMO.

Sadai-jin Abe no Miushi wa, takara yutaka ni iye hiroki hito ni zo owashikeru. Sono toshi watarikeru Morokoshi fune no Wokei to iu mono no moto ni fumi wo kakite, Hinedzumi no Kawagoromo to iu naru mono kaite okoseyo tote, tsukomatsuru hito no naka ni kokoro tashikanaru wo yerabite, Ono no Fusamori to iu hito wo tsukete tsukawasu.

Mote itarite kano ura ni oru Wokei ni kogane wo torasu. Wokei fumi wo hirogete mite kaherigo to kaku, “ Hinedzumi no Kawagoromo waga kuni ni naki mono nari, oto ni wa kikedomo imada minu mono nari, yo ni aru mono naraba kono kuni ni mo mote mōdeki namashi ; ito kataki akinai nari ; shikaredomo moshi Temujiku ni tama-saka ni mote watarinaba, moshi chōja no atari ni toburai motomemu ni naki mono naraba tsukai ni soyete kogane wo ba kayeshi tatematsuramu ” to iyeri

Kano Morokoshi fune ki-keri Ono no Futamori mōde kite. mō noboru to iu koto wo kikite, ayumi-tō suru muna wo mote hashirase mukaye-sase-tamō, toki ni, muma ni norite, Tsukushi yori tada nanuka ni nobori-mōde kitari. Fumi wo miru ni iwaku “ Hinedzumi no Kawagoromo karōjite, hito wo dashite motomete tatematsuru. Ima no yo ni mo, mukashi no yo ni mo, kono kawa wa tawayasku naki mono narikeri. Mukashi kashikoki Temujiku no hijiri kono kuni ni mote watarite tsukamatsurikeri Nishi no yama-dera ni ari to kiki-oyobite oyake ni mōshite karōjite, kai-totte-tatematsuru, atai no kane sukunashi to kokushi

tsukai ni mōshikaba, Wōkei ga mono kuwayete kaitari. Ima kogane gojiu riyō tamawarubeshi. Fune no kayeramu ni tsukete tabi-okure, moshi kane tamawanu mono naraba kano koromo wo shichi kayeshi tabe" to iyeru koto wo mite:

"Nani obosu, ima kogane sukoshi no koto ni koso anare, kanarazu okurubeki mono ni koso anare, ureshikushite okosetaru kana!" tote, Morokoshi no kata ni mukaite fushi-ogami-tamō. Kono kawa-goromo iretaru hako wo mireba kusa gusa no uruwashiki ruri wo iroyete tsukureri.

Kawagoromo wo mireba, konjō no iro nari, ke no suye ni wa kogane no terashi kagayaki-tari, ge ni takara to miye, uruwashiki koto narabubeki mononashi. Hi ni yakenu koto yori mo kiyōra naru koto narabi nashi. "Ube; Kaguya Hime no konomoshikaritamō ni koso arikere!" to notamaite "ana kashiko!" tote hako ni iretamaite, mono no yeda ni tsukete, on mi no kesō itō itakushite, yagate tomari namu mono zo to oboshite, uta yomi-kuwayete mochite imashitari: sono uta wa:

"Kagiri naki | omoi ni yakenu | Kawagoromo; | tamoto kawakite | kiyō koso wa mime" to iyeri.

Iye no kado ni mote itarite tateri, Taketori idekite tori-irite, Kaguya Hime ni misu. Kaguya Hime kano kawagoromo wo mite iwaku: "Uruwashiki kawa nameri, wakite makoto no kawa naran to mo shirazu." Taketori kotayete iwaku: "Tomare kakumare mazu shōji iretatematsuran yo naka ni miyenu kawagoromo no sama nareba, kore wo makoto to omoi-tamaine, hito na itaku wabi-sase-tamaizo" to iite yobi-suye-tatematureri.

Kaku yobi-suyete kono tabi wa kanarazu awan to ōna no kokoro ni mo omoi ori; kono Okina wa Kaguya Hime no yamome naru wo nagekashi-kereba, yoki hito ni awasemu to omoi hakaredomo sechi ni ina to iu koto nareba yeshiinu wa kotowari nari.

Kaguya Hime Okina ni iu: "Kono kawagoromo wa hi ni yakamu ni yakezuba koso makoto narame to omoite, hito no iū koto ni mo makemu, yo ni naki mono nareba, kore wo makoto to utagai naku omowan to notamō, nawo kore wo yakite kokoromite" to iu. Okina, "sore sa mo iwaretari" to iite, Daijin ni kaku namu mashi to iu; Daijin kotayete iu. "Kono kawa wa Morokoshi ni mo nakarikeru wo karōjite motometazune yetaru nari; nani no utagai aramu, sa wa mōsu to mo haya yakite mitamaye" to iyeba, hi no naka in uchikubete yakasetamō ni, mera-mera to yakenu. Sareba koso koto-mono no kawa nari keru to iū.

Daijin kore wo mi-tamaite, on kao wa kusa no ha no iro nite i-tamayeri. Kaguya Hime wa, "Ana ureshi!" to yorokobite itari. Kano yomi-tamaikeru uta no henji hako ni irete kayesu:

"Nagori naku mo | moyu to shiriseba, | Kawagoromo. | Omoi no hoka ni | okite mimashi wo." | to arikeru, sareba kayeri imashi ni keru.

Yo no hito-bito "Abe no Daijin Kinedzumi no Kawagoromo wo mote imashite, Kaguya Hime ni sumitamō to na koko ni ya imasu?" nado to, aru hito no iu: "Kawa wa hi ni kubete yakitarishikaba mera mera-to yake ni shikaba Kaguya Hime aitamawazu" to ii-kereba, kore wo kiite zo togenaki mono wo ba "abenashi" to iikeru.

TATSU NO KUBI NO TAMA.

Ōtomo no Miyuki no Dainagon wa, waga iye ni ari to aru hito wo atsumete, notamawaku, "Tatsu no kubi ni go shiki no hikari aru tama anari, sore wo torite tatematsuritamuru hito ni wa negawamu koto wo kanawamu" to notamō. Onoko tomo ōse no koto wo kikite mōsaku: "Owase no koto wa itomo tōtoshi, tadashi kono tama tawayasku yuki-torashi wo, iwanya! Tatsu no kubi no tama wa ikaga toramu" to mōshi ageri. Dainagon notamō: "Kimi no tsukai to iwan mono wa, inochi wo sutete mo one ga kimi no ōse koto woba kanawamu to koso omōbekere. Kono kuni ni naki, Temujiku, Morokoshi no mono ni mo arazu. Kono kuni no umi yama yori tatsu wa ori notoru mono nari; ikani omoite ka, nanjira kataki mono to mosuheki?" Onoko tomo mōsu yo: "Saraba, ikaga wa sen, kataki mono nari tomo, ōseru ni shitagate, motome ni makaramu" to mōsu

ni Dainagon miwaraite, "nanjira ya kimi no na wo nagashitsu kimi no ōse koto wo zo ikaga somukubeki?" to notamō.

Tatsu no kubi no tama tori ni tote idashite tamō. Kono hito bito no michi no kate kui mono ni tononouchi no kinu, wata, zeni nado, aru kagiri tori idesoyete tsukawasū. Kono hito bito tomo kayeru made, imoi wo shite, ware wa oramu, kono tama toreyede wa maye ni kayarikuna to notamawasekeri. Ono ono ōse uketamawarite makari-idenū.

"Tatsu no kubi no tama toriyezuba kayarikuna!" to notamayeba, izuchi mo, izuchi mo, ashi no mukitaramu kata ye inan to su; kakaru suki goto wo shitamō koto to soshiri ayeri tamawasetaru mono wa, ono ono wake tsutsu tori, aruiwa ono ga iye ni komori-i aruiwa ono ga yukamahoshiki tokoro ye inu.

Oya kimi to mosu tomo, kaku tsukinaki koto wo ōse tamō koto to koto yukanu mono yuye Dainagon wo soshiri-aitari.

Kaguya Hime suyemu ni wa rei no yō ni wa mi-nikushi to notamaite, uruwashiki ya wo tsukuritamaite, urushi wo nuri, makiye wo shi iroyeshitamaita, ya no uye ni wa, ito wo somete iro iro ni fukasete, uchi uchi no shitsurai ni wa iubeku mo aranu; aya orimono ni ye wo kakite magoto ni haritari.

Moto no medomo wa mina oi-haraite Kaguya Hime wo kanarazu awamu mōkeshite, hitori akashi kurashi tamō. Tsukawashishi hito wa, yoru hiru machi tamō ni, toshi koyuru made, oto mo sezu. Kokoromoto nagarite, ito shinobite, tada toneri futabito meshitsugi to shite, yatsuretamaite, Naniwa ni owashimashite, toitamō koto wa, "Ōtomo no Dainagon no hito ya, fune ni norite, tatsu koroshite, so ga kubi no tama toreru to ya kiku" to towasuru ni, funabito kotayete iwaku: "Ayashiki koto kana!" to waraite, "Saru¹ waza suru fune mo nashi!" to kotayuru ni, "Ojinaki koto suru funabito ni mo aru kana! yeshirade kaku iu to oboshite, waga yumi no chikara wa tatsu araba futo i-koroshite, kubi no tama wa toritemu, osoku kuru yatsubara wo mataji" to notamaite, fune ni norite, umi koto ni ariki-tamō ni, ito tohokute Tsukushi no kata no umi kogi-ide-tamainu. Ikaga shikenu, hayaki kaze fukite, sekai kuragarite, fune wo fuki-mote ariku. Izure no kata tomo shirazu. Fune wo umi naka ni makari idenubeku; fuki-mawashite, nami wa fune ni uchikake-tsutsu maki-ire, nami wa ochi kakaru yō ni hirameki; kakuru ni Dainagon wa madoite, "mada kakaru wabishikime wa mizu, ikanaramu to suru zo!" to notamō, kajitori kotayete mōsu: "kokora fune ni norite makari ariku ni mada kaku wabishikime wo mizu, fune umi no soko ni irazuba, kami ochikakar nubeshi, moshi saiwai ni kami no tasuke araba, nankai ni fukare-owashinubeshi, utate aru nushi no on moto ni tsukayematsurite, susuro naru shini wo subekameru kana" to kajitori naku.

Dainagon kore wo kikite, notamawaku, "Fune ni norite wa, kajitori no mōsu koto wo koso takaki yama to mo tanome nado, kaku tanomoshige-naki koto wo mōsu zo!" to awohedo wo tsukite, notamō.

Kaji tori kotayete mōsu: "Kami naraneba ani waza wo ka tsukōmatsuramu, kaze fuki nami hageshikeredomo kami saye itadaki ni ochikakaru yō naru wa tatsu wo korosamu to motometamai sōrayaba kaku annari; hayate mo tatsu no fukasuru nari, haya kami ni inori tamaye!" to iu.

"Yoki koto nari" tote, kajitori no mi kami kikoshimese, "Ojinaku, kokoro osanaku, tatsu wo korosamu to omoikeri, ima yori nochi wa ke no suye hito suji wo da ni ugokashi tsukamatsuraji" to yogoto wo hanachite, tachi-i naku naku, yobai-tamō koto, chitabi bakari moshitamō; ge ni ya aramu! yōyō kaminari yaminu, sukoshi akarite kaze wa nawo hayaku fuku Kajitori no iwaku; "Kore wa tatsu no sbiwaza ni koso arikere, kono fuku kaze wa yoki hō no kaze nari, abiki kata no kaze ni wa airazu, yoki kata ni omomukite fuku nari" to iyedomo, Dainagon wa kore wo kiki-ire-tamawazu. Mika yoka fukite, fuki-kayeshi yosetari, hama wo mireba, Harima no Akashi no hama narikeri. Dainagon nankai no hama ni fuki-yoseraretaru ni ya aramu to omoite, ikitsuki fushi-tamayeri, fune ni aru onokodomo kuni ni tsugetaraba, kuni no tsukasa mōde-toburō ni mo ye-oki-agari-tamawade, funa-zoko ni fushi-tamayeri. Matsu-hara ni mi mushiro

¹ i.e. *sa aru*.

shikite oroshi-tatematsuru, sono toki ni zo nankai ni arazarikeri to omoite, karōjite, okiagari-tamayeru wo, mireba, kaze ito omoki hito nite hara ito fukure, konata, kanata no me ni wa sumomo wo futatsu tsuketaru yō nari. Kore wo mitatematsurite zo kuni no tsukosa mo hohoyemitaru. Kuni ni ōsetamaite, tagoshi tsukurasetamaite, nyōnyō ni nawarete, iye ni iritamainuru wo, ikadeka kikemu, tsukawashite, onoko domo mairite mōsu yō, “tatsu no kubi no tama wo yetorazarishikaba, namu, tonō ye mo yemairazarishi, tama no torikatakarishi koto wo shiritamayereba, namu, kandō araji tote, mairitsuru” to mōsu. Dainagon oki-idete notamawaku “Namujira yoku mote kozu narinu. Tatsu wa naru kami no mi nite koso arikere, sorega tama wo toramu tote, sokora no hitobito no gai serarenamu to shikeri, mashite, tatsu wo torayetaramashikaba, mata koto mo naku iye wa gai serarenamashi, yoku torayezu nari ni keru. Kaguya Hime chō ō nusubito no yatsu ga hito wo korosamu to sara narikeri, ware no atari da ni ima wa tōraji, onokodomo mo na ariki so” tote, ware ni sukoshi nokoritarikeru monodomo wa, tatsu no tama toranu monodomo ni tabitsu. Kore wo kikite hanaretamaishi moto no uye wa, hara wo kirite waraitamō, ito wo fukasete tsukurishi yane wa tobi-karasu no su ni mina kui-mote i ni keru. Sekai no hito no iikeru wa, Ōtomo no Dainagon wa, tatsu no kubi no tama ya torite owashitaru, ina sa mo arazu, on manako futatsu ni sumomo no yō naru tama wo zo soyete imashitaru, to iikereba, anata yegata! to iikeru yori zo, yo ni awanu koto wo ba Ana tayegata! to i-hajimekeru.

TSUBAKURAME NO KOYASUGAI.

Chiunagon Isonokami Marotada wa iye ni tsukawaruru onoko tomo no moto ni “tsubakurame no su kuitaraba tsugeyo” to notamō wo uketamawarite:

“Nani no yō ni ka aramu” to mōsu. Kotayete notamō yō: “Tsubakurame no motaru koyasugai wo toramu riyō nari” to notamō. Onoko domo kotayete mōsu, “Tsubakurame wo amata koroshite miru ni da ni mo, hara ni naki mono nari; tadashi ko umu toki namu ikadeka idasuramu to mōsu hito da ni mireba usenu” to mosu.

Mata hito no mōsu yō: “ōizukasa no ii kashiku ya no mune ni tsuku no ana goto ni tsubakurame wa su wo kui aru; sore ni mame naramu onoko domo wo ite makarite, agura wo yuiagete ukagawasemu ni, sokora no tsubakurame ko umasaramu ya wa, sate, koso torashime tamawame” to mōsu.

Chiunagon yorokobitamaite “okashiki koto ni mo aru kana! mottomo yeshirazarikeri, kiyō aru koto moshitari” to notamaite mame naru onokodomo nijiu nin bakari tsukawashite ananai ni age-suyeraretari. Dono yori tsukai hima naku tamawasete koyasu no gai toritaru ka to mukawasetamō. Tsubakurame no hito no amata nobori itaru ni, su ni noborikoze, kakaru yoshi go henji wo moshikereba, kiki-tamaite, ikaga subeki to oboshimeshi wazurō ni kano tsukasa no kuwan-nin Kuratsu-marō to mōsu okina mōsu yō: “Koyasugai toramu to oboshimesaba, tabakari mōsamu” tote, on maye ni mairitareba, Chiunagon hitai wo awasete, mukai-tamayeri. Kuratsu Marō ga mōsu yō: “Kono tsubakurame koyasugai wa ashiku tabakarite torase-tamō nari; sate wa, yetorasetamawaji, ananai ni odoro-odoro-shiku nijiu nin no hito no nobotte habereba arete yori-mōde kozu namu. Sesasetamōbeki yō wa, kono ananai wo kobochite, hito mina shirizokite, mame nasamu hito hitori wo arako ni nosesu-shite, tsuna wo kamayete, tori no ko umamu ma ni tsuna wo tsuri-age-sasete futo koyasugai wo torasetamawamu namu yokarubeki” to mōsu. Chiunagon notamo yō: “Ito yoki koto nari” tote, ananai wo kobochite, hito mina kayeri mōdekinu. Chiunagon Kuratsu Marō ni notamawaku: “Tsubakurame wa, ikanaru toki ni ka ko wo umu to shirite hito wo ba agubeki” to notamō, Kuratsu Marō mōsu yō: “Tsubakurame ko umamu to suru toki wa, o wo sasagete, nanatabi megurite, namu, umi otosumeru, sate, nanatabi meguramu ori hikiagete, sono ori koyasugai wa torasetamaye” to mōsu. Chiunagon yorokobitamaite yoroze no hito ni mo shirasetamawade, misoka ni tsukasa ni imashite, onokodomo no naka ni majirite, yoru wo hiru ni nashite, torashime tamō.

Kuratsu Marō kaku mōsu wo ito itaku yorokobitamaite notamō: “Koko ni tsukawaruru hito ni mo naki ni negai wo kanōru koto no ureshisa!” to iite, on zo nugite, kazuke-tamaitsu; sara ni yosari kono tsukasa ni mōde-koto notamaite

tsukawashitsu. Higurenureba kano tsukasa ni owashite mi-tamō ni, makoto ni tsubakurame su tsukureri, Kuratsu Maro ga mōsu yō o wo sasagete meguru ni, arako ni hito wo nosete, tsuriagesasete, tsubakurame no su ni te wo sashiiesasete, saguru ni mono mo nashi to mōsu ni Chiunagon ashiku sagureba naki nari to haradachite, “Tare bakari oboyemu ni tote ware nobotte saguran” to notamaite, ko ni norite tsurare-noborite, ukagaitamayeru ni, tsubakurame o wo sasagete itaku meguru ni awasete, te wo sasagete saguritamō ni, te ni hirameru mono sawaru. toki ni “ware mono nigiritari ima wa oroshite yo, okina shiyetari!” to notamaite, atsumarite, toku orosamu tote, tsuna wo hiki sugishite, tsuna tayuru, sunahachi ni Yashima no kanaye no uye ni nokesama ni ochitamayeri.

Hito-bito asamashigarite, yotte, kakayetsukamatsureri, on me wa shirame nite fushi tamayeri, hitobito on kuchi ni mizu wo sukui, iretsukamatsuru, karōjite iki detamayeru ni, mata kanaye no uye yori tetori, ashitori shite, sageoroshitate-matsuru.

Karōjite, on kokochi wa ikaga obosaruru to toyaba, iki no shita nite mono wa sukoshi oboyuredo, koshi namu ugokarenu.

Saredo koyasugai wo futo nigiri motareba, ureshiku oboyuru nari. Mazu shisokuseshite, kokono kai gao mimu to tsukushi motagete on te wo hiroge tamayeru ni, tsubakurame no mariokeru furu kuso wo nigiritamayeru narikeri. Sore wo mitamaite, “ana! kaina no waza ya” to notamaikeru yori zo omō ni tagō koto wo zo “kai nashi” to iikeri.

Kai ni mo arazu to mitamaikeru ni, on kokochi mo tagaite, karabitsu no futa ni irare tamōbeku mo arazu. On koshi wa ore ni keru, Chiunagon wa iwaketaru waza shite yamu koto wo hito ni kikaseji to shitamaikeredo, sore wo yamai nite ito yowaku naritamai ni keru. Kai wo yetorazu narinikeru yori mo hito no kiki-warawamu koto wo hi ni soyete omoitamaikereba, tada ni yamishinuru yori mo hitogiki hazukashiku oboyetamō nari keru. Kore wo Kaguya Hime kikite tōrai ni tsukawashikeru uta:

“Toki wo hete, | nami tachi yaranu | Suminoye no | matsu kai nashi to | kiku wa makoto ka?”

To aru wo yonde kikasu. Ito yowaki kokochi ni kashira motagete hito ni kami wo motasete kurushiki kokochi ni karōjite kakitamō:

“Kai wa kaku | arikeru mono wo | wabi-sutete, | shinuru inochi wo | sukui ya wa senu!”

To kaki hatsuru to taye-iri-tamainu. Kore wo kikite, Kaguya Hime, sukoshi aware to oboshikeri. Sore yori, namu, sukoshi ureshiki koto wo ba “kai ari” to zo iikeru.

MIKARI NO MIYUKI.

Sate Kaguya Hime katachi no yo ni nizu medetaki koto wo Mikado kikoshi-meshite. naishi Nakatomi no Fusako ni notamō, “ōku no hito no mi wo itazura ni nashite awazanaru Kaguya Hime wa, ika bakari no ouna zo to makarite mite maire,” to notamō. Fusako uketamawarite makareri, Taketori no iye ni kashikomarite shōji irite ayeri, ouna ni naishi notamo, “ōse goto ni Kaguya Hime no katachi iu ni oyobazu to nari, yoku mite mairubeki yoshi notamawaretsuru ni namu mairitsuru” to iyeba, “saraba kaku to mōshi-haberamu” to iite irinu.

Kaguya Hime ni, “Haya kano mi tsukai ni taimen shi-tamaye” to iyeba, Kaguya Hime. “yoki katachi ni mo aranu, ikadeka miyubeki” to iyeba, “utate mo notamo kana! Mikado no mi tsukai wo ba ikadeka oroka ni semu” to iyeba Kaguya Hime no kotayeru yō, “Mikado no meshite notawawamu koto kashikoshi to mo omowazu” to iite. sara ni miyubeku mo arazu. Umeru ko no yō ni wa aredo ito kokoro hazukashige ni orosokanaru yō ni iikereba kokoro no mama ni mo yesemezu.

Ouna naishi no moto ni kayeri idete, “kuchioshiku kono osanaki mono wa kowaku haberu mono nite, taimensumajiki to mōsu.” Naishi, “Kanarazu mitatematsurite maire to ōsegoto arit-uru mono wo mitatematsurade wa, ikadeka kayeri mairamu, koku-wō no ōsegoto wo masa ni yo ni sumitamawamu hito no uketamawari tamawade wa arinamu ya iwarenu koto nashitamai yo!” to kotoba

hajishiku iikereba, kore wo kikite, mashite Kaguya Hime kikubeku mo arazu "Kokuwō no ōsegoto wo somukaba, haya koroshitamaite yokashi" to iu. Kono naishi kayeri-mairite kono yoshi wo sōsu. Mikado kikoshimeshite "ōku no hito koroshitegeru kokoro zo kashi!" to notamawaite yami ni keredo nawo oboshimeshi owashimashite, "Kono ouna no tabakari ni ya makemu" to oboshimeshite Taketori no Okina wo meshite ōsetamō "Nanji ga motte haberu Kaguya Hime tsukamatsure, kaokatachi yoshi to kikoshimeshite mi tsukai wo tabishikado kai naku miyezu nari ni keru, kaku taidaishiku ya wa narawasubeki?" to Okina kashikomarite, go henji mōsu yō, "kono me no warawa wa, tayete miyazukaye tsukōmatsurubeku mo arazu haberu wo mote, wazurai haberu; saritomo makarite ōsetamawamu" to sōsu. Kore wo kikoshimeshite, on idasetamō "Nado ka! Okina no te ni okoshitatetaramu mono wo kokoro ni makasezaramu, kono ouna moshi tate matsuritaru mono naraba Okina ni kōburi wo nado ka tabasezaramu."

Okina yorokobite iye ni kayerite. Kaguya Hime ni katarō yō, "Kaku namu Mikado no ōsetamayeru nawo ya wa tsukōmatsuri-tamawamu" to iyeba Kaguya Hime notamawaite iu, "mohara sayō no miyazukaye tsukōmatsuraji to omō wo shiite tsukōmatsurase-tamawaba kiyouse nari, mi zukasa kōburi-tskōmatsurite shinu bakari nari." Okina irayuru yō, "Na shitamai zo, tsukasa kōburi mo waga ko wo mitatematsurade wa, nani ni ka wa semu, sa wa aritomo nadoka miyazukaye wo shitamawazaramu shinitamō-beki yō ya wa arubeki" to iu.

"Nawo sora goto ka to, tsukōmatsurasete shinazu ya aru to mite tamaye, amata no hito no kokorozashi oroka-narazarishi wo munashiku nashite shi koso are. Kinō kiyō Mikado no notamawamu koto ni tsukamu hitogiki yasashi" to iyeba, Okina kotayete iwaku, "amenoshita no koto wa, to aritomo kakaritomo, on inochi no ayōsa koso ōki naru sawari nareba nawo tsukōmatsurumajiki koto wo, mairite mosamu" tote mairite mōsu yō, "ōse no koto no kashikoki ni kano warawa wo mairasemu tote, tsukōmatsureba miyazukaye ni dashitatenaba shinu. beshi to mōsu. Miyakko Maro ga te ni umasetaru ko nite mo arazu, mukashi yama nite mitsuketaru; kakareba kokoro-base mo yo no hito ni nizu zo haberu" to sō-sesasu. Mikado ōsetamawaku, "Miyakko Maro ga iye wa yama moto chikaku nari, mikari no miyuki shitamawamu yō nite mitemu ya," to notamawasu.

Miyakko Maro ga mōsu yō, "Ito yoki koto nari, nanika kokoro mo nakute aramu ni futo mi-yuki shite go ranzerare namu" to sōsureba Mikado niwaka ni hi wo sadamete, mi kari ni ide tamaite, Kaguya Hime no iye ni iritamaite, mi-tamō ni, hikari michite, kiyōra nite itaru hito ari, "kore naramu!" to oboshite chikaku yorasetamō ni nigete iru. Sode wo toraye-tamayeba, omote wo futagite sorayedo, hajime yoku go rau-jitsureba, tagui-naku medetaku oboyesasetamaite, 'yurusaji to su' tote iteowashimasamu to suru ni, Kaguya Hime kotayete sōsu, "onoga mi wa, kono kuni ni umarete haberaba, koso tsuka-itamawame; ito ite owoshimashigataku ya haberamu" to sōsu. Mikado, nadoka sa aramu, nawo ite owashimasamu tote, on koshi wo yose-tamō ni kono Kaguya Hime kito kage ni narinu; hakanaku kuchi-oshi to oboshite, ge ni tadabito ni wa arazarikeri to oboshite, "saraba, on moto ni wa ite-ikaji, moto no on katachi to nari-tamaine, sore wo mite da ni kayeri namu" to ōserarureba, Kaguya Hime moto no katachi ni narinu. Mikado nawo medetaku oboshimesaruru koto sekitome-gatashi, kaku misetsuru Miyakko Maro wo yorokobitamō; sate, tsukamatsuru hiyaku-kuwan hitobito ni aruji ikameshiu tsukōmatsuru.

Mikado Kaguya Hime wo todomete kayeri-tamawamu koto wo akazu kuchi-oshiku oboshikeredo, tamashii wo todometaru kokochi shite, namu, kayerasetamaikeru on koshi ni tatematsurite, nochi ni Kaguya Hime ni:

"Kayeru sa no | myuki mono uku | omohoyete; | somukite tomaru | Kaguya Hime yue!"

Go henji wo:

"Mugura hafu | shimo ni mo toshi wa | henuru mi no | nanika wa tama no | utena wo mo mimu."

Kore wo Mikado goranjite, itodo kayeritamawamu, sora mo naku obosaru, mi kokoro wa sara ni tachi-kayerubeku mo obosarezarikeredo, saritote, ya wo akashitamōbeki ni mo araneba kayerasetamainu.

Tsune ni tsukōmatsuru hito wo mitamō ni Kaguya Hime no katawara ni

yorubeku da ni arazari keri, koto hito yori wa kiyōra nari to oboshikeru hito, kare ni oboshi-awasureba hito ni mo arazu. Kaguya Hime nomi on kokoro ni kakarite tada hitori sugushitamō, yoshinakute on katagata ni mo wataritamawazu. Kaguya Hime no moto ni zo mi fumi wo kakite kayowasase tamō, go henji sasuga ni nikukarazu kikoyekawashitamaite, omoshiroki ki-gusa ni tsukete mo, on uta wo yomite tsukawasu.

AMA NO HAGOROMO.

Kayō nite on kokoro wo tagai ni nagusame tamō hodo ni mi tose bakari arite, haru no hajime yori Kaguya Hime tsuki no omoshirō idetaru wo mite, tsune yori mo mono omoitaru sama nari. "Aru hito no tsuki no kawo miru wa, imu koto!" to seishikeredomo, tomo sureba hito-ma ni mo tsuki wo mite wa imijiku naki-tamō. Fu-tsuki no mochi no tsuki ni ide-ite, sechi ni mono omoyeru keshiki nari. Chikaku tsukawaruru hitobito Taketori no Okina ni tsugete iwaku, "Kaguya Hime rei mo tsuki wo aware gari-tamai keredo, kono goro to narite wa tada-koto ni mo haberazameri imijiku oboshinageku koto arubeshi yoku yoku mitzukamatsurase-tamaye" to iu wo kikite, Kaguya Hime ni iu yō: "najō kokochi sureba, kaku mono wo omoitaru sama nite, tsuki wo mitamō zo, umashiki yo ni" to iu. Kaguya Hime "tsuki wo mireba, yo no naka kokoro-bosoku aware ni haberi najō mono wo ka nageki ni haberu beki" to iu. Kaguya Hime no aru tokoro ni itari mireba nawo mono omoyeru keshiki nari. Kore wo mite, "aga hotoke! nani goto omoitamō zo? obosuramu koto nani goto zo?" to iyeba, "omō koto mo nashi mono, namu, kokoro-bosoku oboyuru" to iyeba, Okina, "tsuki na mi tamō zo. Kore wo mi-tamayeba mono obosu keshiki wa aru zo!" to iyeba, "ikade tsuki wo ba mizute wa aramu?" tote, nawo tsuki izureba ide-i-tsutsu, nageki omoyeri, yuyami ni wa mono omawanu keshiki nari.

Tsuki no hodo ni narinureba, nawo toki-doki wa uchinageki naki nado su. Kore wo tsukau monodomo nawo mono obosu koto arubeshi to sasayakedo, oya wo hajimete nanigoto to mo shirazu.

Hatsuki no mochi bakari no tsuki ni ideite Kaguya Hime ito itaku naki tamō, hito me mo ima wa tsutsumitamawazu naki tamō. Kore wo mite, oyadomo mo "nani goto zo" toi-sawagu. Kaguya Hime naku naku iu "Saki-zaki mo mōsamu to omoishikadomo, kanarazu kokoro madowashitamawamu mono zo to omoite, ima made sugushi haberitsuru nari. Sa nomi ya wa tote, uchi-ide haberinuru zo onoga mi wa kono kuni no hito ni mo arazu, tsuki no miyako no hito nari. Sore wo mukashi no chigiri arikeru ni yorite namu kono sekai ni wa mōdekitarikeru, ima wa kayerubeki ni ki ni kereba, kono tsuki no mochi-hi ni kano moto no kuni yori mukaye ni hitobito mōde komuzu sarazu makarinubekereba, oboshi nagekamu ga kanashiki koto wo kono haru yori omoi-nageki haberu nari" to iite imijiu naku. Okina wa, "najō koto wo notamō zo? take no naka yori mitsuke kikoyetarishikado natane no ōkisa owaseshi wo waga take-dachi narabu made yashinai-tatematsuritaru, waga ko wo nani bito ga mukaye kikoyemu. Masa ni yurusamu ya" to iite, ware koso shiname tote naki-nonoshiru koto ito tayegatage nari.

Kaguya Hime no iwaku, "Tsuki no miyako no hito nite, chichi haha ari; kata toki no ma tote kono kuni yori mōde-koshikadomo, kaku kono kuni ni wa amata no toshi wo henuru ni namu arikeru. Kano kuni no chichi haha no koto mo oboyezu, koko ni wa kaku hisashiku asobi-kikoyete narai-tatematsureri, imijikaramu kokochi mo sezu kanashiku nomi, namu, aru. Saredo ono ga kokoro narazu makari namu to suru" to iite morotomo ni imijiu naku.

Tsukawaruru hito bito mo toshigoro naraite, tachiwakare, namu, koto wo kokorobaye nado ateyaka ni utsukushikaritsuru koto wo minaraite, koishikaramu koto no tayegataku, yumizu mo nomarezu onaji kokoro ni nagekushigarikeri.

Kono koto wo Mikado kikoshimeshite Taketori no iye ni on tsukai tsukawasasetamō. On tsukai ni Taketori ideaita naku koto kagiri-nashi. Kono koto wo nageku ni, hige mo shiroku, koshi mo kagawari, me mo tadare ni keri. Okina kotoshi wa isoji bakari narikeredo, mono omoi ni wa kata toki ni namu oi ni nari ni keri to miyu.

On tsukai ōsegoto tote Okina ni iwaku, "Ito kokorogurushiku mono omō naru wa makoto ni ka to ōsetamō?" Taketori nakunaku mōsu, "kono mochi ni, namu, tsuki no yori Kaguya Hime no mukaye ni mōdeku naru; tōtoku towase-



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yosete "iza Kaguya Hime kitanaki tokoro ni ikadeka hisashiku owasemu" to ii-tate kometaru tokoro no to sunawachi tada aki ni akinu kōshidomo, mo hito wa nakushite akinu, ouna idakite, Kaguya Hime to ni idenu, ye-todomumajikereba, tada sashi-ōgite naki ori. Taketori kokoro madoite naki-fuseru tokoro ni yorite Kaguya Hime iu, "Koko ni mo, kokoro ni mo arade, kaku makaru ni noboramu wo da ni, mi-okuri tamaye" to iyedomo "nani shi ni kanashiki ni mi-okuri tatematsuramu, ware wo ika ni seyo tote, sutete wa, nobori tamō zo gu-shite ite owasene" to nakite fusereba, on kokoro madoinu, fumi wo kaki okite makaramu, koishikaramu ori-ori tori-dashite mi-tamaye, tote uchi-nakite kaku kotoba wa, "kono kuni ni umarenuru to naraba, nagekase-tatematsuranu hodo made haberubeki wo haberade sugiwakarenuru koto, kayesugayesu ho i naku koso oboye-habere, nugi-oku kinu wo katami to mi-tamaye, tsuki no idetaramu yo wa mi-okose-tamaye misute-tatema tsurite makaru sora yori mo ochinubeki kokochi su" to kaki-oku.

Amabito no naka ni motosetaru hako ari; ama no ha-goromo ireri, mata aru wa fushi no kusuri ireri. Hitori no amabito iu "Tsubo naru on kusuri tatematsure, kitanaki tokoro no mono kikoshimeshitareba on kokochi ashikaramu mono zo" tote, mote yoritareba, isasaka name-tamaite, sukoshi katami tote, nugi-oku kinu ni tsutsumamu to sureba, aru amabito "tsutsumasezu" on zo wo tori-idashite kisemu to su.

Sono toki ni Kaguya Hime, "shibashi mate" to iite "kinu kisetsuru hito wa kokoro koto ni naru nari" to iu, "Mono hito goto iikubeki koto ari nari" to iite, fumi kaki; Amabito "ososhi to kokoro moto nagari-tamō" Kaguya Hime "mono shiranu koto na notamai zo" tote, imijiku shidzuka ni ōyake ni mi fumi tatematsuritamō, awatenu sama nari. "Kaku amata no hito wo tamaite, todomesase-tamayedo yurusanu, mukaye-mōdekite tori-ide makarinureba kuchioshiku kanashiki koto miyazukaye tsukōmatsurazu narinuru mo, kaku wazurawashiki mi nite habereba, kokoro yezu oboshimeshit-uramedomo, kokoro tsuyoku uketamawarazu nari ni shi koto namege naru mono ni oboshimeshi todomerarenuru namu kokoro ni tomari haberinu tote.

"Ima wo tote | ama no hagoromo | kiru ori zo | kimi wo aware! to | omoi-idekeru."

Tote tsubo no kusuri soyete tō no chiushō wo yobiyosete tatematsurasu, chiushō ni amabito torite tsutau, chiushō toritsureba futo ama no hagoromo uchi-kisereri tsureba, Okina wo ito oshikanashi to oboshitsuru koto mo usenu.

Kono kinu kitsuru hito wa, mono omoi naku nari ni kereba, kuruma ni norite hiyaku nin bakari amabito gushite noborinu. Sono nochi Okina ouna chi no namida wo nagashite madoyedo ka-i nashi. Ano kaki-okishi fumi wo yomite, kikase keredo "Nani semu ni ka, inochi mo oshikaramu taga tame ni ka, naniigoto mo yō mo nashi!" tote, kusuri mo kuwazu, yagate oki mo agarazu yami-fuseri.

Chiushō hitobito hikigushite kayeri-mawarite, Kaguya Hime wo ye-tatakai-tomezu narinuru wo komagoma to sōsu. Kusuri no tsubo ni on fumi soyete mairasu. Hirogete goranjite itaku awaregarasetamaite, mono mo kikoshimesezu, mi asobi nado mo nakarikeri. Daijin-Kami-dachibe wo meshite izure no yama ka ama ni chikaki to towase-tamō ni, aru hito sōsu "Suruga no kuni ni aru yama,¹ namu. kono miyako chikaku, ama mo chikaku haberu" sōsu: kore wo kikase-tamaite.

"Au koto mo
namida ni ukabu
waga mi ni wa;
shinanu kusuri wa
nani ni ka wa semu!"

Kano tatematsurareru shinanu no kusuri no tsubo ni on fumi gushite mi zukaye ni tamawasu, chokushi ni wa. "Tsuki no Iwakasa to iu hito wo meshite, Suruga no kuni ni a-naru yama no itadaki ni mote-yukubeki yoshi" ōsetamō.

Mine nite subeki yō oshiyesasetamō, "on fumi fushi no kusuri no tsubo narabete, hi wo tsukete moyasubeki yoshi" ōsetamo. Sono yoshi uketamawaite, mononofu mo amata gushite yama ye noborikeru yori, namu, sono yama wo Fuji no yama to wa nazukeru. Sono keburu imada kumo no naka ye tachi-noboru to zo iitsutayetaru.

¹ Also aru naru yama.

ART. II.—*An Essay on the Brāhūi Grammar, after the German of the late Dr. Trumpp, of Munich University.*
By Dr. THEODORE DUKA, M.R.A.S., Surgeon-Major
Bengal Army.

IN the range of philological study and research there is nothing so attractive as the discovery of certain tribes who speak a language unconnected with the languages of the peoples which surround them. In Europe we have the striking example of the Basque language on the French and Spanish frontier, and, on a larger scale, we find the descendants of the ancient conquerors of the upper part of Pannonia — the Hungarians — surrounded by German, Sláv and Latin elements, speaking the Magyar language, a language wholly isolated, whose philological position has not as yet been determined to the satisfaction of all. Such isolated peoples appear like islets on the vast ocean of Languages. Another remarkable example is the language of the Bráhúi in the north of Sindh and on the east of Balúchistan, on the north-west of British India, which is the subject of the present essay. This language is spoken in a region to which much attention has been attracted of late; it is the territory formerly known as the Khánat of Khelat. The writing of the Bráhúi is the Arabic alphabet, and the letters *l* and *t* are pronounced from the roof of the mouth with a strong emission of the breath.

The first notice of this language was given by the late Major Leech, of the Bombay Army, who, in 1838, presented a short sketch of it, with a list of words and sentences, adding a few fables, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1839.

Professor Christian Lassen, of Bonn, has critically analyzed Major Leech's work in the fifth volume of the "Zeitschrift für

die Kunde des Morgenlandes." After careful examination, he came to the conclusion that the language of the Brahúi people belongs to the Dravidian family; but the material at Lassen's disposal was so scanty and so incorrect, being, moreover, overladen by typographical errors, that he could not venture beyond certain general conclusions on the subject. The structure of the speech had to be guessed at rather than fixed with any certainty, in consequence of which suspicion arose that the Brahúi had been wrongly classified as an idiom connected with the southern Dravidian languages.

The monograph of the Italian philologist, Felice Finzi,¹ scarcely deserves serious consideration—he merely copied Leech. His comparisons are far too superficial to be of any value, and his own additions are mostly erroneous.

In 1874 Dr. Bellew published a work entitled "From the Indus to the Tigris" (Trübner and Co.), to which, by way of appendix, he added a short grammar and vocabulary of the Brahúi language. Bellew accompanied Sir Richard Pollock's mission, traversed that very region which is the home of the Brahúi, and being an industrious observer, he availed himself of his opportunities, and, in the capacity of a medical man, often came in contact with the people; great credit is due to him for having bestowed so much attention on the subject of language, and for having made careful notes of his enquiries. Welcome as this addition to our knowledge was, no important advance was made by it. Bellew did not fully grasp the subject, and, not being previously acquainted with the language, he stated much that was erroneous: he even repeated the mistakes into which Leech fell. In 1877 there appeared at Karachi a "Handbook of the Birouhi Language, by Alla Bux,"² a native of India. His grammar covers barely thirty-nine pages, but it is a considerable stride in the right direction, since the grammatical rules were worked out with the assistance of some of the native Brahúi, who frequently visit Karachi in large numbers. This essay is merely a compendium of elementary grammatical forms;

¹ Bolletino della Società Geografica Italiana, June, 1850.

² The author, **الله بخش**, thus anglicizes his name, which we have retained.

in many points it is deficient; but in addition to a very valuable list of the most important irregular verbs, the correctness of which has been since verified, we find sixty-three pages of Brahúi text, with an English translation, and the next twenty-two pages contain Brahúi fables with translation into English. From a thorough study of this material, the grammar is capable of being considerably amplified. Dr. Trumpp,¹ an Agent of the Church Missionary Society, who was for some years in Sindh, compiled a Brahúi grammar and presented his important work to the Academy of Sciences of Munich on the 4th December, 1880. The following pages are intended to be an adaptation of his work for English students. Trumpp makes frequent use of Alla Bux's colloquial sentences and stories, since, notwithstanding numerous misprints, what the Maulawi says can be thoroughly depended on.

Leech states that the Persian alphabet had already been adopted for the Brahúi, but it is the Maulawi's merit of having (in a linguistic treatise) for the first time made use of it. In this manner we are better enabled to judge of the language, and also to facilitate the learning of it to the Brahúi themselves. The Hindustáni development of the Arabic alphabet is peculiarly suited to it, as it is capable of noting all the cerebrals. Moreover, as the Brahúi are followers of Muhammad, nothing better could be offered for their acceptance. Some vowel-sounds, however, cannot be indicated with complete precision.

In the same year and place as the Maulawi, Capt. Nicolson published a Brahúi reader, under the title of "Meanee," etc., being a compilation of extracts from Napier's Conquest of Sindh and Grant Duff's Mahratta History, etc., translated into English. The title of this book scarcely corresponds with its contents, as the extracts just mentioned are very short and very few: the work was compiled with the aid of some Brahúi Sepoys, the translation being from English into the vernacular. Capt. Nicolson tells us that the first translation was submitted to a committee of native Brahúi, and

¹ The Reverend Dr. Ernest Trumpp, late Professor of Oriental Languages at Munich, died in 1884. He was the author of Sindhi and Pashtú Grammars, and translator of the *Adi Granth*.

that passages which they could not make out were altered, until the Hindustáni translation made by the committee was made to correspond with the English text. The merit of these Brahúi texts, therefore, is that we can with certainty rely upon idiomatic Brahúi expressions. Unfortunately, we have here only the text, without any vocabulary: the learner, therefore, is obliged to get through his task the best way he can.

The first desideratum now is a dictionary, for which Mr. Masson, the celebrated traveller's, collection of words could very well be utilized. Until a lexicon is obtained, no further progress can naturally be hoped for.

Upon the material mentioned above, and especially on the Brahúi texts of Alla Bux and of Capt. Nicolson, all of which have been carefully examined and collected, Dr. Trumpp compiled his grammar, regarding which he says: "I hope that, by comparing this language with the Dravidian idioms on one hand, and on the other with its neighbours the Baluchi and the Sindhi languages, I may have succeeded in establishing the grammatical structure of the Brahúi language, as well as its position in Philology. With the scanty material at my disposal, I cannot claim for my investigations anything like completeness; they are intended rather as a guide to others who may have the opportunity and advantage of prosecuting the study of the Brahúi, in the country of that people."

Dr. Trumpp is fully convinced that the Brahúi is a language belonging to the Dravidian family. At first he was inclined to class it with the Kolarian group, but further investigations convinced him that this would be an error, especially as the Brahúi knows nothing of the formation of a dual, which is a prominent characteristic of the Kolarian class of languages.

We must admit, nevertheless, that the Brahúi differs in certain points from the South Dravidian dialects, but that is hardly to be wondered at, considering the gap of a thousand years by which it is separated from them. It is, on the contrary, very notable that, notwithstanding its complete separation from its sister-dialects, and absolutely without any literature, the Brahúi should have possessed sufficient vitality

to maintain its linguistic type. As to its neighbours, only the Balúchi language seems to have exerted recently some influence upon its grammatical forms; but even this apparent influence may admit of further explanation.

From the Ját dialect of the Sindhi language on the east the Brahúi has certainly borrowed many words, but its grammatical structure is in no way affected by it.

Of the ancient history of this neglected and cast-away people hardly anything is known. So much, however, may be inferred, that the Brahúi were probably driven away from their ancient abode on the Lower Indus, towards the inhospitable and inclement mountainous regions of Middle Balúchistan, where they hold their own to this day against the encroachments of the Balúchi from the west. The Balúchi are a nomadic tribe. Notwithstanding the high altitude of their domicile and the cold climate in which they live, the Brahúi have retained a dark complexion, which distinguishes them at once from their immediate neighbours, the Ját and the Balúchi. It is true, however, that the Brahúi do not intermarry with other tribes. Many of them live in Sindh, and all retain the distinguishing peculiarities of their race, namely, the olive-coloured skin, a feeble, middle-sized frame, and a dark, thin beard. Their features have nothing of the Mongolian type; on the contrary, they resemble entirely the Caucasian race. The habits of the Brahúi are favourably described not only by Pottinger, but by all the more recent travellers; they bear a favourable comparison with their robber-neighbours the Balúchi. They lead a pastoral life, living on the produce of their herds, and are generally inoffensive, sociable, and given to hospitality. Bellew mentions a laudable instance of gratitude of a wounded Brahúi horseman.

They are divided into several tribes, owing chiefly to the difficulty of access to their mountain-homes: these, as a rule, they abandon in the winter for a warmer climate in the plains. There they live in Tumans, or tent-villages, in the Provinces of Sarawan and Jalawan, penetrating as far as Kúch in Makran, on the south-west. They avoid the heat in the plains, where the Balúchi reside.

The Brahúi consider themselves as the original inhabitants of the country, and probably they are. But, judging from appearances, the Persians from Seistan seem to have preceded them and taken possession of the fertile tracts of Balúchistan, because we find to-day the middle and westerly parts of the Khánat of Kelat occupied by an agricultural tribe, the Tájik, whose mother-tongue is Persian. In the south-east, the province of Las, and the plains extending towards the Indus, and almost the whole province of Kúch Gandává, is the home of the Ját, who speak a dialect of the Sindhi language. The Balúchi, coming from the south-west, were the last settlers. Being unable to dislodge the Brahúi from their mountain slopes, they migrated towards the north-east, and possessed themselves of the tract between Sindh and Kúch Gandává. Thence they pressed into Sindh, under the leadership of the Talpur, and took possession of the most fertile tracts of land.

The first historical record of the Brahúi we find mentioned at the end of the seventeenth century, when Kambar, the head of the Mirvāri tribe, drove away the sovereign of Kelat and took possession of his throne. Ever since, this Brahúi dynasty has reigned in Kelat; the different nationalities, having embraced Islam, formed themselves under it for political reasons into one homogeneous state, although powerful clansmen even yet occasionally disturb the sway of the Khan. It is remarkable, however, that although the sovereign power is now in the hands of a Brahúi dynasty, the language of the Court is Balúchi, or Persian, the Brahúi language being considered as not sufficiently refined for Government purposes.

The national name, Bráhúi, is pronounced in several ways. Nicolson and Maulawi Alla Bux spell it Biruhi (that is, Biroohi or Birouhi); but we must not forget that Birúhi (बिरुही) is a Sindhi word, and it is therefore difficult to say how the people in question call themselves. In Nicolson's Reader the word occurs twice written براھوی, which cannot be pronounced otherwise than Bráhúi or Birāhúi, and this should, therefore, be adopted as the proper pronunciation of the word.



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To these should be added the special Arabic sounds which, however, occur only in foreign words; they are ث pronounced = *s*; ح *h*; ذ = *z*; ژ *zhe*; ع = *s*; ض = *ʒ*; ط = *t*; ظ = *s*; ق = *q*; ع = *ain*; غ = *ghain* already mentioned.

From the above we notice that the Brahúi possesses cerebral sounds, but among them there is no cerebral *n*: the ژ *r* is a modification of the sound ذ *d*, as in Sindhi and Hindi, and the two are often substituted one for another.

A striking peculiarity in the Brahúi is this, that through all the Vargus the aspirates are identical with those used in the Indo-Arian languages, and the Brahúi would therefore seem to be intimately connected with them; whilst, on the contrary, the Dravidian languages of the South, according to their fundamental type, are, as a rule, wanting in such aspirates. Many words, however, are reducible to a Sindhi origin, such as چھڻڱ *ohhanding* 'to shake,' Sindhi छंढण; ڏھڱي *dhagi* 'a cow,' Sindhi ढगी, etc. Nevertheless, the use of aspirates seems not to be opposed to the spirit of the Brahúi language itself. In words of Persian, Arabic, or Hindi origin, the aspirate occurs as a matter of course; like چھوڪري *chhōkarī* 'a girl'; ڪوٺي *kōṭhī* 'a room,' etc. Such undoubted Brahúi words as پھڊين *phudēn* 'cold,' پھڊي *phudī* 'coldness,' possess aspirates, and may therefore be taken as a proof of the fact.

The sound ڪھ *kh*, although foreign to Dravidian tongues, occurs in true Brahúi words, and may be considered as a softened *k*. For instance, ڪل *khul* 'stone,' in Tamil *kal*; Brahúi ڪن *khan* 'eye,' in Tamil *kan*. It also occurs in many Brahui verbs, as ڪاچنگ *khaching* 'to lie down,' ڪلنگ *khaling* 'to strike.'

The sound غ (*ghain*) also occurs in pure Brahúi words, e.g. ڏيڏغ *diday* 'the pupil (eye),' ڏورغ *hōray* 'thunder,' ڀرغ *iray* 'bread.' The غ is also used, as in Persian, to fill the hiatus between two vowel-sounds, but especially in the declensions, e.g. ڏيڏغ *saym* 'sword,' ڏيڏغ *dayār* 'land'

The palatal sounds are fully represented, and are pronounced in

the usual way. Lassen thought that جہ $j\dot{h}$ was absent, such, however, is not the case, e.g. جہمر $j\dot{h}amar$ 'the cloud.'

The *cerebral* ر r is one of the accepted sounds : for instance, ایر \bar{r} 'sister,' گیرا $gir\bar{a}$ 'a thing.'

The *labial* ف f is peculiar to the language, whilst it is unknown to the Dravidian group in general. For instance, ہر فنگ $harafing$ 'to ask,' تفنگ $tafing$ 'to bind.' We shall further see that the formation of the causal verb is effected by the addition of ف to the root; in the negative form, however, the ف changes with پ , in accordance to certain rules. The ف occurring in Brahúi words is sometimes changed into پ , as پلپل $pilpil$ for فلل 'pepper.'

Among the *sibilants*, the sound expressed by ز z is of especial interest, because it occurs not merely in words borrowed from other sources, but we find it in those of undoubted Brahúi origin : for instance, بہاز $b\dot{h}az$ 'much,' زیل $z\bar{l}$ 'finger-nail.'

As to the *nasal* sounds, the Brahúi does not possess the Anusvāra, and, therefore, these sounds should always be fully pronounced, even when in combination with a consonant. For instance, in the terminal syllable of the infinitive *ing* the g is fully sounded.

Of the demi-vowels, the r often drops, as we shall notice in the conjugations. In some instances the r changes into s , as, for example, اس ase for اری = 'he is.' So, likewise, the Brahúi uses sometimes the sound s , when in other Dravidian idioms the sound r prevails.

The aspirate s is soft; therefore we find indifferently written انت ant , and ہنت $hant$ = 'what?' ام am , and ہم ham = 'also.'

Dr. Trumpp proposes that when the Hindustáni alphabet is used, the sound of the short final \bar{a} , in the nouns, should be expressed by s , as in Persian, with the view of avoiding mistakes in reading, and also because the Persian words ending in s have almost the same inflection as in the Brahúi. In order to recognize the final a in the present definite tense, he proposes to discard the long alif (ا) and mark it likewise with s , particularly as the accent does not rest on it; by this practice much confusion would be avoided.

Compounding of consonants is rare in the Brahúi: if it does occur, it is seldom that there are more than two consonants in apposition. Reduplication of consonantal sounds is common enough, as, for instance, پینی *pinni* 'the thigh,' لُمّه *lummah* 'mother,' خلی *khalli* 'a jug.'

§ 2. THE NOUN, ITS GENDER AND NUMBER.

The Brahúi, like the whole Dravidian group, makes no distinction of gender in the nouns. Where it is necessary to distinguish sexes, the words نر 'male,' ماده *mādah* 'female,' are used. *Example*: نر بیش 'male donkey,' ماده بیش 'female donkey.' The same rule exists in the Malayalam and in the New Persian.

The Brahúi has two numbers, the singular and the plural; the Kolarian group of languages possesses a dual as well.

The *plural number* is formed by an affix, hence, strictly speaking, there is only one type of the plural. But observe that:

1. Nouns ending in a consonant add the affix *āk* to the root; for instance, بامس *bāmas* 'nose,' pl. بامساک *bāmas-āk*; بندغ *banday* 'man,' بندغاک *banday-āk* 'men.' The exceptions to this rule are:

a. Nouns ending in ن, where the preceding vowel is short, the letter *k* alone assists in forming the plural, for instance, خن *khan* 'eye,' pl. خنک *khan-k* 'eyes'; پن *pin* 'name,' pl. پنک *pin-k* 'names.'

b. Nouns ending in ت or ر drop their final-consonant for the sake of euphony, and simply substitute the plural *k* for it, as نَت *nat* 'foot,' pl. نَتک *nat-k* 'feet;' but the difference, with respect to a long penultimate vowel followed by ر, is this, that the ر falls off, for instance, مار *mār* 'son,' pl. ماک *māk* 'sons.'

2. Nouns ending with the aspirate take, for the sake of euphony, the sound غ before the plural termination, for instance, لُمّه *lummah* 'mother,' لُمّهگ *lumma-γ-āk* 'mothers.' The aspirate of the singular may be disregarded and dropped, as it stands there merely as a diacritical sign.

3. Nouns ending in a long vowel form the plural by the simple addition of *k*, as دانا *dānā* 'a wise man,' pl. داناک *dānā-k*

'wise men'; دُو *dū* 'hand,' pl. دوك *dū-k* 'hands.' But nouns ending in a long *ī* may form their plural in *iy-āk*.

It often happens that the plural affix is not used at all, its presence can be guessed at from the context. But when a collective noun is the subject of a verb, then the verb must stand in the plural number, for instance, اونا سپاهی است هزار ککراتی بسور 'his soldiers will cook one thousand fowls;' here the plural future بسور *basor* indicates that the word سپاهی *sepahy* requires the plural number. But it is incorrect to say, as Leech teaches, that in similar cases the word باز *bāz* 'much' is used to indicate the plural. The word *bāz* always retains its own meaning, and is not used as an expletive. Caldwell's observation, therefore, that the number of the nouns in Brahúi remains as a rule undefined, is applicable to very few instances. Caldwell repeats Leech's remark as to the use of the words 'much' and 'some,' which Trumpp declares to be incorrect.

That the plural suffix *āk* and *k* is of Dravidian origin may be assumed with certainty.

This plural sound *k* occurs in what were called the Northern Turanian languages; in Hungarian we have, for instance, *hāz* 'a house,' pl. *hāz-ak*; there are even traces in the Turkish of the plural *k*, as, for instance, ایدك *id-ik* 'we were.'

§ 3. THE DECLENSION.

Declension, properly so called, is unknown in the Brahúi, as in what Trumpp calls the Dravidian-Turanian group of languages; the cases are determined by affixes, which, with slight modifications, are the same in both the numbers.

The root of the noun always stands in the nominative, but an interesting point occurs when we closely consider the formation of the Brahúi singular and plural.

The Dravidian languages, in a large number of nouns, add their case-affixes not to the root, but to what is called the formative, and we know such to be the case in languages of Northern India also; this phenomenon, Trumpp tells us, is entirely absent

in the Turanian. In this peculiarity the Brahúi approaches, in a striking manner, the Dravidian idioms, a circumstance which has been overlooked hitherto. The cases of the singular number are formed merely by the addition of the affixes, but in the plural we notice vestiges of the formative, as we shall presently see.

The affixes of the singular number are these :

Nominative	<i>the root</i>
Genitive	<i>nā</i>
Dative	}
Accusative	
Instrumental	<i>āt</i>
Conjunctive	<i>tō, atō</i>
Ablative	<i>ān</i>
Locative	<i>āe</i> and <i>tī</i> تی

When the nominative ends in a consonant, or in a long vowel, or the short vowel *āh*, the affixes are simply added; not unfrequently we find the letter غ inserted between the final letter and the affix. Supposing the affix commences with a vowel, in such a case the final mute *āh* is dropped; example, Dat. Acc. ضعیفہ *zaiṣa* or ضعیفی *zaiṣa-γ-e* 'to a woman.'

There is an important peculiarity in the use of affixes, as far as the plural number is concerned. The nominative plural, as we saw, ends in *āk* or merely in *k*; we might therefore expect that the affixes would, as in the singular number, be simply added, and Bellew in his Grammar puts it so, that is, he writes *kasarāk* 'the ways,' genitive *kasarāk-na*, dative *kasarāk-e*. Trumpp, however, states that he only found one single instance of such an inflexion. *Example*: شربندغاٹ نا محبت پدا یا مون تی اس رنگ تی او *shar bandayāk nā mahabbat padā yā mōn, ṭi as rang ṭi ō* 'the love of good men to our face or behind our back is of the same colour' (Nicolson, p. 14, line 1). It is therefore possible that the form may prevail in some of the Brahúi dialects, but it appears to be very rare. Leech and Bux make no mention of it at all. This is a point for further investigation.

The peculiar phenomenon connected with the plural is this: the nominative of the plural ends in *āk* or *k*. We should therefore expect that the affixes will be added to the termination. But such is not the case, because *āk* or *k* changes into *āt* or *t*. The genitive plural should stand as a rule thus: *āt-nā* or *t-na*, but it changes into *āt-ā* or *t-ā*. The affix *e* of the dative-accusative is similarly added to *āt* and *t*, and becomes *āt-e* and *t-e*. It should be here stated that this case serves as a formative for the instrumental, conjunctive, ablative, and the locative, and for some other affixes.

As to the origin of these affixes, we have noticed already that the genitive affixes *nā* and *ā* are found in Dravidian languages; the same happens with the dative-accusative affix *e*, of which there is an equivalent in Tamil in *ai*, and in Malayalam in *-e*.

The vocative is identical with the nominative, but is usually preceded by the interjection *ai*, and occasionally the Persian affix *ai* is added. For instance, *ای باوا* 'O father!'

The inflexions given by Bellew, Leech, and Finzi, appear according to Trumpp to be erroneous.

Here follow examples of nominal inflexions.

I. NOUNS ENDING IN A CONSONANT.

a. *خَل* *khal* 'stone.'

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Nom.	<i>خَل</i> <i>khal</i> .	<i>خَلَک</i> <i>khal-āk</i> .
Gen.	<i>خَل نَا</i> <i>khal-nā</i> .	<i>خَلَاتَا</i> <i>khal-āt-ā</i> .
Dat. } Acc. }	<i>خَلِی</i> <i>khal-e</i> .	<i>خَلَاتِی</i> <i>khal-āt-e</i> .
Instr.	<i>خَلْت</i> <i>khal-aṭ</i> .	<i>خَلَاتِیْت</i> <i>khal-āt-e-aṭ</i> .
Conjunct.	<i>خَل تُو</i> <i>khal-tō</i> .	<i>خَلَاتِی تُو</i> <i>khal-āt-e-tō</i> .
Abl.	<i>خَلَان</i> <i>khal-ān</i> .	<i>خَلَاتِیَان</i> <i>khal-āt-e-ān</i> .
Loc.	{ <i>خَلَای</i> <i>khal-āe</i> . <i>خَل تِی</i> <i>khal-ṭī</i> .	{ <i>خَلَاتِیَای</i> <i>khal-āt-e-āe</i> . <i>خَلَاتِی تِی</i> <i>khal-āt-e-ṭī</i> . }
Voc.	<i>ای خَل</i> <i>ai khal</i> .	<i>ای خَلَک</i> <i>ai khal-āk</i> .

The orthography of the inflected nouns varies considerably. Nicolson sometimes simply adds them to the root, at others he writes them separately. Trumpp prefers adding simply to the root those affixes which begin with a vowel; but such as commence with a consonant, stand separate. As to the pronunciation, Bux changes the *e* of the plural into *i*, and for euphony's sake inserts *y* between them. For instance, in the ablative and locative cases, *khalatiyān*, *khalatiyāe*. This mode of writing, however, appears to have been borrowed from the Urdu, as the spirit of the Brahúi would prefer using the ξ to fill up hiatuses. The *e* of the accusative sing. and plural seems to be short and mute, because the accent appears to fall on the root. For instance, *khal-e*, *khal-āk*, *khal-āt-ā*, *khal-āte-aṭ* (or *khal-ātiyāṭ*), *khal-ātetō*, *khal-āteān*, (*khal-ātiyān*), *khal-āte-āe* (*khal-ātiyāe*), *khal-āteṭi*.

Concerning the affix *tō*, we find in Bux's examples the following forms: *مَسِيرَاتُو masirāt-tō* and *باوغاتیو bāva-γ-āt-e-tō*. We see in the first case the *tō* added to the plural *āt*, and in the other to the formative of the plural. Trumpp found it mostly in connection with the formative of the plural.

b. Nouns ending in n.

	<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>	
Nom.	خَن	<i>khan</i> 'eye.'	خَنک	<i>khan-k</i> .
Gen.	خَن نا	<i>khan-nā</i> .	خَنتا	<i>khan-t-ā</i> .
Dat.)	خَنی	<i>khan-e</i>	خَنتی	<i>khan-t-e</i> .
Acc.)				
Instr.	خَنت	<i>khan-aṭ</i> .	خَنتیت	<i>khan-t-e-aṭ</i> .
Conjunct.	خَن تو	<i>khan-tō</i> .	خَنتی تو	<i>khan-t-e-tō</i> .
Abl.	خَنان	<i>khan-ān</i> .	خَنتیان	<i>khan-t-e-ān</i> .
Loc.	خَنای	<i>khan-āe</i> .	خَنتیای	<i>khan-t-e-āe</i> .
	خَن تھی	<i>khan-ṭi</i> .	خَنتی تھی	<i>khan-t-e-ṭi</i> .
Voc.	ای خَن	<i>ai khan</i> .	ای خَنک	<i>ai khan-k</i> .



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III. NOUNS ENDING IN A LONG VOWEL.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Nom.	أرا <i>urā</i> , 'house.'	أراك <i>urā-k.</i>
Gen.	أرانا <i>urā-nā.</i>	أراتا <i>urā-t-ā.</i>
Dat. } Acc. }	أرائي <i>urā-e.</i>	أراتي <i>urā-t-e.</i>
Instr.	أرايت <i>urā-aṭ.</i>	أراتيت <i>urā-t-e-aṭ.</i>
Conjunct.	أراتو <i>urā-tō.</i>	أراتي تو <i>urā-t-e-tō.</i>
Abl. {	أرايان <i>urā-ān.</i> أراغان <i>urā-γ-ān.</i>	أراتيان <i>urā-t-e ān.</i>
Loc. {	أراغائي <i>urā-γ-āe.</i> أرائي <i>urā-ṭi.</i>	أراتيائي <i>urā-t-e-āe.</i> أراتي تي <i>urā-t-e-ṭi.</i>
Voc.	أراي <i>ai urā.</i>	أراي <i>ai urā-k.</i>

Nouns ending in *ī*, *ō*, *ū*, and *ē*, follow the same rule; the words in *ī* form their plural in *i-āk*, *i-āt-ā*, etc. The accusative singular of words ending in *ī*, *ō*, *ū*, *ē*, is marked by a hamzah merely. For instance, *sipāhī-e* 'to the soldiers.'

The ع (ain) is an unknown sound in the Brahúi; therefore, words written with a final ع are considered as ending in a simple long vowel. For instance شروع *shurūع* 'beginning,' شروعان *shurūع-γ-ān* 'from the beginning.'

The Articles.

The definite article is unknown in the Brahúi, but there is the indefinite one *as*. If the noun ends in a consonant, *as* (the short form of *أسي* *asi* 'one') is added thereto; but it often happens that the *أسي* is used *at the same time* before the noun, for instance, *أسي بندغس* *asi banday-as* 'one man.'

When the noun ends in a vowel, the *أسي*, as a rule, is put before; an instance to the contrary is cited by Trumpp in *چتهيس* *chithi-as* (Bux, p. 12, l. 9).

When the noun ends in *ah*, the postposition *as* is written separately, for instance, *پنجرا اس pinjra-as* 'a cage.'

Observe, however, that the *as* can never be put between the root and the inflecting syllable.

§ 4. THE ADJECTIVE AND ITS GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS.

The language of the Brahúi knows only roots of nouns and has no special adjectives; the noun, used in the form of an adjective, has therefore no gender, and is subject to the general rules of inflection given above.

The noun-adjective precedes the subject, and forms with it a grammatical whole; the affixes, therefore, of the number and cases belong to the last noun only. Example: *دانا بندغاتا عقل* 'according to the wise men it is good.'

The noun-adjective remains in the singular, even if the subject to which it relates stand in the plural number. Example: *دا هیتائی همینک حیران مسر* 'over this matter they were perplexed' (Nicolson, p. 22, l. 8).

A peculiarity noticeable here is this, that the descriptive adjectives are capable of assuming a *determinate* or *indeterminate* form, by the addition of a long *ā* | for the former, and, as a rule, of a short *o* و for the latter, for instance, *تینا محل تی بادشاهیا کھتائی توسس* 'thou sittest in thy palace on the royal throne' (Abu'l Hasan, p. 7, l. 9); the adjective here is *بادشاهی bādshāhi*, its determinate form being *bādshāhiā*. Also *کبنا کاریم kabēna karēm* 'the important business' (adj. *کبین*). Adjectives ending in | *ā* or *ah* remain unchanged. Example: *بھلا بندغات نینان بار* (Sindhi *भलो* = *بھلا*) 'honest men like we' (Nicolson, p. 1, l. 5 from below). No examples are forthcoming of adjectives ending in other vowels.

It seems, however, not to be the absolute rule to determinate an adjective by the addition of | *ā*; exception to this we find especially in foreign words. Example: *کمزور رعیتائی مهربانی تیخ* 'Show love to weak subjects, that thou mayest not be overcome by a strong enemy' (Nicolson, p. 5, l. 6).

The *indeterminate* form is expressed, as a rule, by affixing *و* *ō*.
Example: کورو بندغس اسی 'a blind man' (Bux, p. 116, l. 11),
 اسی پیرو اری *asī pīrō are* 'an old man,' شرو بندغ 'a good man,'
 اسی بدشکلو بندغ 'an ugly man.' Adjectives ending in a long
 vowel remain unchanged when the vowel is an *i*. *Example*: اسی
 نشی بندغس 'a drunken man' (Nicolson, p. 19, l. 5).

When the ending is in a *ā*, the *و* *ō* may be added or not.
Example: اسی داناءو بندغس پاری 'a wise man said,' هیچ کس
 پیرنگا ضعیفہء پسند کپر 'nobody wants an old woman.' A few
 adjectives change the terminal *ā* into *ō*. *Example*: بیلو *bhalō*
 'good' (from بهلا, Sindhi भलो). *Example*: نی دا ملک نا بهلو
 'thou art a great vezir of this kingdom' (Nicolson, p.
 23, l. 3).

Adjectives with a terminal *ah* remain unchanged or assume
 an *ō*. *Example*: دا بهلا کمینه بی شکرو بندغ نا کاریم اری 'this
 is a deed of a low and ungrateful man' (Nicolson, p. 7, l. 7),
 اسی گندوگترا 'a bad thing.'

These affixes have struck Lassen's attention, without being able
 to explain their meaning; nor can Trumpp determine from the
 scanty materials at his disposal what the original signification
 of the above affixes *ā* and *ō* may be. They seem to be
 traceable to some Dravidian affinity. The affix *anga* 'like' appears
 to be of Balúchi origin, e.g. پیرنگا *pīr-anga* 'old,' from پیر *pīr* 'an old
 man.' The affix *aga* seems also to be of Balúchi source, having
 converted the Balúchi adjective termination *en* into *ang*, *anga*, e.g.
 بیمارغا 'many swift horses perished,' بهاز تیزنگا هلیک کھسگر همار
 لنگگا پیش تینا سفری 'the sick man recovered' بندغ دُراخ مس
 'the lame donkey accomplished his journey' (Nicolson,
 p. 16, l. 1, 2).

Degrees of comparison there are none in the Brahúi: we find the
 same peculiarity in all the Dravidians. The adjective remains
 unchanged, and the object with which it is compared is placed in
 the ablative case, as جنگان چپ ٹولنگ هرئی 'It is better

to sit still than to quarrel' (Bux, p. 108, l. 6), همینا اُست بندغ *haminā ust banday na ustān sakht āre* 'his heart is harder than the heart of the man' (Bux, p. 116, l. 1).

You may also raise the meaning of the adjective by the use of the words بهاز *bahās* 'much,' and بهلو *bhalo* 'great,' or the word زیاستی *siyāsti* 'addition,' e.g. کنا ایتر کنیان بهاز خوبصورت ئی *my sister is more beautiful than I*' (Bux, p. 129, l. 2), دا زیاستی شر *da ziyāsti shar e* 'that is better.'

The superlative is expressed by the word گل *kul* or درست *drust*, e.g. دا تجویز کلان شر ئی *da tajvīz kalān shar e* 'that plan is best' (Bux, p. 86, l. 9).

§ 5. THE NUMERALS.

The Brahúi has words of its own for the first three numbers only; the rest have been probably forgotten and eventually borrowed from the neighbours, especially from the Persian tongue. The CARDINALS are as follows:

اَسِت <i>asiṭ</i>	}	'one.'
اَسِي <i>asī</i>		
اِرَت <i>iraṭ</i>	}	'two.'
اِرَا <i>irā</i>		
مُسِت <i>muṣiṭ</i>	}	'three.'
مُسِي <i>muṣī</i>		
etc. چار, پنج, شش, هفت.		

ORDINAL NUMBERS.

مُهِيكو *muhikō* or اولكو *avvalkō* 'the first.'

اِرَتْمِيكو *iraṭ-mikō* 'the second.'

مُسِتْمِيكو *muṣiṭ-mikō* or مَسُوِيكو *mus-vikō* 'the third.'

چاروِيكو *chār-vikō* 'the fourth,' etc., etc.

Instead of مُهِيكو *muhikō*, we find مُنْهَا *munhā* and مُنْهَنَا *mūnhanā*, according to Bux and Nicolson, *mun* or *mōn* meaning the forepart, the same as in the Tamil. The other Ordinal Numbers are

formed in a regular manner by affixing *miko* or *viko*. The terminal *ko* seems to answer to the Dravidian *agu* (Caldwell, p. 251).

The meaning 'times' is expressed in Brahui as in Baluchi and Persian by *وار*, for instance, *دا مونہنا وار ٹی* 'this is the first time,' (Nicolson, p. 33, l. 7), *دوار پا* *dovār pā* 'say it a second time.'

The subject numbered stands, after a cardinal number, as a rule, in the singular, for instance, *صد سال* *sad sāl* 'one hundred years' (Bux, p. 115, l. 4-5), *ای ارا بیشنا باریم ہفینٹ* 'I have taken up two asses' burden;' but sometimes the plural also is used. Example: *اغ سلطان پنج بیضہ غاتی زور تو کھلنگ کی حکم ایتی اونا* 'When the Sultan gives an order to take five eggs by force, then his soldiers will cook a thousand fowls' (Nicolson, p. 8, l. 5 from below). The verb stands in the plural with the numbered subject, even when after a cardinal number the subject be in the singular. Example: *چہل ہزار پیادہ* 'forty thousand infantry extended over the plain, fifty big guns accompanied them' (Nicolson, p. 28, l. 2-5 from below).

§ 6. PRONOUNS.

a. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

The First Person.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Nom.	ای <i>ī, I.</i>	نن <i>nan.</i>
Gen.	گنا <i>kanā.</i>	ننا <i>nanā.</i>
Dat. } Acc. }	گنی <i>kane.</i>	ننی <i>nane.</i>
Conjunct.	کن تو <i>kan-to.</i>	ننی تو <i>nano-tō.</i>
Abl.	کنیان <i>kane-ān.</i>	ننیان <i>nano-ān.</i>
Loc.	کنیائی <i>kane-ūe.</i>	ننیائی <i>nano-ūe.</i>
	کنے ٹے <i>kane-ṭi.</i>	ننی ٹی <i>nano-ṭi.</i>

پنجا توپ *sing.* *آسر* 'were' *plur.*

The instrumental case should be *kane-at*, *nane-at*, but Trumpp has not met with an instance of it.

How far *ī* and *kan* are related to the Dravidian forms is still uncertain. The plural *nan* corresponds entirely to the Dravidian analogies (for instance, *nam* in Tamil), and we may therefore conclude, with some certainty, that there must be a Dravidian root for the singular as well.

We might ask, why should not the genitive be written *kan-na* and *nan-na*? Bellew indeed writes “*kanā* and in the plural *nannā*,” but this is not admissible. Bux declares that the final *n*, for instance, in *kan* before the genitive affix *na*, should be dropped; hence *kanā*, *nanā* would be preferable.

The Second Person.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Nom.	نی <i>nī</i> , ‘thou.’	نُم <i>num</i> .
Gen.	نَا <i>nā</i> .	نُمَا <i>numā</i> .
Dat. } Acc. }	نی <i>nē</i> .	نُمِ <i>nume</i> .
Conjunct.	نی تو <i>nē-tō</i> .	نُمِ تو <i>nume-tō</i> .
Abl.	نیان <i>ni-ān</i> .	نُمیان <i>nume-ān</i> .
Loc.	نیائی <i>ni-āe</i> .	نُمیائی <i>nume-āe</i> .
	نی تی <i>nē-ṭī</i> .	نُمی تی <i>nume-ṭī</i> .

Obs.—The root *nī*, *num* (*numā*) is found in all the Dravidian languages (Caldwell, p. 519).

In Brahúi the genitives of pronouns stand for the POSSESSIVE pronouns.

The Third Person.

The Brahúi has no pronoun for the third person; such is the case in the Dravidian languages also; but, to supply this defect, it makes use of Demonstrative Pronouns. These are: دا *dā* ‘this,’ او *ō* ‘the same,’ ای *ē* ‘that.’

b. THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

1. دا *dā* = 'this.'

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Nom.	دا <i>dā</i> .	دافک <i>dāfk</i> .
Gen.	دانا <i>dā-nā</i> .	دافتا <i>dāftā</i> .
Dat. } Acc. }	دادی <i>dād-e</i> .	دافتی <i>dāfte</i> .
Conjunct.	دادتو <i>dād-tō</i> .	دافتیتو <i>dāfte-tō</i> .
Abl.	دادیان <i>dāde-ān</i> .	دافتیان <i>dāfte-ān</i> .
Loc. {	دادیائی <i>dāde-āe</i> .	دافتیائی <i>dāft-āe</i> .
	دادیئی <i>dāde-īi</i> .	دافتیئی <i>dāfte-īi</i> .

Obs.—دا is very irregular in its inflexion, and must not be confounded with the Pashtu دا 'this,' but is to be referred to the Dravidian demonstrative *adi*, which in Telugu answers to the *dā* in the formative. The demonstrative root *dā* appears in the adverbial formations also, for instance, داری *dā-rē* or دانگی *dā-ngē* 'here,' داسا *dā-sā* 'now.'

To appreciate properly the inflexion of the oblique cases of the singular (with the exception of the genitive), it is necessary to assume that *dād* is the root, the final *d* of which is changed into the cerebral *ḍ* or *r*; and, indeed, such cerebral *ḍ* is to be found in the Telugu word *vāḍu* 'he.' The plural form *daf-k* would show that there exists a singular in *daf* or *dav*; these final letters, however (*f* and *v*), may be used by way of euphony.

We also find that the Brahúi adopts the Persian particle هم *ham* 'that very,' as a preposition to the demonstrative pronoun دا, and says دندا *handā*. Example: اگر دندا هیت کئدن اری ته پا که *handā-d-tō barām ētē* 'if that matter is so, speak, that I may now go'; *handā-d-tō barām ētē* 'marry me to this man' (Leech, p. 15, l. 5 from below).

The use of هم in connection with the demonstrative pronoun has evidently been borrowed from the Balúchi.



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The composite form *ham-ē* **همی** is in frequent use. Instead of *ēde* **ایدی**, we often find *ēde* **ایدی** and *ēre* **ایزی**, etc. Example: *āf* **اف** 'ask that man whether this horse is yours or not?' *irai khoda mehrbani karve* **ایزائی خدا مهربانی کرۓ** 'God will have mercy on him.' In the locative case we meet with the form *hamē fī* **همی تی**, as *hamē fī yarḥ marēk* **همی تی غرق مریک** 'he will be drowned in it.'

These demonstratives are completely inflected only when they stand independently *hamē fak tamam kharabo ārek arēr* **همیفک تمام خرابو آریک اریر** 'those are very bad men (husbands)' (Bux. p. 50, l. 9); *āfī tī ai tavisir hājra xētōt* **ایفتی تی ای تفصیر هاجرا خئتوت** 'I saw no fault in them' (Nicolson, p. 3, l. 6). But when the demonstratives refer to a noun, they are looked upon as adjectives, and are not inflected, e.g. *da mōchirik bīning nā arēr* **دا موچریک بینگ نا اریر** 'these shoes are there to put on'; *da hamī bēdāgata lāmē* **دا همی بئدغاتا لمه** 'this is that man's mother' (Bux, p. 96, l. 6); *ai jehal tī* **ای جهل تی** 'are the fish in this river very large' (Bux, p. 52, l. 1 from below).

c. The Reflective Pronoun.

Immediately on the personal pronouns follows the reflective pronoun *tēn* **تین** or *tēnaḥ* **تینت**: the latter is used in the nominative only, while all the case-affixes are connected with *tēn*. In the Dravidian languages this occurs as *tan* or *tān*, and is there inflected in a regular form.

The form *tēn* **تین** or *tēnaḥ* **تینت** has no plural, the number being expressed either by another pronoun or by a verb.

Singular and Plural.

Nom.	<i>ten</i> , <i>tēnaḥ</i> تین , 'self.'
Gen.	<i>tenā</i> تینا .
Dat. }	<i>tēne</i> تینی .
Acc. }	

Conjunct.	تین تو	<i>tēn-tō.</i>	
Abl.	تینان	<i>tēn-ān.</i>	
Loc.:	{	تینیاٹی	<i>tēni-āe.</i>
		تین ٹی	<i>tēn-ṭī.</i>

The locative seems irregular. It should stand تیناٹی *tēn-āe*; but Nicolson gives the following example : او تینیاٹی ہرا *o tēniāe hira* 'he looked upon himself.'

An example of how تین is used in the plural form is given by Nicolson : ننی بہانہ تو تینی مردہ جوڑ کین *nane bahānah-tō tēns murdah jōr kēn* 'we shall by simulation make ourselves dead' (Abu'l-Hasan, p. 18, l. 2).

تین is used in the same manner as خود in Persian, because it expresses not merely the meaning, 'self,' in the nominative (Example : ہر کس تینا فگری تینت کی 'let every man look out for himself,' Bux, p. 90, l. 9), but in the other cases represents the pronoun referring to the subject of the sentence. Example : او خلی تین تو تِخا *o khale tēn to tikhā* 'he took the stone to himself' (Nicolson, p. 9, l. 6 from the bottom).

The genitive تینا represents in Brahúi the possessive also, since it has to follow the subject to which it refers, like the Persian خود following after a noun. Examples : ای نی تینا عزیز نا جگہ 'I shall not put thee again, in the place of a friend,' etc. (Nicolson, Abu'l-Hasan, p. 14, l. 3 from below), گُترا 'Afterwards he gave the order to his treasurer' (Nicolson, Abu'l Hasan, p. 20, l. 5).

d. Interrogative Pronouns.

1. The interrogative pronoun دیر *dēr* 'who,' refers to living subjects only. It has no plural, and therefore the idea of plurality has to be gathered from the context. It is used as a substantive noun only.

Singular and Plural.

Nom.	دير	<i>dēr.</i>	
Gen.	دئا	<i>din-nā.</i>	
Dat.	} ڊيري	<i>dēr-o.</i>	
Acc.			
Conjunct.	ڊيرتو	<i>dēr-tō.</i>	
Abl.	ڊيران	<i>dēr-ān.¹</i>	
Loc.	{	ڊيراڻي	<i>dēr-āo.</i>
		ڊيرڻي	<i>dēr-ṛi.</i>

Dēr is of Dravidian origin. Caldwell, at p. 317, mentions *yēr*, and with a transition from *yē* in *dē* and *dēr*.

For the genitive case we must suppose the existence of *din*, which has been formed by adding the formative *n* to *de*. There is a corresponding form *dane* 'what,' in the Tulu.² Example: *ni dēr-us* 'who are you?' *ni dēr-us* ڊيرس ني *ni dēr-us* 'who are these boys?' *da urā dinnā-o* ڊا ارا دئاڻي *da urā dinnā-o* 'whose house is this?' Idiomatically we may say, *nā pin dēr-ae* 'what is your name?' (Bux, p. 56, l. 4), because the word *name* refers to a person: on the other hand, *da shahar nā pin antase* 'what is the name of this town?' (Bux, p. 58, l. 9 from below). Here inquiry is made for the name of a thing.

2. *ant* and *hant* *انت* refers to inanimate subjects only, whether nouns or adjectives, and is not inflected, e.g. *nā kukm ant-se* (*ant-ase*) 'what is your command?' (Bux, p. 54, l. 8), *ni ant kunōs* 'what wilt thou eat?' (*ibid.* l. 4), *nī ant karēm kīsā* 'what business are you doing?' (Bux, p. 56, l. 15). To emphasize the question 'what kind,' the word *as* 'a, an' may be affixed to the noun, e.g. *hame ant gunah-ās karēnī* 'what crime has he committed?' (Bux, p. 56, l. 7).

¹ Bellew gives the case as *dēryān*, which according to Trumpp is incorrect.

² In Telugu *yēmi* is 'what,' of which *yēdi* is the neuter; *dēni* is the inflection of both.

N.B.—انت corresponds to the Tamil *enda*, which, according to Caldwell, is an adjective interrogative by changing *e* into *a*.

The Brahúi form انتی *anta-e* 'why?' should be noticed here, e.g. انتی رحم کیسه *anta-e raham kapēsā* 'why do you not show mercy?' (Nicolson, p. 19, l. 6). This seems to correspond to the Tamil *ennamāy* (Caldwell, p. 321), which is formed in a similar manner.

3. ارا *arā*, both in meaning and in use, is the same as انت, e.g. او ارا ارا ئی *ao ūrā arā-aē* 'what house is that?' (Bux, p. 62, l. 6), نی ارا وقت اودی خناس *ne arā vakt aodē khanās* 'at what time sawest thou him?' (Bux, p. 64, l. 2).

The etymology of ارا is doubtful; perhaps it is related to the Telugu *ēlā* (Caldwell, p. 327).

If انت or ارا follow the relative pronoun که *kah*, then these interrogatives become demonstrative pronouns, 'that which,' e.g. هر کس که تینا کاٹمان دو هئی هنت که اینا ائت بریک پائک 'he who takes away his hand from his head, speaks that which comes into his heart' (Nicolson, p. 1, ll. 3-4). Should, moreover, اس 'a, an' be added to انت or ارا, then the meaning is 'whatever,' e.g. انتس که بندغ کیگ خدا نا پارغان اری 'whatever a man does, proceeds from God,' (Bux, p. 134, l. 1).

انتسیکه *ant-ase-kih* (this is written mostly in this form) signifies 'because that,' 'for that,' literally, 'what is it that,' e.g. انتسیکه ای کرینت خدا کرینی 'because that, which I have done, God has done' (Bux, p. 134, l. 5 from below).

e. Relative Pronoun.

In conformity with the true Dravidian dialects, the Brahúi possesses no real relative pronoun. From its neighbour, the Balúchi, it borrows که *kēh* to represent the relative pronoun, which is used entirely in the same manner as in the Balúchi, and in the Persian languages; the case and the number, which, as a matter of course, should belong to the relative, are taken up by a real pronoun. If the relative, logically speaking,

stand in the nominative case: then, the pronoun just alluded to is left out, the same happens as to its accusative case also, e.g. هميفك كه خدا نا بندغاك ارير تينا دشمن نا اُستاتى رنج كپسه 'Such as are God-fearing men do not vex the hearts of their enemies' (Nicolson, p. 13, l. 2 from below), همى بندغ كه اودى تُغ 'That man to whom sleep is better than waking, his death is better than his life' (Nicolson, p. 6, l. 2 from below).

که by itself is sufficient to express this relation, especially when it refers to quality, quantity, time, or place, e.g. همون كه پاروس 'as you speak, so will you hear' (Bux, p. 106, l. 17), همى وقت كه زاهد تينا اُراغائى كهترسنگا 'at that time when the ascetic returned to his house' (Nicolson, p. 14, l. 5 from below).

f. Indefinite and Adjective Pronouns

are the following, in alphabetical order:

اَخَس	<i>akhas,</i>	} 'what number' (how many?)
اَخَه (هَخَه)	<i>akhah (hakhah)</i>	
اَسَسِي	<i>asasī</i> 'every.'	
اَسِي	<i>āsī</i> 'one.'	
اَس ايلو	<i>as-ēlō</i> 'this one, that one.'	
اَقَدَر	<i>ā-qadr</i> 'so much' (Brahúi and Arab).	
اَمَر (هَمَر)	<i>āmar (hamar)</i> 'what kind?'	
اَهْنُ	<i>uhun</i> 'of that kind.'	
ايلو	<i>ēlō</i> 'another.'	
باز (بهاز)	<i>bās (bhās)</i> 'much' (Balúchi).	
پين	<i>pēn</i> 'another.'	
پين هيچ كس	<i>pēn hech kas</i> 'not another' (Brah.-Bal.).	
تومكاك	<i>tūmakāk</i> 'both.'	
تين پتين	<i>tēn pā-tēn</i> 'with one another' (Brah.-Bal.).	
داخه	<i>dākhaḥ</i> 'so much.'	
دا قدر	<i>dā-qadr</i> 'so much' (in quantity).	

درُست	<i>drust</i>	'all, every' (Balúchi).
دُوهُن (دهن)	<i>dūhun, dūhūn</i>	'on this manner, such.'
گس	<i>kas</i>	} 'somebody.'
گَسَس	<i>kas-as</i>	
كل	<i>kul</i>	'all' (Arab-Bal.)
گِرا	<i>girā</i>	} 'something.'
گِراس	<i>girās</i>	
مَجِہت	<i>māchhiṭ</i>	} 'a little.'
مَجِہی	<i>māchhī</i>	
من	<i>man</i>	} 'a few, some.'
مَنَّاك	<i>man-ṭāk</i>	
هر	<i>har</i>	'every one' (Pers.-Bal.)
هر آسِت	<i>har-āsīṭ</i>	'every one' (Pers.-Bal.)
هر پین	<i>har-pēn</i>	'every other' (Brah.-Bal.)
هر توماك	<i>har-tūmāk</i>	} 'both' (Brah.-Bal.)
هر تومان	<i>har-tūmān</i>	
هر توماكك	<i>har-tumakāk</i>	
هر دو	<i>har-dō</i>	} 'both' (Pers.-Bal.)
هر دو ماک	<i>har-dūmāk</i>	
هر کس	<i>har-kas</i>	'every person' (Pers.-Bal.)
همو خه	<i>hamōkḥah</i>	'exactly the same.'
همو قدر	<i>hamō-qḍr</i>	'so much in quantity.'
همون	<i>hamūn</i>	'such, of that kind.'
هموهن	<i>hamōhun</i>	} 'of that kind.'
همیهن	<i>hamēhun</i>	
هَنْدُن	<i>handun,</i>	} 'of this kind.'
هَنُن	<i>hanun</i>	
هیچ	<i>hēch</i>	'something' (Pers.-Bal.)
هیچرا	<i>hēch-rā</i>	'a little' (Bal.-Sindhī.)
هیچ کس	<i>hēch-kas</i>	'somebody' (Pers.-Bal.)

N.B.—1. The subject, following on **آخه** *akhah* 'what number?' always stands in the singular, whilst the verb connected with it we find in the plural number, e.g. **آخه بندغ حاضر آسُر** *ākḥah banday (masc. sing.) hāsir āsur (pl.)* 'what number of persons were present?' (Bux, p. 64, l. 7).

2. **تین پتین** *tēn patēn* (literally, 'self with self') 'with each other, between each other,' e.g. **آرا درویش تین پتین دوستی تَخاسُر** *ārā dervīsh tīn patīn dōsti takḥāsūr* 'two dervishes made friendship with each other' (Nicolson, p. 22, l. 1). There are examples, also, where **تین پتین** *tīn patīn* occurs as one word, and the locative affix **تی** is added to it, e.g. **هَمِفَك تین پتین تی مُسْت واقف آسُر** *hamefak tēnpatēn-ṭī mussat vākaf āsur* 'They were formerly acquainted (with each other)' (Bux, p. 110, last line).

3. **آمر** *āmar* 'what kind of' takes a final **و**, *ō*, if used in the form of an adjective, because the subject about which the inquiry is made is naturally undetermined, e.g. **آمرؤ کتاباک اریر** *āmro kitābāk arīr?* 'what kind of books are they?' (Bux, p. 52, l. 15), **دا آمرؤ** *dā āmrō* 'What kind of animal is that?' (Bux, p. 54, l. 8). Yet the following sentence occurs also: **نا طبیعت آمرُتی** *nā tabiat āmar-aē* 'How is your health?' (Bux, p. 54, l. 9).

4. Regarding **تومکاک** *tūmakāk* or **هرتوماک** (**هردوماک**) *hartumāk* 'both,' it is to be noticed that, the ending *āk* is the regular termination of the nominative plural, which in the oblique cases is transformed into *āt*, e.g. **نم هردومات تو آمرؤ جنگ سی** *nam hertumat to āmrō jang sī* 'Between you two what fighting is there?' (Bux, p. 58, l. 3), **اریر** *arīr* **هارتوماکاک دا دنیا نوکراک** *hartomakāk dā dunīa nokrāk arēr* 'the poor (and) rich both are servants of this world' (Nicolson, p. 5, l. 1), **هَنک هِرک** *hanak hirak tomakātīān dīr kahaskunī* 'go, see which of both (them) is dead' (Nicolson, Abu'l Hasan, p. 21, l. 8).

5. **گیرا** *girā* 'something,' is used both as a substantive noun and as an adjective. In the substantive form it means a 'thing,' and is used in the plural as well, e.g. **دا گِراتیاه گِراس سَنگ آری** *dā girātīyah girās saṅg arī*



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owing probably to the influence of the neighbouring language, the Balúchi.

As regards the form, there is no difference between transitive and intransitive verbs; both are inflected in the same manner; and so is the causative verb, which in the Brahúi was developed in accordance with the analogy of the Dravidian idioms.

The Brahúi has an *active* as well as a *passive* form, although the latter seems to be seldom used.

But the special *mark*, which characterizes the Brahúi as a Dravidian tongue, is the existence of the negative form, which runs through all the tenses. The negative is formed by adding the negation to the verbal root, before the personal inflection.

The Brahúi has no moods, except the imperative—we find no subjunctive, no optative, no conditional. The manner in which these are expressed we shall notice further on. The development of the participles is likewise very meagre.

§ 8. THE ACTIVE, AFFIRMATIVE FORM OF THE VERB.

All the tenses in the Brahúi language are divided into—

- I. Such as are composed with the infinitive, and
- II. Such as are composed with the past participle.

I. *Tenses which are composed with the Infinitive and the Verbal Root.*

The infinitive of all the Brahúi verbs ends in *ing*, e.g. **بِنِنگ** *bin-ing* 'to hear,' **هِنِنگ** *hin-ing* 'to go.'

The infinitive is a verbal noun, and can therefore be declined like any other noun, e.g. **نِی وِلائیآءِ هِنِنگ نا اراده اری** *ni viláy-tae ná arādah āre* 'is it your wish to go to Europe?' (Bux. p. 58, l. 7). This ending of the infinitive corresponds to the Tamil infinitive *g-a*, with a nasal pronunciation *ng*, with which the affix *ngai* should be compared (Caldwell, pp. 425, 434). By dropping the terminal syllable *ing*, we obtain not merely the root, but also the second person of the imperative, e.g. **بِنِنگ** *bin-ing* 'to hear,' **بِنِ** *bin* 'hear thou'; **كُنِنگ** *kun-ing* 'to eat,' imperative **كُنِ** 'eat thou.'

The second person plural of the imperative is formed by using the terminal *بُو* *bō*, e.g. *بِنَبُو* *bin-bō* 'hear ye,' *کَنبو* *kun-bo* 'eat ye.'

There are a great number of verbs, which, as in the new-Persian, form their imperative in an irregular manner, since they do not derive it from the root inherent in the infinitive, but substitute a different verbal root for it; e.g. *تِنِنگ* *tin-ing* 'to give,' imper. *هَرِنگ* *hir* 'see,' from *هَرِنگ* *hir-ing*, which is also in use.

As a rule, verbs whose root in the infinitive ends in *n*, change it in the imperative into *r*, and now and then the syllable *ak* is added, being an affix which seems to emphasize the imperative, e.g. *مَنِنگ* *man-ing* 'to be,' Imp. *مَر* *mar* 'be thou'; *دَنِنگ* *dan-ing* 'to take away,' Imp. *دَرَک* *darak*¹; *کَنِنگ* *kan-ing* 'to do,' Imp. *کَرَک* *karak*; *بَنِنگ* *ban-ing* 'to come,' Imp. *بَرَک* *barak*; *خَنِنگ* *khan-ing* 'to see,' Imp. *خَنک* *khan-ak*; *بِنِنگ* *bin-ing* 'to hear,' Imp. *بِن* or *بِنک* *bin-ak*.

Other imperatives drop the terminal consonants of the root of the infinitive, e.g. *پَانِنگ* *pān-ing* 'to say,' Imp. *پَا* *pā*; or they add *ṭh* to it, e.g. *تُولِنگ* *tūl-ing* 'to sit,' Imp. *تُولِث* *tūl-ṭh*; *خَلِنگ* *khal-ing* 'to strike,' Imp. *خَلِث* *khal-ṭh*; *هَلِنگ* *hal-ing* 'to take,' Imp. *هَلِث* *hal-ṭh*.

Others, again, retain in the imperative the same root as in the infinitive, e.g. *چَرِنگ* *char-ing* 'to peregrinate,' Imp. *چَرِنگ* *charing*, Sindhi *चरण*; *تَرِنگ* *tar-ing* 'to spin,' Imp. *تَرِنگ* *taring*; *رَسِنگ* *ras-ing* 'to arrive,' Imp. *رَسِنگ* *rasing* (Sindhi *रसण*, Persian *راسیدن* *rasidan*).

The affix *ak* is dropped before the plural termination *bō*, e.g. *hin-ak*, plur. *hin-bō*.

If the Imperative ends in *ر* *r* or *خه* *khe*, these letters are also dropped before the plural termination *bo*, e.g. *bār-ak*, pl. *بَبُو* *bā-bō*; *kar* 'do,' *kábō*; *shāy* 'put down,' pl. *شَابُو* *shā-bō*, etc.

ṭh will likewise, like *ak*, be dropped in all plural cases, e.g. *khal-ṭh* 'strike,' plur. *khal-bo*. There are, however,

¹ *darak* *دَرَک*; the accent is Dr. Trumpp's, as it is, in *all* the instances, where the | (*alif*) is not apparent.

exceptions, e.g. **دا گد نا دیری پلتهبو** *dā gud nā dēre palṭh-bo* 'wring the water from the clothes' (Bux, p. 80, l. 19). The same happens with the final vowel, e.g. **ایتی** *ēte* 'give,' plur. **ایتبو** *ēt-bō*.

These peculiarities of the Brahúi imperative require further elucidation, when more material is placed at our disposal.

From the *infinitive* the continuous *present*¹ is formed by adding to the present tense of the substantive verb **ات** *-uṭ*, the postposition **تی** *tī* 'in,' thus: **تیکینگ تی ات** *tikhing-tī uṭ*, literally, 'I am placing.' This, however, can hardly be called a tense, as, in fact, it is a complete sentence, in which the infinitive takes the place of a noun, with a case-affix added thereto. Similar formations are to be found in the Balúchi, whence they were borrowed by the Brahúi.

From the VERBAL ROOT OF THE IMPERATIVE, after dropping the emphasized terminal *ak* and *th*, are formed:

a. The *indefinite (simple) present tense* (the aorist of English grammar) defining the time in a general way, and may therefore be used in the subjunctive, potential, and optative mood.

The verb substantive **ات** *uṭ* is added to the root, but its pronunciation becomes soft. Moreover, the terminal *t* (*uṭ*) changes into *v*, but only in the present tense (both definite and indefinite); in the future, in the preterite, and in the perfect tenses, the *t* (of *uṭ*) is retained. In the third person plural, the personal termination *r* is strongly accentuated, whilst in the substantive verb the *r* is dropped.

The following are the terminations of the *indefinite present tense*. It should, however, be observed here that the Brahúi verbs use no personal pronouns, except when emphasis is to be placed on a special person. Bux uses the personal pronouns, as in English.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 Pers.	<i>iv (ev)</i>	<i>in (en)</i>
2 „	<i>is (es)</i>	<i>ire (re)</i>
3 „	<i>e</i>	<i>ir (er)</i>

¹ *Praesens continuum* of Dr. Trumpp.



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d. The Compound Future.¹

Is formed by adding to the formative of the future ending δ , the past tense of the substantive verb, viz. **اَسْت** etc., and dropping, as in the simple future, the *a*. In the 3rd person singular the preterite of the substantive verb will be *sas* (= *asas*), instead of the usual form of *asak* or *as*. The personal terminations therefore are these :

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 Person : δ - <i>suṭ</i> .	δ - <i>sun</i> .
2 ,, δ - <i>sus</i> .	δ - <i>sure</i> .
3 ,, δ - <i>sas</i> .	δ - <i>sur</i> .

N.B.—Bux, Bellew, Leech, and particularly the Italian Finzi, have *entirely* mistaken the composition of this tense.

II. Tenses compounded with the Past Participle.

The real difficulty in studying the verbs commences with the formation of the past tenses, all of which proceed from the past participle. The usual way of forming the past participle is by adding *ā* or *ē* to the verbal root, e.g. **تِخْگ** *tikh-ing*, past participle **تِخَا** *tikhā*; **تَمْگ** *tam-ing* 'to fall,' past participle **تَمَا** *tam-ā*; **تَهْرْگ** *thar-ing* 'to cut,' past participle **تَهْرِي** *thar-ē*.

If the verbal root end in **ف** *f*, the past participle terminates with very few exceptions in *ē*; e.g. **تَفْگ** *taf-ing*, past participle **تَفِي** *taf-ē*.

Some past participles end in a consonant, changing at the same time their infinitive verbal root, like the following :

بَنْگ <i>ban-ing</i> 'to come,'	past participle	بَس <i>bas</i> .
بِنْگ <i>bin-ing</i> 'to hear,'	„ „	بِنْگ <i>bing</i> .
خَلْگ <i>khal-ing</i> 'to strike,'	„ „	خَلْگ <i>khalk</i> .
دَنْگ <i>dan-ing</i> 'to take away,'	„ „	دَرِي <i>dar-ē</i> .

Other verbs retain the infinitive entirely, and form the past participle by simply adding to it the letter **ا** *ā*; e.g. **چَرْنْگ** *char-ing* 'to wander,' past participle **چَرْنَا** *charing-ā*; **رَسْنْگ** *ra-sing* 'to arrive at,' past participle **رَسْنَا** *rasing-ā*.

¹ *Futurum exactum* of Dr. Trumpp.

It is important to note here that the past participles, be they formed by transitive or intransitive verbs, have an active meaning and *never a passive one*, e.g. خَلَكْ *khalk* means 'one that has struck,' and not 'one that was struck.' This is quite contrary to what we find in the Balúchi, and in the North Indian languages.

The following is the formation of those tenses which are effected by composition with the past participle :

1. *The Simple Past Tense.*¹

The present tense of the substantive verb is added to the past participle ; the 3rd person of the singular, however, has no such an addition, yet *ak* (-*k*) may be added, especially if the previous syllable end in a vowel.

If the past participle end in a consonant, the personal terminations are added unchanged, except that in the third person plural we find *ur* used instead of *ō*.

The following is the form :

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 Pers.	خَلَكْتُ اى <i>khálk-ut</i> ² 'I struck,' etc.	نن خَلَكُن <i>khálk-un.</i>
2 „	خَلَكْسُ نى <i>khálk-us</i>	نم خَلَكْرِى <i>khálk-ure.</i>
3 „	{ اَو خَلَكْ <i>khálk</i> اَو خَلَكْ <i>khalk-ak</i>	{ اَفَك خَلَكُر <i>khálk-ur.</i> اَفَك خَلَكُو <i>khálk-ō.</i>

If the past participle end in a vowel, the initial vowels of the substantive verb are dropped, e.g.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 Pers.	خَنَاَت اى <i>khanā-t</i> 'I saw,' etc.	نن خَنَا_n <i>khanā-n.</i>
2 „	خَنَاَس نى <i>khanā-s</i>	نم خَنَاَرى <i>khanā-re.</i>
3 „	{ اَو خَنَا <i>khanā</i> اَو خَنَاَك <i>khanā-k</i>	{ اَفَك خَنَاَر <i>khanā-r.</i>

The same happens if the past participle end in *ē*. In the 3rd person plural we always find the personal termination in *-r* if the past participle end in a vowel.

¹ The *praeteritum* of Dr. Trumpp.

² *khálk-ut*. See footnote, page 91. The transliteration of the personal pronoun has been omitted as superfluous.

N.B.—Bellew, Leech, and Finzi have entirely misunderstood this tense, and mixed it up with the imperfect.

b. As the present definite is formed from the present indefinite, by the addition of *a*: in like manner is the *imperfect* from the simple past. It is evident, therefore, that this terminal *a* must be a sign of something definite and permanent. To the third person singular there must invariably be added the personal termination *ak* (*-k*), to distinguish it from the simple past, to which, therefore, is added the *a* of the imperfect. The second person plural does not take up the *a*, and is therefore in appearance identical with the 2nd person plural of the simple past. The following is the scheme of the personal terminations of the *imperfect*. It should be noted, however, that the *a* at the end, be it written with *alif*, *hamza*, or *fateh*, is always mute.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 Pers.	<i>t-a</i>	<i>n-a</i>
2 „	<i>s-a</i>	<i>re</i>
3 „	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ak-a \\ -k-a \end{array} \right.$	<i>r-a</i>

N.B.—Bellew, Leech, and Finzi are mistaken about the tense.

c. *The Pluperfect*

is formed by adding to the past participle the imperfect of the substantive verb, namely *أسٺ* *asut*, and if the past participle end in a vowel, then the initial vowel of the verb substantive is dropped. In the third person singular the verb substantive becomes *أسس* *asa-s* instead of *asak*; and if the past participle terminates in *s*, then *as* only is assumed for the sake of euphony.

The scheme of the *pluperfect*:

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 Pers.	<i>asut, -sut.</i>	<i>asun, -sun.</i>
2 „	<i>asus, -sus.</i>	<i>asure, -sure.</i>
3 „	<i>asas, -sas, as.</i>	<i>asur, -sur (sur, so).</i>

N.B.—Bellew and Leech have mistaken this tense for the perfect.



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b. WITH THE VERBAL ROOT.

2. Present indefinite or Potential.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 Pers.	خِنَوِ <i>khán-iv</i> ¹ 'I may see.'	خِنِنِ <i>khán-in.</i>
2 „	خِنِسِ <i>khán-is.</i>	خِنِرِي <i>khán-iro.</i>
3 „	خِنِي <i>khán-e.</i>	خِنِرِ <i>khán-ir.</i>

3. Present definite.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 Pers.	خِنَوَدِ <i>khán-iva</i> ² 'I see.'	خِنِنَدِ <i>khán-ina.</i>
2 „	خِنِسَدِ <i>khán-isa.</i>	خِنِرِي <i>khán-irē.</i>
3 „	خِنِگِ <i>khán-ik.</i>	خِنِرَدِ <i>khán-ira.</i> ³

4. Simple Future.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. Pers.	خِنَوْتِ <i>khanō-ṭ</i> ³ 'I shall see.'	خِنَوْنِ <i>khanō-n.</i>
2. „	خِنَوَسِ <i>khanō-s.</i>	خِنَوِرِي <i>khanō-rē.</i>
3. „	خِنَوِءِ <i>khanō-o.</i>	خِنَوِرِ <i>khanō-r.</i>

5. Compound Future.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 Pers.	خِنَوَسْتِ <i>khanō-suṭ</i> 'I shall have seen.'	خِنَوَسِنِ <i>khanō-sun.</i>
2 „	خِنَوَسِسِ <i>khanō-sus</i>	خِنَوَسِرِي <i>khanō-surē.</i>
3 „	خِنَوَسَسِ <i>khanō-sas</i>	خِنَوَسِرِ <i>khanō-sur.</i>

B. Tenses composed with the participle of the Preterite.

6. The Simple Past Tense.

α. Ending in a Consonant.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 Pers.	خَلَكْتِ <i>khálk-ut</i> 'I struck.'	خَلَكْنِ <i>khálk-un.</i>
2 „	خَلَكْسِ <i>khálk-us</i>	خَلَكْرِي <i>khálk-ure.</i>
3 „	{ خَلَكْتِ <i>khálk</i> خَلَكْتِ <i>khálk-ak</i>	{ خَلَكْرِ <i>khálk-ur.</i> خَلَكْوِ <i>khálk-ō.</i>

¹ *khán-iv*, *khálk-ut* etc., the accent is Dr. Trumpp's. See footnote, p. 91.

² We find also written خِنَوِءِ *khán-ovā* and pronounced accordingly. Bux, however, gives the above form.

³ On Bux's authority.

β. Ending in a Vowel.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 Pers.	خانت <i>ḵhanā-ṭ</i> 'I saw,'	خان <i>ḵhanā-n</i>
2 ,,	خناس <i>ḵhanā-s</i>	خناری <i>ḵhanā-re.</i>
3 ,,	{ خنا <i>ḵhanā</i> خناک <i>ḵhanā-k</i>	} خنار <i>ḵhanā-r.</i>

7. *The Imperfect.*

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 Pers.	خناٲه <i>ḵhanā-ṭ-a.</i>	خانہ <i>ḵhan-ā-n-a.</i>
2 ,,	خناسه <i>ḵhanā-s-a.</i>	خناری <i>ḵhanā-re.</i>
3 ,,	خناکه <i>ḵhanā-ka.</i>	خناره <i>ḵhanā-ra.</i>

8. *Pluperfect.*

α. Ending in a Consonant.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 Pers.	خلگسٲ <i>ḵhalk-asuṭ</i> 'I had struck.'	خلگسن <i>ḵhalk-asun.</i>
2 ,,	خلگسس <i>ḵhalk-asus</i>	خلگسری <i>ḵhalk-āsurē.</i>
3 ,,	خلگسس <i>ḵhalk-asas</i>	خلگسر <i>ḵhalk-asur.</i>

β. Ending in a Vowel.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 Pers.	خناسٲ <i>ḵhanā-suṭ.</i>	خناسن <i>ḵhanā-sun.</i>
2 ,,	خناسس <i>ḵhanā-sus.</i>	خناسری <i>ḵhanā-surē.</i>
3 ,,	خناسس <i>ḵhanā-sas.</i>	خناسر <i>ḵhanā-sur.</i>

9. *Perfect.*

α. Ending in a Consonant.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 Pers.	خلگسٲ <i>ḵhalk-un-uṭ</i> 'I have struck.'	خلگسن <i>ḵhalk-un-un.</i>
2 ,,	خلگسس <i>ḵhalk-un-us</i>	خلگسری <i>ḵhalk-ūn-urē.</i>
3 ,,	خلگسنى <i>ḵhalk-un-ē</i>	خلگسو <i>ḵhalk-un-ō.</i>

β. Ending in a Vowel.

	<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1 Pers.	خانٺ <i>khanā-n-uṭ</i> 'I have seen.'	خانن	<i>khanā-n-u.</i>
2 ,,	خانٺس <i>khanā-n-us</i>	خانٺری	<i>khanā-n-urē.</i>
3 ,,	خاننی <i>khanā-n-ē</i>	خانٺو	<i>khanā-n-ō.</i>

From the verbal root two verbal nouns are derived: the one is the participle present declinable, and the other is the indeclinable gerund of the present. In those verbs where the imperative ends in *ak*, or where *ṭh* was added to the root, which addition seems, likewise, to denote an emphasis, these terminals must be dropped.

The declinable present participle is formed by adding *ōk* (sometimes *ōk-ā*, *ok-ō*) to the verbal root, e.g. خانٺ *khan-ōk* 'seeing,' from خانگ *khan-ing* 'to see;' کنگ *kan-ing* (imperative *kar*), تولوک *kar-ōk* 'doing;' تولنگ *tul-ing* (imper. *tul-ṭh*), تولوک *tul-ōk* 'sitting;' خلنگ *khal-ing* (imper. *khal-ṭh*) خلوک *khal-ōk* 'striking.' Examples: 'A man who will sit in that house;' اس ڊي اس نصيحت ڪروڪا پاري 'One day the preacher said' (Bux, p. 127, l. 20); 'اسي بندغ اس درخت نا کيرغان تولوک خنا اوڙان هڙي که دا ملک نا بادشاه' 'He saw a man sitting under a tree and asked him what like is the king of this country, is he a tyrant or is he just?' (Bux, p. 126, l. 14).

The *second participle* of the present, or rather, the indeclinable gerund, is formed by adding to the verbal root the affixes *esa* or *isa*. Bux, at page 15, says that the affix is simply *se*. The terminal *e* seems identical with *ah*. Example: انتی که پگا صبح تو همو وقت که من مغل نا سواراک سنگڙه نا پارغائی تینا هلیتی دودینسه بسر وتوار کریسه نغاره تی خلیسه 'Because on the morrow, in the morning, at the time when some horsemen of the Mogul came galloping on their horses towards Singarh, and making a noise, beating the drums, swinging their swords, arrived near the fort' (Nicolson, page 33, l. 1-3); فریاد کریسه هونیسه زبیده با مؤنغائی هنا 'Complaining, sobbing she went to Zubaidah' (Nicolson, p. 19, l. 5).



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Some are quite irregular, e.g. ایتی *ēto* 'give' (from تینک), prohibitive تَفَه *tī-fa*

The inflection of the present indefinite is as follows :

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 Pers. <i>pa-r</i>	<i>pa-n</i>
2 ,, <i>p-is (-es)</i>	<i>p-ire (ere)</i>
3 ,, <i>p (i p)</i>	<i>pa-s</i>

The peculiarities here are : the termination of the first person in *pa-r*, which, in accordance with the general rule, ought to be *p-iv*. The third person singular ends in *p(i-p)*, instead of *p-s*. In the 3rd person plural the *pa-s* is in reality a modification of the original *r* into *s*, in order to avoid confusion with the first person of the singular. We have met with this change of *r* into *s* in other Brahuí words already.

The *present definite* has the same affixes with the addition of terminal *a*, to which, however, in the 3rd person singular, *k* is added. The form is this :

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 Pers. <i>pa-r-a.</i>	<i>pa-n-a.</i>
2 ,, <i>p-is-a (-es-a).</i>	<i>p-ire (-ere).</i>
3 ,, <i>pa-k.</i>	<i>pa-s-a.</i>

The Simple Future.

Here we should expect the ending in *p-ot*, *p-ōs*, etc. ; but it is not so, as we notice by the following form :

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 Pers. <i>pa-r-ō-ṭ.</i>	<i>pa-r-ō-n.</i>
2 ,, <i>pa-r-ō-s.</i>	<i>pa-r-ō-re.</i>
3 ,, <i>pa-r-ō-e.</i>	<i>pa-r-ō-r.</i>

The *r* here appears as a formative affix of the negative verb.

The Compound Future.

is similar to the simple future, since, instead of the present of the

substantive verb, its past tense is used as in the affirmative form. Therefore :

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 Pers. <i>pa-r-ō-suṭ.</i>	<i>pa-r-ō-sun.</i>
2 „ <i>pa-r-ō-sus.</i>	<i>pa-r-ō-sure.</i>
3 „ <i>pa-r-ō-sas.</i>	<i>pa-r-ō-sur.</i>

CONJUGATION OF THE PROHIBITIVE VERB **خَنگ** *khan-ing.*

1. *Imperative.*

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
2 Pers. خَنپَه <i>khan-pa</i> 'see thou not.'	خَنپَو <i>khan-pa-bō.</i> ¹

2. *Present indefinite.*

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 Pers. خَنپَر <i>khan-pa-r</i> 'I may not see.'	خَنپَن <i>khan-pa-n.</i>
2 „ خَنپِس <i>khan-p-is.</i>	خَنپِس <i>khan-p-ire.</i>
3 „ خَنپ <i>khan-p.</i>	خَنپِس <i>khan-pa-s.</i>

N.B.—It should be noticed that the prohibitives **گَه**, **بَه**, **تَه**, etc., are used in the present tense as well; thus, **کَر** *ka-par* 'I may not, I will not do it.' *Example*: **اى بِنک گَر** 'I cannot come,' literally, 'I make no coming' (Bux, p. 66, bottom line). The following should also be observed: **تِف** *ti-f* 'he may not give,' **بَف** *ba-f* 'he may not come,' etc.

3. *Present definite.*

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 Pers. خَنپَرَه <i>khan-par-a</i> 'I see not.'	خَنپَنَه <i>khan-pan-a.</i>
2 „ خَنپِسَه <i>khan-pis-a.</i>	خَنپِرِي <i>khan-pire.</i>
3 „ خَنپِگ <i>khan-pa-k.</i>	خَنپِسَه <i>khan-pas-a.</i>

4. *Simple Future.*

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 Pers. خَنپَرَوَت <i>khan-par-ōṭ</i> 'I shall not see.'	خَنپَرَوَن <i>khan-par-ōn.</i>
2 „ خَنپَرَوَس <i>khan-par-ōs.</i>	خَنپَرَوِرِي <i>khan-par-ōre.</i>
3 „ خَنپَرَوَه <i>khan-par-ōḥ.</i>	خَنپَرَوِر <i>khan-par-ōr.</i>

¹ *khan-pa*, etc. The accent is Dr. Trumpp's, he omits it in the *future* tenses!

5. Compound Future.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 Pers.	خَنِپَرِوَسْتِ <i>khan-par-ōsuṭ</i>	خَنِپَرِوَسَن <i>khan-par-ōsun.</i>
	‘I shall not have seen.’	
2 „	خَنِپَرِوَسَس <i>khan-par-ōsus.</i>	خَنِپَرِوَسَرِی <i>khan-par-ōsure.</i>
3 „	خَنِپَرِوَسَس <i>khan-par-ōsas.</i>	خَنِپَرِوَسُر <i>khan-par-ōsur.</i>

N.B.—There is some difficulty in connecting the Brahui negative affix *pa* with the negative affixes used in the South Dravidian dialects, which are *a* and *ka*, *ku* (*da*, *du*), according to Caldwell (pp. 363-365), and therefore require further elucidation.

B. Negative Tenses Compounded with the Past Participle :

They are the *simple past*, the *imperfect*, the *pluperfect*, the *perfect*.

The negative particle here is *ta*, and not *pa*, as above. This leads to the supposition that these two forms are identical in their origin, and also that the Brahui *ta*, *pa* are derived from the Dravidian *ka*, through a change in the pronunciation.

The past participle has a peculiar formation, in taking up the negative affix, which renders the original root almost undistinguishable.

If the past participle end in a vowel, it is dropped and *ta* affixed to the root; then follows the affix of the past participle, which is pronounced *au* or *ao*, instead of simply *a*, e.g. تِخَا *tikh-ā*, negative تِخَا تِخَا *tikh-t-au*.

Participles ending in *r* or *s* drop these terminals before taking up negative *t*, e.g. کَرِی *kar-ē* ‘he did’ becomes کَتو *ka-t-au*; پَارِی *pār-ē* ‘he said’ پَاتو *pā-t-au*; بَس *bas* ‘he came’ بَتو *ba-t-au*.

If the past participle end in a double consonant, the last is dropped, e.g. کِهَسک *khask* ‘he died,’ negative کِهَسَتو *khas-t-au*; هَلک *halk* (from هَلنگ) ‘he took,’ negative هَلکَتو *hal-t-au*.

This is the scheme of the negative tenses connected with the past participle :

The Simple Past Tense.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 Pers.	<i>t-av¹-at.</i>	<i>t-av-an.</i>
2 „	<i>t-av-is (-es).</i>	<i>t-av-ire (-ore).</i>
3 „	<i>t-au.</i>	<i>t-av-as.²</i>

¹ *au* before a vowel becomes *av*.

² *r* changes into *s*.



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N.B.—As in the Persian language, the imperfect is used as a conditional as well. Example : اگر نی تینا چہنکی یاد کریسہ 'If thou wert to remember thy childhood, thou wouldest not do me such violence' (Nicolson, p. 24, bottom line).

8. *Pluperfect.**Singular.**Plural.*1 Pers. خنتوست *khan-t-āv-asuṭ*خنتوسن *khan-t-āv-asun.*

'I had not seen.'

2 ,, خنتوسس *khan-t-āv-asus.*خنتوسری *khan-t-āv-āsure.*3 ,, خنتوسس *khan-t-āv-asas.*خنتوسر *khan-t-āv-asur.*9. *Perfect.*1 Pers. خنتنت *khán-ta-n-uṭ* 'I have not seen.'خنتن *khán-ta-n-un.*2 ,, خنتس *khán-ta-n-us.*خنتری *khan-tá-n-ure¹*3 ,, خنتنی *khán-ta-n-e.*خنتنو *khán-ta-n-o.*

Example : *ō dā iskā batane* 'He has not yet come' (Bux, p. 84, l. 10); ای تینا کاریمی برابر گنتت 'I have not done my business well' (Nicolson, p. 4, l. 4 from below); نیوا کہ او جواب تس نزة الفواد کہسنتنی 'May it not be that he gave the answer: Nazzat-ul-Fuād is not dead' (Nicolson, Abu'l Hasan, p. 21, l. 4 from below).

§ 10. III. THE FORMATION OF THE VERB CAUSATIVE.

The formation of the causative form is, as a rule, effected by the addition of *if* (*ef*) to the verbal root; e.g. گنگ *kun-ing* 'to eat,' کنیفنگ *kun-ef-ing* 'to make eat, to feed,' Hungarian *enni, et-etni*.

Bellew speaks of a double causative form, for instance, *khuling* 'to be afraid,' *khulfing* 'to frighten,' *khulifing* 'to make frightened.' Dr. Trumpp thinks this a mistake.

The conjugation of the *causative* is otherwise quite regular. It should be observed, however, that the past participle always ends in *ē*, as has been noted already.

¹ Dr. Trumpp transfers the accent to the second syllable, possibly a printer's error.

THE CONJUGATION.¹*Infinitive.*

رَسِينِڱ *rás-ef-ing* 'to cause to arrive.'

Imperative.

Sing. رَسِيْف *rás-ef (-if)* 'cause thou to arrive.'

Plur. رَسِيْفُو *rás-ef-bō (if-bō)* 'cause ye to arrive.'

A.

1. *Continuous Present (Aorist).*

رَسِينِڱ تِي اَت *rás-ef-ing tī ut* 'I am causing to arrive.'

2. *Present indefinite (Potential).*

رَسِيْفُو *rás-ef-iv* 'I may cause to arrive.'

3. *Present definite.*

رَسِيْفُو *rás-ef-iva* 'I cause to arrive.'

4. *Simple Future.*

رَسِيْفُوْت *rás-ef-ōt* 'I shall cause to arrive.'

5. *Compound Future.*

رَسِيْفُوْسُوْت *rás-ef-ōsut* 'I shall have caused to arrive.'

B.

THE PAST PARTICIPLE :

رَسِيْفِي *rás-ef-ē.*

6. *Simple Past Tense.*

رَسِيْفِيْت *rás-ef-ē-t*, etc. 'I caused to arrive.'

7. *Imperfect.*

رَسِيْفِيْتِه *rás-ef-ē-t-a*, etc. 'I was causing to arrive.'

8. *Pluperfect.*

رَسِيْفِيْسُوْت *rás-ef-ē-sut*, etc. 'I had caused to arrive.'

9. *Perfect.*

رَسِيْفِيْنِيْت *rás-ef-ē-n-ut*, etc. 'I have caused to arrive.'

¹ The accents and diacritical marks are Dr. Trumpp's.

Examples.

اودی اِرغ کِنیڻگ کی دَریگه ‘he took him to give him bread to eat’ (Nicolson, Abu'l-Hasan, p. 2, l. 7).

دادی کنا کھٹائی خاچڻبو ‘put him on my bed’ (*ibid.* p. 16, l. 2).

ای تینا کوسی ھریو تینا ریشی کھسیڻبو ‘I shall tear my shirt, destroy my beard’ (*ibid.* p. 18, l. 2 from below).

ھمیڻک کنی ھنڊن ایذا رسیڻره که ای اوفتیان رنجیدہ مریوہ ‘they give me so much pain that I am tormented by them’ (*ibid.* p. 5, l. 8).

ای خلیوہ که نوا تینا جان نا خلیسان کنی نقصان رسیڻور ‘I fear that by reason of her fear for her life she will do me damage’ (Nicolson, p. 3, ll. 8, 9).

گڑا مَن چراغاتی لگیڻیر ‘afterwards they lit some torches’ (*ibid.* p. 32, l. 5 from below).

چھوکریک اودی بہاز شراب گنیڻیر ‘the female slaves made him drink much wine’ (Nicolson, Abu'l Hasan, p. 11, l. 1).

The causative also has a past participle in *ōk* (*ōk-ā*, *ōk-ō*) and a gerund in *esa*, *isa*, viz. رسیڻوک *rās-if-ōk* ‘one who makes to arrive,’ and رسیڻسہ *rās-ēf-isa* ‘in the act of making to arrive.’ Example: زغماتی چریڻسہ گوٹ نا خُرک رسیڻگار ‘swinging their swords, they came near the fortress’ (Nicolson, p. 33, l. 3).

That the causative verb has a negative form also cannot be doubted, although no proper example exists among the material at hand. It should, however, be as follows: imperfect, رسیڻپہ *rās-ef-pa*; present indefinite, رسیڻپر *rās-ef-par*; past, رسیڻتوت *rās-ef-t-av-aṭ*; perfect, رسیڻتنت *rās-ef-ta-n-uṭ*, etc.

§ 11. IV. THE PASSIVE FORM.

The passive is formed by the addition of *ing* to the simple root, which is afterwards inflected regularly through all the tenses. To all appearance the passive root is the same as the infinitive of the active verb, although it has no intimate relation with it.



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4. *Simple Future.*

خَنگوت *khan-ing-ōṭ* 'I shall be seen,' etc., *e.g.*

اگر نی دواره دوهنو کاریم گروس ته خلینگو نی 'If you do such a thing again, you shall be beaten' (Bux, p. 82, l. 11).

5. *Compound Future.*

خَنگوست *khan-ing-ōsuṭ* 'I shall have been seen.'

B.

6. *Simple Past Tense.*

خَنگات *khan-ing-ā-ṭ* 'I was seen,' etc., *e.g.*

همو وقت اونا دواش اسی زغمس لگا اونا اسی اورس تهرنگا 'At that time a sword struck his hand, and one of his fingers was cut off' (Nicolson, p. 32, l. 8).

سراج الدوله نا من بهلو سردار کھسفنکار 'Some great chieftains of Sirāj-ud-daulah were killed' (Nicolson, p. 29, l. 7 from below).

7. *Imperfect.*

خَنگاتھ *khan-ing-ā-ṭa* 'I was seen,' etc.

8. *Pluperfect.*

خَنگاست *khan-ing-ā-suṭ* 'I have been seen.'

9. *Perfect.*

خَنگانٹ *khan-ing-ā-n-uṭ* 'I had been seen,' *e.g.*

کھندن مس کہ ایفک اسی شهر نا دروازه غای چاری مینگ انا 'It so happened that they had been caught at the gate of a city on suspicion of being spies' (Nicolson, p. 22, l. 5).

It should be stated that the Brahúi uses an inflecting passive participle of the preterite form, which coincides with the present participle of the active form. Example: *خَنوک* *khan-ōk* (-*kā*, *kō*) 'seen,' *کروک* 'done'; this was overlooked by Leech, Bellew, and Bux; but the following examples place the fact beyond doubt:

یات بها گینک کی تخوک اری 'The sticks are exposed for sale' (Bux, p. 110, l. 13).

‘اَسِت زنجير است در پيچگان اونا ليخ تي تفوك اس تولوك اس
chain was tied to his neck from a window; he was sitting’
(Nicolson, p. 13, l. 2).

‘همو وقت گتراس چتس اونا ليخ تي تفوك اس يا آها
was there any cord round his neck or not?’ (Bux, p. 94,
l. 14).

اَنَسِي كه كنا نوشته كروكا كاغدى سوا كنيان پين گسس خوانيپك
‘Because that, by me written letter, nobody can read but my-
self’ (Bux, p. 118, l. 11).

‘اونا خنتي تفوك خنا او نا مون پثيان پروك خنا
bound, and his face swollen from the bandage’ (Nicolson,
Abu’l-Hasan, p. 23, l. 6).

Since in the forms adduced in the above examples we find no vestige of the passive affix *ing*, there seems to be no doubt that the formation in *ōk*, although used in the passive sense, is really identical with the present participle of the active form. The Brahúi therefore follows, in this respect, the lines of the Dravidian idioms, which employ the participles of the active form in a passive sense.

Whether a gerund, terminating in *isa*, be formed from the passive voice, cannot as yet be proved by an example; but if it exist, it will stand thus: *خانگيسه khan-ing-ēsa*. Nor has Dr. Trumpp found an example of the negative form in the passive voice, although there is nothing to stand in the way of such a formation. It would appear thus: *خانگير khan-ing-par*.

Dr. Trumpp draws attention to yet another form, which looks like a gerund; but from the only example he had met, he does not dare to determine its nature, namely the word *كروء* in this sentence ‘پي دهون كاريم اس اري كه كروء اري يا ني گتراس خواهيس
you such business that has to be done, or desirest thou perhaps anything’ (Nicolson, Abu’l-Hasan, p. 5, l. 3).

§ 12. AUXILIARY VERBS.

1. THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB "TO BE."

Imperative (none).1. *Present definite.*

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 Pers.	اٲ <i>ut</i> (or <i>ot</i> ¹) 'I am.'	اُن <i>un</i> 'we are.'
2 „	اُس <i>us</i> 'thou art.'	اُرى <i>ure</i> 'you are.'
3 „	اى <i>ē</i> 'he is.'	او (اُر) <i>o (ur)</i> 'they are.'

Obs. 1.—When this tense is connected with a noun, then the initial ʾ is dropped, as in the Persian, supposing the noun to end in a consonant; but if the noun end in a vowel, or in & *ah*, in such case, as a rule, the ʾ remains. Example :

Singular.

اى مارٲ *ī mār-ut* 'I am a boy.'
 نى مارٲس *nī mār-us* 'thou art a boy.'
 او مارى *ō mār-e* 'he is a boy.'

Plural.

نن مارن *nan mār-un* 'we are boys.'
 نم ماررى *nom mār-ure* 'you are boys.'
 اوفك مارو *ōfk mār-o* 'they are boys.'

Example : اى سىپاهى اٲ *ī sipāhī ut* 'I am a soldier,' etc.

Obs. 2.—There is another root used in the present tense which differs in so far from اٲ *ut*, etc., that it does not occur as a personal ending of the verbs, nor does it stand as an affix of the nouns, but takes its place independently. It is the root *āre*, which, in its turn, is inflected with the aid of اٲ, being related to the Dravidian *ir*.

*Present definite.**Singular.*

اى اريت *ī āre-ṭ* 'I am, I exist.'
 نى اريس *nī āre-s* 'thou existeth.'
 او ارى , اسى , سى *ō āre, āse, se* 'he exists.'

¹ Bux writes *o* throughout.



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Singular.

ای الٹ *ī alla-oṭ* 'I was not.'

نی الٹس *nī alla-os* 'thou wast not.'

او الو *ō alla-o* 'he was not.'

Plural.

نن الٹن *nan alla-on* 'we were not.'

نم الاری *nom alla-ore* 'ye were not.'

افک الاور *ofk alla-or* 'they were not.'

N.B.—Here is a discrepancy between the vernacular and the English transcription. If the former be correct, the latter should stand thus : *allav-at*, etc. Trumpp left it undecided.

Nicolson presents us with another regular form of the *past tense*, in which *alla* appears as a participle united to the signification of the present tense, to which the *past* اَسْت is joined. The inflexion of this form should stand thus :

*Singular.**Plural.*

1 Pers. اَلْوَسْت *allāv-asuṭ* 'I was not.' اَلْوَسْن *allāv-asun.*¹

2 „ اَلْوَسْس *allāv-asas* اَلْوَسْرِي *allāv-ásure.*

3 „ اَلْوَسْك *allāv-asak* اَلْوَسْر *allāv-asur.*

Example : اَلْوَسْت اَبُو الْحَسَنِ اَسْت اَيُّ دَرُو اَيُّ 'Yesterday I was Abu'l Hasan, was I not?' (Nicolson, p. 8, l. 4); اَلْوَسْرِي اَلْوَسْرِي اَلْوَسْرِي اَلْوَسْرِي 'These men were not of the cowards of the Province of Bengal' (Nicolson, p. 29, l. 1-2).

II. THE VERB مَنِنگ *man-ing* 'TO BECOME.'

All the tenses wanting to the verb substantive are made up from the verb *man-ing*. Its root is *mar*, which in the *past tense* changes into *mas*, and is inflected in a regular manner.

Infinitive مَنِنگ 'to become.'

Imperative.

2 Pers. *sing.* مَرِك, مَرِك *mar, már-ak* 'be or become thou.'

2 Pers. *plur.* مَبُو *má-bō* 'be or become ye.'

¹ See footnote, page 91.

Prohibitive Form.

2 Pers. *sing.* مَفَه *má-fa*¹ 'do not be or do not become thou.'

2 Pers. *plur.* مَفَبو *má-fa-bō* 'do not be or do not become ye.'

A.

1. *Presens continuum* (deest).2. *Present indefinite.**Singular.*

1 Pers. ای مَرِیو *ī mār-ev* 'I may become.'

2 ,, نی مَرِیس *nī mār-es* 'thou mayest become.'

3 ,, او مَرِی *ō mār-e* 'he may become.'

Plural.

1 Pers. نن مَرِین *nan mār-en* 'we may become.'

2 ,, نم مَرِیرک *nom mār-ere* 'you may become.'

3 ,, افک مَرِیر *ofk mār-er* 'they may become.'

N.B.—Misled by Leech, Bellew mistakes this for the simple future.

In the *negative* voice the *r* is dropped before the termination *par*, and the letter *p*, standing between two vowels, changes into *f*.

*Singular.**Plural.*

1 Pers. ای مَفَر *ī má-fa-r* 'I may not be or become.' نن مَفَن *nan má-fa-n* 'we may not be or become.'

2 ,, نی مَفَس *nī má-fi-s* نم مَفَرِی *nom má-f-ire*

3 ,, او مَف *ō maf* افک مَفَس *ofk má-fa-s*

3. *Present definite.**Singular.**Plural.*

1 Pers. ای مَرِیوہ *ī mār-ev-a*
'I may be or become.'

نن مَرِینہ *nan mār-en-a*
'we may be or become.'

2 ,, نی مَرِیسہ *nī mār-es-a*

نم مَرِیری *nom mār-ere*

3 ,, او مَرِیک *ō mār-e-k*

افک مَرِیرہ *ofk mār-er-a*

¹ See footnote, page 91.

Negative.

Singular.

- 1 Pers. ای مَفره *i mā-fa-r-a*¹ 'I become not.'
 2 ,, نی منسه *nī mā-f-is-a* 'thou becomest not.'
 3 ,, او منک *ō mā-fa-k* 'he becomes not.'

Plural.

- 1 Pers. نن مَفنه *nan mā-fa-n-a* 'we become not, etc.'
 2 ,, نم مفری *nom mā-f-iro*
 3 ,, افک منسه *ofk mā-fa-s-a*

4. Simple Future.

*Singular.**Plural.*

- 1 Pers. ای مَروت *i mar-ōṭ* 'I shall, will be, or I shall become,' etc.
 2 ,, نی مروس *nī mar-ōs*
 3 ,, او مروء *ō mar-ō-e*
- نن مرون *nan mar-ōn* 'we shall or will be or we shall become, etc.'
 نم مروری *nom mar-ō-ro*
 افک مرور *ofk mar-ō-r*

Negative.

*Singular.**Plural.*

- 1 Pers. ای مَفروت *i ma-far-ōṭ* 'I shall be or I shall not become,' etc.
 2 ,, نی مفروس *nī ma-far-ōs*
 3 ,, او مفروء *ō ma-far-ōe*
- نن مفرون *nan ma-far-ōn* 'we shall not be or we shall not become,' etc.
 نم مفروری *nom ma-far-ō-ro*
 افک مفرور *ofk ma-far-ō-r*

5. Compound Future.

*Singular.**Plural.*

- 1 Pers. ای مَروست *i mar-ō-suṭ* 'I shall have been or I shall become.'
 2 ,, نی مروسس *nī mar-ō-sus*
 3 ,, او مروسس *ō mar-ō-as*
- نن مروسن *nan mar-ō-sun* 'we shall have been or we shall become.'
 نم مروسری *nom mar-ō-sur*
 افک مروسر *ofk mar-ō-sar*

¹ See footnote, page 91.



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8. *Pluperfect.**Singular.**Plural.*

- 1 Pers. *مَسْتُتِ ای* *ī mās-asuṭ*¹ 'I had been, or I had become,' etc. *نان مسن* *nan mās-as-un* 'we had been or we had become,' etc.
- 2 ,, *نی مسس* *nī mās-asus* *نم مسری* *nom mās-as-ure*
- 3 ,, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{او مسس} \\ \text{مس} \end{array} \right.$ *ō mās-asas* *mās-as* *افک مسر* *ofk mās-as-ur*

Negative.

*Singular.**Plural.*

- 1 Pers. *مَتُونِستِ ای* *ī ma-t-áv-asuṭ* 'I had not been, or I had not become,' etc. *نان متوسن* *nan ma-t-áv-asun* 'we had not been or we had not become,' etc.
- 2 ,, *نی متوسس* *nī ma-t-áv-asus* *نم متوسری* *nom ma-t-áv-ásure*
- 3 ,, *او متوسس* *ō ma-t-áv-asas* *افک متوسر* *ofk ma-t-áv-asur*

9. *Perfect.**Singular.**Plural.*

- 1 Pers. *مَسِنْتِ ای* *ī mās-un-uṭ* 'I have been, or I have become.' *نان مسن* *nan mās-un-un* 'we have been, or we have become.'
- 2 ,, *نی مسنس* *nī mās-un-us* *نم مسری* *nom mas-un-ure*
- 3 ,, *او مسنی* *ō mās-un-e* *افک مسنو* *ofk mās-un-ō*

Negative.

*Singular.**Plural.*

- 1 Pers. *مَتِنْتِ ای* *ī má-t-an-uṭ* 'I have not been, or I have not become.' *نان متن* *nan má-t-an-un* 'we have not been, or we have not become.'
- 2 ,, *نی متنس* *nī má-t-an-us* *نم متری* *nom ma-t-án-ure*
- 3 ,, *او متنی* *ō má-t-an-ē* *افک متنو* *ofk má-t-an-ō*

The present participle is *مَرُوك* *mar-ōk* (-ōk-ā, -ōk-ō). The gerund should be *مَرِيسه* *mar-ēsa*.

With *مَنگ* *man-ing* many compound verbs are formed, the same as with *شدن* *shudan* in Persian. Example : *اوار مَنگ* *acār*

¹ See footnote, page 91.

man-ing 'to meet, to gather together' (جمع شدن); *bash man-ing* 'to rise;' *گم مننگ gum man-ing* 'to get lost' (*گم شدن gum shudan* 'to get lost'), etc.

§ 13. IRREGULAR VERBS.

To conjugate a Brahúi verb it is necessary to know, besides the imperative, the prohibitive form and the past participle. In some instances, however, this is not sufficient, since the definite and indefinite present of the affirmative form are not derived from the imperative, but either the root is changed or another verb substituted. Such are in reality the irregular verbs in the Brahúi.

The following are the irregular verbs we most frequently meet with, i.e. *کنگ kan-ing* 'to do,' and *هینگ hin-ing* 'to go.'

I. *کنگ kan-ing* 'To do.'

Imperat. sing. *گرت kár-ak*¹ 'do thou,' plur. *گبو ká-bō* 'do ye;' past. part. *گری kár-ē* 'done;' prohibitive sing. *گپه ká-pa* 'do not thou,' plur. *گپبو ka-pa-bō* 'do not ye.' The present definite and indefinite are not formed from the root *کر kar*, but from *کی kē*.

Present indefinite.

Singular.

Plural.

1 Pers.	<i>ای کیو ī kē-ō</i> 'I may do.'	<i>نن کین nan kē-n</i> 'we may do.'
2 „	<i>نی کیس nī kē-s</i>	<i>نم کیری nom kē-re</i>
3 „	<i>او کی ō kē</i>	<i>افک کیر ofk kē-r</i>

Present definite.

Singular.

Plural.

1 Pers.	<i>ای کیوه ī kē-va</i> 'I do.'	<i>نن کینه nan kē-na</i> 'we do.'
2 „	<i>نی کیسه nī kē-sa</i> 'thou doest.'	<i>نم کیری nom kē-re</i>
3 „	<i>او کیٹ ō kē-k</i> 'he does.'	<i>افک کیره ofk kē-ra.</i>

Obs.—The future and the future exact, on the contrary, are regularly derived from the root *گر kar*, viz. *گروت kar-ōṭ* 'I shall do,' and *گروست kar-ō-suṭ* 'I shall have done.'

Obs. 2.—The tenses of the past are regularly derived from the

¹ See footnote, page 91.

past participle, *i.e.* the simple past, گریٽ *kar-ē-ṭ* 'I did ;' imperfect, گریٽه *kar-ē-ṭa* ; pluperfect, گریٽست *kar-ē-suṭ* ; perfect, کریٽ *kar-ē-n-uṭ*, etc.

The Negative Form

has a regular inflection. Present indefinite, گپر *ká-par*¹ (3rd person sing. كف *ka-f*) ; present definite, كپره *ká-para* (3rd person sing. كپك *ká-pak*), etc. ; future, كپروٽ *ka-par-ōṭ* ; future exact, كپروٽست *ka-par-ō-suṭ*, etc. ; simple past, كتوٽ *ká-t-av-aṭ* ; imperfect, كتوٽه *ka-t-áv-aṭ-a* ; pluperfect, كتوٽست *ka-t-áv-asuṭ* ; perfect, كنت *ká-ta-n-uṭ*.

Present participle, گروٽ *kar-ōk* ; gerund, كریسه *kár-esa*.

II. هینگ *hin-ing* 'to go.'

Imperative, هِن *hin* ; prohibitive, هِنپه *hínpa* ; simple past, هِنَا *hin-ā*.

This verb is apparently quite regular, but it substitutes in the present and future tenses the root *kā*. Example :

Present indefinite.

	Singular.	Plural.
1 Pers.	ای کاو <i>ī kā-v</i> 'I may go.'	نن کان <i>nan kā-n</i>
2 ,,	نی کاس <i>nī kā-s</i>	نم کاری <i>nom kā-re</i>
3 ,,	او کاڻی <i>ō kā-e</i>	افک کار <i>ofk kā-r</i>

Present definite.

	Singular.	Plural.
1 Pers.	ای کاوه <i>ī kā-v-a</i> 'I go, etc.'	نن کانه <i>nan kā-n-a</i>
2 ,,	نم کانه <i>nī kā-s-a</i>	نم کاری <i>nom kā-re</i>
3 ,,	او کاڻک <i>ō kā-ek</i>	افک کاره <i>ofk kā-r-a</i>

Simple Future.

	Singular.	Plural.
1 Pers.	ای کوٽ <i>ī k-ōṭ</i> 'I shall go, etc.'	نن کون <i>nan k-ōn</i>
2 ,,	نن کوس <i>nī k-ōs</i>	نم کوری <i>nom k-ōre</i>
3 ,,	او کوٽ <i>ō k-ōe</i>	افک کور <i>ofk k-ōr</i>

¹ See footnote, p. 91.



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<i>Infinitive.</i>	<i>Imperative.</i>	<i>Prohibitive.</i>	<i>Past Participle.</i>
پندنگ <i>pind-ing</i> 'to ask.'	پند <i>pind</i>	پندیپه <i>pindīpa</i>	پندا <i>pindā</i>
پینگ <i>pin-ing</i> 'to be broken.'	پن <i>pin</i>	پنیپه <i>pinīpa</i>	پنا <i>pinā</i>
ترنگ <i>tar-ing</i> 'to spin.'	ترنگ <i>taring</i>	ترنگپه <i>taringpa</i>	ترنگا <i>taringā</i>
تینگ <i>tin-ing</i> 'to give.'	ایتی <i>ēte</i>	تفه <i>tifa</i>	تس <i>tis</i>
تورنگ <i>tūr-ing</i> 'to seize.'	تور <i>tūr</i>	تورپه <i>tūrpa</i>	توریر <i>tūrēr</i>
تونگ <i>tūl-ing</i> 'to sit.'	تولته <i>tūlṭh</i>	تویپه <i>tūlīpa</i>	توس <i>tūs</i>
توننگ <i>tūn-ing</i> 'to prevent.'	توننگ <i>tūning</i>	توننگپه <i>tūningpa,</i> توپه <i>tūpa</i>	توننگا <i>tūningā</i>
تپزنگ <i>thar-ing</i> 'to cut.'	تپز <i>thar</i>	تپزیپه <i>tharīpa</i>	تپزی <i>tharē</i>
ترهنگ ¹ 'to boil.'	ترهنگ	ترهکیپه	ترهکا
چانگ <i>chū-ing</i> 'to know.'	چا <i>chā</i>	چاپه <i>chāpa</i>	چانسه <i>chā-esa</i>
چرنگ <i>char-ing</i> 'to wander.'	چرنگ <i>charing</i>	چرنکپه <i>charingpa</i>	چرنگا <i>charingā</i>
چهندگ <i>chhand-ing</i> 'to shake.'	چهند <i>chhand</i>	چهندیپه <i>chhandīpa</i>	چهندا <i>chhandā</i>
خوانگ <i>khvū-ing</i> 'to graze.'	خوا <i>khvā</i>	خوایپه <i>khvāpa</i>	خوایا <i>khvāyā</i>
خرنگ <i>khār-ing</i> 'to move.'	خرنگ <i>kharing</i>	خرنگپه <i>kharingpa</i>	خرنگا <i>kharingā</i>
خلنگ <i>khal-ing</i> 'to beat.'	خلته <i>khalṭh</i>	خلپه <i>khalpa</i>	خلک <i>khalk</i>

¹ Pronunciation uncertain.

<i>Infinitive.</i>	<i>Imperative.</i>	<i>Prohibitive.</i>	<i>Past Participle.</i>
خُلنگ <i>khul-ing</i> 'to fear.'	خلى <i>khulī</i>	خلیپه <i>khulīpa</i>	خلیس <i>khulīs</i>
خَنگ <i>khan-ing</i> 'to see.'	خنک <i>khanak</i>	خنپه <i>khanpa</i>	خنا <i>khanā</i>
خوانفنگ <i>khvānif-ing</i> 'to instruct.'	خوانف <i>khvānif</i>	خوانفپه <i>khvānifpa</i>	خوانفا <i>khvānifā</i>
خواهنگ <i>khvāh-ing</i> 'to wish.'	خواه <i>khvāh</i>	خواهپه <i>khvāhipa</i>	خواها <i>khvāhā</i>
دَسنگ <i>das-ing</i> 'to sow.'	دس <i>das</i>	دسپه <i>dasīpa</i>	دسا <i>dasā</i>
دَنگ <i>dan-ing</i> 'to take away.'	درک <i>darak</i>	دپه <i>dapa</i>	در, دری <i>darē, dar</i>
دوشاڻگ <i>dūshāγ-ing</i> 'to interfere.'	دوشاڻ <i>dūshāγ</i>	دوشاپه <i>dūshāpa</i>	دوشاڻا <i>dūshāγā</i>
رَسنگ <i>ras-ing</i> 'to arrive.'	رسنگ <i>rasing</i>	رسنگپه <i>rasingpa</i>	رسنگا <i>rasingā</i>
سِلنگ <i>sil-ing</i> 'to wash.'	سل <i>sil</i>	سلیپه <i>silīpa</i>	سلا <i>silā</i>
سَلنگ <i>sal-ing</i> 'to stand.'	سلی <i>salī</i>	سلیپه <i>salīpa</i>	سلیس <i>salīs</i>
شاڻگ <i>shāγ-ing</i> 'to throw in.'	شاڻ <i>shāγ</i>	شاپه <i>shāpa</i>	شاڻا <i>shāγā</i>
گَشنگ <i>kash-ing</i> 'to draw, to pull.'	کشی <i>kash</i>	کشپه <i>kashpa</i>	کشا <i>kashā</i>
	کش <i>kashē</i>	کشپه <i>kashīpa</i>	
گَنگ <i>kan-ing</i> 'to do.'	کرک <i>karak</i>	کپه <i>kapa</i>	کری <i>karē</i>
کُننگ <i>kun-ing</i> 'to eat.'	کن <i>kun</i>	کنپه <i>kunpa</i>	کنگ, کنی <i>kune, kung</i>

<i>Infinitive.</i>	<i>Imperative.</i>	<i>Prohibitive.</i>	<i>Past Participle.</i>
کھنگ <i>kah-ing</i> 'to die.'	کہ <i>kah</i>	کھیپہ <i>kahipa</i>	کھسک <i>khasak</i>
گدرنگ <i>gidr-ing</i> 'to pass over.'	گدرنگ <i>gidring</i>	گدرنگپہ <i>gidringpa</i>	گدرنگا <i>gidringā</i>
گنگ <i>gaf-ing</i> 'to weave.'	گف <i>gaf</i>	گنپہ <i>gafpa</i>	گنا <i>gafā</i>
لوڑنگ ^۱ <i>lōr-ing</i> 'to smart (for anything)'	لوڑ <i>lōr</i>	لوڑپہ <i>lōrīpa</i>	لوڑا <i>lōrā</i>
منگ <i>man-ing</i> 'to be, to become.'	مر <i>mar</i>	مفہ <i>masa</i>	مس <i>mas</i>
نرنگ <i>nir-ing</i> 'to flee.'	نر <i>nir</i>	نرپہ <i>nirīpa</i>	زار <i>nirā</i>
ہترنگ <i>hatar-ing</i>	ہت <i>hat</i>	ہتپہ <i>hatpa</i>	ہیس <i>his</i>
ہتنگ <i>hat-ing</i>			
ہرنگ <i>hir-ing</i> 'to see.'	ہر <i>hir</i>	ہرپہ <i>hirīpa</i>	ہرا <i>hirā</i>
ہرنگ <i>har-ing</i> 'to tear up.'	ہر <i>har</i>	ہرپہ <i>harīpa</i>	ہرا <i>harā</i>
ہرسنگ <i>hars-ing</i> 'to turn.'	ہرسنگ <i>harsing</i>	ہرسنگپہ <i>harsingpa</i>	ہرسنگا <i>harsingā</i>
ہلنگ <i>hal-ing</i> 'to take.'	ہلتھ <i>halth</i>	ہلپہ <i>halpa</i>	ہلک <i>halk</i>
ہنگ <i>hun-ing</i> 'to show.'	ہر <i>hur</i>	ہنپہ <i>hunpa</i>	ہنا <i>hunā</i>
ہینگ <i>hīn-ing</i> 'to kid.'	ہینگ <i>hīnak</i>	ہینگپہ <i>hīnpa</i>	ہینس <i>hīnas</i>

^۱ Sindhi لودھو.



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2. *Postpositions governing the Genitive.*

These are all nouns having the meaning of adverbs, with or without a postposition, excepting those few derived from the Persian. They are :

باٿغان *bāṭ-γān*, باٿغائي *bāṭ-γāo* 'up, on, over.' Example :
 مُعافى نا قلمى كنا تقصير نا باٿغائي كشي 'Draw the pen of forgiveness over my offence' (Nicolson, p. 13, l. 6 from below).

بُرزا *burzā* 'up, on.'

پارغان *pār-γān* 'on the part of.'

پارغائي *pār-γāe* 'from that side, on the part of towards.' Example :
 اسي درويش همينا پارغان هينا 'A dervish came on the part of' (Nicolson, p. 19, l. 6). اسي نوكرس ختى نا پارغائي بي 'They sent a servant towards a village to fetch salt' (Nicolson, p. 8, l. 3).

پدا *padā*, پدان *padān*, پدائي *padāe* 'to, behind, at the back.'
 Examples : كسس نا پدان غيبت گپو 'Behind a man's back slander speak not' (Bux, p. 68, l. 8); اسي كماشو 'A decrepid man, who came behind the caravan, said' (Nicolson, p. 17, l. 2).

پدرت *padraṭ* 'after.' Example : بندغ نا پدرت بندغ مؤن تسكه 'He sent man after man' (Bux, p. 108, l. 8 from below).

پر *par* 'up, on' (Persian), not used often; if used, frequently corresponds to *and*.

تپتي *taṭṭi* 'inside, into.' Example : دمي وقت اسي سوارس 'Exactly at the time a horseman came to the door' (Nicolson, p. 3, l. 1 from below).

خاطرت *khāṭiraṭ* 'for the sake of (to oblige).' Example : اي دا ايلم 'I have done that for the sake of my brother' (Bux, p. 108, l. 9 from below).

خُرُك *khuruk*, خُرُكائي *khurukāo* 'near, close by, at, by.' Examples :
 دمي وقت كه او دسترخوان نا خُرُك توس تينا دستوران 'At the time when he sat at table, he

ate less bread than was his habit ' (Nicolson, p. 14, l. 6, 7);
 اسکا نی تو گزاس مروء همیفک نا خترکائی برور ' As long as
 there remains anything by you, so long will they come to
 you ' (Nicolson, Abu'l-Hasan, p. 1, l. 3 from below).

سَرکار نا لشکر ایفتا *randat* 'behind, after.' Example :
 رندت هِنار 'The troops of Government went after them '
 (Nicolson, Qalāt, p. 3, l. 5).

شِیف *shēf* 'below, under, down' e.g. شِیف منگ, to come down.
 کیرغا *kīr-ya*, کیرغان *kīr-yān* 'under, below.' Example :
 همی بندغاک دیر اُسُر که درخت نا کیرغا تُوَسِر
 'Who were the men that had sat under the tree?' (Bux, p. 54, l. 1);
 تینا بد خصلتاک تینا بغل نا کیرغان ڈھکیسه
 'Thou hidest thy bad qualities under the armpit' (Nicolson, p. 15, l. 2).

نما شریعت نا موجب *mūjīb* 'according to.' Example :
 دا مقدمه نا فیصله امر و بفک
 'How is this matter to be
 settled according to the tenets of your law?' (Bux, p. 94,
 l. 6 from below).

مونا *mōnā*, مونغا *mōn-yā*, مونغان *mon-yān* 'before, in the sight
 of, towards.' Examples :
 بندغ کور مسنی قاضی نا مونغا هنا
 'The man became blind, he went before the Qazi' (Nicol.
 p. 16, l. 8);
 بادشاه نا مونغا فلانہ تدبیر خاطرٹ ہیچڑا گنتوت
 'In the sight of the king I ate nothing, because of a certain
 reason' (Nicol. p. 14, l. 2 from bottom);
 نا پد پشت گله
 'Behind thy
 back they blame thee, but before thee they are ready to
 sacrifice their life' (Nicol. p. 14, ll. 2, 3).

نیام تی *niyām-tī*, یام تی *yām-tī* 'between, in the midst, under.'
 Examples :
 هندن بندغ وضعیفه نا نیامتی انت فرقاری
 'Between such a man and such a woman what difference is
 there?' (Nicol. p. 20, l. 4);
 او تینا خوشی کی بندغاتا یامتی
 'He had come forth to amuse himself among the
 people' (Nicol. Abu'l-Hasan, p. 2, l. 5 from bottom).

3. *Postpositions governing the Ablative Case.*

مون تی هیٿان *bār*, یارائی *bārāe* 'like as, so as.' Example: 'Within your sight he is mild like a goat, behind your back hard as a wolf' (Nicol. p. 14, ll. 3, 4); 'خچران یارائی یاریم نا کیرغان افٿ' 'I am not like a mule under the burden' (Nicol. p. 15, l. 6).

بغیر (Arab.) *bayair* 'without, besides.' Example: 'بغیر خدا نا' 'Without the will of God, I have not beaten him' (Bux, p. 134, l. 4 from bottom).

پدا *padā* 'after.' Example: 'گهنگان پدا انصاف مروء' 'After death there is judgment' (Bux, p. 110, l. 3).

پیشن *pēshin* 'from, of, out.' Example: 'أراغان پیشن برک' 'Come out of the house' (Bux, p. 80, l. 7).

متاک سالن گڈ *gud*, گڈا *gudā*, گڑا *gurā* 'after.' Examples: 'متاک سالن گڈ' 'After some years I came at the same time from Damascus' (Nicol. p. 20, l. 2 from bottom); 'ده دیان گڑا کنی دا آرا تی مَس سال مروء' 'At the end of (after) ten days I shall have lived three years in this house' (Bux, p. 82, l. 2 from bottom).

تینا حیاتی غنیمت چا *must* 'ere, before.' Example: 'تینا حیاتی غنیمت چا' 'Look upon your life as a gain before the day when the news may arrive that this or that person is dead' (Nicol. p. 3, ll. 2, 3).

خلیفہ پاری وید *vīd* 'besides, without.' Example: 'خلیفہ پاری وید خداگان' 'The khalif said: besides God there is no other God' (Nicol. p. 20, ll. 2, 3).

§ 16. ADVERBS.

Judging even from the few examples at our disposal, it seems that Brahúi is capable of forming adverbs from adjectives by means of the terminal *ikā*, although this seems not quite in accordance with the spirit of the languages of the Dravidian group.¹

¹ Just like Telugu, which forms adverbs from adjectives by adding *gā*: *k* and *g* are frequently interchangeable.



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§ 17. CONJUNCTIONS.

It is strange that the Brahúi has developed no conjunctions: all are borrowed, though partially formed with Brahúi roots. Examples :

ایسکا کہ *iskā kih* 'so long as' (or simply *iskā*, identical with the postposition). Example: *ایسکا کہ حرامزادہ بندغ نیکٹ* 'So long as the villain finds himself in circumstances of fortune' (Nicol. p. 10, l. 3).

اغ *ag*, اگر *agar* 'when.' Example: *اغ همینا دیوالی خناس* 'If thou beholdest its walls, thou wouldst be surprised' (Nicol. Abu'l-Hasan, p. 3, ll. 2, 3).

انتسی کہ *anta-e kih*, انتسی کہ *antas-e kih* 'because, for.' Examples: *انتسی کہ ای زو پیشن ہنوٹ* 'Because I shall go out early' (Bux, p. 110, l. 10); *انتسی کہ کنی نا حال نا ہیچ خبر الو* 'For I did not know of your presence' (Bux, p. 120, ll. 1, 2).

بی *bī* 'also' Sindhi भी or बि). Example: *بی اری* 'Where there is a rose, there is also a thorn' (Bux, p. 102, l. 8).

پر *par* in the sense of 'and.' Example: *پر و التھ ہتبو* 'Bring bread and milk.'

تہ *tah* 'then, there' (Sindhi त), especially in sentences which have a conditional meaning. Examples: *اگر اودی حکم مسکا تہ کل* 'If he had the command, then he would do everything for his good' (Bux, p. 134, ll. 3, 4); *او کنی خلتھی نشان اتی تہ ای اودی خدائی نشان ایتو* 'If he will show me the pain, then I will show him God' (Bux, p. 134, ll. 6, 7 from below).

کہ *kih* (Persian) 'that, as, since, because.' Examples: *ای خلیوہ کہ ای نی بہاز دقدار تسٹ* 'I fear that I have given you much trouble' (Bux, p. 119, l. 2 from below); *ہر بی کہ آرا نا* 'He asked (that) where the master of the house had gone?' (Bux, p. 120, l. 2 from below).

نوا *navā*, نوا کہ *navā kih* (from the Persian *nabū*) 'lest, in

order that not.' Example: خلیوہ کہ نوا دُزاک بریر 'I fear lest the thieves may come' (Bux, p. 132, l. 6).

و *ō* 'and,' is seldom used in Brahúi.

یا *yā* or یا-یا *yā-yā* 'whether—or?' Example: او ظالم سی یا انصاف 'He a tyrant is or justice doer is?' (Is he a tyrant or is he just?) (Bux, p. 126, l. 5 from below).

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE GULISTĀN INTO BRAHÚI.

I.

(Nicolson, p. 2; see Gulistān, Chap. i. hikāyat 2.)

خراسان نا بادشاهاتیان¹ است سلطان محمودی اونا گھنگان اس
 صد سال گڈ² تُغِ تھی خنا. اینا درُست جان ذرہ ذرہ مَس و مَس³
 مَس دا اسکا ہرتومکاٹ⁴ خن تینا ارا تھی سُرارہ⁵ خنارہ. کل داناٹ
 اینا مطلب نشان تینگ گتوس⁵ گترا اسی درویش اس سلام گری⁷
 پاری⁸ او دا اسکا گھنگ تھی ہی انتھی کہ اونا مُلک پین نا دوئی⁹
 تھی ہی. بہاز پنیو¹⁰ بندغاتی کھڈ¹¹ کرینو ایفتا زندگانی نا ہیچڑا
 نشانی ڈغار¹² نا باثغائی¹³ مَتَو¹⁴ او پیرنگا لاشہ قبر نا نیام¹⁵ تھی
 تَخانو اینا مَس دُوھن خورت¹⁶ مَس کہ اینا است کھڈی¹⁷ باقی
 مَتَو. نوشیروان بادشاہ نا پین دا اسکا اینا سخاوت نا سببان مشہور
 اری اغ کہ¹⁸ بہاز مُدت کدرنگا کہ او راہی مَس ہنا. آئی بَنَدغ
 نیکی گَرک¹⁹ تینا حیاتی غنیمت چا ہی دیان مُست کہ
 خنر مری کہ فلانہ کھسک²⁰ ❖

1. Nicolson, بادشاهتیان.

2. *gud* 'afterwards'; here an adverb.

3. *mash*, Persian خاک *dust* 'a mountain,' (Bellew, p. 486).

4. *hartumakāk*. See page 87.

5. *sur-ing* 'to move' is the Sindhi **سُرڻ**; therefore the exact meaning is: 'they moved about, they looked about' (Imperfect).

- 1. *ku-ang* 'to do.' *ku-ang* imperative of *ku-ang* 'to do.'
- 2. *ku-ang* 'to do.' See page 123.
- 3. *ku-ang* 'he said.' *ku-ang* imperative of *ku-ang* 'to do.'
- 4. *ku-ang* = *ku-ang*.
- 5. *ku-ang* 'probably the same as *ku-ang*'
- 6. *ku-ang* 'celebrated.'
- 7. *ku-ang* 'to make a hole, to bury.'
- 8. *ku-ang*.
- 9. See page 126.
- 10. *ku-ang*.
- 11. *ku-ang*.
- 12. (?) *ku-ang* as the Persian *ku-ang*.
- 13. *ku-ang*.
- 14. *ku-ang* 'although'.
- 15. *ku-ang* 'to do.' See page 91.
- 16. *ku-ang* 'to know.' See page 123.
- 17. *ku-ang* 'dead.' See page 123.

II.

(Nicolson, p. 9: see Gulistan Chap. i. hikāyat 22).

اسی ظالم نا بابت قِصه کرینو کہ درویش نا کائمائی خن
 خلک. درویشی تینا عیوض کینگ نا قوت مترو وا خلی تین
 تو مخا همی وقت ایسکا کہ بادشاه ناخوش مس همی بندخ قید
 لی مخنگ نا حکم تس! گترامو درویش بس او نا کائمی خن
 تو خلک. همی بندخ فریاد کری پاری نی دیرس دا خلی کنا
 کائمائی انتہی کہ خلگس. او جواب تس کہ ای فلانہ ات دا
 همی خلی کہ نی فلانہ ہی، کنا کائمائی خلگس او پاری دا
 ایسکا نی آراگ مسس درویش جواب تس ای نا درجغان



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POSTSCRIPT.

Never having had an opportunity of visiting the North-West frontier of British India, the writer cannot claim any practical acquaintance with the language of the Brahúi¹ Nation. The preparation of this Essay was suggested to him by the Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, Dr. R. N. Cust, who thought that Dr. Ernest Trumpp's valuable German Monograph² should receive adequate notice in this Journal. He had himself supplied Dr. Trumpp with all the material for the monograph, having obtained the data from Missionaries and from Sir William Merewether. In endeavouring to put this plan into execution, the writer found that a Paper on such a subject as this, to be of any value, must deal with details of every part of the Grammar, and could not therefore be restricted to a few pages.

This Paper is not a mere translation, but rather an abbreviated adaptation of Dr. Trumpp's "Grammatische Untersuchungen," and of the other Brahúi authorities, for the assistance of the English student, who looks for something like a short grammatical compilation on the Brahúi Language. Such a work at the present time may prove of special usefulness, as the language is scarcely known. It will be understood that all the comments and criticisms on preceding writers are Trumpp's, and that the *Examples*, etc., with their translations, are quoted unaltered.

If, aided by such slender linguistic knowledge as he may possess, the writer should in any degree have succeeded in his task, notwithstanding many shortcomings and imperfections, the labour which he has spent on it will have ample reward.

THEODORE DUKA.

55, NEVERN SQUARE,
SOUTH KENSINGTON, S.W.

16th Nov. 1886.

¹ Dr. Trumpp places the accent on all the vowels and writes thus: BRĀHŪĪ. Maulāwi Alla Bakhsh uses none.

² See: Sitzungsberichte der k. b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München. 1880, Supplement—Heft vi. bei G. Franz.

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ART. III.—*Art. A Version in Chinese, by the MARQUIS TSENG, of a Poem written in English and Italian by H. W. Freeland, M.A., M.R.A.S., late M.P. Commander of the Order of The Crown of Siam.*

詠技藝

傳禮蘭

精能技藝妙通神
美質熔容厲性真
淨掃積年塵俗慮
祇緣天性樂清純
歌詞圖畫與雕鐫
清潔無塵養性天
實質高華同不朽
流傳億萬百千年
更有佳音動性靈
歡情慧覺起冥冥
此時雅韻生豪興
天籟初從管外聆
巴臻比德密蘭頰
牽引情懷上九天
天上人間原不閔
性靈高處得安便
藝術功深意自幽
湛然閨媛慎矜修
策勳不藉刀兵力
雕畫聲歌得勝籌



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ART. IV.—*Hints to Oriental Students: No. 1.*¹ *Some Useful Hindi Books.* By G. A. GRIERSON, M.R.A.S., Bengal Civil Service.

It has often struck me how helpless European students are when they are in search of books published in India. These books are so cheap, and their demand in Europe is so limited, that it does not pay Indian publishers to have agents for their sale here. In addition to this, students have no means of knowing what works are published in India; and even if they knew their names, that is no criterion of the value of their contents. I therefore put down the following notes regarding books which I myself have found useful in studying Hindī, in the hope that they may be acceptable to my fellow-students.

Munshī Rādhā Lāl, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Gayā, has long been known as the author of several excellent educational works. His best work is a Hindī Dictionary, with explanations in that language, which I have often found very helpful. It is not scientifically accurate, but it is valuable as containing a good native scholar's explanations of difficult vernacular words. The first edition is out of print, but a second was in preparation when I was leaving India a year and a half ago. Amongst his educational works may be mentioned his *Hindī Kitāb*, also called *Bhākhā Bōdhinī*, in four parts, of which the first, second and fourth are published. To the European student they will be found a useful set of Hindī reading-books. The first is very elementary, consisting of short sentences and verses. The latter, being in a

¹ It is hoped that this will be but the forerunner of many similar papers from other correspondents, bearing upon the study of Asiatic Languages and Dialects, in and out of India.

² This address will find him, if he is written to. So for the other names subsequently given. As a rule, in India, authors sell their own books.

colloquial style, would probably be found difficult by the unassisted European student. The prose, however, is easy, and could readily be made out with the help of a good grammar and dictionary. Part II. consists principally of fables in easy narrative prose. Part IV. is adapted for more advanced students, and is well worth their attention. It is principally an anthology from the works of the best Hindī poets. Sanskrit scholars will recognize in the first part an ingenious adaptation of a portion of the first book of the *Hitōpadēça*, containing some *Kuṇḍaliyās*, by the well-known *Gir'dhar* the *Kabirāj* (or poet laureate¹). The prices of the three parts are as follows: Part I., 1½ annas (say 2½*d.*); Part II., 3 annas (say 4½*d.*); Part IV., 10 annas (say 1*s.* 3*d.*).

Another well-known writer of educational works is Paṇḍit Bihārī Lāl Chaubē, 2nd Sanskrit Teacher at Patna College, Bankipore. His *Bhākhā Bōdh* is very popular and deservedly so. It is well printed on very fair paper, and the four parts form an excellent series of readers for European students. The latter part of Part IV. consists of selections from various poets' works, which will be found very useful. The prices of the four parts are as follows: Parts I. and II. 1½ annas (say 2½*d.*); Part III. 2 annas (say 3*d.*); Part IV. 4½ annas (say 7½*d.*). *Patra Bōdh*, another work by the same author, is a polite letter-writer in Hindī, and should be studied by any one who has to correspond with natives in the vernacular. No people are more particular about the ceremonial beginnings and endings of letters than Hindūs. Its price is 1½ annas (say 2½*d.*). The best work by this author is the *Bihārī-Tul'sī-Bhūkhan-Bōdh* (price 12 annas, say 1*s.* 6*d.*), which is a valuable treatise on Hindī rhetoric and poetical conceits, founded on the *Sāhitya Darpaṇa*, with hundreds of examples drawn from all the great vernacular poets. It is a work of considerable research, and is admirably suited to advanced students.

I should advise persons in want of Hindī books to put

¹ Not 'Doctor of Medicine' as the *Saturday Review* maintained when it reviewed a translation of one of this poet's sonnets.

themselves in communication with Bābū Sahib Prasad Sinha, Khadgbilas Press, Bankipore (Patna). This gentleman, and his partner Bābū Ram Din Sinha, are extensive publishers, and can direct the inquirer as to the most likely places for finding printed books. Amongst books published by this firm, I may mention the *Kshatriya Patrikā*, a monthly magazine in Hindī, containing a great deal of original matter by writers of repute. It often contains instructive articles on the Hindī language, and not seldom is very pugnacious on the subject. The subscription to this magazine is Rs. 6 as. 6 per annum. Those who wish to familiarize themselves with the Kaithī¹ character, now much used in Bihār, cannot do better than buy the *Sutā-Prabōdh* (price 4 annas, say 6d.), published by the same. It is a reading-book for girls, in simple Hindī. I would also draw particular attention to a work entitled *Bhākhā Sār* (Part II.), which comes from these publishers. In my opinion it is the best Hindī reader for advanced students extant. Besides the usual and proper extracts from the *Prēm Sāgar* and the *Rāmāyan* of *Tul'sī Dās*, it contains selections from the writings of nearly all the best modern Hindī writers. Chief among the authors laid under tribute is *Harishchandra*, whose late lamented death at an early age has been a severe blow to the progress of Hindī literature. Amongst writings by him here given may be mentioned extracts from the *History of Kāshmīr* (*Kāshmīr Kusum*), founded principally on the *Rāja Tarangiṇī*, the *History of Mahārāṣṭra*, the *Nā Dēvī* (a play, in which the language and customs of Musalmāns and Hindūs are well contrasted), and the *Pūrṇa-Prakāsh-Chandra-Prabhā* (a well-known and much-admired novel). *Harishchandra's* unique and most valuable essay, entitled *Hindī Bhākhā*, on the different dialects of Hindī known to him, is given in full. In this essay, after a note on the various dialects current in the city of Banāras, including that of the thieves, he gives samples of a great

¹ I should mention that many of the above books can also be had in the Kaithī character.



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Vaishnava songs of Bidyāpati and Sūr Dās. The expressions in the songs are so truly native, and Mr. Christian has so cleverly caught the style of these old masters, that these girls have no idea that they are singing Christian hymns.

There are also given copies of letters in Hindī, written in England to Native friends in India, by Messrs. Nicholl and Pincott. I suspect that they were hardly intended for publication. I say this, judging from their contents, and not from the Hindī style, which, it is needless to say, I do not criticize here.

The book also contains the well-known "*Kahānī Thēñṭh Hindī mēñ*" (Tales in pure Hindī), which should be studied by every European student for two purposes: *firstly*, to master its wonderfully pure vernacular vocabulary; and *secondly*, to learn what is not Hindī. This set of stories is a veritable *lusus naturæ*. It contains only the purest Hindī vocabulary, *i.e.* words derived only from Prākṛit sources; not a single Arabic or Persian word finds entrance into it, and yet it is not Hindī, but Ūrdū. The work is continually referred to by native Hindī scholars as showing how impossible it is for a Musalmān (for such was its author) to write in that language, and the very first sentence, *sir jhukā kar nāk ragar'tā hūñ us ap'nē banāñēwalē kē sāmḥ'nē*, 'bowing my head, I show my humility before my Creator,' is often quoted for that purpose. Here the verb is in the middle of the sentence; and in Hindī narrative prose it *must* come at the end. The quotation, in spite of its vocabulary, is very good Ūrdū, but it is very bad Hindī.

The *Kahānī Thēñṭh Hindī mēñ* is followed by an appropriate antidote, extracts from the elegant *Rām-Kathā* of Paṇḍit Chhōṭū Rām Tiwārī, Professor of Sanskrit at Patnā College. In this work the old familiar story of Rām is told again in mingled prose and verse. It is universally recognized as a model of pure Hindī, written in a flowing and not too learned style. So highly appreciated is the book, and so great was the demand for it, that I believe there was actually a large sale of the proof-sheets before it could be completely printed off.

Selections from Baitāl, Kabīr, and other poets make up this really excellent reading-book. I hope that a new edition will soon be called for, and that, encouraged by the sale of the first, the publishers may see their way to printing it with better type, on better paper.

A member of the same firm, Bābū Rām Din Singh, published a useful *Bhākhā Byākaran*, a work written by Gir'dhar Dās, the father of Harishchandra. It is the only native work which deals with the grammar of Tul'sī Dās, and is well worthy of attention. I have myself found it very useful. To the European student, its style may be found difficult, as it is written in verse. As at present published, it only goes down to the end of nouns. I hope the rest will soon be published. It is printed by Paṇḍit Kālī Prasād Tiwārī, at the *Dharm Prakās* Press, Bankipore (Patna), and its price is one anna (say $1\frac{1}{2}d.$).

The *Dēvākshara-Charitra*, printed at the Light Press, Banāras, by Gopeenath Pathak, and priced at 3 annas (say $4\frac{1}{2}d.$), is a "Serio-comic Drama," by Paṇḍit Ravidatta Śukla. It is a play with a purpose, which is to show the tyranny the mass of the people groan under, owing to the use of the Persian character and Ūrdū language, which none of them can understand. The play is based on a number of absurd mistakes made by persons endeavouring to act on Government orders written in an illegible Persian character. It concludes with a prayer for the introduction into Government offices of the Dēvanāgarī character, and of a language "understanded of the people." To the European student the work is principally valuable for the examples of the Bhoj'pūrī dialect scattered through its pages, and for the imitation of the faults in Hindī speaking, which are made by Englishmen in office.

A favourite trial of skill amongst native scholars is for one to give another a part of a stanza, which the other has at once to weave into a short impromptu poem. The portion of stanza used as a text is called in Hindī *samasyā* or (sic) *samatsyā*, and the performance of the challenge, *samasyā-pūr̥ti* or *samatsyā-pūr̥ti*. The *Samatsyā-pūr̥ti-pachīsī* (price

1 anna, say 1½d.), by Paṇḍit Kālī Prasād Tiwārī already mentioned, may be interesting as a curiosity of this description. It contains twenty-five of these ingenious impromptu verses by the author. I may add that he has also written an excellent *Bhākhā Rāmāyan* in prose and verse, which adds one more to the many versions of the life of Rām.

In a future paper, I propose to deal especially with some of the works of Bābū Harischandra previously spoken of.



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One	Erti	Arti	Ar	Eshkhvi	Aké
Two	Ori	Jiri	Jūr	Yervi	Ubha
Three	Sami	Sumi	Sum	Semi	Khpa
Four	Otkhi	Otkhi	Otkhu	Voshtkhv	Tshba
Five	Khuti	Khuti	Khut	Vokhvishd	Kpa
Six	Ekfsi	Amshvi	Ashi	Usgva	Fba
Seven	Shvidi	Shvitki	Shkit	Tshgvid	Bjba
Eight	Rva	Rua	Orvo	Ara	Ahba
Nine	Tskhra	Tchkhoro	Tchkholo	Tchkhara	Iba
Ten	Ati	Wetti	Vit	Eshd	Iaba
Twenty	Otsi	Etchi	Etchi	Yarveshd	Waja
Fifty	Ormotsi da ati	Jarnetchi da wetty	Jurnetchi da vit	Vokhvishdeshd	Unejajaba
Hundred	Assi	Oshi	Oshi	Ashir	Shke
I	Me	Ma	Ma	Mi	Sara
Of me	Tchemgan	Tchkimisheni	T'chkimda	Mishgvaji	Saraspe
Mine	Tchemi	Tchkim	Tchkimiran	Mishgvi	Sispu
We	Tchven	Tkwa	Tchku	Na	Khara
Of us	Tchvengan	Ettinas	Tchkunda	Nishgveji	Kharakhkant
Our	Tchveni	Tchkhimi	Tchkuniran	Nishgve	Kharakhpu
Thou	Shen	Si	Si	Si	Wuara
Of thee	Shengan	Tkwa	Skandan	Isgvaji	Orokuant
Thine	Sheni	Tkwan	Skani	Isgvi	Wuarayupu
You	Tkven	Tkwa	Tkwa	Sga	Shëra
Of you	Tkvengan	Tchkuendo	Tkwanden	Isgveji	Sherashkant
Your	Tkveni	Skani	Skani	Isgve	Sherashpu
He	Ts	Tishi	Kiamushiron	Adja	Abant

ENGLISH.	GEORGIAN.	MINGRELIAN.	LAZ.	SWANETIAN.	ABKHAZIAN.
Of him	Misgan	Tinepishe	Hetepeshia	Etcheji	Orokuant (?)
His	Missi	Tineps	Hemushian	Atchash	Wayayupu (?)
They	Tssini	Ateneps	Hemtepe	Adjar	Abant
Of them	Madgan	Tinepishe	Hemteps	Adjiarga	Antirkant
Their	Mati	Tishe	Hemtepeshia	Adjiarash	Antirpu
Hand	Kheli	Khe	Khe	Tvet-shi	Snapa
Foot	Pekhi	Kutihkhe	Kutchkbe	Tchishkh	Ashpa
Nose	Tskhviri	Tchkhwindi	Tchkhindi	Nafkhvna	Apindsa
Eye	Tvali	Toli	Toli	Te	Ala
Mouth	Kharkha	Pidji	Nuku	Lakra	Atchi
Tooth	Kbili	Kibiri	Kibiri	Shtig	Khapits
Ear	Kuri	Aldji	Udji	Shtish	Alimha
Hair	Tma	Tuma	Toma	Fatv	Akhakhua
Head	Tavi	Dudi	Ti	Tkhvish	Akhi
Tongue	Ena	Nina	Nena	Nin	Abs
Belly	Mutseli	Kwara	Kolba	Khad	Amgua
Back	Zurghi	Otchishi	Shka	Kintchkh	Abgua
Iron	Rkina	Rkina	Demiri	Berej	Eikha
Gold	Okro	Orko	Altuni	Vokr	Akhi
Silver	Vertskhli	Vartchkheli	Ghemiish	Vortchkhil-Tskilian	Arezn
Father	Mama	Muma	Baba	Mu	Ab
Mother	Deda	Dida	Nana	Di-Dia	An
Brother	Zma	Djima	Djuma	Mukhbe	Asha
Sister	Da	Da	Da	Datchvir	Ashua
Man	Katsi	Kotch	Kotche	Gvajmare (vir) Mare (homo)	Auwe

Woman	Rali	Ossuri	Okhordja	Zural	Abhüs
Wife	Išoli	Tchili	Tchili	Yekhv	Abhüs
Field	Bofshi	Whitchkha	Berre	Bshv	Atchkue
Son	Vaji	Sva	Bidji	Ghezal-Tchkint	Apá
Daughter	Bali	Dzhabi	Bozo	Dina	Aphá
Slave	Rma	Rotchi	Réle	Gákh	Akhashala = Apü
Cultivator	Tokhneli	Makhatchkali	Makhatchkali	Mukhni	Adghi-khopshi
Shepherd	Bssi	Tchkwishi	Bdshi	Mégh	Akhtchi
God	Ghmerti	Ghoronti	Tanghri	Amet	Abha
Devil	Eskmaki	Mwali	Sheitan	Ashma	Aüsta
Sun	Mze	Bja	Mjora	Mlok	Are
Moon	Mri	Tta	Tuta	Doshdul	Aze
Sar	Varsklavi	Muritskhi	Muritskhi	Amtgvaek	Eyetsua
Fire	Tsetskhli	De	Datchkhuri	Lemesg	Mtsa
Water	Tskali	Tskhari	Tari	Lits	Adzé
Wise	Lhli	Ude	Okhori	Kor	Ané
Horse	Tskheni	skTeni	Tskheni	Tchaj	chi
Cow	Dzrokha	Teho	Pudji	Fir	Aëjv
Dog	Dzaghli	Djoghori	Djoghori	Jeg	Alla
Cat	Rata	Rato	Rato	Tsits	Atsghua
Cock	Mamali-katami	Mmli-	Mamuli-	Kvich	Arpekh
Duck	Tkhvi	Kwata	rd@ghi	Müts	Adzikut
Ass	Viri	Ghirin	ufuni	Tsel	Mada
Camel	Aklemi	Arkemi	Deve	Aklem	Amakhetch
Bird	Iti	Tchiti	Kintchi	Napr	Absad
Go	Tsadi	Meu	Tkzale	Lizi	Utsa



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Em a father	Mamissagan	Me	Bhi	Muga	Lapikant
Wo tšs	Ori ma	Jiri ma	ür ba	Yi mu	Ubha ap
	Mbi	Mumepi	Bpe	Mr	Lap
Of fathers	Mbi ign	Malepische	pe	Mularesh	
To tšs	Ms	Ml qs	ps	Mul as	Mo
Em tšs	Mbi q	pe	pe		
A hgr	Kali	qa	qa	ida	
Of a ggr	Kalis	v qhe		(Do) Dinish	
To a ggr	Kals	qs	ps	Dah	
Em a hgr	Kalidgan	i qe	pe	in	
Wo gds	Ori kali	Jiri wa	ür ko	Yi dia	
	Klebi	v .Epi	pe	idal	
Of ahrs	ks	pe	pe	ie	
To daughters	Kl bs	ps	ps	ials	
Em gds	igan	Tsiraskwalepische	pe	in	
A good man	Kai katsi	Djghiri kochi	Ki tchi	Ugunzigh me	Aoübe
Of a good man	Ki l is	Djghiri kshe	Kai l	Ugunzigh maru-	Aoübeikant
				ish	
To a good man	Kai kats's	Djghiri kotchish	Kai kotchish	Ugunzigh marrate	Aoübeik
From a good man	Kai igan	Djghiri kotchishe	Kai kotchishe	Ugunzigha mara-	Aoübeikant
				khan	
Two good men	Ori kai katsi	Jiri djghiri kot-	Jur kai kotchi	Yervi gunzigha	Oiabzeikev
		chebi		ame	
Good men	Yi kšbi	Djghiri kotchebi	Kai kotchepe	İha(?) marral	Oiabzeika
Of good men	Kagi t lšbis	Djghirikotchebshe	Kai kotchpeshe	İha mar-	Oiabzeikant
				ralkhan	

ENGLISH.	GEORGIAN.	MINGRELIAN.	LAZ.	SWANEZIAN.	ABKHAZIAN.
To gd man	Kargi katsebs	Djghiri kotehebis	Kai kotchepes	Kh	thh mar-
bm good man	ggi	hgan	Kai	as	thh ml-
A gd man	Kaji lali	Djghiri ossuri	Kai okhordja	kn	Abhus zbik
A bad boy	Glakha bhi	Gl'aba tchkitche	ghhe bere	Ma zural	Atchkin bpsi
Gd man	Kargi kabbi	D'ghiri ssepi	Kai okhordjalepe	Ma zuralar	Ma
A bad girl	lakhali	ghba	ghhe bozo	we (?) dino	Abba bpsi
Gd	ggi	Djghiri	Kai	Ezar (?)	Aze
br	Uessi	Utchgushi	Utchghishi	Gun ar	Litskis dghu
bt	pro kassi	Abhi utch	Iris	Mr gun ezar	Raha bzeo
Hgh	Mgli	Maghali	Maghali	Kiitkhi	Aú
Hgr	po maghali	gh	mn maghali	Khosha kiitkhi	Atskis yahow
Highest	Sup po maghali	zh	mi Teli maghali	Gun kiitkhi	Raha yehow
A be	Tskheni	maghali	ssi	Tchaj	ctik
A me	iki	l ssi	Zura	Tchag	shan
hs	l ssi	ghhi	k'kenepe	Tchjar	haua
Ms	Tchaki	hbi	urze	hgar	stua
A bill	hri	Khodj	Khodji	kn	ss
A w	hdi	shu	Pudji	Fir	jak
hs	hbi	Khodjebi	Khodjepe	Khanar	ha
ws	zbi	Tchkhulebi	Pudjepe	Firar	jua
A dog	ghli	Djhoghori	ghri	Jeg	Lak
A thh	ghli			Djua	As

Dogs	Dzheblebi	Djoghorebi	Djoghorepe	Jegar	Alakua
Bitches	Dzwe-dzaghlebi	Otch	Botchi	Djual	Alapskua
A e-goat	Tkha	Otchebi		Fikv	Adjma
A female	Dedali	Otchi-skweri	Rope	Zura	
Goats	Tkhebi	Dulu kabri	Mskweri	Ddar	
A male deer	Meli	Skweri	Zura mskweri	Mhv-irem	
A female deer	Dedali mshveli	Ma orek	Mskweri	Zura em	
Deer	Mshveli	Si rek	Ma dne	Iem	
I am	Me var	Ti are	Sin ore	Mi khvari	Sara sika
Thou art	Shen khar	Fki oret	He yaren	Si khari	Wara oko
He is	Is aris	Twa oret	Tchku boret	Adja ari	Wik toko
We are	ffen vart	Fki oret	Twa ret	Na khvarid	Khara hako
You are	Tkven khart	Fpi re	Hemtepe renan	Sga kharid	Shera shako
They are	Isseni arian	Ma ordi	Ma borti	Adjiar arikh	Wirt yiko
I was	Me kavı	Si ordi	Sin orti	Mi kd	Sara sikan
Thou wast	Shen ikavi		He yatu	Si kd	Wara wkan
He was	Is iko	Ffa ordu	He yatu	Adja arda	Wik tokan
We were	ffen arit	dfki ordit	Fku brtit	Na khvardad	Khara hakan
You were	Tkven ikavit	Twa mdit	Ffa tit	Sga ikdad	Sera shakan
They were	Isseni ikvnen	Tinepi ordes	Hemtepe tes	ijar ardakh	Wirt yikan
Be	Ikave	Orda	Boret	Khard	Ukaz
To be	Ikav			Lirde (?)	
Being	Kopeli	Ordi	Borti		
Having been	Khopeli	Ma shemilebu	Ma makhvnen	Mi ere khvarde	Sara izdiruada
I may be	Me shemidzlia	vorde	borti		
	viko				



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He goes	Is midi	Tina urs	Heya isen	Adja esgri	Wik tsoo
I went	Me tsveli	Ma liti	Man ibti	Mi esgurdas	Sara tan
Thou estest	Sen i vili	Si midarti	Si inkhti	Si esgurdas	Wara tan
He went	Is travida	Tinak mi dti	Heya mendakhtas	Aja bja	Wik tan
Go	Tsadi	Meu	Igzale	Ghird	Utsa
Going	Tsamsleli	Mi malu	Magzale	Mezi	Mutsi
One	Gra	Mikulu	Mendakhtu	Atchad	Yies
Wh is your name?	Tkveni kili ra	Si murdjokhos	Li mukdjokhons	Ma djashkha si?	Ye wikhi tsuzi?
	aris?	sakheli	djokho		
How old is this	Ra beberia	es Mutchomi	rtchi-	dsha liza	li al Abri atchi yakhi-
horse?	tskheni?	me te tskheni?	tskheni?	kaj?	tsozi?
How far is it from	Ra shoria akidan?	Taure usna	Hakolennakomen-	Mazumkhoziamu-	Abrspi ibjori
here to —?		shorakore —?	drare —?	nesh etch va—?	
How my sons are	Rani shvilebia	Sini mumas	B baa skanish ok-	dsha gezil khori	Warawap yina nka
there in your	i ehis	udes zma	horis nako be-	isgva mus?	ka?
far's i ka?	ma?	skualepire?	rerem?		
I have walked a	Me ekis didi gza	Ma phi didi	Angha dido gza pi	Mi vobash adgver	Sara bha dara
long way to-day	dghez	shara amodghra		atzalat ladghi	amuerechua
					smoke
The son of my uncle	Shvili bidzi	teche Djimadi	hmi- Djumadi	tchki- Mishgva	bidzaish Spa yab yesha spes
is married to his	missa djv abt-	shis sha Gur-	mishi etre ga-	gal litchije li	abni diashe
sister	serilia imis daze	ghinelire tishi	hnen he-	mbha bidza-	
		dasha	ush adha	ishto	
In the base is the	Lakhshe unaghiri	(Tso onanghori	Okhorishi	oyeri Kors ari	vunghir Ayina akuadir atohi
saddle of the	tetri khisa	techo	tlshishi	tan-	tvetnatchajmish large
white horse			ktche	ishoren	

Put the ~~de~~ upon Daadghe unaghiri
his back mis zurgze

I ~~the~~ ~~ben~~ his Me ~~dat~~ki mis
son with many ~~is~~ils bevri
stripes

He is grazing cattle Tstkesamsdzrokh Tina
on the top of the epomtis zurgze 1 ~~st~~aps go-
hill lash dus

He is sitting on a Is djis ~~the~~ Tina ~~the~~ gèle
horse uder that amkhis ~~the~~zhi ~~the~~zhi
tree

His brother is taller Imis dzma ma-
than his sister ghalia mis daze

The price of that Passi amissi ori
is two pounds and ~~the~~ari
a half

My ~~the~~r lives in Mma tedhemi Tchkimi mma
that small house dghas am patara ~~the~~re ate
kshshi hihe udes

Take ~~the~~se pounds ~~the~~vi is funti
from him imisgan tische

Give this pound to Mietsi is funti
him imas tis

Jessag vunghir Yaktsa abni abgha
~~the~~as ~~the~~dir

Mi ~~the~~d mit- Saradaratsep kai yera
cha gezals vo- ipa
bish

Adjaja kheldeg dj- Abni ikhtchve arèkh
odjunams sitis akhua tcha
katskhji

Adjaja khasgur Abni dakhptua athi
tchajs adj me- adzla mətse
gesh tchukvan

Mitcha mibe Yera yesha atskis
khoklatkha li dohu ~~the~~ra yèghsha
mitcha ~~the~~oh-
vim

Ami fas yervi i Abri izipso üba abja
finsga

Mishgvi mu izge ära sab dinkauet
adj kotol ko- abni ayine kut-
risga (?) ksha

Ra kshhd agas Yimkh abni (funti?)
tetr abnikant

Ra lakho tabas It abni (funti?) abni
girvintcha

Beat him well and bind him with ropes	Daartki imas kar- gat da shekare htarit	Gheashkwi tis jghro dokeri tokit	Bigazeri koreri kota	getchi kota	Rhakhol atchas mavar i kash akhkultkhan khakol lits kd- sham dipakh- anko	Darabziadabkha dat- chakhe dareighu- ana ashakhala Adzi yaaga t add- zakant
Daw water from the well	qhe tskhali han	Qhaga tskushe	khari Kuishe esbeghi	tskari	khakol lits kd- sham dipakh- anko	Adzi yaaga t add- zakant
Walk before me	Tsadi tchemtsin	Men tchim tso- kholi	Tsokhle tchkimi igzale	Gird sgobin	mishgvi Sapkha ula	Sapkha ula
Whose boy comes behind you?	Vissi bitchi modi shen ukan?	Mishi boshi murza ukan ukokhale?	Mish berre mulun skani okatch khele?	Tshi befsh adjish si goshghin?	Dezuista yushtana atchkum aya?	Dezuista yushtana atchkum aya?
From whom did you buy that?	Visgan ghikidniya es?	Mishi ghiiduru tena?	Mis haya?	yutchopi si ala	Ishashkhan khakd Abri dakt yao- khada?	Ishashkhan khakd Abri dakt yao- khada?
From a shopkeeper of the village	Soplis medukhnis- sagan	Sopelish medu- khaneshe	Kedish dukhan- djis	hakhv djis	sdjsh khakhhan	Abkanikhtcha kant akitirtcha



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of education, they had lately been making efforts which deserve the highest encouragement. In the face of a deficient revenue they had to contend with religious prejudice, the enmity of the University, and the interference of foreign powers. Fortunately, the immediate supervision of education in Egypt was now in the hands of Ya'kub Artin Pasha, a most highly cultivated minister, well acquainted with European education. Keen to seize new ideas and yet cautious in applying them, the schools, under his hands, were being slowly moulded into shape, and bid fair in time to become really satisfactory.

No discussion followed; but thanks were given to Mr. Cuny for his interesting paper, which will be printed *in extenso* in the April number of the *Journal*.

It was notified that the next Meeting would take place on the 20th December.

II. PROCEEDINGS OF ASIATIC OR ORIENTAL SOCIETIES.

Asiatic Society of Bengal, 5th May, 1886.—E. T. Atkinson, Esq., President, in the chair.

Seventeen presentations were announced, two Ordinary Members elected, four candidates proposed for election, and two withdrawn notified.

The Philological Secretary read a report by Dr. Hoernle on the ornament of ancient gold coins found in the Manikyála Tope, and forwarded by the Deputy-Commissioner of Ráwal Pindi. The discovery had formed the subject of "conversation" in the next Department announced in the Proceedings for April. The description of it as a "necklet" was considered of doubtful accuracy. It had rather the appearance of an "armlet," worn on the upper arm; but the identification of the coins as belonging, three to Antonine Pius and two to his wife Faustina, was confirmed. At Dr. Hoernle's suggestion, the ornament has been deposited in the Imperial Museum in Calcutta. After the disposal of papers in the Natural History Department, and a discussion on Silkworms, Mr. Barton Grove exhibited four illustrated MSS. from the Palace at Mandalay. The last of these, a bark manuscript in ill-spelt Sanskrit, was accompanied by an explanatory note of Dr. Rájendralála Mitra.

2nd June, 1886.—E. T. Atkinson, Esq., in the chair.

Twelve presentations were announced; the election of four

Ordinary Members and two withdrawals notified; and one candidate for election proposed.

One gold and two silver coins found at Bijapúr, and copper coins from Oudh, were exhibited; and a report was read by the Philological Secretary on a find of 22 old silver coins in the Jalandhar District. The first were of Aurangzib and Shah Jahan, and the last all round rupees of Akbar.

Among the papers read was one by Dr. Rájendralála Mitra "On the Derivation and Meaning of the Buddhist term Ekotibháva"; one "On the Míná Tribe of Jaipur in Mewar," by Kaviráj Shyámál Dás; and one "On Coins supplementary to Thomas's Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli." The second of these was the chosen subject of conversation in the Philological Secretary's Department.

7th July, 1886.—E. T. Atkinson, Esq., in the chair.

Twenty-seven presentations were announced; the election of one Ordinary Member and one withdrawal notified; and two candidates for election proposed.

Two silver coins from the Deputy Commissioner of Hissar were exhibited; and two reports, one on 12 silver coins from the Deputy Commissioner of Hoshiarpur, and one on 69 coins and a silver chain from the Deputy Commissioner of Montgomery, were read by the Philological Secretary. Some Japanese Magic Mirrors were shown, and their character and uses explained by Babu P. Ghosha; and the two following papers were read:—

1. Note on some of the symbols on the coins of Kunanda; by W. Theobald, Esq., M.R.A.S.

2. Remarks on an Inscription of Mahendrapála Deva of Kanauj; by Dr. Rájendralála Mitra.

Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Singapur, 16th January, 1886.—W. A. Pickering, Esq., C.M.G., Vice-President, in the chair.

The Report of the Council for 1885 was read; the Honorary Treasurer's accounts were passed; the officers for 1886 and two new Members were elected. For the Presidential chair the choice of the Society fell upon the Hon. J. F. Dickson, C.M.G.

Among other matters of interest noted in the Report, it was stated that two volumes of Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China and the Malay Peninsula, edited for the Society by Dr. Rost, were completed and approaching publication; and that it was proposed to continue the series by publishing two more volumes in the course of the year. A grant of 500 dollars in aid

of the work had been promised by the Local Government. The preparation of a Statistical Gazetteer for the Colony was, moreover suggested, to supply an evident want. Reference was made to a serial paper which had appeared in the Journal under the head of "Notes and Queries," and the continuance of which it was hoped to facilitate by an accession of new contributions and correspondents.

China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai, 26th May 1886.—Dr. R. A. Jamieson, Vice-President, in the chair.

It was announced that seventeen Ordinary Members had been elected since the last previous meeting; and that the Rev. Angel Zottoli, of the Jesuit Mission, Sienwei, had, in consideration of his distinguished service as a Sinologist, been made an Honorary Member. Regret was expressed at the loss to the Society, by death, of Count Kleczkowski and Mr. Scherzer, both eminent Chinese scholars.

The Chairman adverted to a project that had been started for securing a complete chronological and representative series of Chinese art specimens in porcelain and bronze, especially the former, and invited Members to give their views on the subject. A certain sum would be necessary to commence with—perhaps \$1000—but something might be done with half that amount, and one gentleman offered \$50 if nine others would follow his example. Mr. Kingsmill approved the suggestion, and thought it quite possible that if the Council could show that the community was prepared to erect a substantial addition to the existing Museum the British Government might listen to proposals regarding the site. A committee of five gentlemen was appointed to consider the question.

Fourteen papers, contributed to the "Symposium," were more or less lengthily noticed, though treated mainly in a collective sense, by Messrs. Kingsmill and Playfair and the Rev. Y. K. Yen but as these form the first article in the Society's Journal, they will be alluded to under another head.

Société Asiatique, Paris, 18th June, 1886.—M. Ernest Renan, President, in the chair.

After the election of three new Members and ordinary business the President announced that, owing to the Secretary's absence in India, the Annual Report for 1885 would appear in conjunction with that of 1886. Mr. Rubens Duval read a portion of the Preface to his edition of the Syriac Dictionary of Bar Bahlul, no



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سرخ بت و خنگ بت آن دو بت است که در زمان جاهلیت مشرکان در موضع بامیان از مضافات کابل که در سرحد بدخشان واقع است از سنگ تراشیده و از کوه انگیخته آنرا می پرستیده اند بتازی آنرا یعوق و یغوث خوانند بعضی منات و لات گفته اند و قریب باین دو صورت صورتی دیگرست بشکل پیرزنی از آن دو صورت خوردتر که نام آن نسرم باشد و بعضی نستوا خوانند و این صور از عجایب و غرایب روزگارند که بلندی هر یک از آن پنجاه و دو گز بود و میان این صورتها مجوف است چنانچه از کف پایشان راه است و به نردبان پایا کرده اند که بجمیع جوف آنها توان گشت حتی سرانگشتان دستها و پائینها و در فرهنگها مرقوم است که سرخ بت عاشق خنگ بت بوده

The Red Idol and the White Idol.—These are two idols which the syntheists have hewn out of the rock and raised in relief out of the mountain, in the time of Ignorance, in the locality of Bāmiyān, of the dependencies of Kābul, which is on the frontier of Badakhshān, and which they worshipped. In Arabic they are called Ya'ūq and Yagūth; some have said Menāt and Lāt.

Near those two effigies is another effigy in the form of an old woman, smaller than those two effigies, the name of which is Nesrem, though some say Nestwā.

These effigies are among the wonders and curiosities of the world; for the height of each of them is fifty-two cubits. The interior of these effigies is hollow, so that there is a way from the soles of their feet. And they have formed the steps of a staircase, by which one can pass through all the cavities of them, to the tips of their fingers and toes.

In some dictionaries it is said that the Red Idol was the lover of the White Idol.

Notes.

By "Red Idol" may probably have been originally meant the Golden or Gilt Idol, since gold is commonly called *Zeri Surkh* 'red gold' in Persian.

The "White Idol" may then have been overlaid with silver or some other white metal.

The Arabic names are of course a mere supposition, dating from the times of Islām.

The smaller "old woman" effigy is perhaps what is now called the "baby." What its names of "Nesrem" or "Nestwā" may be is an enigma for scholarly solution.

"Fifty-two cubits" is a very vague measurement, as the cubit is, and always has been, of several lengths. Probably cubits could be suggested, fifty-two of which would make 173 feet and 120 feet respectively. But legendary Oriental measurements must not be too critically examined.

The "staircase" turns out true; but not so the detail as to all parts of the effigies being reachable "to the tips of their fingers and toes."

N.B.—The above two letters were received too late for insertion in the October Number.

Accompanying a letter dated Tehrán, 27th October, Mr. Sidney Churchill has kindly favoured the Secretary with the following:

3. Note on "*A Modern Contributor to Persian Literature. Rezá Qulí Khan and his Works.*"

Since writing the above (vide Vol. XVIII. Part II. p. 196) I have secured two of Rezá Qulí Khán's works mentioned by me, but which I had not yet seen. The one is a Díván, consisting of a collection of ghazels, qat'ahs, tarjí'bands and rubá'is; altogether about 12,000 distichs, beginning:

ای درد تو درمان جان شیدا
وی وصل تو نایاب ترز عنقا

This MS. is now in the British Museum.

The other MS. is entitled "Miftáh ul-Kunúz" (vide Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane*, vii. p. 79, note 2). It is a commentary on the Poems of Kháqání Shírvání.

Begins : مفتاح ابواب کمال و کلام و مصباح ضلال و ظلام

The author also proposed, in the preface, after the completion of this work, composing a commentary on the poet's "Tuhfah ul-'Iráqain."

A third volume of the *Matla' ush-Shams* (vide *Academy*, Dec. 19, 1885) has just been issued from the Government Press at Tehrán by the Saní' ud-Dauleh. This volume is concerned with the description of the towns, villages, and notabilia connected with them, which are passed on the road from Meshhed to Tehrán. In it, moreover, has been inserted a valuable note of a score of pages or more on Níshápúr, by General Schindler, the well-known authority on Persian geography. Nearly all the inscriptions to be met with along the road have been noted and given by the Saní' ud-Dauleh. The text is very clearly lithographed. This same distinguished author has begun in the *Court Journal*, as a feuilleton, another of his important geographical memoirs. Up till now he had published a memoir on Tálaqán by himself; an anonymous history of Sístán; and a memoir on Isfahán by Agá Muhammed Mehdí, Arbáb, Isfahání: now he has commenced a memoir on the District of Núr of the Province of Mázanderán.

4. *The Idols of Bamian.*

November, 1886.

DEAR SIR,

I enclose an extract from a book published about a quarter of a century ago¹ by Messrs. Smith and Elder, Cornhill, which may be interesting to the readers of the Asiatic Society's *Journal*. Though it may not throw any new light on the subject so exhaustively treated in the leading paper of the July Number, a comparison of it with that article will, perhaps, tend to show that the volume from which it has been taken is authentic.

Yours faithfully,

ALFRED HAGGARD.

The Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

“Between Afghanistan and Balkh, about six miles from Bameean, is the city of Gulguleh (City of Confusion). It was the town of Jellaladeen, a great king who lived eight hundred years ago, and was also the founder of Jellalabad.

“In Bameean I saw the great images of Subsal and Shamona, otherwise called Surkbut and Konuckbut, or, in Arabic, Yaouck and Yasouck (*sic*). These figures are supposed to represent the first

¹ “Lost among the Afghans,” being the adventures of John Campbell (otherwise Faringhee Basha) amongst the wild tribes of Central Asia. Related by himself to Oswald Fry. London, 1862.



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5. *The Pre-Akkadian Writing.*

BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON, 9th Nov., 1886.

DEAR SIR,

In answer to Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie's note in the last part of the Society's Journal, I will merely state—

1. A reference to the Journal of the Society of Arts, vol. xxviii. p. 791, and to the *Academy* of November 6th, 1886, p. 313, will show that several scholars have brought forward, before him, the theory which he advances; and

2. I entirely disagree with him on the question.

Yours very truly,

G. BERTIN.

IV. OBITUARY NOTICES.

During the past quarter the Society has had to regret the loss of one of its lately-named Vice-Presidents, James Gibbs, Esq., of H.M. Bombay Civil Service, a Companion of the Star of India and Indian Empire, and late Senior Member of the Viceroy's Council in India.

Mr. Gibbs entered the service of the Hon. East India Company on the 7th December, 1846, but, within a year after his arrival in Bombay, was obliged to return to England on medical certificate for two years. Again landing in India in 1850, he passed examinations in the native languages, and was appointed Assistant Judge and Sessions Judge at Surat in April, 1851. During the month of November of the following year he was appointed Senior Assistant Judge and Sessions Judge at the detached station of Broach, and, in December, 1853, Judicial Assistant to the Commissioner in Sind, then the lamented Sir Bartle Frere. In 1855, on the departure of Mr. (now Sir Barrow) Ellis, Mr. Gibbs received charge of the office of Political Assistant to the Commissioner, and from that period continued to perform the work which it entailed, in addition to that of Judicial Assistant. Throughout the Mutinies of 1857–58, he assisted Sir Bartle Frere in those exceptional and highly important duties which the circumstances of the day threw upon that distinguished statesman. At the close of the said crucial epoch in 1859, Mr. Gibbs was appointed, under a special Commission, to try rebel chiefs of the Nagar Párkar districts for high treason, being invested with extraordinary powers to pass such sentences as he might consider necessary, without previous reference; and the "great care and intelligence" shown by him in the conduct of the

trial were acknowledged in a Resolution of the Bombay Government approving the sentences so passed.

Mr. Gibbs remained in Sind until September, 1860, when he was ordered to the Presidency on special duty connected with the Income Tax Act, then just passed through the Legislative Council of India. First appointed Special Commissioner, he subsequently became President of the Commission and Collector of the Tax; thus having, for the town and island of Bombay, the entire management of that unpopular measure. He took leave to England in 1862, and while on furlough was called to the Bar by the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple. On return to India in January, 1865, after resuming for a few weeks his former duties, and acting as Collector of Bombay, he was appointed Judge of Púna and Agent for the Governor for the Sirdars in the Dakhan. These appointments he held until the beginning of 1866, when, having been named by her Majesty one of the Judges of the High Court of Judicature at Bombay, he left Púna for the Presidency. Here he continued at his post until April, 1874, and was the first civilian judge, selected by the Chief Justice to sit on the "Original Side" of the Court, which represented the former "Supreme" or "Queen's," in contradistinction to the "Sadr" or "E.I. Company's Court," and on which up to that time, Barrister Judges alone had sat. During a year and a half he took his share with his Barrister colleagues in every branch of the duties—civil, criminal, and chambers on that side of the Court, while he had already for some years presided over the insolvent business. On resigning his seat on the Bench to become a member of the Government of Bombay, he was addressed by the senior Barrister in behalf of the Bar in very complimentary terms, and also by the Native Pleaders on the Appellate Side.

Mr. Gibbs was from May to October, 1873, a temporary member of the Bombay Government, and in April, 1874, succeeded permanently to that office, holding charge of the Political, Judicial, and Railway Departments, and for a time that of the Public Works; he brought in and passed several important measures through the Legislative Council, including Acts for Mufassil Municipalities, Compulsory Vaccination, Jails, the amendment of the Municipality of the City of Bombay, and lastly the purchase of the entire foreshore of the island and reconstitution of the Port Trust, a measure of the greatest importance to the trade of the city. He took a prominent part in the arrangements for meeting and dealing with the famine

in the Bombay Presidency in 1876-78, and in the preparation of rules which have since been approved of for future general guidance in the event of such a calamity recurring; and for the personal part he had taken in the initiation and support of these measures, he was admitted to the third class of the Order of the 'Star of India.'

In 1870 Mr. Gibbs was first appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay, and continued by four re-appointments to hold that office until his departure from India in 1879. On his resignation a meeting of the Fellows was held, an address voted, and a subscription for a testimonial opened, to which the public were invited to join. The fund raised has been divided to defray the cost of a bust placed in the University Library and procure a large addition to the books. In addition to this, Jahangir Cowasji Jahangir Readymoney gave Rs. 1000 to found a prize of books, value Rs. 40 every year, to be called "The Gibbs Prize," at the University; while the Kach Darbar gave Rs. 2500, and the Junagarh Darbar Rs. 2000 for Vernacular Prize Essays in Mr. Gibbs's name, making a total Testimonial of Rs. 22,100, being one of the largest testimonials raised in Bombay in honour of a departing public servant. Before he resigned, Mr. Gibbs had the satisfaction of bringing the scheme for conferring degrees in science to a completion, and it received the approval of the Senate about a month after he had left India. During the last few weeks of his residence in Bombay, he received several other public recognitions of his services, and his departure was witnessed by one of the largest assemblies of Natives and Europeans assembled for such a purpose. Not a few of the former, including several Chiefs, had travelled long distances for the sole purpose of bidding him farewell.

Mr. Gibbs, who had returned from India in 1885, died at his London residence, after a long illness, on the 30th October, in his sixty-second year, much regretted by those who appreciated his kindness of heart, and amiable qualities. His remains were attended to the Brompton Cemetery by many friends and old companions.

Arthur Grote, son of George Grote and brother of the historian, was born on the 29th November, 1814, at Beckenham in Kent. Nominated by Mr. George Lyall, Director of the East India Company, on the recommendation of Mr. James Pattison, he entered Haileybury College early in 1832, and passed out in December, 1833, as 'highly distinguished,' having obtained prizes



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number of mourners who attended his funeral at Kensal Green on the 9th December, bear testimony to the high esteem and regard in which his memory is held by a large circle of friends.

V. EXCERPTA ORIENTALIA.

No. 2 of the first part, vol. lv., *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, contains an article by Mr. E. E. Oliver on "the decline of the Sámánis and rise of the Ghaznavis in Máwaráu-n-Nahr and part of Khurásán." It is gratifying to find the younger officers of the Indian Government—now no longer restricted to the covenanted circle—devote their leisure and opportunities to the advancement of the knowledge of Indian History, not only checking dates, but creating data by the light of coins. The substantial aid supplied to the Historian by the Numismatist is well illustrated in Mr. Oliver's useful paper, prepared with evident care and industry. Mr. Whiteway's "Place-Names in Marwára" is suggestive of the improvement which might be effected in our Gazetteers by the compulsory record of the meaning or origin of every name entered. Captain Tufnell, of the Madras Staff Corps, supplies the third and last article in an analysis of a collection of South Indian coins.

Journal Asiatique, huitième série, tome viii. No. 1 (Juillet-Août, 1886), contains a Report of the General Meeting of the 18th June, with a list of the Society's officers and members, and the following articles:—Mané, Thecel, Pharès, et le Festin de Balthasar, in which M. Clermont-Ganneau discusses the interpretation given to the three mysterious words of the fifth chapter of Daniel; M. Sénart's continuation of his study of the Piyadasi Inscriptions; a new instalment of M. Sauvaire's materials for a history of Muhammadan Numismatics and Metrology; and the usual "Nouvelles et Mélanges." The last paper reviews at length a recent edition of the "Poésies Gastronomiques" or parodies of Abu Ishak Halláj Shirázi, who flourished early in the fifteenth century, and supplements the notice of the same work and the same author, which appeared some time ago in the British Museum Catalogue of Persian MSS. (vol. ii. p. 634). M. Rieu's MS. of the كنز الشهيا "treasure of appetite," is of A.D. 1685; whereas the present edition, published at Constantinople, and said to do honour to the Turkish printing press, is hailed as a sign of revival of a taste for Persian literature among Ottoman readers of the day. The editor, Mirza Habib Isfaháni, has already attained local repute as the author of a Persian Grammar and translator of Molière's "Misanthrope." No. 2 of the same volume of the *Journal* (Septembre-October, 1886), besides a continuation of the respective articles of MM Sénart and Sauvaire, and the "Nouvelles et Mélanges," has a contribution by M. Abel Bergaigne on the "Samhita primitive du Rig Veda," and another by M. J. Halévy on "L'étoile nommée Kakkab Mesri en Assyrien."

German Oriental Society, vol. xl. part 3, contains: 1. David Kaufmann's "Das Wörterbuch Menachens Ibn Saruk's;" 2. L. Morales, "Aus dem Buch der ergötzenen Erzählungen der Bar Hebräus;" 3. Adolf Baumgartner "Ueber das Buch die Chrie"; 4. M. Heidenheim on "Die neue Ausgabe der Vers. Sam. zur Genesis" (Bibl. Sam. I.); papers respectively involving acquaintance with the Hebrew, Syriac, Armenian, and Samaritan languages. 5. Adolf Stenzler's "Das Schweitklingen-Gelübde der Inder"; 6. Böhlingk's Supplement to Vasishta; 7. Bühler's Observations on Böhlingk's article on Apastamba—these papers are Indian themes, the last an elaborate contribution by a Sanskrit scholar well known in the East; 8. Kuhnert's "Midas in Sage und Knust"; and Ign. Guidi's "Die Kirchengeschichte der Catholicos Sabkriso."

The number for December, 1885, of the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, in addition to its Lists of Council and Members, a Meteorological Report and Occasional Notes, has the following seven articles:—Plan for a Volunteer Force in the Muda Districts, Province Wellesley; a Description of the Chinese Lottery known as "Hua Hoey;" a paper translated from the Dutch on the Roots in the Malay Language; Klieng's War Raid to the Skies, a Dyak Myth; a continuation of Valentine's account of Malacca, translated from the Dutch; on Mines and Miners in Kinta, Perak; and an English, Sulu, and Malay Vocabulary. Among these the essay on Malay Roots and the Vocabulary are of undoubted utility: the first, by Dr. Pijnappel, was read in the Polynesian Section of the Oriental Congress held at Leyden in September, 1883. "Hua Hoey" supplies a curious and an entertaining subject of consideration, and is illustrated with numerous drawings. Printed separately from the Journal, are "Notes and Queries," edited by the Hon. Secretary. These contain Local memoranda of interest, original and selected. *En passant*, some kind of answer may be given to the question as to the existence of any biography of Captain T. J. Newbold, of the 23rd Madras Light Infantry. A list of that officer's writings will be found in a book published at Madras in 1874, and bearing on the title-page, "Men whom India has Known, Biographies of Eminent Indian Characters, by J. J. Higginbottom, F.R.A.S.," and at the close of that list, reference is made to a Biographical Notice of the deceased in the "Bombay Times, May, 1850."

Issued at Shanghai, August, 1886, are Nos. 1 and 2, Vol. xxi. of the *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Exclusive of Notes and Queries, and Literary Notes, its articles are thus designated:—1. The Advisability, or the Reverse, of endeavouring to convey Western knowledge to the Chinese through the Medium of their own Language. 2. Histrionic Notes. 3. The Seaports of India and Ceylon, Part II. 4. Roadside Religion in Manchuria. 5. Alphabetical List of the Dynastic and Reign Titles of the Chinese Emperors. 6. Where was Ta-ts'in? a question

replied to by No. 6. In "Notes and Queries" the signatures of Dr. Edkins and Messrs. Playfair and Giles, are guarantees of matter worthy the reader's attention.

Archæology.—Vol. iv. of the *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, lately issued from the Madras Government Press, and No. ii. of the *Archæological Survey of Western India*, both do honour to Mr. Burgess, the Department in his charge, and the many Assistants thrown in his way, and are full of instructive and interesting information. In the first—which deals with Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions and village Antiquities—may be specially indicated the admirable care and method with which the record of the Copper-plate Grants is carried out. The volume is divided into three parts respectively designated:—Notes and Inscriptions from Temples in the Madura district; copied Tamil Inscriptions from Temples in the Rámnád Zamíndári; and Copper-plate Grants in the Madras Museum and elsewhere. A note by Mr. Robert Sewell, communicated to the *Athenæum* (11th September), refers to the identification by Mr. Burgess, of the Hindu Temple at Srisailam, amongst the mountains south of the Krishna river, with the Buddhist Monastery described by Fah-Hien (A.D. 400) as the "Po-lo-yu," and by Hiouen Thsang as on the mountains of Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li. Western India's archæology is illustrated in the other volume by Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency, with an Appendix for Gujrát Inscriptions. Mr. Burgess explains the practical use of this arrangement to be in affording data for the ready preparation of classified monuments for conservation; and when it is observed that such utilization of his material applies to no less than fifteen Provinces, States, Territories or Districts, and sixteen so-called "Zillas," it will be admitted that an important object has been attained. Apart from these considerations, however, the book will be valuable on its own intrinsic merits.

Mr. Burgess writes in the *Academy* of October 9, that when at the site of the Amarâvati Stupa, he discovered an inscription of the Andhra king Pulumâvi, belonging to the second century A.D. It commemorates the gift of "a Dharmachakra to the great Chaitya belonging to the school of the Chaitikâyas." The Chaitychas and Pûrvasailas being one and the same, and the Avarasailas a different division of the Mahâsamghikas, it is suggested that the assumption, from Hiouen Thsang's reference to the latter, that the Avarasaila Sanghâsâma was identical with the Amrâvati Stûpa may be unfounded. Burgess contends that, in any case, the inscriptions appear to prove Amrâvati the site of the great Pûrvasaila Stûpa.

The Quarterly statement for November of the *Palestine Exploration Fund* is full of interesting details obtained from Capt. Conder and other contributors. A paper by Herr Schumacher, giving the results of a recent visit to Southern Palestine, is notable for its description of a singular brick building excavated at Askalan; a second by the Rev. H. G. Tomkins on "Gath and its Worthies" may possibly provoke some new discussion; and another by Herr Schick on further investigations at the Pool of Siloam, relates to



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the ancient settlements from Telingana on the coast of Pegu. In No. 189 of the same journal, for November, will be found a continuation of Mr. Murray-Aynsley's articles on the Comparative Study of Asiatic Symbolism, the conclusion of Mr. Knowles' Kasmiri tale, a new contribution by Dr. Bühler on Valabhi Inscriptions, the Gipsy Index, and the instructive "Miscellanea," in which Mr. Grierson's practised pen plays a conspicuous part.

The *Athenæum* of September 25 reports that M. Guillaume of the Institut de France had been placed in charge of an archæological mission to Greece and Asia Minor.

Hebrew and Semitic Languages.—Professor Nöldeke's valuable contribution to part 84, vol. xxi. of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* lately issued, defines the "Semitic" as Hebrew and Phœnician, Aramaic, Assyrian, Arabic, Æthiopic (Geez and Amharic). It would be interesting to compare his definition and general argument with Renan's, but that thirty years of progress in this, as in other branches of scientific study, have effected marvellous changes in thought and theory—a fact on which the learned German writer significantly dwells. Acknowledging the charm and brilliancy of the "Histoire Générale des Langues Sémitiques," he says, "A work upon the subject which realizes for the present state of science what Renan endeavoured to realize for his own time unfortunately does not exist."

The *Academy* of 11th September reports that the 18th Annual Session of the American Philological Association began at Ithaca on July 13th, under the Presidency of Professor Tracy Pack of Yale. Mr. Cyrus Adler of Philadelphia read a paper "on the Hebrew Words in the Latin Glossary, Codex Sangallensis 912"—intended to be a contribution towards the collection and explanation of Hebrew words found in late and mediæval glossaries; Professor Blackwell of Missouri proposed a new etymology for Ashtoreth the Canaanitish Goddess, which he referred to the Akkadian Ishtarat, Ishtar, whereas the common assumption was to identify it with Ashareh. The latter he "referred to a root *asher* 'to go before,' not substantiated in Hebrew, but found in Assyrian and Arabic."

Strack's Hebrew Grammar, a continuation of Petermann's series, is noticed in some detail by the Rev. C. J. Ball, who sees in it "a marvel of compression but hardly of expression;" yet allows that advanced students will find it "both interesting and, to a certain extent, edifying." He himself acknowledges having read the book "with much pleasure and some profit." The English translation is by the Rev. A. R. S. Kennedy of Glasgow.

An elaborate notice of Dr. Cornill's revised Hebrew text and translation of the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, published at Leipzig, is contained in the *Academy* of the 9th October.

We learn from the *Athenæum* that the Delegates of the Clarendon Press have undertaken the publication of a new and much needed Hebrew dictionary, in preparation by Canon Driver of Oxford, and Professors Brown and Briggs in America.

Among new publications may be mentioned:—

Die Aramäischen Fremdwörter in Arabischen von Siegmund Fraenkel (Brill, Leipzig, 1886).

Chwolson, D.—Syrische Grabenschriften aus Semirjetschie Ureg. u. erklärt (St. Petersburg, 2 m.).

Bondi, J. H.—Dem Hebräisch-Phönizischen Sprach-zweige angehörige Lehrwörter in hieroglyphischen u. hieratischen Teuton (Leipsic, Breitkopf und Härtel, 3 m.).

Levy, J.—Neu hebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch, part 20 (6 m.).

Derenbourg, J.—Le livre des parterres fleuries : Grammaire Hebraïque en Arabe, d'Aboul Walid Merwan ibn Djanah de Cordoue (Paris, Viewig, 25 fr.).

Gasselin, E.—Dictionnaire Français-Arabe, tome i. (Paris, Challamel aîné, 120 fr.).

Assyriology.—In the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* for August, M. J. Oppert reverts to his revised interpretation of the word *napah*, and discusses the question in a separate article of some ten pages, whereas his former notice on the subject was confined to a passage in the "Sprechsaal." Contenting himself in the first instance with stating his proposition, he now shows cause for its assertion by argument and illustration. The second paper by M. Jensen, on the "Kakkab Mesri," carries on the contest already begun by M. Schrader in respect of M. Oppert's interpretations. To those interested in this learned discussion, a further argument still will be found in M. Halévy's dissertation on the Star above mentioned in the French Journal *Asiatique* for September-October. This writer considers the key of the disputed passage to be the word *kassu*, commonly translated "earthquake;" but which M. Oppert renders by "wind-tempest," M. Jensen by "cold," and M. Halévy by "heat." The remaining articles in the number under notice are by Nöldeke on the term "Assyria;" M. Amiaud on Hittite Inscriptions, and notably the "bulle de Iovanoff"; M. Reber on old Chaldæan art (painting); the *Sprechsaal*, in which are communications by Messrs. Oppert and Jensen and Professor Sayce; the "Recensiones," in which are reviewed Tiele's *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, Pinches' *Assyrian Antiquities*, and Brunengo's *Impero di Babylonia*; and the *Bibliographie*.

The *Academy* of the 20th November announces that Professor Paul Haupt was to deliver a course of Lectures on Assyriology at the Johns Hopkins University during January, 1887, beginning on the 3rd and ending on the 29th id. Individual instruction would be given at the same time in the Semitic Languages.

Two numbers of a new periodical designated "The Babylonian and Oriental Record," edited by Messrs. de Lacouperie, Pinches and Capper, have appeared. No. 1 for October contains "Sumerian and Akkadian in Comparative Philology" by Prof. T. de Lacouperie; Singasid's gift to the Temple Ê-ana, by Mr. Pinches; and the Plague Legends of Chaldæa, by a writer who signs himself 'B. W.'

No. 2 for November has the Burning Fiery Furnace, by Mr. Bertin; the Erechite's lament over the desolation of his Fatherland, by Mr. Pinches; Gleanings (I.) from Clay Commentaries, by Mr. Boscawen; and the Kushites, who were they? by M. de Lacouperie. Each number has critical notices of appropriate books and "Notes, News and Queries." From the last it appears that two very interesting courses of lectures on Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Ancient Civilization of the East have been delivered at the British Museum in November by Mr. Bertin and Mr. Boscawen.

Hittite.—Professor Sayce contributes to the *Academy* of the 23rd October an interesting letter on a Hittite Inscription discovered by Professor Sokolouski, between Ikonium and Ilgim, and reported on last year by Prof. Perrot. The localities had been visited last summer by Prof. Ramsay, from whose careful drawing of the text new conclusions have been reached. Prof. Sayce finds that the characters and their combinations are the same as those found in the monuments of Carchemish and Hamath, and infers that "the Hittite monuments of Central and Western Asia Minor cannot be the work of the inhabitants of the country, but of invaders from Syria and Kappadocia. They confirm the Egyptian inscriptions in indicating the existence of a Hittite Empire in Asia Minor." But the whole letter in which, among other questions, the association between the Hittite and Amorite names is treated, is full of that high interest which attaches to Biblical archæology. It may here be added that in the *Academy* immediately succeeding the number noticed, Profs. Cheyne and Neubauer both resume discussions of the last-mentioned subject, the correspondence being further continued to the reader's advantage for three successive weeks.

Arabic.—A noteworthy attempt to simplify the grammatical study of Arabic has been made in an octavo volume published at Chicago under the title of *An Arabic Manual* by Dr. Lansing, Professor of Old Testament Languages and Exegesis in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church at New Brunswick. Its four main divisions are under the respective heads of Orthography, Etymology, Paradigms and Chrestomathy.

The first of a series of Memoirs on Oriental Geography and History, published at Leyden, in a neatly-printed, handy volume, is entitled *Memoires sur les Carmathes du Bahrein et les Fatimides*. It is, in fact, a new edition of M. J. de Goeje's publications of 1862, intended as a serial, but continued for three issues only; and both the writer and readers may be congratulated on the revival of the project.

Brill of Leyden has published *Primeurs Arabes*, présentées par le Comte de Lundberg, fascicule i., and *Ibn Anbârî's Asrâr al 'Arabiya*, edited by C. F. Seybold.

Among the gift books of the season is one published by Unwin, bearing the emblem of the Crescent and Star, and the title of "Tales of the Caliph." They profess to relate certain noteworthy occurrences in the life of the Khalif Harunu-r-Rashid, and to be written by "Al Arawiyah."



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Among Messrs. Trübner's new publications may be noticed the text of the *Manava-Dharma-Çastra*, edited with critical notes by Professor Jolly of Würzburg. There is also procurable at the same publishers the second part of Capeller's "Sanskrit-Wörterbuch, nach den Petersburger Wörterbüchern bearbeitet" (Karl Trübner: Strassburg, 3 M.). The fourth book of the *Māitrayani Samhitā*, edited by Schroeder, and printed at the cost of the German Oriental Society, has appeared at Leipzig (Brockhaus, 12 M. 25 Pr.).

The second, third, fourth and fifth parts of Panini's Grammar, by Otto Böhtlingk, have been published at Leipzig; and, at Brussels, the "troisième notice" of M. Van den Gheyn's "Nouvelles Recherches sur la Huitième Classe des Verbes Sanscrits."

The Clarendon Press has again done itself honour in the issue of Katyayana's Sarvanukramaṇi of the Rig Veda, with extracts from Shadgurusishya's Commentary, entitled Vedārthadīpikā, edited with Notes and Appendices by Mr. A. A. Macdonell.

Persian.—*Persia, the Land of the Imams*, is noticed by Mr. C. E. Wilson in the *Academy* of the 15th November, as containing many interesting details, but showing want of system in its transliteration of proper names. Its author is Mr. James Basset, a Missionary of the Presbyterian Board. The book was more briefly referred to in the *Athenæum* of the preceding month (October 23rd), and a conclusion arrived at much to the same effect.

Mr. Pincott's letter to the *Academy*, in the issue of the 20th November, states that an Urdú book of much interest had reached the India Office from the Panjáb, entitled the Kuwá'iyid-i-Baragstá, or grammar of the Baragstá, by Ghulám Muhammad Khán Popalzái. The language in question is shown to be "the dialect of the people named Ormar, a colony of whom resides near Pesháwar, and another cluster is found at Logur, near Kábul; but the principal seat of the tribe is at Káni-Karam in the Wazírí district of Afghanistán." It is Aryan in character, of the Pashtú type, though inclining to Persian. Mr. Pincott enters into some particulars regarding it, and notes the author's promise to prepare a dictionary and an exercise book.

"Persia and the Persians" is a handsomely got-up volume with superior illustrations, published by Murray. It relates the experience of Mr. S. G. W. Benjamin, late United States' Minister at the Shah's Court, and is rather a general survey of the country in which the author passed the year or two of his diplomatic career than a record of daily occurrences.

"A Sketch of Persian History, Literature, and Politics," entitled *Persian Portraits*, by Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot, formerly of the Bombay Civil Service, has appeared as the Journal is going to press, and is reserved for notice in the ensuing number.

Turkish.—Sir Richard Burton takes up the well-translated "History of the Forty Viziers" in the *Academy* of the 20th November, and pronounces upon it an opinion which cannot but be satisfactory to the translator. As regards the final short *a* being

used at the end of a word instead of *ah*, the reviewer mentions in a special footnote that he has joined issue with Mr. Gibb. The latter would write *Záda* and *Fátima*; Burton prefers *Zádeh* (or possibly *Zádah*) and *Fátimeh*. Perhaps, if it were understood that an *unaccented final a* always represented, in transcription, *ah*, some trouble might be saved, and mistakes could not well be made in the meaning of words. When the *alif* is expressed, as in *Aghá*, the English *á* would carry the accent.

M. Van den Gheyn, of Louvain, has republished from the *Revue des Questions Scientifiques*, of July last, his paper of ethnographic and linguistic interest on *Le peuple et la langue des Cumanes*; treating of a section of the Turkish race which entered Europe prior to the Othmanlis, in the seventh or eighth century, but has now disappeared.

Chinese.—Messrs. Trübner & Co. are about to publish Professor Beal's translation of the *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, written by his disciples Hwui Li and Yen-tsung, a sequel to the *Si-yu-ki*.

La Chine Inconnue of M. Maurice Jametel has reached a fourth edition.

Prof. Beal has written a long and interesting review of Prof. Legge's *Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, a work which was noticed in the last number of the *Journal*.

The Department of Oriental MSS. at the British Museum has been enriched within the last few days by the addition of two curious MSS. from China, of which a description is given in the *Academy* of the 30th October.

According to the *Academy* of Nov. 20, Sir Thomas Wade, late H.M. Envoy Extraordinary in China, had agreed to present his valuable collection of Chinese books to the Library of the Cambridge University, on the sole condition that he should be its Curator. This offer has, it appears, been readily accepted.

The *Histoire de l'Empire de Kin ou Empire d'Or*, being a French translation from the *Manchú* by M. C. de Harlez, furnishes a new proof of the usefulness and activity of the learned Professor of Louvain in the field of Oriental research.

A remark made some seven years ago by Mr. A. W. Franks, in his *Catalogue of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, to the effect that we require enlightenment in the science, as it were, of the subject he had in hand, is the *raison d'être* of a paper from Dr. Bushell in the *Journal of the Peking Oriental Society*, which has been reproduced in pamphlet form by the Pei-T'ang Press of Peking. *Chinese Porcelain at the Present Day* may be commended as an instructive manual of a popular manufacture.

Japanese.—*Japanese Names and their Surroundings*, by Edward L. Morse, is pleasantly noticed in the *Academy* of the 11th Sept. by Mr. Cosmo Monkhouse, who seems to trace "that universal feeling of something more than friendliness which Europe entertains for the Japanese alone of all the nations of the East," from the fact of "their direct unsophisticated naturalness." In the

next issue of the same paper, Mr. Frank Dillon points out that a complete Japanese Room, in accordance with Mr. Morse's description, had been transported at his, the writer's, request to England, and can now be seen at the Bethnal Green Museum.

Messrs. Trübner have announced the publication of a *Romanized Japanese Reader*, with English translation by Mr. Basil Hall Chamberlain, of Tokyo. This gentleman's *Simplified Grammar of the Japanese Language* is, according to the critic in the *Athenæum* (October 16th), not simple enough, and should be recast, as an easy method of making it a most useful book.

Mr. G. A. Audsley's "splendidly illustrated" two volumes on the *Ornamental Arts of Japan* meet with fitting attention in the *Athenæum* of the 16th October. The details of the various crafts discussed are pronounced "instructive, and in many places rich in anecdote, and calculated to give an adequate idea of the surprising ability of the Japanese as artificers."

A short statement of the aim and method of the Japanese Roman Alphabet Association has, at the suggestion of H. B. M. Minister in Japan, been drawn up in English for all foreigners who may be interested in the subject. This is printed in pamphlet form at the Tokyo press, and bears the signatures of the Hon. Secretaries of the Romaji Kai. Three numbers of the Society's Monthly Journal, the Romaji Zanki, which have been forwarded to the London Royal Asiatic Society, are good specimens of the application of the principle of transcription involved. Whether the disuse of the native character is a desirable end or not, is a question on which an opinion is not here put forward.

An illustrated article by F. Kakenberg, on "Dance and Song in Japan," is among the contents of the 15th October number of the *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient*.

Armenian.—Professor Nève, who has rendered such good service as a Professor and writer in the field of Asiatic research, has just published an interesting volume on Christian Armenia and its Literature. It is in a great measure a reproduction of essays on a subject which has engaged his attention for the last forty years; and well merits a place in the library of serious students of Oriental history. Many will echo the sentiment expressed in the following eloquent passage of his Preface: "Le peuple arménien, fort d'une admirable fidélité à son caractère comme à sa foi, survit aux guerres et aux révolutions qui l'ont en quelque sorte décimé: il possède dans son idiome littéraire et liturgique un signe de sa vitalité et un gage de sa perpétuité. On croirait qu'il est appelé à prendre part quelque jour à la régénération de l'Asie."

Egypt.—For the three months September, October, and November, the *Academy* contains, as usual, interesting accounts of the work done by the Egypt Exploration Fund. Sept. 4th has a description of the exhibition of antiquities from Tell Nebesheh and Tell Defenneh (Tahpanhes) at the Royal Archæological Institute. As the *Academy* states, this exhibition was in many respects the most generally



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Oct. 29, M. Maspéro presented M. Victor Loret's work, "The Tomb of an Ancient Egyptian." Amongst other studies, M. Loret had spent some time in tracing the composition of perfumes used by ancient Egyptians. Two of these, *Kyphi* and *tasi*, had been made under his direction by MM. Rimmel and Domère. M. Maspéro submitted specimens to the meeting.

Of books published we may note: The Sarcophagus of Anchnesrāneferāb Queen of Ahmes II. (about B.C. 564—526), by E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A.; *Reise Erinnerungen aus Egypten und Arabia Petrea*, by A. Dulk.

Also an article by Andrew Lang in the Sept. Number of the *Nineteenth Century*, on "Egyptian Divine Myths."

And a brochure entitled "Zophnat Paneach" by D. Paulus Cassel, dedicated to the Oriental Congress at Vienna.

Mr. Stanley Lane Poole's *Art of the Saracens in Egypt* is reviewed in the *Athenæum* of the 27th November. High praise is accorded to its "excellent" chapter on woodwork, while that on "textile fabrics" is considered "one of the best in the volume." The author asserts that the present form of Saracenic art is to be seen in Egypt, and points to the mosques in Cairo as giving its normal character.

India.—Miscellaneous.—In the *Academy* of September 4, Mr. H. C. Keene, C.I.E., favourably reviews Mr. H. C. Irvine's collection of "Rhymes and Readings," calling it "a bright and scholarly little volume," and "a welcome contribution to the not large body of Anglo-Indian imaginative literature." Mr. A. N. Wollaston, C.I.E., in the next issue of the same journal, writes an appreciative notice of the late Sir E. Clive Bayley's *History of India as told by its own Historians*, and in the *Athenæum* of 18th September, Mr. Keene's *History of Hindustan from the first Muslim Conquest to the Fall of the Mughal Empire* is called a "useful and instructive volume," and "exceedingly readable." The *Academy* of the 23rd October states that Sir Edward Colebrooke, "who wrote an admirable life of Elphinstone two years ago," has resolved to place in Mr. John Murray's hands a continuation of the distinguished statesman's *History of India*. Mr. Edwin Arnold's "India Revisited," noticed in the *Academy* of the 30th October, naturally obtains a verdict of approval. A review of Dr. George Smith's *Biography of "William Carey, D.D., Shoemaker and Missionary,"* contained in the *Athenæum* of October 2nd, is clearly the work of one well-qualified to deal with the subject.

Part i. of the *Comparative Dictionary of the Bihari Language*, by Messrs. Hoernle and Grierson, is reviewed by Mr. E. Kuhn, in his *Literatur-Blatt für Orientalische Philologie*.

From the September number, the periodical hitherto known as *Panjab Notes and Queries*, under the able editorship of Capt. Temple and Mr. Longworth Dames, was issued as *Indian Notes and Queries*, conducted by Capt. Temple, with the assistance of eleven gentlemen whose names are sufficient guarantee for competent representa-

tion of the departments or localities to which they are officially attached. Messrs. W. Crooke (N.W.P.); M. L. Dames (Panjáb); K. Douglas (British Museum, China); D. M. Ferguson (Ceylon); J. F. Fleet, C.I.E. (Sanskrit, Bombay); G. A. Grierson (Bengal); Rev. J. H. Knowles (Kashmir); D. F. A. Hervey (Malacca); E. H. Man (Andaman Islands); R. Sewell (Madras); and G. Watt, C.I.E. (Economic Products), are all more or less known to the reading public, especially that portion of it connected by taste or association with the Indian Empire. The prospectus explains the reason of modification to be that the old title was found too restricted, and the new one admits of an extension of the periodical's sphere of usefulness. Otherwise there will be no change of arrangement or character, and the monthly will be conducted on precisely the same lines as before.

The following works have been recently issued, and treat of weighty subjects:—History of India under Queen Victoria, by Capt. Lionel Trotter (Allen), and India under British Rule, by Mr. Talboys Wheeler.

Messrs. Allen have also published a Memoir of Capt. Dalton, the defender of Trichinopoly, and the Defence of Kahun, which should interest military readers.

Calcutta Review.—In the October number, Mr. H. G. Keene leads the way with an article on the Norman Archipelago: and is followed by the Reverend Dr. Scott, with Lives of the Twelve Cæsars as written by a contemporary. The question "Is Hindu Music Scientific?" forms an appropriate one for discussion, and its treatment is brought to a close with the sensible assertion that if this particular art, or whatever it is called, "is to be improved scientifically . . . then that improvement can only come from native musicians who have mastered the science of European music and especially of European harmony." A paper by Mr. H. A. D. Phillips on Comparative Criminal Procedure is succeeded by Mr. Dawson's important survey of the influence and position of English-women in India, which, though in two parts, is to all intents and purposes a single contribution. Then follow articles on Imprisonment for Debt, by Mr. Stephen; on Bi-Metallism by Mr. Hibbert; on Simla, Calcutta and Darjeeling as Government Centres, by Mr. C. J. O'Donnell, and two short poems by Mr. Spencer and T. H. T. The Quarter, Summary of Annual Reports, and Critical Notices are the last items of a liberal *menu*. Among the vernacular works reviewed it is worthy of notice that one is called "an outcome of the movement now going on in Bengali Society for the revival of Hinduism"; while another is entitled "A Contribution to the Literature of the Brahmo Samaj."

Among the forthcoming publications of the *Clarendon Press* are noted the *Thesaurus Syriacus*, edited by Dean Payne Smith, fasc. viii.; a catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Bodleian Library by Dr. H. Ethé, and one on the Muhammadan coins there by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole; and four volumes of the *Sacred Books of the East*, in

addition to those already mentioned in the B.A.S.J., viz. vol. xxxi. The Zend Avesta, part iii.; the Yasna, Vispurad, Afrinayân, and Gâhs, translated by the Rev. L. H. Mills: xxxii. Vedic Hymns, translated by F. Max Müller, part 1: xxxiii. Nârada, and minor law books by Julius Jolly: xxxiv. the Vedânta Sûtras, with Sankara's Commentary, translated by G. Thibaut.

Vol. xxi. of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is full of sound and choice reading. The articles Holy Sepulchre, Septuagint, Samaritans, as well as Sa'di, Samarkand, Sanskrit, Seljuks, Semitic Languages, Shanghai and Siam, should be exceptionally interesting to Asiatic Societies.

African Philology (communicated by the Hon. Secretary).—

1. Prof. Reinisch of Vienna has conducted through the press a translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew in the Ittu Dialect of the Galla Language of the Hamitic Group.

2. Dr. Fred Muller of Vienna has published a Grammatical Note and Vocabulary of the Musgu, or Musuk Language of the Negro Group in Central Africa North of the Equator, based upon information collected by G. A. Krause in Africa.

3. Missionary Brincker, of the Rhenish Society, is carrying through the Press a Dictionary and Grammar of the Herero and Yambo Languages of the Southern Branch of the Bantu Family.

4. Dr. Sims, of the Livingstone Mission, has published a Vocabulary of the Teke Language of the Western Branch of the Bantu Family, spoken on the Kongo, North of Stanley Falls.

5. The same author is carrying through the Press a Vocabulary of the Yansi Language, also of the Bantu Family, spoken higher up the bed of the River Kongo.

6. Mr. Holman Bentley, of the English Baptist Mission, has completed his magnificent Kongo Dictionary with a valuable Grammatical Note. This book renders the important language of the Kongo perfectly accessible to scholars.

Among the "Selected Foreign Books" in the *Academy* of November 6, is "Manuel de la langue Tigrâi parlée au Centre et dans le Nord de l'Abyssinie," by J. Schreiber, Vienna, Hölder, 6m.

One word of welcome may be added for the newly-formed Italian Asiatic Society, of which the distinguished Signor Angelo de Gubernatis is President.

N.B.—Owing to the press of other matter, the heads "Epigraphy" and "Numismatics" are not separately considered for the current quarter.



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about Arabic Lexicography. Professor Ette spoke on the Poem of Firdúsi's Yusuf and Zulikha.

In the Aryan Section Mr. Grierson explained his practical scheme for a systematic inquiry into the actually existing Dialects of India, and the collection of specimens of handwriting. Hopes were expressed that the Government of India would carry this scheme out. Mr. Bendall commented on a newly-discovered Indian Alphabet. Dr. Bhandarkar explained in accurate and well-pronounced English, and in a scholarlike manner, the results of his examination of the Libraries of the Bombay Presidency. Dr. Hoernle exhibited and explained some Bakháli Manuscripts. Professor Legnána of Rome read a paper on a portion of the Rig Veda. Professor Hunfalvy of Buda Pesth raised a discussion on the origin of the Language of Romania, on which a discussion ensued. Capt. Temple alluded to his edition of Hindustáni Proverbs collected by the late Mr. Fallon.

In the African-Egyptian Section Professors Eisenlohr and Lieblein read papers of great importance on the contents of Papyri. Captain Grimal de Guirandon described the Fulah of Senegambia in West Africa; but the feature of these Congresses is that scores assemble to discuss a question of Semitic Grammar, or the curved stroke of an Indian Alphabet, while their ears are closed to any other subject. As for an Egyptologist, he would let the whole world be consumed while he was unrolling his mummy and deciphering his Book of the Dead.

In the united Sections Central and East Asia and Polynesia, in the presence of about a score of hearers, Dr. R. N. Cust read a paper in the German language on our present knowledge of the Languages of Oceania. Great progress had been made and scores of languages brought to book, languages exhibiting wonderful features of structure, and entirely isolated word store, leading the student back to the origin of Human Speech, but few can escape from the fascination of the well-worn tracks of the highly elaborated Sanskrit and Arabic and the stunted Hebrew. M. Feer followed with a paper on the origin of the word Tibet, and in the discussion which followed Tscheng hi Kitong took a part, and displayed the power of an educated Chinese.

In the Ancient Semitic Section Professor D. Müller gave a history of the sound of the letter S; in the discussion of this minute though important question, several scholars took a part. Herr Strassmeyer made communications on the subject of the Inscrip-

tions of Nabonid. Mr. Smith, of America, described a translation of the Inscriptions of Assur-bani-pal. Dr. Ginsburg read a paper on the Fragments of a Targum, newly discovered, of Isaiah.

In the Aryan Section discussion took place on the texts of a Jaina book, and the Jaina Religion. Mr. Grierson followed with a really important paper on the Mediæval Vernacular Literature of Northern India, of the nature of which he gave a résumé from 1200 B.C. to 1000 A.D. A resolution was framed, and carried by acclamation, urging upon the Government of India the importance of carrying out a general and detailed survey of the Dialects of India. The search for Manuscripts and inquiry into the Vernaculars might be carried on simultaneously.

In the East Asian Section Professor Lacouperie handed in his treatises on the old numerals of China and the beginning of writing in Tibet. He also pointed out the trace of alphabetic writing in China, and explained the Inscriptions in Easter Island in Polynesia.

In the second meeting of the African Egyptian Section, Miss Amelia B. Edwards read a most interesting and important paper "On the dispersion of the Antiquities found in newly-discovered Cemeteries in Upper Egypt." Large collections have been dispersed in country houses and local Museums, and it is most desirable that descriptive Catalogues should be made of all such collections and sent to the British Museum. Prof. Dumichen and Lieblein and Dr. Krall also read papers, but the chief interest centred round M. Naville's report of the completion of his great work, the Edition of the Book of the Dead. He had been commissioned to this task at the Congress held in London in 1874, and the work was only now thoroughly completed.

In the second meeting of the Modern Semitic Section, Dr. C. Snoucke Hurgonje, of Leyden, read a paper on the Proverbs and Sayings of Mecca. Yakúb Artin Pasha read a paper on the work of the Egyptian Institute from the date of its foundation. He was followed by Rashad Effendi, with a report upon Public Instruction in Egypt from the conquest of the Arabs to the present time. Shaikh Fateh Allah read an Arabic communication upon the great influence which Arabic had exerted upon general Education. This was a notable paper, being by an Egyptian in the Arabic language on a technical Arabic subject.

In the second meeting of the Aryan Section Capt. Temple made a communication upon the value of a book called Hir Ranjha by Waris Shah, as a specimen of the Panjábí Language. After

some technical papers Prof. Bühler exhibited a specimen of Mr. Fleet's third volume of *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. Capt. Temple followed with remarks upon the great importance of the office of Epigrapher of British India, and an earnest appeal to the Government of British India to renew the appointment. After remarks by other Members, a motion was proposed by Professor Kielhorn, and seconded by Mr. Bendall, to memorialize the Government in this sense, on the grounds that a real history of India cannot be written until we have a systematic record of the numerous Inscriptions, which are to be found on all sides. Dr. Stein of Buda Pesth gave a summary of the traditions attached to the Plateau of the Pamír, and suggested Geographical identifications. Professor Ernest Kuhn read a most interesting paper on the affinity to each other of the Languages and Dialects of the Hindu-Kush. He had been supplied by Dr. R. N. Cust with certain Vocabularies collected during the last Afghan war, and had made a serious study of these and other available material. Mr. Leland of the United States, so well known as a Romany Scholar, read a paper on the origin of the Gypsies. His remark that he had been informed that there was a wandering tribe still in the Panjáb to this day, whose Vernacular was Romany, brought four Members of the Indian Civil Service, all employed in North India, on their legs, and none of them, notwithstanding their intimate knowledge of the people, their interest in this special subject and acquaintance with the details of the late Census of 1882, could in the least way support this assertion.

In the Second Meeting of the Section of North and East Asia and Polynesia Dr. Heller made remarks on the subject of a copy of the Si-ngan-fu Inscription in China. Professor Kamori of Presburg broached the very deep subject of the affinities of the Aryan, Semitic, and Altaic Family of Languages. Professor Lacouperie read a paper on the languages of China before the immigration of the great Nation which bears that name.

In the Second Meeting of the Ancient Semitic Section Professor Noldeke urged the necessity of a critical Edition of the Talmud: after some discussion the suggestion was accepted. Prof. D. Müller recommended in his own and in the name of Prof. Patkanoff that a memorial be addressed to the Russian Government to urge the expediency of preparing a methodical collection of the Cuneiform Inscriptions in Trans-Caucasia, and supporting the attempt to collect similar inscriptions in Turkish-Armenia. This proposition was



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1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles of the members of the committee. The names are: Mr. J. H. Smith, Mr. J. L. Brown, Mr. J. C. Green, Mr. J. D. White, Mr. J. E. Black, Mr. J. F. Gray, Mr. J. G. Blue, Mr. J. H. Red, Mr. J. I. Purple, Mr. J. K. Yellow, Mr. J. L. Orange, Mr. J. M. Pink, Mr. J. N. Brown, Mr. J. O. Green, Mr. J. P. White, Mr. J. Q. Black, Mr. J. R. Gray, Mr. J. S. Blue, Mr. J. T. Red, Mr. J. U. Purple, Mr. J. V. Yellow, Mr. J. W. Orange, Mr. J. X. Pink, Mr. J. Y. Brown, Mr. J. Z. Green.

JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. VI.—*Some Remarks on the Narrative of Fâ-hien.*¹ By
the Rev. S. BEAL, M.R.A.S.

FA-HIEN, the Chinese Buddhist Pilgrim to India (A.D. 400), has left an interesting narrative of his travels, in a little volume known as the *Fo-kuö-ki*. This was first translated by MM. Rémusat, Klaproth, and Landresse into French (A.D. 1836). Their version, being accompanied by valuable notes, was found of great use in the study of the Buddhist Religion by those who took up the subject, after Mr. Hodgson's discovery of the Nepalese Sanskrit texts. Other translations have been produced since the time of Rémusat to the present date. The last of these versions is by Dr. J. Legge, of Oxford.

Having myself had occasion to go over the Chinese text afresh, I have made a few notes on some doubtful or obscure passages, which I take this opportunity of reproducing.

I. I find in the account of India, or of "the Buddhist regions,"² written by Taou Sün (K. 下 p. 12. b), that *Pao-Yun*, one of Fâ-hien's companions, also wrote a work which he called "Narrative of travels in the West;" this may possibly be the volume which is sometimes referred to as the "Narrative of Fâ-hien's travels, in one book;" but of this there is at present no proof, and I only suggest it as a possible explanation of the reference made in the catalogues to two, or even three, works, written by Fâ-hien, or one of his companions, and relating to India.

II. We find it stated that at Chang-yeh the King acted as Patron or *Dânapati* to the Pilgrims. The Chinese expression *Tan-yue* is the phonetic form for the Sanskrit *Dânapati*; the

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting, 20th December, 1886.

² The work is called "*Shih-kia-fang-chi*," No. 1470, *Nanyio's Catalogue*. Taou Sün lived A.D. 650.

symbol *yue* 越 being frequently used for the termination *ra*, *pa*, and *pati* in proper names. We cannot, therefore, accept the statement that the character *yue* is here employed in its literal sense. Hence I think we may explain the compound *Tin-yüt*, or *Tin-yue*, referred to by Mr. Kingsmill in his paper on "The Intercourse of China with Eastern Turkestan." He tells us (on p. 83) that the agents of Chang-kien, in their efforts to open up relationship with the West through Sze-chuen, heard that there was a country where elephant carriages were used some 1000 *li* to the West of Yunnan, called *Tin-yüt*. Mr. Kingsmill suggests that this may refer to the ancient Sthâneśvara. But I think this improbable. It is more likely that the symbol *tin* has here the alternative sound of *chin*, and that *Chin-yüt* is Champā, which corresponds in situation to the Chinese requirements, and is celebrated for its elephants and elephant carriages. In this case the symbol "*yüt*" or "*yue*" would be equivalent to *pā*.¹

III. There is another instance of the power of this symbol at the beginning of the fifth chapter of the narrative, where we read that the King of Kie-ch'a was holding "the great quinquennial assembly," known as the *Pañcha tarsha parishad*. In this passage the symbol for *ra*, in *tarsha*, is *yue* (as before). But there is no symbol for *parishad* (*hucui*).

With reference to this assembly, of which we read so much in Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsiang, I think it is incorrect to say that it was first *instituted* by King Aśoka for religious purposes; the third Edict seems to imply that the assembly or meeting (*anusamyāna*) held every five years was already an established custom in India, and that Aśoka ordained that the Rājuka and district governor should repair, on duty, to this assembly, for the purpose of making known certain religious precepts. This corresponds with the duties of the "heralds" at the Greek games. It seems likely that these assemblies were held principally for the purpose of commemorating the intercalary year, but were turned to a religious purpose by Aśoka when he became a follower of the priesthood. We are told by Censorinus (*De die Natali*, c. xv.),

¹ So also in Chap. 35 *Po-lo-yue* is for Parvatî; for the interchange of *east* and *pati* cf. Oldenberg, *Buddha* (English Translation), p. 94 n.



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expression *ni-tu*, and sometimes 'an-ku, and sometimes the symbol *li* is used for *caraka* in the sense of "years" or period after ordination. But in all cases there can be no reference to "summer" retreat or "winter" retreat, or "Decembers."

There is an expression in the 16th chapter of the Narrative which bears on this point, and deserves notice; Fā-hien is speaking from hearsay about the customs of South India. Amongst other remarks he says: "In the *latter month* of the Religious rest the most religious families urge one another to prepare the festival for the priests." The *latter month* in this passage is *heou-yih-yueh* 後一月, which probably refers to the last month of the second partition of the Rest-season. As Hiuen Tsiang explains the matter (and his account agrees with the notice in the *Dipavamsa* v. 5, and *Mahāvagga* iii. 2), there were *two* periods of Rest, "the former three months" and the "latter three months"—that is, the priests who were not able to arrive in time to keep the three months from the full moon *Ashādha*, were permitted to keep their *rest* from the full moon next to that of *Ashādha*. It was in the last month of this second division that the *parārāna* (Ch. *ts'z, tsz* 自恣) festival was held, and I take it that to this month the expression in Fā-hien's text quoted above refers. At any rate, I know no authority for the statement that there are *three* terms applied to the months of the Rest Season, viz. the first, middle, and last. Such a division, I believe, is not known in Buddhism. These remarks will explain my reason for differing from M. Julien on p. 64 of the first volume of the *Si-yu-ki*, where he would alter the symbol for "two" or "double" 兩, (*liang*), into the symbol for rain 雨 (*yu*), and translate the passage "the priests of India retire into fixed residences during the seasons of the Rains." But relying on the fact of a double retreat, as described in the *Mahāvagga*, and referred to in the *Dīpavamsa*, I have retained the symbol "*liang*," and rendered the passage "the priestly fraternity have a double resting time."

V. There can be little doubt as to Fā-hien's route from Tun-hwang to Shen-Shen: this district is to the south of Lake Lob, and not up at Pidshan, as Mr. Mayers¹ and others have supposed.

¹ Chinese Reader's Manual, p. 536.

In confirmation of this we refer to a short account of the three routes from China to India in a work called *Shih-kia-fang-chi* (written by Taou-Sün). These routes are called the Eastern, the Middle, and the Northern. In speaking of the Middle route the author (Taou-Sün) has the following passage: "From *Shen-chau*¹ going through the Eastern valley about 100 *li*, and then turning North 600 *li*, we arrive at *Liang-chau*, and Eastward from this 2000 *li* we reach the capital (Loyang).

From *Liang-chau* going West a little North 470 *li*, we come to *Kan-chau*; West of this 400 *li* is *Su-chau*. Going West a little North from this 75 *li* we come to the old Yuh-mên barrier, between the North and South Mountain range. West of this, less than 400 *li*, we reach *Kwa-chau*, and then going South-West through a sandy and stony district 300 *li*, we come to *Sha-chau*; South-West from this, going through a similar district, after 700 *li* or so, we come to the old kingdom of *Na-pu-po*, which is the same as the territory of *Lu-lan*, also called *Shen-Shen*.

According to this account the district of *Shen-chau* is S.W. from *Liang-chau* about 700 *li*, whilst *Shen-Shen* is upwards of 2000 *li* from the same place, and about 700 *li* S.W. from *Sha-chau*. The situation of *Sha-chau*, according to Prejevalsky, is 40° 8' N. and 94° 30' E., and according to A—K. 40° 12' N. and 94° 2' E.; and from this place Lake Lob lies about 3 degrees of longitude W. by S. So that the Chinese account dating back to the Tang dynasty is tolerably correct. This at any rate seems to fix the position of *Shen-Shen*. *Tun-hwang* is considerably to the north of *Sha-chau*, which will account for Fâ-hien's greater distance of 1700 *li* to *Shen-shen*; and probably this is more correct than Taou-sün's account.

VI. From *Shen-shen* our traveller proceeded N.W. for fifteen days, and came to *Wu-i*. This corresponds with the *Wu-k'i* (or, as M. Julien writes it, *Yen-k'i*) of Hiuen Tsiang; and so with the old Turki word *Yanghi*; there is a district *Yanghi* still marked on the maps extending to Karashahr. It was probably to this district of *Yanghi* Fâ-hien

¹ Si-ning.

proceeded from Shen-shen. The situation of Yanghi-shahr is about 42° N. and 85° E.

VII. I may here call attention to the statement of Fâ-hien in Chapter II. relating to the clothing of the people of *Shen-shen*, viz. that the difference between them is marked by "serge and felt," *i.e.* that some use "serge" or "hair-cloth," and others "felt." No doubt this refers to the distinction still noticed by A—K. in his Report, recently published, "that the Mongolians use white felt, and the Tibetans black stuff made of Yak's hair." The distinction, then, observed by Fâ-hien, was that between the Mongolians and the Tibetans, who dwelt in common about the district of *Shen-shen*.

VIII. Leaving Yanghi, Fâ-hien now toiled for a month and five days into a south-westerly direction to Khotan, crossing with difficulty the numerous streams that here intersect the country.

It is interesting to find that Buddhism was so thoroughly established in Khotan at this time. Fâ-hien tells us that there were several 10,000 priests and fourteen large convents there, besides smaller ones, and he says moreover that most of the priests, including those of the principal monastery of Gomati, were given to the study of the Great Vehicle. This is an interesting fact, as it shows that at this early date the system, known as the Mahâyâna, had become so well established as to reach Khotan. It probably came to this place from Turkestan, and not from India Proper:¹ and I think that this alone would tend to show that the principles of the Great Vehicle, mixed up, as they were, with philosophical speculations, and doctrines strange to Primitive Buddhism, were chiefly derived from foreign sources.

There is an expression used by Fâ-hien, in his account of the priests of this place, which has been variously translated, "the priests take their food in common," or "the priests receive their food from a common store," or "the priests have their food provided for them, *i.e.* receive commons." The Chinese phrase is *Chung-sih*, which is a literal translation of the Pâli *sâṅgha-bhaddam*, and refers to the food belonging to the

¹ I have given reasons for this opinion in the *Introduction* to "Records of the Western World," p. xiv.



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is of wide application; the Northern *Tsung-Ling*, corresponding with Belôr Tagh, reaches up to the Muzart Pass; the Southern *Tsung-Ling* includes the mountain ranges of the Hindu Kûsh and Wakhan, forming the southern walls of the Pamir Valley. The traveller tells us in Cap. VI. that by the *Tsung-Ling* he means the Snowy Mountains. It was probably through one of the passes opening into the valley of *Ta-li-lo* that Fâ-hien penetrated into North India, and finally struck the Indus.

XII. I think there is no evidence in the narrative that Fâ-hien himself *crossed* the Indus. Hiuen Tsiang, in his corresponding account of this region (Bk. III. p. 134, *Records*), says, that going N.E. from *Mung-kia-li* we ascend the course of the Indus, using foot-bridges, and suspended ropes across the chasms, etc.; but he says nothing about crossing the great river. Nor does Fâ-hien. He tells us that men in former years bored the rocks, and cut the steps and placed the ladders, and that at the bottom there was a hanging-bridge by which they crossed, but he does not imply that he used it.

It seems plain to me that Fâ-hien, after passing the Snowy Mountains, entered the *Ta-li-lo* Valley, which was decidedly, according to Hiuen Tsiang, on the *right* bank of the Indus. He could not have passed the Snowy Mountains into this valley if he had been at Skardo or Ladak, nor can we place *Kie-cha* by any manipulation in that district. If it be objected that at the beginning of Cap. VIII. it is said, "after crossing the River we come to Udyâna," I reply that the river they passed was not the one alluded to in the previous chapter, for they had now gone through the valley of *Ta-li-lo*, and were travelling in a S.W. direction corresponding with the contrary course of Hiuen Tsiang from Udyâna, which he tells us was N.E.;¹ they would thus come to the Swat River, on the other side of which was the pleasant country of Udyâna, or, the "Parkland."

XIII. Before passing on to remark upon Fâ-hien's account of this country, I should like to notice his record about the figure of Maîtreya set up in the kingdom of *To-li* or *Ta-li-lo*, i.e.

¹ In my version of the *Records* I have accidentally made the direction N.W. instead of N.E., vol. 1. p. 133.

Dardisthán. This figure is described as being made of wood and seated with its legs crossed. In this position the feet are upturned, and from the length of the foot the height of the entire figure is calculated, being ten times that of the foot. But writers on this passage have concluded that the measurement denoted by the expression *Tsuh kea* is the entire width at the base from knee to knee, and so have fallen into the difficulty of making a human figure ninety feet in height and nine feet at the base when sitting with its legs crossed. Of course this is impossible. I would also call attention to the similar proportion of the figure set up by Nebuchadnezzar in the plain of Dura.

XIV. Crossing the River Swat (as we assume), the pilgrim reached the country of Udyâna, with which so many Buddhist legends are connected in *Sung-yun* and *Hiuen Tsiang*.

We need not allude to these, but pass on to some observations about Mihirakula. It is recorded of this monarch that he slew the last Buddhist patriarch Simha, and, as the record found in "The History of the Patriarchs" says, this occurred in the country called *Ki-pan*, which may be either Kaśmir or the region about the Kabul River. Mr. Fleet has asked¹ how the date 472 A.D. is fixed for the Chinese work *Fu-fa-tsang-yin-ün*, in which the record of Simha's death is found. The reply is that such is the date given for the translator *Kakaya's* arrival in China. But it is quite possible that he may have lived for many years after this period, even down to the time of Mihirakula, as fixed by Mr. Fleet, viz. 515 A.D., and that the work he completed, which closes with the murder of Simha, was published at his death. If Mr. Fleet's date is correct, it would seem to follow that the arrival of Bodhidharma in China was immediately subsequent to Simha's death, and that the three Patriarchs, generally named after that event and before Bodhidharma, were living at the same time with him, and were not in the succession, and this is probably the case.

The legend found in Wong Puh about "the flowing milk" (Wong Puh, § 179), and which I supposed, when translating his account, referred to the Swat River, I now

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Sept. 1886.

find relates to a story told of Simha, that when his head was cut off by Mihirakula during the persecution, instead of blood, a torrent of white milk gushed from his body, which rose several feet in height. This strange story accounts for Wong Puh's ambiguous, and otherwise unintelligible record, § 179. But although there is no reference to the Swat River in connection with Simha, I do not doubt that the persecution of Mihirakula was the cause of the desolation of this district after the time of Fâ-hien and before Hiuen Tsiang. I am inclined to think that the persecution occurred just after the visit of Sung Yun, for this reason : we find in his Record that in the year 520 A.D., when he went to Gandhâra, there was a cruel and vindictive monarch fighting against the country, who received him with ill-concealed hatred. Now, it was about this time, if Mr. Fleet's date is correct, that Mihirakula, whose atrocious cruelty was proverbial, was engaged in subduing Gandhâra and the neighbourhood. It is possible, then, I think, that Sung Yun had an interview with this very monarch. His name, Mr. Fleet tells us, was Mihirakula, or Mihiragula, and Cosmas also mentions a cruel potentate called *Gollas*, who was at this time engaged in warfare in Western India.

The Mllechhas, of whom the Raja Taranginî speaks (in connection with Mihirakula), were probably the Ephthalitæ of Procopius, who were engaged in war with Perozes and Cabades just before Mihirakula's date, *i.e.* at the end of the fifth century A.D. Procopius, in describing their appearance, says, "that these alone, of all the Huns, are white-skinned and not bad-looking," οὐκ ἀμόρφοι τὰς ὀψεῖς εἰσὶν, and he says that they came from a region at the extreme north of Persia, the capital city of which was Gorgo. Now Gorgo was the capital of the Chorasmii, the present Urgheng, and the country of the Chorasmii is Khwârazm, lying on the banks of the Oxus towards the Caspian. Of this people we have notices in Arrian, Pliny, and other writers.¹ But of their power and treachery Procopius gives us the best account in

¹ King Pharasmanês came to Alexander with 1500 horsemen, and said that his kingdom extended to the nation of the Kolkhi and the Amazon women.—*Arrian*.



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kula, who, when returning to Kaśmir, found an elephant entombed in a chasm, and uttering fearful cries. On this, says the author of the *Rajataranginî*, the cries of the tortured beast gave him such delight, that he ordered a hundred others to be entombed with him, and to perish together. But if we suppose Mihirakula to be an Ephthal, and to be influenced by the rules of his tribe, this transaction would admit of another explanation.

Another circumstance may be noticed with regard to these Ye-tha, or Ephthalitæ. The head-dress of the ladies is noticed by Sung-yun as remarkable for its singularity. They wore horns, with veils attached, that cover their persons like canopies. Sung-yun tells us that these horns are eight feet in length, but I think there must be here a mistake in his not very accurate text, and the right measurement should be eight inches or more; but anyhow this curious custom has been compared with that of the women of the Druse tribe, who occupy the northern slopes of the Libanus in Syria. It is a curious fact that the Khwârazm people were driven from their original home into Syria, as noted in the Jesuit edition of Pliny, vol. i. p. 314, and having driven the Franks thence, occupied it as their own territory. Doubtless they carried their customs with them.

From these notices I think we may safely conclude that the Ye-thas, who were opposed to Buddhism, and whose chief Mihirakula destroyed the temples and slew the priests in the neighbourhood of the Câbul River, were nomads from Chorasmia, the Ephthalites of the Byzantine writers.

XV. Fâ-hien does not seem to have visited Takshasila, or the spot where the Bodhisattva threw himself down from an eminence to feed the tiger-cat, but he refers to these spots, using the symbol “*yu*” instead of “*hing*,” to show that he spoke from hearsay. I may observe that the history of Buddha’s sacrifice for the Tiger is the first of the *Jâtakas* in the *Jâtakamâlâ* written by Âryasûra, who is the same as Aśvaghosha. In the *Jâtaka* the transaction is said to have taken place in the neighbourhood of the large village of Pan-châla. The account of the miraculous Stûpa which Buddha caused to appear corresponds with the Manikyâla Tope in

some particulars, especially with respect to the caskets with the seven precious substances, inside which were deposited the relics of the Bodhisattva's body. If this be so, it would appear probable that Aśvaghosha, who compiled the Jâtaka, and who was a follower of Kanishka, witnessed the erection of this important Stûpa.

XVI. Fâ-hien, in the 12th chapter, speaks of a king of the Yue-shis, or Yue-chis, who wished to carry off the alms bowl of Buddha from Gandhâra. I have already remarked that the symbol "Yue" is used for the Sanskrit *va*; so that the Yue-chis are really the Vajjis, or Vrijjis, who at an early date had penetrated to Vaisâli. Another body of these people seem to have wandered away towards the borders of China, whence they were driven by the Hiung-nu, in the second century B.C. Whoever they were, it appears improbable that they had anything to do with the Ephthalites. It is more likely from the account given of their dress and equipages that they came from the neighbourhood of Media. Whether the Guzanas and the Minni, of whom we read in the Assyrian Eponym Canon, have anything to do with the Kushans and Minni of India, I leave others to determine.¹

XVII. There is mention made in the 17th chapter of the Narrative of the monarch styled a Chakravartti. He is generally styled a Holy Chakravartti. He is described as "one who flies as he goes." Also, "as the most distinguished for religious merit among all the men of Jambudvipa." Also, "as a king in whom dwells the holy spirit of the Supreme Ruler of Heaven (Wong-ti)." In numerous works met with in China, and translated from foreign originals, the birth of Buddha is said to have resulted from the descent of a holy spirit on his mother.² I take it that this constitutes the claim of Buddha to the title of a spiritual Chakravartti; he himself directed that his funeral obsequies should be those of a Chakravartti monarch.

¹ But at any rate the Vrijjis are identified with the Lichchhavis who, after their expulsion from India, appear to have conquered Nepâl about the beginning of the Christian era.

² The works referred to are named in my *Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka, Appendix*; and also in my Introduction to vol. xix. *Sacred Books of the East*.

I trace back this description of the Chakravartti to the Fravartish, which, according to Haug, corresponds to "the idea" of Plato, *the ideal* in fact of every being in the good creation. Hence, Ahuramazda himself has his Fravashi, and it appears to me that the "Winged Circle" in which resides the truncated human figure, standing over Darius in the Behistun sculpture, really represents the spirit of Ahuramazda (*i.e.* the All-wise or the All-beneficent Spirit), which that monarch ever claimed as his special guide and counsellor. Hence we may understand such a passage as this (Vendidad, Fargard xix., Haug's Essay, p. 334, (Trübner's Edition), § 14):—"Do thou invoke, O Zarathushtra, the spirit (fravashi) of me who am Ahuramazda, that which is the greatest and best and most excellent, and strongest and wisest and most beautiful and most pervaded by righteousness." This description of the spirit of Ahuramazda corresponds to the Chinese definition of a Chakravartti, and I observe also that Sir Henry Rawlinson defines the word *Fravartish* as "the very celebrated" (J. R. A. S. Vol. X. p. 121).

So that it seems to me, if we are to account for the statement so often met with, that a holy spirit descended on the mother of Buddha, and that he himself claimed to have the character of a Holy Chakravartti, we must explain it in this way, as derived from the representation of a winged deity found on most of the monuments of the Achæmenian Kings at Behistun, Persepolis, and other places, and which is said to have originated in Assyria, and to have been copied by the Persians (Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. Vol. XV. p. 338). So that "Assur, my lord," of the Assyrian tablets, which led those monarchs to conquest, is *the spirit* that constituted Buddha not a conqueror as they were, but a true Jina over the world of evil. Whether the terms *Chakravartti*, which Wilson defines as he who dwells within the Chakra, and *Fravartish* are not identical (*Fra* being equal to *Chakra*), I again leave to others better qualified than myself to determine.¹

XVIII. I was glad to find that a suggestion made in

¹ This explanation will appear (perhaps) absurd, to those who believe that Buddhism is a purely Indian product. I have long given up that belief.



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XXI. I should have referred in my previous notes to a remark made by Fa-hien as to Śakra-deva, who came to Buddha with Pañchaśikha, the celestial musician, and proposed to him forty-two questions, respecting forty-two subjects. (Cap. xxviii.) These subjects, with the tracings left on the rock, are very probably connected with the forty-two combinations of the Sanskrit roots, which are detailed in many Chinese works, and of which I give here a copy from a translation of Amogha-siddha made into Chinese in the eighth century (A.D. 719).

XXII. Lastly let me call attention to the phrase — 一心 (*one heart*) found in Chapter 40 of the Narrative. This phrase means more than “all the heart”; it corresponds to the Pāli *ekodi* or *ekaggacitta* (vid. a letter from Dr. Morris in the *Academy*, No. 725), and to the Greek *ἕνωσις*, as used by Plotinus for mystic union, or identity, with the object of contemplation. This statement may be verified by any Chinese student who will take the trouble to consult the second part of the Kwan-yin Liturgy, which I have named and translated in the *Catena*, etc.¹

I would also add that the symbol 念 in the same phrase means much more than “to think on”; it is used in Buddhist formularies in the sense of “recite,” or “repeat” the name of, the object contemplated.

NOTES.

In reference to § XIII., Professor Douglas has pointed out that the Chinese symbol *kea* is equivalent to *fu* ‘the instep,’ and therefore the passage may simply mean that the figure was an erect one, and the length of the foot (instep) $\frac{1}{10}$ th that of the entire height.

In reference to § XIX., I would refer to the fabled origin of the Turkish tribes from the cohabitation of a woman and a wolf. Vid. *Etruscan Researches*, by Isaac Taylor, p. 370, also *Indian Antiquary*, April, 1880, p. 93.

¹ *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, etc., p. 401, n. 2.

ART. VII.—*Priority of Labial Letters illustrated in Chinese Phonetics.*¹ By the Rev. J. EDKINS, D.D., Peking, Hon. Member R.A.S.

PANINI made gutturals precede labials; but this was because, having given to *a* precedence among vowels, it was natural to place gutturals in the first position among consonants; for *a* is allied to *k* as *o* (or *u*) is allied to *p*, and *i* to *t*.

In tracing the primitive evolution of letters, however, we have not so much to follow the current of vocal air as it issues from the lungs and passes through the throat and mouth, nor shall we find here the key to the order in which the letters were evolved. What we have to do is to consider what circumstances would, in the time when language was first made, be favourable to particular groups of letters, so as to give them priority over other letters.

The group of letters which would be most favourably received, and most easily imitated, by the men who were for the first time making a language, would be the labials. The lips in forming these letters are visible to the eye. The gutturals have not this advantage, and those made with the help of the teeth have it only in a limited degree. This circumstance would be sufficient to give priority to the labials, so that *p*, *b*, *m* would be used in word-making earlier than *t*, *d*, *n* and *k*, *g*, *ng*.

Among labial letters we may count *p*, *b*, *m*, *f*, *v*, *o*, *u*, *ü*, and some others. These letters do not all, in regard to priority, stand on the same platform. Some are differentiated by the drawing-in of the under lip to the upper teeth. This complex act is fatal to the claim of *f* and *v* to any very early

¹ [Sir Thomas Wade, with reference to this paper, writes: "The subject that has occupied Dr. Edkins belongs, perhaps, more properly to the department of anthropology, or to general, as distinct from Oriental, linguism; but it has thus much of claim upon the Orientalist, that Dr. Edkins's theory of the evolution of certain sounds is illustrated almost exclusively from the Chinese phonetical systems, consideration of which cannot be ignored by the compiler of any serious lexicon of Chinese."—Ed.]

use in language. They would not compare in antiquity with the more simply formed letters *p*, *b*, *m*. As to the relative age of *p*, *b*, and *m*, something is to be said in favour of *m* as first claimant, because the nose passage is left open in ordinary breathing, and remains so when *m* is pronounced. This letter among all the letters has the most of gesture, and is the most sonorous. The shutting of the nose passage to pronounce *p*, *b*, requires an additional muscular effort. Hence *b* and *p* would scarcely be in use so early as *m*. Then, as to the relative priority of *p* and *b*, the letter with the loudest sound would be the earlier. Hence *b* would precede *p*, as being more audible to the unaccustomed ear. Two forms of *p* dispute the claim to priority, the aspirated and the not-aspirated. The Sanskrit aspirated *p* exists in very few words. In the Mongol and Manchu languages the aspirated *p* is uniform. There is no un-aspirated *p* in these languages. In Chinese the aspirated and un-aspirated *p* exist side by side as letters, each having full powers to occupy an independent place in the alphabet, and both are developed from *b*. In these circumstances we may assign the priority to the aspirated *p*, on the ground that it is by the added breathing made more audible, which would give it a better chance of survival. In regard to the labial vowels, *a* ought to be counted as one of them, because this vowel requires the lips to be wide open. Then we have *o* and *u*. The law of least exertion will help us here. *A* would be first (the *a* in father). *O* would be second. As to other vowels, such as *i*, *u*, *ü*, they would be later, because there is not so much opportunity to distinguish them in the mere act of watching the movements of the lips. In primitive times every help was needed to give words a ready currency. The imitative instinct of man is often held in control by a wilful spirit of contrariety. If words are to endure, they must be clothed with attractions and facilities for imitation. This necessity is in the instance of labial letters met by the visible movements of the lips.

Take as an example the nasals *m*, *n*, *ng*. Of these, *ng* is by far the least common in early language. It is much used



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cause be the law of least exertion or not, the final *m* has in China been abandoned more and more each century with steady perseverance in favour of *n* and *ng*. This being the order of change, it follows that, in the first stages of the language, *m*, as a final, had a great preponderance over *n* and *ng*; and this shows that visibility of the action of the lips held really an important place in fixing the pronunciation of Chinese words before the characters were made. When we remember also that a large number of Chinese words now beginning with *w* once had *m*—so that *wu* ‘military’ was *mo*; *wen* ‘civil,’ ‘refined,’ ‘literary,’ was *mun*; *wan* ‘10,000,’ was *man*; *wei* ‘flavour’ was *mi*, we gain additional evidence to show that *m* has greatly lost ground in Chinese, the reason being that the watching of the lips in speaking was abandoned, and men were able to understand what was meant by the help of the ear alone without the eye’s assistance.

But it is not only among the nasal letters that the lips had priority in early Chinese usage. The same is true of *p* and *b*, as compared with *t*, *d* and *k*, *g*. Facts show that *p*, as final and initial, has lost ground, and that it has been changed for *t* and *k*. The character 法 *fa* ‘law,’ is in old dialects, and in the tonic dictionaries of a thousand years ago, called *pap*. In Amoy it is *hucat*, while at Tiechiu in Canton province it is *hwap*. Here we see that *h* takes the place of *p* to begin the word, and *t* appears instead of *p* to finish it. Change from a labial letter to a throat-letter and a tooth-letter meets us at once in our examination of old dialects. The physiological cause is that when the special action of the lips is found to be no longer required for intelligibility, the muscles cease to make the necessary effort in that part of the mouth which is visible to the person addressed, and muscular action of diminished force takes place instead in the interior of the mouth. A very common change in Chinese is from *k* to *h*. Whenever this occurs, there is a saving in muscular action. So also *p* and *f* become *h* in dialects. There is in this change also a saving in muscular energy, rendered possible because the meaning can be conveyed successfully with less amount of energy. In a Fukien dictionary all words normally

in *f* will be found written with *h*, if not with *p*. The region where final *p* has been changed, partially or wholly, for *t* embraces South Fukien, Canton, and parts of Kiangsi; that is, the Amoy, the Tiechiu, and the Punti dialects. The indisputable antiquity of these dialects renders this fact respecting final *p* of very great importance in the history of the language. If, then, we find that the finals *k* and *ng* have a great extension in modern times in Fuchow and in the Shanghai and Ningpo dialects, this must be interpreted as indicating that the people of those parts have, to a large extent, fallen back recently on the throat-letters in place of the lip-letters, as when *fa* 'law,' *fa* 'destitute,' both having final *p* in ancient Chinese, are pronounced *hɛak* in the city of Fuchow.

The direction of change in letters is not always from lips to throat, but it is quite enough so to prove the rule. An exception is found in Canton, where initial *f* occurs sometimes for *h*, and for the aspirated *k*. Thus, *hɛo* 'fire' is *fɛo*; this is a local irregularity. The change from final *t* to *k*, which we find in Fuchow, serves to show that the proper course of change is from the outer parts of the mouth towards the throat. Yet we meet with a dialect, the Hakka, in which final *k* has become final *t*. In Kiangsi also there is a dialect, that of Nankangfu, in which *p* is retained, while the finals *k* and *t* are both lost. We do not know enough of that dialect at present to allow of the reason of this peculiarity being fully explained. Yet this may be said, that in South China, Nankang is the city which retains the old labial initials and finals with the greatest persistence, but there is no one dialect where all the peculiarities of the old Chinese pronunciation are retained with exact uniformity. If any dialect preserves the finals well, it falls short in the initials. If its initials are old, its finals will be deficient in antiquity. Nankang comes under the same law that rules everywhere else in South China, namely, that dialects and cities which preserve the old pronunciation in some points, are deficient in others.

The priority of labials to other letters may be illustrated by the upgrowth of *f* and *v*. Many words used to write

Sanskrit names, commencing with *p* and *b* seventeen centuries ago, are now pronounced with *f*. The word *Fo* for 'Buddha,' is one of these. The tonic dictionaries show that this was once pronounced in China *But*, as it is by the Japanese still. . But in China now it is *Fo*, *Fu*, *Veh*, or *Put*. That is to say, *b* has changed to *v* and to *f*. There is no known instance of change in an opposite direction, so far as I am aware. Many hundreds of words exist which can be proved by the native syllabic spelling to have changed *p* and *b* to *f* and *v*. The old tonic dictionaries show this with superabundant clearness and certainty.

The labial initials appear to have changed, not only into *f* and *v*, but into tooth-letters and gutturals, and the time when they made these changes seems to have been for the most part earlier than the formation of the characters. To illustrate this it will be well first to give examples of synonymous words in these three groups. *Ping*, *ming*, *c'hang* (*t'ang*), *kwang* all mean 'bright.' *Pim*, *tim*, *kim* mean 'stone lancet,' 'lancet,' and 'sword.' *Pang*, *siang*, *kwang* all mean 'assist.' *Feng*, *teng*, *hing* all mean 'abundant.' *Ping*, *ling* both mean 'ice,' and *ngang* or *ying* means 'hard.' *Pok* is 'full,' 'satisfied,' while *tsok*, *kok*,¹ mean 'enough.' *Po*, *c'hi*, *kü*, shortened from *pak*, *dik*, *kok*, all mean 'hold in the hand.' *Pit*, *shwat*, *hut* all mean 'brush.' *Fam* is a 'frame,' and *fang* 'square,' while *c'hwang* and *k'wang* both mean 'rectangular frames.' Cases like these are so numerous that it becomes necessary to suppose that *p* and *m* have by evolution originated the other forms. There can be no reason for omitting the nasal *m* in stating the law, thereby limiting this evolution to *p*. Thus, we find *feng*, *mang*, both meaning 'a sharp edge.' *Meng* 'to grow,' 'to bud,' is correlate with *chang* 'to grow,' with *sheng* 'to be born,' and with *ging* 'rise,' and *hing* also 'to rise.' Such changes may take place in initials, just as the dialects show them taking place in finals. The difference is in the fact that the finals have changed recently, while the initials appear to have changed mostly before the invention of the characters.

¹ *Tsu* and *ken* in Mandarin, which has dropped final *k*.



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up' is also *lien*. There are several tens of such phonetics. The best explanation of this circumstance is that *d* changed to *g*, and that this change was not yet completed when the characters were being made. We do not find fewer than fourteen phonetics where the initial may be *k* or *l*. There are thirty-four phonetics where the guttural *k* or *h* stands as initial on equal terms with *s*, *sh* or *ts*, and there are eight more where the initial is either *k* or *t*. These facts mean something, and what they mean is that there has been a metamorphosis of the initial. But, more than this, not only has *k* or *g* or *ng* been formed out of *t*, *d*, *s* or *ts*; the initials *p*, *b* and *m* have changed in phonetics in a similar way. For example, *pok*, 'a spoon,' has become *tok*, *chok* and *shau*, which it is at present. Four phonetics present the spectacle of *p* changing to *k*, and four more of *p* changing to *h*. There are five instances of *p* becoming *ts*, four of *p* becoming *l*, and two of *p* becoming *j*. The letter *m* changes to *sh* in one instance, to *h* in four instances, and to *l* in one instance. In an appendix to this paper I give the necessary references to Callery's *Systema Phoneticum*, so that any one who desires to know on what facts precisely I rest this doctrine of the metamorphosis of the lip-initials into tooth- and throat-initials, and of tooth-initials into throat-initials, may see readily how the case stands. There are 1040 phonetics in Callery, and eighty of these show by the variety of their initials that since the characters were made there has been a metamorphosis, not only of *k* into *h*, which is extremely common, nor of *t* into *s*, or *sh*, or *l*, or *ts*, all of which are also very common, but of *p* and *m* into *j*, *l*, *h*, *ts*, *sh* and *k*. Probably some of the instances are delusive. The cause of difference in initial may be sometimes exclusively ideographic, and not phonetic at all. But the greater part of the eighty phonetics will be found to present a solid phalanx of proof contributed to the support that there has been the metamorphosis for which I am contending.

The force of this proof for the change of lip-initial to tooth- and throat-initial may be much increased if we consider the general direction and increasing complexity of recent

letter-changes in Chinese. The change of *d* to *l* was already fully established in the Tang dynasty. This means that a part of the words once commencing with *d* took *l* in place of *d*, and that when the early tonic dictionaries were made, about A.D. 600, this change was complete. At that time many words now commencing with *ch* had *t* instead of *ch*. But *ch* is a compound of *t* and *sh*. From a Chinese standpoint, *t* is the base from which *ch* has proceeded. Before *t* threw off a large section of its words that they might take *ch* instead of their old initial, it had done the same with another large detachment which took *ts*. Previous to this time *t* appears to have thrown off two other detachments in succession, which took *sh* and *s* for their initials. While *t* was thus employed in subdividing into subordinate branches, *d* was not idle. *D* also threw off in succession four detachments of words, which took for their initials *z*, *zh*, *dz*, *dzh*. We find that *dzh* and *ch* were not yet complete in A.D. 600, and on this ground we deduce the order of origination to have been *z*, *zh*, *dz*, *dzh* in the sonant series, and *s*, *sh*, *ts*, *tsh* (*ch*) in the surd series. There is here a change from simplicity to complexity. *T* changed to *s* before it changed to *ch*. The direction of change was from without inwards. The tongue was induced by the ruling mind to do more and more varied work for the improvement of language and the multiplication of words. To use Mr. Melville Bell's definitions, in *t* the point of the tongue touches the upper gum, in *sh* the point and front of the tongue are both raised, and the front approaches the rim of the palatal arch. This is a change from without inwards, as is the case also in the evolution of *h* from *k*¹ and from *g*, a process which was also completed in A.D. 600, as the tonic dictionaries show. Thus, while Chinese philology teaches that compound initials come from a simple base, it also teaches that the law of change is ordinarily from without inward. It is, therefore, not in the least likely that the lip, tooth, and throat letters were introduced into language at the same time. There was an

¹ *H* is described in Bell's Visible Speech as emission of breath with the throat wide. This is quite behind the point where *k* and *g* are formed.

order of evolution in these also, and in that order the lip letters must have stood first.

As a conclusion to this argument I add that the labial letters having been first evolved, the earliest roots must have had forms such as *ba*, *bo*, *ma*, *mo*, *map*, *mam*, *bap*, *p'a*, *pap*, *bam*. That is, they would be biliteral or triliteral combinations of *a*, *o*, *b*, *m*, *p*, and aspirated *p*. From these first syllables the others would all be evolved very gradually as those who used the language required them.

Polysyllabism seems to be not easily conceivable in the earliest stages of language. Assuming that monosyllabic structure was the rule in human speech during its primitive development, any law of progress true in Chinese ought, so far as it is physiological, to be true in the history of any other linguistic stems.

NOTE I.

Callery's *Systema Phonicum* must always be useful, because its arrangement allows of a large number of instances of the use of the same phonetic being seen together. But Chalmers' *Concise Kanghi*, while it does not translate the meanings of words, is much fuller than Callery. I first give the reference to Callery, and afterwards add from Chalmers as an example the whole of his article on one of the phonetics *pok* or *tok*, but rearranged by myself in the order of evolution. The principle of arrangement is to proceed from labials to *t*, *d*, *ts* and *ch*. From them the order proceeds to the upper and lower *y* and *u*, afterwards reaching *h*, *k*, and *k* aspirated, and finishing with *j* and *l*. It is extremely curious and interesting to trace the development from *b* in this way from a time long preceding the invention of writing 4300 years ago down to the present day. If writing had been invented much earlier, the descent down the ladder could have been represented in a more complete form. As it is, we cannot trace in an orderly way the development of meanings in their actual succession. We can only roughly represent the development of sounds. The evolution of meanings was always independent of the



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pau 'a bird'; *pau* 'a flying rat or bat, which attacks and eats tigers and panthers.'

6. *Pok*, same as 4th of 3; *pok*, same as 4th of 2; *p'au*, same as 1st of 3.

7. *P'au* 2, same as *pau* 'angry'; *pau*, same as *p'au* 'cannon'; *p'au* 'thorns'; *dik* 'a single beam, plank to cross a stream'; *dik* 'to tie.'

8. *Tik* 'unwadded robe, cool clothing'; *tik*, same as *kut* 'a rat'; *tik* 'lotus seeds'; *tik* 'wrap round.'

9. *Tik* 'white, distant, see clearly, real, mark in archery,' etc.

10. *Tik* 'flesh in the lower part of the abdomen,' 'ribs'; *tik* 'brilliance of pearls'; *tik* 'bright'; *tik* 'heap of stones.'

11. *Tik* 'to string fish,' 'drag'; *tik* 'target'; *tik* 'cut'; *tik* 'lotus seeds.'

12. *Tik* 'loop of leather over the back of a carriage horse for holding the reins together,' 'reins,' 'bridle'; *tik* 'a fish,' 'tie fish,' 'to angle'; *tik* 'high,' 'horse with white spot on his forehead.'

13. *Tik* 'face with black spots,' 'dragon's beard,' *i.e.* 'a sort of asparagus,' 'black spots in women's cheeks, placed there for ornament,' 'a rat'; *tiau* 'become low-spirited, sad.'

14. *Tiau* 'strike quickly,' 'take furtively,' 'strike on the side'; *tiau* 'head of a piece of silk'; *tiau* 'ears of corn hanging,' 'anything hanging.'

15. *Tiau* 3 'catch fish by angling with a bait,' 'to take,' 'a name'; *tiau* 'to take,' 'sound,' 'a name'; *tiau* 'a bamboo.'

16. *Tiau* 'a grass'; *tiau* 'mad,' 'a child's disease'; *tiau* 2 'thus'; *tiau* 'handle of peck measure in Ursa Major,' 'lead,' 'tie'; *tik*, *tiau* 3 'archery mark.'

17. *Djok* 'noise of water dashing,' 'take away,' 'think about,' 'name of place'; *zhok* 'elevate,' 'name of place.'

18. *Zhok* 'a family name'; *zhok* 'take up or bale out'; *zhok*, same as 2nd of 17.

19. *Zhok* 'falling star'; *zhok* 'wooden spoon used with a wooden cup'; *dzok*, *dzok*, same as 2 in 13; *t'sak* (aspirated) 'break in the level.'

20. *Tsak* 'mouse'; *chok* (*tok*) 'take away,' 'name of music,'

same as 2 of 18; *chok* 'go-between'; *chok* 'pour wine into a goblet,' 'pour from a jar into a pot for use,' 'add,' 'help on the good side,' 'or help in what may be beneficial,' 'consult about what is best to do,' 'name of place,' 'when pouring wine let it be the clear.'

21. *Chok* 'tracks on the ground'; *chok* 'plank to cross water.'

22. *Chok* 'marks on a panther's skin'; *chok* 'to scorch,' 'roast,' 'make bright,' 'warn,' 'fearing fire,' 'bright appearance of flowers.'

23. *Chok*, same as 1 in 8; *chok* 'name of stars in Ursa Major'; *chok, chok* 'wind squirrel of western countries'; *chok* 'Paeonia albiflora,' 'vegetation abundant.'

24. *Chok* 'peony,' 'Paeonia albiflora'; *chok* 'a plant' (probably same as last); *chok* 'strong'; *chok* 'take out by baling,' 'to pour'; *cho ling* 'name of place.'

25. *Chok*, same as 3 in 2; *chok*, same as 1 in 13.

26. *Chok* 'strike from one side'; *chok* 'tree laid as a bridge across a stream'; *chok* 'traces'; *chok* 'sound of water'; *chok*, same as 3 in 2.

27. *Yak* (upper pitch as in all surd initials) 'tie up,' 'abridged and comprehensive,' 'check,' 'limit,' 'beautiful,' 'bent,' 'ended,' 'secretly bring under control,' 'tender and graceful'; *yau*, same as *yau* 'important' (that is to say, *yau* 'important' is evolved from *yak*).

28. *Yak* 4, 'white Iris florentina,' the leaf is called *yak*; *yak* 'moderation in diet'; *yak* 'lines at the finger-joints'; *yak* 'small fife' (same as *dik* 'flute').

29. *Yau* 'bent'; *yau* 'joints in bamboo'; *yau* or *au*, same as 27.

30. *Au* 4, same as 1 in 28; *yak, yau* 8, 'name of a sacrifice,' 'sacrifice of spring'; *yak* 8 'a white kind of silk.'

31. *Yak* 8, same as 2 in 17, and 4 in 24; *hik* 8, 'a call to war from the sovereign'; *hiau* 6 'a plant which grows like asparagus,' it has a thin root like a finger, which is black, and can be eaten; it is named *fu t'si*, and is a variety of the water chestnut, *Eleocharis*.

32. *Tik* 'lotus seeds'; *hiau* 2 'lotus seeds'; *hiau* 6, same as 3 in 31, and a colloquial name of this plant is *p'u tsi*, the

last of these characters being 'Shepherd's purse, *Capsula bursa pastoris*, (Williams); *hieu* 'spear.'

33. *Kik* 'wrap,' same as 1 in 24; *kit* 'a certain rat or squirrel'; *k'ik* 'spear'; *niak* 'Paeonia albiflora.'

34. *Lik* 'to touch,' 'to place'; *liau* 'meet any one passing by a cross road,' 'to hook anything with the foot.'

NOTE III.

Evolution of ideas in foregoing example.

The first in the series should be *bok*, but *bau* is found because the word was so pronounced about A.D. 1600, when the dictionary from which it is taken was made.

The name of a 'baling ladle' was *bok* at a very early period. It was a scoop of wood, a gourd, or a cocoa-nut shell with a handle attached to it. This is found in astronomy as the name of the seven stars of Ursa Major. The sound heard when water is baled would give the name. The cracking of the knuckles is also called *pok*, as, too, the sound of wind (4), of stepping, of beating (3, 5), of striking with the feet (5), of leaping (5), of an arrow striking a target (11). The influence of astronomy on the formation of words is not likely to be long anterior to the invention of writing.

This variety of sounds imitated shows that in inventing words primitive men made use of very few letters. A noise heard, whether that of breaking, of the dashing of water, of striking, or of jumping, was called *bok*, or more probably, if we go back a stage, *bop*. It was the work of the mind afterwards gradually to apply a convenient diversity of sound to each modification in sense by means of the vocal organs. Here lies that union of the metaphysical with the physical which constitutes the basis of language.

Resemblance to familiar objects led to an extension of words. A water ladle gave a name to the seven stars of the Great Bear. A winnowing implement, shaped like a dust-pan, received the same name. The loud crack of wood when burnt, though not here mentioned, was the cause of a name for sparks, for bright spots, and hence for any spots. From some of these sources came *pok*, the name of the spotted



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phonetic, with those embraced by other phonetics. We then find that the final consonants of roots are in the long run just as variable as the initials, and the vowels that come between them not less so.

Roots without a clear cut shape in sound and in sense were, on the whole, always impossible. If indistinctness enters, it can be but temporary. The efforts of language will be employed incessantly till distinctness is restored. When derivation takes place, there will be indistinctness for a time, but that time will not be long. The senses of primitive man were clear, and gave him distinct information. His roots then must have been correspondingly clear in their shape.

NOTE IV.

Reserved evidence.

In order to be brief, nothing scarcely has in the foregoing paper been said of the Kwang Yün. This dictionary gives valuable evidence in the point argued in this paper. Its date is about A.D. 600. In it we find the following proportions of space occupied by the six final letters known to ancient Chinese:—

<i>M</i> pages	33	<i>P</i> pages	16
<i>N</i> „	102	<i>T</i> „	33
<i>NG</i> „	81	<i>K</i> „	51

From all the facts open to us, the proportion here is to be explained only on the hypothesis of change from *m* to *n* and *ng*, and of *p* to *t* and *k*. The proportion assigned here to *ng*, *n*, *t*, *k* is much greater, without doubt, than it was in the time of Confucius.

Notwithstanding this, many words which are now heard with *ng* have *m* in the Kwang Yün, and similar facts occur under other finals. To some minds this circumstance, the secular contraction of the area of *m* and *p*, and the corresponding expansion of the area of the other finals, will constitute a proof of considerable force for the thesis of this paper.

I have omitted the space occupied by words ending in vowels. This would require amplification.

ART. VIII.—*The Present State of Education in Egypt.*¹ By
H. CUNYNGHAME, Esq.

(Communicated through Mr. Habib Anthony Salmoné, M.R.A.S.)

VOLUMES have been written about the political and financial state of Egypt, but little attention has been directed to the present condition of education in that country. Therefore the results of a personal inspection of the schools in Cairo may not be uninteresting, especially since the importance of the subject has been strongly emphasized in Lord Dufferin's celebrated despatch (Feb. 6th, Egypt, No. 6, 1883).

Education in Egypt is not the simple matter that it may at first sight appear; it is surrounded with difficulties, most of them arising out of the wide difference between Oriental ideas and those of Christian countries.

The present condition of Muhammadan thought may best be understood by calling to mind the ideas prevalent in Europe before the Renaissance. When we open a philosophical or theological work of the middle ages, our chief feeling is one of astonishment, both at the ideas expressed and the reasoning by which they are supported, and we are inclined to wonder how any one in his senses can possibly have possessed them, and more still at how they can have influenced the age.

Take, for example, the reasoning of St. Thomas Aquinas upon the question whether Angels are many or one. He shows that scripture has clearly declared the existence of many angels. But, again, not being material, they must be forms—but a form means that which is, so to speak, typical or ideal only; it lacks content. Now multifoldness can only be given by content, that is, can only exist where there is materiality. Hence then, on the other hand, reason

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting, 15th November, 1886.

requires us to conclude that the existence of many angels is impossible. Here arises a difficulty, which however the writer solves by pronouncing angels to be a genus—not a species; and thus capable of being manifold, without being material. We should call all this metaphysical jargon resting on a series of unproved assumptions. Yet the seraphic Doctor was the acutest intellect of his time, and the writer whose works were considered the most ingenious, convincing, and philosophical. The reason is that we have lost the key by which to read his works. The key can be found, but only with the aid of much archæological groping in dark corners.

The spirit of the middle ages was a spirit of authority in matters mental as well as in things political. The ideal of a true knight was unreasoning loyal allegiance, that of a true saint unhesitating faith and obedience; and the knight and the saint then formed the two ideals of holy human life. As a result, science was paralyzed. Men were taught to exclaim with St. Anselm, “Credo ut intelligam.” Doubt was proscribed, it was looked upon as unholy, and those who expressed it openly were censured or burned. The chief field of faith was in theology, but even in scientific matters, blind belief was no less demanded. To a young student who alleged he had discovered some new facts in natural history, his teacher replied, “Young man, this is not in Aristotle; I counsel you to leave these vain inquiries and waste no more time in the foolish pursuit of experiments. Read Aristotle and become wise.”

And the studies of the middle ages were all of this tendency. They are well described in Hallam's *Middle Ages*. Theology, Logic, Rhetoric, and Law were the principal, but those studies which are based on observation or experiment hardly existed. Magic and witchcraft were firmly believed in; and pilgrimage to shrines and beggary were considered as the road to piety. Heretics were burned, and science discouraged.

But by degrees the renaissance came to dethrone the principle of authority, to make the human conscience and reason supreme; the study of natural science was placed by



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is much which is not in the Koran, and which is yet tenaciously believed. In fact, very many of the most important ceremonial and religious beliefs and observances rest solely upon tradition.

At one time the study of philosophy and logic threatened to produce on the doctrines of Islam an effect somewhat similar to that of the scholastic philosophy in Europe upon the doctrines of the church. Thus the question was raised whether the Koran was uncreate and eternal, subsisting in the essence of God from all time, or whether it was created by Him; a controversy which Al Ghazili attempted to reconcile by saying that the word of God was in His mind from eternity, but that the transcription thereof was an act of creation. The matter appears finally to have been left to the discretion of believers, but not before great numbers on both sides had been imprisoned, whipped, and executed for heresy. Again, the questions with what body believers shall be raised up; whether angels and animals will be raised up as well as men; whether a perfectly sinless being could be the author of evil; whether punishment after death shall be eternal; and like matters were the subjects of active dispute. Had this tendency of thought prevailed, it might have prepared the Oriental mind for the advent of something corresponding to our renaissance movement, which raised conscience to the position of a fountain of knowledge and supreme guide in spiritual matters, and made the reason the ultimate judge in the domain of science. But it bore no fruit and died away. The philosophical sects were branded as unorthodox, and philosophy itself was regarded as impious. In Spain, indeed, there were not wanting signs of a coming change of thought, but the fall of the power of the Moors put an end to it.

The only movement which in any way resembled the change of thought in Europe was the rise of the Wahabees, a sect of violent puritans, who forbad luxury and destroyed shrines, not respecting even that of the Prophet.

And thus it happens that although in the East learning is regarded with the highest veneration, yet it has never

attained to a scientific altitude. The learned Hakim considers a knowledge of thousands of precepts from the Koran and the Commentaries as the highest form that theology can take, and the dry rules of Arabic grammar as the principal department of secular learning. Modern science, physics, and chemistry, are looked upon partly as a series of childish conjuring tricks, and partly as the result of intercourse with evil spirits. Educated Europeans coming into contact with a temper of mind like this are usually at first quite unable to believe or comprehend the contempt in which they and their learning are held, a contempt not perhaps wholly unmixed with a sort of awe, but a contempt deeply embittered by religious hatred.

In Egypt the struggle between the old and the new ideas is most actively going on, and therefore the education question affords the interesting spectacle of a battle-ground, in which the ancient Arabian learning is brought face to face with the knowledge of the West. And this struggle is all the more intense because Cairo has always been considered the fountain-head of Arabic literature, and therefore the war is, as it were, being waged in the very capital of the enemy. It is on this account that a short survey of the schools at Cairo is so interesting, and so instructive.

Before the advent of Europeans to Egypt, the education of the natives depended on two institutions, the Kuttab or writing schools, and the University. The Kuttab schools were frequented by boys from the earliest age up to puberty, and still remain the primary schools of the country. The little children are collected in some dirty shop or room which would at once be condemned by a sanitary inspector. Here they are placed under the care of a teacher at a cost of about threepence per month per head, and provided with sheets of tinned iron, such as are used to make kitchen utensils. On these, passages from the Koran are written out in ink, and the children learn the verses by rote, and to read by repeating the passages over and over again, while they look or pretend to look at the slate. It is a curious sight to see the little things clothed in long shirts of brightly coloured cotton,

squatting on the floor and rapidly swinging their bodies backwards and forwards, while they patter away at the lesson that not one of them understands ; for even men are unable to understand the Koran without a commentary. The instructor, a peaceful, gentle-looking man, who is generally incapable of explaining a single word to the children, corrects the exercise in a dreamy way until one of those periods of energy comes to him that generally interrupt the indolent repose of Orientals, and then the children are smacked and thumped for a time until things relapse into their original quiet.

The boys are also taught to sing in a manner reminding one of Gregorian chants. They use no desks to write at, holding their slate or paper inclined in their hands. It is impossible to write on paper in any other way. For as they use the right hand to write from right to left, a steel pen is inadmissible, for its point, driven forwards like a plough, would penetrate the paper. This therefore requires the use of a soft reed. But ink will not remain in a reed without flowing to the point and making blots, unless the reed is held nearly horizontal, which therefore necessitates the paper being inclined to the horizontal nearly at an angle of 45°. This is the reason why Arabs always hold up a piece of paper in the hollow of their hands when they wish to write. The difficulty can be surmounted by the use of a small sliding metal tongue, placed in the hollow of the reed to retain the ink, but I could not find that such a device had ever been used.

Most of the Kuttab schools are dirty in the extreme, clusters of flies hang round the eyes of the children, and in many the smell is intolerable. In some of the school-rooms, even where the children were under seven years of age, I observed that the falaka was used,—a thick stick with a loop of cord in it, to which their feet are strapped down while they are being bastinadoed. It is found that a free use of the rod is a wonderful stimulator of the memory, if it does not much assist the reason. The children appear happy, and there are altogether about 130,000 of them in the Kuttab



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secondary schools of their own, at which attendance is voluntary. They have thus erected a series of new institutions side by side with the old ones, and which are so far recognized by the Al Azhar, that sheiks or holy teachers of religion and Arabic are sent from the University to the various Government Schools, wherever they are required. But religion is not made compulsory. The Government has not attempted the formation of elementary schools on a wide scale, therefore their primary schools are still mainly recruited from the Kuttab. The primary school destined to serve as a model to the others is the "Nassiret," and is a very excellent institution.

It contains 400 day boys and 300 boarders. It is exceedingly clean, and the boys look very happy. They are taught English, French, arithmetic, and drawing, and in fact the elements of a primary education. The age of twelve is the upper limit. I saw some very good elementary Arabic text-books for teaching English. They had been printed in Cairo. The fee for board and lodging and teaching is £14 a year. Day boys pay less, and some are admitted gratis. Of these schools there are twenty-nine in Egypt, I was informed, with a total of about 4000 scholars.

Next in ascending order after the primary schools comes the preparatory school, mainly designed for those who intend to follow the learned professions, or to enter the service of the state. It is situated close to the Khedivial Library at Cairo, in which is contained perhaps the most magnificent collection of Arabic manuscripts in the world. In the preparatory school instruction is given in modern languages, Arabic, arithmetic, a little chemistry, geography and drawing.

The school-house is a good one, being an ancient palace (as is the case with most of the public buildings in Cairo). It contains hot and cold bath sheds, a rough gymnasium, and two playgrounds, in which it is attempted to make the boys speak French and English during play-hours. About one-third of the pupils sleep in the school, in clean, airy dormitories. The food looks nice and well cooked. They sit, of course, Arab fashion, eating with the right hand out of the

dish (being the hand destined for all cleanly purposes). The store-room and kitchen are guarded all day by sentries selected from among the boys, who see the food weighed out, cooked, and watch it till it is brought up to table. No corporal punishment is allowed, but offenders are imprisoned in small cells. This prohibition of moderate corporal punishment is a decided mistake. Boys of spirit are sometimes obliged to be removed from the school, who could easily be dealt with if the cane were allowed. The management of the school is in the French manner, the boys being more watched than would be the case under an English system.

On entering the class-rooms, several characteristic traits of the Egyptian boy present themselves at once, even to the most casual observer. The first is their extraordinary docility and desire to learn. An English schoolmaster could hardly believe such angelic boys existed out of Paradise. This is no mere pretence, it is the fact, and is attested by all engaged in teaching here. Again, the absence of mischief is remarkable. They are being taught in an old palace, the walls of which are still decorated with Arabic paintings, and yet I could nowhere see one trace of wilful damage. English boys would have put pipes into the mouths of all the peacocks, and scratched their names everywhere. The next characteristic is their extraordinary self-confidence. If a boy is selected to do a sum before the class, he steps up at once, without a trace of embarrassment, and goes on in a firm decided tone. No mistake abashes him, and he rarely pauses to think.

But, on the other hand, the boys are tiresome to teach on this very account. They are so glib, so easily satisfied, and so quick, that they float over the surface of a subject without sounding its depths, and constantly mistake a knowledge of words for a knowledge of things. This fault is mostly due to the pernicious system adopted in the Kuttab schools. I do not for a moment suggest that a knowledge of the Koran is not most desirable for Muhammadans. Too great inroads are being made already on their religion. Wine-drinking, the eating of prohibited food, and unlawful pleasures of all

kinds, are unfortunately only becoming too common in Egypt; and a class of men has arisen in Cairo who have imitated Parisian vices, without acquiring European virtues; who are neither good Muhammadans, good Christians, nor even good Infidels.

It is the spectacle of these effeminate luxurious young men, who come back from Paris with the airs of the monkey who had seen the world, that excites the scorn of the strict and self-denying devotees of the Muhammadan religion, and greatly retards the progress of civilization and improvement. Fortunately there are bright exceptions, but the Egyptian nature is so keenly susceptible to the allurements of pleasure, that great care ought to be taken to place those students who go to Europe in positions where they will not be too much exposed to temptations. But while religious instruction in the Kuttab schools ought by all means to be encouraged, yet the Koran might be made, like the Bible, a means of imparting moral truth combined with instructive history. This is not done, the poor little children's nascent powers are warped and stunted, and the results appear when their higher education is attempted.

Although the Egyptian boy is deficient in inventive capacity, acts from impulse, is wayward and changeable in mind, and, as I have endeavoured to show, is stunted as to his reasoning faculties, he is not without other compensating advantages. He has a vivid imagination, quick perception, and a power of intuitively sympathizing with others. He is therefore by nature more or less of an artist, and this is shown by the most cursory inspection of the drawings done at any of these schools.

Difficulties, it is true, formerly presented themselves, owing to the Koranic precept against images, which had been interpreted to mean all representations of things which have life. This difficulty has been surmounted; for the sheiks of the mosques who teach in the government schools have lately decided that the word "image" must be restricted to sculpture. As a result, the boys have all begun to copy heads from the flat, and that with the most remarkable ability. I



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that the planets were named by the Europeans after certain ancient gods, I was amused at the face of horror with which one of the boys asked if Englishmen believed in those gods. He appeared greatly relieved when he learned that the English were not polytheists. An obstacle formerly in the way of astronomical studies has been removed by the recent discovery of no less than nineteen texts in the Koran which show that the earth goes round the sun. The interpretations of certain other passages which had suggested a contrary opinion are therefore now discredited.

The Polytechnic, or Engineering school, is mostly taught by French professors. From this school came the late Astronomer-Royal of Egypt, a man of remarkable scientific knowledge. Here, again, the defects of early education glaringly appear, a strong tendency being exhibited to imitate those persons who learn Euclid by rote, without understanding it. The drawing in this school was quite remarkable; nothing better could be desired as far as artistic execution was concerned. A black boy from the Soudan, who had been about three years under instruction, had shaded and coloured a drawing of an engine in a manner that would bear comparison with the best work done in England.

The school of medicine is being largely extended. It is situated close to a hospital, and here, also, the manipulative power of the young men was exhibited by the delicacy of their skill in dissection. The great difficulty is that there are no good medical text-books in Arabic. A law is shortly to be proposed making it compulsory on all medical students to be able to read with facility one European language—an excellent regulation, which, as the Arabs are very expert at languages, will not entail much hardship.

The *École des Arts et Métiers* presents the usual features of a technical workshop on the French system. The boys are being well taught. One of the difficulties with them is that they greatly dislike the European fashion of standing up to their work instead of squatting. Here were being made every conceivable kind of machinery and furniture.

I saw agricultural machines, patent American wringing machines, models of all kinds, and some very well-executed chairs, tables, and wardrobes. But by far the most striking sight was the beautiful decoration of the walls and ceilings in Old Arabian and Moorish patterns. Nothing better could have been desired than these elaborate traceries in gold and colours. They had mostly been taken from the illuminations in the magnificent collections at the Khedivial Library. The walls of many of the rooms were painted in oil with maps of various countries, in which the most delicate sense of the harmony of colour was apparent.

How much it is to be regretted that the moneyed classes in Cairo prefer to ornament their houses and public buildings with a poor imitation of modern French and Italian decorations, instead of the beautiful designs of their own country. I have seen palace after palace, which the folly of the past rulers of Egypt has erected, enormous piles of stucco and plaster, covered with rococco ornament and painted to imitate marble. Many millions must have been spent on these palaces, filled as they are with badly-made furniture of the style of Louis XV., and yet I do not recollect having seen in any one of them a sign that the native artists of Egypt have been employed. Their foundations are crumbling, and most of them will soon be heaps of ruins, to be remembered only by the part they have borne in producing that gigantic debt, which still, like an incubus, weighs down the prosperity of Egypt. Let us hope that if the aspirations of the Egyptians towards freedom from foreign intervention are ever realized, they will mark its advent by a return to their own architecture. They have two styles to choose from, both indigenous to the soil, and both suitable to the climate, viz. the ancient Egyptian and the mediæval Arabian. Of both they possess the finest specimens which exist. What a pity it is, that they, from whom the world has learnt so much in the arts of decoration and architecture, should neglect their own native art and allow their own native artists to starve, while they introduce foreigners from abroad to supply them with an article of a poor and degraded character. The chief

defect in Cairo at present is the absence of general technical instruction for the craftsmen, and their repugnance to learn. The handicrafts in Egypt are in a very bad condition. For instance, the work done by the jewellers is simply disgraceful. Slovenly, careless ornament is patched on gold and silver, which only the sharpest vigilance of the purchaser can prevent from being recklessly adulterated, and the tools employed in the jewellers' bazaar would disgrace the Kaffira. Considering the present cheap price of English and American tools, and the excellent manipulative power of Egyptians, they ought to be exporting jewelry, instead of seeing all the best work taken before their eyes by foreigners.

Nor is the artistic skill of the Egyptian inferior to that of any other race. At Thebes such wonderful forgeries of Egyptian antiquities are made, that even experienced persons are deceived by them. It is not only the things that are imitated, but the very spirit of the ancient workman that has been reproduced. A good collection of such forgeries would be quite an acquisition to any museum. At Luxor, a donkey-boy taken at random, and provided with my knife and some limestone, did a series of excellent miniature copies of the cartouches of the principal kings. The pottery all along the river is justly admired for its graceful form, and yet the bazaars are full of French and English crockery, to the exclusion of native work. The clay is to be had, the men exist, but unfortunately the education and the enterprise as yet are wanting.

No more interesting effort could be made than a wise attempt under suitable guidance to revive and restore the dying Arabian industries.

In conclusion, it may be remembered, that while the Egyptians have much to learn in the matter of education, they have been making efforts which demand the highest praise and encouragement. They have to contend with religious prejudice, the enmity of the University, and the indifference of foreign powers, and this too in the face of a deficient revenue. If we condemn some of the faults of their educational system, is it not true that our own is also full of



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ART. IX.—*The Tri-Ratna*. By FREDERIC PINCOTT, M.R.A.S.

IN the very valuable paper on "Early Buddhist Symbolism" contributed to the July issue of the Journal by Mr. Sewell, we have many interesting statements showing the possible influence of the West upon Indian symbolism. These, however, do not, to my mind, lead to the conclusion Mr. Sewell desires to establish; and, in fact, he contents himself with the assertion that the *śiṅgastika* is emblematic of sun-motion, that the *chakra* represents the sun, and that the *triśūla* "is nothing more nor less than a conventionalized scarab—a sun-emblem." The first two assertions seem to have been considered self-evident; but, in support of the last, several remarkable coincidences are brought together.

In my opinion, the difficulty in understanding these symbols arises from looking too far afield for an explanation. We may take it as a rule that all old symbols were intended to represent simple ideas, which in the course of time lost their original meaning, and assumed technical or mystical import. It is safe to conclude that Buddhistic emblems form no exception to this general rule. It is needful to bear in mind, also, that there are two Buddhas and two Buddhisms,—the one is the real reformer and the doctrines which he preached; and the other is the imaginary pre-existent omnipotent being, with his endless co-equal repetitions, and the complicated speculations to which he and they stand sponsor. Enquirers who rest entirely upon the ideas of modern Buddhists, and on the Vaipulya-Sūtras, will be carried into the realms of imaginary antiquity with its cycles of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, inculcating crudities and profundities, that may as well be deduced from the sun, or the moon, or from any other equally remote source. We should steadily keep before our minds the fact that the Buddha who gave rise to all this wonderment was a Rationalist of very pronounced type, who set his face against metaphysical speculation. His object was to draw his countrymen away from idle dreaming, and to teach

them to concentrate their efforts on the practical duties of life. This is clearly seen by the authoritative words of the rock-cut and pillar inscriptions, by the incidental statements of old Hindû plays, by the express assertion of the Vishṇu-Purâṇa, and even by a discriminative reading of Buddhist literature itself. This being so, we may be sure that all really Buddhistic emblems originated in simple, rational, and practical ideas.

This historical Buddha, as is well known, accepted the prevailing opinions of his compatriots on a variety of subjects which did not conflict with his own leading ideas. He seems to have held the Agnostic view of personal Deity, which left his followers to branch off into two sects, one theistic, the other atheistic. He accepted the notion of a future state, but left its nature undefined ; deeming it sufficient that mankind should know how the lamp of life was to be blown out (*Nirvâṇa*). His reticence on this point has caused all the curious inquiries of succeeding generations as to what he desired us to understand by *Nirvâṇa*. He did not invent, he accepted the theory of metempsychosis. He saw that births and deaths were continually taking place ; and as "misery" arising from "desire" reigns supreme in life, the only way to attain beatitude seemed to be to strip the living principle of "desire," until perfect apathy stopped its vital functions. Buddha seems to have wished to induce his countrymen to abandon traditional dogmas based on revelation, and to accept instead thereof *reason* as the efficient guide in matters of faith. Reason, he held, teaches us that a pure moral life produces happiness in this world ; and, by subjugating desire, destroys all wish for life and the things of sense, and thus accomplishes the *Nirvâṇa* or cessation of transmigratory births. The *Parinirvâṇa-Sûtra* shows that Buddhism carefully abstained from describing *Nirvâṇa* with any definiteness ; and the same book makes Buddha say that he "entangles himself with no such questions What I deal with are the questions of sorrow, accumulation, extinction, and the way. I explain and analyse these truths : here is my field

of speculation; therefore I exclude and ignore all other questions, all preferences, or questions about transmigrations or idle and vain questions. I devote myself wholly to moral culture, so as to arrive at the highest condition of Moral Rest.”¹ A man whose purpose in life can be thus stated by his disciples is not likely to be connected with solar myths.

Starting from a rational basis, it is not difficult to explain the emblems found in Buddhist sculpture. And the very first remark I have to make destroys all chance of connecting the Trisula with the sacred scarab. The Trisula is the three-pronged object on the top of the illustrations in the paper of Mr. Sewell on which I am commenting. It is a term never applied to the circular object found underneath it. The two objects are totally distinct, and are often represented separately in different places, and for different purposes. This could never be the case if they formed parts of one object; for there is no sense in depicting the front claws of a scarab on one building, and his headless trunk on another. Furthermore, when the two objects are placed together, they are seen to be two separate things one over the other, and not always in the same order, for sometimes the Circle is above the Trisula. This annihilates the scarab theory, but leaves the origin of the symbol still open to question; I, therefore, add my explanation of the symbols to which Mr. Sewell has called attention.

The *Chakra* is the “circle” or “wheel,” symbolizing the endless revolutions of births and deaths; also the eternity of truth, the complete “circle” of the law, the progressive character of the faith, and the universal predominance of its power. The Chakra was a well-known symbol expressing universal sovereignty, and was applied to many Indian Râjâs who were styled *chakravârtin* under the assumption that the “wheels” of their chariots could revolve everywhere without obstruction. Nothing could be more apt than to speak of Buddha (who was of royal race) and his Law as

¹ Rev. S. Beal's *Catena*, p. 183.



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idea, also, of pre-eminent importance to the professor of that religion.

If we examine this symbol apart from the circular object on which it is so often mounted, we shall see that it is shaped exactly like the old Indian letter ॐ . No amount of floriation materially alters its shape; the two arms are, at times, forked, or tridented, or floriated; the central stem may be shortened or almost disappear; but, in despite of all such changes, its original character is never lost, it remains a Y throughout.

We have now to see whether the history of Buddhism furnishes us with any watchword or expression which might fairly be held to render the letter Y a recognizable sign of that faith, sufficiently distinctive to stamp anything on which it might be found as Buddhistic. There is such a formula in the celebrated phrase beginning *Ye Dharmâ*. This formula is now, and always has been, the *shibboleth* of Buddhism, the great confession of faith, daily and hourly repeated by every member of that community. The sentence *Ye Dharmâ*, etc., was considered the quintessence of all doctrine, the expression of the four truths, the perfect exposition of the faith, the recognition of the saving power of Dharma, and of the exalted wisdom of the Tathâgata. These facts seem to me naturally and satisfactorily to explain why the letter Y was used to symbolize Dharma, or the doctrines of Buddha, and why it so frequently recurs on all Buddhistic monuments. There being no personal Deity in early Buddhism, and Dharma, or the Law, being a life of virtue and benevolence, it is clearly impossible to invest it with outward shape for the purpose of depicting it in plastic art. When, therefore, it became desirable to represent the Faith in sculpture, what could better serve the purpose than the first, or most prominent, word of the sacred formula which was held to give full expression to it, more especially when that word consisted of a single consonant?

But we need not depend solely on reasoning for the ultimate decision; because the sculptures at Amrâvati have representations of wheels with the letter Y attached round the

periphery. These can only be intended to represent praying-wheels, with the *Ye Dharmâ* attached to them, in the way now daily practised in all parts of the present Buddhistic area. One example in illustration is here given, in which a devotee is standing by, evidently receiving the benefit of the revolving prayers, indicated by the *Ye Dharmâ* on slips of paper attached to the edge of the wheel.



Another discovery results from the recognition of this letter *Y* as the *Ye Dharmâ* and the emblem of the Law; for it enables us to recognize the object so frequently spoken of in Buddhist literature as the *Tri-Ratna*. This is known to mean Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha conjoined; but the command to “worship the Chaitya and the Tri-Ratna” implies that the latter had some sculptural form to which adoration could be paid. Just such an object is met with in great profusion in all Buddhist remains, consisting of the *Trisûla*, the *Chakra*, and a supporting stem or stand, often terminating in an impression of the Sacred Feet of Buddha. Any student of Buddhism will instantly recognize the object of which I am speaking, and will be aware of the prominence accorded to it in Buddhistic art. It is constantly found on both sides of doorways, or mounted on thrones as a special object of adoration. The stem on which the *Chakra* and *Trisûla* rest is often represented as the trunk of a tree, from which protrude short branches from top to bottom, on which are conventional leaves, and, at times, also necklaces of jewels.

This combination is certainly intended to represent the Tri-Ratna—the Trisula representing Dharma, the Chakra representing Buddha, and the stem with its leaves representing Sangha, the congregation of the faithful—the whole blended into one figure, of which Dharma is the head, Buddha is the body and heart, and Sangha is the limbs, terminating in the Sacred Feet.

But I must here point out another circumstance, viz that, instead of a tree-like stem, the Chakra and Trisula at times rest upon parallelograms, as may be seen in Mr. Sewell's illustrations, Figures 1 and 15; and it is not a little remarkable that these parallelograms are, I believe, always *four* in number, almost obviously intended to symbolize the Four Castes. The Sangha, or congregation, consisted of members of each of the castes; for all caste distinctions were abrogated by the Law of Buddha. A curious confirmation of this explanation is found in the figures of Jagannâth, the bodies of which rest upon *four* upright stems, as though intended to symbolize that, under that form of the faith, the castes are co-ordinate, none being superior or inferior to the others.

From the foregoing facts it seems to me clear that the Trisula is simply the letter *Y*, symbolizing the formula *Ye Dharmâ*, or the Buddhistic faith; and that, in combination with the Chakra (symbolical of Buddha, and the universality of his dominion), supported by the objects representing the four castes, or Sangha, constituted the *Tri-Ratna* so constantly spoken of in Buddhist books. This gives a precise and natural explanation of the figure on the gateways at Sârchî, shown by Mr. Sewell in his Fig. 15. It is, in reality, the Tri-Ratna, or combination of Dharma, Buddha, and Sangha, so passionately extolled by ancient Buddhists as an object of adoration, and hence placed in the most conspicuous position by the architects of the building.

The emblem which remains to be spoken of is the *Swastika*; and it will strip this of much superstition to remark that it is so called from the Sanskrit prefix *su* 'good,'



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condensed form of the *Tri-Ratna*; and ascribing to it that meaning, we have a full and satisfactory explanation of its wide diffusion over every district to which Buddhism penetrated. It is quite possible that this distinctly Buddhist emblem may have an accidental resemblance to some other object venerated by other nations; but before any real relationship can be claimed, the various distinguishing features of each should be carefully noted and compared, and the probability of borrowing should be reasonably ascertained. The figure is a very simple one, not requiring much skill to invent, and might well have suggested itself to many people to represent many different ideas. I may mention that the old Indian letters SUSTK, the essential characters of *Sustaka*, the Pâli form of the word, when superposed as a monogram, form a symbol exactly like the Swastika emblem. It may, therefore, like the *Trisûla*, be merely a monogram.

Whatever may be thought of my attempt to rationalize the Swastika mark, it seems to me perfectly clear (from an examination of hundreds of specimens, and after considering all that Maissey, Cunningham, Prinsep, Wilson, Burnouf, and Fergusson have said on the subject) that the *Trisûla* is the letter *Y*, monogramatically depicting the *Ye Dharmâ*; and that the *Chakra* symbolized the revolutions of birth and death, and the universality of the dominion of Buddha's religion. Such explanations are not only reasonable in themselves, and in precise accord with the ideas ascribed to Sakya Muni, but they fully account for the important positions accorded to these emblems in sculpture, and for their combination as the so-called *Tri-Ratna*, or their separation into individual symbols on coins, etc.

Although differing from Mr. Sewell in the powers I would ascribe to the symbols of Buddhism, I gladly recognize the value and research of Mr. Sewell's paper. The sincerity and modesty his paper exhibits lead me to think that he will welcome any suggestions tending to elucidate a subject in which he evidently takes deep interest.

ART. X.—*Description of the Noble Sanctuary at Jerusalem in 1470 A.D., by Kamâl (or Shams) ad Dîn as Suyûtî. Extracts Re-translated by GUY LE STRANGE, M.R.A.S.*

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

‘Traduttore traditore.’—*Italian Proverb.*

AMONG the many useful works that have appeared under the auspices of ‘The Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland,’ none is perhaps more palpably open to criticism than the Rev. J. Reynolds’ *History of the Temple of Jerusalem*.¹ To judge from the translation, Mr. Reynolds had, to begin with, but a very imperfect knowledge of Arabic, and, in the second place, from the extraordinary blunders he makes, he can have put himself to no pains whatever to become acquainted, by means of plans, and the descriptions of modern travellers, with the localities of which the Arab author speaks. It is not my present purpose to re-edit and correct Mr. Reynolds’ work, for the book runs to some 550 pages, large 8vo., and it may safely be asserted that there is not a single one of his pages that would not require considerable alteration, to make it a tolerably exact rendering of his author’s text. Moreover, the pages of the Royal Asiatic Society’s *Journal* hardly afford room for so lengthy a work. I must therefore content myself with giving the headings of each of the seventeen chapters, and shall only translate such passages in the text as have seemed to me of most importance from an archæological or architectural point of view, and for throwing light on the vexed question of the sites of the Holy Places.

¹ The *History of the Temple of Jerusalem*, translated from the Arabic MS. of the Imâm Jalal ad Dîn as Sîûtî, with notes and dissertations by the Rev. J. Reynolds, B.A., etc. London, 1836.

It is necessary, however, before passing on to the book itself, to point out that Mr. Reynolds has made a first mistake in ascribing the work to the Imâm *Jalâl ad Dîn as Suyûtî*. *Jalâl ad Dîn as Suyûtî* is an extremely well known personage to any one who has turned over the pages of Sale's "Koran," and is principally known by his numberless exegetical works on the Kuran and the traditions, his "History of the Caliphs" (translated by H. S. Jarrett, 1881), with various dictionaries, etc., etc.; for, according to the catalogue he himself gives of his writings, their number exceeded 300, and they treat of every subject that came under the cognizance of the learned in Islâm. The details of *Jalâl ad Dîn as Suyûtî*'s life are perfectly well known. He was born in A.H. 849 at *Asiût*, in Upper Egypt, and he died in A.H. 911 as a recluse in his garden on the Island of *Roda* above *Cairo*. With this most learned personage *Shams ad Dîn as Sûyutî*, the author of the book Mr. Reynolds took in hand, has only in common that both were born at *Asiût*. *Shams ad Dîn as Suyûtî* gives a full account of himself in the preface to the work which is now occupying us. The date of his birth is not given, but he states that after completing his education in the schools of *Cairo*, he set out on the Pilgrimage to the Holy Cities, and reached *Mekka* in A.H. 848 (A.D. 1444; that is to say, a year before *Jalâl ad Dîn*, the other *Suyûtî*, was born). After spending a year at *Mekka*, he became tired of the place and returned to *Cairo*. However, a year later he sets out with his household, and paying a flying visit to the Tomb of the Prophet at *Medina*, he proceeds on to *Mekka* once more, and takes up his quarters for the next nine years in the precincts of the *Ka'abah*.

In the beginning of A.H. 857 we find him back in *Cairo*, occupying a position of trust in the household of one of the nobles who attended the court of the *Mamlûk* Sultans. It had always been *Suyûtî*'s wish to visit *Jerusalem*, and thus complete his acquaintance with the Holy Cities of Islâm; when, therefore, his patron was sent on a diplomatic mission to *Aleppo*, he agreed to accompany him, in the hopes that



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I. *Muthîr al Gharâm ilâ Ziyârat al Kuds wa ash Shâm* (*The Exciter of Desire for Visitation of the Holy City and Syria*), by Jamâl ad Dîn Abu Mahmûd Ahmad al Makdisî (the Hierosolymite). Of this work I was happy to find three excellent MSS. in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.¹ From the author's own statement in his preface, we learn that the *Muthîr* was written at Jerusalem in A.H. 752 (A.D. 1351). Of the writer's personal history all we know is that he was born in A.H. 714 (A.D. 1314), that he gave lectures in the Tenkezieh College at Jerusalem, and that he died at Cairo in A.H. 765 (A.D. 1364).²

On comparing the *Muthîr* with Suyûtî's work, I found that what were, to me, the most interesting portions of the latter, namely those relating to points of archæological, topographical, and historical interest, had been simply copied verbatim et literatim by Suyûtî (A.D. 1470) from the *Muthîr* (A.D. 1351), and further that Mujîr ad Dîn (whose description of Jerusalem was written in A.D. 1494) had to all appearance merely copied these same sections of the *Muthîr* from Suyûtî. The *Muthîr*, therefore, as the earliest authority I have come upon for many of the more remarkable accounts in Suyûtî, has seemed to me worthy of special attention, and as the MSS. of the *Muthîr* are rare, I have not hesitated to print the text of certain chapters or portions of chapters of the *Muthîr* which Suyûtî has taken. Before, however, passing on to other authorities quoted by Suyûtî, it may be worth while to give in briefest summary the contents of the Paris MSS. of the *Muthîr*. The work is divided into two parts.

¹ Anciens fonds, Nos. 716, 841, 842. I may here take occasion to express my grateful thanks to the authorities of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and to Monsieur Delisle, the Director, in particular, for the liberal manner in which, under a guarantee from our Embassy, he allowed me to borrow MSS. and carry them off to my own house for copying. I must also add my cordial acknowledgment of the favour extended to me by the Director of the Royal Library of Munich, who during the vacation, when the library is generally closed to the public, gave me free use of the many treasures that are stored on its shelves.

² Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, No. 425. *Hajji Khalifa*, No. 11372.

The first treats of the many excellences of Syria, the limits of the province, the origin of the name, the political division into districts, and is followed by a quotation of those verses of the Kurân which celebrate its praise. The second part treats of the many excellences of the Aksa Mosque and what pertains thereto, in particular and in general, from the date of its first foundation. An account is given of its building, and what may be found therein of wonders and remains of former days. It is from this portion of the work that I have printed the extracts relating to Omar's visit to the Noble Sanctuary, when it was yet covered by an enormous dung-hill of refuse thrown here by the Christians; also the chapter giving an account of the building of the Dome of the Rock by 'Abd al Malik, and the service for the same instituted by him. These accounts, as they now stand, date from A.D. 1350, fully six centuries from 'Abd al Malik's days, and over seven hundred years from those of Omar; also, I must confess, that they seem to me extremely apocryphal. The source from which they are derived is to me quite unknown. I have given the text as found in the Muthâr—which, as before noted, has been copied in turn by both Suyûtî and Mujîr ad Dîn—it being the earliest version with which I am acquainted. The story of Omar's conquest and visit, and 'Abd al Malik's building of the Dome of the Rock, as given by the Muslim Annalists, from Tabari down to Ibn al Athâr, is confined to a simple statement of the facts, and is devoid of all the details which abound in the present text. Possibly in the Muthâr we have another specimen of the romantic history-books which Islâm produced during the age of the Crusade, and of which the pseudo-Wâkidi set so agreeable an example.¹ The Muthâr concludes by a section filled with short biographical notices of the various Prophets, Saints, Patriarchs, and following them the most notable of

¹ The Byzantine historian George Theophanes (died A.D. 818) is generally quoted as the authority for what may be called 'the Christian tradition' of the events of Omar's conquest. Is it possible that his work, translated into Arabic, may have been the source, direct or indirect, of the very circumstantial account furnished by the Muthâr, which agrees in many points with the narrative of Theophanes.

the Muslim worthies, who visited the Holy City. I may add that from this section Mujîr ad Dîn has also freely plagiarised, and most of the biographical notices found in his work are taken verbatim from the Muthîr.

II. A second work, also bearing the name of *Muthîr al Gharâm*, is bound up with the first Muthîr in the MSS. 716 and 842 of the Bibliothèque Nationale. It is the 'Muthîr al Gharâm li ziyârat al Khalîl,' The Exciter of Desire to the Visitation of (the city of) the Friend (of Allah, that is, Hebron). It was written by Abu'l Fidâ Ishâk al Khalîli (of Hebron), whose family had originally come from Tadmur (Palmyra), and hence Suyûtî, who states in his preface that this work is his chief authority for all that relates to Hebron and the Tombs of the Patriarchs, quotes him under the name of Tadmurî. He died in A.H. 833 (A.D. 1430). The account he gives of an alleged visit to the Sepulchres of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the Cave of Machpelah, is copied by both Suyûtî and Mujîr ad Dîn, and though legendary enough in its present form, is perhaps founded on fact. I have therefore thought it worth while to translate the account in full, more especially as Mr. Reynolds' version leaves much to be desired in point of accuracy.

III. An authority whose name occurs on every other of Suyûtî's pages is Ibn 'Asâkir. This is not the celebrated 'Ali ibn 'Asâkir who wrote the 'Chronicle of Damascus,'¹ but his son Bahâ ad Dîn.² The latter spent most of his literary lifetime editing his father's works, and died in A.H. 600 (A.D. 1204) at Damascus. His book 'On the Excellences of the Aksâ Mosque' (Kitâb al Uns fi fadâil al Kuds),³ which Suyûtî speaks of in his preface, and frequently quotes, contains, in collected form, the lectures which he gave in the Mosque at Jerusalem during the year 596 A.H. Unfortunately I have not been able to learn that any MSS. of this work exist in our libraries.

¹ Wüst. *op. cit.* No. 267.

² Wüst. No. 292.

³ See also Hajji Khalfa, No. 3964, for the *Jâmi' al Mustaksâ*, by the same.



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adds: "Of this work the Shaikh Burhân ad Dîn (No. VI.) has made an abridgment by leaving out the *Isnâds*" (or authorities).

Before passing on to the translation of Suyûti's text, or rather of those passages which have appeared to me of interest archæologically, I must devote a few paragraphs to put my readers in mind of what is the technical signification in Arab writings of the word 'Masjid.'

In order to turn to our profit the Arab description of the Noble Sanctuary or Haram area of Jerusalem, it is necessary to remember that the term Masjid (whence, through the Spanish *Mezquita*, our word Mosque) denotes the *whole* of the sacred edifice, comprising the main building and the court, with its lateral arcades and minor chapels. The earliest specimen of the Arab mosque consisted of an open courtyard, within which, round its four walls, run colonades or cloisters to give shelter to the worshippers. On the side of the court towards the Kiblah (in the direction of Mekka), and facing which the worshipper must stand, the colonade, instead of being single, is, for the convenience of the increased numbers of the congregation, widened out to form the *Jâmi'* or place of assembly. Three rows of columns with the boundary wall will here form three transverse aisles. In the centre of the boundary wall on the Mekka side is set the great *Mibrâb* of the mosque, indicating the direction of the Kiblah; and in all descriptions of a mosque it is taken for granted that the visitor is facing the Kiblah, and is standing in the court (*Sahn*) of the mosque. Fronting him therefore is what is called the covered part (*al Mughattâ*) or the fore part (*al Mukaddamah*) of the mosque; while in his rear is the colonade against the wall of the courtyard, furthest from the Mekka side, and this is called the hinder part of the mosque (*al Mu-âkhirah*). Bearing these points in mind, and coming now to the Noble Sanctuary at Jerusalem, we must remember that the term 'Masjid' belongs not only to the *Akss* mosque (more properly the *Jâmi'* or place of assembly for prayer), but to the whole enclosure with the Dome of the Rock in the middle, and all the other minor domes and

chapels. As M. de Vogüé has pointed out, the Dome of the Rock is not itself a mosque or place for public prayer, but merely the largest of the many cupolas in the court of the mosque, intended merely to cover and do honour to the Holy Rock which lies beneath it.

Great confusion is introduced into the Arab descriptions of the Noble Sanctuary by the loose manner in which they apply the terms *al Masjid* or *Masjid al Aksâ*, *Jâmi'* or *Jâmi' al Aksâ*. The late Professor Palmer laid down what is the rule with great clearness, and I cannot do better than quote his words, premising that in point of fact nothing but an intimate acquaintance with the locality described will prevent a translator ever and again misunderstanding the text he has before him, since the native authorities use the technical terms in an extraordinarily inexact manner, confounding the whole, and its part, under a single denomination. Professor Palmer writes¹: "When the *Masjid el Aksa* is mentioned, that name is usually supposed to refer to the well-known mosque on the south side of the Haram, but such is not really the case. The latter building is called *El Jâmi' el Aksa*, or simply *El Aksa*, and the substructures are called *El Aksa el Kadîmeh* (the ancient *Aksa*), while the title *El Masjid el Aksa* is applied to the whole Sanctuary. The word *Jâmi'* is exactly equivalent in sense to the Greek *συναγωγή*, and is applied only to the church or building in which the worshippers congregate. *Masjid*, on the other hand, is a much more general term; it is derived from the verb *sejada* 'to adore,' and is applied to any spot the sacred character of which would especially incite the visitor to an act of devotion."

In the present texts, however, the word *Masjid* is so constantly used to denote not only the whole Haram area, but also the main building or 'covered part, the *Jâmi'* or *Aksa* Mosque proper, at its southern extremity, that I have thought it better to translate *al Masjid* by 'the Haram Area,' or 'the

¹ p. 84 of *Jerusalem, the City of Herod and Saladin*, by W. Besant and E. H. Palmer. London, 1871.

Noble Sanctuary,' in the one case, and by 'the Aksa Mosque' in the other, that the matter might be perfectly clear to European readers. It may at the same time be added that Muslim authorities speak in the same loose way of "the Rock," when they mean "*the Dome of the Rock*" (*Kubbat as Sakhrāh*), which covers the same; but this, after all, is only as we speak of the "Holy Sepulchre," meaning "the Church," which is built to cover it.

In concluding these preliminary remarks, which I regret have taken up more space than I had originally intended, I would add that I have given a few quotations from Mr. Reynolds' translation in my notes, from no motives of self-glorification, or invidious comparison, but only since I deemed it necessary to show cause for undertaking to re-translate the passages which it seemed to me were of greater importance. That my own new translation will be found incorrect and imperfect in many parts, by those who, being better scholars than I am, will take the trouble to examine the texts, is a matter on which I am under no illusion; but Mr. Reynolds' translation is too incorrect to stand unchallenged, and unfortunately many passages from his rendering of the misnamed 'Jalâl ad Dîn' have been quoted in standard works and books of reference, notably in M. de Vogüé's most excellent work, 'Le Temple de Jérusalem,' and in the useful compilation called 'The Dictionary of Islâm' (Allen & Co.) written by Mr. Hughes. The late Professor Palmer was, I believe, one of the first to draw attention to the very incorrect nature of Mr. Reynolds' work, but how much this is the case readers may now judge of for themselves by looking through the quotations which I have given at the foot of many of the pages of my translation. After all, I fear that in so thorny a matter I had best quote, as applying to my own work, the proverb *Traduttore traditore*.



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CHAPTER I.

On the names of the Masjid al Aksá, its excellences, the advantages of visitation thereunto and what may be noted thereon in general and in particular, in individual and in cases common to all.¹

CHAPTER II.

On the original foundation and beginning of the Masjid by David, and the building thereof by Solomon after the manner that was a wonder unto the world. Of the prayer that he prayed after the completion of the building for the sakes of all who should enter therein, and also of the place of his praying.²

It is also related that Solomon³—God's prophet—when he had finished the building (of the Temple) sacrificed 3000 heifers and 7000 ewes at the place which is in the after (or northern) part of the Haram area, in the vicinity of the Bâb al Asbât (the Gate of the Tribes). This is the spot which now goes by the name of the Throne of Solomon.⁴

CHAPTER III.

On the excellence of the noble Rock, and of the virtues that it possessed during the days of Solomon. Also the height of the dome that was built over the same in those days, and how the Rock is a portion of Paradise, and how on the day of Resurrection it will be turned into white coral, and the meaning of all this.⁵

The place of the Noble Footprint⁶ may be seen at this day on a stone that is separate from the Rock, and opposite to it, on the further side, which is to the south-west. This stone is supported on a column. The Rock, at this present day, forms the walls enclosing the Cave (that is beneath it) on all sides, except only the part which lies to the south, where is the opening into the Cave; the Rock here does not come up to the south side of the Cave, for between the two is an open

¹ Reynolds, p. 1. These headings give a very exact summary of the contents of each chapter. If the reader will take the trouble to compare any one of the MSS. and my translation with the headings given by Mr. Reynolds, he will see how it was necessary even in this minor matter to do the work over again.

² Reynolds, p. 26.

³ Reynolds, p. 40.

⁴ See Plan, V.

⁵ Reynolds, p. 44.

⁶ Reynolds, p. 52.

space. From the entrance down into the Cave lead stone steps descending. On these stairs is a small shelf, near where the pilgrims stop to visit the Tongue of the Rock. At this spot is a marble column, the lower part of which rests on the south portion of the shelf aforesaid, while its upper part abuts against the Rock, as though to prevent its giving way towards the south,—or may be it is for some other purpose,—and the Rock that lies below supports it. The Place of the Angel's Fingers is on the western side of the Rock, and is distinct from the Place of the Noble Footstep mentioned above. It lies close to, and over against, the western gate of the Sakhrah (or Dome of the Rock).¹

CHAPTER IV.

On the excellence of prayer in the Holy City and its counting for double there. And whether or not this doubling of the effect of prayer extends to the obligatory prayers as well as to those of supererogation. Also whether this doubling of the effect would include good actions as well as bad. Also of the excellence of almsgiving, and of fasting in Jerusalem; and of the calling to prayer, and of watching there for the new moon of the months of the greater and the lesser Pilgrimage. Also the excellence of providing oil for the illumination of the Masjid, and how so doing may stand in the place of actual visitation thereunto for those to whom even intention so to do is an impossibility.²

¹ How Mr. Reynolds has translated this curious, though not very important, passage may be seen by those who care to refer to his pages. Suyûti's description corresponds exactly with what is shown at the present day. The "Footprint" is that of the Prophet (in Crusading times it was called "Christ's Footprint"), when he mounted the steed Al Burâk to ascend into heaven. The "Tongue" was given to the rock when it addressed the Khalif Omar in welcome; and the marks of the angel Gabriel's "Fingers" are those left when the Rock, wishing to accompany the Prophet to heaven, had to be pushed down and kept in its place. All this is of course only interesting as showing how early these legends took their rise.

² Reynolds, p. 54. As a specimen of how Mr. Reynolds does work, his version of the above heading may be quoted: *Upon the surpassing efficacy of Prayer in the Baitu-l-Mukaddas, and how it becomes double. Also upon the New Moon of Reduplication, when by prayer the Sacred Precept, and the merits of Works of Supererogation may be diffused to the public. Also the New Moon of Reduplication, when blessings and cursings may be communicated. Also the marvellous effect of pious donations, and fastings and listening to preaching therein. Also the New Moons of the Sacred Pilgrimage and the Sacred Visitation. Also the marvellous efficacy of supplying Oil for the Lamps, and how by this the rank and merit of pilgrimage may be made to exist for those who are unable to undertake the journey.*

CHAPTER V.

An account of the water which flows out from the foundation of the Rock, and how the same is a river of the rivers of Paradise, and how it is cut short in the midst of the Masjid on every side, whereby none may draw of this water except such as the heavens draw up—by His permission—to pour down again on the earth. And of the good of entering this place, and how he who prays there is answered, and how he who would enter thereto should proceed, and what prayers are to be avoided by him who prays over that place. Also an account of the Chain which hung there in early times, and the cause of its removal, and description of the Black Slab of rock which is over the Gate of Paradise, and how prayer thereon is answered, and the invocation of the prayer that brings aid.¹

CHAPTER VI.

Account of the night journey of the Prophet to the Holy City, and his ascension into Heaven therefrom. Concerning the excellence of the five prayers. Concerning the excellence of the Dome of the Ascension and of prayer therein; and in the Prayer Station of the Prophet and the excellence of the Dome over the same; and of the Prophet Muhammad's praying therein with former Prophets and Angels on the night of his Night Journey. And of the great worth of both these noble Domes and of prayer therein and of continual adoration there. Also of the great worthiness of almsgiving in the place wherefrom the Prophet ascended, and in his Prayer Station, and of the invocation of the prayer that brings aid.²

The³ Dome named the Dome of the Prophet is, as I understand it, the one which lies to the east of the Sakhrab, being also called the Dome of the Chain.⁴ It was built by the Khalif 'Abd al Malik, as will be described later on. . . . Now⁵ I would point out that in the Haram area, beside the Dome of the Ascension, there are but two domes. One, a small dome, stands at the edge of the Sakhrab terrace, on the right-hand side of the northernmost of

¹ Reynolds, p. 70.⁴ Plan, c.² Reynolds, p. 84.⁵ Reynolds, p. 96.³ Reynolds, p. 91.



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CHAPTER VII.

Account of the walls surrounding the Noble Sanctuary; and what is found within the same of Mihrâbs, that are objects of visitation and wherein prayer should be said: such as the Mihrâb Dâûd, and the Mihrâb Zakariyyâ and the Mihrâb Maryam—upon her be peace—and the Mihrâbs (of the Khalifs) Omar ibn al Khattâb and Mu'âwiyah. Also what pertains to the gates, and what is their number. Also an account of the stones that are at the gate of the Haram Area. Also the measurement of the Haram Area in its length and breadth, and the Tradition of the Leaves, and an account of the Wâdi Jahannum which lies beyond the wall on the eastern side thereof, and what is found therein. Also the dwellings of Al Khidr and of Iliyâs near that spot.¹

Now as regards the wall that surrounds the Noble Sanctuary of the Akṣa Mosque, and compasses it on all sides, verily its foundations were laid by David when he built the Temple. . . .

The Mihrâbs² worthy of visitation, which lie within the the Noble Sanctuary, are the following, and in them prayer should be said.

The Mihrâb Dâûd (of David).—There is diversity of opinion as to its identification. Some say it is the great Mihrâb,³ which is in the south wall of the Haram area; others, that it is the great Mihrâb in the neighbourhood of the Mimbar (or pulpit of the Akṣa mosque).⁴ The author of the work called 'al Fath al Kudsi'⁵ asserts that the Mihrâb of David is in the castle (Hişn) of the Holy City, in the place where David stood to pray. For his dwelling being in the castle, there also was his place of worship. Now the Mihrâb, whereof mention, by Allah, is made in the Kurân in the words (xxxviii. 20), "When they mounted the wall of the

¹ Reynolds, p. 120.

² Reynolds, p. 122. A *Mihrâb* is a prayer niche: the mihrâb of a mosque is the special niche which indicates the direction of Mekka (the Kiblah), towards which the Muslim faces when saying his prayers. Besides the great mihrâb, there may be numerous other prayer niches, or chapels, in other parts of the sacred precincts, dedicated to the memory of individual saints and prophets, whose intercession is deemed of efficacy in the granting of prayers.

³ See Plan, q.

⁴ See Plan, i.

⁵ 'The Conquest of Jerusalem,' a name common to many works.

Mihrâb," is generally admitted to be the Mihrâb of David, where he prayed, and it was situated in the Castle, that being his place of worship; while the spot known as the great Mihrâb, which is inside the Haram area,¹ is looked upon as the place where he prayed when he came into the Haram. When Omar came thither, he followed in David's steps, and made his prayer in the place where David had prayed. Hence the place came to be called the Mihrâb of Omar, from the fact of his having prayed there, for the first time, on the day of the capitulation of Jerusalem; but originally it had been named the Mihrâb of David. In confirmation of this is the fact of Omar's veneration of this spot. For when he asked of Ka'ab,² "Which place wishest thou that we should institute as the place of our prayer in this Sacred Area?"—and Ka'ab had answered, "In the hinder part thereof, where it may be near the Sakhrah, so that the two Kiblahs³ be united,"—Omar had said, "O Abu Ishak, so thou wouldst act still in Jew fashion? Are we not the people to whom the fore part of the Holy Area belongs as of right?" Then Omar marked out the Mihrâb, which had been that of David, and where had been his place of worship in the Haram Area. Thus Omar's opinion, and his veneration for this spot, both confirm the view that David in ancient times

¹ At q or h.

² "Ka'ab al Ahbar (or al Hibr), surnamed Abu Ishâk ibn Mâni' al Himyari, was originally a Jew, and became a Muslim during the Caliphate of Abu Bakr (some say during that of Omar). He is a celebrated authority for traditions, and is noted as having been a very learned man. He died at Hims in A. H. 32." So says the author of the Muthîr, who devotes a few lines to his biography when enumerating the eminent persons who visited or lived at Jerusalem. In point of fact, Ka'ab (like his co-religionist the celebrated Jew Wahb ibn Munabbih, who also embraced Islâm, both of them becoming the great authorities among the early Muslims in all matters of ancient history), was in time discovered to have been a great liar.

³ The two Kiblahs are the Kiblah of Moses, the Rock on which was placed the Ark of the Covenant, and the Muslim Kiblah, which is Mekka. In the early days of the Hijra, after the Prophet had fled to Medina, and for a time had thoughts of abandoning Mekka and its Kaaba, he directed his followers to pray facing in the direction of Jerusalem. The Kiblah of Islam had therefore been for seventeen months (*i.e.* down to Rajab A. H. 2) identical with that of the Jews. Had Omar accepted the suggestion of Ka'ab, and placed the mosque on the *northern* side of the Haram area, the Muslim Kiblah, which in Jerusalem points south, would in the mosque have faced the Rock, which thus would have been in front of the Muslim who was turning towards Mekka. As the Aksa Mosque now stands, those who pray there turn their back on the Rock.

had fixed on this place and had chosen the same as his place of prayer.

The Mihrâb of Zakariyyâ (Zacharias).—Most agree that it is that within the (Aḳṣâ) mosque in the aisle (riwâḳ), near the eastern door.¹

The Mihrâb of Maryam (Mary).—This is the place where she was wont to worship. It is now called the Cradle of Jesus (Mahd 'Isâ).² It is notorious how prayer offered up here is granted. . . .

The Mihrâb of Omar.—People differ as to which this may be. Some say it is the great Mihrâb, close to which now stands the Noble Pulpit (mimbar), and fronting the Great Gate, through which you enter the Aḳṣâ Mosque.³ Others say that it is the Mihrâb in the eastern aisle of the Aḳṣâ Mosque, being in the (south) wall of the mosque,⁴ seeing this said aisle with its adjacent parts is called the Jami' of Omar, and that this is the very place which he cleared of filth, he and those who were with him of the Companions, and swept clean before they prayed thereon. Whence it is called the Jami' of Omar. Most, however, are of the opinion before mentioned, namely, that the Mihrâb of Omar is the great Mihrâb near the Mimbar (Pulpit). Further mention of all this and explanation will be given later on, in Chapter IX., relating the conquest of the Holy City, and Omar's entry therein on the day of the capitulation.

The Mihrâb of Mu'âwiyah.—This is said to be the beautiful Mihrâb, which is, at the present time, enclosed within the Maksûrah (the part railed off) for the preacher of the Khutbah (or Friday sermon).⁵ Between it and the great Mihrâb comes the beautiful pulpit aforementioned.

Within the Aksa Mosque, and also without the same in

¹ In the Muslim legend "Zacharias, the son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar" (Math. xxiv. 35), and Zachariah, the son of Jehoiada, the priest who was "stoned with stones at the commandment of the king in the court of the house of the Lord" (II. Chron. xxiv. 22), and Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, are all one. The Mihrâb Zakariyyâ is still pointed out at l. on the Plan.

² See Plan, p.

³ See Plan, h.

⁴ See Plan, k.

⁵ That is to the west of i. on the Plan.



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And as to *Bab at Taubah* (the Gate of Repentance), it joins and makes one with the Gate of Mercy,¹ but through neither of them at the present day do men pass. Near the Gate of Repentance, and thus between the Gate of Mercy and the Gate of the Tribes, is the House (Maskin) of Al Khidr and Ilyâs.² . . .

Bab al Asbât (the Gate of the Tribes) is in the hinder (or northern) part of the Haram Area, not far from the House of Al Khidr and Ilyâs. In the work called *Fadâil Bait al Mukaddas* (The Excellences of the Holy City) by the Hâfid Abu Bakr al Wâsiti, the Khatib, there is mention made of the Bâb Maskîn al Khidr (the Gate of Al Khidr's House), as standing here, but the author of the *Muthir al Gharâm* gives no indication of any such gate having existed, although he mentions the House of Al Khidr when enumerating the saints who entered and dwelt in the Holy City. The author of the *Kitâb al Uns*, on the authority of Shahr ibn Jaushab, states that the House of Al Khidr is in the Holy City at a spot between the Gate of Mercy and the Gate of the Tribes; and he continues that Al Khidr was wont to pray every Friday in five different mosques, namely, in the Mosque of Mekka, and the Mosque of Medina, and the Mosque of Jerusalem, and the Mosque of Kûbâ, and on every Friday night in the Mosque of Sinai.³ . . .

¹ The two Gates of Mercy and Repentance together form the great tower in the east wall of the Haram Area, generally known as the Golden Gate (Plan, N. and O.). According to M. de Vogüé (*Le Temple de Jérusalem*, p. 68), the architecture of this building shows it to date from Byzantine times only, in fact probably as late as the sixth century A.D. The denomination of the Golden Gate does not occur apparently before the thirteenth century (Sæwulf), and the name *Porta Aurea* is due to a misunderstanding by mediæval pilgrims whose knowledge of Greek was rudimentary of *Θύρα ἑπαια*, the gate called "Beautiful," mentioned in Acts iii. 2, as the spot where St. Peter healed the lame man. The site of this miracle, which must in point of fact have taken place at one of the inner gates of the Temple, the early pilgrims and the Crusaders, proceeding in their usual arbitrary manner, saw fit to locate at this Byzantine structure.

² St. George and Elias. Plan, W.

³ Kûbâ is the name of a village two miles distant from Medina, on the road towards Mecca, where there is a mosque celebrated as being the first in Islâm to have been called *Masjid at Takwâ*, *the Mosque of Piety*. Reynolds (p. 127) translates "and the Mosque of Kissa (near Larissa) and the Mosque of Tyre." *Kissa* is certainly a false reading, all the MSS. giving *Kûbâ*, and though *Masjid at Tûr* may be taken to mean either the Mosque of Sinai or the Mosque of Kêr Tûr, the village crowning the Mount of Olives, 'Tûr' is certainly not 'Tyre,' which is called 'Sûr' by the Arabs.

*Bâb Hittah*¹ (the Gate of Remission), so called because the Children of Israel were directed to enter their House of Prayer thereby, saying, 'Remission, O Lord, for our sins.' . . . The following is given on the authority of 'Ali ibn Sallâm ibn 'Abd as Sallâm,—who was told by his father that he had heard Abu Muhammad ibn 'Abd as Sallâm state as follows, namely, that the brazen gate (al bâb an nahâs), which is in the (Aksa) Mosque, is the Bâb al Hamal al Ausat (the middle Ram Gate), and is of the workmanship of the Chosroes; and that the brazen gate which closes the (main) gateway² of the Haram Area is the Gate of David through which he was wont to go from Sion to Solomon's Market Place; while the gate of the gateway known as the Bâb Hittah (Gate of Remission) was formerly at Jericho, which city having come to ruin, the gate was transported thence to the Noble Sanctuary. . . .

*Bab Sharaf al Anbiyâ*³ (the Gate of the Glory of the Prophets) is that now called Bâb ad Dawîdâriyyah.⁴ It opens from the northern side of the Haram Area.

Bâb al Ghawânimah (the Gate of the men of the family of Ghânim),⁵ is that adjoining the Lieutenant's Palace (the Dâr an Niyâbah). It is the first (or northernmost) on the western side of the Haram Area. Anciently, it is said, this gate was called Bâb al Khalîl (the Gate of Abraham).

Bab an Nâthir (the Gate of the Inspector).⁶—This is a gate that is said never to have been restored. Anciently it was called Bâb Mikâîl (the Gate of Michael), and according to report it is the gate to which Gabriel tied the steed Al Burâk on the occasion of the night journey.⁷

¹ Reynolds, p. 132. Plan, B.

² Plan, I?

³ Reynolds, p. 134.

⁴ Plan, C. The Dawîdâriyyah is the house of the Dawîdâr, or Secretary, a Persian word meaning literally 'He who carries the inkstand.'

⁵ Plan, D. Descendants of Shaikh Ghânim ibn 'Ali, who was born near Nablûs in A.H. 562 (A.D. 1167), and died in A.H. 632 at Damascus. Saladin made him chief of the Khânkah Salâhiyyah, the Derwish house founded by him at Jerusalem.

⁶ Plan, E.

⁷ See, however, above, p. 265.

Bâb al Hadîd (the Iron Gate).¹—This is one that has been restored. Anciently it was called after Arghûn al Kâmîlî,² who founded the Madrasah (College) of the Arghûniyyah, which lies on the left hand as you go out through it.

Bâb al Kaṭṭânîn (the Gate of the Cotton Merchants).³—It is one of those that has been restored. Al Malik an Nâsir ibn Kalâûn was the prince who first built it, but it afterwards fell into complete ruin and disuse. When the late Nâib (Lieutenant) of Syria, Tankiz an Nâsiri,⁴ built the Colnade (riwâk) which runs all along the western wall of the Noble Sanctuary, and the Sûk al Kaṭṭânîn (the Cotton Market), he rebuilt at the same time this gate with the high portal seen here at the present day.

Bâb as Sikkâyah (the Gate of the Reservoir).⁵—It is said to be an ancient gate, but it had come to be destroyed. When the late 'Alâ ad dîn Al Buṣîrî constructed the Tank of Absolution, which he gave the people, he rebuilt too this gate. May it not be allowed to fall again into ruin!

Bâb as Sakînah (the Gate of the Shechinah or Divine Presence).—This lies near the Gate of the Madrasah (College), called Al Baladiyyah;⁶ and close by it also is the Southern Minaret. The royal College, called Al Madrasah al Ashrafiyyah,⁷ lies to the north of it.

Bâb as Silsilah (the Gate of the Chain) and the *Bâb as Sakînah* are side by side.⁸ The *Bâb as Silsilah* was anciently called the *Bâb Dâûd* (David's Gate).

¹ Plan, F.

² Arghûn al Kâmîlî was Lieutenant of Syria. He died in A.H. 758 (A.D. 1357).

³ Plan, G.

⁴ Tankiz al Hisâmi or an Nâsiri was Lieutenant of Syria under An Nâsir Muhammad ibn Kalâûn, Mamlûk Sultan of Egypt. Tankiz died in A.H. 741 (A.D. 1340).

⁵ Plan, H?

⁶ The Madrasah al Baladiyyah was founded by the Amir Mankali Bughâ al Ahmadi, Governor of Aleppo. He died in A.H. 782 (A.D. 1380).

⁷ The Madrasah Ashrafiyyah was founded by the Mamlûk Sultân Kait Bey in A.H. 885 (A.D. 1491). It stood apparently within the wall of the Haram Area.

⁸ *Muttahidîn*, some MSS. may read *Mustajiddîn*, which would mean 'restored.' It would appear, however, that the first is the better reading, and that the two portals, that of the Chain and that of the Shechinah, were so close to one another as to form but a single gateway; as is the case at the present day at I. in the Plan.



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was: length 784 ells, breadth 455 ells.' The author of the Muthîr continues: 'it gives in the inscription the indication of the ell used, but I am not sure whether this is the ell mentioned above (*i.e.* the royal ell) or some other, for the inscription has become indistinct.' The author of the Muthîr further states that 'the Haram Area was measured in his days with a rope, and that along the eastern wall it measured 683 ells, and along the western wall 650 ells, while in the breadth (*i.e.* along the northern and the southern walls) it measured 438 ells. These measurements being exclusive of the width of the outer walls.' So ends the account of the author of the Muthîr.¹

Now as to the Tradition about the Leaves (of Paradise), there are many and various accounts thereof. In the first place from Abu Bakr ibn Abi Maryam, through 'Utayyah ibn Kais, comes the tradition that the Prophet said, "Verily a man from among my people shall enter Paradise, walking upon his two feet (and come back again), and yet shall live."

¹ The text of this passage from the Paris MSS. of the Muthîr will be found on p. 305. Reynolds (p. 134), has given us a translation that reads nonsense. The identical slab, with the inscription mentioned by the author of the Muthîr, was discovered by Mons. Clermont-Ganneau in 1874, in the north wall of the Haram Area. Part of the inscription, however (as noted also by our author), has become damaged. It runs as follows: "In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful; the length of the Masjid is seven hundred and four and . . . ty ells, and its breadth four hundred and five-and-fifty ells. the ell being the ell of . . ." According to Mons. Ganneau's view, the space for the word representing the tens in the enumeration of the length, will only allow of the word being either 'eighty' or 'thirty.' The Persian traveller, Nâsir-i-Khusrau, who visited Jerusalem in A.H. 438 (A.D. 1047), states that he saw the inscription and read it thus, "length 704 gez, breadth 455; the gez (ell=dhirâ') being the royal gez." Ali of Herât, who wrote about the year A.D. 1200, read the numbers of the inscription as "700 and 455." The earliest notice of this measurement, however, that I have met with in Arab writers is that given in the work of the Spanish traveller, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (who died in A.H. 328 = A.D. 940). Without any mention of the inscription on the slab, he states the length and breadth of the Haram Area to be respectively 784 and 455 ells, the ell used being the *Imâm* ell. Thus in his figures he agrees with the author of the Muthîr; and his 'Imâm' ell, which is probably that of the Imâm Ali, is possibly the same as the Malik or royal ell. Lastly, and without any reference to Mons. C. Ganneau's discovery, Mons. Schefer, on the authority of M. Alric Chancelier du Consulat de France à Jerusalem (p. 72 of his edition of Nâsir-i-Khusrau's Travels), states that on the stone which may still be seen in the northern wall of the Haram Area, may be read quite clearly, "length 750 ells, breadth 455 ells, of the royal ell." Mons. Ganneau, however, is of opinion, that whatever else it be, the designation of the 'ell' in the inscription cannot be read, as the word 'al Malik' or royal, on account of the space and also of the number of strokes, yet distinguishable. So much then is the diversity of opinion, ancient and modern, about this very simple matter.

Now during the Caliphate of Omar a caravan of men arrived at the Holy City to make their prayers there. And one of them, a man of the Bani Tamîm, named Shuraik ibn Habâshah, went off to get water (from the well). And his bucket falling down into the well, he descended to get it up. In the well he found a door opening into gardens, and passing through the door into the gardens, he walked therein. Then he plucked a leaf from one of the trees, and placing it behind his ear, he returned to the well and mounted up again. And the man went to the Governor of the Holy City and related to him of what he had seen in these gardens, and how he had come to enter therein. So the Governor sent men with him to the well and they descended, many people accompanying them, but they found not the door, neither did they attain to the gardens. And the Governor wrote to the Caliph Omar concerning it all, recalling how it was reported on tradition that one of the people of Islâm should enter the Garden of Paradise and walk therein on his two feet and yet live. Omar wrote in answer: "Look ye to the leaf; whether it be green and do not wither. If this be so, verily it is a leaf of Paradise, for naught of Paradise can wither or change; and it is recorded in the aforesaid Tradition of the Prophet that the leaf shall not suffer change."

Another version of the tradition runs as follows: Shuraik ibn Habâshah al Tamîmî came into the Holy City to get water for his companions, and his bucket slipped from his hand, so he descended (into the well) to fetch it up. And a person called to him in the well saying, "Come thou with me," and, taking him by the hand, he brought him into the Garden of Paradise. Shuraik plucked two leaves, and the person then brought him back to where he had first found him. Then Shuraik mounted up out of the well, and when he rejoined his companions, he told them of all that had happened. The affair reached the ears of the Caliph Omar, and it was Ka'ab who remarked how it had been said (by the Prophet) *A man of this people of Islâm shall enter the Garden of Paradise and yet live*, adding, "Look ye to the

leaves; if they suffer change, then are they not of the leaves of Paradise, and if they change not, then must they verily be of the leaves of Paradise." And 'Utayyah asserts that the said leaves never after did suffer change.

According to another tradition (coming from Al Walid), Abu-n-Najm, who was Imâm (leader of prayer) to the people of Salamiyyah (Salaminias), and their Muezzin in the year 140, and died in the year 150, related that the people of Salamiyyah, many of whom were of the desert tribes, told him how they had themselves been well acquainted with Shuraik ibn Habâsbah when he was living at Salamiyyah. And they were wont to inquire of him concerning his entrance into the Garden of Paradise, and what he saw therein, and of how he had brought leaves therefrom. And these people continued: We inquired further whether there yet remained by him any one of the leaves which he had plucked there; and when he answered us affirmatively, we asked to see the leaf, and the man called for his Kurân, and took from between its pages a leaf that was entirely green and gave it into our hands. When we had returned it to him, after laying it over his eyes, he placed it back again between the pages of his Kurân. And when he was at the point of death, he enjoined that we should put this leaf on his breast under the shroud, and his last words were to conjure us that this should exactly be done. Al Walid continues: I inquired of Abu-n-Najm whether he had heard a description given of the leaf; he replied 'yes, that it was like the leaf of a peach tree (*Durâkin*), of the size of the palm of a hand, and pointed at the tip'¹ Now the mouth of the Well of the Leaf is by the Aksa Mosque, on the left hand as you enter by the door facing the Mihrâb.²

¹ Many other similar accounts of the same tradition follow, for a mass of legendary story has gathered round all that relates to the great water tanks excavated in the rock which underlies the Haram Area.

² Plan, n. I quote the last sentence as translated by Mr. Reynolds (p. 138), as a specimen of his method: "This well of the Leaves is situated at the entrance of the Mosque al Aksa, on the left of the gate of the courtyard of the towers." Mr. Reynolds always translates *Mihrâb* by "Tower."



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well to dig there, and I saw the water flowing out from under a rock the size of which was a couple of ells by the line in height, and there was a cavern the entrance of which was three ells high by an ell and a half across. From this cavern there rushed out an extremely cold wind, which made the lights nearly go out, and I perceived that the roof of the cavern was lined with masonry. On entering a short distance within it, the torches could not be kept alight by reason of the force of the wind which blew therefrom. This well is in the bed of the Wâdi, and the cave is in its bed too, and above and all around are high steep hills, which a man cannot climb except with much fatigue. This also is the well of which He spake to His prophet Job, saying, "Stamp," said we, 'with thy foot. This (fountain) is to wash with; cool and to drink.'"¹ And so the account ends. . . .

Regarding now the pools that are in the Holy City.² On the report of Danrah from Ibn Abi Sûdah, it is related that a certain king of the Kings of the Children of Israel named Hazkîl (Hezekiah) constructed six pools for the Holy City, namely, three within the city which are the Birkat Bani Israîl, the Birkat Sulaimân, and the Birkat 'Iyâd; and three without the city which are the Birkat Mâmilâ and the two Birkats of Al Marjî'. And these he made to store the water for the people of the city.³

¹ Kurân xxxviii. 41. The overflowing of the waters of Job's Well, down the Kedron Valley, is of yearly occurrence. Whether this Well be the Fuller's Spring, En Rogel,—mentioned by Joshua (xi. 7) as on the boundary-line between the Tribes of Judah and Benjamin,—is still a matter of dispute. Robinson (Biblical Researches, 2nd ed. i. 332) asserts this to be the case without doubt; while Conder (Handbook to the Bible, p. 335) advocates the identification of En Rogel with Virgin's Fountains, higher up the Valley under the walls of Jerusalem.

² Reynolds, p. 145.

³ The Birkat (Pool) of the Children of Israel lies to the north of the Haram Area. Which the Birkat of Solomon may be, is matter of question, as also is the identification of the Pool of 'Iyâd. This last takes its name from 'Iyâd ibn Ghanam, a celebrated Companion of the Prophet (who died in A.H. 20 = A.D. 641), and has nothing to do with "Gad," as writes Mr. Reynolds (p. 145). The Pool of Mamilla lies a short distance west of the Jaffa Gate of Jerusalem. The Pools of Al Marjî' are those known as Solomon's Pools, some miles from Hebron; from these Pilate's Aqueduct brought the water to the city.

CHAPTER IX.

*Account of the Conquest of the Holy City by the Commander of the Faithful 'Omar ibn al Khattâb, and what he did there in uncovering the Noble Rock from the dirt and dung thrown thereon. An account also of 'Abd al Mulik ibn Marwân's building, and what he accomplished there. Also an account of the unique pearl that was hung over the middle of the Rock, and the two horns of Abraham's ram, and the crown of the Chosroes, all of which were transported thence to the Noble Ka'abah, at the time when the Caliphate passed to the House of 'Abbas. Also an account of the Conquest of the Holy City by the Franks, whereby it was taken from the hands of the Muslims, after 'Omar's Conquest; and how long it remained in the hands of the Christians. Further, the account of the Conquest thereof by the Sultan, the victorious king, Salâh ad Dîn Yusûf ibn Ayyûb, whereby it was taken back out of the hands of the Franks, and how he obliterated all trace of their sojourn there, and how he restored the Masjid to what it had been before, and to the condition in which it has remained even unto this day, and please Allah will so remain to the Day of Resurrection.*¹

. . . .² The following is related as coming from Shadâd ibn Aus, who accompanied Omar when he entered the Noble Sanctuary of the Holy City on the day when Allah caused it to be reduced by capitulation. And Omar entered by the Gate of Muhammad,³ crawling on his hands and knees, he and all those who were with him, until he came up to the Court (of the Sanctuary). There he looked around to right

¹ Reynolds, p. 154.

² Reynolds, p. 174. Suyûtî has copied the whole of this part verbatim out of the Muthîr, the text of which, from the Paris MSS., will be found on p. 297. From what sources this very curious account of Omar's proceedings in the Holy City was taken, I am unable to state. But I must repeat that there is nothing of all this in the works of the older annalists, from Tabari to Ibn al Athîr. The greater portion of this chapter has already been given in English by the late Professor Palmer in the fourth chapter of his and Mr. Besant's joint work on "Jerusalem—the City of Herod and Saladin." I make no apology, however, for giving it again, for I am able to supply a better text than that on which Professor Palmer worked. Extracts from Suyûtî's text, with a Latin version, had previously appeared, edited by P. Lemming, under the title *Commentatio philologica. Specimen libri Ithâf etc., auctore Kemâloddîno Muhammede etc. Hauniæ M.D.CCCXVII.*

³ Plan, K.

and to left, and, glorifying Allah, said, "By Allah, verily this, by Him in whose hands is my soul! must be the Mosque of David, of which the Apostle spake to us saying, 'I was conducted thither in the night journey.'" Then Omar advanced to the fore (or southern) part of the Haram Area and to the western side thereof, and said, "Let us make this the place for the Mosque."

On the authority of Al Walîd ibn Muslim,¹ it is reported as coming from a Shaikh of the sons of Shadâd ibn Aus, who had heard it from his father, who held it of his grandfather, that Omar, as soon as he was at leisure from the writing of the Treaty of Capitulation made between him and the people of the Holy City, said to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, "Conduct us to the Mosque of David." And the Patriarch agreed thereto. Then Omar went forth girt with his sword, and with him 4000 of the Companions who had come to Jerusalem with him, all begirt likewise with their swords, and a crowd of us Arabs, who had come up to the Holy City, followed them, none of us bearing any weapons except our swords. And the Patriarch walked before Omar among the Companions, and we all behind the Khalif. Thus we entered the Holy City. And the Patriarch took us to the Church which goes by the name of the Kumâmah,² and said he, "This is David's Mosque." And Omar looked around and pondered, then he answered the Patriarch, "Thou liest, for the Apostle described to me the Mosque of David, and by his description this is not it." Then the Patriarch went on with us to a Church called that of (Sihyûn) Sion, and again he said, "This is the Mosque of David." But the Khalif replied to him, "Thou liest." So the Patriarch went on with him till he came to the Noble Sanctuary of the Holy City, and reached the gate thereof, called the Gate of Muhammad. Now the dung which was

¹ Al Walid ibn Muslim, the celebrated traditionist, was a freedman of the Omayyads, and a native of Damascus. According to Nawâwi (ed. by Wüstenfeld, text. p. 618), he died in A.H. 194 or 195, aged 73.

² Al Kumâmah, literally, 'the Dunghill.' This is a designed corruption on the part of the Muslims of 'Al Kayâmah,' 'Anastasis,' the name given to the Church of the Resurrection (the Holy Sepulchre) by the Christian Arabs.



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And on the like authority as the foregoing, and as an addition to what has been said above on the warranty of Ibrahim ibn Abu 'Ablah al Mukaddasi, who had it of his father, saith he: Omar then came to the Holy City, and encamped on the Mount of Olives. And afterwards he descended therefrom, and he entered the Noble Sanctuary by the Gate of the Prophet. Now, when he came to stand erect therein, he gazed to the right and to the left, and exclaimed, "By Him than whom there is no other God! this is the Mosque of Solomon the son of David, of which the Apostle of Allah related to us that he had been brought thereto by night." Then he went to the western part of the Noble Sanctuary and said, "Let us place the Mosque for the Muslims here, to be a place of prayer for them to pray in." And on the authority of Sa'id ibn 'Abd al 'Aziz it is related: When Omar conquered the Holy City, he found on the Rock great quantities of dung that the Greeks had thrown down here for an insult to the Children of Israel. And Omar spread his cloak, and began to sweep together all that dung, and so did also the Muslims who accompanied him. . . .

Further, Al Walid adds, on the authority of Sa'id ibn 'Abd al Aziz, that the Letter of the Prophet had come to the Kaisar (Cæsar) while he was sojourning at the Holy City.¹ Now at that time there was over the Rock of the Holy City a great dungheap, which completely masked the Mihrâb of David, and which same the Christians had put here in order to offend the Jews, and further even, the Christian women were wont to throw here their cloths and clouts, so that it was all heaped up therewith.² Now when the Cæsar had perused the letter of the Prophet,³ he

¹ In the year of the Hijrah 7, the Prophet despatched envoys to the Chosroe of Persia, and to the Cæsar of Byzantium, calling on them to acknowledge his mission as Allah's Apostle.

² The text here appears to me to be corrupt. The general sense, however, is plain enough.

³ As a specimen of Mr. Reynolds' method of translation, the following may be quoted from p. 179, representing the above passages:

"We are also informed by Al Walid that Sa'ad Ibn-Abdul-Aziz said, A letter (an epistle) of the Prophet of God (upon whom be the mercy and peace of God!) came to Al Kais; and this it is — In the Bait-ul-Mukaddas, and upon the

cried and said, "O ye men of Greece, verily Ye are the people who shall be slain on this dungheap, for that ye have desecrated the sanctity of this Mosque. And it shall be with you even as it was with the Children of Israel who were slain for the sake of the blood of Yahyâ ibn Zakariyyâ (John the Baptist)." Then the Cæsar commanded them to clear the place, and so they began to do, but when the Muslims invaded Syria only a third part thereof had been cleared. So when Omar had come to the Holy City and conquered it, and saw how there was a dungheap over the Rock, he regarded it as horrible, and ordered that it should be entirely cleared. And to accomplish this they forced the Nabathæans of Palestine to labour without pay. On the authority of Jabîr ibn Nafîr it is related that when Omar first exposed the Rock to view, by removing the dungheap, he commanded them not to pray there until three showers of heavy rain should have fallen. Al Walîd further relates, as coming from Kulthûm ibn Ziyâd, that Omar asked of Ka'ab, "Where thinkest thou that we should put the place of prayer for Muslims in this Holy Sanctuary?" Said Ka'ab, in answer, "In the hinder (or northern) portion thereof, in the part adjoining the Gate of the Tribes," but Omar said, "Not so; seeing that, on the contrary, to us belongs the fore part of the Sanctuary," and he then proceeded to the fore part thereof. Al Walîd again relates—on the authority of Ibn Shaddâd, who had it of his father—"Omar proceeded to the fore part of the Sanctuary Area to the side adjoining the west (*i.e.* to the south-west part), and there began to throw the dung by handfulls into his cloak, and we all who were with him did likewise. Then he went with it—and we following him to do the same—and threw it into the Wâdî which is called

Sakhrâ of the Bait-ul-Mukaddas, there shall be a great sewer, whereby the tower of David (on whom be salutation!) is spoiled by the injurious abuse of the lying Christians, in order to hurt the Jews, until those changing times shall come that the cities be stirred up to wrest the precinct from Greece. Then shall the Sakhrâ be met with. Therefore said Al Kais, when he read this epistle of the Prophet of God," etc., etc.

There is here a specimen of nearly every kind of blunder. A whole passage is interpolated, the very common word *Kaisar*, Cæsar, is read twice over as an Arab proper name, Al Kais.

Wâdî Jahannum. Then we returned to do the like over again, and yet again,—he, Omar, and also we who were with him,—until we had cleared the whole of the place where the Mosque now stands. And there we all made our prayers, Omar himself praying among us. . . .

. . . .¹ Now when Omar made the capitulation with the people of the Holy City, and entered among them, he was wearing at that time two long tunics (*kamis*) of the kind called *Sumbulânî*.² He prayed in the Church of Mary, and when he had done so he spat on to one of his tunics. And it was said to him, “Dost thou spit here, because that this is a place in which the sin of polytheism has been committed?” and he answered, “Yea, verily the sin of polytheism hath been committed herein, but now in truth the name of Allah hath been pronounced here.” It is further reported that Omar did carefully avoid praying near the Wâdî Jahannum. . . .

³The Khalif 'Abd al Malik it was who built the Dome of the Rock and the (*Aksa*) Mosque of the Holy City, and according to report he devoted to the expenses of the same the revenues (*kharâj*) of Egypt for the space of seven years. The historian Sibt al Jauzi states in his work, the *Mirât as Zamân*, that 'Abd al Malik began the building here in the year 69 of the Hijrah, and completed the same in the year 72. (A.D. 687–690). But others say that he who first built the Dome (of the Rock) of the Holy City was Sa'îd the son of the Khalif 'Abd al Malik, and that he afterwards too restored it. Now on the authority of Rijâ ibn Hayâh, and of Yazîd ibn Sallâm,⁴ 'Abd al Malik's freedman, it is reported

¹ Reynolds, p. 182. The text of this passage is not from the *Muthîr*, and where *Suyûti* obtained it I do not know.

² Lane, in his great Dictionary (v. sub voce) says that the *Kamis Sumbulânî* is a shirt ample in length, so as to reach down to the ground, and adds that it is so called in relation to a town or district in the Greek Empire. The Church of Mary (*Kanîsah Maryam*), here mentioned, may be the Church of the Virgin described by Procopius.

³ This is the beginning of the sixth chapter of the *Muthîr* (see p. 300 for the text). Reynolds, p. 184.

⁴ Abu'l Mikdam Rijâ ibn Hayâh ibn Jarûl, of the Kendah tribe, was a man celebrated for his learning, and a great friend of the Khalif Omar (II.) ibn 'Abd al Azîz. Yazîd ibn Sallâm, his colleague, was a native of Jerusalem.



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them authority therein. So they made expenditure for digging the foundations, and building up the structure, until the moneys were near to be all expended. Now when the edifice was complete and solidly constructed, so that not a word could be said for improvement thereto, they wrote to the Khalif at Damascus: "Allah hath given completion to what the Commander of the Faithful commanded concerning the building the Dome over the Rock of the Holy City, and the Aksa Mosque also. And no word can be said to suggest improvement thereto. And verily there remaineth over and above of what the Commander of the Faithful did set apart for the expense of the same,—the building being now complete and solidly built,—a sum of 100,000 (gold) dinârs. Let the Commander of the Faithful expend the same in whatever matter seemeth good to him." And the Khalif wrote to them in reply: "Let this then be a gift unto you two for what ye have accomplished in the building of this noble and blessed house." But to this they sent in answer:—"Nay rather, first let us add to this the ornaments of our women and the superfluity of our wealth, and then do thou expend the whole in what seemeth best to thee." So the Khalif wrote to command them to melt down the sum and apply it to the adornment of the Dome. And all this sum was melted down and laid out to adorn the Dome of the Rock, to such an extent that it was impossible by reason of the gold thereon for any one to keep the eye fixed and look at it.

They prepared also two coverings to go over the Dome, of felts and of skins of animals, and the same was put over it in the winter to preserve it from the rains and the winds and the snows. Rijâ ibn Hayâh and Yazîd ibn Sallâm also surrounded the Rock with a lattice-screen of Sâsim (or ebony wood), and outside the screen they hung between the columns curtains of brocade.¹ Each day fifty-and-two

¹ Mr. Reynolds' translation (p. 187) of the foregoing passages is so remarkable that I quote it, in further proof of my assertion that his work needs emendation. 'Then he [the Caliph] wrote to them, "A great sum hath been expended and paid by the public for the chapel; therefore I will spend and lay out upon it (money for the purchase of) that which every one may look at—gold work, and ornament

persons were employed to pound and grind down saffron, working by night also, and leavening it with musk and ambergris, and rose-water of the Jûri rose. At early dawn the servants appointed entered the Bath of Sulaimân¹ ibn 'Abd al Malik, where they washed and purified themselves before proceeding to the Treasure Chamber (al Khazânah), in which was kept the (yellow perfume of saffron called) Khulûk. And, before leaving the Treasure Chamber, they changed all their clothes, putting on new garments made of the stuffs of Marv and Herât, also shawls (of the striped cloths of Yaman) called 'Aşb, and taking jewelled girdles they girt them about their waists. Then bearing the jars of Khulûk in their hands, they went forth and anointed therewith the stone of the Rock, even as far as they could reach up to with their hands, spreading it all over the same. And for the part beyond that which they could reach, having first washed their feet, they attained thereto by mounting on the Rock itself, anointing all that remained thereof, and by this the jars of Khulûk were completely emptied. Then they brought censers of gold and of silver filled with aloes wood of Kimâr (in Java), and the incense called Nadd, compounded with musk and ambergris, and letting down the curtains between the columns, they swung to and fro the censers, and the incense would rise into all the space between the columns and the Dome above by reason of the quantity thereof. Which done and the curtains again drawn up, the censers were carried outside the building, whereby the sweet smell went abroad, even to the entrance of the market beyond, so that all who passed therein could scent the perfume. After this the censers were extinguished. Proclamation then was made by criers from before the screen,—“The Sakhrâh, verily, is

a sort of common part (which all may be permitted to behold), of mosaic, outside; and there also, a second, to be a covering against rain and wind and snow.” But Rijah-ibn-Haywah and Yazîd ibn Salâm had already surrounded it with a screen of lattice-work, with small interstices, and a curtain of silk hanging loosely between pillars.'

¹ The MSS. of Suyûtî give “Hammâm Sulaimân” only, as though it were King Solomon. I have found no notice of this bath elsewhere. The Jûrî rose is named from the town of Jûr or Gûr, in Persia, afterwards called Fairûzâbâd, which was so celebrated for its roses as to be surnamed *Balad al Ward*, the City of Roses (see Yakût, ii. 147).

open for the people, and he who would pray therein, let him come." The people hastened to come and make their prayer in the Sakhrâh, the most of them performing two Rika'ahs,¹ while some few acquitted themselves of four. And after, he who had thus said his prayers had gone forth again, they would perceive on him the perfume of the incense, and say, "Such a one has been in the Sakhrâh." (After the prayer-time is over, the servants) wash off with water the marks left by the people's feet, cleaning everywhere with green myrtle (brooms), and drying with cloths.² Then the gates are closed, and for guarding each were appointed ten chamberlains, since none might enter the Sakhrâh, except the servants thereof, on other days than the Monday and the Friday.

On the authority of Abu Bakr ibn al Hârith, it is reported that during the Caliphate of 'Abd al Malik the Sakhrâh was entirely lighted with (oil of) the Midian Bân (the Tamarisk or Myrobalan) tree, and oil of Jasmin,³ of a lead colour. And the chamberlains had said to the Khalif, "O Abu Bakr, command for us candelabra with lamps (kandîl) in which we may put oil, for the same would be more agreeable unto us." And the Khalif granted them their request. Such are the matters which pertain to the days of the Caliphate of 'Abd al Malik.

Saith Al Walîd, it hath been related to me by 'Abd ar Rahman ibn Mansur ibn Thâbit, who said, I have it of my father, who had it of his father, and he from his grandfather,

¹ Prayer prostrations.

² What *Mashâni* or *Masâni* mean I do not know; the word is omitted in the MSS. of Suyûtî. Mr. Reynolds has completely misunderstood these paragraphs. I quote a single passage (p. 189), that, namely, which is supposed to give the translation of the above sentence. "Then the men went out; and whosoever smelt the smell of their incense said, This is from some one who has entered the Sakhrâ; and they washed the soles of their feet, and slightly passed a moistened hand over their face, at the threshold of St. George, and napkins were wetted, and gates were split open (i.e. *although they only slightly wetted their faces, and then wiped them with a napkin, yet, from the number who did this, the napkins were entirely wet, and from the rush of their entrance the gates were split open*). Also at every gate were ten beadles," etc. I need hardly point out that the commentary introduced with "i.e." is as much beside the mark as the remainder of the translation. The text of all this may be seen on p. 302.

³ The MSS. read, some *Zambak*, which is 'Oil of Jasmin,' and some *Zibak*, which is 'Quicksilver.' If the latter be right, and it concords better with *ar-rasid* 'of lead,' I fail to comprehend how the Mosque was lighted with 'Quicksilver of lead.' Mr. Reynolds offers no solution, for he leaves these words out.



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son, or his son's son, or some member of his family, was appointed in his place. And so the service has continued on for all time, generation after generation; and they receive their rations from the public treasury. In the Haram Area there are 24 great water cisterns, and of minarets 4, to wit, three in a line on the west side of the Noble Sanctuary, and one that rises above the Bâb al Asbât (Gate of the Tribes). And among the servants of the Haram there were Jews, from whom was exacted no poll-tax; originally there were ten men, but their families increasing the number rose to twenty, and it was their business to sweep up the dust left by the people at the times of visitation both in summer and in winter, and also to clean the places of ablution that lay round the Aksa Mosque. There were also ten Christian servants of the Noble Sanctuary, whose office went by inheritance likewise. These made and likewise swept the mats of the Mosque. They also swept out the conduits which carried the water into the cisterns, and as well attended to the keeping clean of the cisterns themselves, and other such service. And among the servants of the Sanctuary, too, were another company of Jews who made the glass plates for the lamps, and the glass lantern bowls, and glass vessels and rods. And it was appointed that from these men also no poll-tax was to be taken, nor from those who made the wicks for the lamps, and this exemption continued in force for all time, both to them and their children who inherited the office after them, even from the days of 'Abd al Malik, and so for ever.

On the authority of 'Abd ar Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn Mansur ibn Thâbit from his father, who had it from his grandfather, it is reported that in the days of 'Abd al Malik all the gates of the Mosque were covered with plates of gold and of silver. But during the reign of Abu Ja'afar al Mansûr, in the year 130 (A.D. 746), both the eastern and the western portions of the Mosque fell down, and it was reported to the Khalif, saying, "O Commander of the Faithful, the earthquake hath thrown down the eastern part of the Mosque and the western part thereof also, now therefore give orders

to rebuild the same and raise it again." And the Khalif replied that as there were no moneys in his treasury, (to supply the lack of coin) they should strip off the plates of gold and of silver that overlaid the gates. So they stripped these off and coined therefrom dinârs and dirhems, which were expended on the rebuilding of the Mosque, even till it was completed. Then occurred the second earthquake, and the building that Al Mansûr had commanded to be built fell to the ground. In the days of Al Mahdi, who succeeded him, the Mosque was still lying in ruins, which, being reported to him, he commanded them to rebuild the same, adding that the Mosque had been (of old) too narrow, and of too great a length,—and for this reason it had not been used by the people,—so now in rebuilding it they were to curtail its length and increase its breadth. The restoration of the Mosque was completed on this plan during his reign. In the year 452 (A.D. 1060) the Great Lantern (Tannûr) that hung in the Dome of the Rock fell down, and there were in it 500 lamps. Those of the Muslims who were there augured evil therefrom, saying, "Of a surety there will happen some portentous event in Islâm."

Al Walîd further writes, on the warranty of Abu 'Amir ibn Damrah, who said it on the authority of 'Atâ, who had it of his father, that in early days it was the Jews who were appointed to light the lamps in the Noble Sanctuary, but that when Omar ibn 'Abd al Aziz¹ came to reign, he deprived them of this office, and set in their place servants who had been purchased with moneys of the Royal Fifth. And a certain man of these servants, a slave bought of the Royal Fifth, came once to him and said, "Give me manumission, O Khalif!" but Omar answered, "How then! for verily I cannot emancipate thee! but shouldst thou depart (of thine own accord), behold I have no power over a hair even of the hairs of thy dog!"²

¹ The Omeyyad Khalif, who reigned at Damascus A.H. 99-101 (A.D. 717-720).

² The remainder of this chapter is devoted to an account of the taking of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, and its re-conquest by Saladin; the details of which being matters of history, and fully treated of in other works, need not detain us here.

CHAPTER X.

An account of those who have entered the Holy City, of the various Prophets, and also of the Companions of the Prophet and of their Followers, and others besides. Further, an enumeration of such of them as have died and been buried in the Holy City. Also how all nations—with the exception of the Samaritans—do hold in honour the Holy City.¹

CHAPTER XI.

Concerning the excellence of our lord Abraham the Friend, and the excellence of visitation to his abode. And an account of his birth, with the story of how he was thrown into the fire. Also of his hospitality and generosity. Also how he is the Friend of Allah, and how this title is peculiar to him. Account of his circumcision, and of his wearing breeches, and of the greyness of his hair; also of his kindness and goodness to all men, and of his benevolent ways and agreeable manners, such as none before him had ever shown forth, and which may be as an ensample and rule of conduct to all who come after him. Also an account of his life and the story of his death, and of the garment he shall put on on the Day of Resurrection.²

CHAPTER XII.

Concerning Abraham's temptation in the matter of the Sacrifice, and of his own son who was the victim. Also the life of Isaac, and the age that his father and mother had attained at the time of his birth. An account of his mother Sarah, and the exception in her favour as to her prophesying, and as to her being able to prophesy; also notice of such other women beside her who did so. The story of Jacob and his life, also incidents from the history of his son Joseph, his appearance, and how many years he was parted from his father Jacob, and how long he was estranged from him. And of his sepulture, and what time elapsed between him and Moses.³

¹ Reynolds, p. 280.

² Reynolds, p. 320.

³ Reynolds, p. 354.



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Muhammad ibn Bakrân ibn Muhammad al Khatîb, who was Khatib (Preacher) of Abraham's station, has reported as having heard Muhammad ibn Ahmad the grammarian relate the following: and it is given in his own words: Once I went with the Kâdi Abu 'Amr 'Othmân ibn Ja'far ibn Shâdhân to visit the tomb of Abraham—upon him peace. We had sojourned there for the space of three days, when, on the fourth, the Kâdi approached the inscription which is facing the tomb of Rebecca, Isaac's wife, and ordered it to be washed, that the writing thereon might be made clear; and he set me to copy all that was on the stone, in exact facsimile, on a roll of paper that we had brought. And after this he returned to Ar Ramlah;¹ where he brought together men of all tongues to read what was thereon, but no one among them was able to interpret it; but they agreed that the same was in the language of the ancient Greeks, and that if any one there were who knew how to read it, it would be a certain Shaikh of Aleppo. So the Kâdi Abu 'Amr sent expressly to this Shaikh requesting his presence at Ar Ramlah, and when he had arrived he caused me also to be present. And behold he that was come was a very ancient man; and this Shaikh from Aleppo dictated to me as follows, being the translation of what I had copied: "In the divine and adored Name, the sublime, the mighty, the well-directing, the strong, the powerful! Verily the mound which is facing this is the Tomb of Rebecca, the wife of Isaac, and that which lies near thereto is the Tomb of Isaac. The great mound over against this is the Tomb of Abraham the Friend, and the mound which faces it on the eastern side is the Tomb of Sarah his wife. The further mound, which lies beyond that of the Tomb of Abraham the Friend, is the Tomb of Jacob, and the mound adjoining it is the Tomb of Ûiyâ (Leah), Jacob's wife. And Esau wrote this with his own handwriting."

² [Further, Muhammad ibn Bakrân speaks of another

¹ At that time the capital of Filastîn.

² This second account is omitted by Suyûtî.

account, and that the copy of the inscription cut on the above-mentioned stone, lying to the east, stated that the head of Adam—peace be on him—was therein, the interpretation thereof being as follows:—“In the divine and adored Name, the high, the mighty, the victorious, the strong, the puissant—this mound which lies near this inscription is the Tomb of Rebecca, the wife of Isaac, and the mound thereto adjacent westwards is the Tomb of Isaac. The great mound which lies on the opposite side, and corresponding thereto, is the Tomb of Abraham, and the mound which is facing this to the east thereof is the Tomb of his wife Sarah. The mound that lies farthest off, but in a line with the Tomb of Abraham the Friend, is the Tomb of Jacob, and the mound adjacent thereunto and to the east thereof, is the Tomb of his wife Iliyâ—the benediction of Allah and His mercy and His blessing be upon them all, for purity lieth in His grace.”

These then are the two accounts.] Muhammad ibn Bakrân Al Khatîb notes that the name of (Leah) Jacob's wife is Iliyâ, but that in some books her name is written Layâ (or Liyâ), and she is known also as Lîka, but Allah knows alone the truth thereof. The Kâdî mentioned in the first account—Abu Amr 'Othman ibn Ja'afar ibn Shâdhân—was a judge of high renown and well known; the narrator of the account, however, was not certain as to the exact name of his father; I have reason to believe that he was 'Othman son of Muhammad ibn Shâdhân. He was Kâdî (Judge) of Ar Ramlah during the Khalifate of Ar Râdî billah, in the year 320 and odd (A.D. 932), and the years following. He is an authority for Traditions, which he held at many hands, and a great number of very learned Traditionists also cite him as their authority.

The Hâfiz Ibn 'Asâkir writes: In a certain book of Traditions I read and copied the following: ‘Muhammad ibn Bakrân ibn Muhammad al Khatîb—who was Khatîb of the Masjid of Abraham the Friend—states (having heard it from Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn 'Ali ibn Ja'afar al Aubari, who himself had heard Abu Bakr al Askâfî give the

account), as follows: "With me it is of a surety that the Tomb of Abraham is at the spot now shown as the same, for I have looked on it and seen it with my own eyes. And it was after this manner:—I had expended great sums, amounting to nearly 4000 dinârs, on the Holy Place and its Guardians, hoping thereby to obtain favour of Allah—may He be exalted—and I wished also to convince myself of the exactitude of what was reported concerning (Abraham's tomb). So when the hearts (of the Guardians of the Holy Place) were won by all that I had done there in the way of pious deeds and generous giving, and in the making of presents, and honourably entreating of them, and other such bounties, I proposed to get at the root of the truth which my heart desired to know. So, on a certain day, I said to the Guardians, when we were all assembled together, 'I would fain ask of you to conduct me to the door of the Cave, that I may descend therein and be a witness for myself (of the tombs) of the Prophets. The Benediction of Allah and His mercy be upon them.' The Guardians answered me, 'We would certainly agree to do this for thee, for thou hast put us greatly in thy debt, but at this present time the matter is impossible, for travellers are constant in arriving,—but do thou have patience till the winter shall have come.' And when the month of the II. Kanûn (January) was entered, I went to them again, but they said to me, 'Remain with us yet awhile until the snow falls.' So I remained with them till the snow fell. Now when the travellers had ceased coming, the Guardians brought me to where was the stone which lies between the Tomb of Abraham the Friend and that of Isaac,—Peace be on them both,—and they raised this slab, and one of them, a man of the name of Sa'lûk, a just man, who did many pious works, prepared to descend to guide me. And he descended, and I with him and following him. We went down seventy-two steps, until we came to a place on the right as it were a great bier built of black stones—even like a merchant's stall in the bazaar—whereon lay the body of an aged man, on his back, long-bearded and hairy of cheek, with clothes of a green colour upon him. Said



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and arose, but we despaired of life, and our companions (above) had despaired of us also.'

The Shaikh further told me that Abu Bakr al Askâfi lived on but a few days after he had related to him this account, and Sa'lûk also died shortly after—Allah have mercy on them both."¹

¹ I have given this curious account in extenso, for it has been copied by many later Arab historians and abridged. The following version of this and also a notice of another visit to the Cave has appeared to me worth translating from the pages of Yakût's great Geographical Dictionary (ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. ii. p. 461, s.v. Al Khalîl).

The place is called Al Khalîl: originally, however, it was named Habrâ, and also Habrâ; and in the Books of Moses it is written how Al Khalîl (the Friend of God, Abraham) bought a piece of ground from Afrûn ibn Sûhîr al Haithî (Ephron the son of Zochar the Hittite) for four hundred dirhems of silver, and buried therein Sarah. Many of the Traditionists are of this town: and it is a pleasant, wholesome, and agreeable place, wherein many blessed sights are to be seen. It is said that its fortress was built by Solomon the son of David. Al Harawî relates as follows: "I went to Jerusalem in the year 567 (A.D. 1172), and both there and at Hebron I made the acquaintance of certain Shaikhs, who informed me that in the year 513 (A.D. 1119), during the reign of King Bardwîl (Baldwin II.) a certain part over the Cave of Abraham had given way, and that a number of the Franks had, by the King's permission, made their entrance therein. And they found (the bodies of) Abraham and Isaac and Jacob—peace be upon them—their shrouds having fallen to pieces, lying propped up against a wall. Over each of their heads were lamps, and their heads were uncovered. Then the King, after providing new shrouds, caused the place to be closed once more." Al Harawî continues: "I once read, when attending the lectures of As Sufî, that a certain man, who is called the Armenian, being of a mind to make his visitation at Hebron, gave large sums in presents to the Guardians (of the shrine), and had asked one of them whether it were not possible for him to take him down to see the (body of the) Patriarch—on whom be peace. The man replied that at that time it was not possible, but that if he would wait till the press of pilgrims was over, that he could do it. And so (when the time of the pilgrimage) was passed, he raised up a stone flag (in the floor of the Mosque), and taking a lamp with him, he and the other descended some seventy steps to a spacious cavern. The air here was blowing freely, and there was a platform on which lay extended (the body of) Abraham, peace be on him, clothed in green garments, and the wind as it blew tossed about his white locks. At his side lay Isaac and Jacob. And the guide went on with him to the walls of the cavern, telling him that behind the wall lay Sarah, and he had in intention to show him what was beyond the wall, but lo! a voice cried out, saying, 'Beware, for it is the Haram!' The narrator adds that he returned and came up by the way he had gone down."

The person quoted by Yakût is Abu'l Hasan Ali al Harawî (of Herât), who died in A.H. 611 (A.D. 1215) at Aleppo, and wrote a book describing the Holy Places of Palestine, of which work a MS. exists in the Bodleian Library. In Ibn al Athîr's Chronicle, under the events of the year 513 (A.D. 1119), that is in the very year mentioned by Al Harawî, there is the notice "That in this year was opened the Tomb of Abraham, and those of his two sons Isaac and Jacob, at a place near the Holy City. Many people saw them. Their limbs had nowise been disturbed, and beside them were placed lamps of gold and of silver."

All the extant notices of visits to the sepulchres of the Patriarchs at Hebron are ably brought together and discussed by Comte Riant, in a paper inserted at p. 411 of the Archives de l'Orient Latin, vol. ii. 1884. On Hebron in general, the note given by M. Quatremère in the Appendix (p. 239) to vol. i. part ii. of his Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks (one of the most useful of the Oriental Translation Fund Publications), may with advantage be consulted.

CHAPTER XIV.

Concerning the birth of Ishmael and how he went to Mekkah, also how our lord Abraham rode thither on the steed Al Burák to visit him and his mother Hagar. Also of Hagar's death and burial, and Ishmael's age and his burial, and how many were the years that elapsed between his death and the birth of the Prophet Muhammad.¹

CHAPTER XV.

The story of Lot, and the place of his sepulture. Also description of the Cave which is below the Old Mosque, and facing it on the west. And of the Mosque al Yakîn, and the Cave which lies to the west thereof.²

The Shaikh Abu 'Ukbah 'Abd Allah ibn Muhammad, the Hanifite, of Marv, says, I have read in certain of the Lives of the Prophets that Lot lies buried in a village called Kafar Barîk, lying about a farsakh from Masjid al Khalîl (Hebron); and that in the cave to the west, beneath the Old Mosque, lie 60 Prophets, of whom 20 were also Apostles. And Lot's tomb has been a place of visitation and veneration from ancient times, the men of the age succeeding those who have gone before.

The author³ of the Kitâb al Badî' fi Tafsîl al Mamlakat al Islâm, says that at a distance of a farsakh from Hebron is a small mountain which overhangs the Lake of Zughar. This is the site of Lot's Villages, and a Mosque has been built here by Abu Bakr as Sabâhî, in which is preserved Abraham's bedstead; it is sunk in the earth to the depth of an ell. It is related that when Abraham perceived the Villages of Lot before him in the air, he stood still there (or lay down), and cried out, "I testify that He is the Truth, the Certain (Al Yakîn)." Hence this Mosque was named Masjid al Yakîn.

At Tadmûrî,⁴ however, states that he never found any one whose works he had read, among the writers of history, who

¹ Reynolds, p. 370.

² Reynolds, p. 377.

³ That is, the well-known geographer Al Mukaddasi.

⁴ At Tadmûrî, the Palmyrene, is Abu'l Fidâ Ishâk al Khalîlî, mentioned above, p. 252.

mentioned aught of Lot's death, or of his life, or of his tomb. Here ends the account. . . .

CHAPTER XVI.

As to what is related concerning the burial-place of our lord Moses, and concerning his life, and his prayer at his place of sepulture. Also his benevolence to the people and his compassion for them. And mention of certain of his miracles and why he was called Moses, besides other matters.¹

CHAPTER XVII.

Concerning the excellence of Syria, and what has been said thereon of old and in the chronicles. Also the reason of its being called Ash Shâm (Syria), and the delineation of its frontiers. Also the Traditions of the Prophet relating to this land and its inhabitants, and its being the home of true believers and the centre pillar of Islâm. Also the prayer of the Prophet in favour of this land, and an account of all the places therein that are desirable places for visitation and holy places where prayers are granted. Also a general and particular advertisement of all that concerns the same.²

¹ Reynolds, p. 378.

² Reynolds, p. 391. Suyûtî's description of Damascus, and his account of the building of the Mosque by the Khalif al Walîd is too lengthy to insert here. Besides, Suyûtî is not an original authority on these points, and nearly all the information he gives may be found, in a slightly different form, translated into French, and inserted by Quatremère in a long note (vol. ii. pt. iii. p. 262) to his *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*. It may, however, be worth while to give what Suyûtî writes of the political divisions of Syria, noting that on this subject he merely copies word for word what the author of the Muthîr had written in A.D. 1351. Mr. Reynolds has given not a few misreadings (p. 394, *et seq.*). The first town of Syria, says the Muthîr, is Bâlis (not Bayâs, as in R.), and the last Al 'Arîsh of Egypt. Syria is divided into five districts, namely—1. Filastîn, whose capital is Iliyâ (Ælia), eighteen miles from Ar Ramlah, which is the Holy City, the metropolis of David and Solomon. Of its towns are Ascalon, Hebron, Sibastiah, and Nâbulûs. 2. Haurân, whose capital is Tiberias, with its lake, whereof mention occurs in the Traditions anent Gog and Magog; and 'tis said that at the time of the birth of him (*i.e.* the Prophet), whom Allah bless and keep in peace (*fî wakti wilâdatihi sallâ Allahu 'alaihi wa sallama*, which Mr. Reynolds renders, "in the time of Walâdat"), the Lake overflowed. (Of its territories are those of the Ghôr, the Yarmûk (Hieromax), and of Baisân (Bethshean, Scythopolis), which is the town of whose palm trees the Antichrist (ad Dajjâl) will enquire (Reynolds has, "from whose palm trees pitch is sought, whence its name Al Dijjalat, the Tigris"). Also the Jordan, more often called Ash Sharî'ah. 3. The Ghûtah. Its capital is Damascus; Tripoli is on its coast. 4. Hims (Emessa; the name of the province, and of its chief town). (Of its dependencies is the city of Salamaniah (Salaminiâs. Reynolds writes 'Salamît'). 5. Kinnasrîn (not 'Kinnarîn' as in Reynolds). Its chief town is Aleppo, and of its dependencies are Sarmîn (not 'Samwîl,' as in Reynolds) and Antioch.



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الذى يقال له باب محمد وقد انحدر ما فى المسجد من الزبالة على سرج الباب حتى خرج الى الزقاق الذى فيه الباب وكثر على الدرج حتى كان ان يلصق بسقفه¹ فقال له لا تقدر على ان تدخل الا حبوا قال عمر رضى و لو حبوا فحبنى بين يدي عمر و حبونا خلفه حتى افضينا الى صخرة بيت المقدس واستويناه فيه قياما فنظر عمر و تأمل مليا ثم قال هذا والذى نفسى بيده الذى وصفه لنا رسول الله صلعم *

وعن هشام بن عمار عن الهيثم بن عمر بن العباسى قال سمعت جدى عبد الله بن ابي عبد الله يقول لما ولى عمر بن الخطاب رضى زار اهل الشام فنزل الجابيه و ارسل رجلا من جدية الى بيت المقدس فافتحها صلحا ثم جاء عمر ومعه كعب فقال يا ابا اسحاق اتعرف موضع الصخرة فقال اذرع من الحايط الذى يلى وادى جهنم كذا و كذا ذراعا ثم احفر فانك تجدها قال و هى يومئذ مزبلة فحفروا فظهرت لهم فقال عمر لكعب اين ترى ان يجعل المسجد او قال القبلة فقال اجعله خلف الصخرة فتجمع القبلتين قبله موسى و قبله محمد صلعم فقال ضاهيت اليهودية يا ابا اسحاق خير المسجد مقدمها قال فبناها فى مقدم المسجد * * *

وعن ابراهيم بن ابي عبله المقدسى عن ابيه قال قدم عمر بن الخطاب رضى بيت المقدس وعسكر فى طور زيتا ثم انحدر فدخل من باب النبی صلعم فلما استوا فى المسجد نظر يمينا و شمالا ثم قال هذا والذى لا اله الا هو مسجد سليمان بن داود الذى اخبرنا به رسول الله صلعم انه اسرى به اليه ثم اتى غربى المسجد وقال يجعل مسجد المسلمين هاهنا مصلى يصلون فيه *

¹ بسقف الرواق S.

² استوفنا B.

³ من مسجد S.

⁴ باب A.

وعن سعيد بن عبد العزيز قال لما فتح عمر بن الخطاب رَضَه بيت المقدس وجد على الصخرة زبلاً كثيراً مما طرحته الروم غيضاً لبني اسرائيل فبسط عمر رَضَه ردآه فجعل يكنس ذلك الزبل وجعل المسلمون يكنسون. معه * وقال الوليد قال سعيد بن عبد العزيز جاء كتاب رسول الله صلعم الى قيصر وهو ببیت المقدس و على صخرة بيت المقدس مزبلة قد حازت محراب داود مما القته النصارى عليها مضارة لليهود حتى ان المرأة لتبعث بخرق² دمها من رومية فتلقى عليها فقال قيصر حين قرا كتاب رسول الله صلعم انكم يا معاشر الروم لخلقنا ان تقتلوا على هذه المزبلة بما انتهكتم من حرمة هذا المسجد كما قتلت بنو اسرائيل على دم يحيى بن زكريا فامر بكشفها فاخذوا بذلك فقدم المسلمون الشام ولم يكشفوا منها الا ثلثها فلما قدم عمر رَضَه بيت المقدس و فتحها وراى ما عليها من المزبلة اعظم ذلك فامر بكشفها وسخر لها انباط فلسطين

وروى عن جبير بن نفير قال لما جلى عمر المزبلة عن الصخرة قال لا تصلوا فيها حتى تصيبها ثلاث مطرات

قال الوليد وحدثنى كلثوم بن زياد ان عمر بن الخطاب رَضَه قال لكعب اين ترى ان يجعل مصلى المسلمين من هذا المسجد قال فى موخرة مما يلى باب الاسباط فقال كلا ان لنا مقدم المسجد قال فمضى الى مقدمه * قال الوليد وحدثنى ابن شداد عن ابيه ان عمر رَضَه مضى الى مقدمه مما يلى الغرب فحشى فى ثوبه من الزبل وحثونا فى ثيابنا و مضى و مضينا معه حتى القينه فى الوادى الذى يقال له وادى جهنم ثم عاد و عدنا بمثلها حتى صلينا فيه فى موضع مسجد يصلى فيه جماعة فصلى عمر بنا فيه * * *

ان كانت C.: S.d.o.d.e. ان كان S.a. ¹

حينها S.a.e. ²

The Sixth Chapter of the Muthir al Ghardm.

¹ الفصل السادس * فى ذكر بنا عبد الملك بن مروان قبة الصخرة
ومتى كان ذلك البنيان *

وقال العلماء بنى عبد الملك بن مروان رحمه الله مسجد
بيت المقدس سنة سبعين من الهجرة و حمل الى بنايه خراج
مصر سبع سنين و قال سبط بن الجوزى فى كتاب مرآة الزمان
ابتدا بنيانه فى سنة تسع و ستين و فرغ منه سنة اثنين و
سبعين قال المصنف رحمه الله و يقال ان الذى بنا قبة بيت
المقدس و جدها سعيد بن عبد الملك بن مروان * روى عن
رجا بن حيوة و يزيد بن سلم مولى عبد الملك بن مروان ان عبد
الملك حين هم ببنا صخرة بيت المقدس و المسجد قدم من
دمشق الى بيت المقدس و بث الكتب فى جميع عمله الى
جميع الامصار ان عبد الملك قد اراد ان يبنى قبة على الصخرة
صخرة بيت المقدس تكن² المسلمين من الحر و البرد و المسجد فكرة ان
يفعل ذلك دون رأى رعيته فلتكتب الرعية اليه برايمهم و ما هم
عليه فوردت الكتب عليه يرى امير المومنين رايه موقفا. رشيداً
نسال الله تعالى ان يتم له ما نوى من بنا بيته و صخرته و مسجده
ويجرى ذلك على يديه و يجعله مكرمة له و لمن مضى من سلفه
فجمع الصانع من جميع عمله كله و امرهم ان يصفوا له صفة القبة
وسمتها من قبل ان يبنيا فكرست له فى صحن المسجد و امر ان
يبنى بيت المال فى شرقى الصخرة و هو الذى فوق على حرف
الصخرة فاشحن بالاموال و وكل على ذلك رجا بن حيوة و يزيد

¹ The translation will be found on p. 280.

² قبة الصخرة و مسجد الانبياء S.

³ تلى S.

⁴ ميمها S.



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الصخرة حتى يطنخوا ما بقى منها ثم يرفع انية الخلق ثم ياتون
مجامر الذهب والفضة و العود القمارى والند المطرى¹ بالمسك و
العنبر فترخى الستور حول الاعمدة كلها ثم ياخذون البخور حولها
يدورون به حتى يحول بينهم وبين القبة من كثرته ثم تشر الستور
فيخرج البخور يفوح من كثرته حتى يبلغ الى راس السوق فيشم
الريح من شمه وينقطع البخور من عندهم ثم ينادى فى صف
البرازين² وغيرهم الا ان الصخرة قد فاتحت للناس فمن اراد الصلاة
فيها فليات فيظل مبادرين الى الصلاة فى الصخرة و اكثر الناس من
يدرك ان يصلى ركعتين و اقلهم اربعا ثم يخرج الناس فمن شموا
رايحتة قالوا هذا ممن دخل الصخرة و تغسل اثار اقدمهم بالما و
تمسح بالاس الاخضر و تنشف³ بالمشانى و المناديل و تغلق الابواب
وعلى كل باب عشرة من الحجبة و لا تدخل الا يوم الاثنين او الخميس
ولا يدخلها فى غيرهما الا الخادم * و عن حارث قال كنت اسرجها
خلافة عبد الملك كلها بالبان المدينى و الزنبق الرصاص⁴ قال و
كانت الحجبة يقولون يا ابا بكر مر لنا بقنديل فندهن⁵ به و نتطيب
فكان يجيبهم الى ذلك فهذا ما كان يفعل بها خلافة عبد الملك
كلها * و عن الوليد قال عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن منصور بن ثابت
حدثنى ابي عن ابيه عن جده قال كان فى السلسلة التى فى
وسط القبة على الصخرة درة يتيمة و كرنا كبش ابراهيم و تاج كسرى
معلقات فيها ايام عبد الملك فلما صارت الخلافة الى بنى هاشم
حولها الى الكعبة حرسها الله تعالى *

¹ عطرًا S. e.

² البرازين S.

³ بالمشانى C. بالمسنى B.

⁴ الزنبق الرصاصى U. الزنبق الرصاصى B.

⁵ ندهن B. and C.

*The Seventh Chapter of the Muthir al Ghardm.*¹

الفصل السابع * فيما اثره عبد الملك وغيره في المسجد الاقصى
و في طوله و في عرضه مستوفا مستقفا *

روى الحافظ ابن عساكر رحمه الله بسندة الى ابي المعالي المقدسي
فذكر حديث بنا عبد الملك قبة الصخرة والمسجد الاقصى و قال
عقبه وكان فيه في ذلك الوقت من الخشب المسقف سوى اعمدة
خشب ستة الاف خشبة و فيه من الابواب خمسون بابا و من العمد
ستماية عامود رخام و فيه من المحاريب سبعة و من السلاسل للقناديل
اربعمائة سلسلة الا خمس عشرة منها مائة سلسلة و ثلثون سلسلة
في المسجد و الباقي في قبة الصخرة و ذرع السلاسل اربع الاف
ذراع و وزنها ثلاثة و اربعون الف رطل بالشامي و فيه من القناديل
خمسة الاف قنديل و كان يسرج فيه مع القناديل الفا شمعة في
ليالي الجمع و في رجب و نصف شعبان و في ليالي العيد و فيه
من القباب خمس عشرة قبة سوى قبة الصخرة و على سطوح
المسجد ملبس من شقات الرصاص سبعة الاف شقة و سبعمائة وزن
الشقة سبعون رطلا بالشامي غير الذي على قبة الصخرة و كل ذلك
عمل في ايام عبد الملك و رتب له من الخدم القوام ثلثمائة
خادم اشترى له من خمس بيت المال كلما مات منهم ميت
قام مكانه ولده و ولد ولده او من اهلهم يجري عليهم ذلك ابدا ما
تناسلوا و تقبضون بايديهم من بيت المال و فيه من الصهاريج
اربعة و عشرون صهريجا كبيرا و فيه من المناير اربع ثلاث منها صف
واحد غربي المسجد و واحد على باب الاسباط و كان له من الخدم
اليهود عشرة رجال لا يوخذ منهم الجزية و تولدوا فصاروا عشرين

¹ The translation of this chapter will be found on p. 285.² A.B. المنابر, but C. and S. always المنابر

رجلا لكنس اوساج الناس فى المواسم و الشتا و الصيف و لكنس المطاهر
التي حول الجامع و له من الخدم النصارى من الرجال عشرة
اهل البيت يتوارثون خدمته لعمل الحصر و كنس حصر المسجد
وكنس القنى التي تجرى الى صهاريج الما و تنظيف الصهاريج وكنسها
ايضا و غير ذلك و له من الخدم اليهود جماعة يعملون الزجاج
للقناديل و الاقداح و البزاقات و غير ذلك لا يوخذ منهم جزية
و كذلك لا يوخذ جزية من الذين يقومون بالسراقة للفتيل التي
للمصاييح جاريا عليهم و على اولادهم ابدا ما تناسلوا من اهد عبد
الملك بن مروان الى الان * و عن عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن
منصور بن ثابت قال حدثني ابي عن ابيه من جده ان الابواب
كانت ملبسة ذهبا و فضة صفايح للابواب كل ذلك فى خلافة
عبد الملك كلها فلما قدم ابو جعفر المنصور و كان شرقى المسجد
و غربته قد وقع فرفع اليه يا امير المومنين قد وقع شرقى المسجد
و غربيه زمان الرجفة سنة ثلاثين و مائة و قالوا اليه لو امرت ببنياء
هذا المسجد و عمارته فقال ما عندى شى من المال فامر بالقلع
الصفايح الفضة و الذهب التي كانت على الابواب فصربت دنانير
و دراهم و انفق عليه حتى فرغ منه ثم كانت الرجفة الثانية فوق
البناء الذي امر به ابو جعفر ثم قدم المهدي من بعده و هو خراب
فرفع اليه ذلك فامر ببنيائه فقال دق هذا المسجد و طال و خلا من
الرجال انقصوا من طوله و زيدوا فى عرضه فتم البناء فى خلافته
و فى سنة اثنين و خمسين و اربعمائة سقط تنور قبة بيت المقدس
فيه خمسمائة قنديل فتطير المومنون المقيمون ببيت المقدس
و قالوا ليكون فى الاسلام حادث عظيم * و روى عن الوليد قال حدثني



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NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(December, January, February).

I. REPORTS OF MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, SESSION 1886-87.

Second Meeting, 20th December, 1886.—Col. H. Yule, R.E., C.B., President, in the Chair.

Elections: Lieut. Walter Henry Simpson, Bengal Staff Corps, and Mr. W. McDouall, of the Persian Gulf Telegraph Department, were elected Non-Resident Members.

The President, on taking the chair, expressed his deep regret at another loss the Society had experienced in the death of their Member of Council (formerly one of the Vice-Presidents), Mr. Arthur Grote.

Professor R. K. Douglas, in the absence of the author, read Mr. Beal's paper, the subject of which was mainly an endeavour to reconcile certain doubtful passages in the travels of Fa-Hien the Chinese pilgrim, as recorded in available texts, whether in respect of verbal interpretations or the identity of places. The President and Professor Douglas adverted to one or two points which suggested discussion; while the paper itself appears *in extenso* in the present Number of the Journal (pp. 191-206).

Among the presents notified, twenty-six brightly bound volumes in Arabic and Turkish, for the greater part of an educational character, presented by the Turkish Ambassador, under instructions of H.I.M. the Sultan; and two valuable French translations from the Arabic—the “*Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*” and “*Prairies d'Or de Maçoudi*”—presented by the Société Asiatique through M. Ernest Leroux, called for special notice and acknowledgment.

Third Meeting, 24th January, 1887.—Col. H. Yule, R.E., C.B., President, in the Chair.

Elections: Mrs. Finn, and Pandits Shám Lál and Lakshmí Naráyn

were elected Resident, and Messrs. A. Rae, C. De Morgan, C. Mullaly, and A. Baumgartner, Non-Resident Members.

Dr. R. N. Cust, Hon. Secretary, gave a *vivâ voce* address on the subject of the Languages of Oceania. He divided the vast Region into I. Polynesia, II. Melanesia, III. Mikronesia, IV. Australia, and dealt with each separately. He stated the five distinct theories of the origin of the Polynesian race: I. a submerged Continent; II. South America; III. China and Japan; IV. New Zealand (autochthonous); and V. Malaysia. He then passed under review each Island and Language of Polynesia, stating that they were all of one Family. Passing on to Melanesia, he described the infinity of separate languages in this Region, which extends from Fiji to New Guinea, inclusive of both. He alluded to the great progress which had been made, and the linguistic books published: much more, however, remains to be done. In Mikronesia he alluded to the languages which had been studied in the Carolines, Ladrões, Marshall and Gilbert Groups, all North of the Equator. Of Australia he remarked that, though scores of languages were catalogued, the information supplied was most inadequate: in Tasmania the last Native had died; in Australia there were still about one hundred thousand surviving, and it was hoped that something might still be done with regard to this remnant.

Mr. G. W. Rusden, being called upon, bore testimony to the homogeneity of the language spoken by the Polynesian race throughout the Pacific; *i.e.* of the race to which the Maori belong. He had himself, in New Zealand, heard a Sandwich Islander, a native of Rarotonga, and Maori, joining together in an animated conversation about the events which are supposed to have preceded the migration of a portion of the people of Hawaii to the south in a fleet of canoes of which the names are still preserved. Slight differences of inflection, and the use by the Northerner of *l* where the Maori used *r*, did not prevent freedom of discussion. Nor was such freedom of speech a new thing. When Captain Cook visited New Zealand in 1769, he took Tupia, a Tahitian, with him; and Tupia easily conversed with the Maori. On two other occasions Society Islanders interpreted between Captain Cook and the Maori (1773, 1776). As to the quarter from which the Maori traditions declare that their forefathers came, it is always the same—from the Hawaiki in the north-east. The Rarotonga Islander, whose home is at the north-east of New Zealand, declares that *his* ancestors came from Avaiki, also in the north-east. At Tahiti the natives aver that their forefathers migrated thither from Hawaii. Hawaii, at the Sandwich Islands, is still, as of old, Hawaii; and the inhabitants preserve traditions of the departure of a fleet of canoes to the south-west. There seems no reason to doubt the

truth of these. If there were no other proof than they contain of the fancifulness of the speculation of the French writer (Lesson) who asserts that the Maori was autochthonous in New Zealand, and despatched numerous colonies throughout the Pacific as far as the Sandwich Islands, the well-authenticated genealogies of Maori families would suffice to destroy that theory. The Maori was proud of the nobility of his race. The eponymous heroes of the original pilgrim-fathers are venerated to this day. The records of each descent are preserved on a genealogical tree—a notched wand—on which the serrations indicate by their largeness or smallness whether the ancestor commemorated had a long or a short life. The accuracy of these genealogies has been tested in a singular manner in the Native Land Courts established by the Colonial Government. In tribes separated by long distance from one another, the wands were retained; and when, as sometimes happened, marriages occurred between members of distant tribes, the records in each tribe were so kept as, by collation, to convince the Judges of the trustworthiness of the genealogical trees. The speaker added—Of this I have been assured by Mr. Fenton, late Chief Judge of the Land Court, who by the way has propounded a new theory as to the ancestry of the Polynesian or brown race. He has written a work, which I have presented to the Library of this Society, to prove that the Maori are sprung from the Sabæans of Southern Arabia. He detects a kinship between Sabæa and Savai, or Havaii or Hawaii. The few places in the Pacific at which there are remains of architecture or sculpture are called in to support his theory. Very remarkable are those sculptures at Easter Island, to which I almost wonder that Dr. Cust did not allude. Gigantic idols, some said to be 70 feet high, abound there. No such works are found elsewhere in the Pacific, though in the Caroline Group, which lately formed a bone of contention between Germany and Spain, there are remains of what is said to be Cyclopean masonry, some of them submerged on the shore of a small island. But the progenitors of the Maori had stone-carved idols. Two were carried to New Zealand by the Arawa tribe, who occupied the Lake Country, the scene of recent eruptions. One of the idols is still preserved with veneration in the small island of Mokoia in Lake Rotorua; the other is in the possession of Sir George Grey, in his island Kawau.

Mr. H. H. Howorth, M.P., remarked that wherever a race which had no literature was distributed over a wide area, and presented few dialects in its speech, it was pretty certain that that race had spread comparatively recently from some focus. This was the case in such a typical example as Russia, and it seemed to him to be conclusive about the Polynesian race. Apart from this, wherever Polynesians were found south of the Equator, the peculiar fertility in devising ornaments, the character of the ornaments, and of the arts of the islanders, pointed to the Polynesians found there having invaded and occupied an area previously occupied by Melanesians, who were either incorporated or driven out. Such conclusion was



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ing demand for space for notes from all parts of the East, the title will have to be still further widened to *Asiatic Notes and Queries*. The Journal began with 12 pp. of matter monthly, and I am now obliged to print 18 to 24 pp. in order to cope with the mass of useful and valuable matter that comes in. There seems to be no limit to the material available, as indeed might be expected from so wide a field to work upon—and the size of the Journal is limited only by the subscription. The principle upon which the Journal is conducted, and the character of its contents, may be best gauged by a reference to the original prospectus, which says in effect that it affords a ready means of recording and rendering generally available all kinds of miscellaneous information regarding the country and the people, and also of an interchange of experience regarding practical difficulties. Englishmen in India are, as a rule, far too busy to undertake any systematic inquiry into the religious and social customs of the natives. But every resident in it is constantly meeting with curious and interesting facts bearing upon those customs; while every year old residents leave India in possession of the most varied and extensive information on the subject. Few have both leisure and inclination to publish this information; and indeed it is often so fragmentary and miscellaneous in its nature, and seems so much a matter of course to its possessor, that he does not think it worth while to work it up into literary shape; and so his knowledge dies with him, and never becomes generally available. If, however, some ready means are at hand of recording and publishing such odd scraps of information as they are picked up, many people, who will not be at the trouble of writing set articles for magazines or journals, avail themselves of those means and send rough notes to a periodical such as this, and in a few years there is thus formed a most valuable collection of facts regarding the country and its inhabitants. Such a collection increases our own knowledge of the people, and so enhances our influence over them, and renders our intercourse with them at once more easy and more interesting. But it has a still wider value. Within the last few years the learned have turned their attention to the institutions and structure of Indian society, and the need which they most often feel and express is for a larger supply of well-ascertained facts and for more minutely-detailed information. We constantly find European writers on social institutions quoting customs which they have laboriously discovered in old notices of strange tribes, and wholly unaware that the every-day routine of any Indian village would

furnish far better instances of the facts they are in search of. The periodical also serves yet another purpose. Every Indian official must have often felt the need of some ready means of exchange of information and experience with his fellow-workers. On all matters of principle, and on all important matters of practice, it is to his official superiors that he must look for instruction. But in the every-day routine of administration a thousand petty doubts and difficulties arise, which are hardly fit matter for official reference, but which must have been settled many times over in other districts and by other men. And a periodical in which he can state his difficulty and ask for advice affords him a means of availing himself of the experience of others. The principles, then, on which *Indian Notes and Queries* is conducted may be summarized thus. It admits short notes and articles, questions and answers to those questions on all points connected with the physical and ancient geography, antiquities, history, flora and fauna, or products of India; or with its people, their history, distribution, languages, caste, customs, trades, and occupations. It also admits similar notes and queries bearing upon any branch whatever of practical administration. But under no circumstances is any contribution admitted which can be interpreted as in any way criticising the principles followed, the measures adopted, or the rules of procedure laid down by Government. Politics, in fact, are strictly tabooed.¹

“I should like to say a few words as to my contributors. About half are natives of India, whose contributions give me much trouble, speaking as an editor, but they are welcome always, because it is to the natives that we must look for our best, minutest, and widest information. As the majority are not well acquainted with English, their notes require much editing and sifting. Many do not write English at all, and this entails a certain staff of native assistants, who turn the vernacular contributions into some kind of English, which has to be eventually worked up into a form suited to a high-class publication, and thus made available to students in a manner that would be otherwise impossible. Perhaps the most hopeful sign of all of the ultimate success of the periodical, is the number of natives of all classes that contribute to its pages.

“A few words will suffice for the *Indian Antiquary*, an old journal, well known to many Members of this Society. Dr. Burgess started it,

¹ Captain Temple here gave an illustration of the sort of note obtained and admitted in his Journal. The specimen selected was taken from under the head of Folk-Lore (No. 90 in vol. iv.).

and edited it for 13 years, and rather more than two years ago Mr. Fleet and I took it over from him. I am happy to report that we have been successful in keeping it up to its former very high standard as regards contents, in materially increasing its circulation, and in procuring a constant succession of able contributions. During the Vienna Congress of Orientalists last year, I was much gratified in finding how great was the esteem in which it was held all over the Continent, and I trust that as long as the present editors conduct it that esteem will never be diminished. It is an expensive Journal for its size, but the comparatively high price is caused by the heavy expense entailed by the many and elaborate illustrations which are to be found in almost every number. It has always been the pride of the *Indian Antiquary* that it has done more for Oriental Epigraphy than has any other learned periodical, and that it has thus materially advanced our knowledge of early Indian history. But the constant reproduction of facsimiles of inscriptions and copperplates to scale is a very expensive and troublesome affair, and if the subscribers are called upon to pay rather more than is usual, they must kindly bear in mind that there is a very good reason for the demand. As regards this Journal, too, I am able to say that contributions are so plentiful of a first-class description that of late we have been obliged occasionally to issue double numbers, in order to keep up with them, and will have to do so frequently in the near future.

“I will only now trouble you with a few remarks on the *Legends of the Panjab*, published in volumes of twelve fasciculi each, the third volume being at this time in progress. The object of the work is to give the *ipsissima verba* of the bards of the Panjab, and so preserve the legends and stories of the people, and at the same time their various dialects. In this way it is hoped that our knowledge both of the ideas of the Panjābi and of their language will be materially increased. The principle adopted is to give the text exactly as taken down from the lips of the bards, with a running translation and notes where necessary. These notes are often the most difficult portion of my task. By way of showing you how vast is the field to be thus worked, I may say that when I began I anticipated having matter enough to fill two volumes; but I have already filled nearly three, and even then I have not given more than half of the material I already have in hand. I may also say that not only in the Panjab, but everywhere in India from Peshawar to Cape Comorin, the bard is an institution,



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jonsang," compiled by Lama Yeshe Palgor of Amdo in 1747 A.D. Both are to be published in the Journal.

It was notified that the Government of Bengal had referred to the Society, for criticisms and suggestions, certain papers relating to an inquiry into the castes and occupations of the people of India now being prosecuted by Mr. Risley, C.S.

3rd November, 1886.—E. T. Atkinson, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Seventy-seven presentations were announced; the election of six Ordinary Members and six withdrawals notified; and one gentleman was proposed for election as an Associate Member. Intimation was also made of the death of three Ordinary and two Associate Members.

The Philological Secretary exhibited three silver coins, being part of a find of Treasure Trove in the Khaira District; and read six Reports on other coins, chiefly silver, found in various places.

There were, moreover, read, a paper on the Land-shells of Perak; two papers on Butterflies, and a paper on Solar Thermometer Observations at Allahabad.

23rd November, 1886 (Special Meeting).—The President on this occasion introduced Mr. C. Stevens, of Brisbane, Australia, who read a paper on "The result of inquiries and observations among the wild Veddahs of Ceylon, as to their religious belief, domestic and social life and intellectual capacity, undertaken with a view to obtaining a vocabulary and such information as would tend to solve the question as to the origin of the race."

The Chairman, in expressing the thanks of the meeting for the paper communicated, remarked on the existence of several kindred hill tribes in Kumaon, Nepal and Assam, who lived exactly like the Veddahs, entertaining a similar belief that they were superior to the natives of the plains. He thought it the duty of one or other of the Society's members to work up further inquiries in regard to the interesting people of whom Mr. Stevens had spoken.

2nd February, 1887.—Bearing this date, the Annual Address of the President has been separately printed. It supplies an interesting *résumé* of the year's events, more or less directly connected with the objects and interests of the Society. Three Englishmen have been selected for special mention from its obituary. These are our late Treasurer, Mr. Edward Thomas, and our late Vice-Presidents, Messrs. Gibbs and Grote. Of the papers in our own

Journal which have attracted attention as dealing with Indian subjects are the contributions of Dr. Edkins, Sir Monier Monier-Williams, Mr. Sewell, Mr. Grierson, Mr. Pincott, and Capt. Talbot. Reference is made to the Oriental Congress at Vienna; and besides noting proceedings in Assam and Burma, the President sketches the local progress made in Semitic and Aryan studies, in Dravidian languages, in Bihari, and Vernacular literature in general. As regards the domain of Natural Science, the concluding sentence of the Address is strongly indicative of the true bent of the Indian mind. An indirect expression of regret at the little interest taken in the study by Native Members, is followed by the statement that "perhaps with the exception of the late Babu Harimohun Mukharji and one gentleman in Bombay, there is not a single native of India, known outside its limits, for proficiency in either Botany or Biology."

Asiatic Society of Japan, Tokyo, October 21st, 1885.—B. H. Chamberlain, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

A paper upon the "Tenets of the Shinshiu or 'True Sect' of Buddhists," by James Troup, Esq., H.M. Consul at Hyōgo, was read by the Corresponding Secretary. It is published in vol. xiv. part i. of the Society's Transactions (Yokohama, June, 1886).

16th December, 1885.—N. J. Hannen, Esq., President, in the Chair.

A paper was read by Dr. C. G. Knott, F.R.S.E., on "The Abacus; and its Scientific and Historic Import." Published in vol. xiv. part i. of the Transactions.

17th February, 1886.—The Rev. Jas. L. Amerman, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Rev. J. Summers read a paper on Buddhism and Traditions concerning its Introduction into Japan; and Mr. Chamberlain a short paper entitled, "Past Participle or Gerund? a point of Grammatical Terminology." Both are published in the aforesaid volume.

In reply to a suggestion offered by Capt. Brinkley, the Chairman stated that a measure to enlarge the scope of the Society's Transactions was about to be introduced by the Council, which he hoped would meet the approval and support of Members.

5th May, 1886.—N. J. Hannen, Esq., President, in the Chair.

J. Conder, Esq., read a paper on "The Art of Landscape Gardening in Japan." This is published in part ii. of volume xiv. Transactions.

23rd June, 1886.—N. J. Hannen, Esq., President, in the Chair.
Annual Meeting.

The *résumé* of a French paper on "The Vine in Japan," by Mr. J. Dautremer, was read by the Secretary. It is published in part. ii. vol. xiv. also. After a few remarks, the annual reports were presented and adopted. With reference to the year's obituary, the Society had to express its sorrow at the loss of one of its oldest friends, Rear-Admiral Shadwell, and of a sound scholar, Mr. Thomas R. H. McClatchie, of H.M. Consular service.

Société Asiatique, Paris, 12th November, 1886.—M. E. Rénan, President, in the Chair.

After the election of five new Members and ordinary business, M. Rodet explained certain technical terms used in Arab music, and their corresponding expressions in Greek metre. He also communicated the result of his researches on the mode of demonstrating the fractional parts of a Rupee in the various systems of Indian writing.

10th December, 1886.—M. E. Rénan, President, in the Chair.

After the election of three new members, M. Halévy communicated the contents of a letter he had received from M. Mahler, astronomer in Vienna, under date the 1st December inst., supporting the view put forward by M. Halévy himself, on "The Star, Kakkab Mesri, in Assyrian," published in the previous number of the Society's Journal. The same gentleman made some remarks also on the names of authors most frequently mentioned in the Nabathean Agricultural system of Ibn Wahchia, and on the old Turkish words occurring in certain Syriac inscriptions lately translated by M. Chwolson.

M. Oppert then read the translation of a "Babylonian Astrological Text;" and M. Berger presented on the part of M. and Madame Leopold Delisle, a reprint of the "Notice historique sur MM. Burnouf père et fils," read at the annual public meeting of the "Académie des Sciences et Belles Lettres" on the 18th August, 1854.

American Oriental Society, October 27th, 1886.—The Rev. Dr. Ward, of New York, Vice-President, in the Chair.

After the election of ten corporate members, and other ordinary business, the Corresponding Secretary laid before the Society a parcel of rubbings of inscriptions from Buddhist convents at Fangshan, S.W. of Peking. The substance of these is not considered important, except on account of the Sanskrit *dhāranīs* and quota-



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know where that comes from, and, although I have made many inquiries, was unable in Persia to trace its derivation.

Yours faithfully,

ALEXANDER FINN.

The Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

2. *Notes on Persian Literature from Tehran.*

10th February, 1887.

Since writing my note on Rezá Qulí Khán and his works, further details concerning some of that author's literary productions have reached me as follows: The *Latáif ul-'Arifín* is a Súfí tract in prose mixed with verse. The *Kláiz ul-'Arifín* is divided into a *Muqadimmeh*, called a "Hadíqeh," two "Rózehs" and a "Ferdós"; concluding with a *Khátiméh*, called a "Khuld." The *Khuld* contains a biography of the author. I hope to be able shortly to announce the publication here, in lithograph, of this biography of the Súfís.

The *Fehras ut-Tavárikh*, a chronology of general Asiatic History, appears to have been lost, save that portion which was lithographed at Tabríz in A.H. 1280, but which has never been distributed. It may here be noted that the "Muntazem Násirí" of Muhammed Hasan Khán, Saní' ud-Dowleh, Marághí, which is a Chronology of Historical Events in Asia from A.H. 1 to 1300, and which was issued in lithograph in three folios in A.H. 1298, 1299, and 1300 as a Year Book, is a very similar production. Volumes I. and II. of the "Muntazem Násirí" are taken up with general events; to each of these volumes a supplement is added, recording the events of the current year. Volume III. is devoted entirely to the Chronology of the Qájár dynasty. Volume II. contains a translation of a contemporary memoir on the Fall of the Sefávis, originally written in Latin, in the reign of Sháh Sultán Husain Sefáví, by a European who had spent twenty-six years at Isfahán. This memoir was translated into Ottoman Turkish by Ibráhím, and entitled "'Ibrát Náme'h." The Persian version is by 'Abd ur-Razzáq Beg, author of the Persian original of Harford-Brydges' "Dynasty of the Kájárs." The same volume also contains an extract from Mírzá 'Abd un-Nebí Behbehání's "Tárikh Afghání," also a contemporary record of the Afghán invasion of Persia.

The works of 'Ubaid Lakání, edited by M. Ferté of the French Embassy at Constantinople, and printed in the clear and elegant type of the Abú az-Zíá press at Constantinople—for private circulation only—have just appeared in one volume, dated 1303 A.H.

The *Tarjumán ul-Lughat* of Muhammad Yahya Qazvíní is in the course of being re-lithographed here. This ponderous work, which is a Persian version of the *Qámus ul-Lughat* of Majd ud-Dín Abú Táhir Muhammed B. Ya'qúb ul-Fírúzábádí ush-Shírází, was completed by order of Sháh Sultán Husain Sefáví, in A.H. 1117. The text being now re-lithographed is that prepared and published by 'Alí Asghar B. 'Abd ul-Jabbár Isfahání in A.H. 1273.

The "Tabsiret ul-'Avám" of Murtezá Rázi ul-Husainí, which is an exposition of the principal creeds of the East, has just been lithographed at Tehrán, dated A.H. 1304, for the first time. Bound up with the Tabsireh is a re-litho of Muhammad B. Sulaiman Tenekábuní's "Qisas ul-'Ulamá," a biography of the 'Ulamá, which was originally lithographed in A.H. 1290.

MacGahan's "Khiva" has been translated into Persian from the Ottoman Turkish version.

SIDNEY J. A. CHURCHILL.

The Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.


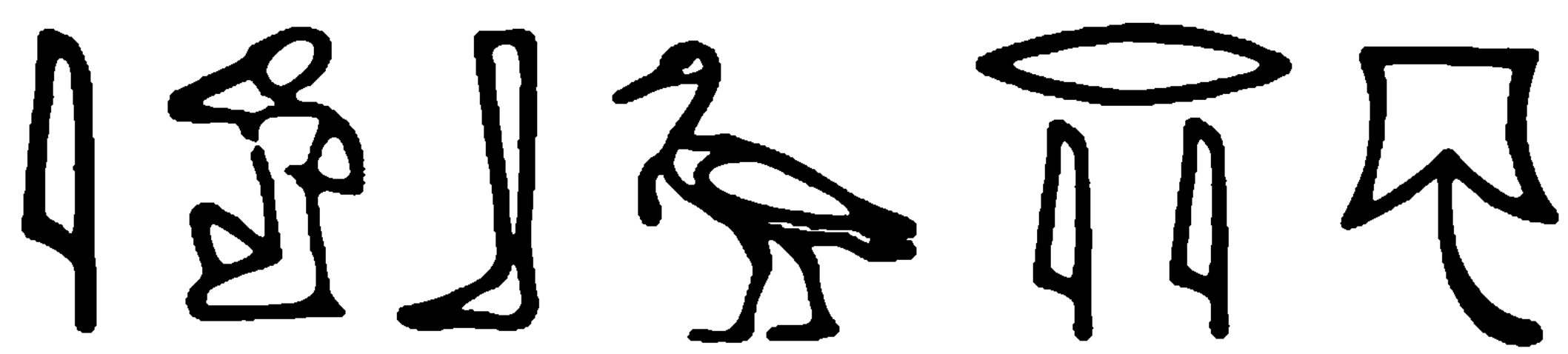
3. *Assyrian Names of Domestic Animals.*

Just before going to press we are favoured with the following note:

Among the names of animals found in the Assyrian and Babylonian lists it is, perhaps, noteworthy that many of those designating beasts of burden seem to be changes (as it were) rung on the roots *m-r*, *b-r*, *p-r*, *b-l*, and *p-l*; trilateralized, however, by the addition or insertion of a weak radical or vowel.

The following is a list giving most of those hitherto found:

AKKADIAN.	ASSYRIAN.	
	<i>mu-u-ru</i> (<i>múru</i>), young ass.	
	<i>mi-i-ru^m</i> (<i>míru</i>), young ox.	
	<i>bi-i-ru^m</i> (<i>bíru</i>), ox.	
	<i>pi-i-ru^m</i> (<i>píru</i>)	} elephant.
	<i>pi-i-lu</i> (<i>pllu</i>)	
	<i>bu-lu^m</i> (<i>búlu</i>), animal.	
	<i>i-me-ru</i> (<i>ímēru</i>), ass (𐎠𐎢𐎽).	
	<i>im-me-ru</i> (<i>immeru</i>), sheep.	
	<i>i-bi-[ru^m]</i> (<i>ibiru</i>), a road-bull (𐎠𐎢𐎽).	
	<i>i-bi-lu</i> (<i>ibilu</i>), an old ass(?).	

To these may be added the words *parru* and *parrat*, apparently 'bull' and 'cow' respectively. It is probable, also, that the Assyrian for 'son' *áplu* (Akk. *ibila*), and 'male child' *máru* (fem. *mártu*, Akk. *dum*), come from some of the above roots.¹ The word *ibiru* (in Akkadian *am-si garran* 'the horned bull of the road') is even found in Egyptian under the forms  *abar*,  *abari* 'an animal imported from Syria' (Chab. voy. p. 87, Brugsch, Pierret, Lauth, who all compare the Hebrew אַבִּיר, Ps. xxii. 13, אַבִּירֵי בָשָׁן, 'bulls of Bashan'). The word was probably imported into Egypt with the animal.

THEO. G. PINCHES.

IV. OBITUARY NOTICES.

Although the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society is neither privileged nor required to place on record in its Obituary Notices the services of statesmen and others who pass away from the living circle of distinguished public characters, on the mere plea that they happen to have been enrolled among its subscribers, it is nevertheless within its competence to give expression to its profound regret for the loss, and respect for the memory, of one who, like the late *Earl of Iddesleigh*, was not only a Member of eighteen years, but ever a keen promoter of education and literary research, and at one time Secretary of State for India. To add that the sentiment of the Society is universal, is not, in the present case, the utterance of a conventional platitude, but the assertion of a sober truth.

By the death of *Sir Walter Elliot* on the 1st of March, and of *Mr. Alexander Wylie* on the 6th of February, European Orientalists have lost two remarkable members of their body, each eminent in his particular sphere. As regards the first, although a brief notice of his career was in type, it has been thought advisable to await a fuller Memoir promised for the July number of the Journal. A similar course will be pursued in the case of the second, who, though not a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, seems to merit a careful and substantial record.

According to the *Athenæum* of the 11th of December, the Indian papers report the death of *Babu Prasanna Kumar Sarvadhikari*, for

¹ The ancient Babylonians seem to have derived *áplu* or *áblu* from the root *ápālu* 'to bring again,' *pu'ul úppulu* 'to produce.' The Akkadian *ibila* is therefore a borrowed word.



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of Chinese literature. But although the Chinese poet may have been justified in singing of himself, "sous les trois derniers empereurs (K'anghsi, Yangchêng and K'ienlung), qui peut m'être comparé en littérature?" his poetry, judging by M. Imbault-Huart's examples, hardly rises above the level of neatly-turned *vers de société*. In the same part is a dissertation by Mr. T. W. Kingsmill upon the *Sérica* of Ptolemy, containing much valuable and curious information, somewhat spoilt, perhaps, by a too random philology that takes no account of the achievements the last decade or two have witnessed in philological science.

Parts 1 and 2 of vol. xiv. *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, exhibit signs of life and vigour. The first contains Mr. Troup's article "On the tenets of the Shinshiu or 'True' Sect of Buddhists;" Mr. Cargill Knott's paper "On the Abacus in its Historic and Scientific Aspects;" "Buddhism, and Traditions concerning its Introduction into Japan," by the Rev. James Summers; and Mr. Basil Hall Chamberlain's "Past Participle or Gerund? a point of grammatical terminology." In the second are "A list of works, essays, etc., relating to Japan," compiled by Carlo Giussani—a useful contribution, worthy the inspection of Japanese scholars, students, and bibliophiles in all parts of the world, who might supply possible omissions; "The Art of Landscape Gardening in Japan," by Mr. J. Conder, with which may be coupled Mr. Dautremér's "Situation de la Vigne" in the same country; and an Aino-English Vocabulary, compiled by the Rev. J. Summers.

The following *fasciculi* of the *Bibliotheca Indica* (New Series, Nos. 575 to 585) have reached the Royal Asiatic Society during the quarter.

Sanskrit.—1. The Lalita-Vistara, or memoirs of the early life of Sákyá Siñha, translated from the original by Rájendralála Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E. Fasc. iii.

2. Chaturvarga-Chintámani, by Hemádri, ed. Pañḍita Yogésvara Smṛitiratna and Pañḍita Kámákhyánátha Tarkaratna. Vol. iii. part i. Paríseshakhandá Fasc. xiv.

3. The Nírukta, ed. Pañḍit Satyavrata Samaśrami. Vol. iii. Fasc. v. vi.

4. The Ásvavaidyaka, a treatise on the diseases of the Horse, compiled by Jayadatta Súri; ed. Kaviráj Umeśa Chandra Gupta Kaviratna. Fasc. ii.

5. Manutíkâsangraha, ed. Julius Jolly, Ph.D. Fasc. ii.

6. The S'rauta Sútra of S'ánkháyana, ed. Dr. Hillebrandt. Vol. i. fasc. iii.

Prakrit.—The Uvâsagadasão, ed. Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle. Fasc. ii.

Hindi.—The Prithirája Rásau of Chand Bardai, ed. in original old Hindi, Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle. Part. ii. fasc. v.

Persian.—Zafarnámah, by Mauláná Sharfuddín 'Alí Yazdí, ed. Maulavi Muhammad Ilahdád. Vol. i. fasc. v. vi.

A later instalment consists of the following (New Series, Nos. 586 to 595):—

Sanskrit.—1. The *Vṛihannārādīya Purāna*, ed. Paṇḍit Hṛishīkeśa Śāstri. Fasc. ii.

2. The *Aśvavaidyaka* of Jayadatta Śūri, above edition. Fasc. iii.

3. The *Vivādaratnākara*, ed. Paṇḍit Dīnanātha Vidyālakāra. Fasc. iii. iv.

4. The *Kūrma Purāna*, ed. Nīlmaṇi Mukhopādhyāya Nyāyālakāra. Fasc. ii.

5. *Tattva Chintāmaṇi*, ed. Paṇḍita Kamākhyānātha Tarkaratna. Fasc. v.

6. *Sthavirāvalīcharita* or *Parīśiṣṭaparvan*, being an Appendix of the *Trishasṭhisālākapurushacharita*, by Hemachandra, ed. H. Jacobi. Fasc. iv.

7. The *Nirukta* with Commentaries, above edition. Vol. iv. fasc. v.

8. *Chaturvarga - Chintāmaṇi*, by Hemadri, above edition and part. Fasc. xv.

9. *Nārada Smṛiti*, ed. Julius Jolly, fasc. iii. (complete).

And four numbers of the Old Series (252 to 255), being a Biographical Dictionary of Persons who knew Muhammad, by Ibn Hajar, ed. (in Arabic) Maulawi Abdu'l-Haī. Fasc. xxviii. to xxxi. vol. iii. Nos. 8, 9, 10, and vol. ii. No. 9.

No better proof of the intellectual vitality of the Asiatic Society of Bengal could well be given than these recently printed Sanskrit octavos, covering 900 pages, exclusive of any English Preface or Introductory remarks; and to these may be added 584 like pages of Arabic.

Archæology.—Among the papers contained in the second Fasciculus of M. Clermont-Ganneau's *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, is the article headed "Mané, Thécél, Pharès et le Festin de Balthasar," noted last quarter in the contents of the *Journal Asiatique*, tome viii. No. 1. Another contribution to the *Recueil*, on the unpublished Inscriptions of Palmyra, independently of its intrinsic value and interest, is rendered especially attractive by excellent illustrations. The whole publication adds honour even to the well-known reputation of M. Leroux.

Tome iv. of *L'Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, by Mons. Perrot and Chipiez, containing the three divisions *Sardaigne*, *La Judée*, and *Les Hétéens*, is a splendid volume, full of interest and attraction. *Judæa* has many references to the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and the names of Wilson and Warren are of constant recurrence in its pages. There is apparent in them a lament that so little of Jerusalem prior to the Captivity—the Jerusalem of the Kings and greater Prophets—has been restored; but no want of acknowledgment for the perseverance and energy of those who undertook and carried out the long and continuous exploration. "Sans l'intérêt que le public anglais porte à tout ce qui, de près ou de loin, se rattache aux études bibliques, jamais on n'aurait eu l'idée d'entreprendre

des fouilles aussi dispendieuses, aussi laborieuses, aussi dangereuses que celles de Mons. Warren et Wilson," is a sentence which may be quoted as characteristic of French opinion; and the estimate is one at which Englishmen should have no reason to demur. Professors Wright and Sayce are largely quoted in the division appropriated to "Les Hétéens," subdivided again into four chapters as follows:—1. Hittites: their history and writing. 2. Northern Syria: Eastern Hittites. 3. Asia Minor: Western Hittites. 4. Monuments of Hittite Art in Asia, on this side the Halys.

The second part of Mr. Growse's "Indian Architecture of to-day, as exemplified in the new buildings in the Bulandshahr district," is not only of interest from a number of well-executed photographs, with descriptive letterpress; but its Preface and Epilogue invite the sympathy of æsthetic and art-loving readers—especially those whose opinions are not hampered by forced allegiance to Departments of State. Mr. Growse has done admirable service to the cause he so earnestly advocates; and the architectural results of his labours at Bulandshahr are alone monuments of a taste and industry on the exercise of which both he and the district may be warmly felicitated. Among the photographs, the "Garden Gate" and the "Colvin Gate" should arrest the attention of the most phlegmatic observer.

The Quarterly Statement of the *Palestine Exploration Fund*, published in January, contains the full report of the Anniversary Meeting held on the 22nd June, at which the Archbishop of York, President of the Society, took the Chair. After his Grace's impressive address, Mr. Glaisher, Sir George Grove, Sir Charles Wilson, Captain Conder, and Canon Tristram spoke well and to the purpose; Mr. John MacGregor followed with the relation of an appropriate incident of exploration; and Professor Hayter Lewis, strong not only in general acquaintance with his theme, but in the fact of having paid a second and recent visit to Jerusalem, closed the discussion with some interesting observations. Among these may be here noted "a tribute of respect to the memory of Mr. Fergusson," who is called "one of our most zealous of Biblical scholars," who "devoted an immense amount of energy and literary research to the subject," and regarding whom all would bear witness "to the great learning, the great skill, and the great earnestness with which he pursued his work." Besides the Report, there are many valuable contributions to the Journal by MM. Schumacher and Clermont-Ganneau, Sir Charles Warren, M. Conrad Schick, and others, some accompanied by well-executed illustrations.

In connection with the work of the Fund aforesaid, mention may be made of a paper read in January before the Jews' College Literary Society, by Marcus N. Adler, Esq., under the presidency of Sir Charles Warren, who referred to the lecture as throwing much light "on the ancient customs and traditions of Jerusalem."

The *Indian Antiquary* for December contains "A Selection of



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“Some Books of Hebrew Philology,” being works by Dr. Delitzsch, M. Jastrow, and Dr. Wünsche, afford the reviewer an opportunity of recording in the *Academy* of the 5th February certain learned and appropriate remarks, worthy the attention of the Hebrew student, who will not improbably be led to consult the original books brought to notice.

Dr. Neubauer's labours in compiling the Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library form the subject of an appreciative review in the *Athenæum* of the 18th December. To the same article belongs a notice of forty Facsimiles that accompany the Catalogue, which include “the well-known autograph of the great Maimonides, and, for completeness, the curious script recently discovered by Dr. Harkavy.” In the next succeeding issue of the *Athenæum* is the statement that Dr. Steinschneider has completed his Bibliographical Supplement to Benjacob's “Treasure of Hebrew Books” (Wilna, 1880), which is arranged alphabetically according to titles.

Arabic.—The *Academy* of 4th December has a favourable notice of Mukkadasi's Description of Syria, as translated by Mr. Guy Le Strange. It is one of the publications of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, and a fair specimen of the good work they have set themselves to perform. In the following week, Miss Edwards reviews Lady Burton's edition of her husband's Arabian Nights, coming to the conclusion that a large debt of gratitude is due by the public “for the happy thought which places an inaccessible work at the disposal of all sorts and conditions of readers.”

Sir Richard Burton writes to the *Academy* of the 22nd January, to impart the discovery of the original text of the “Zayn al-Asnam and Aladdin,” both of which so-called “Gallandian tales” are contained in two folios written in a modern Syrian hand, recently purchased by M. Hermann Zotenberg, of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

The *Athenæum* of 25th December says that among the MSS. brought by Dr. Harkavy from the East is a large fragment of an Aramaic text of Karaitic casuistic rules (Halakhah) which may possibly turn out to be a fragment of the ‘Fadlakhah’ of Anan (the founder of the Karaitic sect).

Fasciculus ii. of Part i. of Howell's Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language merits more than the hurried notice which could be given in the current number of the Journal. Analysis of this important work must therefore be deferred for the present. Meanwhile, it may be stated that it meets with approval in the *Calcutta Review* for January, and is pronounced in that periodical to be in some respects superior to the Grammars of Forbes and Palmer.

The *Athenæum* of 1st January reports that Dr. Simeone Levi has commenced the publication of the ‘Hieroglyphic-Coptic-Hebrew Vocabulary,’ for which the Accademia dei Lincei at Rome awarded him the great quadrennial prize founded by the King of Italy. The Italian Ministry of Public Instruction contributes £80 to this important publication.

Assyriology. — The first instalment of Tiele's *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, forming part of a series of "Hand Books of Ancient History," under publication at Gotha, has recently been issued, and is reviewed in the *Academy* of the 1st January, a number which contains also mention of M. Berthelot's paper read before the Académie des Inscriptions, on "Certain Metals and Minerals used in Ancient Assyria and Chaldæa." One vase of pure antimony, and a statuette of copper devoid of tin, are cited as remarkable specimens of unalloyed metal brought home by M. Sarzec.

M. Bertin, in a letter to the *Academy* dated 8th January, answers a question put by Dr. Edkins, as to whether the Babylonians had a zodiac of twenty-eight signs. He says that they never made use of a zodiac of twelve signs, but had thirty divisions of the ecliptic, and that he had found in the British Museum a tablet giving their names. The correspondence is continued by Mr. G. Brown in a letter from Barton-on-Humber, dated January 24, published in the *Academy* of the 29th idem.

According to a notice in the *Athenæum* of the 8th January, M. Strassmaier's book (Leipzig, Hinrichs), with the bilingual title *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss der Assyrischen und Akkadischen Wörter der Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. ii, contains about 10,600 words "gathered together during the course of several years' study of the published and unpublished cuneiform texts preserved in the British Museum, Liverpool Museum, and elsewhere; and the other volumes of the 'Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia' have been laid under contribution."

The next part of this Journal will contain an article by Mr. T. G. Pinches, upon the document known as "the Babylonian Chronicle." This ancient record (of which a paraphrase has been published in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology) has a peculiar interest, and will be found to be of great value to Bible students. It treats principally of affairs in Babylonia, beginning with the reign of Nabonassar; but refers also incidentally to Assyria and Elam, a part of the chronology of which last-named country it enables us to restore. The chronicle forms part of an ancient record, extending from the earliest to the latest period of Babylonian history, and was probably meagre at first, but given in greater detail as time went on, and the records were more carefully kept. Of the complete series, if such could be obtained, it is difficult to over-estimate the value.

Smith (S. A.), *Die Keilschrift Texte Assurbanipal*, part 1, is announced among new publications.

Two more numbers of the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* have given a kind of stability to this new record of the "Antiquities of the East"; more especially as the last issue shows an increase of nine declared collaborateurs, making thirty-six in all. In No. 4, for October, Professor De Harlez continues his "Iranian Studies;" Mr. Pinches has three "Babylonian Notes," treating of two

kings—Gaddâs and Tarzla—and the Deities Ilan and Har; Mr. Tyler discourses on the “Babylonian idea of a disembodied Soul,” and Professor de Lacouperie asks, “Did Cyrus introduce Writing into India?”—seeing in the word “Kharôsti,” used in the *Lalita-vistara*, a probable recipient of the name of the Persian monarch. No. 5 contains “A Babylonian Land Grant,” interpreted by Mr. Boscawen; a suggested illustration by a Babylonian seal of a verse in the New Testament, by the Rev. W. A. Harrison; a continuation of the Pahlavi study by Prof. De Harlez; “A Fragment of a Babylonian Titho-List,” by Mr. Pinches; and a “Note on Babylonian Astronomy,” by Mr. W. T. Lynn. In the concluding notices, promise is held out of interesting discussions.

The Zeitschrift für Assyriologie for November contains, irrespective of the Sprachsaal, Reviews, and Lists of recent publications, the following articles:—1. Ueber einen Nebukadnezar-cylinder des Berliner Musuems, von Hugo Winckler. 2. Grammatische Bemerkungen zu den Annalen Asurnasirpal's, von Ernst Müller. 3. The Hittite Boss of Tarkondemos, by A. H. Sayce. 4. Bemerkungen zu einigen Sumerischen und Assyrischen Verwandtschaftswörtern, von P. Jensen. 5. Mene tekkel upharsin, von Th. Nöldeke, with reference to M. Clermont-Ganneau's interpretation in the *Journal Asiatique*. 6. Kleinere Assyriologische Notizen, von Friedrich Delitzsch. 7. Two unedited Texts, K. 6 and K. 7, by S. A. Smith. In the “Sprachsaal,” M. Oppert has something to say on the “Mul Kaksidi,” or *verata questio* of the Star, to which allusion has already been made.

Aramaic.—Dedicated to his much-respected teacher, Nöldeke, the “Aramaischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen” of Siegmund Fraenkel, mentioned among the new issues of last quarter, exhibits the learned treatment of a subject which tells of a labour of love, as of scholarship.

Ethiopic.—Among late announcements is: Praetorius, F., *Grammatica Æthiopia cum paradigmatis, litteratura, Chrestomathia et Glossaria*. Karlsruhe, Reuther.

Hittite.—Capt. Conder, so well known in connection with the Palestine Exploration Fund, whose recent book on Syrian Stone Lore (reviewed in the *Athenæum* of 26 February) merits special recognition, has lately come forward as the exponent of Hittite inscriptions. The result of his later inquiries will be looked for with interest by those who read his report on the subject to the *Times*.

Aryan Languages.—*Sanskrit*.—In introducing Dr. Speijer's *Sanskrit Syntax* (Brill, Leyden) to English students, Dr. Kern pronounces it to be the “first complete syntax of classical Sanskrit,” expressing, at the same time, his hope that it may be “the forerunner of a similar work, as copious and conscientious, on Vaidik Syntax.”

The Revue Critique of December 6 notices Dr. W. Solf's *Die Kasmir-Recension der Pancâçikâ*, with acknowledgment of its



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Sanjana, mentioned in the R.A.S. Journal for October under the head of Pahlavi. The original text in that language is transliterated in Zend characters, and translated into Gujaráti and English.

Turkish.—The first part of the second volume of M. Barbier de Meynard's "Dictionnaire Turc-Français" has appeared, and brings up the purely lexicographic process to the verb *صانق*. Three more parts will complete the work, the condition of which is to supplement heretofore published dictionaries by giving: 1. words of Turkish origin; 2. Arabic and Persian words used in Osmanli; 3. proverbs and popular forms of expression; and 4. a geographical vocabulary applicable to the latest distribution of territory throughout the Ottoman Empire.

The *Turkish Race.*—In his retrospect of the year for Hungary, contributed to the *Athenæum*, under "Continental Literature in 1886," Professor Vambéry says with reference to his work bearing the above designation ('A Török Faj'): "I have tried to comprise in that book partly my own personal experiences gathered during my travels among the Turkish-speaking races of the world, partly the notes I collected from reading Turkish, Persian, Arabic and Russian descriptions of the people, extending from the banks of the Lena to the shores of the Adriatic."

It may interest readers of the Journal who took note of the literary controversy referred to in page 467 (July, 1886), to learn the nature of M. Vambéry's reply to M. Hunfalvy on the Turko-Tatár and Finn-Ugric question. The substance of his statement made before the Academy of Sciences at Budapest on the 22nd November last was as follows:—His opponent looked upon language alone as the principal, if not sole guide, in investigating the origin of a nation; though it is evident that language was of a changeable and transient character. Numerous instances might be adduced of a purely Iranian people speaking an Ural-Altai language or *vice versa*. It was doubtful whether M. Hunfalvy could succeed in proving to the satisfaction of all that the Magyar language belonged to the Finn-Ugric type, and, if he could, it did not follow that the Magyar nation must be of Finn-Ugric origin. His own inquiries confirmed him in the opinion that the Magyars were "an offshoot from the Turkish stem." The very name "Magyar" was an ethnical rather than political expression, characterizing a warlike, conquering, Turkish host, making its way from the southern slopes of the Altaic mountains towards the river Volga. The word 'Magyar,' in the Turkish language *majar* (مجاړ), meant 'lord,' 'sovereign,' 'commander,' and in reality this was the "appellation by which the Turkoman and the Khirgiz of to-day called their foreign masters. These children of the wilderness addressed their Russian conquerors as: 'majar-im, cajar-im,' meaning 'my lord!'"

China.—The *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, at their sitting of the 19th November last, conferred the Stanislas Julien Prize for the best work relating to China, on Father Séraphin

Couvreur, for his Franco-Chinese Dictionary (Ho-kien-fou, 1884). Professor Terrien de Lacouperie furnishes an interesting paper to the *Academy* of February 19th, on "A new writing from Western China." In it he gives an account of the Shui-kia or "Water People," from whom the MS. in question is said to have been obtained.

Cochin-China.—The May-June number of *Excursions et Reconnaissances* opens with a continuation of M. Aymonier's Notes on Annam, the scope of which the writer explains to have been considerably narrowed by the events of July, 1885. So far, however, as the inquiry has been pursued, he has succeeded in putting together much valuable information both on the country and people visited. M. Aymonier has added a further paper on the method of transcription adopted for Europeanising the native written character. The other articles in this number are the short account of a trip by steamer in the Mékong, by M. Reveillère, and a "Dictionnaire-Stieng"—being a collection of 2500 words of the Stieng language—together with a description of the Stiengs of Brolam, by Father Azémar, Missionnaire Apostolique. Both of these contributions are to be continued, and promise information of a novel and useful kind.

Burma.—Although Mr. Smeaton's book on the *Loyal Karens of Burma* meets with carefully directed criticism in the *Academy* of Jan. 29th, those who are not acquainted with local Burmese history may find in the small volume referred to much interesting matter about an interesting people.

Trübner's American, European and Oriental Literary Record, No. 231, states, with reference to the collection of manuscripts lately in the possession of King Theebaw, and now in the India Office: "It is due to the energy and influence of Dr. Rost that this invaluable treasure was secured for the Library entrusted to his care, and he has thereby at once succeeded in making the India Office Collection of Pali and Burmese MSS. by far the most important one in existence. He can boast of having added to an already extensive and valuable collection over 500 beautiful and costly MSS., of which about 200 are Burmese and the remainder Pali. While many of the Burmese MSS. are translations of, or commentaries on, Pali books, others are peculiarly interesting, particularly because they treat almost exclusively of the modern history of Burma and Siam."

Japan.—M. Guimet, whose interest in the life and art of Japan is well known, has printed a lecture he gave some time since at the Cercle St. Simon on the *Theatre in Japan*, which is well worthy of perusal, and gives a clear and picturesque account of the strange phase of Japanese manners presented by the stage and audience of a *shibaya*. He does not, however, explain the etymology of the word used for a theatrical representation, an etymology full of interest and significance. *Shiba-i* means simply 'amid the grass,' and carries us back to the time when spectacular exhibitions were

held *al fresco* on a cleared spot of ground, while the audience squatted around 'amid the grass' or bushes. So, only a few centuries ago, the Cornishmen assembled in their 'rounds' to witness the miracle plays which Norris's labours have preserved. M. Guimet's account ends with a brief statement of the plots of three popular tragedies, of which one, that of the Chiushingura or Loyal League, founded on the story of the 47 Rōnins, so well told by Mr. Mitford, has been translated into English. It may be doubted whether M. Guimet's estimate of the Japanese theatre is not a somewhat extravagant one; but it is certain that many Japanese comic actors show great artistic power, and excite among their own countrymen a quite boundless enthusiasm. M. Guimet's *brochure*, it should be added, is embellished by characteristic illustrations, drawn by that inimitable delineator of Japanese life, Félix Regamey—the duett of dancing girls on p. 30, in especial, represents the peculiar charm of the 'musumé' with singular fidelity and grace.

The *Academy* of December 11th has a long and appreciative notice, by Mr. Cosmo Monkhouse, of Mr. Anderson's *Pictorial Arts of Japan*, and *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*. Parts iii. and iv. of the former form also the subject of an elaborate review in the *Athenæum* of the 26th February.

In the *Academy* of February 26th, it is stated that Bunyiu Nanjio, now Professor of Sanskrit at Tokio, had been sent by his Monastery on a scientific and religious mission to India. Having come to Oxford some years ago to study Sanskrit under Prof. Max Müller, he received, on leaving India, the honorary degree of M.A. He is the author of works on Buddhism, and translator into Japanese of Max Müller's Sanskrit Grammar.

The first part of the *Memoirs of the Literature College of the Imperial University of Japan*, which has just appeared, consists of an essay on Japanese and Aino Philology, by Mr. B. H. Chamberlain, that will sustain the high reputation of the recently-appointed Professor of Philology, and a Grammar of the Aino—or more correctly Ainu—language, by the Rev. J. Batchelor, who has laboured during many years among the almost unknown dwellers in the northernmost parts of the Japanese group, that entirely supersedes all previous work on the subject. Mr. Chamberlain's essay contains a most interesting investigation of place-names in Japan, many of which, from Aomori to Kagoshima, he finds to be of Aino origin, showing that the aboriginal population of the entire Japanese archipelago was, in great part at least, of Aino race. Of these important contributions to philological science no adequate notion can be given here, but Mr. Dickins proposes to prepare a summary of Messrs. Chamberlain and Batchelor's work, adding some comments of his own, that will supply the deficiencies of the present notice.

Egyptology.—The fourth annual general meeting of the Egypt



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ancient cities in Egypt. This No. has also a short notice of Prof. Pott's *Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft und Carl Abel's Aegyptische Sprachstudien*. Under the head "Egyptian Jottings," Miss Edwards announces a course of Stone Lectures on Egyptology to be delivered in America by Dr. Kellogg, and a course by Prof. Taylor on Egyptological subjects at the Peabody Institute, Baltimore; and notices a small pamphlet, by Major G. T. Plunkett, R.E., entitled "Walks in Cairo." She also refers to Maspéro's derivation of the name of Asia from *Asi*, the ancient Egyptian name for the island of Cyprus. In the *Academy* of Feb. 12th is a review of Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge's "Sarcophagus of Ankhnesrāneferab," by Miss Edwards, who contributes in the No. for Feb. 19th a report from M. Naville, showing the results of his first week's tour in the district of Goshen. In the same paper is a letter from Cairo giving some account of the fallen statue of Ramses II. at Memphis, and stating that the work of raising the Colossus was begun by a party of the Royal Engineers on Feb. 4th.

The *Athenæum* for Feb. 5th quotes from the *Weser Zeitung* that Prof. A. Ascherson, the botanist of the University of Berlin, is engaged with his friend Prof. Schweinfurth upon a Catalogue of the Egyptian Flora, which is to be published this year by the *Aegyptisches Institut*. The number of hitherto known species of Egyptian plants is said to be 1260. Prof. Ascherson, the *Athenæum* tells us, was to start in February upon a journey in Lower Egypt. His intention is to explore the less-known parts of the Nile Delta, and then to follow the march of the Children of Israel through the wilderness, according to the theory of Schleiden and Brugsch. The journey is to be at the cost of the Egyptian Government, and will probably last about three months.

The *Oesterreichische Monatschrift für den Orient* for February has a paper by A. v. Schweiger-Lerchenfeld, entitled "Cultur Einflüsse und Handel in ältester Zeit," which is to be continued later.

In the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, No. 3, Jan. 15th, is a notice of Meyer's "Geschichte des alten Aegyptens."

The *Revue Egyptologique*, quatrième volume, Nos. iii.-iv., contains, amongst other articles—Memoire sur quelques inscriptions trouvées dans la sepulture des Apis, par le Vicomte Emmanuel de Rougé.—Religion et mythologie des anciens Egyptiens d'après les monuments (Paul Pierret).—Une inscription Grecque de Ptolémaïs (Menshieh) (M. Miller).—Le poème de Pentaour (J. de Rougé).—Une page de l'histoire de la Nubie (E. Revillout).—Lettre à M. Revillout sur les contrats Grecs du Louvre provenant de Faioum (Charles Wessely).—Tessères bilingues publiés par MM. Revillout et Wilcken.—This number gives some interesting reproductions of demotic texts in illustration of some of the above articles.

*India and countries adjacent.*¹—*Urdu*.—The *Friend of India* states that the Rev. J. D. Bate, M.R.A.S., of the Baptist Mission at Allahabad, is engaged in the preparation of a "Roman-Hindustani

¹ Communicated by Hon. Secretary to *Independent States* inclusive.

Dictionary," as also of the reverse—an "English-Hindustani Dictionary"—works which "will not be mere compilations from the existing dictionaries." The first "will contain no less than 15,000 words which have never before appeared in any dictionary of the Hindustani language, and which the author has himself collected from the literature and lips of the people, in constant intercourse with them for many years. Special attention is to be given to the technical uses of words appertaining to the professions (such as law, medicine, religion, navigation, agriculture, etc.) and the sciences (such as astronomy, grammar, geography, etc.). The innumerable crotchety idioms of poetry, prose, and the living dialects, as also the important question of the government of verbs and particles, will be carefully noted, and every word will be traced back to its original root. The words will be arranged in the order of the English alphabet, the letters of the Arabic and Nagari alphabets being given in their respective orders at the beginning of the work. Every word will be printed in the native characters also, in each entry, the Persian words in the Arabic character, and the Hindi words in the Nagari. In whatever character a book may be written, the student will find the word in that character in the dictionary, but in the order of the English alphabet. It will be a Dictionary of Urdu and Hindi combined, the need for separate dictionaries of these two languages being, by the plan of the work, removed at a stroke. There is no idea of depriving either Hindus or Mahomedans of the characters of their respective tongues, but of adapting the dictionary to the long-felt need of those students of Oriental literature who are more familiar with the order of the English alphabet than with that of the Indian alphabets, and of dispensing with the necessity of purchasing two or more expensive dictionaries instead of one. The work will thus be specially adapted to the requirements of European students, and of Indians who read English. It will be a dictionary of both classical and colloquial speech, and will meet the requirements of the scholar as well as of the beginner." The *Friend* expresses its belief, in conclusion, that such a work will "be highly prized and warmly welcomed by native students and by all men newly coming to India,—missionaries, merchants, magistrates, and men of business generally."

Province of Bengal.—The Rev. E. Droese, a missionary, has published a translation of the Book of Common Prayer into the language of the Hill Tribes of Bhagalpúr, known as the Pahári or Maler. He has also translated a Gospel and some educational books, and published them. The language belongs to the Dravidian Family, though spoken by a tribe not far from the Ganges.

Province of Assam.—The Rev. S. Endle, a missionary, has published at Shillong an excellent Grammar of the Kachári Bara language as spoken in the district Darrang, Assam, with a Vocabulary and Texts, and an important Preface. This language belongs to the Tibeto-Burman Group.

Mr. J. F. Needham, Assistant Political Officer, Sadiya, has published an excellent Grammar of the Shaiyang Miri Language, as spoken by the clan of the tribe of Miri who dwell near Sadiya, with Vocabulary and Texts. This book is of the highest value. This language is also of the Tibeto-Burman Group.

Mr. C. A. Soppitt has published a Grammar, Vocabulary, and Texts of the Kachchár Naga tribes. This language is also of the Tibeto-Burman Group.

Professor Avery has published in the Journal of the American Oriental Society papers on the Garo and Ao Naga Language, both of the Tibeto-Burman Group.

We hear of Grammars published of the Singhpo or Kakhyen Language by Major MacGregor, of Abor by Mr. Needham, of the Angámi Naga by Mr. McCabe, and of Grammars proposed to be published by Mr. Soppitt of Kuki, by Mr. Stack of Bhutu-Changho, and a projected Vocabulary by Mr. Stack of Tipura. All these languages belong to the Tibeto-Burman Group, and these linguistic works are a positive addition to our existing knowledge. We only regret that the Government of Assam, or the Bengal Asiatic Society, do not supply the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society with copies, and send over additional copies to be supplied to the Libraries of Europe. We commend to the authors the famous line:

“Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter.”

Independent States.—Professor Avery has published in the pages of the American Oriental Society a paper on the Language of Lepcha, the vernacular of the Independent State of Sikkim in the Himalaya. This also belongs to the Tibeto-Burman Group.

Calcutta Review.—Among thirteen papers contributed to the January number, three by natives of India may be selected for special mention. “The Growth of Radicalism in India and its danger,” does credit to the writer Rajah Oday Pertap Singh, a Talukdar of Oudh, in that it is a lucid expression of opinion, and the argument of one who, however conservative, is ready to examine the character of innovations. It is a kind of apology for those of his class who do not send their children and relatives, so generally as might have been expected, to the Canning College. “Buddha as a Philosopher,” by Ram Chandra Bose, is also a remarkable paper, illustrative of the tendency of the native mind to reason on the higher question of religion in the latitudinarian spirit of Western criticism. The third article is more practical and less speculative than the other two, and deals largely with statistics. The three together are marvellous indications of the advance of education in India during the last thirty years. It is doubtful whether before the Mutinies a native could have written any one of them. Now, it may reasonably be inferred, that one or all might be written by intelligent natives in either Presidency. The remaining articles are “A Garo’s Revenge,” and “Our Station,” by Esmé; “The Massacre of Patna” (continued from a previous number), by Mr.



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and European agency to the Government of the first great province that came under British rule."

Parts i. to xi. of the *Journal of Indian Art*, published by Mr. Quaritch, under the authority of the Government of India, are noticed among illustrated publications in the *Athenæum* of Dec. 4th.

École Spéciale des Langues Orientales Vivantes.—The success attending a volume of *Mélanges Orientaux*, published by the Professors of this Institution for presentation to the Members of the Leyden Congress in 1883, has induced the same Professors to offer to the Vienna Congress, held during the past year, a similar volume, under the title of *Nouveaux mélanges Orientaux*. Its contents may be briefly recorded:—1. The Persian text, and M. Schefer's translation, of Muhammad Ibn 'Ali Ravendi's sketch of the reign of Muizzu'd-din Abu'l Harith, Sultan Sanjár. 2. M. Barbier de Meynard's "Considérations sur l'Histoire Ottomane," with extracts from the original Turkish "Tárikhi Djevdet." 3. Professor Houdas on "L'écriture Maghrebine," with specimens. 4. Fragment of the Arabic *Kharidatu 'l Kaṣr*, by 'Imád ad-dín al-Kátib, on Ousáma ibn Mounkidh, a Syrian Amír of the early Crusades, with introduction by Professor Derenbourg. 5. The Abbé Favre's translation of a "texte Malais" relating to Moses in the Mount. 6. Summary and part translation of the "Vogages de Basile Vatace," born at the close of the seventeenth century, with original Greek text, and an introduction by M. Émile Legrand. 7. M. Dozon's translation of "Les Noces de Maxime Tzèrnoïévitch," a popular Servian poem. 8. Professor Abel des Michels' version of some Annamite tales, to which is added an explanation of a verse in the Chinese "Yŭ Kiâou Lí." M. Henri Cordier's "Notes pour servir à l'histoire des études Chinoises en Europe," bringing the reader up to the days of the elder Fourmont. 10. Professor Vinson's "Specimen of Tamul Palæography." 11. Professor Carrière's Armenian Version of the Story of Assénath—otherwise Asenuth, daughter of Potipherah, and wife of Joseph. 12. M. Émile Picot's "Notice Biographique et Bibliographique sur l'Imprimeur Anthime d'Ivir, Métropolitain de Valachie," and 13. A paper on Japanese writing, by Professor Léon de Rosny.

The ordinary publications of the "École Spéciale" are noticed under the heads to which they respectively belong; and it is needless to say how great is, in many cases, their value to students. With regard to the admirable Institution itself, the following account will interest many readers, and is appropriate as illustrating one form of encouragement to Oriental study and research, in connection with the "Statement" recently circulated by the Royal Asiatic Society to Schools and City Companies, and published in the present number of the Journal.

Notes¹ on the School of Modern Oriental Languages at Paris:—This excellent school was founded at the end of the last century.

In the year 1790 Monsieur Langlès, an Orientalist, called the

¹ Kindly contributed by Major C. M. Watson, C.M.G., R.E.

attention of the French National Assembly to the importance of encouraging the study of the living languages of the East, and to the advantage which would accrue from a more general knowledge of these languages, both in the extension of commerce, and as an aid to French political influence.

No immediate result followed, but in 1795 the question was referred to a committee, of which Lakanal, a member of the Convention, was the President. He drew up a strong report, pointing out the neglect with which the study of modern Oriental languages had been treated in France. He called attention to the fact that while the *ancient* languages of the East were the object of much consideration, and ample means were provided for teaching them to students, there were, on the contrary, no arrangements for teaching the *modern* languages, although the latter were of more use both for commerce and for political purposes. He concluded by proposing that a school should be opened and attached to the National Library.

Acting upon this report, the French Government, by decree of the 30th March, 1795, established the School of Modern Oriental Languages, with three professorships, *i.e.* one of Arabic, one of Turkish and Tartar, and one of Persian and Malay. The salary of each professor was fixed at £120 per annum, and they were instructed to prepare grammars of the languages in which they were to teach.

The school was located in the Rue Neuve des Petits Champs near the National Library. The first professors were as follows: Arabic, Silvestre de Sacy; Turkish, Venture de Paradis; Persian, Langlès. Of these it is only necessary to say a few words.

Langlès, who must be regarded as the originator of the School, had been intended for the career of an officer in the army, but ill health prevented his following so active a life. Wishing to obtain some appointment in the East, he devoted himself to the study of Arabic and Persian, and was, in consequence, appointed one of the guardians of the manuscripts in the National Library during the Reign of Terror. He was appointed first administrator of the School when it was established, as well as Professor of Persian, and held the two appointments for twenty-eight years.

Silvestre de Sacy was already one of the most renowned Orientalists of France when he was called to the post of Arabic Professor at the School, and held the position for forty-two years.

Venture de Paradis was the son of a Consul in the Levant, and had been employed for some years as Interpreter in the Diplomatic Service. He was Dragoman to the French Embassy at Constantinople, when appointed to the post of Turkish Professor in the School of Oriental Languages. He held the latter position for two years only, when he was summoned to act as Chief Interpreter to General Bonaparte on his Egyptian expedition, and took with him as assistants several pupils of the School, which thus already began to give a return to the Government for the money spent upon it.

Venture accompanied Bonaparte into Syria, and died of dysentery at St.-Jean d'Acre in 1799.

From time to time other professorships have been added to the School, according as experience showed the necessity of increasing the number of modern languages taught, and care has been taken to avoid the danger of making the instruction of too learned a character, and to carry out the original intention of the School, namely, to teach the students to read, speak, and write the languages as they exist at the present time.

The School is under the direction of a President, who is chosen from among the Professors, and is responsible to the Minister of Public Instruction. The President is assisted by a Secretary, who also acts as Librarian.

There are twelve Professors in the School, who instruct in the following languages: Modern Arabic, Literary Arabic, Persian, Armenian, Turkish, Russian, Modern Greek, Hindustani and Tamil, Chinese, Japanese, Annamite, and Malay and Javanese.

The Professors now receive a salary of £300 per annum each. They are bound to give three lectures of one hour's length weekly, of which one lesson is usually for beginners and the two others for students who are more advanced.

The lectures are free to the public and are gratuitous, the whole cost of keeping up the School being provided by the State. In addition to attending the lectures of the Professors, students are allowed to study in the reading rooms, where, at certain times, assistant teachers attend to help them in their courses.

From time to time additional series of lectures are given by qualified persons on cognate subjects, such as upon the history and political and commercial geography of the countries of which the languages are taught.

There is an excellent library of more than 20,000 volumes, so the students have the advantage of being able to consult all the best grammars and dictionaries without having to purchase them for themselves.

In addition to the actual work of instruction in the Oriental languages, the School assists in the publication of new works and of translations.

It is worthy of note that the lectures and course of study were not suspended during the siege of Paris, in the winter of 1870-71.

In 1873 the School was moved to the building which it now occupies, at the corner of the Rue de Lille and Rue des Saints Pères. This belongs to the Government, and had formerly been used for the school of naval engineering. It is now being enlarged at the expense of the State, and when the alterations are completed, it will be most commodious.

The number of students appears to be increasing, and many foreigners come to Paris to attend the courses of lectures.

There is no doubt that the School is a most excellent institution, well deserving of the money expended upon it, and one that might



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sponding Members of the Académie des Inscriptions, in the place of Dr. Birch and Mr. Edward Thomas, deceased. "Twenty-three Inscriptions from Nepal," collected at the expense of the Nawab of Junâgadh, edited by Pandit Bhagvânâlâl Indrâji, together with "Some considerations on the Chronology of Nepal," translated from Gujarâti, by Dr. G. Bühler, form the material of a Bombay reprint from the *Indian Antiquary*. There has also been a reprint at Bangalore of twenty-three "Coorg Inscriptions," translated for Government by Mr. Lewis Rice, Secretary to the Government of Mysore. The dates of these extend over a period of nearly fourteen hundred years, or from A.D. 466 to A.D. 1842.

Africa (Communicated by the Hon. Secretary).—Dr. Sims, of the Baptist Mission on the Kongo, has published a Vocabulary of the Teke Language spoken at Stanley Pool, and another Vocabulary of the Bangî *alias* Yansi Language, spoken in the Upper Kongo about the Equator. Both these belong to the Bantu or South African Family. The Rev. Wm. Crisp has published a Grammatical Notice of the Chuâna Language spoken in South Africa (Central): this also belongs to the Bantu Family. The Rev. Mr. Bentley, of the Baptist Mission on the Kongo, has published a complete Dictionary of the Kongo Language, with an elaborate introduction. This is a most important work. The language is Bantu. The Rev. Mr. Brincker, of the Rhenish Mission, has published in the German language a complete Dictionary, and Grammar and Texts of the Hereró language in South Africa on the West side. This language belongs to the Bantu Family. The Rev. Mr. O'Flaherty (deceased), of the Church Missionary Society in Equatorial Africa, prepared during his six years' residence at Rubâga, the capital of U-Ganda, grammars, vocabularies, texts, translations of the Scriptures in *Ganda*. He was on his road home to publish these important works when he died in the Red Sea. This may delay their publication, but they will be utilized when a competent editor is found. This language belongs to the Bantu family, and is spoken on the Equator. Senhor Joaquim d'Almeida da Cunha, Secretary of the Governor-General of the Portuguese Colonies in East Africa, has published the first part of his Studies of the Languages spoken within the Portuguese territory. It is in the Portuguese language, and is valuable as an independent inquiry. He gives a general view of all the languages, and a Vocabulary of the languages spoken by the tribes of Ma-Konde and Ma-Via, on the river Rovuma in West Africa South of the Equator. It belongs to the Bantu Family.

VI. SPECIAL COMMITTEE, ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

(See President's Address, page v, Proceedings of Anniversary Meeting, in *Journal* for July, 1886.)

In connection with inquiries as to the best means for the promotion of Oriental Studies in England, the Council of the Royal

Asiatic Society have had prepared by the Committee above indicated, and from the best information at their command, lists of appointments in England and India for which a scholarly acquaintance with Oriental Languages is a necessary or important qualification.

As the information thus collected appears to show that the prospect of remunerative employment open to English Orientalists is less discouraging than is usually supposed, the Council think that the publication of the lists may do something towards stimulating Oriental studies in this country. The lists are accordingly published below, and it is further proposed to notify from time to time in the Journal all new appointments of like character created, and all vacancies and changes of incumbency in existing appointments.

It will be seen from these lists that, excluding those for which a knowledge of Hebrew only is required, the number of permanent salaried appointments in the United Kingdom is about twenty-nine, the salaries ranging from £50 to £1000 per annum. In India there are ninety-eight Government appointments open to Europeans, with salaries ranging from 250 to 2450 rupees per mensem, for which a knowledge of Oriental languages and literature is either essential or a very important qualification. These appointments include 14 Professorships of Oriental Languages, 45 Headships of Colleges and Schools, 32 Educational Inspectorships, and 7 Directorships of Public Instruction, and all—with the exception of 8 Professorships and 2 Inspectorships—are at present held by Europeans.

Besides the appointments referred to above, there are, in the United Kingdom, Professorships at King's and University College, London, minor College Tutorships at Oxford and Cambridge, Examinerships in connection with Indian Civil Service competitions, and temporary appointments in the British Museum, offering more or less remunerative employment to Orientalists. Again, in India, the Government offers to its Civil and Military servants handsome rewards for proficiency in Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, and the languages of India, and success in the examinations for them not unfrequently leads to special advancement in the Service. Lastly, both in England and India, important work is being done, and much more remains to be done, in the editing and translation of Oriental texts, and in the preparation of dictionaries and grammars and other works relating to the history, antiquities, and languages of the East, while, judging from the periodical lists of Messrs. Trübner and other Oriental publishers, the public interest in this class of literature is on the increase :—

STATEMENT.

*Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,
31st January, 1887.*

The Council and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society, in common with every Oriental scholar throughout the kingdom, have long been painfully conscious of the general neglect in this country of Eastern learning. There is no nation to which an acquaintance with Eastern languages, religions, and laws, and with the history and character of Eastern races, is so important. And yet we are almost daily brought face to face with the strange fact,—that perhaps in no great European country is the cultivation of these sciences more backward than in this.

It may be possible, with more or less plausibility, to attribute that condition of things to a variety of causes, but it seems needless to seek for others, when, at the very threshold of the question, we are confronted with the fact, that in other countries inducements and material assistance are offered by their Governments, Universities, and other Public Institutions, for the promotion of Eastern learning in all its branches, to which nothing of a similar nature in the United Kingdom can be fitly compared. The results are notorious to all who have ever interested themselves in the question. We cannot claim to occupy, even in the study of the Indian languages, and least of all in their scientific study, the foremost place that would naturally be expected of this country. And in departments of Oriental learning, of almost equal importance to us from a national point of view, the effect of a comparison between the results achieved abroad and those accomplished in England is to exhibit us in a light totally unworthy of a great and wealthy civilized nation. Under Government patronage and with its substantial help carefully collated texts and translations of important works by the great Arab historians issue uninterruptedly from the Continental presses. Archaeological and other publications, casting valuable light upon early history and civilization, and upon their expansion from their primeval centres in Egypt



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The facts of the case are known and deplored by every person interested in the question, but all are disheartened by the failure of every attempt hitherto made to bring about an adequate amendment. The late Dr. Pusey, Prof. Max Müller, Prof. Sayce, and other eminent representatives of Oriental studies at the University of Oxford, exerted themselves some years ago to press upon the commission appointed to amend and reform the existing institutions of the University the application of a portion of the endowments of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge to the interests of Oriental research. The Council of the Royal Asiatic Society took part in signing a Memorial to the Commissioners, asking them to endow and encourage certain branches of Oriental learning, which, though recognized in Continental and American Universities, receive little or no support from their English sisters. The Committee of the Hebdomadal Council, among other recommendations, urged the appointment of Professors for the study and teaching of the languages and antiquities of Assyria and Egypt. Neither that nor similar representations pressed upon the Commissioners were attended with any result.

It is true that means of study are not altogether absent at the Universities. Chairs have been established and Oriental teachers appointed. The Boden and one or two other Scholarships have been moreover founded or set apart for Oriental learning at Oxford and at Cambridge. We owe to the untiring exertions and perseverance of Sir Monier Williams the foundation at Oxford of the Indian Institute, and its acquisition from the University chest of a small endowment, which, however inadequate, forms at least a happy precedent in the interest of Eastern learning. In Edinburgh, in like manner, we are indebted to the late Dr. Muir for the foundation and endowment of a Sanskrit chair. And it has to be thankfully acknowledged that the University of Cambridge, and more recently Oxford, have admitted Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, and that of London Sanskrit and Arabic, as subjects in their examinations for degrees; while something has been done, especially by Oxford, in the publication and translation of Oriental texts. But there is little, if anything, more to add, when speaking of our Universities.

As regards Government assistance or encouragement, so far as the Imperial Government is concerned, they are almost non-existent. It is not requisite to discuss the merits or demerits of our national policy in this particular matter, still less to mention it as a subject

for reproach, but the result is a state of things hardly creditable to a nation ruling a great and powerful Eastern Empire.

The Government of India, indeed, has liberally assisted in the publication of Oriental works, but its assistance is mainly confined—and rightly so—to works more or less directly connected with the languages and literature of India. That Government also offers liberal rewards to its servants, civil and military, for proficiency in Indian languages; but, owing perhaps to the engrossing requirements of the service, the result, so far as scholarship is concerned, is small. Moreover, the present object is not the development of scholarship in the servants of the Indian Government, but the establishment of a comprehensive school of Oriental learning in this country.

To some of the circumstances that have been touched upon may, perhaps, be attributed a prevalent belief among the public that a knowledge of Oriental languages is of no practical value—that it offers little or no career worth speaking of. This, it must be said, is, even under present circumstances, less true than is usually supposed. We find, on the contrary, as may be gathered from the accompanying abstract, that, chiefly through the mere force of circumstances, a moderate number of appointments exists in England, and a larger number in India, for which a scholarlike acquaintance with Eastern languages is an indispensable or important qualification. And it cannot be doubted that, under a better condition of things, not only would research in all departments of Eastern science be stimulated, but fresh careers of increasing importance would unfold themselves, and would present additional objects of legitimate ambition to students. It is not probable that it would, for instance, still be said of a chair in one of our leading Universities, that “its emoluments are about equal to those of a Classical Mastership in any good Grammar School.” The field of Oriental research is a vast one, and full of attractive interest, and an increase in the number of its labourers would demonstrate more and more the practical as well as the scientific value of its fruits. The supply of Eastern scholarship, its public appreciation, and a demand for it, could not fail to act and to re-act upon one another. It is a significant fact, and one far from creditable to us, that at present the supply of properly-qualified Englishmen is not sufficient, and that in order to fill some of the most important of the existing appointments we are obliged to have recourse to scholars trained in foreign seats of learning.

The crying want is that of encouragement and assistance to young men, willing, perhaps keenly desirous, to labour in a great and worthy field. But as regards encouragement, the belief is too prevalent, and, it must be said, too well-founded, that the study of Oriental languages affords little opening for school and academic distinction. In the case of our Universities something has been done, especially of late years, to remove this reproach, but in the case of schools encouragement is almost non-existent. Yet how much may be done by even slight means is well exemplified in the case of Merchant Taylors' School, where the grant by the late Sir Moses Montefiore of a silver medal for the study of Hebrew has had the effect of creating a class, from which more than one distinguished Hebrew scholar is able to trace the commencement of his career. At the City of London School, also, a prize of £5 and an exhibition, the gift of Sir Albert Sassoon, have been regularly awarded for several years past for the encouragement of the study of Sanskrit, with excellent results. These examples, it must, however, be added, are solitary ones in our public schools.

The main obstacle, however, is the deficiency of material assistance, that is of endowments such as exist for the promotion of other departments of science. From scholars at all our seats of learning, whether in England, in Scotland, or in Ireland, the same complaint is to be heard. It is simply impossible for a young man not possessed of independent means, to devote himself to the subject by which he is, it may be, most attracted. Even before he leaves school, the object of relieving the pressure of expense upon his parents or other friends, the necessity he is under of providing himself with means of independent livelihood in the future, and even of finding the means of living during the laborious years of preparation which the acquisition of the most important Oriental languages requires, must of necessity weigh upon his parents and upon himself with constantly increasing force. In the words of the occupant of one of our Oriental Chairs, the student has it ever before him that a smaller expenditure of intellectual energy will, in numerous other directions, secure to him greater distinction, and at the same time, it may be added, more effectual external assistance towards its attainment.

It has already been mentioned that in two of the great English Universities, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian are subjects now admitted in their examinations for degrees, and Sanskrit and Arabic in



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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XI.—*The Life and Labours of Alexander Wylie, Agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society in China. A Memoir.* By M. HENRI CORDIER, Professor at the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes and École des Sciences Politiques, Paris.

(Communicated by Professor R. K. Douglas, M.R.A.S.)

It may be at first a matter of surprise to many that an alien by nationality and religion, a Roman Catholic Frenchman, should come before this learned Society to discourse on the life and labours of a British Protestant Missionary. A few words, however, will show that there are strong reasons for my taking up some of your valuable time with an account of the good work done by our late friend.

Indeed, Wylie's library was the very foundation of my *Bibliotheca Sinica*.¹ In 1869 I was engaged as Honorary

¹ *Bibliotheca Sinica*. Dictionnaire bibliographique des ouvrages relatifs à l'Empire chinois par Henri Cordier. Paris, E. Leroux, 1878–1885, 2 vols. imp. 8vo. I wrote in the Preface, June, 1878, p. x: "Tout le monde en Chine connaît Mr. Alex. Wylie; le savant et modeste agent de la 'British and Foreign Bible Society' donnait de son cabinet de travail situé à la 'London Mission,' Shantung Road, Changhai, les renseignements les plus utiles à ceux qui venaient frapper à sa porte. Une portion de sa bibliothèque avait été cédée à la Société asiatique, mais la plus précieuse partie à laquelle étaient venus s'adjoindre de nouveaux volumes était restée chez lui. Avec une rare bienveillance, Mr. Wylie m'avait permis de travailler dans sa bibliothèque, et j'ai à m'accuser d'avoir souvent dérangé cet excellent homme dans ses propres travaux, en venant—avec une indiscretion qui n'a d'excuse que mon désir de produire un ouvrage sérieux—m'installer au milieu de ses livres et de ses manuscrits. C'est là que j'ai pu examiner la copie faite par Stanislas Julien de la *Notitia* du P. de Prémare, une traduction du Tcheoung Young du P. de Ventavon, et mille et une plaquettes uniques ou rarissimes. D'ailleurs, Mr. Wylie est un confrère, si un élève comme moi peut traiter de confrère un maître comme lui; n'a-t-il pas écrit ces *Notes on Chinese Literature* qui sont aujourd'hui le *vade mecum* de celui qui cherche à s'orienter dans le labyrinthe de la littérature de la Chine."

Librarian to compile the Catalogue of the Library of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society at Shanghai, the bulk of which came from Mr. Wylie, when an idea of compiling a list of all the books relating to the Middle Kingdom occurred to me. Having published the catalogue of the Asiatic Society, I have devoted the last eighteen years to this task. I drew much of the necessary materials from the N. C. B. R. Asiatic Society's Library, a great deal more from the new collection made by Wylie during his visit to Europe in 1860. His library was situated on the ground floor at the farthest end of the premises belonging to the London Missionary Society in the Shantung Road, at Shanghai. Four or five large book-cases contained the works comprising his new library. The Chinese books were at the back in a sort of passage. Wylie was exceedingly proud of his Chinese library, rivalled or surpassed in China only by the collection of that very learned sinologist and distinguished diplomatic agent, Sir Thomas Wade, Her Majesty's Minister at Peking. Many an afternoon, winter and summer, did I sit with Wylie at his small round writing table, he doing some useful work for some one who might never think of thanking him for it, I copying titles in view of my *Bibliotheca Sinica*. Wylie was not one of those savants with a solemn appearance who fill with awe and reverence the poor mortals who are allowed to approach them: he had a kindly appearance, a pleasant smile on his face, a modest countenance, and oftentimes, when engaged in conversation, he would make you believe that he was highly interested in and derived much knowledge from what you told him. Though extremely pious, he did not think that religion should make one gloomy, and he was at that time of a very genial and humorous turn of mind.

When the *Bibliotheca Sinica* was published in parts, it was to Wylie that I owed the first public recognition of my labours in the *Chinese Recorder*, the *China Review*, *Trübner's Record* and the *London and China Express*. Our friendly relations continued to the end. In fact, I published



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ness. His pronunciation was not exact, but he had got hold of the principle of relative position by which the meaning of the symbolic characters in their combination is determined. I asked him where he had got a dictionary, and he said he had not got one. "How, then, did you learn the names and meanings of those characters?" "Partly," he said, "from Prémare, and I have tried to make a list of characters and their signification for myself. I got a New Testament from the Bible Society. Turning to the fourth Gospel, I knew that the first verse must contain the name for 'God' twice, and the character for 'Word' three times. I put these down, and went on to determine others in the same way." He had brought with him some tracts which he had got from the Religious Tract Society; trying him with one of these, he was not so successful as with the New Testament, but still did wonderfully. I arranged for him to come to me, and get a lesson occasionally. When he left me, I felt sure that if the way could be opened for him to pursue the study under favourable conditions, he was a man who would greatly distinguish himself in the field of Chinese scholarship. The result of that interview was, that soon afterwards he was studying the work and management of a printing office under the auspices of the late Sir Charles Reed, and in 1847 he proceeded to China to take the superintendence of the printing office of the London Missionary Society at Shanghai, which he conducted efficiently till 1860."

As soon as Wylie arrived in China, he set at work to master the Chinese language. Knowing well the enormous influence the Classics have on the mind of the natives, and how necessary it is for the missionary to penetrate into the inner thought of the individual, he undertook to translate for himself the whole of the *King*. This wonderful labour he successfully accomplished, and I well remember the six or seven half-bound volumes containing his manuscript on the top shelf of one of his book-cases. However, Wylie considered these translations too imperfect to be printed, so they have remained unpublished; they have fallen into good hands, those of his daughter, with the exception of one in

care of Dr. James Legge, who speaks in the following terms of the version of the *Li ki*¹: “The present translation [Dr. Legge’s] is, as I said above, the first published in any European language of the whole of the *Lî Ki*; but another had existed in manuscript for several years,—the work of Mr. Alexander Wylie, now unhappily, by loss of eyesight and otherwise failing health, laid aside from his important Chinese labours. I was fortunate enough to obtain possession of this when I had got to the 35th Book in my own version, and, in carrying the sheets through the press, I have constantly made reference to it. It was written at an early period of Mr. Wylie’s Chinese studies, and is not such as a Sinologist of his attainments and research would have produced later on. Still, I have been glad to have it by me, though I may venture to say that, in construing the paragraphs and translating the characters, I have not been indebted in a single instance to him or P. Callery.”

After trying his hand in this severe task, Wylie was ready to give to the public some works bearing his name. Many opportunities were soon offered to him.

Wylie was one of the foremost contributors to the *North-China Herald* in the early days of that paper. The *Chinese Repository* had ceased to exist in December, 1851, after the completion of its twentieth volume. During the last seven years of its existence, this celebrated magazine had lost from 300 to 400 dollars annually,² and its last editor, Dr. S. Wells Williams, had discontinued its publication, thinking—and in this he was wrong—that the appearance of numerous newspapers rendered useless a periodical of the nature of the *Repository*. The *North-China Herald* had been started in 1850³ at Shanghai, by Henry Shearman, who continued to edit it to his death in 1856.⁴ News was then scarce, one monthly line of steamers brought letters and papers from

¹ Sacred Books of the East, translated by Dr. James Legge. Part iii., *Li ki*, Oxford, 1885, pref. p. xiii.

² S. W. Williams’s *Recollections*, *Journ. N.C. Br. R.A.S. Soc.* n.s. vol. viii. p. 18.

³ Vol. i. No. 1, Saturday, 3rd August, 1850.

Henry Shearman died, 53 years old, at Shanghai, on the 22nd March, 1856.

home, and China was not yet connected with Europe by a telegraphic wire, so Henry Shearman gave much place in his gazette to scientific papers. Wylie was one of those who took advantage of the new periodical to publish articles which—owing to their lasting value and to their length—would no doubt have suited the defunct *Repository* better than a weekly chronicle. However, at the end of the year, Shearman used to reprint as an appendix to his Almanac a number of the special articles which had appeared in the *Herald*, making out of valuable materials lost in the files of the newspaper an interesting *Miscellany*¹—now very rare—which lived until 1858. Charles Spencer Compton, who took Shearman's place, thought it too much trouble to continue a serial which reflected great credit on its editor, but did not bring him £ s. d.

Two of Wylie's papers in the *North-China Herald* at that time call for some special notice: one is on the celebrated Nestorian stone² found in 1625 at Si-ngan fou in the Shensi province, which shows, as everybody knows, that the Christian religion existed in the Chinese Empire as far back as the eighth century, under the rule of the Tang Dynasty. One would have thought that all discussions were at an end after the notes, articles, or books from Fathers Terenz, Trigault, Martini, Samedo, Kircher and Visdelou, from Andreas Müller, Abel Rémusat, Neumann, Leontiev, E. C. Bridgman.³ Wylie made the subject quite new, and, in spite of more recent researches made by G. Pauthier, Dabry de Thiersant, and others, his series of papers on the Si-ngan fou tablet cannot be overlooked by all who study the progress of Nestorianism through Asia. As late as the 10th of December, 1879, did Wylie busy himself with this

¹ Shanghai Almanac for 1853, and *Miscellany*. Printed at the "Herald" Office, Shanghai, 8vo. The last number is: *Miscellany or Companion to the Shanghai Almanac for 1857*. Printed and published at the *N.C. Herald Office*, Shanghai, 8vo.

² The Nestorian Tablet in Se-gan Foo (*N.C. Herald*, 1854, Oct. 28, Nov. 25, Dec. 2; 1855, Jan. 6, Nov. 24, Dec. 15, 22, 29). Rep. in the *Shanghai Miscellany* for 1855 and 1856, and in the *Journ. of the Am. Oriental Soc.* vol. v. pp. 275-336.

³ Cf. my *Bibliotheca Sinica*, col. 325-329.



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Wylie, following in the wake of Ricci, completed his work by rendering into Chinese book vii. to book xv. of the *Elements*, published in 1857 at Sung keang, under the title of *Süh ke ho yuén pùn*, Supplementary Elements of Geometry. At the end of the short English preface Wylie remarks: "To accompany this issue with an apology would almost seem out of place. Truth is one, and while we seek to promote its advancement in science, we are but preparing the way for its development in that loftier knowledge, which as Christian men and missionaries, it is our chief desire to see consummated." Henceforth *Li Ma-tow* (Ricci, Matteo) and *Wei-lëë Yâ-lih* (Wylie) were inseparable, and in 1865 Viceroy Tseng Kwo-fan had both of these works reprinted together at Nanking.

Next follow (Shanghai, 1858) a Popular Treatise on Mechanics, *Chung hëö ts'ëen shwo*, from the English, and De Morgan's Treatise on Algebra, *Tsae soö hëö* (Shanghai, 1859). Always indefatigable, at the same place and in the same year (Shanghai, 1859), he produced translations of Loomis' Elements of Analytical Geometry and of the Differential and Integral Calculus, *Taé wé tseih shi keih* and Herschell's *Outlines of Astronomy*, *Tan t'ëen*. This last work is illustrated by the original steel engravings used at home. The astronomical phenomena "cannot fail," Wylie observes at the end of the Preface of Herschell's *Outlines*, "to awaken in inquisitive minds of a certain order, a desire to become better acquainted with these and kindred facts in nature, which is calculated to exercise a healthful influence on the intellectual character. That such facts may lead to juster and more exalted conceptions of 'Him who hath created these orbs,—who bringeth forth their host by number and calleth them all by their names;—who hath made the earth by His power, established the world by His wisdom, and stretched out the heavens by His understanding,' is the sincere desire of the translator." We think it interesting to note from this same preface the disbursements for the publication of the last three works in Chinese:—

	TAEELS.
500 copies of De Morgan's Algebra	146, 00
355 copies of Loomis' Algebraic Geometry and Dif- ferential and Integral Calculus	323, 00
1000 copies of Herschell's Astronomy	622, 00
	Tael 1091, 00

They were covered with contributions from friends of the translator to the extent of Tael 1000.

He occupied himself with these studies late in life, as he devoted a lengthy and most remarkable article to the *Uranographie Chinoise*¹ by Dr. Schlegel, of Leyden, in the *Chinese Recorder*.² The work of Schlegel had been very severely criticized, to my mind unjustly, by M. Joseph Bertrand,³ and Wylie's high encomium was exceedingly gratifying to the learned Dutch professor. Wylie gave to the Fifth International Congress held at Berlin a paper on the Mongol Astronomical instruments kept at the Observatory at Peking. All visitors to the Capital of the Middle Kingdom have admired on the wall of the city or in the garden below the magnificent bronze castings which are generally ascribed to the Jesuit missionaries of the eighteenth century, especially to Ferdinand Verbiest, though some of them date as far back as the Yuen dynasty. These Mongol instruments are fully described in the memoir presented to the Berlin Congress (1881).⁴

While prosecuting these scientific works, Wylie was studying the Tartar languages, Manchu being especially useful; it is a language more easily acquired than Chinese, and as most Chinese books of importance have been translated into Manchu, a great saving of time may be effected

¹ Sing chin khao youen. Uranographie chinoise ou Preuves directes que l'Astronomie primitive est originaire de la Chine et qu'elle a été empruntée par les anciens peuples occidentaux à la sphère chinoise . . . par Gustave Schlegel . . . La Haye, 1875, 2 parts, 8vo. and atlas.

² vi. pp. 442-447.

³ *Journ. des Savans*, Sept. 1875, pp. 557-566. Schlegel answered since (1880) in the *Bijd. tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde v. Ned. Ind.* pp. 350-372.

⁴ Cf. Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2nd ed. ii. pp. 544-550.

by using the Manchu, instead of the Chinese texts. This was done to a great extent by the missionaries at Peking, and by Leontiev during the Këen-lung period, as well as by Klaproth at the beginning of this century. Wylie was soon able to give articles on some interesting Mongol and Neuchih inscriptions.¹ To facilitate the study of Manchu, he translated in 1855 a Chinese grammar of this language known as the *Ts'ing wän k'e müng*.² This work had been already put into Russian by Valdykine in 1804; but Russian being almost as inaccessible as Chinese to most readers, this version remained in manuscript, and I do not think that Wylie even suspected its existence in the catalogue of Klaproth's scattered library.³ Wylie intended giving a *Manchu Chrestomathy*, but he did not carry out his idea. This Chrestomathy was to include an English translation by Wylie of the so-called Amiot's *Grammaire Tartare-mantchou*,⁴ which was really written in Latin by Gerbillon.⁵ The English version was printed, I have seen it, and comprised 30 pages 8vo., but was not published. Four years later (1859), Wylie edited at Shanghai the Gospels of Matthew and Mark from the Manchu translation by Lipovzov and the Delegates' version in Chinese with the titles *Woó choò yâu soo ke tüh sin e chaóu shoo* and *Musei echen isusgheristos i tutapuha itche ghese*. New Testament in Manchu and Chinese.

Amid these multifarious labours Wylie found time enough to edit a new periodical, *Lüh hó ts'ung tan*, which lasted

¹ On an Ancient Inscription in Chinese and Mongol, from a Stone Tablet at Shang-hae. By Mr. A. Wylie, printer to the *London Missionary Society*, Shanghai. Read before the Society May 21st, 1855 (*Trans. China Br. R.A.S.*, pt. v. Art. III.). On an Ancient Inscription in the Neuchih Language (*ibid.* vi. pp. 137-153, 1859). Remarks on some Impressions from a Lapidary Inscription at Keu-yung-kwan, on the Great Wall near Peking. By A. Wylie, Esq. (*Journal N.C.B.R.A.S.*, No. 1, n.s. pp. 133-136). See also *Journal of this Society*: Vol. XVII. (1860), Art. XVI.; and Vol. V. n.s. (1871), Art. II.

² Translation of the *Ts'ing Wang ke'mung*, a Chinese Grammar of the Manchu Tartar Language: with Introductory Notes on Manchu Literature. Shanghai, London Mission Press, 1855, 8vo. pp. lxxx-314.

³ Klaproth's sale, part ii. No. 202.

⁴ *Grammaire Tartare-mantchou*, par M. Amiot, Missionnaire à Pékin. Tirée du tome xiii. des Mémoires concernant l'Histoire, les Arts, les Sciences, etc., des Chinois. A Paris, chez Nyon l'aîné, . . . M.DCC.LXXXVII. 4to. pp. 39.

⁵ *Elementa Linguae Tartaricae*. (Thévenot, *Recueil*, vol. ii. 4e Partie, 1696.)



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Christians¹ on a mission of inquiry;² these envoys brought back some manuscripts, facsimiles of which were printed at Shanghai. An agent to the London Missionary Society could not overlook such an interesting question, and Wylie published a valuable article on the Jews in China in 1863 in the *Chinese and Japanese Repository*.³

Let us add to all these works: *Këä yih urh yèw lún shúh*, Story of the two friends Këa and Yih, Shanghai, 1858, which is a revision of Dr. Milne's tract *Chang yuen lëang yèw sèang lún*, Dialogues between Chang and Yuen, Malacca, 1819, with a last chapter by Dr. J. Edkins (reprinted at Shanghai, 1861), and *Chung se t'ung shoo*, Chinese Western Almanac for the year 1859-1860, in continuation at Shanghai, during an absence of Dr. Edkins, of an annual commenced in 1852 by the latter. On his return, Dr. Edkins resumed the work.

But time had come for Wylie to take a little rest, and he returned home in 1860. He had previously ceded his valuable library, which was to be replaced later on by a still more valuable collection of books, to the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. A preliminary list was prepared,⁴ and I published some years later a full catalogue with notes.⁵ A change occurred at this time in Wylie's life. While in London he transferred his connection from the London Missionary Society to the British and Foreign Bible Society, as whose agent he went back to China in 1863.

¹ They left Shanghai 15th November, 1850.

² The Jews at K'ae-fung-foo, being a Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jewish Synagogue at K'ae-fung-foo, on behalf of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews; with an Introduction, by the Right Rev. George Smith, D.D., Lord Bishop of Victoria. Shang-hae, London Missionary Society's Press, 1851, 8vo. pp. 82.—Fac-similes of the Hebrew Manuscripts obtained at the Jewish Synagogue in K'ae-Fung-Foo. Shanghae, printed at the London Missionary Society's Press, 1851, 4to.—On a Hebrew MS. of the Pentateuch, from the Jewish Congregation at Kai-fung-fu in China, by Mr. John W. Barrow, of New York; presented by Dr. Martin (communicated to the *Am. Or. Soc. Journal*, May, 1869, ix. No. 2, p. liii.

³ i. July, pp. 13-22; ii. August, pp. 43-52.

⁴ Catalogue of Books relating to China and the East. Shanghai, 1868, 8vo. pp. 29.

⁵ A Catalogue of the Library of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (including the Library of Alex. Wylie, Esq.), Systematically Classed. By Henri Cordier, Hon. Librarian, Shanghai. Printed at the "Ching-Foong" General Printing Office, 1872, 8vo. pp. viii.-86.

■ The return journey to China was overland from St. Petersburg to Peking, and Wylie has related it in a too impersonal manner in the *Journal of the N.C.B.R. Asiatic Society*.

■ Bibliographical labours are those by which Wylie is best known in Europe; indeed his *Notes on Chinese Literature* is actually the only guide to the general literature of China. His debut in this field of learning was the now very rare Catalogue of the London Mission Library at Shanghai.¹ It is not a meagre list of Chinese titles arranged in alphabetical order, but a catalogue raisonné, with most interesting notices on the works and the authors. It is really a very brilliant prelude (1857) to his greater undertaking. He had given a bibliographical list of works printed in Manchu, in the preface to his translation of the *Ts'ing wän ke'mung* (pp. xlix et seq.), and a descriptive catalogue of the languages into which the Bible has been translated in his *Chinese Western Almanac* for 1860. Wylie always refused to recognize as his own the very useful bio-bibliographical book entitled *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries* (1867).² He wrote to me once (28th January, 1872): "I was instrumental in furnishing Gamble³ with nearly all the information in the 'Memorials of Protestant Missionaries,' but never authorized him to put my name to it. I protested against it at the time he issued it, but have repudiated it so often that I now let the thing take its course." The work, nevertheless, bears fully his mark; it contains the surname and Christian names of every missionary, his native name, and a full list of his publications, whether in Chinese, Malay, or in any other language.

In 1867 the *Notes on Chinese Literature*⁴ appeared. Bibliography is not merely a list of works strung together in

¹ Catalogue of the London Mission Library, Shanghai. Shanghai, 1857, 8vo. pp. 102.

² Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese, giving a list of their Publications, and Obituary Notices of the Deceased, with copious Indexes. Shanghai, American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867, 8vo. pp. vi.-331.

³ William Gamble, Superintendent of the American Presbyterian Mission Press.

⁴ Notes on Chinese Literature, with introductory remarks on the Progressive Advancement of the Art, and a List of Translations from the Chinese into various European Languages. By A. Wylie, Agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society in China. Shanghai, American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867, 4to. pp. viii.-xxviii.-260.

alphabetical or systematical order. To be a good bibliographer, some general and technical knowledge to classify books, tact to make a discriminate selection of works, exactitude to describe volumes accurately, are required. These qualities are possessed in a high degree by the Chinese, who are first-class bibliographers. Wylie's book is based mainly on the splendid catalogue of the Imperial Library at Peking, compiled during the period K'een-lung from 1772 to 1790, *Kin ting szé k'oo' tseúen shoo tsùng m'ih*, an abridgment of which, containing less than a tenth of the original matter, was published under the title of *Kin ting szé k'oo' tseúen shoo k'èen ming m'ih l'uh*. Wylie followed the Chinese system of classification under four headings, *szé koo*, I. Classics (*Yih-king, Shoo-king, etc.*). II. History, *Shé* (History, Geography, etc.). III. Philosophy, *Tsze* (including Religion, Arts and Sciences). IV. Belles-lettres, *Ts'ih*, the largest of the four divisions, including the various classes of polite literature, poetry, and analytical works. Over 2000 works are described with notes by Wylie, and the whole is headed by a preface and introduction, including a list of the translations of Chinese works into European languages. At the end are to be found an appendix, containing a list of general collections of works, *Tsung shoo*, then an index of the titles of books, and an index of the names of persons to terminate the volume.

The work carried on by an agent of a Bible Society partakes somewhat of the nature of the labour performed by a peddler: the chief quality of an agent is activity characterized by itinerancy. Wylie never failed to do his duty, and he travelled extensively throughout the Celestial Empire; he has kept the record of one of his longest journeys in the central provinces in the *Journal of the N.C.B.R. As. Society*.¹

About this time Wylie, who was one of the Vice-Presidents of that Society, the late Egyptologist, C. W. Goodwin,

¹ Itinerary of a Journey through the Provinces of Hoo-pih, S'ze-chuen, and Shen-so, by A. Wylie (*Journ. N.C.B. Roy. Asiat. Soc. n.s. No. v. December, 1868, Art. VIII. p. 153*).



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(1874) Wylie took it up. He had much of the spirit which guided the Jesuits at Peking during the last century; he was too liberal-minded to separate science from religion; both could march together to their mutual benefit. At once the *Recorder*,¹ transferred to Shanghai, published papers of the highest order due to Archimandrite Palladius² and to Dr. Bretschneider;³ room was largely given to history and geography, while the *Term* question was renovated with new vigour. But it was Wylie's last great effort. Age, fatigue, and more than age or fatigue—his failing eyesight—compelled him to return to Europe in 1877.

With Palladius' death at Marseilles, just landing from the mail steamer, Bretschneider's return to St. Petersburg, Wylie's demise, historical and geographical studies have suffered irreparable losses in China; in Europe the innumerable correspondents of these scholars knew well their worth. I may be allowed to quote the following lines: "Not a few of the kind friends and correspondents who lent their aid before have continued it to the present revision. The contributions of Mr. A. Wylie, of Shanghai, whether as regards the amount of labour which they must have cost him, or the value of the result, demand above all others a grateful record here."⁴

These words, written by your illustrious President at the beginning of the *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, the greatest monument ever raised to mediæval geography, could not be passed over in silence.

And what shall I say of the host of newspapers, reviews, magazines, periodicals of all kinds, serials of all size suddenly deprived of one of their most valuable contributors? *North China Herald*; *North China Daily News*, *Shanghae Evening*

¹ *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, vol. v. Shanghae, American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1874, 8vo.

² *Traces of Christianity in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth Century*, drawn from Chinese Sources. By Archimandrite Palladius (*The Chinese Recorder*, vi. 1875, pp. 104-113).

³ *Notes on Chinese Mediæval Travellers to the West*. By E. Bretschneider, M.D. (*China Recorder*, vol. v. 1874).

⁴ *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*. Newly translated and edited, with notes, maps, and other illustrations. By Col. Henry Yule, C.B., 1875, 2 vols. 8vo.

Courier,¹ *Shanghai Budget*,² *China Review*, *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*,³ to name the most important; it would take two or three pages to index Wylie's articles, and I indicate only a few.

Wylie crossed the Channel in 1878, and was present at the fourth Congress of Orientalists held at Florence, where he read a paper on Corea.⁴ On his way back to England he stayed a few days in Paris. The latter days of his laborious life were spent at 18, Christchurch Road, Hampstead, where he could enjoy pure air and the splendid view of the Heath. His last work was the translation of the Ethnological part of the History of Han,⁵ but he would make himself useful to others, and he revised, among other things, the proof-sheets of the book on *Chinese Buddhism* by his old friend, Dr. Edkins.⁶

But his eyesight was rapidly failing him. The last autograph letter I received from Wylie in March, 1881, is written by a hand which is no more guided by the eyes; later on his devoted daughter acted as his secretary, and he only signed his name to the letters; towards the end the mind had not survived the eyes, and Wylie had forgotten the world, whilst the world was still expecting some new

¹ Works of Pauthier (*Evening Courier*, Shanghai, May, 1873).

² Works of Stanislas Julien (*Shanghai Budget*, April 26, 1873). History of the Heung Noo in their Relations with China. Translated from the Tseen-Han-Shoo (*Shanghai Budget*, 1873, passim).

³ Advance of a Chinese General to the Caspian. (*Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, ii. pp. 153-154).—Steaks from Living Cattle (*Ibid.* pp. 155-156, October, 1868).

⁴ The Subjugation of Chaou-seen (Corea) (*Atti del IV. Cong. int. degli Orient.*).

⁵ Notes on the Western Regions. Translated from the "Tsëñ Han Shoo" (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, from August, 1880).—Ethnography of the After Han Dynasty. By A. Wylie, Esq., History of the Eastern Barbarians. Translated from the How Han Shoo, book cxv. (*Rev. Extrême Orient*, tome i. No. 1, 1882, pp. 52-83).—History of the Southern and South-Western Barbarians. Translated from the How Han Shoo, book cxvi. (*Ibid.* tome i. No. 2, 1882, pp. 198-246).—History of the Western Keang. Translated from the How Han Shoo, book cxvii. (*Ibid.* tome i. No. 3, 1882, pp. 423-478).

⁶ "The publishers have to acknowledge the efficient and disinterested aid they have received from Mr. A. Wylie, late Agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society in China, who, owing to the absence of the author in England, has revised the proof sheets of this work in their passage through the press; and they are also indebted to him for the preparation of the copious and valuable index appended to it" (*Adv. of Chinese Buddhism*, etc., by Rev. Joseph Edkins).

work from the veteran sinologist. When this man of good works and deeds breathed his last on the 6th of February, his valiant spirit had long since abandoned his enfeebled body.

Like S. Wells Williams, like many other sinologists whose primary object in life was the propagation of the Gospel in the Celestial Empire, Wylie was a self made man, and proud he might be of it, that self-made man, seeing that he could write his own language in such a simple and cheerful manner, could understand and speak French and German, read Latin and had a knowledge of Russian. He had studied successfully mathematics and astronomy, and mastered so thoroughly the Manchu and Chinese languages, that he leaves translations of Euclid and Herschell and his *Notes on Chinese Literature* as everlasting monuments of his learning and industry. If I add that Wylie never neglected his duties as a missionary, I think I shall be quite right in saying that he may be set as an example, not only to his fellow-workers in the evangelical field, but also to men of science at large. Alexander Wylie's name ought to be a pride to his profession and to his country. I only hope that full justice will be done to his memory.



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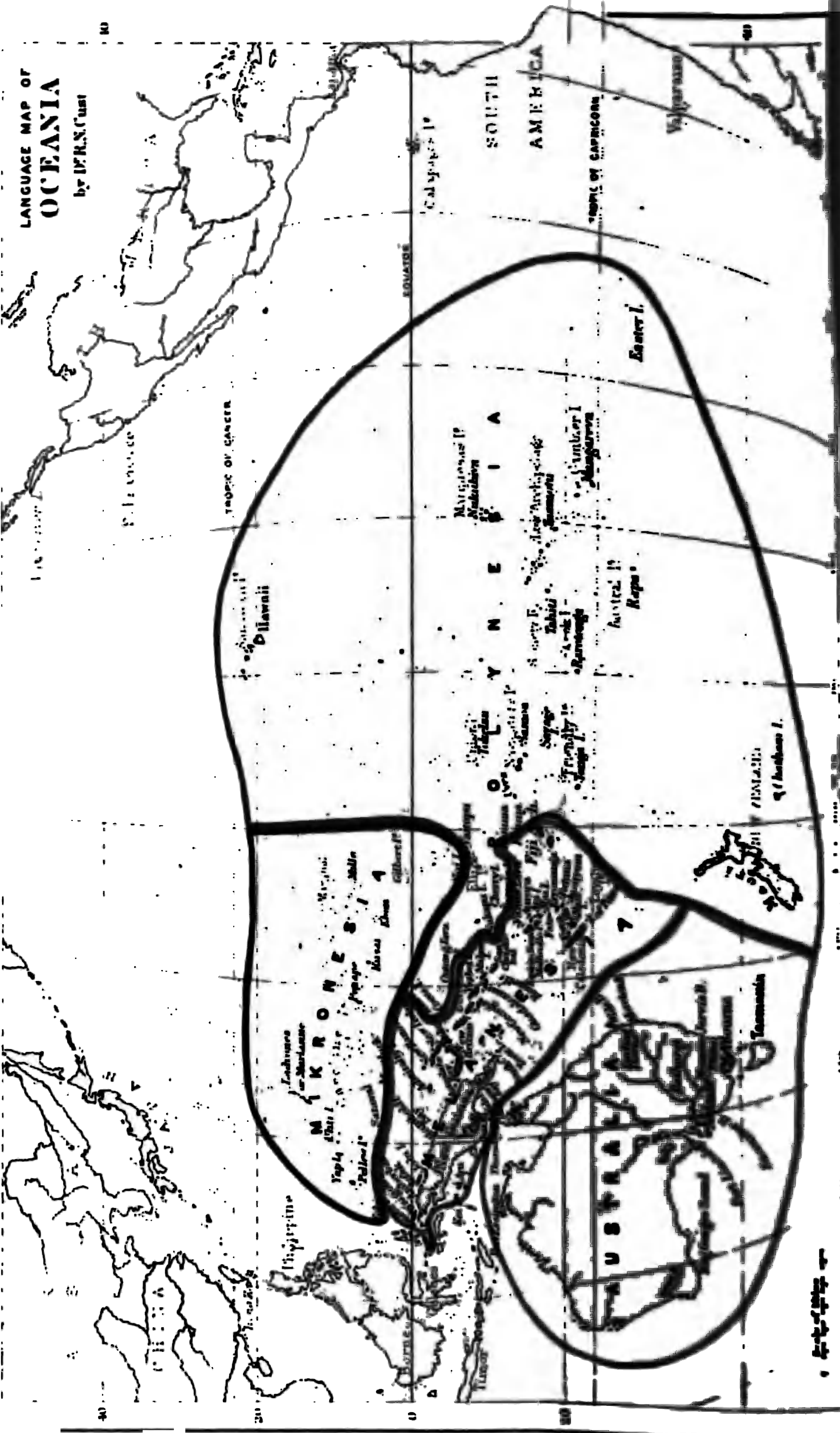
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LANGUAGE MAP OF OCEANIA

by W. H. R. S. C. G. S.

100 120 140 160 180 200 220 240 260 280 300 320 340 360 380 400 420 440 460 480 500 520 540 560 580 600 620 640 660 680 700 720 740 760 780 800 820 840 860 880 900 920 940 960 980 1000



once occupied the space which has gradually subsided, and the Islands are the summits of the loftiest mountains: 2, that the Eastern portion of the region was colonized from South America: 3, that the whole region was colonized from Asia: 4, that New Zealand was the birthplace of an autochthonous race, which spread over the Eastern Islands, and as far North as the Sandwich Islands. The ingenious Frenchman, who starts this theory within the last five years, has a peculiar contempt for those, who still, even in a faint-hearted way, adhere to the generally received notion of a common origin of the human race. As a fact, within the region there are three distinctly-marked separate races, the brown race, which occupies the Eastern Islands, the black curly-haired race, which occupies the Central Islands, including New Guinea, and the black straight-haired race, which is found surviving in Australia: so none of the last three theories cover the whole ground; and as to the "Sunken Continent" theory, it is merely pushing the problem back to a remoter period, for, when we have grasped the idea of a Continent, we have still the question of the origin of the races before us.

Everything in this region is thorny and controversial: no one can agree as to the nomenclature. No doubt the names of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America are illogical and insufficient, but somehow or other they have obtained, and no author thinks of altering them; but as regards this fifth region every writer tries his hand at a new and often a phantastical nomenclature. I follow the Geographical order and method, and divide the region into four sub-regions, using Geographical Names:

- I. Polynesia.
- II. Melanesia.
- III. Mikronesia.
- IV. Australia.

I am glad to find that Keith Johnston's Colonial Atlas of 1886 has adopted these terms, and they are obviously more convenient than such mystic symbols as Mahori, Sub-

Papuan, Sa-wai-Ori, Tara-Pon. Imagine the inhabitants of the British Isles being called by a name composed of a syllable of each of the names of the three kingdoms—e.g. “Scot-Ire-Eng,” and yet this kind of name is suggested in the last two terms above mentioned, as a proper appellation for South Sea Islanders.

Let us describe each Sub-Region separately. Polynesia extends from Easter Island on the East, not so very far from South America, to Tonga on the West, and from the Sandwich Islands on the North to New Zealand on the South. It is an established fact, that the inhabitants belong to one race, brown in colour, straight-haired, magnificent in stature, gentle and hospitable, excellent navigators, and not without certain arts and culture. Their languages belong to the same Family. Perhaps the degree of affinity and mutual intelligibility has been exaggerated, and many are the stories that are told of the languages of one Group of islands being understood in another. I could meet them with anecdotes stating just the contrary. We have the great fact, that the Missionaries belonging to the Protestant Societies have prepared translations of the Scriptures in eight distinct languages of this Family, all published by the British or American Bible Societies, who would certainly not have incurred the expense, if one or two translations were sufficient. No doubt a very superior linguist might be able to understand and make himself understood, to a limited extent, by the speakers of another Language; but it is clear that the Languages are as distinct as Italian from Spanish, or Hindustáni from Maráthi.

The chief Languages of the family are as follows :

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------|
| I. The Society or Georgian Group | speak Tahiti. |
| II. The Cook or Harvey's Group | speak Rarotonga. |
| III. The Marquesas Group | speak Marquesas. |
| IV. The Sandwich Group | speak Hawaii. |
| V. Savage Island | speak Nieuve. |
| VI. The Navigators' Group | speak Samoa. |
| VII. The Friendly Group | speak Tonga. |
| VIII. The New Zealand Group | speak Maori. |



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region of Great Britain and the United States; the rest of the Region will pass gradually under some European with the probable consequence of the entire extinction of the pure Native population.

To the West of Polynesia lies the Region of Melanesia. From Fiji on the extreme East extends a necklace of Islands in a semicircular sweep to New Guinea, the whole of which with its adjacent Islands, is included. The Region is vast, but the Groups of Islands are well demarcated, and we can proceed with absolute Geographical certainty with some degree of accuracy with regard to the Islands. The inhabitants apparently belong to one race, of a dark colour, woolly-haired, small in stature, fierce and inhumanly unskilled in Navigation, and in a low type of culture. Each Island has its own language, and in some Islands there are several languages totally distinct. Perhaps this is somewhat exaggerated, and as the languages are better known, it will be discovered, and the differences be found to be merely dialectal. Translations have been published by the English and Dutch Bible Societies in nineteen languages, and the texts are available in many more as well as Grammars, Grammatical Notes, Dictionaries and Vocabularies. As regards New Guinea and New Caledonia, and some of the larger Islands, we have no certainty, that we have not at finality as to the number and variety of forms of

SUBDIVISION I.

I. Fiji Group	2
II. Loyalty Islands	3
III. New Caledonia	7
IV. New Hebrides	17
V. Banks' Islands	9
VI. Torres, St. Cruz, and Swallow Groups	4
VII. Solomon Islands	10

SUBDIVISION II.

VIII. Bismark Archipelago	6
IX. German New Guinea	1
X. Lousiade Archipelago	1
XI. Torres Straits	11
XII. British New Guinea ... (about)	20
XIII. Islands N. of New Guinea... ..	10
XIV. Dutch New Guinea... .. (about)	17

Fortunately the different British and Dutch Missions, which have been settled upon the different islands for many years, have supplied some, if not complete, information of the Languages, and our knowledge is yearly extending. Scientific travellers have also contributed their share.

Whitmee has thus recorded the characteristics of this Group of Languages, for it cannot be safely asserted, that they are a Family: they are very distinct from each other, and it is difficult to account for the number of isolated Languages. Still upon certain particulars there is a general agreement, at least they are more like each other than they are to any other Group or Family of Languages. They use consonants much more freely than the Polynesian; they have some consonantal sounds not found in the latter, which are difficult to transliterate. Many syllables are closed. There is no difference between the definite and indefinite article except in Fiji. Nouns are divided into two classes, with or without a pronominal Suffix, and the principle of division is the nearer or more remote connection between the possessor and possessed, *e.g.* the parts of a man's body

would take the Suffix, but not an article possessed for use. Gender is only sexual. Many words in represent Noun, Adjective, or Verb without change, sometimes a Noun is indicated by its termination. In of the Languages the plural is indicated by a Prefix any other change. Case is indicated by Particles Adjectives follow Substantives. Pronouns are numerous, the Personal Pronouns have four numbers, Singular, Trinal, and Plural, also inclusive and exclusive. any word may be used as a Verb by adding a verbal The common characteristic of all is to mark Tense and and in some languages Person and Number, by Particles prefixed. These Particles vary in the different languages: they have a Causative, Intensative, Frequentative, and Reciprocal Form.

We hear of no legends; the people are cruel Cannibals treacherous and revengeful, but they have been cruelly used by Europeans: whole islands depopulated by the labor vessels, and the natives deported to Queensland or Fiji some never to return, and those who did return by various means improved. The Fiji Group has been occupied by Great Britain, the Loyalty Islands and New Caledonia by France. The New Hebrides are a bone of contention between Great Britain and France. Banks' Islands, the Torres, the Cruz, and Swallow Groups are awaiting annexation. The southern portion of the Solomon Group is by treaty with Germany left within the sphere of British influence. The Northern portion, as well as the Bismark Archipelago, and a portion of the North Coast of New Guinea, have passed under Germany. The Southern portion of New Guinea, the Islands of Torres Straits, and the Lousiade Archipelago, have passed into the sphere of influence of Great Britain. Beyond the parallel of 141° E. Longitude, New Guinea and its adjacent islands are under the protection of Holland. But regards these Islands it will only be over the land, that the European Kingdoms will have sway, for the population rapidly disappearing all over Polynesia and Melanesia. Neither the brown race, nor the black race, have the vitality



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or plural. In others there are special dual forms. In the Ebon there are special inclusive and exclusive forms of the Personal Pronoun. Verbs have no inflections to express Mood, Voice, or Tense, but use Particles. In Ebon, however, the tenses are distinctly marked. There are Causative, Intensative, and Reciprocal forms of the Verb. Words of ceremony are used in some of the Languages, and there are special words for religious functions. The syllables, which occur in the names of chiefs, are disused.

Spain and Germany divide the Group betwixt them, but all the modern culture of the natives is derived from the American Missionaries, whose head-quarters are in the Sandwich Islands.

The Region of Australia presents phenomena totally different from those hitherto described. Of its two Sub-Regions the people of Tasmania have totally disappeared, the last representative of the race, a woman, having died in 1876, and with her perished any linguistic interest in that Island, and no text has survived to show what the Language was. In the other Sub-Region the same causes are in operation, and will probably lead to the same result. European civilization will have its way either in the destruction of the race, or the treading out of the Language. It is supposed, that at least 60,000 Australians still survive, which exceeds the population of Polynesia, but the environment is difficult. In New Guinea our knowledge is incomplete, because the country has not been explored, but the whole of Australia has been explored, and occupied by British, and the Natives pushed aside. As far as I can ascertain, such Missions as do exist make English the vehicle of instruction: this policy can have but one result. One translation of a portion of the Scriptures has been made, but the Edition is exhausted, and no second Edition called for. A long list of no less than eighty-two varieties of tribes and Languages is given in the usual Books of reference, and in a general way marked off into Regions; but the Natives in Colonial estimation so entirely go for nothing (the Shepherd certainly less valuable than the sheep) that the idea of preparing a Language-map of Australia,

or any of the Australian Colonies, has never been entertained. Some Grammars and Vocabularies have been compiled, and in general books of Philology an analysis of these passes muster for a representation of Australian languages; but I cannot realize the problem in Australia even as clearly, or as hopefully, as I do in New Guinea. It is generally asserted, that all Australian Languages have a common origin, but this has not been proved: there is indeed a general accordance in phonetics, as shown by the universal rejection of Sibilants: a common stock of primitive words, members of the body, objects of a general nature and Personal Pronouns: the imperfect conception of Number, and the uniform use of the same word for "two": the use of the dual Suffixes, and duplicate terms for the same objects: but on the other hand there are tremendous differences in the word-store of even adjacent tribes. In the last generation African Languages were spoken of as a unit, but we know better now. The theory of a connection of the typical Australian, before the Languages have been thoroughly studied, with the typical characteristics of the Dravidian of South India may be passed over as premature. All the Languages known are agglutinative, they have no Relative Pronoun or Article, and only sexual Gender: the accent falls generally on the Penultimate: there is an extensive use of onomatopoeic words. The perfection of the Language, as a Language, is a contrast to the barbarity of the people, as a people, but this is not an uncommon phenomenon. The construction is very complex, and some of the sentences are impossible to translate. It is much to be regretted that the study of these Languages has been so neglected, as the Australians occupy the lowest round in the ladder of human civilization, on a level with the Bushmen of South Africa, and the logical arrangement of thought, as represented by their word-forms, and sentence moulds, presents most interesting peeps into the working of unsophisticated minds.

It is obvious that a great deal more has still to be done before anything like a complete statement of the Languages of Oceania can be made, and I can only repeat what I

have often said before, that, until accurate data of all the Languages of the World are collected and collated, all speculations as to the origin of Language-Families, or of the power of Speech itself, are premature. Speculations as to the affinities of these Languages of Oceania with those of the rest of the World seem to be hazardous, as we have no written records to guide us. The existence of the English Language, as the Vernacular of Pitcairn's Island, would have been a puzzle, if the Mutiny of the Bounty had happened a thousand years ago, and had not been a part of written Modern History. Many a mutiny, many a storm and shipwreck, many a fortunate wind-driven passage over a vast ocean, has contributed its quota to the population of these Islands; but the brave men, who founded the new Colony, are like those, who lived before Agamemnon, and are forgotten. Even in these last days the results of the working of Commercial instinct are marvellous. These Islands of Melanesia had once an unequalled supply of Sandalwood, and have still an inexhaustible supply of a particular Slug called "Beche de Mer": the wood was a requisite for the Chinese Joss-worship, and the Slug for Chinese Belly-worship, and Englishmen and Americans from their distant homes were the degraded agents in this commerce. There is still an English patois current in the Islands, known as "Beche de Mer English," and it is amusing to read in a Frenchman's account of New Caledonia, that he had to communicate with the Natives in this choice Patois, in which Frenchmen are always spoken of as "Wee wee," and God as a "Big Fellow," both terms being used with most profound respect. British are called in New Guinea "Biritani Dimdim," no doubt for the same National Word peculiarity, that led Froissart to call them the English "Goddam" at the battle of Agincourt, 1405 A.D. The French system everywhere is to make the use of their Language the test of loyalty, but they will have a hopeless fight in Oceania against English owing to its innate freedom from the shackles of Grammatical Inflections, Genders and Number, and its power of assimilation of foreign words. Bishop Selwyn (the elder) remarked, that the first



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varieties, at the worst only branches and twigs of the same common stock.

PROVISIONAL LIST OF LANGUAGES OF OCEANIA
UP TO MAY, 1887.

1	Polynesia	30
2	Melanesia I. South Sea Islands	52
	II. New Guinea	66
		} . 118
3	Mikronesia	14
4	Australia	34
	Grand Total	<u>196</u>

Subject to Reductions and Amplifications.

R. N. C.

ABBREVIATIONS.—G. Grammar. D. Dictionary. Voc. Vocabulary. G.N. Grammatical Note. Z. Zeitschrift. Ethn. Ethnological.

I. POLYNESIA.

No.	Region.	Language.	Dialect.	Authorities.
1	Extreme East	Easter Island		Oster Insel. Geiseler, Berlin.
2	Gambier I.	Mangaréva		Mosbleck, Voc., Paris, 1843.
3	Low Arcipelago	Taumotu		Hale's Expedition, U.S., 1841.
4	Society or Georgian I.	Táhiti		London Miss. Soc., G.D., Lond., 1831. Gaussin, G., Paris, 1853.
5	Cook or Harvey Island	Rarotonga		Buzacott, G., Rarotonga, 1854.
6	Austral I.	Rapa		Hale's Expedition, U.S., 1841.
7	Marquesas I.	Nukuhiva		Buschmann, G., Berlin, 1843. Gaussin, G., Paris, 1853.
8	Sandwich I.	Hawaii		Andrews, G.D., Honolulu, 1854-65.
9		Savage I.		Lawes, G. (MSS.)
10	Navigator's I.	Samoa		Pratt, G.D., London, 1862.

No.	Region.	Language.	Dialect.	Authorities.
11	Union Group or Tokelau	Fakaafo	.	Hale's Expedition, U.S., 1841.
12	Ellis Group	Vaitupa		Do.
13		Wallis I. or Uvea		Texts, Freiburg, 1878, 1885.
14		Horne I. or Futuna		Grezel, G.D., Paris, 1878.
15		Cocos I.		Hale's Expedition, U.S., Voc., 1841.
16	Friendly I.	Tonga I.		West, G., London, 1865. Rabone, D. (MSS.)
17	Loyalty I.	Uvea I.		See No. 13.
18	New Hebrides Island	Aniwa I.		Steele's New Hebrides, Text, London, 18 .
19	Do.	Futuna I.		See No. 14.
20	Do.	Mel and Fil I.		
21	Shepherd's Group	Mai or Three Hills I.		Codrington, Melanesian Languages, Oxford, 1886.
22	Duff I.	Taumoco I.		Quiros, Voc.
23	Swallow I.	Nukapu I.		Markham, Cruise of the Rozario, J.R.G.S., 1872.
24	Do.	Tukopia I.		Dumont D'Urville, Voc., Paris, 1838.
25	Do.	Cherry I.		Markh., Cruise of the Rozario, J.R.G.S., 1872.
26	Solomon I.	Leneneowa		Wallace, Australasia, 1879.
27	Do.	Rennell and Bellona		Codrington, Melanesian Languages, Oxford, 1886.
28	Do.	Ontong Java		Do.
29	New Zealand	Maori		Maunsell, G., 1862. Williams, D., 1852.
30	Do.	Chatham I.		Wallace, Australasia, 1879.

II. MELANESIA.

SUBDIVISION I.

-	Fiji Archipelago	Several Dialects	Hazlewood and Calvert, G.D., 1850-52
2	Rotuma I.		Hale's Expedition, U.S., G.N. 1846.

No.	Region.	Language.	Dialect.	Authorities.
3	Loyalty Island	Nengone I. or Mare		Codrington, <i>Melanesian Languages</i> Oxford, 1886.
4	Do.	Lifu I.		Do.
5	Do.	Uvea I.		H. Conon von der Gabelentz, Leipzig, 1873.
6	New Caledonia I.	Duauru	}	Capt. Cook, <i>Voc.</i> 1770. H. C. v. d. Gabelentz, Leipzig, 1873.
7	Do.	Balada		
8	Do.	Yengeen		
9	Do.	Names uncertain		
10	Do.			
11	Do.			
12	Do.	I. of Pines		
13	New Hebrides I.	Aneityúm I.		Inglis, G.D., Lond. 1822.
14	Do.	Tanna I.		Texts, Bible Society.
15	Do.	Erromanga I.		Do.
16	Do.	Sandwich I. or Fate		Codrington, <i>Melanesian Languages</i> G.N., Oxford, 1886.
17	Do.	Montague I. or Nguna		Do.
18	Do.	Sheperd Group { Mai or Three Hills (Sesake)		Do.
19	Do.		Tongoa		Do.
20	Do.	Api I., Tasiko or Baki		Do.
21	Do.	Do. Lemororo		Do.
22	Do.	Pama I.		H. C. v. d. Gabelentz, Leipzig, 1873.
23	Do.	Ambrym I.		Codrington, <i>Melanesian Languages</i> Oxford, 1886.
24	Do.	Mallicollo I.		Georg von der Gabelentz, <i>Voc.</i> , Leipzig, 1882.
25	Do.	Whitsuntide or Pentecost I. (A-Raga)		Codrington, <i>Melanesian Languages</i> Oxford, 1886.
26	Do.	Espirito Santo (C. Lisburn)		Do.
27	Do.	Do. (Nogayon)		Do.
28	Do.	Lepers' I. (Oba)		Do.
29	Do.	Aurora I.		Do.



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SUBDIVISION II.

NEW GUINEA (GERMAN).

ISLANDS.

No.	Region.	Language.	Dialect.	Authorities.
1	Bismark Archipelago	New Britain		Strauch, Z. Ethn. viii., 1876, Voc.
2	Do.	Duke of York		Brown, G., Sydney, 1882.
3	Do.	New Ireland		Strauch, Z. Ethn. viii., 1876, Voc.
4	Do.	Moise		Le Maire, Julg. Litteratur, Berlin, 1847.
5	Do.	New Hannover		Do.
6	Do.	Admiralty		Georg von der Gabelentz, Leipzig, 1882, Voc.

MAINLAND.

1	Kaiser Wilhelm's Land	Astrolabe Bay, alias Maclay Küste		Dumont D'Urville, Paris, Voc., 1833. Georg von der Gabelentz, Leipzig, 1882, Voc.
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NEW GUINEA (BRITISH).

ISLANDS.

N.B.—Nothing known of d'Entrecasteaux Islands and Woodlark Islands

1	Lousiade Islands	Toste		McFarlane, MSS. Codrington, Melanesian Languages, Oxford, 1886.
2	China Straits	Dinner		Texts.
3	Do.	Heath's		McFarlane, MSS.
4	Off South Cape	Brumer		McGillivray, Voc. 1852.
5	W. of Orangerie Bay	Toulon		Lawen, Wallace's Australasia, 1879.
6		Yule	2 Dialects	D'Albertis, Travels, Voc., 1880.
7	Torres Straits	Darnley, alias Erub		Murray, "40 years," Voc., 1876.
8	Do.	Murray, alias Mer		Texts.

No.	Region.	Language.	Dialect.	Authorities.
9	Do.	Yorke		McGillivray, Voc., 1852.
10	Do.	Saibai		Texts.
11	Do.	Tauan, alias Cornwallis		McFarlane, MSS.
12	Do.	Thursday		

MAINLAND.

N.B.—Nothing known of the Languages on the North Coast from Huon Gulf to Goodenough Bay. The list begins from the Eastern point and proceeds Westward.

1	Goshen Straits	East Cape		Lawes, Wallace's Australasia, 1879.
2	China Straits	Milne Bay		Do.
3	South Cape	Dahúni Orangerie Bay		Texts. Dumont D'Urville, Voc., 1833.
4	West of Mount Clarence	Aroma, alias Aloma		Lawes, Wallace's Australasia, 1879.
5	Near Keppel Pt.	Dedele		Do.
6	Hood's Bay	Kalo Quaibo		Do. Do.
7	Mountains be- hind Hood's Lagoon	Animoropu		Lawes, Wallace's Australasia, 1879.
8	Hood Point	Kerepuna, alias Hula Papaka, alias Babaga		First School Book, Sydney, 1878. Lawes, Wallace's Australasia, 1879.
9	Round Head	Ikolu		Do.
10	West of Round Head	Palavai		Do.
11	Do.	Manukolu		Do.
12	Pt. Moresby	Motu		Lawes, G.D., 1886.
13	Do. Inland	Koitapu		Stone, New Guinea, 1880, Voc.
	Do. Mountains	Koiári		Do.
14	Redscar Bay	Toula		Lawes, Wallace's Australasia, 1879.
15	Do.	Kabádi, alias Kapatsi		Chalmers, Pioneer- ing, 1887.
	Cape Suckling	Naala		McGillivray, Voc., 1852.
16	Hall's Sound	Mou, alias Lolu		Lawes, Wallace's Australasia, 1879.
	Cape Possession	Maiva		Stone, New Guinea, Voc., 1880.

No.	Region.	Language.	Dialect.	Authorities.
17	Freshwater Bay	Elema		Stone, New Guinea, Voc., 1880.
18	West of Do.	Namau		Chalmers, Pioneering, 1887.
19	Bald Head	Mipúa		Do.
20	Fly River	Kiwái		D'Albertis, Travels, Voc., 1880.

NEW GUINEA (DUTCH).

ISLANDS.

1	Gelvinck Bay	Jobi	2 Dialects Ansus Srui	Georg von der Gabelentz, Voc., Leipzig 1882.
2	Do.	Misóri, alias Schouten, alias Suk i Biah		
3	Do.	Mafúr, alias Nafúr		Meyer, G.N., Vienna 1874. Van Hasselt, D., Utrecht, 1875.
4	Do.	Rún		Georg von der Gabelentz, Leipzig, 1882.
5	Do.	Moa		Do.
6	Dampier Strait	Middleburg, alias Mis- palu		Do.
	Do.	Guebe		Dumont D'Urville. Paris, Voc., 1833.
		Misol		Schwan u. Van der Aa, Voc., Hague, 1879.
9		Ki		Wallace, Malay Ar- chipelago, 1875.
10		Aru		Do.

MAINLAND.

1	North Coast	Humboldt Bay		Schwan u. Van der Aa, Voc., Hague, 1879.
2	Gelvinck Bay	Aropin, alias Waropin.		Georg von der Gabe- lentz, Voc., Leipzig 1882.
3	Do.	Wandaman		Do.
4	Do.	Umar		Do.
5	Do.	Jaur		Do.
6	Do.	Arfak	2 Dialects	Do.



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IV. AUSTRALIA.

No.	Region.	Language.	Dialect.	Authorities.
1	Queen's Land	Cape York Konraregga Cape York		McGillivray, Voyage of the Rattlesnake, Voc., 1852.
2	Do.	Godang		Do.
3	Do.	Moreton Bay		Hale's Expedition, U.S., 1846.
4	Do.	Wide Bay		Bleek's Catalogue of Library of Sir G. Grey, p. 26. Bunce, Voc., Mel- bourne, 1856.
5	Do.	Darling Downs		Bleek's Catalogue of Library of Sir G. Grey, p. 29. Brucker, Voc.
6	Do.	Monero Downs		Bleek's Catalogue of Library of Sir G. Grey, p. 20. Lohtsky, Voc., J.R.G.S., ix., 1839.
1	New South Wales	Lake Mac- quaire		Threlkeld, G., Sydney, 1836. F. Muller, Grundris vol. i., 1882.
2	Do.	Bathurst		Hale's Expedition, U.S., 1846.
3	Do.	Mudgee		Do.
4	Do.	Wiraduree		F. Müller, Grundris vol. i., 1882.
5	Do.	Peel River		Hale's Expedition, U.S., 1846.
6	Do.	New England		Do.
7	Do.	Terreboo (Condamine River)		Bleek's Catalogue of Library of Sir G. Grey, p. 29. Birrell, Voc.
8	Do.	Bocharraboy (Condamine River)		Bleek's Catalogue of Library of Sir G. Grey, p. 29. Bunce, Voc., Mel- bourne, 1856.
9	Do.	Grafton Range		Do.
10	Do.	Kamilaroi (Namoi River)		Ridley, Kamilaroi Sydney, 1868.

No.	Region.	Language.	Dialect.	Authorities.
11	Do.	Turrubul (Brisbane River)		Ridley, Kamilaroy, Sydney, 1868.
12	Do.	Dippil (N. of Moreton Bay)		Do.
13	Do.	Jervis Bay		Dumont D'Urville, 1833, Voc. Meyer, Voc. of aborigines, 1843.
1	Victoria	Melbourne		Buncc, Melbourne, 1856.
2	Do.	Omio Snowy Mountains		Do. Dawson, L. of Vic- toria, W. District, 1855. Hutt, Voc., 1842. Brough Smith, Abo- rigines.
1	S. Australia.	Port Lincoln		Teichelman and Schurmam, G. Voc., 1840.
2	Do.	Parankalla		Schurmam, Voc., Adelaide, 1844. F. Muller, Grund- riss, vol. i., 1882.
3	Do.	Adelaide		Do. Williams, Voc., 1839.
4	Do.	Murray R.		Moorhouse, G., Voc., 1846.
5	Do.	Encounter Bay		Meyer, Voc., Ade- laide, 1843. F. Muller, Grund- riss, vol. i., 1882.
6	Do.	Woolner D.		Bennet and Wood, Voc., Adelaide, 1872.
7	Do.	Narrinyeri		Text, Bible Society.
8	Do.	Pt. Essington		McGillivray, Voy- age of Rattle- snake, Voc., 1852.
9	Do.	Castlcreagh		Bunce, Voc., Mel- bourne, 1856. Taplin, Folk Lore, Languages of S. Australia, 1879.

No.	Region.	Language.	Dialect.	Authorities.
1	W. Australia.	Swan River		F. Muller, Grund- riss, vol. i., 1882. Brady, Voc., Rome, 1845. Sir G. Grey, Voc. London, 1841. Moore, Voc., Lon- don, 1842. Dumont D'Urville, Paris, 1833, Voc. Spanish Missionaries, Voc., Missions Ca- tholiques, 1878.
2	Do.	Murray Bay (S. of Perth)		
3	Do.	King George's Sound		
4	Do.	New Nursia		



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official Intelligencers came to us and wrote information about us to Qutbu'l-Mulk, the governor of the town of Multān. The chief governor of Sind at this time was a slave of the Sultān named 'Sartiz,' (holding the office or title of) 'Aridzu'l-Memālik, and charged with the oversight of the royal forces. The meaning of his name is 'the sharp head,' for 'sar' means 'head,' and 'tiz' means 'sharp.'¹ At the time of our arrival he was at the town of Sīwastān in Sind, between which place and Multān there is ten days' journey. Between the country of Sind and the capital (Delhi) there is fifty days' journey, and when the Intelligencers write to the Sultān from Sind, their reports reach him in five days owing to (the rapidity of) the Berīd."

Here follows an account of the 'Berīd' or Post, of the Sultān's regulations for the reception of travellers from foreign countries, and a description of the 'Karkadan' or Rhinoceros, a specimen of which the author saw just after crossing the Indus.

"We travelled for two days from the river Sind,² and arrived at the town of Janānī (جانانی), a large and beautiful town on the bank of the river Sind, possessing excellent markets. Its inhabitants are a tribe called Es-Sāmara (السامرة), who have had their home there from ancient times, and whose ancestors settled in the place at the time of its conquest in the days of Hajjāj, son of Yūsuf, according to what the chroniclers have recorded concerning the conquest of Sind. The Sheykh³ Ruknu'd-dīn, son of the Jurist Shemsu'd-dīn, son of the Imām Behā'u'd-dīn Zekariyā, Qureyshī (one of the three persons whom the Sheykh Burhānu'd-dīn El-A'arej, in the city of Alexandria, told me I should meet in my travels, and meet them I did, praise be to God!), told me that the greatest of his ancestors was named Muhammed, son of Qāsim Qureyshī, and that he took part in the conquest of Sind in the army which Hajjāj, son of Yūsuf, when he governed Irāq, sent for that purpose; and that he settled in the country, and his descendants grew numerous.

The tribe known as 'Es-Sāmara' do not eat in company with

¹ Barnī gives the title as 'Sartiz-i-Sultānī.'

² That is, from the left, or eastern bank, to which the author had crossed. The crossing of the river is mentioned at the beginning of his account of the Rhinoceros.

³ The numerous eulogistic epithets applied to the Sheykh and his ancestors are omitted.

anybody (not belonging to them), and nobody looks at them when they are eating; they form no marriages with those not of their tribe, and no stranger marries among them. At this time they had a chief named Wunār,¹ an account of whom we shall give.

We travelled from the town of Janānī, and arrived at Sīwastān.² This is a large town. The country outside it is desert and tracts of sand; there is not a tree in it but the Acacia (Umm Ghaylān), and they cultivate nothing on its river but melons. The food of the people is *Dhura* (Sorghum or Indian Millet), and the pulse which they call Mushunk (Mung, Phaseolus Mungo), of which (the millet) they make bread. Here there is abundance of fish and of Buffalo-milk. The people of the place eat the 'saqanqūr,' a small reptile resembling the chameleon, which the people of Meghreb call 'Huneyshetu'l-jenna' (small garden-lizard), except that it has no tail. I saw them digging in the sand and pulling out the creature from it, then ripping up its belly, throwing away its contents, and stuffing it with 'Kurkum' (safflower), which they call 'zerd-shūba' (*chūba*), meaning 'yellow-stick,' which with them takes the place of saffron. When I saw this little reptile, and the people eating it, I regarded it as unclean and did not partake of it.

We entered this town during the intensely hot period of the summer,³ and the heat of the place was extreme, so that my companions seated themselves naked, each placing a waist-wrapper round his middle, and a wrapper moistened with water over his shoulders. But a little time passed till the wrapper dried, when it was again wetted, and this went on continually. I met in this town its preacher, named Esh-Sheybānī. He showed me a written deed of the Commander of the Faithful, the Khalīfa 'Umar, son of 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, (granted) to the greatest of his ancestors, conferring on him the preachership of this town. The family have held it by inheritance from that time till now. The

¹ وُنَّار. The author gives the details of spelling and pointing, so that 'Wunār' is what he intended, but it will hereafter be shown that the person referred to was named Unar.

² In the detail of the pointing of the name it is said that the second *sin* is *meksūr*; we should therefore transliterate Sīwasitān. At the present day many Sindhīs would follow this pointing in *writing* the name, as it is a common practice to point a consonant with *kesra*, which, in strictness, ought to be quiescent. In such cases, however, the pronunciation of the *kesra* is so faint as to be hardly perceptible to the ear. This old name of Sēwan is now obsolescent. I am uncertain whether Sīwastān or Sīwistān is the correct form.

³ قَبْط, comprising part of May, all June and July, and part of August.

form of the deed is: 'This is the command of the servant of God the Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar, son of 'Abdu'l-'Aziz, to so and so,' and its date is 99 H. (717-18 A.D.). On it is written, as the said preacher told me, in the handwriting of the Commander of the Faithful: 'Praise be to the One God!' In this place I also met the aged Sheykh Muhammed of Baghdād, who (lived) in the hospice by the tomb of the upright Sheykh Uthmān of Merend.¹ It was said that his age exceeded 140 years, and that he was present at the murder of El-Must'asim-bi'llāh, the last Khalif of the Benī 'Abbās dynasty, who was slain by the infidel Hulā'ū (Hulāqū) grandson of Tangiz (Chingiz) the Tātār. The Sheykh, though of so great an age, was strong of body, and went about on foot.²

A Story.

There lived in this town the Amīr Wunār Es-Samarī, who has been previously mentioned, and the Amīr Qayser Er-Rūmī, both in the service of the Sultān, and with them some 1800 horsemen. There, too, lived an infidel Hindū named Ratan, who was skilled in reckoning and writing. He waited on the King of India with certain nobles. The King was pleased with him, named him a noble of Sind, gave him the government of that country, and assigned to him Sīwastān and its dependencies in fief. He also conferred on him the honorific distinctions of drums and banners such as are granted to the great nobles. When he arrived in the country the precedence of the infidel over them galled Wunār Qayser and the rest, and they determined on his assassination. Accordingly, when some days had passed after his arrival, they suggested to him to go out into the dependencies of the town to inquire into the state of affairs there; so he went with them. When night fell, they raised an alarm in the camp, pretending that a lion had attacked it, and they went to the tent of the infidel and killed him. They then returned to the town and took what royal revenue there was in it, amounting to 12 laks. [The 'lak' is (an amount of) one hundred thousand (silver) dīnārs, and the 'lak' (of silver dīnārs) is equal to ten thousand dīnārs of Indian gold. The Indian (gold) dīnār is equal to two and a half dīnārs of

¹ This holy man flourished in the 13th century. His shrine, better known as that of *I'ul Shūh Būz*, is still of great celebrity.

² The tragedy witnessed by the Sheykh occurred in 656 H. It does not follow that he must have been of an unprecedented age in 734 H., or 78 lunar years later.



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“I travelled five days with ‘Alā’u’l-Mulk, and we arrived at the seat of his government, Lāharī, a fine town on the shore of the ocean where the river Sind flows into it, so that two seas meet.¹ It has a large harbour to which come people of Yasa, Fārs, and other places. Owing to this the customs collected are large and the revenues of the place considerable. The above-mentioned ‘Alā’u’l-Mulk, the governor, informed me that the collections of this town are sixty laks annually. (The value of the *lak* we have already mentioned.) To the governor pertains one-twentieth of this. On such condition the sovereign courts governments, (the grantees) taking a twentieth of the revenues.

Account of a strange thing which I saw in the country about this town.

I one day rode with ‘Alā’u’l-Mulk to a spacious place, distant seven miles (from Lāharī), called Tārṇā, where I saw innumerable stones in the form of human beings and animals. Very many were altered (from their original form) and their (distinguishing) features were obliterated, so that there remained but the shape of a hand or foot, or other member. Among the stones, too, were some in the form of grains of wheat, of the chick-pea, the bean and the lentil. There, too, were traces of a town-wall, and of the court-yards and houses (آثار سور و جدران دُور). Afterwards we saw the remains of a house in which was a chamber of hewn stone. In the middle of this was a platform (دُكَّانَة) of hewn stone, like a single block, and on it the figure of a man, except that its head was elongated, and its mouth on the side of the face, and the hands were behind the back like a captive’s. There were also pools of extremely stinking water in the place. On part of a court-yard wall there was an inscription in the Hindī language. ‘Alā’u’l-Mulk told me that historians state that a great city existed in this place and that most of its people were depraved, for which cause they were turned into stone, and that their ruler was he who was on the platform in the house which we have mentioned, and which is to the present time called *Dāru’l Malik* (the ruler’s house); also that the Hindī inscription on one of the court-yard walls contains the date of the destruction of the inhabitants of this city, which occurred a thousand years ago or thereabouts.

¹ The word *Bahr* being applicable both to the ocean and to a large river like the Indus, the author fancifully describes the junction of this stream with the sea as the meeting of two *Bahrs*, or seas.

I stayed with 'Alā'u'l-Mulk five days in this town. He then furnished me liberally with provisions for travelling, and I parted from him (and proceeded) to the town of Bakār (Bakhar). This is a fine town; a channel from the Sind divides it. In the middle of this channel there is a fine hospice, where food is provided for passers-by. Kashlū Khān built it during the time of his government of the country of Sind.¹ In this town I met the jurist and Imām, Ṣadru'd-dīn the Hanīfite. Here, too, I met the Qāzī of the place, named Ebu Hanīfa, and the devout and self-denying Sheykh, Shemsu'd-dīn Muhammed of Shīrāz, who is among the very aged men. He told me that his age exceeded 120 years. Afterwards I travelled from Bakār and arrived at the town of Ūchch, a large place on the bank of the river Sind, possessing fine markets and excellent structures. Its governor at that time was the accomplished and noble Melik Jelālu'd-dīn El-Kījī, a brave and generous man. He died in this town in consequence of a severe fall from his horse."

Here follows an account of the governor's generosity; also of a pious Sheykh who presented him with a "Khirqa" or ragged garment worn by devotees.

"From Ūchch I travelled to the town of Multān, which is the seat of government in Sind, and the residence of the chief governor. On the road thither, and at a distance of ten miles from it, is the river known as Khusrūābād, a large stream crossed only by boat. Here travellers' goods are examined very strictly, and their luggage closely searched. At the time of our arrival it was their custom to take a fourth of all that the merchants carried, and they levied a duty of seven dīnārs on every horse. Two years after our arrival in India the Sultān did away with these duties, and directed that nothing was to be taken from people but the alms-dues and the tithe. This was at the time when he professed allegiance to the Khalīfa Ebu'l-'Abbās of the 'Abbās dynasty. When we began the crossing of the river, and the packages were being examined, I was annoyed by the searching of my baggage, for there was nothing valuable in it, though in the eyes of people it looked considerable, and it was much against my will that it was

¹ Melik Bahrām Abiya received the title of Kashlū Khān from Sultān Ghiyāsu'd-dīn on the accession of this sovereign in 720 H. (1320 A.D.) when the government of Sindh was conferred upon him. He had previously held some high post in that province. In the next reign he rebelled, and in an action with the royal troops was defeated and killed.

examined. Through the goodness of the Almighty, one of the principal military officers arrived on the part of Qutbu'l-Mū the lord of Multān, and ordered that I should not be subjected to inspection and to the searching (of my baggage), and so it was settled, and I praised God for His goodness vouchsafed to us. We spent this night on the bank of the river. In the morning the Chief of the Berīd (or Post) named Dahqān, a native of Samqand, came to us. He it was who used to write to the Sultan the news of the town and its dependencies, of any fresh occurrences therein, and of those arriving in the place. I made myself known to him, and in company with him I waited on the governor of Multān."

REMARKS ON THE EXTRACT.

Though abounding in curious and interesting information, Ibnu Batūṭa's account of his travels is disappointing from a geographical point of view. The traveller had an eye for a fine town or a well-stocked market, and the pronounced taste of the devout Musulmān for venerable Sheykhs and learned theologians, but his faculty for geographical observation was evidently meagre. The result is that the reader finds himself carried at a bound over vast spaces of country for the features and topography of which the author has not a word to spare.

In consequence of this peculiarity of Ibnu Batūṭa's, we are left in doubt as to the spot at which his Indian travels may be said to have begun. He tells of his arrival on the bank of that portion of the Indus called the "Panjāb," but gives no name to the locality, and supplies no means of identifying it. As will presently be seen, there is some reason for placing it in the north of the modern province of Sindh, but this conjecture involves the difficulty of accounting for Ibnu Batūṭa's taking such an unusual route from Qābul as one that would bring him to the Indus so very far down its course. Had he travelled by Qandahār and the Bolān Pass the case would be different; but he says that he proceeded from Qābul to India by places called *Karmāsh* and *Shah-naghār*, and by the latter I think there can be no doubt



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crossed the Indus some forty miles (two marches) high up its course, and therefore but a short distance below Bakhar, then the chief town on the lower Indus, which one might thus suppose he had at this time some object in avoiding, though he visited it not long afterwards. But as I shall have occasion to notice hereafter, a long time passed at this period of his travels respecting which our author gives no account whatever. Much may have happened, and many places may have been visited in the interval, but the narrative is a blank in regard to this portion of the writer's experiences. Either recollection failed, or there was a deliberate purpose to suppress the record of what may have been uneventful or unpleasant, and the consequence is some confusion in the narrative and much that remains unaccountable.

The next place named is Sīwastān, in order to reach which the traveller must have regained the right bank of the Indus, but of this he says nothing. The town is described as large, but the surrounding country as desert and sandy (سجرات ورمال), without any tree but the Acacia. This differs very much from the account of it given by the Arab geographers, some of whom visited it in the tenth century. Of these Ibnu Hawqil, as quoted by Ebu'l-Fida, says that the town abounded in good things, and was surrounded by villages and townships; while Idrīsī (on the reports of other writers) says of it in the twelfth century that it "is remarkable for its size and the number of its fountains and canals, for the abundance of its productions, and for its rich commerce."¹ Ibnu Baṭūṭa's description, however, is quite correct if limited to the country south of the town, which is a sandy ridge extending for about four miles to the lower slopes of the so-called Lakī range. On other sides the land is remarkably fertile, though doubtless in the unsettled times described by the traveller it would be lying waste.

It may be noticed that Ibnu Baṭūṭa does not say that the

¹ Elliot's *Historians of India*, vol. i. p. 79.

town was *on the bank* of the Indus as Janānī was. He speaks, however, of “*its river*” (نہرہا), probably referring to the Aral which flows round the northern side of the town.¹ It is true that in Istakhrī’s map, as well as in Ibnu Hawqil’s (Elliot’s Hist. vol. i. p. 32), both illustrating the geography of Sindh in the middle of the tenth century, Sīwastān (then called Sadūsān) is represented as actually on the Indus, though in their texts both geographers describe the town as “to the west of the river,” not as actually on the west bank. In both maps, too, the town of Daybal, or Dēwal, is represented as actually on the shore of the Indian Ocean, though, as I shall presently show, it is physically impossible that any town could have been so situated within the limits of the Delta, and that we must infer nothing more than *comparative* proximity to the sea—a distance of a few miles more or less. The same may have been the case in regard to the relative positions of Sadūsān and the course of the Indus in those days, and I think it not improbable that in Ibnu Batūtā’s time, and for many years subsequently, the river ran in a channel, portions of which are still to be seen ten miles east of Sewān. There is a still older channel twenty miles east of the town.²

Returning to our traveller, a curious fact, previously alluded to, has here to be noticed. He says that he reached Sīwastān during the intense heat of summer, and from his description of the methods of cooling themselves resorted to by his friends, it is evident that hot winds were blowing. The season must have been that known in Sindh as the

¹ The Aral is really the southern end of the stream called Nāro (“Western Nāra”) which leaves the west bank of the Indus near Lāḍkānā, and after a course considerably exceeding 100 miles, expands into the Manchur lake—or swamp—eight miles due west of Sēwān. Thence it issues, and passing eastward, runs close under the walls of the fort of Sēwān, rejoining the Indus near the town. It is the portion between Sewān and the Manchur lake that bears the name of “Aral.” Though not mentioned by name, it is distinctly referred to in the “Chach Nāma,” in the account of the siege of Sīwastān by the Arabs in 711 A.D.; and it is most probably that which is alluded to by Belādhurī in the “Futūḥu’s-Sind,” when he speaks of Muhammed Qāsim’s “crossing a river on this (the west) side of the Mihrān” (عبر نہر فون مہران), there being, indeed, no other which could be so described.

² Within my own experience the Indus has at one time run close under the town, and at another three to four miles or more eastward of it.

putting it at the utmost possible, being no more than three weeks, the narrative certainly conveys the idea of the journey being continuous, and not having occupied many days. Baṭūṭa, it must be remembered, would not, especially writing long after the events recorded, himself notice this discrepancy between the apparent and actual lapse of time, for the period referred to is a lunar month—Muharram—and ended with a full moon—summer,—and it is only on noting the solar year that particular Muharram fell that the length of the month is discovered. Moreover, his experiences in Sindh, of a tame and commonplace character, while his life at the court of Delhi was crowded with important and striking events likely to absorb his recollection, and the memory of a preceding and more uneventful journey, in some such way, perhaps, may be explained the fact that the traveller spent several months in Sindh, of the length of which he has left no record.

But a more interesting subject for consideration is itself in the account of the local rebellion at that time headed by Wunār, the chief, as we have previously told, of the tribe of Es-Sāmara. It is well known that at this time the two most powerful tribes in Sindh



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tyrant that the people resolved to depose him, Mr M'aṣūm proceeds:

“A body of Samās had come from Kachchh and settled in Sind, and between them and the Sindīs a path of mutual esteem and alliance had been cleared. One of these Samās named Unar, was remarkable for intelligence.” (Account of the murder of Armīl.) “They then proceeded with a number of people and seated Unar on the throne of sovereignty.” He proceeded with a large force to the conquest of Siwastān and arriving in the vicinity of that place, prepared to attack Melik Ratan, an officer of the Turk dynasty. Melik Ratan with forces arrayed, issued from the fort to the battle-field and commenced the attack. On that day Jām Unar was routed at the first charge, but on a second occasion he collected a force with the aid of his brethren, and appeared on the field of action. Melik Ratan fell from his horse when it was at full gallop, and Jām Unar severed his head from his body. He then took possession of the fort of Siwastān. Melik Fīroz and ‘Aliyy Shāh, Turk, who were in the Bakhar territory, wrote to him saying that this audacity was unbecoming, and that he should now prepare to meet the royal forces, and show his valour and firmness on the battle-field. (Alarmed) at these words, he abandoned his enterprise, and proceeded to Tharī (a place in Lower Sindh).” There can be no doubt, I think, that Ibn Baṭūta’s “Wunār” is identical with the Unar of Mr M'aṣūm. The historian gives no date for these occurrences, but from subsequent statements of his in connection with the history of the Samā rulers, it may be inferred that he supposed the Siwastān affair to have happened about 1285 A.D., or some fifty years earlier than Ibnu Baṭūta’s date. On the other hand, the Beg Lār Nāma (another local chronicle) dates the commencement of the Samā rule in 734 H. (1333-4 A.D.),¹ the very year in which Ibnu Baṭūta places the Siwastān rebellion. Further confirmation is found in Kachchh and Kāthiāwād annals, from which it appears

¹ Elliot’s *Historians of India*, vol. i. p. 494.

that there undoubtedly was a Samā chief named Unād (or Unar) ruling in the former province in the early part of the fourteenth century, by whom, or by whose son, the ancient fortress of Ghumli in Kāthiāwād was stormed in 1313 A.D.¹

From all this evidence, then, it may be safely concluded that in describing the events immediately preceding his arrival at Sīwastān, Ibnu Baṭūṭā has fixed for us within a year or two the date of the commencement of Samā rule in Sindh, and thus is solved a question which has been much discussed without, up to the present time, any satisfactory result. It is to be wished that something could have been gathered from Ibnu Baṭūṭā's pages to throw light upon the much more interesting question of the period at which the conversion of the bulk of the population to Islām occurred. Unar is described as a Musulmān, though the Kachchh Samās for the most part ever remained true to their original faith; but it is possible that when he emigrated to Sindh the movement in favour of Islām was becoming more active, and that he found a change of religion desirable for the furtherance of his aims in that country. His feelings towards the Hindū Ratan may be explained by the proverbial hatred of the apostate for the professors of his former religion. However this may be, it is certain that soon after the accession of the Samās to power, the names of the chiefs of Lower Sindh become distinctly Muhammedan, and it seems probable that a general change of religion was nearly coincident with the transfer of authority from Sumrās to Samās in the first half of the fourteenth century.

But it is time to follow the further course of our traveller. From Sīwastān, or Sēwaṇ,² he proceeded down river to Lāhari, a voyage of five days he tells us. As the Indus

¹ Mr. Burgess' Report on Antiquities of Kāthiāwād and Kachchh, p. 178. Archaeological Survey of Western India.

² This name is spelt by Sindhīs as variously as by Englishmen. The most usual form is سپون—Sēwaṇ—and, however written, it is invariably pronounced in accordance with this spelling.

ran in those days—far east of its present course—the distance would be about 300 miles, and as it was the time of high flood (June or July), a progress with the current of sixty miles a day would be quite feasible, supposing the voyage not to be interrupted by the strong southerly gales common at that season. It will be observed that he never once mentions Thata, though he must have passed very near the site of that town. The omission of any notice of what afterwards became the capital of Lower Sindh, and the most populous town in the entire province, at once suggests that either it was not then in existence, or was too unimportant to attract particular attention. The author of the *Tuhfat-i-Kirām*, himself a native of Thata, says that the town was founded by Jām Nizāmu'd-dīn, commonly called Jām Nandī who succeeded to the chiefship in 1461 A.D., a statement which shows how little the author's chronology is to be trusted. The earliest mention of the place, so far as I know is about 1347-8, near the close of Muhammed Shāh Taghīlaq's reign, and in connection with the rebellion in Guzarat incited by one of the populace named Taghī. This man, hunted from place to place, at last took refuge at Thata, whither he was pursued by the furious sovereign, who died near the town in 1351.¹ We may thus infer that Thata was founded between the time of Ibnu Batūta's visit to Lower Sind (1334) and the year 1347. According to the local chronicles, the first capital of the Samāns was Sāmū'i, or Sāmuhī, the site of which is on the Kalrī branch of the Indus, three miles north of Thata; but while it was still in course of building, the position was found to be unsuitable, and the population migrated to the site farther south. It was perhaps while this movement was in progress that Ibnu Batūta passed by.

The ruins of Lāharī, so long the sea-port of Sindh, are still to be seen on the northern bank of a tidal channel called the Rāho, which communicates with the Baglān branch of the Indus. The spot is twenty-eight miles south-

¹ See Zīā-Barnī's *Tārīkh-i-Fīrozshāhī*.



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the period, which is only of late years, since the channel of Laribunder river has been obstructed, by which Carraches has attained its present commercial importance.”¹

But a port in the Delta has remained a necessity for part of the sea-borne trade of Sindh even to the present day, and when Lāharī was abandoned, its immediate successor in the Delta was Dhāraja, twelve miles to the south-east, and on a different channel.

The customs collections of Lāharī are stated by Ibnu Batūta to have been “60 laks,” and he refers the reader to his previous explanation of what is to be understood by “lak,” viz. 100,000 silver dinars, equal to 10,000 dinars. What the value of these dinars may be in modern money I am quite unable to say, but if six lakhs of gold dinars were collected annually at Lāharī, it is certain that the gold dinar must have been of small value. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the customs of this port amounted, according to the “Ā’in-i-Akbarī,” to 5,521,419 Dāms, equivalent to 138,035 Rupees, and there is no reason to suppose that by this time the trade of the place had fallen off. In 1613 the Hindū farmer of the Lāharī customs informed the English, whose visit has been above mentioned, that the Portuguese trade alone was worth a lakh of rupees to him,² and though this was very likely a gross exaggeration, it may be taken to show that the Portuguese contribution formed a large proportion of the customs.³

It is unfortunate that we are unable to identify the position of the ruins described by Ibnu Batūta as existing in a plain called Tārṇā, seven miles from Lāharī, which were evidently those of some ancient Hindū city. General Cunningham considers that they were most probably the

¹ As. Ann. Register, p. 70 of Chronicle for March, 1800. Karāchi was founded in 1725 by a body of traders who migrated from a small port at the mouth of the Hab river named Kharak, where the anchorage had silted up.

² Purchas' Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 495.

³ For fourteen years after the British conquest of Sindh the total sea-customs of Karāchi and the Delta ports did not amount to a lakh of rupees. Our tariff has of course always been much more liberal than that of the native rulers, but it is needless to say that trade has increased in a far more than corresponding degree. The highest known collections at Karāchi under the Talpurs was 1½ lakh.

ruins of Dēwal,¹ but as that place could not have been abandoned more than a century previously, the site and its name must surely have been familiar to all the people of the surrounding country.² The fathers of some still living in the neighbourhood may have seen Dēwal when it was yet inhabited, and it is quite impossible that a tradition of its having been destroyed a thousand years before could have gained currency. The name "Tārṇā" is unknown in the locality, but the large scale maps show that in the open plain south of the Ghāro channel there is a ruined site called "Morā-Mārī," eight miles north-east of Lāharī, which may perhaps be the one described by Ibnu Batūṭa. The mention of "innumerable stones," some of them very large, would indicate a position in the naturally stoneless Delta, not far from the hilly tract immediately north of the Ghāro, where they could be quarried, and whence they could be conveyed without excessive expenditure of labour. There is thus a strong presumption in favour of identifying Morā-Mārī, which is only five miles from the nearest point of the hill-tract, with Ibnu Batūṭa's ruined city.

From Lāharī our traveller returned to north Sindh, and arrived at Bakār, by which of course we are to understand Bakhar. The description he gives of this place is singular. "A channel of the river Sind divides it" (يشققها خليج من نهر السند). From this it is evident that he regarded the present town of Rohrī as forming part of Bakhar, and the channel separating the former from the island of Bakhar must have been the *Khalīj* which he mentions. But I am totally unable to identify the place where Kashlū Khān's hospice stood. Ibnu Batūṭa says it was in the middle of the Khalīj. If so, island and hospice must since have disappeared under water. There is no island in either of the channels which separate Bakhar from the mainland, but there are three—one on the north, and two on the south of Bakhar—

¹ Ancient Geography of India, pp. 299, 300.

² Sultān Jelālu'd-dīn Khwārazmī was at Dēwal in 1224 (see Major Raverty's translation of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī*, I. 295 n.). The place appears to have been the seat of a local ruler in 1228 (*Ibid*, p. 615).

which may be correctly described as situated in the middle of *the Indus*, and it was perhaps on one of these that the hospice stood.¹

One more point in our extract may be noticed for its geographical interest. Ibnu Baṭūṭa passed on from Bakhar to Uchchh, and thence to Multān. At ten miles from this last city he had to cross an unfordable stream (wādī), named Khusraw-ābād, where he suffered so much vexation from the proceedings of the Customs' officers. This stream must have been the old channel of the Rāwī in which that river was still flowing sixty-five years later, when Tīmūr wrote thus of it: "The united waters (of the Jhēlam and Chīnāb) pass below Multān and then join the Rāwī."² The name of Khusraw-ābād is singular, as it implies an artificial channel. Had the Rāwī already begun to show symptoms of changing its course in the distant northern direction which it has since taken, and had it been restrained for a time by means of works carried out under the auspices of some local authority named Khusraw?

NOTE ON THE SITUATION OF JANĀNĪ.

It is possible that Hālānī, an old town in Pargana Kandhīāro, and 55 miles N.E. of Sēwan, may be Ibnu Baṭūṭa's Janānī. This town is situated on the left bank of the old course of the Indus mentioned in the note at the foot of p. 401. Ibnu Baṭūṭa, according to his custom, gives the details of the spelling of the name, and he makes it Janānī beyond all question, but it is to be remembered that he wrote—or rather dictated—the account of his travels long years after he had been in Sindh, and that he had lost the papers which he had prepared in India, a fact which no doubt accounts for much that is otherwise inexplicable in his narrative.

¹ The small island north of Bakhar, containing the shrine of Khwāja Khizr or Jind Pīr (Zinda Pīr), has in its mesjid what is perhaps the oldest extant Muhammedan inscription in India, dating Hijra 341 (952 A.D.). See Mr. Eastwick's article in *Journal Bombay R.A.S.* vol. i. p. 203. Sādh-Bēlo, the nearest island on the south, was, according to Mīr M'aṣūm, for a short time the residence of Prince Kāmran, just after Humāyūn had at last quelled the restless and faithless spirit of his brother by causing him to be blinded.

² Elliot's *Historians*, vol. iii. p. 476.



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APPENDIX.

Formosan vocabularies.

I. THE MANUSCRIPTS, §§ 1-19.

a) *Their Existence and Date.*

1. Various writers and travellers have mentioned the sort of interesting manuscripts, relics of a former civilization, found in Formosa, such as those sent to the President of the Royal Asiatic Society by our friend and learned traveller E. Colborne Baber.

Duhalde, in 1730, seventy years after the expulsion of the Dutch, speaking of the Formosan aborigines, could say "that there are many who yet understand the Dutch language, who can read the books of the Dutch, and who in writing use their letters; many fragments of pious Dutch books are found amongst them."



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b) *Note on "Nine Formosan Manuscripts" (by Mr. E. C. Baber).*

"This is a story of the decay and death of a people, and a language, and a script; and, incidentally, of a religion.

I.

"I think it was in the year 1626, or a little later, that George Candidius brought the schoolmasters into the Island. At any rate, it was about thirty years before the dreadful day when Mr. Hambroek unlocked himself from his daughter's arms and returned to the camp of the Pirate, where his wife and two young children were held as hostages. And you know how the Pirate slew him, and other captives and hostages, to the number of five hundred souls, including many schoolmasters. Nor were the women and children spared. This was in the year 1661; and very soon after this the Pirate made himself master of all the western part of the Island.¹

"But although the schoolmasters were murdered or driven away, the traces of their teaching remained for a hundred years. The nine sheets which lie before you will show you how the light of their learning dwindled and flickered into utter darkness.

"I need not tell you, for you know it right well, that I am speaking of the things which happened when the Pirate Koxinga was driving the Hollanders out of Formosa. The faded writings which I send you were written by the grandchildren of the native people who sat at the feet of George Candidius and the schoolmasters.

II.

"I have numbered the sheets I. to IX.

"	"	No. I.	is	1735.
"	"	II.	"	1737.
"	"	III.	"	1737.
"	"	IV.	"	1740.
"	"	V.	"	1740.
"	"	VI.	"	1740.
"	"	VII.	"	1742.
"	"	VIII.	"	1746.
"	"	IX.	"	1754.

¹ "The Middle Kingdom" (Williams), vol. ii. p. 436.

“Let me first tell you how I make sure of this chronology. You will notice that three of these manuscripts are bilingual, being written in Chinese and in what we may conveniently call *Formosan*. Nos. V. and VI. are duplicates.

“In No. III. the Chinese version is dated, after the Chinese manner, ‘Kienlung, 2nd year, 9th month;’ and in the Formosan we find in the fourth line: ‘*Giamliong, 2 ni.*’

“It may, therefore, be surmised that these two terms mean the same thing. And when we refer to No. V. for confirmation or contradiction, we find, in the Chinese, ‘Kienlung, 5th year, 11th month,’ and in the Formosan: ‘*Gianliong, 5 ni, 101 goj.*’

“This makes the matter sure. For if you suppose that the ‘eleventh month’ cannot be called the ‘hundred and first month,’ you are wrong, as you will find anon without any prompting from me.

“Turning to the six manuscripts which are written in Formosan alone, I copy down the Formosan dates, and place opposite them the rendering which would correspond in Chinese:

No. I.	Youngsing	103 ni	2 goj ¹		Yungching	13th yr.	2nd m.	
No. II.	Gianliong	2 ni	6 goj	104 sit	Kienlung	2nd „	6th „	14th d.
No. IV.	Gianlioung	5 ni	10 goj		„	5th „	10th „	
No. VII.	Gianliong	7 ni	1 goj	20 sit	„	7th „	1st „	20th „
No. VIII.	Gianlioung	101 ni	3 goj	209 sit	„	11th „	3rd „	29th „
No. IX.	Gianliong	109 ni	(?) goj		„	19th „	(?) „	

“The Emperor Yungching reigned twelve years and some months. There seems no need to adduce further argument to prove that the dates are established.

“Unhappily, the words *ni*, *goj* and *sit* cannot be Formosan. They are too evidently a mere transliteration of the Chinese words which, in the dialect of Amoy, mean ‘year,’ ‘moon’ and ‘day.’

“However, I proceed to translate the Chinese Text of No. III.

“‘Agreement by Yeh-k’uan. The native Kalung being in want of silver gives two fields as security, whereon Yeh-k’uan lends him 29 ounces 263 of silver. It is agreed that every ounce of silver is every month to bear interest of 4

¹ *Goj* should probably be written *Goij*, as in Modern Dutch.

Candareens.¹ The full interest must be paid up, by the 12th month. If the interest be not so paid up, the fields will be to the lender to till and to hold, without let or hindrance; and this is to be the condition year by year. The above is the free wish of both parties, and neither may raise difficulties and withdraw from it. As a verbal agreement might not be binding, this is put in writing to make the understanding clear. There is also a loan of 17 piculs and 2 bushels of rice [in husk].'

"Turning to the Formosan version, and considering the first two lines, we find that the words '*Attaing Tasolladt*' are common to several of the documents, and probably mean *mutual agreement* or something of the sort. At the end of the second line we find mention of the weight of silver, which Kalung borrowed, written thus, '209 nio lam, 2 ci, 6 ho, iii.' corresponding with 29 ounces 263 in the Chinese version.

"Here again the words '*nio*,' '*ci*,' and '*ho*,' are transliterations of the sounds which in the dialect of Amoy, or thereabout, are equivalent to Taels, Mace and Candareens.

"Nevertheless I think we are close on the track of a veritable Formosan word. For, seeing that the term 'silver' twice occurs very early in the Chinese text, we may expect it to occur twice in the beginning of the Formosan version. And if this be true, the Formosan word for silver must be '*vanitok*,' which occurs in the first line, and in the second.

"But if '*vanitok*' means silver, we ought to detect the word in some of these manuscripts, with an amount, or enumeration, appended; because, in the Far East, *silver* is synonymous with coin, wealth, lucre, pounds, shillings and pence; money, in short.

"We find it occurring thus:

No. II. ki vanitok ki 206 nio

No. III. ki vanitok Cata sa 209 nio lam, 2 ci, 6 ho, iii

No. IV. ki vanitok ki 102 niou

No. VII. ki vanitok tagikalangang ki 408 nio, 3 ci

¹ Equivalent to 48 per cent. per annum.



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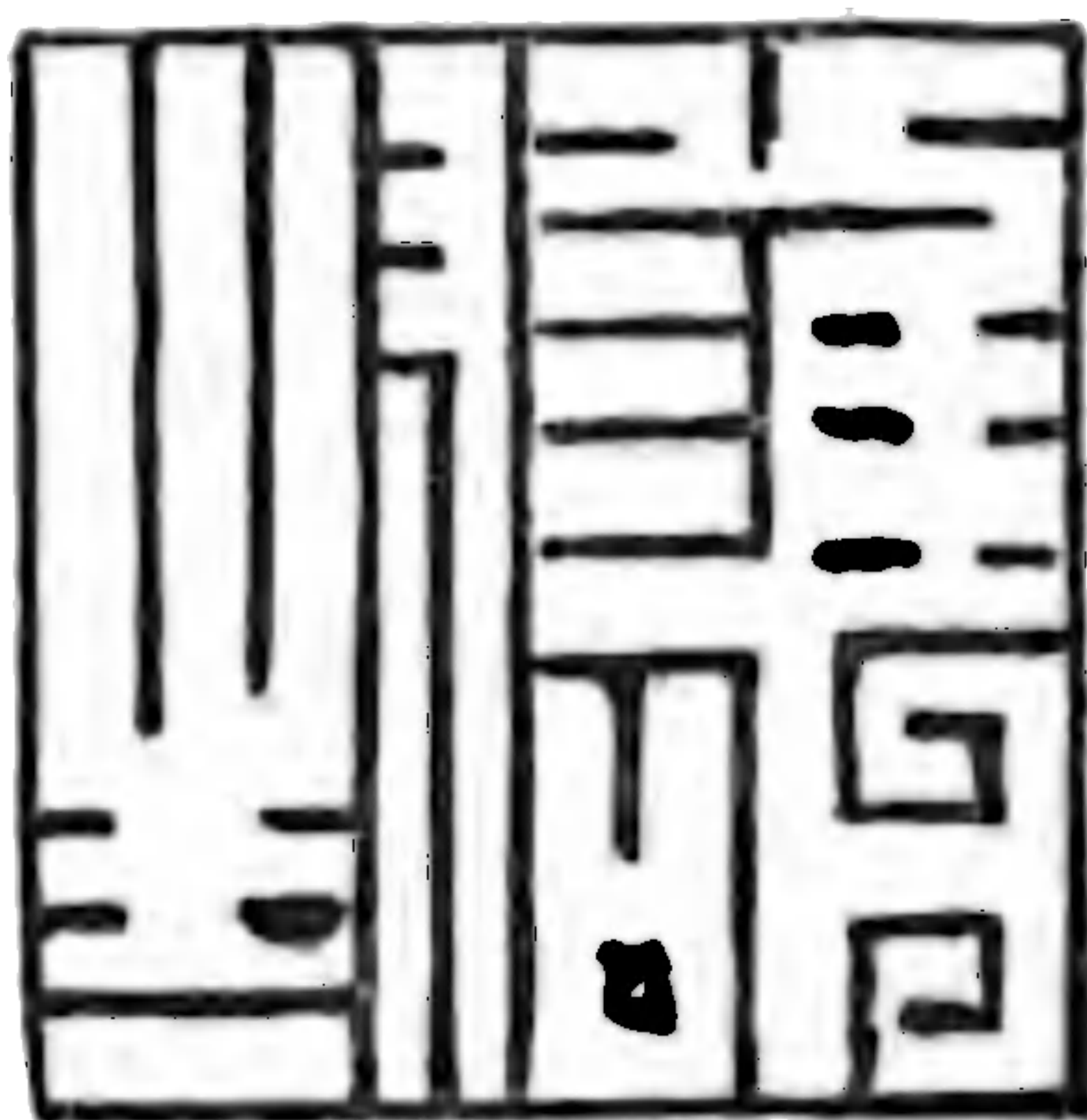
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comparison, you will derive from it the conclusion that *kitiang* means ten, and that *sasaat* and *pahpat* are numerals.

“But there is still further confirmation to be adduced. These numbers were doubtless ‘writ large’ for the sake of emphasis. I pray you to take notice that they are still more specially emphasized by being impressed with seals. There is a seal on *Kitiang*. There is a seal on *Sasaat*. There is a seal on *Pahpat*. And the seal is not a personal seal, but consists of two Chinese characters (in the square form)



which read ‘Hu Fêng,’ and mean ‘carefully stamped.’ A similar seal (but not the same) occurs in No. IV. line 7, where again it is impressed upon a numeral.¹ In all other cases the seals are in the ordinary Chinese character, and represent, or certify, signatures.

“Let us collect our results.

Vanitok is ‘silver.’

Kitiang is ‘ten.’

Sasaat is a numeral.

Pahpat is a numeral.

Sopau is a ‘picul,’ or ‘a hundred pounds.’

*Killip baah*² is ‘field.’

III.

“The problem presented to us is to discover what Formosan tribe now represents the folk by whom these documents were written. We want to give them a local habitation and a name.

¹ This seal is bilingual, one half being Chinese, in square form, with the meaning ‘carefully stamped’; and the other half being Manchu, but too defaced to be legible.

² Compare *kil bagh*, No. II. line 6; and *pagh* in the middle of Nos. V. and VI.

“An examination of the seals on some of the deeds will show that they were impressed by the ‘Aboriginal Chiefs of Sinkiang;’ that is to say, native Formosans who had been appointed by the Chinese to act as Headmen in Sinkiang. I have no map of Formosa at hand; but Sinkiang must have been an important district, and a reference to old Dutch maps of the Island would in all probability at once determine its position. A little local research would very easily discover it.

IV.

“Of the Formosan (and obviously Malay) vocabularies given in the appendix, the first five were collected by Mr. T. L. Bullock, of H.M.’s Consular Service, and Mr. J. B. Steere, of the Michigan University. The following notes are extracted from an article which Mr. Bullock contributed to the *China Review* (Hongkong, Aug. 1874):

“‘The tribes which speak these dialects are called by the Chinese: 1. Tsuihwan; 2. Sekhwan; 3. Buhwan; 4. Pepohwan; 5. Pelam. The vocabulary standing sixth on the list is taken from a small ‘Dictionary of the Favorlang Dialect,’ compiled in the year 1650 by G. Harpart, a Dutch missionary in Formosa. This work seems to have existed only in manuscript until the year 1840, when it was published in Batavia by W. H. Medhurst.

“‘It is necessary to remember that the island of Formosa consists of two districts; the one a level plain about twenty miles in breadth, extending along the west coast for nearly the whole length of the Island; the other a mountainous region, through the middle of which runs a high range from north to south. The level country is almost entirely occupied by Chinese, the mountains almost entirely by the *uncivilized* Aborigines. The *civilized* Aborigines are hemmed in between the two, dwelling in some places on the plain, in others on the mountains.

“‘The Sekhwan (‘tame savages’) are a tribe of civilized Aborigines living on the mountain-spurs east of Changhwa. To the east of these live the Buhwan, on or near the central

range. The Buhwan are a branch of the Chenghwan, a Chinese term which means 'wild savages.'

“‘The Tsuihwan ('water savages'), a very small tribe, inhabit the shores of a lake a day's journey inside the mountains N.E. from Kagee¹ and S.E. from Changhwa.

“‘The Chinese term '*Pepohwan*' ('savages of the plain') is applied to all the civilized Aborigines living near the mountains in the southern part of the Island. The one name includes a number of ancient tribes which were formerly distinct, and spoke separate dialects. At the present time, however, Chinese is the language used by all; but most of the dialects may be learnt from old people who spoke them when young, and still remember them. The tribe which used the dialect given in the list lives some 25 miles east of Changhwa.

“‘The Pelam are a tribe of wild Aborigines inhabiting the east coast in about the latitude of Takow.

“‘The position which the Favorlang tribe occupied is doubtful.’

V.

“I should like to have added to this list a vocabulary of the Formosan dialect which George Psalmanazar spoke so fluently. Do you not think it very possible that he may have fallen across a vocabulary of one of these dialects, written by a Dutch missionary, and have learnt it by rote? It has always been supposed that George invented a language, but is not the theory which I suggest more probable? It would be interesting to re-examine the question under this light.

VI.

“I now place the words which I have identified over against the corresponding words in Mr. Bullock's Vocabularies.

		<i>Truihwan.</i>	<i>Sekhwan.</i>	<i>Buhwan.</i>	<i>Pepohwan.</i>	<i>Pelam.</i>	<i>Favorlang.</i>
<i>Silver</i> ...	Vanitok	Tsui	Pilah	Pilat	Manituk	Apasho	
<i>One</i>	Sasaat	Taha	Adadumat	Kial	Sasaab	Sha	Natta
<i>Eight</i> ...	Pahpat	Kaspat	Hasubituru	Müssupat	Pipa	Waro	
<i>Ten</i>	Kitiang	Maksin	Issit	Nahal	Keteng	Pulu	Zchiet

¹ For the positions of Kagee and Changhwa, see "Handy and Royal Atlas," W. & A. K. Johnston, 1881, Map 29.



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where he had discovered them. I speedily wrote to him, begging him to furnish me with precise particulars; and especially to tell me where he found them. It was not until after I had made the identifications above described that he very kindly supplied me with the following notes:

“ ‘The documents were obtained by me during the first week of July [presumably in 1884] at one of the villages in the low-lying hill region eastward from Taiwanfoo I wished to make sure that full advantage would be taken of those documents for throwing whatever light they could upon the language and ethnographical place of the people to whom they were once intelligible; because the Pepohwan tribe from whom they were obtained have now lost all knowledge of the language represented in those documents. They removed inland to their present settlements about eighty years ago, their own ancestral region being what was known during the Dutch occupation as the Township of Sinkkan, a name still preserved in the large Chinese market town of Sin-kang, about 20 li (say seven miles) N.N.E. of the city of Taiwanfoo. They are exclusively an agricultural people; and in regard to language, religion, dress and customs, differ now in almost no respect from the neighbouring Chinese. They have decidedly much less force of character than the Chinaman; and some years ago, after an elaborate investigation, one of our Mission Doctors came to the conclusion that they were far from being a prolific race. It was, moreover, chiefly among this tribe that the Dutch carried on that largely successful Christianizing and educational work of which not a single trace can be found at the present day. I should certainly wish to see some attempt made to solve this sadly interesting problem. During the Dutch rule, over 30 Christian Pastors laboured, and over 6000 of the natives were baptized on the profession of faith in our Saviour; but nowhere, in North, South, East or West Formosa, have I ever met with even a distinctively Christian *tradition* amongst the Aborigines.’

“The tale has grown too sad for me to seek in it any me, or any delight. It is a tale of a people which has

lost its religion, its estate, its nationality, its language, and almost the recollection of its identity. And perhaps it gave away the last record of its traditions when it parted with these nine ragged memorials of its ruin.

“ E. COLBORNE BABER.

“ *Se-ul in Corea*, 1 Jan. 1886.”

c) *Remarks on the Nine Manuscripts.*

5. These manuscripts are various, and many of them are stamped with seals of the officials. It is not without interest to examine them. The first, dated *Tsung sing 1 : 3 ni 2 goij esi 10 sit*, otherwise *yung tcheng*, 13 year 2 month 10 day, i.e. our 5th March, 1735, bears no stamps. It consists only of eight lines of text, with the single solitary names of four (contracting) parties, whose names, written by the scribe, are followed by four marks made by the parties themselves. Then comes the date and two names (of witnesses?), preceded respectively by the words *takalang* and *vagikalang*.

6. The second, reproduced on Plate II., is dated *Gianliong 2 ni 6 goij 104 sit*, otherwise *Kienlung*, 2 year, 6 month, 14 day, corresponding to our 12th July, 1737. It consists of 15 lines of text, followed by 27 names and the date. Of the names, all written by the scribe, 19 are double, and all but one followed by a mark made by the party named; the 16th and 19th are finger marks, showing that the party, unable to hold a pen, had to put the tip of his finger into the ink in order to impress his mark. Six other names are single, four of which are accompanied by the seal of the party in Chinese characters. The first of them is *Sardaŷ*, whose seal reads *Sin kiang t'u kwan San tai tu ki*,¹ otherwise ‘seal of *San-tai* (Sarday), local official of Sinkiang.’

The second single name *taraja* has no seal; but the third, which is somewhat difficult to read *tarragi*, is accompanied

¹ 三 新
臺 港
圖 土
記 官



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“interpreter” *tohng so* (instead of *thong so*), and on the duplicate (six), in the corresponding passage, he has written *tongh so!*

2) *Sin Kiang tu kwan She Kan ki*, which has appeared also on the second MS., but in this case it belongs to the same man *rokal*. The *r* is doubtful, as on the first occasion.

3) *Sin Kiang tsin king t'u kwan san yuen ki si*, which also was stamped on No. II., but there is in the present case no name like that of *tarragi*, next to which it was affixed in the first MS.

4) *Sin Kiang t'u kwan san tai tu ki*, also stamped on MS. II. for an individual named *Sardaj*, whose name appears also in this case without variance of spelling.

5) *Sin Kiang shai t'u kwan ta ki li tu ki*,¹ or “Seal of Ta-k'i-li, native official of Sin Kiang hamlet.” His name is written *Dakilis*.

6) A small seal, half Chinese half Mandshu, defaced and unreadable.

10. The seventh MS., though written on the same sized paper, is shorter than the others. It is unilingual, and consists of only six lines of text, six names of individuals, accompanied by their own marks, one of them being a finger print, and the date: *Gianliong 7 ni 1 goj 20 sit*, otherwise 27th March, 1742, of our calendar.

11. The eighth MS., also unilingual, is much longer as text than the preceding. It consists of sixteen lines of writing, including twelve proper names, arranged by fours, each with their own marks, and the date *Gianlioung 101 ni 7 goj 209 sit*, or “Kien-lung 11 year 7 month 29 day,” otherwise 15th Sept., 1745. It bears seven stamps of two seals.

1) Square, and in square character, and read by E. C. Baber *Hu-feng*, is repeated five times in the text.

¹ 大 新
奇 港
力 社
圖 土
記 官

2) *Sin Kiang shai t'u kwan Ti-ka-lioung tu ki*,¹ or "Seal of Tikalung, local official of Sinkiang hamlet." *Tikalung* is the representative of the native name *Digikalang*.

12. The ninth MS. is also unilingual, and has no other seal-marks than two half stamps, so badly impressed that they cannot be read. There are altogether 12 lines of writing, including the date, *Gianliong 509 ni ? sit 4 ? goij*; the figures are doubtful, except those of the year, which corresponds to our 1754.

c) *Two similar manuscripts in the British Museum.*

13. When I spoke of the above-described MSS. to my friend Professor R. K. Douglas, of the British Museum, he remembered having heard that some MSS. from Formosa presented to the National Collection of Bloomsbury had been laid aside because their genuineness had not been ascertained. He inquired about the matter, and we found together, in the limbo where they were buried, two MSS. exactly similar in kind to the nine MSS. sent by Consul Colborne Baber. These two MSS. are stamped as presented to the British Museum on the 25th May, 1876. They are unilingual, but are stamped severally with the red seals of the Chinese and native officials, and both belong to the Kien-lung period, like those described by E. C. Baber, but their seals are very interesting.

14. The first is dated *Gianliong 20 ni 5 goey 209 jit*, or Kien-lung, 20th year, 5th month, 29th day, corresponding to the 29th June, 1755, of our era. It contains a long text in the native language occupying 28 lines.

It is stamped with six seals in Chinese, as follows:—

1) *T'ing* (placed as head-title of the seal). Then in perpendicular columns as usual: *Sin Kiang shé t'ung she T'ung yu*

¹ 弟 新
加 港
弄 社
圖 土
記 官

ki,¹ i.e. "Reception Hall. Seal of T'ung yu, interpreter of Sin Kiang hamlet."

2) *T'ing. Sin Kiang shé An-kung An-Liu t'u ki*,² i.e. "Reception Hall. Seal of An-liu Ankung of Sinkiang hamlet."

3) *T'ing. Sin kiang shé an-kung mi-t'ou ki*,³ i.e. "Reception Hall. Seal of Mi-t'ou Ankung of Sinkiang hamlet."

4) *T'ing. Sin kiang shé t'u-muk wu kia ki*,⁴ i.e. "Reception Hall. Seal of Wu kia, t'u-muk of Sinkiang hamlet." T'u-muk is a title, as we shall see hereafter.

5) *T'ing. An-kung siao-ta-li-hu (?) t'u ki*,⁵ i.e. "Reception Hall. Seal of Siao-ta-li-hu (the) Ankung."

6) *T'ing. Sin kiang shé t'u-muk Hia Nan ma t'u ki*,⁶ i.e. "Reception Hall. Seal of Hia-nam-ma, t'u-muk of Sinkiang hamlet."

15. The second MS. in the British Museum is dated *Guian-liong 303 ni 3 goy*, otherwise in the third month of the thirty-third year Kien-lung, corresponding to our April-May, 1768. It bears seven stamps of seals, only five of which are different, as follows :

1) *Hien tching t'ang. Sin kiang shé t'u-muk. T'ing. Siao kia mei t'u ki*,⁷ i.e. "District Magistrate Hall. Reception Hall of the t'u-muk of Sinkiang hamlet. Seal of Siao-kia-mei." Twice stamped.

1	廳	4	廳	5	廳	6	廳
	事 新 冬 港 烟 社 記 通		安 新 劉 港 ■ 社 記 案 公		公 新 迷 港 投 社 記 案		目 新 吾 港 加 社 記 土
	10		11		12		13
2	廳	6	廳	7	堂 正 縣		
	里 案 見 公 ■ 小 記 大		下 新 南 港 馬 社 圖 土 記 目		小 廳 新 嘉 美 港 美 圖 社 圖 記 土 記 目		
	14		15		16		



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of a more important official in 1768,¹ a relation of the first or perhaps his son, if not himself, as he appears 31 years afterwards. Sin-kang, the Rev. William Campbell says,² was known during the Dutch occupation as the township of *Sinkkan*,³ a name still preserved in the large Chinese market town of Sin-Kang, about seven miles N.N.E. of the city of Tai-wan fu. *Sin-kang* is called a 社 *shé*,⁴ or better *sia*,⁵ which, says Wells Williams, means in Formosa 'a clan or tribe, living in a place or collection of hamlets.'⁶

18. In the earlier MSS. of the collection, namely, in all those sent by Mr. Colborne Baber, the Sinicisation had not advanced to the stage attained when the later MSS. of the British Museum were written. At first, i.e. from 1737-1746, the titles of the officials were as follows:

1) *T'u kwan* 土官, literally 'Local magistrates,' four of which existed in the Sin-kang territory, as shown by their stamps on the MS. ii. and v.-vi.⁷ On the latter, one only is different from the former; the *T'u kwan* Takami of 1737 was probably deceased when the v.-vi. was framed, i.e. in 1741, and the seal of a *T'u kwan* Takili appears in his stead. In 1746 (MS. viii.⁸) only one *T'u kwan* named Tikalung in Chinese, *Dagikalang* in the native language, an instance which shows that the presence of the four *T'u kwan* was not required for the binding of a contract.⁹ As it is written in the same language as the preceding, and as the stamp bears like the others the name of Sin-kiang, there is no probability that it was written somewhere else.

2) *An-kung*, in Chinese¹⁰ 案公, or 'Pacifying Prince,' was a more important official than the *T'u kwan*. It occurs only

¹ On seal No. 18.

² Vid. above, E. C. Baber's note on *Nine Formosan Manuscripts*.

³ Dr. O. Dapper, *Gedenkwardig bedrijf der Nederlandsche Oost Indische Maatschappij in China*, Amst., 1670, mentions: Sinkkam, Tanakam, Beklawan, Soelang, Mattou, Tiverang, Fovorlang, Takkeis, Tornap, Terenip, and Assoek.

⁴ On seals No. 3, 8, 9.

⁵ As in Amoy. In current Chinese it means a hamlet, a parish; originally it was the altars of the gods of the land.

⁶ *Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, p. 748.

⁷ On seals No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9.

⁸ Vid. seal No. 9.

⁹ As might be inferred from the MSS. ii., v.-vi.

¹⁰ On seal 6; MS. ii. (1737).

once, and that on the MS. ii., which required the stamp of all the officials of the country. The 'An-kung' in that case was not a Chinaman, but simply a native, as shown by his name. It is curious that in the data of Portuguese origin (as we shall see hereafter), made use of by Psalmanazar, we find the same title *An-kung* under the form 'Angon,' meaning king.¹

Besides the two preceding sorts of officials, there was—

3) The *T'ung she* 通事, or 'interpreter,' whose seal occurs on MS. ii. and v.-vi. of 1737 and 1741.²

19. The MSS. of 1755 and 1768 show by their seals a decided advance in the settlements. The Chinese influence is strongly felt, though neither of the two MSS. exhibit a Chinese translation, as was the case with the MSS. iii. and v.-vi. of the years 1737 and 1741. The seals have been improved. In the MS. of 1755 every one of them bears as a sort of head title the character *t'ing*, which means a 'hall, a court, a place where cases are heard,' and by extension 'the officer in his court.'³

The *T'ung-she*, or 'Interpreter,' is still one of those whose seals appears on the MS., and also the An-kung; but the latter are more numerous, and two different officials bearing that title have put their stamps on the MS. of 1755. On the other hand, the *t'u-kuan* have disappeared, and in their stead the title *T'u-muk* 土目,⁴ which may be translated 'Local overseers,' occurs on three stamps of the same MS.

On the MS. of 1768, the change is still greater, and it is easy to see that the thirteen years which elapsed between its date and that of the preceding, were not lost to Chinese influence.

The seals of two *T'u-muk* occur on the deed, and bear⁵ as head title *Hien tching t'ang*, or 'District magistrate hall,' implying the creation by the Chinese Government of a *hien*

¹ Vid. below § 70.

² On seal No. 5 (MS. ii.), stamped also on MSS. v.-vi., cf. the remarks above § 6 and below § 70.

³ Wells Williams, *o.c.*, p. 906.

⁴ In Corean *tumak* is a head man, a sort of mayor in the villages. Cf. *Dictionnaire Coréen-Français*, p. 487a (Yokohama, 1880, 4to.), where it is rendered by other Chinese characters, a fact which shows that the title of office is not a Chinese one. The same may be the case in Formosa, and the Chinese characters may only be a happy hit at a phonetic and ideographic rendering.

⁵ On seals No. 16 and 19.

or district there. *Sin Kang*, however, is still called *shê* or hamlets. Two 'An-kungs,' with their seals, headed only by *T'ing*, as on the MS. of 1755,¹ are also stamped there, and this shows that they were native officials under the jurisdiction of the *T'u-muk* Chinese officials of higher grade. The interpreter has also put his seal on the deed, and it seems that his post has increased in importance; the stamp shows that a special residence was officially provided for him, but the third sign of the head-title is obliterated, and cannot be properly deciphered; the first two characters are *Tching t'ang*,² which alone imply the meaning we have expressed.

II. THE WRITTEN CHARACTERS, §§ 20-27.

20. All these manuscripts are written in Roman characters³ presenting casually a strange perversion of their original shapes. It was the writing, more or less altered in the mean time, which had been taught to the natives during the Dutch occupation of the Island. The more recent of these, MSS. 1796, shows that this writing was still in use at the time, without having lost too much of its characteristics. However, it gradually faded away, and some imperfect copies, such as would be attempted when copying an unknown writing, are occasionally met with in the island.

21. Lorenzo Hervas in his celebrated *Catalogo*⁴ (1784) states that the inhabitants of Formosa possess an alphabet of their own, written, like the Chinese characters, in vertical columns placed from right to left.⁵ This inexact statement has probably arisen from a combination of two former statements; one about the real existence of an indigenous alphabet in the island, as we shall see hereafter; the other

¹ On seals No. 17 and 18.

² On seal No. 20.

³ Dr. H. Kern has favoured me, since the above was written, with the following remarks: "The writing as well as the spelling recalls the Dutch way of writing in the seventeenth century, as might be expected. We find amongst other proofs the same propensity to use *k* and *c* promiscuously in some cases, e.g. *matictic* and *matiktik*; the *y* with dots, etc. It is not a little interesting to find that the Formosan had in 1737 not yet forgotten the lessons of their Dutch teachers." (Leiden, 6 Nov. 1886.)

⁴ *Catalogo della lingue conosciute e notizia della loro affinita e diversita.*

⁵ Adrien Balbi, *Atlas Ethnographique du Globe*, n. 397.



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Rob. Junius' version.¹ This might suggest that the text in this character was given by Junius, and therefore would establish the authority of the alphabet on a better footing, inasmuch as Psalmanazar, who was not acquainted with the work of Junius, made by himself a spurious version of the prayer, which he would have written in the so-called Formosan character, should this alphabet have been invented by him. But there are difficulties in the way. The text (from Junius) in Roman, and that in the foreign character, disagree in a few points, while they agree all through in dividing wrongly the original text. It happens several times that a new sentence or line begins with words, belonging to the previous one, which ought to have been left with the line above. Benjamin Schulze's authority for the text in Roman character is John Chamberlayne (*Orat. Dominic. clü ling.*), who in his turn refers to some letters of Job Ludolph, which I have not seen. Unhappily I have not the means of verifying the fact in the book of Junius itself, as it does not exist in any of the libraries to which I have access.²

23. The order of the alphabet, as we have it, is peculiar; it is neither Semitic nor Indian, and the squareness of the shapes, like those of a monumental writing, is remarkable. It runs thus in the Vienna collection with the exception of the letters *s*, *x*, *z* and *f*, and therefore was simply espied from the same source as Psalmanazar, if not from Psalmanazar himself:

I	a	γ	b	⊥	d
J	m	⋈ ˘ ˘	h, ch		s
U	n	⊖ ˘ ˘	p	⊥	e
Ů Ɔ	t	Y	k, c		f
Γ	l	⋈	o	⊥	r
	s	□	i, y	⊥	g, j
Δ	ü, u, v, w		x	:	pause

¹ In Auers'sche *Vaterunser Sammlung*, the last words are *mikagna. Amen*; while in the text in character the words are *mikakna. Amen*.

² The title of this scarce little book is given in Adelung's *Mithridates*, i. 578, thus: "*Soulat i A.B.C. u.s.f. Katechismus in Formosanischer-Sprache d. Rob. Junius, Delft, 1645, in. 12, s. 24.*"

In Schulze's *Orientalische und Occidentalische Sprachmeister*, the full alphabet of twenty letters is given, each having three forms which differ only in the case of eight letters.

The similarities presented by these characters with other alphabets are ill-defined. First we must observe that the multiplicity of forms in the case of several sounds, such as *t*, *h* or *ch*, and *p*, recalls the similar phenomenon in some of the Indonesian alphabets, contractions of former ones more rich than was required by the phonetic wants of the languages to the rendering of which they have been applied. The Formosan alphabet so called presents only faint and perhaps occasional affinities with the Ylocana of the Philippines, and also with the Arabic character, while greater and more numerous similarities are met with in the square Pali characters of Burma. But these latter similarities are not such as could be expected in an alphabet of regular derivation or descent, and do not exist for more than half of the letters.

24. Therefore there are *ipso facto* reasons for believing that the adaptation of the Formosan alphabet is not a fact of simple transmission and intercourse. Add to this, the Semitic direction of the writing in horizontal lines from right to left, contrary to the practice of the Indian alphabets. The mere statement of the fact suggests an hypothesis which is perhaps a right hit at the solution of the problem, inasmuch as it would imply somewhat a repetition of a curious event which has happened elsewhere. The Gabali Tana, the modern alphabet of the Maldives, which is said to have been introduced when these islands were reconquered by the Mohammedans from the Portuguese,¹ is composed of the nine Arabic ciphers followed apparently by the old Teluguananarese numerals.² If such an adaptation has been made in the Maldives by the Mohammedan traders, why should not another sort of adaptation have been made by the same people in Indonesia, and imported to Formosa? In the

¹ Cf. A. Gray, *The Maldive Islands, with a Vocabulary taken from François Pyrard de Laval*, 1602-1607, in J. R. A. S. Vol. X. pp. 173-209.

² Cf. Dr. Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet*, vol. ii. pp. 357-358.

latter case the adaptation should have included a good number of Indian letters, and the process of making the alphabet would explain the similarities as well as the divergences.

25. I am not aware that the matter has been investigated by any of the scholars who have made researches about Formosan matters in particular, nor by those who have made alphabets and writings their special line of study. It seems to me, however, that the question, which requires some more elucidation, is worth the attention of future travellers and inquirers. The existence of the writing appears to be a fact. In his Official Report for 1871, Mr. Chas. W. Le Gendre, United States Consul at Amoy and Formosa, states that he had in his hands documents from the Baksa tribes, twenty-eight miles east of Ta-kao, written in foreign characters. The statement looks as if the said documents were completely written in a native writing. If they had been written in Chinese or in Roman characters, Mr. Le Gendre would not have used the expression "foreign characters."

26. On the other hand, Mr. G. Taylor, in his interesting notes on the Aborigines of Formosa, chiefly of the South, published last year, has disclosed a curious reference to writing in the traditions of the Amias, on the East coast down to South Cape. This people say that their ancestors were the crew of a large ship wrecked on the coast, an event which must have happened a long time ago, as they appear to have been a local tribe in Formosa for several hundred years. They have a vague idea of lands and peoples, where intercourse is carried on by means other than vocal language. "This," says Mr. G. Taylor, "is the only trace in South Formosa of any original idea of writing. Some state that the principal chief had manuscripts or books in his possession; but he has denied this to several Chinese. Still the denial might have been caused by a fear that the inquirers might wish to deprive him of them."¹

27. On several of the MSS. sent by Mr. Colborne Baber, and

¹ Cf. G. Taylor *The Aborigines of Formosa*, in *China Review*, vol. xiv. p. 198. Also my article *A Native Writing in Formosa* (the *Academy*, 9th April, 1887).



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A brief description of the institutions, customs, and geography of the island, *Tai-wan Ki lioh* 臺灣紀畧, was written by Lin K'ien-kwang after the subjugation of the famous Koxinga, in 1684.

Tai-wan tsah Ki 臺灣雜記,¹ Miscellanies about Formosa, is a very short and unimportant memoir written by Ki K'i-kwang.

29. Shall we mention also an illustrated album of some twenty-four water-colour pictures, about the habits and customs of the aborigines submitted to the Chinese rule? It is called *Tai-wan Fan tze t'u* 臺灣番子圖 'Illustrations of the foreigners of T'ai-wan,' and is interesting to look at as it displays a *couleur locale* which is not without merit. The copy I have on my table, the only one I have ever seen, belongs to my friend Mr. William Lockhart, formerly of Peking.

30. The *Kin ting Tai-wan Ki lioh* 欽定臺灣紀畧, which must also be mentioned here, is an account in seventy books of the subjugation of the island, drawn up in compliance with an imperial rescript issued in 1778.² And we must not forget in our enumeration the monographs concerning Formosa, which are part of one or the other of the great geographical collections and cyclopædias, such as that which was translated by Klapproth in 1822, *Tai tsing y tung tchi*, and which goes by the usual and modern name of Tai-wan.

31. In the great geography of the Ming dynasty,³ and in the Annals of the time⁴ after 1430, Formosa appears under the name of *Ki lung shan* 雞籠山 'Mountain of Kilung,' still the name of a post on the Northern coast. Tai-wan is mentioned in the Ming Annals after 1620, as a place of Ki-lung shan where the red-haired barbarians settled.⁵

¹ Same collection and book as the preceding. The two cover only fifteen fols.

² A. Wylie, *Notes*, p. 23.

³ *Ta ming y t'ung tchi*.

⁴ *Ming shi*, chap. 332.

⁵ E. Bretschneider, *Chinese intercourse with the countries of Central and Western Asia in the fifteenth century*.

Should we trust the *Tchung shan she kien*,¹ the name of *Kilung* or a similar one was known as early as the Sui dynasty, and was given to the country by the Chinese envoy who fancied its appearance on the sea was that of "dragon unicorn," *Kiu lung* 虬龍, whence the appellative of *Liu Kiu* 流虬 "flowing dragon." The story looks much like a spurious explanation adapting the real circumstances to its purpose, a feat in the accomplishment of which the Chinese mind is most clever, and has sometimes displayed a wonderful power of ingenuity and opportunism. We may see in this appellative *Kiu-lung*, compared to the *Kilung* named above, as many attempts at rendering in Chinese significant characters of appropriate phonetic values an indigenous name, or at least a name imported or not existing there previous to the Chinese expedition.

32. We find that the first Dutch Governor of Taiwan, Pieter Nuyts, writing in 1629, in his report records that "the island of Formosa, where the settlement or Fort of the Company is situated, is called *Pockan* by the Chinese."² A modern authority says that *Pak-an* is the indigenous name of the island. We have no Chinese authority to adduce in favour of the statement of the Dutch Governor, nor have we met any other allusion to the indigenous name just quoted.³ Now the *Paican* on the South-west coast were the first indigenous people with whom the Dutch came into contact.⁴ Perhaps *Pockan* and *Pak-an* are simply variants of their name, which was at first looked upon, as is often the case, as the name of the island.

33. The Formosans were included by the Chinese ethnographers among the *Tung Fan*, at Amoy *Tong hwan* 東番, or

¹ 中山世鑑; L. de Rosny, *Les peuples Orientaux connus des Anciens Chinois*, p. 82. His little French book, otherwise interesting, must not be used without great caution, as the author has trusted too much the uncritical compilers, Chinese and Japanese, of late date, instead of resorting to the original works and statements.

² This report is reproduced in A. R. Colquhoun's and J. H. Stewart Lockhart's *Sketch of Formosa*, p. 164.

³ L'Abbé Favre, *Note sur la langue des Aborigènes de l'île Formose*, p. 496. See below § 96.

⁴ G. Taylor, *The Aborigines of Formosa*, l.c. p. 194.

‘Eastern Foreigners,’ and several of the names of tribes as we know them are nothing more than Chinese descriptive appellatives of their social status, disguised to the eyes of the Mandarin Sinologists in the dress of the dialectal phonesis used at Formosa.

Tchi-hwan or *Seng-hwan*¹ 生番, literally the ‘raw, *i.e.* untamed foreigners,’ is the name applied to the independent tribes who do not recognize the Chinese supremacy and endeavour to escape from it.

*Shek-hwan*² 熟番, literally the ‘cooked, *i.e.* tamed foreigners,’ applies to those who recognize the Chinese authority.

*Pepohwan*³ 平埔番, literally, ‘foreigners of the plain,’ speaks for itself. They are included among the preceding.

*Yu-hwan*⁴ 野番, or ‘savage foreigners,’ applies to such tribes who object to any intercourse, and remain in the mountains.

None of these names has any ethnical value.

34. We cannot expect from Chinese sources early direct information about Formosa. The island stands opposite to the coasts of Fuhkien, a region on which, until the Tsin dynasty, *i.e.* the fifth century, the Chinese had scarcely any hold.⁵ It is from the north through their early relations with Japan that they heard for the first time, and rather loosely, of the great island as one of those belonging to the elongated line of island groups extending southwards from Corea and Japan to the Philippines. These early statements, which date from the third century, are interesting by their age and by the peculiar importance given therein to races of short men, *i.e.* of Negrito race, and cognate to the substratum of the population of Japan, to which the present race is indebted for their small size and several features of their language; they were also the very negritos which formed one of the

¹ *Sheng-fan* in Mandarin Chinese.

² *Shuk-fan* in M.C.

³ *Ping-pu-fan* in M. C.

⁴ *Ya-fan* in M.C.

⁵ They had tried to conquer it about 109 B.C., but they were compelled to retire, and leave the aborigines in possession. Cf. *Tsien Han shu*, bk. 95, reproduced from the earlier *She ki*, bk. 114, f. 5, art. *Min-yueh*.



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mandarin army. Then Tchen Ling advanced speedily to their capital city, fought and defeated them, destroyed their palaces and houses, made several thousand men and women prisoners, and then returned.”¹

36. During the previous year, an unsuccessful expedition had resulted in the bringing over to the mainland one native man prisoner, from whom they got apparently some information which led them to select the sort of men whom they wished to join the expedition. This small though not unimportant event for the future was carefully reported in the official records of the ruling dynasty, the Sui. When brought to court, this man wore his native cuirass, which was seen by a Japanese envoy then present, and declared by him to be like those employed by the people of *Y-ye-Kiu* 夷邪久.² Speaking of the manners and customs of the inhabitants of the island, the same record in the annals of the Sui dynasty says that they are much like those of the people of Ling-nan,³ i.e. south of the modern province of Kiang-su. Now this region is the very same one where Negritos were still settled in the third century A.D., and where the monk Odoric de Pordenone⁴ met them eleven hundred years afterwards. Tchang sho, a Chinese compiler of the eighth century, has preserved in his work a statement that the Formosan people were like dwarfs, and small like the Kün-lun men.⁵ Therefore all these testimonies agree pretty well together.

37. The fact that the Chinese commander took with his army some *Kün-lun* men is here highly suggestive of their language being recognized as cognate with those of the great Liu-Kiu or Formosa. It gives us, quite in an unlooked-for way, most valuable information about some point of ethnology of the island, which, as we shall see hereafter, is confirmed by linguistic affinities still recognizable in the present day.

¹ *Sui Shu*, or ‘Annals of the Sui Dynasty’ (581-618 A.D.).

² *Sui Shu*; *Tai ping yü lan*, bk. 734, fol. 7 v.

³ *Ibid*, bk. 784, f. 9 v.

⁴ My friend Prof. Henri Cordier, the author of the valuable *Bibliotheca Sinica*, has edited the record of his journey.

⁵ *Tch'ao ye ts'ien tsai*, in *Yuen Kien lei han*, bk. 231, f. 44.

But it involves at the same time an important and interesting solution of a difficult problem, viz. what the word *Kün-lun* applied in this case means.

38. Of course it cannot be the large range of mountains¹ which in the north of Tibet stretches westwards and eastwards to the Tsung-ling range and the borders of China.² In the Flowery Land a range of mountains, otherwise called Peh-ling or Northern Range, north of Szetchuen from west to east, is considered, perhaps not without reason, to be an eastern extension of the great chain; and the name of *Kiu-lung*² which it receives is perhaps nothing more than a lessened form, and a local pronunciation without the nasal twang of the same appellative.³

The name is widely spread. The Kokarit hills, Dana mountains, and Pongloun range, east of Tenasserim and Pegu, were called Small and Great Kün-lun in Chinese records of the T'ang dynasty concerning the Piao kingdom. It exists also in the Malayan peninsula, and we hear of it in former times in Northern Tungking. In the province of Tai-nguyen, belonging to the latter region of Cao-bang, was a town called *Conlon thanh*,⁴ in Chinese *Kün-lun tching*, or Kün-lun city, built in 257 B.C.⁵

In Indonesia the name had also made its way. The Chinese Annals of 628 and 636 A.D. speak of the states of *Shu-nai* and *Kamtang* as having sent tribute to the Emperor; they were islands in the south-east, apparently corresponding

¹ Abel Remusat made the mistake, which was corrected by Klaproth in a learned paper quoted below, § 39, n. 4. Dr. Porter Smith, *Vocabulary of Chinese Proper Names*, has repeated Remusat's error.

² The *Kun-lun* Kwoh, or Kün-lun country, spoken of in the *Nan Y tchi*, or 'Description of the Southern Barbarians' (ninth century), quoted in the *Tai Ping yü lan*, k. 789, f. 5, a Cyclopædia of 983 A.D., is nothing more than this mountainous region, and must not be mistaken for any other. It was situate northwards at eighty days' journey from the Si-erh-ho, an affluent of the Lan tsang Kiang near Talifu (W. Yunnan).

³ This is however doubtful. As a word for 'mountain' it has a wide extension. We find it in the Pgo Karen *Kulaung*, Sgo Karen *Koelong*, Muni-puri *Kalong*, Mön Khalon-*Khyan* (cf. Siamese *Kalohn* 'great'). In my paper *On the Cradle of the Shan Race*, I have shown that the origin of this race took place near this range of mountains in N. Szetchuen. It may be from this smaller range that the name was extended to the great range of Northern Tibet, if not the reverse.

⁴ *Hoang viet dia du chi* (a native description of Annam), k. ii. f. 9.

⁵ *Truong Vinh Ky, Histoire Annamite*, i. 34.

to the Philippines, and they were inhabited by *Kün-lun* men.¹ The second of these names is perhaps the modern *Gaddan* of Luzon, a Tagala nation,² and the statement that they were *Kun-lun* men may have arisen from the name of the *Kalingas*, also a Tagala tribe in the same island.³

39. Another instance of the name *Kün-lun* much better known is that which concerns the Pulo Condor islands, south-east of Cambodia. Their indigenous name is *Conon*, according to Father Gaubil, visitor there in 1721,⁴ and *Kohnaong* according to Crawford,⁵ who says that this name, like that of the population, is Annamite, and that the ruler was named Cham Kwan Luang. Marco Polo in the thirteenth century calls the two principal islands (there are twelve altogether) *Sondur* and *Condur*.⁶ The latter name is like the modern *Condor*, which is Malay, and means 'pumpkin,' so that *Pulo Condor* is 'Pumpkin Island.'⁷ At the time of the expedition of Kubilai Khan to Chao-wa or Java in A.D. 1292, the same island is called *Kün tun*⁸ in the Annals of the Mongol Yüan dynasty. In 1730 the *Hai Kwoh wen kien luh*,⁹ a small geographical treatise chiefly relating to the islands in the eastern and southern ocean, warns his readers not to confound with the mountains of Northern Tibet the *K'ün lun* or *K'ün tun*, which are two mountains to the south of the 'seven islands' or *Ts'ih tchou*, otherwise *Pulo Panjang*, or 'Paracels islands.' "One of them

¹ *T'ang shu*—*Tai ping yü lan*, k. 788, f. 6 v.

² On these two tribes cf. A. H. Keane, in A. R. Wallace, *Australasia*, pp. 632, 635. The equivalence *d=l* is a common one.

³ In that case the use of the name *Künlun* is perhaps without value, as that of *Kalinga* may be not derived from the old appellative we are studying, but only a transferred name through Java or Kaling, from the bold Kalingas of Southern India. Java is *Holing* in ancient Chinese geographers, *Ku T'ang shu*, k. 197; *Sin T'ang shu*, k. 222, ii.; W. P. Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago*, pp. 12-13.

⁴ P. Gaubil, *Lettre de Poulo-Condore*, 1729.

⁵ *Journal of an Embassy to the Courts of Siam and Cochin-china*, 2nd edit. London, 1829, vol. i. p. 304.

⁶ Col. H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. ii. p. 257.

⁷ Lit. 'Island Pumpkin,' or 'of Pumpkin.'

⁸ 崑屯

⁹ By Tch'in Lun-Kiung, who, while his father was engaged in the subjugation of Formosa, collected his information among the mariners in whose company he was thrown on the occasion. Cf. A. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 48.



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41. But let us return to the traces of Kün lun or Kulong on the main land. The *Kiu-lung* of N. Szetchuen, doubtful as it may be, is not the only instance of the name within China proper. We have some better ones. In the centre West of Kuangsi, the mountains north-east of Nan-ning and west of Pintchou¹ bear in history this very name of Kün-lun, and were inhabited by non-Chinese tribes, a fact important to notice, as we shall see directly.

42. The boat population of Canton, also called *Tan-Ka* otherwise *Tan* families,² is also known as Kün-lun slaves, and they are said to be connected with some native tribes in the north of the Kuang-tung province, consequently in proximity to the above Kün-lun mountains of Kuangsi. On the other hand, the latter barbarians or *Tan-Man* extended formerly south of the Meiling in Fuhkien province, in proximity to Formosa on the mainland. And the said *Tan Ka* of Canton are also cognate with native tribes of Hainan. Another link may be found in the name of *Ki-lung* on the north of Formosa, which, in its Chinese dress and fancied etymology, is perhaps a disguised and altered form of the name carried away with them by the emigrants from the mainland. The word was not carried there as the ordinary word for mountain; in Tayal the chief language in the north of the island, 'mountain' is *laoui* or *malaoui*, and as this language is the one which by its glossarial and grammatical affinities was that of the emigrants from the mainland, it is most probable that the above name *Kilung* is transferred from another and older geographical horizon. The ethnic *Tan* from the continent is worth more attention. Passing over the linguistic data of Psalmanazar, we may remark the word *tanos* which he gives for the meaning 'nobles,' and of which the Portuguese final must be dropped. *Tan* remains, cognate to the above ethnic. The Sekhwan and Favorlang dialects have respectively *sanh* and *sham* for 'Man,' which may be

¹ They were made famous by a clever campaign of a Kiaotchi or Annamese General, who forced the passes through them in 1075 A.D.

² *Miao Man hoh tchi*, bk. i. f. 7.

the modern forms of the same, as there is another instance of the equivalence *s, sh* for *t*.¹

43. There are other evidences of importance, which show that the Chinese were acquainted with the dark-skinned occupiers of Formosa as originated from the Philippine Archipelago. The *Yang tchou wen Kao*² says that "the island of Tai-wan (or Formosa), which was formerly called *Ki-lung*, was originally a port of the *Liu-kiu* state, which was founded by some descendants of the *Ha-la*.³ The author does not say what the *Ha-la* are, assuming that his readers are acquainted with that name, so that we must look elsewhere for the wanted explanation. I find it in the *Miao Man hoh tchi*,⁴ "A Description of the Miao and Man Tribes," by Tsao Shu-K'iao of Shanghai. The entry about that people is amongst those of the south. They are described as *dark with deep set eyes*, a peculiarity which the Chinese stated to be that of the *Kün-lun* men, as we have seen above.⁵ The author of the *Miao Man hoh tchi* says also that the *Hala* do not know the practice of chewing betel, and he proceeds with some details on their clothes and customs in so far as they are peculiar to themselves, but they are unimportant. Now these *Hala* of the Chinese are simply the *-Gala*, commonly *Ta-gala*, with the usual *Ta* prefix (?)⁶ of the Philippine Islands; and the statement agrees entirely with the inference of ethnologists deduced from travellers' reports as to the parentship of several tribes of aborigines of Formosa with the Tagal population of the Philippines.

44. The Chinese ethnographical notices of the Sung Dynasty on the Liu-Kiu islands, including as it does all the

¹ As in *saab, sasaab* for which *taubf* stands in his list.

² Vid. Georg Kleinwächter, *The History of Formosa under the Chinese Government*, p. 345 (in *China Review*, 1884, vol. xii. pp. 345-352).

³ 哈喇.

⁴ 苗蠻合志, k. iii. ff. 6-7.

⁵ Cf. above §§ 35, 40.

⁶ On this separation of the *Ta* prefix from the name Tagala, vid. Leyden's *On the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations*. This prefix does not seem, however, to be genuine in the language, so that the Chinese have mistaken the first syllable *Ta-* for their own word (adjective pre-posed) *ta* 'great,' and dropped it with their usual contempt for foreign nations. But all this is conjectural.

islands from Japan to the Philippines, states that next to Liu-Kiu lies the country of the *P'i-shè-yé* 毗舍耶, in which we must, I think, recognize the Bizayas,¹ the most diffused population of the Philippines, and next to the Tagalas in importance. They made a raid on the coasts of Fuhkien at Tsiuen-tchou during the period 1174–1189 A.D., and caused a great deal of havoc. They are described as naked savages with large eyes, greatly covetous of iron in any shape, using bamboo rafts and a sort of javelin attached by a long string, and which they throw on their enemy.² This people travelling on rafts could not have come from afar, and therefore may be supposed to have come over to the Chinese coast from Formosa. In which probable case, this ought to have resulted from an emigration of them to the great island.

45. Therefore we may conclude from this somewhat protracted inquiry that the Chinese were acquainted with this fact that the two chief elements of the population of Formosa were the Negritos and the Indonesians. Some of their information on the Negritos began as early as the third century of our era, and grew more and more precise; though somewhat mixed in their reports, as it happened they were in reality from admixture and interminglings; the two races are however described with sufficient accuracy to leave no doubt in our minds on the trustworthiness of the Chinese documents here referred to.

III. ETHNOLOGY.

b) *From European Authorities.*

46. It is to the Dutch that we are indebted for the oldest European information on the island and its population. Though

¹ An objection, not insuperable, might be made to the identification of *P'i-shè-yé* with *Bizaya* or *Vizaya*, on the assumption generally repeated that this name was given to them by the Spaniards from the fact that they are tattooed, and that *Bizaya* in their own language means 'painted.' But why should this name have been first applied by the Spaniards, who could have better selected a Spanish word descriptive and telling, unless they did hear it applied by the people themselves or their neighbours?

² Cf. Ma Tuanlin, *Wen hien t'ung k'ao*; d'Hervey de St. Denys, *Ethnographie de Matouanlin*, vol. i. p. 425.



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fables were looked upon with the greatest contempt, and attributed to the imagination of the writers, whose good faith was thus far thrown into discredit, as it did not come to the mind of the critics that the incriminated tails were perhaps factitious and ornamental.

48. This was shown to be a fact with the Nyam-Nyams of Central Africa by the late Guillaume Lejean.¹ The Chinese had heard long before the Christian era of tribes named Pu-yen, or Pu-lo, or Po-lo, or simply Puh,² in the South-West of Yunnan, i.e. North-East of India, who had tails and were cannibals;³ the report was looked upon as one of the many ethnological fables which were told by the traders travelling between Western China and Eastern India about the populations of the unknown regions they had to go through, and which told by them in China and in India were the occasion of the similar descriptions of fabulous tribes picked up in India by the Greeks, and reported in Chinese books like the *Shan hai King*.⁴ But quite unexpectedly the report has recently received an explanatory confirmation from a curious custom of some Naga tribes. The late G. H. Damant, Political Officer in the Naga hills, writing about the tribes dwelling between the Brahmaputra and the Ningthi rivers, describes the Sema Nāga, a very extensive and bloodthirsty tribe, numbering some 50,000 souls, south of the Lhota, along both banks of the Doyang river and the east. *They were discovered only in 1873. Their men wear*

¹ The Nyam-Nyams and their language were made known to the world for the first time not by Dr. Schweinfurth as Dr. R. N. Cust says (*The Modern Languages of Africa*, p. 155), but by M. Guillaume Lejean, French consul in Abyssinia. Cf. his article in the *Revue Orientale et Americaine*, 1868.

² Perhaps for Bore, Abor.

³ *Shan hai King*; *Yung-tchang Kiun tchuen*; *Fu-nan t'u suh tchuen*; *Liang tsu wei kwoh tung*; *Tai Ping yü lan*, bks. 787, f. 3; 791, f. 10v. The *Yung-tchang Kiun tchuen* reports that at 1500 li south-west of Yungtchang Kiun were the 'Tailards Puh'; their tail, similar to that of the tortoise, was four or five *tsün* (inches) in length; when they wanted to seat, it was necessary for them to dig the ground for their tail to be placed comfortably, as when it is broken they die. The *Fu-nan t'u suh tchuen* reports that on the east of Ko-li was the region of Polo, where the men have tails five or six inches long. Ma Tuanlin has inexactly quoted the title of the last work as *Nan t'u suh tchuen*, while it is given accurately in the *Tai ping yü lan*, l.c.

⁴ T. de L., *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, § 212, and *Beginnings of Writing*, ii. 156 c. n.

*tails about eighteen inches long, made of wood, to which bunches of goats' hair are attached.*¹

49. The fabulous reports about men with tails having so far been verified in two notorious instances, leaving aside other similar cases,² why should not the same report concerning Formosa be verified in future time by any traveller coming into contact with one of the unknown tribes of the interior having the same mode of ornamenting themselves?

50. Now let us pass to another and more important statement. Valentijn, the great Dutch geographer, reports³ the existence in the beautiful island of "a race of men, black and extremely tall, inhabiting the mountains, and speaking another language than the other Formosans." The statement has been accepted by some scholars as a proof of the

¹ H. Damant, *Notes on the Locality and Population of the Tribes dwelling between the Brahmaputra and Ningthi Rivers*, p. 248 in *J. R. A. S.* 1880, Vol. XII. pp. 228-258.

² The earliest version in Europe of the tail story goes back to Ptolemy and the Isles of the Satyrs; or rather to Ctesias, who tells of tailed men on an island in the Indian Sea. Galvano (Hackluyt Society, 108, 120) heard that there were on the island certain people called *Duraque Dara*, which had tails like unto sheep. And the King of Tidore told him of another such tribe on the isle of Batochina. Mr. St. John (*Forests of the Far East*, i. 40) met with a trader who had seen and felt the tails of such a race inhabiting the north-east coast of that island. The appendage was four inches long and very stiff; so the people all used perforated seats. This Borneo story has, a few years ago, been brought forward in Calcutta, and stoutly maintained, on native evidence, by an English merchant (*Allen's Indian Mail*, July 28, 1869). In the relation of Marco Polo, about Lambri (north-west coast of Sumatra, according to W. P. Grœneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, p. 100), we read: "Now you must know that in this kingdom of Lambri there are men with tails; these tails are of a palm in length, and have no hair on them. These people live in the mountains, and are a kind of wild men. Their tails are about the thickness of a dog's" (Col. H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 2nd edit. vol. ii. p. 282). The people of Canton use to believe that the *Yao min* (on whom see *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, § 87), aboriginal tribes at Lieutchou in the north-west of the Kuangtung province, had tails. The *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, ser. 4, vol. iii. p. 31, contains many similar stories about Africa. Among medieval Mahomedans, the members of the Imperial House of Trebizond were reputed to be endowed with short tails, whilst medieval Continentals had like stories about Englishmen, as Mathieu Paris relates. In the Romance of *Cœur de Lion*, the messengers of Richard are addressed thus by the "Emperor of Cyprus":

"Out, *Taylards*, of my palys!
Now go and say your *tayled* king
That I owe him nothing."—*Weber*, ii. 83.

The princes of Purbandar, in the peninsula of Guzerat, claim descent from the monkey-god Hanuman, and allege in justification a spinal elongation which gets them the name of *Puncháriah*, 'Taylards.' Cf. Tod's *Rajasthan*, i. 114, in H. Yule, *Marco Polo*, ii. 284-285.

³ Cf. Maltebrun, *Annales des Voyages*, 1809, t. viii. p. 366 n.

presence in the island in former times of Papuas, whose presence was wanted there by some ethnological theories, while it has been rejected by other scholars as unverified and not probable.¹ However, the statement of the Dutch geographer was true. A recent traveller,² better acquainted with the tribes of the interior than many of his predecessors, has come forward, and describes the Diaramocks in such terms that Valentijn's veracity is once more vindicated. They are said to be a fierce and intractable race of cannibals, who disdain all intercourse with the other tribes. They are localised in the mountains, and having no guns, they use merely the bow and spear. Their complexion is very dark—almost black—and their hair hangs down behind to the full extent of its growth. They are said to be a southern branch of the Tangos of the north, who present the same characteristics, and it is not improbable that they are the true descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of Formosa. No information is given on their language.

51. The appearance in the ethnological descriptions of this region of a black race with the hair not curled, as among the Papuas, cannot fail to attract the attention of specialist scholars, and any further information, which is much wanted, will be welcomed. It is a new element of complication, and perhaps a means of simplification, in the intricate mixture of races which has taken place in the inter-oceanic world.

52. But this is not the sole problem which the ethnology of Formosa has in stock for scholars. There are among several native tribes reports of a tribe of red-haired savages, living among the central mountains, who use brass guns of their own manufacture. They are perhaps descendants of Dutch refugees inland at the time of the conquest of Koxinga.

53. The moment has not yet come to establish a classification of the tribes more or less described by travellers in Formosa; the data are pre-eminently deficient, broken, and

¹ Girard de Rialle, *Formose et ses habitants*, l.c. p. 70.

² G. Taylor, *The Aborigines of Formosa*, l.c. pp. 286-287.



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55. The report which reached the Chinese in the second century of our era concerning the presence of the short-sized Negritos in the island is confirmed by inference in the works of modern ethnologists, and therefore stands on a better footing than those wrongly derived from the Dutch statement about Papuas. Mr. Swinhoe in 1866 had spoken of little savages in the extreme south of the Island,¹ but they have not been actually seen. Dr. Arnold Schetelig² and Prof. E. Hamy³ have been enabled from skull measurements to detect an influence of the Negrito race. Further data are required to settle the question, which, however, cannot fail to receive finally an affirmative answer. The great extension of the Negritos from Japan to Indonesia and the mainland of China, now ascertained, makes it the reverse of an impossibility.

56. The present inhabitants of Formosa include a large number of Chinese emigrants, the majority having come over from the province of Fuhkien through the port of Amoy, and it is the phonesis of the dialect of this port which rules generally the sounds used for the Chinese symbols of writing employed in the island. Other Chinese emigrants have come from different sea-ports; for instance, the Hok-los, also originating from Fuhkien, and settled in the Kwangtung province, have sent many emigrants from Swatow. The Hakkas, a distinct Chinese race said to have come originally from Shantung and now also in the Kwangtung province, have largely migrated to the island. To these must be added the Pun-ti or Cantonese proper represented there by many traders, bankers, etc.

57. Some remarks made by several travellers show that the relationship with the inhabitants of Indonesia is the most apparent. The Batanrang, a tall race, have been found bearing a resemblance to the Tagals, and the Sekhwan of the

¹ *Notes on the Aborigines of Formosa*, in *British Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1866, p. 130.

² *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, 1869, n.s. vol. vii. pp. 215-229.

³ *Les Négritos à Formose et dans l'Archipel Japonais* (*Bull. Soc. Anthropologie, Paris*, 1872, 2nd ser. vol. vii.), pp. 848-849. Girard de Rialle, *l.c.* pp. 70-72.

district of Tamsui, to the Polynesians in general and to the New Zealandese in particular. The Sekhwan in the N.E. of Tchang-hwa, C.W. of the island, are described as tall, thin, ugly, with a light hue, and not connected with others. The Kabarans or Kibalans and Loksangs, also the Tsui-hwan, S. W. of Tchang-hwa, have been described as resembling the Malays, while the Kalis of the South, a mixed race, are said to have much of the Tagals of Luzon.¹ The Boutans of the South of the island are very much like the indigènes of

¹ Cf. Girard de Rialle, *Formose et ses habitants*, l.c. pp. 256-275. The following papers may be referred to with profit: Rev. J. Lobschied, *On the Natives of the West Coast of Formosa* (from Dutch sources), Hong Kong, 1860. Jomard, *Coup d'œil sur l'île de Formose*, Paris, 1859 (*Bullet. Soc. Geogr.* Dec. 1858). Rob. Swinhoe, *Notes on the Island of Formosa*, *Jour. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* xxxiv. pp. 6-18; *Note on the Kâli* (British Association, 1865); *Additional Notes on Formosa*, in *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* vol. x. pp. 122-128, London, 1866. Guérin and Bernard, *Les Aborigènes de l'île de Formose*, in *Bullet. Soc. Geogr.* Paris, Juin, 1868, pp. 542-568. Vivien de St.-Martin, *Aperçu General de l'île de Formose*, *ibid.* pp. 525-541. Dr. A. Schetelig, *Reise in Formosa*, *Zeitschr. f. Allg. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1868, vol. iii. pp. 385-397; *On the Natives of Formosa*, in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, London, 1869, vol. vii. n.s. pp. 215-229. E. G. Ravenstein, *Formosa*, in *Geogr. Mag.* London, 1874, pp. 292-297. E. C. Taintor, *The Aborigines of Northern Formosa*, Shanghai, 1874. Arthur Corner, *A Tour through Formosa from South to North*, in *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* 1878, vol. xxii. p. 52. J. Dodd, *A Glimpse at the Manners and Customs of the Hill Tribes of Formosa*, in *Jour. Straits Branch Roy. Asiat. Soc.* June. 1885, pp. 69-78. And the other reports and works quoted throughout our pages. Also J. Thomson, *Notes of a Journey in Southern Formosa* (1871) in *Jour. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* 1873, p. 101. Paul Ibis, in *Globus*, t. xxxi. 1877. Dr. Arnold Schetelig, *On the Natives of Formosa*, in *Transac. Ethnolog. Soc.* 1869, vol. vii. p. 215. E. C. Taintor, *The Aborigines of Northern Formosa*, in *Jour. North China Branch Roy. Asiat. Soc.* Shanghai, 1875, vol. ix. p. 53. Dr. Collingwood, *Visit to the Kibalan Village of Sau-o Bay*, in *Trans. Ethn. Soc.* 1868, vol. vi. p. 135. Allen, *Journey Across Formosa from Tamsui to Taiwan fu*, in *Geogr. Mag.* May, 1877, p. 135. P. Aguilar, in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, 1867, p. 214. R. Swinhoe, *Narrative of a Visit to the Island of Formosa in 1858*, in *Jour. China Branch Roy. Asiat. Soc.* Shanghai, 1859, p. 153. Bienatzki, in *Zeitz. Gesells. Allg. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1859, ii. p. 378. R. Swinhoe, in *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* 1866, x. p. 126. T. F. Hughes, *A Visit to Tok-i-tok*, in *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* 1872, xvi. p. 265. Beazeley, *Notes of an Overland Journey through the Southern part of Formosa in 1875*, in *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* 1885, vii. p. 1. *A Sketch of Formosa*, in *China Review*, 1885, vol. xiii. p. 161. Geo. Philipps, *Notes on the Dutch Occupation of Formosa*, *ibid.* 1882, x. p. 123. G. Kleinwächter, *The History of Formosa under the Chinese Government*, *ibid.* 1884, p. 345. J. Taylor, *Savage Priestesses in Formosa*, *ibid.* 1886, p. 14. *Correspondence between the Rev. K. F. Junor and T. Watters, Esq., H.B.M. Consul Tamsui, Formosa*, 8vo. pp. 24, s.l.n.d. (1881). Joest, W., *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Eingebornen der Inseln Formosa und Coram*, in *Verhand. der Berlin Anthropol. Ges.* 1882, pp. 53-76. Dr. Ern. Martin, *Les Indigènes de Formosa*, in *Rev. d'Ethnographie*, vol. i. 1882, pp. 429-434. John Dodd, *A Few Ideas on the Probable Origin of the Hill Tribes of Formosa*, pp. 69-84 of *Journ. Straits Br. R. As. Soc.* for 1882.

Yukanuni, the westernmost island of the San-nan or Sakisima group in the Liu-Kiu Archipelago.¹

The Baksa Pepohwans recall by their features and costumes the Laocians of Siam,² according to Mr. J. Thomson. A man and woman of the mountaineers, photographed by the same traveller, are extraordinarily like a man and woman of I-Kia of N. Yunnan, pictured in the large work of the French commission in Indo-China.³

58. The connection here suggested between Formosan tribes and some aborigines of China, which is borne out by linguistic affinities, is supported also by similarities of peculiar customs. Tattooing the forehead in blue, still practised by the independent tribes fighting against the Chinese, was the constant practice of the Non-Chinese tribes of the maritime provinces facing Formosa; and tattooing the cheeks, also an aboriginal custom, and a punishment among the Chinese, is also in honour at Formosa, where tattooing is employed on an extensive scale. Knocking out the front teeth of girls on the occasion of their marriage, common among some tribes of the island, has caused some tribes of the Kih-lao in China to be named To-ya-kih-lao, or 'Tooth-breaking Kih-lao'; and these tribes are among those whose language shows much affinity with the Formosan Tayal. The parallelism could be continued for many other customs touching other events of life, and also as regards burial.

59. As to the greater number of the Formosans so called, they belong to the human substratum which includes so many of the aborigines of China, Hainan Island, Indo-China, the Philippine Islands, and the southern Archipelago next to it.⁴ They have sometimes been looked upon as being of the same race as the Igorrotes, the highlanders of Luzon, and some travellers have compared them to the Dayaks, to the

¹ L. Metchnikov, in E. Reclus, *Asie Orientale*.

² J. Thomson, *Ten Years*, p. 209.

³ Cf. J. Thomson, *o.c.* p. 311, and F. Garnier, *Voyage d'Exploration en Indo-Chine*, vol. ii. p. 328.

⁴ Ch. Guérin and Bernard *Les Aborigènes de l'île de Formose*, p. 547 (*Bullet. Soc. Geogr. Paris*, 1868, xv. pp. 542-568).



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IV. LINGUISTICS, §§ 60-110.

60. The linguistics and the ethnology of the island of Formosa are composite. Races pure and mixed from the mainland, and from the outward islands, have met there. Sometimes and in some places they have freely mixed. The absence of any strong government on a large area has not permitted any other unification to take place but that which results from the uninterrupted influence of the surrounding circumstances always at work. It was as a matter of fact the opposite case, and the numerous fragmentary chieftainships have produced in the languages as in the people a large number of broken and small units, which, made up of several ethnico-linguistic elements, can hardly be arranged otherwise than according to the prevalence of one or the other of these elements.

61. Like its ethnology, the linguistics of the island are fragmentary; not one of the languages has taken the lead and imposed its sway over the others. It is only on the western coast, where the Chinese colonists, Hoklo, Hakka, Punti, are established, that some native tribes have given up their native tongue and adopted that of their neighbours, somewhat their masters. Such, for instance, as the Baksa Pepohwan, who are the descendants of those who wrote the interesting MSS. which are the occasion of these notes.

62. A general review of the languages and dialects spoken in Formosa cannot be attempted otherwise than in a very incomplete and summary manner. Of the twenty-five languages and dialects enumerated below, only two or three are represented in our data by vocabularies of a certain length, while we know only a few words of the others. Some more are in existence, but nothing is known beyond their names. No grammar of any language of Formosa has ever been composed.

a) *In Chinese Sources.*

63. A precious bit of information is that which results from the Annals of the Sui dynasty, in 606 A.D., as we have

seen above¹ when dealing with the ethnological question. There we shall see that the Chinese were made cognizant that the language of the Formosans, at least on that southern part of the island facing the province of Fuhkien, was related to the speech of the tribes, mixed in origin otherwise, Negrito-Indonesian, which they knew within and without their dominions.

64. The above-named records contain a few words as a specimen of the Formosan language, which are interesting as the oldest example known. I reproduce them with their Chinese rendering, and also with the Amoy sounds which are usually employed on the island, because of the great number of Chinese emigrants from that port.

	AMOY SOUNDS.	MANDARIN SOUNDS.	MEANING.
歡 斯	<i>Hwan-su</i>	<i>Hwan-sze</i>	Family name of the king
渴 刺 兜	<i>K'at-la-tau</i>	<i>Koh-la-tou</i>	Personal ditto
可 老 羊	<i>K'o-lo-yong</i>	<i>Ko-lao-yang</i>	As he is named by his subjects
多 拔 茶	<i>To-pwat-tch'a</i>	<i>To-pa-tcha</i>	Name of the queen
波 羅 檀	<i>P'o-lo-tan</i>	<i>Po-lo-tan</i>	A royal residence or city
烏 了	<i>Lian-lian</i>	<i>Miao-liao</i>	Head man of village

These few words are not uninteresting, because of their age, the beginning of the seventh century, though the Chinese orthoepy detracts a good deal from their value. In the recent reorganization of the Chinese administration of the island, a new city will be built on the site of a small village called *Hu-lu Tun*, south of Tchang-hwa, in the centre of the western coast. The name recalls singularly the *Po-lo-tan* of the above list.

Nothing can be made in the way of comparison of these special words with the modern lists of vocables from the various dialects, because of the deficiency and shortness of these lists when such words do not occur.

¹ §§ 37-41.

b) *According to Psalmanazar.*

65. Mr. E. Colborne Baber has suggested that the well-known Psalmanazar, in his fictitious description of Formosa at the beginning of the last century, might not have invented, as he did for the other parts of his book, the language of which he gave specimens. Our learned colleague supposes that the forger had perhaps met with a vocabulary of one of the Formosan dialects written by a Dutch Missionary. I have taken the hint, and consulted the above curious work, where however a few specimens only of the language are given, such as the numerals, some twenty-five words, besides translations of Our Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments.¹ I think that the suggestion of Mr. E. Colborne Baber will prove partially true, and that most likely George Psalmanazar had come across some information concerning a dialect of Formosa through a Portuguese, not through a Dutch source. Such being the probabilities, it may be interesting to quote some of the documents from Psalmanazar's book.

66. About the numerals Psalmanazar writes: "They (the Formosans) had no names for numbers before the Dutch came here, but they sufficiently declared to one another what number they meant by their signs and fingers; but because the Dutch did not understand this way of reckoning, they persuaded us to invent names to signify numbers, which now we use after the same manner as they do, proceeding from one to ten, from ten to twenty, and so to a hundred, a thousand, etc., as appears in this instance.

1) *Taufb*, 2) *Bogis*, 3) *Charhe*, 4) *Kiorh*, 5) *Nokin*, 6) *Dekie*, 7) *Meni*, 8) *Thenio*, 9) *Sonio*, 10) *Kan*; 11) *Amkon* or *Taufbkon*, 12) *Bogiokon*, 13) *Charhekon*, 14) *Kiorhkon*, 15) *Nokiekon*, 16) *Dekiekon*, 17) *Menikon*, 18) *Thenikon*, 19) *Soniokon*, 20) *Borhny*. After this *Borhny-tauf* or *Am Borhny Bogio*, and so on to 30) *Chorhny*, 40) *Kiorhny*, 50) *Nokiorhny*, 60) *Dekiorhny*, 70) *Meniorhny*, 80) *Theniorhny*,

¹ See below, § 70 note.



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approaching it, in Japanese. But we know more about the pronouns; *jerh* may be compared to the *ware* Japanese, and to the *yako*¹ Formosan, showing a sort of tentative spelling to connect the two words.

Then comes another statement concerning gender, which is said to be known by the articles:² *oi* 'hic,' *oy* 'hæc,' *ay* 'hoc,' as in *oi banajo* 'hic homo,' *os banajos* 'hi homines.' Here we have the most distinct proof of the Portuguese origin of the linguistic data made use by Psalmanazar. *Os* is the Portuguese article.

69. There is no vocabulary in his book; only a few words which it may not be uninteresting to extract, as follows:

*Baghathaan cherecaal*³ 'emperor or most high monarch'; *bagalo* or *angon* 'king'; *bagalendro* or *bagalender* 'viceroy'; *tanos* 'nobles'; *os tanos soulletos* 'governors of cities or isles'; *ponlinos* 'citizens'; *barhaw* 'countrymen'; *plessios* 'soldiers'; *banajo* 'man'; *bajane*⁴ 'woman'; *bot* 'son'; *boti* 'daughter'; *pornio*⁵ 'father'; *porniin* 'mother'; *geovreo* 'brother'; *jarraijin* 'sister'; *arrannos* 'kinsmen'; *avia* 'an isle'; *tillo* 'a city'; *casseo* 'a village'; *orhnio* 'heaven'; *badi* 'earth'; *auso* 'sea'; *onillo* 'water.'⁶

70. It will be sufficient to identify a few of these words, and to remark the presence again of the Portuguese article, and the otherwise Portuguese appearance or dress of several words. The words for emperor, king, viceroy, may be genuine, though their meaning was respectively greatly magnified for the requirements of the case. They have in common the word *bagha* or *baga*, followed by a qualitative according to the requirements of Formosan ideology. *Pornio* 'father' and *geovreo* 'brother,' with the addition of *in*,

¹ *Yakko* is also the spoken form of *yatsu-ko*, the old bookish pronoun for *I* in Japan.

² In the Bouiok, Buhwan, Sekhwan, Tsuihwan dialects; in Pepohwan *ya-u*, in Pelam *iko*, altered from *yako*.

³ This word recalls singularly the name *chhvea*, by which the Malays are known to the Cambodians. Cf. G. Janneau, *Manuel de la Langue Cambodgienne*, Saigon, 1870, 8vo. p. 63.

⁴ Cf. Malay *Bahina*, Celebes *Bahini*.

⁵ Cf. Sideia *rena* 'mother.'

⁶ Psalmanazar, *A Description*, pp. 270-271.

become *porniin* 'mother,' and *jarraijin* 'sister'; now *inina*, *ina*, *iena*, are the full word for 'woman' or 'female' in Formosan dialects. *Bot* 'son' we find in *badda* of *shiem badda*, i.e. 'man child,' in Favorlang. *Badi* 'earth' is connected with the well-known word *batu* 'stone.'¹ *Auso* 'sea' answers to the Shekoan *aucass*, Favorlang *abass*, with the same signification.

The word *angon* for king is obviously the Chinese '*an-kung*,' which we have met with in the legend of the seals of several officials.²

It would be superfluous to go on with these comparisons, the similarities which we have been able to indicate in the numerals and in several words are all that the necessities of the case require.

Psalmanazar³ has completed his linguistic information with the text and translation of three prayers, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments, which I consider simply as forgeries.⁴

71. To resume, it may be said, that Psalmanazar was not acquainted with any Formosan dialect himself, but that he had got hold of some notes⁵ written by an ignorant Portuguese mariner, who in his travels in the eastern seas, and probably

¹ *Orhnio* 'heaven,' is perhaps the same word as *Tuunuwun* and *Vullun*, with the same significations as in the translations of the *Paternoster* by Junius and Gravius. Cf. below §§ 77-78.

² See above §§ 6, 18.

³ In the biography of Psalmanazar (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, ninth edit.) it is recorded that previous to the publication of his book he was employed by the Bishop of London to translate the catechism into the Formosan language, which he professed to know. Thinking that this translation might have been published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, I inquired from their editorial secretary, Mr. Edmund McClure, who kindly answered me as follows (27th Jan. 1887), "I am now just editing the minutes of this Society from 1698 to 1705, and I am familiar with all the matters dealt with during this period. There is nothing therein bearing upon a Formosan version of the catechism."

⁴ In the sixteenth century the Spanish missionaries had tried to settle in the island, and traces were found of them. Vid. Aguilar, *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, 1862, p. 112 sq.

⁵ B. Schulze, in his *Orientalische und Occidentalische Sprachmeister* (Leipzig, 1748), gives in his work the Formosan numerals, a notice of the language and the alphabet (pars i. pp. 205, 104-105, and 103), which might have been borrowed from Psalmanazar himself, as they are very similar to his; but I think that they come from the same faulty source, apparently Portuguese, from which the celebrated forger derived his information, because the alphabet is more extensive than that given in his book. Cf. § 23 above, and my article on *A Native Writing in Formosa* in *The Academy*, 9th April, 1887, p. 259.

on the coast of Formosa, had there picked up some words, which he completed with some other Malay and Portuguese terms.

c. *From Dutch and Modern Authorities.*

72. Once settled in Formosa, the Dutch, as a matter of course for their purposes of colonization and evangelization, were led to learn the languages of the tribes with which they were brought into contact on the west coast, namely, at Sinkam,¹ Tavokam, Beklawan,² Sulang, Mattou, Tivorang, Favorlang, Takkeis, Tornap, Terenip, Assuk,³ Dorko, Tilocen, etc. Three languages or dialects, viz. those of Sakam, Sideia, and Favorlang, were more or less known to them.

73. Rob. Junius, who was a missionary at Sulang for 14 years, wrote in Formosan (?) a Catechism, which was published at Delft in 1645.⁴

Daniel Gravius, who is said to have laboured as a preacher in Formosa, between the years 1647 and 1651, translated the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, published at Amsterdam in 1661,⁵ and wrote in the Sideia dialect a *formulier*⁶ of the Christian religion, also published at Amsterdam in the following year. Let us observe that by a singular turn of fortune, these latter valuable works were published just at the time when the countrymen of the author

¹ Or Sinkkam, Cinckon, Sincam, Siccum, Sicam, Zijkam, Sekam, Sakam, Sakkan, Sakkam.

² Or Becloan.

³ Or Assoek. Cf. Dr. O. Dapper, *Gedenkwaardig bedrijf der Nederlandsche Oost Indische Maatschappij in China*, Amst. 1670.

⁴ *Soulat i A. B. C. u. s. f. Katechismus in Formosanischer Sprache*, von Rob. Junius, Delft, 1645, 12mo. (24 pp.), quoted in Adelung's *Mithridates*, i. 578. Cf. §§ 77, 82 below.

⁵ *Het Heylige Euangelium Matthei en Johannis. Ofte Hagnau ka D'llig matiktik, ka na sasoulat ti Mattheus, tl Johannes appa. Overgeset inde Formosaansche tale, voor de Inwoonders van Soulang, Mattau, Sinckan, Bacloan, Tavokan, en Tevorang. 't Amsterdam, by Michiel Hartogh, Boeck-verkoper, inde Oude Hoogh-straat, inde Boeck- en Papierwinckel, 1661.* This exact title of this work was given for the first time by D. H. Kern. It was previously known in the literature concerning Formosa under the following: *Evangelia Matthæi et Johannis in linguam Formosanam translata cum versione Belgica*. Op. Dan. Gravii, cum ejusdem prefationem. Amstelodami, 1661, 4to. Cf. J. H. Horne, *Introduction to the critical study and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, 9th ed. 1816, vol. v. p. 135; H. Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, p. 149.

⁶ *Patar ki Inai 'msing an ki Christang. t'Formulier des Christendoms, met, de verklaringen van dien inde Sideio-formosaansche taal.* Door Daniel Gravius Amsterd. 1662, 4to.



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76. In order to make good my first statement regarding the dialect employed by Junius, I subjoin the following instances, and the two versions of the *Pater noster* by this missionary and Dan. Gravius. They were given by Adelung in his *Mithridates*, vol. i. pp. 580–582.

	JUNIUS.	GRAVIUS.	BAKSA.	SIDEIC.
Father	<i>Diam</i>	<i>Rama</i>	<i>Dama</i>	<i>Rama</i>
Heaven	<i>Vullum</i>	<i>Tounuoun</i>		
Day	<i>Wagi</i>	<i>Wä'i</i>	<i>Wagi</i> (sun)	
Liberate	<i>Sousiame</i>	<i>Hasumi-ei</i>		

77. PATER NOSTER, by Rob. Junius, 1645 :

Diam-eta ka tu Vullum, Luiugniang ta Nanang oho; Mahatongal ta tao tu Goum sho Mamatalto ki kamoienhu tu Nay, mama tu Vullum.

Pe-came ka cangniang Wagi Katta; Hamiecame ki Varaniang mameniang ma-mia ta Varan-ki tao ka mouro ki rüeh emitang. Ine-came pondangadangach; Sonaiame-came ki Litto.

Ka imouato ta gumaguma, Kallipuchang, Kasamayang Mikagua. Amen.

78. PATER NOSTER, by Dan. Gravius, 1661 :

Rama-yan, ka itsu Tounnoun koio ki Vullum, Pakou tik tik-auh loumoulough ta Nanangoho; Pa-irou-an ta Pei-sasou-an-oho; Paamtan ta Kamoei-en-hou, mama tou Tounnoun, Kma-hynna tou Nai;

Phei-Kame Wä'i katta ki Paoul-i-an ka mamsing. Attaral-a-ta Käuiling-en-hau ymiän, mama ka attaral-kame ta ymiän ki Käuiling-nian;

Inci-kame amilough tou K'poung an; Ka'am-hou ta Pei-sasou-an ta Peilpoung-en, ta Keirang-an ki kidi, tou yhkagnang Myddarynough. Amen.

79. The two texts are obviously written in dialects closely connected, but they are not one and the same language written by two different persons.¹ Many words

¹ Even admitting, as is here the case, that this language was still unwritten, and that the selection of special words for the rendering of new ideas led to personal differences.

are in common, such as: *ka* 'who, which'; *tu* 'in, on'; *mama* 'as'; *katta* 'this'; *oho* 'thine'; *ta* 'the'?; *kame* or *came* 'us'; *nay* or *nai* 'earth'; *nanang* 'name'; etc. Other words are nearly similar: *pe* (J.) and *phei* (G.) 'give'; *ine* (J.) and *inei* (G.) 'not'; *imou* (J.) and 'am-hou (G.) 'thine';¹ *litto* (J.) and *lyttou* (G.) 'devil'; while some words are altogether different: *eta* (J.) and *yan* (G.) 'our'; *luiugniang* (J.) and *loumoulough* (G.) 'praised'; etc., etc.

80. The equivalence of sound in the transcriptions of *R = D* between the Sideic of Gravius and the Sinkan, now Baksa Pepohwan, of Junius and the MSS., is a regular one, as shown by the further examples given below. And it is not uninteresting that this equivalence should be extended to *S* in another dialect, exemplified by a list of 1072 words found in MS. in the library of the University of Utrecht by Dr. Van der Vlis, and described by him in a paper published at Batavia in 1842.² This other dialect, unnamed, seems represented by the speech of the Kanagou and Paichien of the present day.

81. The following list illustrates the equivalences spoken of in the three dialects:

	Sideia.	Van der Vlis.	Pepohwan.
Father	rama	sama	dama
Mother	rena	sena	tena
Water	ralaum	salong	dalum
Thunder	rungdung	singding	dungdung
Tree	parannah	pesanach	
Foot	rahpal	sapal	dapal (pelam)
Great	irang	isang	
Two	ranka	(so) soa	duha.

82. Allusion has been made by Valentijn and other Dutch writers to a Sakam language,³ the one in which are written

¹ *Im* and 'am are probably another word; leaving *ou* and *hou*, which may be forms of *oho*, 'thine,' as above.

² *Formosaansche Woorden lijst volgens een Utrechtsch Handschrift. Voorafgegaan door Benige Korte Aanmerkingen betreffende de Formosaansche taal. In Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 18de Deel, Batavia, 1842, 8vo. pp. 431-488.*

³ *Zaaken van Taijoan*, bl. 88, v.g. (i. Dr. H. Kern).

the manuscripts described above. Valentijn himself, in 1644, was commissioned from Batavia to collect a Sakam dictionary or vocabulary, in order that a Malay, Portuguese, Sakam and Dutch vocabulary might afterwards be constructed therefrom. But nothing seems to have been done, though the name of Junius has been, rightly or wrongly, connected with the work. Anyhow, the connection we have disclosed in these pages between the dialect employed by this missionary and that of the MSS. from Sinkiang or Sakam, shows that his *Katechism* was written in that special dialect.

83. The Favorlang, the other language of Formosa, which has been known to the Dutch occupiers, is quite distinct from the preceding dialects, though related to them. The chief work in that language is an important vocabulary, compiled in 1650 by Gilbertus Happart.¹ It was found in 1839 by Dr. W. R. van Hoëvell, in the archives of the Church Council at Batavia, and published by him in the eighteenth volume of Transactions of the Batavian Society of Arts and Literature, with some additional remarks.² In 1840, W. H. Medhurst translated it into English, and also published it at Batavia,³ the same year.

84. A manuscript with Favorlang texts has also been found at Batavia, but nothing beyond the *Paternoster* has been edited from it, and this in 1857 only, by E. Netscher.⁴

Here is this *Paternoster* in Favorlang, which may be compared with the Sinkam and Sideia versions which we have reproduced above:

¹ G. Happart was, according to Valentijn, missionary in Formosa from 1649 to 1652 and 1653 to 1656.

² The title is given above, n. This volume was, however, completed only afterwards, and bears the date of 1842. The *Woordboek der Favorlandische Taal, waarin het Favorlangs voor, het duits Achter Gestelt is*, door Gilbertus Happart, occupies the pp. 31-381, and the remarks of Dr. Hoëvell, the pp. 382-430.

³ *Dictionary of the Favorlang Dialect of the Formosan Language*, by Gilbertus Happart; written in 1650. Translated from the Transactions of the Batavian Literary Society, by W. H. Medhurst, Batavia. Printed at Parapattan, 1840, 12mo. pp. 383.

⁴ *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*, vi. 1857 (Dr. Kern). Adelung in *Mithridates*, i. 578, mentions two new works by Sim. van Breen and by J. Happart. As the latter's vocabulary has been published, that of Sim. van Breen is probably that from which published an extract.



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4) near Tai-wan fu (S.W.) and forty-two words from the latter, which he published in 1871.¹

87. Short vocabularies of the *Paichien*, *Banga*, *Bantanlang*, and *Samohai*, with some of the *Siboukn* and *Tibolak* mentioned above² were published without any author's name in June 1867.³ Some *Kali* words and numerals have been given by Mr. R. Swinhoe in the same year.⁴ To Mr. J. Thomson we are indebted for vocabularies of the *Pachien*, *Sibukun*, *Tibolal*, *Banga* and *Bantalang*, *Shekhoan*, *Pilam* and *Baksa Pepohwan*.⁵ Mr. J. B. Steere has collected a vocabulary of 145 *Pepohwan* words at *Kongana Island*,⁶ and Mr. Geo. Philipps a score of *Pilam* words.

88. The following lists of pronouns and numerals will show their similarities as well as their differences :

PRONOUNS.

	I.	THOU.	HE.	WE.	YOU.	THEY.
Tsui-hwan	yako	iho	latoro	yamin	latawan	itiawan
Sek-hwan	yako	issu	issu	yami, ita	innu	yasia
Buh-wan	yako	issu	issu	yamo	....	abaras
Pepohwan	ya-u	inuhu	....	ya-u	inuhu	....
Pelam	iko	yu	inadioa	itai	yu	inadioa
Favorlang	ina	iyo	ai, ixo	namo	yonu, ima	dexo
Tayal	konin	isson	simo	konin	isson	simo
Bouiok	taken	senon	....	takon	sonon	....
Tsoo	aho	sen	taini	aho	son	taini

¹ *Rambles among the Formosan Savages*, pp. 133-134, 164-165 of vol. i. *The Phoenix*, London, 1871.

² *The Sibaukann and Tiboula* of M. Guérin.

³ *Formosan Vocabularies*, in *Notes and Queries for China and Japan*, vol. i. pp 70-71 (Hong Kong, 1867).

⁴ *Notes on Formosa*, in *China Mail*, Hong Kong, 27th Aug. 1867.

⁵ *Ten years' Journey in China and Indo-China*.

⁶ *The Aborigines of Formosa*, in *China Review*, 1875, vol. iii. pp. 181-184.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Tayal	kotoek	sajin	shiougal	pai-at	magal	tai-o	pitou	s'pattle	tai-so	mou-po, or pong	Guérin
Tsoo, or Tibula	tshouni	lousson	toulou	saupouti	nimo	bomi (Pnomi)	pitou	molou	sio	masseki	Guérin
„	chum	lusa	„	supat	lima	nauma	pito	mevarou	chuga	matl	
Shabogala	kou	roussa	tauo	soupat	tima	mato	pitou	aspat	takeisso	moulpo	Guérin
Siboukun	tashan	roussa	tao	pat	tima	noun	pito	mouaou	siba	tapan	Guérin
„	tashang	lusha	taou	p'at	„	noum	„	awou	siva	basan	Thomson
Black Rock Bay	ta-shan	loo-ssa	taoo	pat	lima	noom	pitto	mwaoo	siba	bassan	
Kanagou	sau	sou	toro	pati	rima	neoun	pitou	arou	siousa	koumat	Guérin
Paichien	saou	sou	toro	pati	rima	neum	pito	mivarou	siwa	koumath	Thomson
Sideia	sat, saat	ranha	tauro	hpat	rima	nnum	pytto	kauyppha	matauda	kytti	Balbi
Taiwanfu	tsa-au	loo	toroo	pat-ti	rima	nium	pitto	aroo	siwa	kumettlä	
Pepohwan	sasaab	duha	туру	tabat	turima	tunum	pitu	pipa	kuda	keteng	Baber
„	Baksa	duha	turo	dapat	da-rima	da-num	dapito	knipat	.....	kating	Thomson
Pepohwan Kongana	sasaat	duha	туру	tabat	turima	tunum	pitu	pipa	ruda	keteng	Steere
Pelam	sha	lua	tilu	pat	rima	num	pitu	waro	iwa	pulu	Baber
„	itu	lusa	taloh	sepat	lima	onam	pitu	alou	siva	pelapsang	Thomson
„	saat	ranha	tauro	hpat	rima	nuum	pytto	.....	.....	.....	Philipps
Banga	lenga	nousa	toro	patu	lima	neuma	pito	mevarou	bangato	pouroukou	Thomson
Bantanlang	denga	nousa	toro	patu	lim	neum	pito	mevarou	bangatu	pouroukou	Thomson.
Sau-o Bay North	ita	loo-sa	too-roo	sir-pah	lima	innoom	pitto	aroo	siwa	stivriae	Carroll

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
South	isa	loo-sa	too-loo	shipat	nima	unnum	pitaou	na-loo	siba	tapulouk	Carroll
Samobi	itsa	lusa	torou	sipat	lima	unum	pito	alou	siva	pozo	Thomson
Favorlang	atta	roa	taro	sapat	achab	talap	aito	ma-aspat	tanacho	tschien	
"	watta	roa	toroa	naspat	aχab	natap	naito	maspat	tanaxo	toxiet	Baber
Tsuihwan	taba	tusha	туру	spat	brima	sturu	pitu	kaspat	tamaso	maksin	Baber
Sekhwan	adadumat	dusa	туру	supat	hasub	hasubuda	hasubidusa	hasubituru	hasubisu- pat	issit, shid	Baber
Buhwan	kial	daha	teru	süpüt	rima	mataru	pitu	müssupat	.....	wahal	Baber
Bouiok	ida	dousa	touro	supat	hassub	houdah	bi-dousut	bi-tomo	bissupat	isid	Thomson
Bouiok	aha	roussa	touro	sasserat	rassoum	saïbouch	saïboussin	makaïspat	raha	lampeuve	Guérin
							rahat				
Kali	tirou	tipat	treum	taïssi	mamalan	aïgna	.....	.....	.....	.....	Guérin
Kali (South)	.....	.....	.....	s'pat	lima	unnum	pecho	.....	.....	polo	Swinhoe
Unnamed	saka	ts housa	toulou	soubad	laleup	tsouloup	patsoou	patouloun	seteuna	isit	Guérin
							ana				
Tagalog Philip- pines	isa	dalana	tatlo	apat	lima	anim	pito	walc	siyam	sangpoulo, polo	
Pampango	nisa	duha	tolo	upasu	lima	onon	pito	walo	siam	sampu	
Abac, or Capul	addangan	duangan	talangan	patongam	limangan	anninan- gan	pitongam	walongam	siaman- gam	avantun	
Bissayo	usa	duha, ruha	tolo	upat	lima	onon	pito	walo	siam	napolo	
"	uso	dua	tolo	upat	lima	onou	pitto	gualac	ciam	polo	
Mindanao	isa	daua	tulu	apat	lima	anom	patoo	walu	seoow	sanpoolu	
Jagulo	isa	dalana	tallo	apat	lima	anim	pito	walo	siam	sampu	



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nesian languages as a whole, and not with any dialect in particular. I find that Mr. J. Bullock had come to the same conclusion ; in comparing ninety words of the various dialects from which he has collected the vocabularies reprinted below,¹ and the lists of A. R. Wallace, comprehending vocabularies of the Malay of Java, Bouton and Salayer of S. Celebes, Menado and Bolanghitam of N. Celebes, and Sangnir of Sula Islands, Mr. J. Bullock has found 31 words, or one-third, identical with some Malayan words.² The Pelam having the most, and the Pepohwan the next most similarities. But the comparison shows no connection with any particular dialect.

92. Dr. Arnold Schetelig was the first to study the language of the independent tribes.³ He came to the conclusion that these independent tribes, also called Senghwan, have only borrowed a sixth part of their vocabulary from their Malay neighbours, from whom they differ otherwise in language, and are physically closely allied to the continental people of China. W. M. H. in 1857⁴ has called attention to the relationship evidenced by the Kali numerals furnished by Mr. Swinhoe, and the Malay ones, in the case of four, five, six, seven, and ten.⁵

The Paiwans speak a language of the general type, and so do the Cariangans ; while the Tipuns, avowed foreigners, have only accepted the Paiwan numerals, their language, says Mr. G. Taylor, being otherwise different.

93. The language of the black Diaramocks of the mountainous region inland is altogether unknown,⁶ and we are still without any other information than that given by

¹ See § 86, and the Appendix.

² J. Bullock, *Formosan Dialects and their Connection with the Malay*, l.c. pp. 38-41.

³ *Sprachen der Ureinwohner Formosa's*, in *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. v. p. 437.

⁴ *Notes and Queries for China and Japan*, Aug. 31, 1867, p. 101. This note was the cause of two others, which appeared the following month (Sept. 30, pp. 122-123), from T. J. R.: *Common Origin of Formosans and Malays*, the title of which speaks for itself ; and from Z.: *Kalee and Malay Numerals*, stating that the parentage is not so complete as desired by the author of the first note

⁵ *China Mail*, Hong Kong, 27th Aug. 1867.

⁶ *The Aborigines of Formosa*, pp. 195-196.

Valentijn more than two centuries ago, that it is different from that of the other Formosans.¹

94. The late J. Logan of Singapore, writing in 1852,² made a comparison of the Formosan (Sideia, Favorlang) and several Philippine dialects, all of which he included in his North Indonesian subdivision. The dialectic differences of the Formosan connect it with the Pampangan of Luzon, and the most important formatives agree in all the essential points.

95. The late Von der Gabelentz in 1859³ wrote a valuable monograph, its object being to fix the place of the Formosan in the Malay class. Besides the original Sideia data, he was enabled to compare the Favorlang in the dictionary published in 1840. The great German scholar decided that the affinities of Formosan are Indonesian, and that they are not so exclusively Philippine as the geographical relations suggest.

96. The Abbé Favre,⁴ in his remarks added to the important paper of M. Guérin in 1868 on the Tayal dialect, concludes that the dialects of Formosa are of Polynesian (?) origin; the Favorlang being purer than the Tayal, which has diverged from the original type through its contact with the Chinese. I am not sure that this Polynesian origin is borne out by the paper of this scholar, as all the evidence he adduces consists of serious affinities of the Favorlang with the Malay and Javanese, which are also met with in a less degree in Tayal.

97. Dr. Friedrich Müller, in 1882, in his important, though I am afraid rather overvalued, large linguistic work, has included the Formosan in his Malayan division, and

¹ See above § 50.

² *Ethnology of the Indo-Pacific Islands: Language.* Part i. ch. iii. § vii. p. 150. (Singapore, 1852.)

³ *Ueber die Formosanische Sprache und ihre Stellung im Malaischen Sprachstamm*, in *Zeitschrift der Morgenland. Gesellschaft*, t. xiii. pp. 59-102.

⁴ *Notes sur la Langue des Aborigènes de l'île de Formose et Remarques sur le précédent Vocabulaire*, l.c. Mr. E. C. Taintor in his valuable paper on *The Aborigines of Northern Formosa* (Journ. North China Branch Royal Asiatic Society, 1875. vol. ix. pp. 53-88) has given a vocabulary of the Kabaran Pepohwan, and also one of the Yukan-Tayal.

made it one of the eleven languages¹ which he has compared together. But there is very little if anything new there, as his Formosan is the Favorlang, and his sole authority the monograph of Conon von der Gabelentz. (§ 95.)

Notwithstanding all these later efforts, the chief authority on the matter, still in advance by far, remains the late J. Logan, who wrote thirty-five years ago the work referred to above, and we can only complain of the deficiency of the documents at his disposal.

98. Therefore all the affinities hitherto pointed out connect the majority of the three groups of Formosan languages, Tayal, Sideic, and Favorlang, 1°) with the Indonesian and Pacific languages at large, and the Malayan languages in particular, with reference to the vocabulary, and 2°) with the languages of the Philippines from the standpoint of structure and morphology. But it must be said that though the existence of an important deviation from the Indonesian standard, supposed to have been caused by the influence of the Chinese immigrants, has been duly noticed, no affinities have been sought for the Formosan languages except in the south and west of the island. The mainland has been neglected, and no thought was given to the non-Chinese.

99. However, as early as 1853, the venerable Brian H. Hodgson, in his paper *On the Tribes of Northern Tibet and of Sifan*,² had shown the remarkable similarity of verbal formation by piled-up prefixes in the *Gyarung*, a language on the Tibetan frontier of China, and the Tagala of the Philippines. The affinity cannot be denied, but this simple fact, full of ethnological suggestion, has escaped the attention of the above-named scholars. Or, should they have come across Hodgson's statement, they have neglected it as a fancy of its author, which the geographical distance and the supposed presence of the Chinese in the intervening country from olden times, rendered utterly improbable and not worthy of examination.

¹ These eleven languages are the following: Tagala, Ibanag, Formosan, Battak, Malagasy, Altur, Dayak, Malay, Javanese, Mankasar, and Bugis. Vid. his *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, ii. (2) pp. 87-160.

² *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. xxii. 1853, p. 121, sq.



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with the Malayan groups. All these tribes, with the exception of the Li, are now located in the Kueitchou province of Western China, where they have been gradually removed or driven from their former seats in the centre and east of China. Unhappily the documents for studying the languages of these and other aborigines are pre-eminently deficient. They consist of lists of words of various lengths and various origins and dates, either casually quoted in the Chinese records, or purposely collected by them or by Europeans, with all their differences in time, place, writing and language owned by their authors.¹ In other words, as a matter of fact, they are the worst materials that could possibly be placed in the hands of the philologist, and permit very little, if any, insight on the structure of the languages they represent.

104. Another, though indirect, means of inquiry is the study of the influence of the native languages on the historical and regional evolution of the genuine Chinese dialects. As I have shown elsewhere, I have been able to ascertain that in former times, in the east of China, on the mainland, the native dialects used, in the construction of their sentences, to place the subject after the verb.² This remarkable feature is rather uncommon; it does not belong to the Küenlunic linguistic formation, which includes the Chinese and the Tibeto-Burmese groups; nor does it to the Mōn-Khmer and Taic-Shan families constituting the Indo-Chinese division of the Indo-Pacific stem; but it is a regular feature of the Indonesian, north division, and an occasional one of the Polynesian, both branches of the Oceanic languages belonging to the aforesaid Indo-Pacific stem. Therefore we may adduce from this fact the existence in the east of China of dialects of a north Indonesian character, existence which is further established by the similarities presented by the now removed Gyarungs and several tribes of Kueitchou.

105. Allusion has already been made to the system of

¹ Cf. T. de L., *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, §§ 2-7, p. 394-398, in *Transactions of the Philological Society for 1885-6*.

² Cf. T. de L., *ibid.* § 23, p. 406. And more fully in my other work, *Ideology of Languages and its Relation to History*, §§ 120-122, pp. 84-87.

prefixes superimposed one to the other, and also of infixes in the case of the verb in Gyarung, as in north Indonesian. Particular prefixes determining the condition of the sense of the word must also be noticed. For instance, in Gyarung, in 25 verbs I find that 17 begin by *ta*, the *a* often displaced by a vowel harmonizing with the word; in 27 adjectives, 26 begin with *ka-* or *ku-*, etc.; both prefixes are cognate to the similar prefixes *ta-*, *ti-*, *te-*, and *ka-* of north Indonesia, *ta*, *ti*, of Formosa, *tche* of the *Kih-lao* of Kueitchou, *k-* and *t-* of the other aforesaid Miao dialects, and the *k-* and *t-* of the Gyarung. All of them, derived from common parents, have been diversified in their value and use in the course of the respective evolutions of the languages which have them.

106. Scholars have already compared the *ma-* and *pa-* of Favorlang with the *mag-* of Tayal and the *pan-*, *pa-*, of Tayal, Malay, Javanese, Battak, Mankassar, Bugis and Dayak; the suffix *-an* of Favorlang, with a similar *-an* in Tagal and Malagasy. We may add the infix *-in-* of Favorlang and Tayal, with a similar one in Tagal, Javanese, etc. The known prefix *m-* of the Malay dialects we find appearing as follows in the Formosan dialects:

In the case of verbs:

<i>Favorlang</i> 80 %	<i>Tayal</i> 33 %
<i>Pepohwan</i> 75 „	<i>Sekhican</i> 33 „
<i>Buhican</i> 60 „	<i>Pelam</i> 20 „
<i>Tsuihican</i> 50 „	

In the case of adjectives:

<i>Pepohican</i> 100 %	<i>Buhwan</i> 50 „
<i>Tsui-hican</i> 90 „	<i>Sekichan</i> 25 „
<i>Favorlang</i> 80 „	<i>Pelam</i> 25 „

107. In Tayal and Tsoo of North Formosa, class-prefixes fused with the word, *K-* or *G-*, *M-*, *b-* or *p-*, and *l* or *r*, are found in the vocabulary for all parts of the body. In Gyarung *k-*, *b-*, *r-* and *t-*, correspond in a general way, yet not in all the individual cases, because of the intervening causes of alteration on the two sides, with the similar *k-*, *p-*, *l-* and *t-* of the aforesaid Miao dialects of Kueitchou in

China.¹ The uniformity of system between the Formosan dialects, several Miao languages of China and the Gyarung, is made evident therefrom.

108. With regard to their ideology, hardly anything has been done excepting individual remarks. Therefore, making use of our convenient ideological indices,² we are enabled to establish the following list, which shows their similarities and differences, as far as documents permit, and which I extract from my *Ideology of Languages and its Relation to History*:

FORMOSA :

<i>Favorlang</i>	. . . . .	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	6	7	V.
<i>Tayal</i>	. . . . .	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	6	7	V.
<i>Tsoo</i>	. . . . .	2	4	6	7	V.
<i>Shobogala</i>	. . . . .	2	4	6	0	
<i>Sideia</i>	. . . . .	2	4	(6)	7	IV. V.
<i>Sinkam.</i>	. . . . .	2	4	(6)	7	IV. V.

CONTINENT :

Ancient Influence	. . . . .	2	0	6	7	IV. V. ³
<i>Gyalung</i>	. . . . .	1	3	5	8	III. (Hybrid, Tatar influence).
<i>T'u man</i>	. . . . .	1	4	6	0	(Mixed).
<i>K'ih-lao</i>	. . . . .	1	4	6	0	(Mixed).
<i>An-Shun</i>	. . . . .	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	6	0	(Mixed).
<i>Black Miao</i>	. . . . .	1	4	6	0	(Mixed).

¹ See on this question my remarks on the Gyarung in my book on *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, § 133.

² The explanation of these ideological indices is the following: The Arabic figures show the order of individual words, while the Roman figures relate to the arrangement of the simple or positive sentence.

1. Genitive and noun.
2. Noun and genitive.
3. Adjective and noun.
4. Noun and adjective.
5. Object and verb.
6. Verb and object.
7. Verb and subject.
8. Subject and verb.

I. Obj. subj. verb.
II. Obj. verb subj.
III. Subj. obj. verb.
IV. Verb subj. obj.
V. Verb obj. subj.
VI. Subj. verb obj.

So that 5 7 imply II. ; 5 8 imply I. or III. ; 6 7 imply IV. or V. ; and 6 8 imply VI. only.

³ Genuine Chinese, 1 3 6 8 VI.



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Archipelago and other islands. The Chinese influence there does not appear to have extended beyond their vocabulary.

110. The following scheme of classification will permit us to apprehend the relative position of the Formosan dialects with the other languages, cognate in various degrees, belonging to the **INDO-PACIFIC STOCK OF LANGUAGES**, and the stray affinities which pervade them throughout, and give to their relationship a character so intricate.

INDO-PACIFIC Stock, including two divisions:

I. The **INDO-CHINESE** subdivided into three branches:

- 1) *Mōn-Taïc*, including *a)* 7 Pre-Chinese dialects unmixed and mixed, and *b)* 11 Pre-Chinese dialects Hybridized and Hybrid.
- 2) *Mōn-Khmer*, including the *a)* Annamite or Cochinese, *b)* Palaong, *c)* Peguan, *d)* Khasi, *e)* Khmer group, *f)* Negrito Kamucks, etc., dialects.
- 3) *Taïc-Shan*, including four groups, *a)* Pre-Chinese, *b)* Ahom, *c)* Shan, *d)* Loacian Siamese.

II. The **INTER-OCEANIC**, subdivided into four branches:

- 1) *Indonesian*, including four groups, *a)* Pre-Chinese, *b)* Formosan, *c)* Tagalo-Malayan, *d)* Negrito-Aetas.
- 2) *Micronesian* groups.
- 3) *Polynesian* groups.
- 4) *Melanesian* groups.

The dialects of Formosa may be provisionally subdivided as follows in three sections:

Tayal—Tsoo, Shabogala, Sibouken, Black Rock Bay, Kanagu, Paichien, etc.

Sideïa—Sinkam, Tai-wan, Pepohwan Baksa, Kongana, Pelam, Banga, Bantanlang, Sau-o Bay, Samolei (?).

Favorlang—Tsui-hwan, Sekhwan, Buhwan, Bouiok, Kali, etc.

APPENDIX.—VOCABULARIES (Reprinted from the *China Review*, August, 1874).

ENGLISH.	TSUI-HWAN.	SEK-HWAN.	BU-HWAN.	PEPO-HWAN.	PELAM.	FAVORLANG.
1 I	Yako	Yako	Yako	Ya-u	Iko	Ina
2 Thou	Iho	Issu	Issu	Inuhu	Yu	
3 He	Latoro	Issu	Issu		Inadioa	Ai
4 We	Yamin	Yami, Ita	Yamo		Itai	Namo
5 You	Latawan	Imu			Yu	
6 They	Itiawan	Yasia	Abarao		Inadioa	Decho
7 My	Nak	Naki	Yako			
8 Thy	Mio	Nissua	Issu			
9 His	Tusai	Nimissu	Nakaga			
10 Our	Shakshunam	Nita	Kakash-aduk			
11 Their			Nataha			
12 Man	Sput	Sanh	Edük	Amama	Atou	Sham
13 Woman	Minyawat	Mamais	Makaidil	Inina	Iduakomaishuao	Sini
14 Girl	Alalak	Rakihal mamais	Lakai makaidil		Babaian	Shiem mammali
15 Boy	Alalak	,, mamalung	Lakai risinao		Mainaian	Shiem badda
16 Wife	Taina	Mamais	Makaidil	Kiga-ung	Akomaishu atou	
17 Son	Alalak	Rakihal	Lakai	Alak	Walak	
18 Daughter	Minyawatalalak	Rakihal mamais	Lakai makaidil	Alak	Maiwalak	
19 Brother		Namah	Nakial	Nigaha	Wawadian	Aloasa
20 Sister		Soadji mamais	Swadzumakaidil	Bi-in	Balibali	Aloasa
21 Uncle	Tama	Baba	Mama			
22 Mother	Ina	Ina	Bubu	Jena	Ina	Nai
23 Father	Ama	Aba	Taina	Dama	Ama	Mau
24 Head	Puno	Punu	Tunuch	Bungu	Tangaro	Oena

ENGLISH.	TSUI-HWAN.	SEK-HWAN.	BU-HWAN.	PEFO-HWAN.	PELAM.	FAVORLANG.
25 Eyes	Nasa	Dourik	Dourük	Mata	Mata	
26 Ears	Sarina	Sangira	Birüt	Tangira	Tangira	Charrina
27 Nose	Mulin	Mujing	Mohing	Gungus	Antingran	Not
28 Mouth	Lulit	Rahal	Koak	Mulut	Indan	Ranied
29 Teeth	Nipin	Lipeung	Rupun	Walit	Wali	Zien
30 Lips	Bipi	Ruli	Padahung	Babibit	Birbir	Dorren
31 Tongue	Ama	Yohama	Hema	Dalilah	Ashma	Tazira
32 Chin	Bibi	Waka	Bukului	Taktak	Ashib	Oroboa
33 Beard	Bilu	Muduss	Muduski	Gingi	Nishnish	
34 Throat	Holaho	Bakung	Uduthing		Niin	Ri
35 Neck	Ukan	Haho		Kuduak	Tangdo	Arriborribon
36 Shoulder	Kalafa	Abaha	Ahing	Tagu	Ayab	
37 Arm	Bitrilin	Binangwan	Abatha	Pario	Asül	Tea
38 Elbow	Poko	Jiku	Punguh	Pauk	Shiku	Chimotor
39 Hand	Lima	Rima		Dadukam	Rima	Rima
40 Finger		Kakamua	Tuluding	Kagamus	Timush	Apillo
41 Thumb	Tokatokash	Tatududzahama			Atingalan	Sini apillo
42 Finger-nail	Kuku	Kaliku	Kukuh	Kalungkung	Ske	Aso
43 Breast	Paku	Yenbeuzeub	Turüng	Abu	Tagran	Arrabis
44 Leg	Bantat	Karao	Papük	Paa	Paa	Asiel
45 Knee	Kalu	Ilass	Punguh	Dudu	Shungar	Poo
46 Foot	Kakai	Dadapal	Kapal papük	Tintin	Dapal	
47 Toe	Fatfat	Kakamudzu karao	Jitio papük	Kagamus	Atangalan	
48 Toe-nail	Kaku	Kaliku		Kalungkung		
49 Blood	Tatsom	Damuh	Dara	Gama	Damok	Tagga



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ENGLISH.	TSUI-HWAN.	SEK-HWAN.	BV-HWAN.	PEPO-HWAN.	PELAM.	FAVOLANG.
75 Sea	Bal ahan	Ass	Chilung timu	Baung	Raliaban	Abas
76 Lake		Rumao	Chilung	Udau	Udan	Oetas
77 Rain	Kusal	Mudal	Kuzuch	Rabu	right	Rabboe
78 Glds	Kali	Rulung	Rulung	Dungdung	Drung	Bioa
79 Wfider	Barumbun	Kurass	Mabarua		Armung	
80 Lightning	Harbuk	Id	Sassaina			
81 Sun	Tisat	Lajh	Hidao	Wagi	Kađao	Sisa
82 Don	Fural	Illass	Idass	Buran	Aburan	Idass
83 Stars	Tahh	Bintul	Kushun	ting akai	Atior	Baboan
84 Day	Tatakale	Liahan	Babien	t	Garum	
85 Night	Homhom	Leunian		Madung	Karao	Biini
86 Light	Hesial	Püdüsach				Marara
87 Dark	Mhom	Seum	Makuun			Maodum
88 Fire	Apui	Hapui	Hapunek	Apui	Apui	Gau
89 Smoke	Marumun	ah	Karengoul	Labu	Man	
90 Ashes	Usila	Heuruhour	Makaluch		Aabu	Abo
91 Wood	Malasok	Kahoi	Harung	Kaiu	Ađoi	Baron
92 Main	Hudun	Bju	Dagizak paru	Bukung	Bin	Shag
93 tne	Fwatu	Batu	Batunuch	Batu	Barasa	Bato
94 Sand	Bunal	alza	Banakail	Lapun	uk	Bonnad
95 Silver	Tsui	Pilah	Pilat	Manituk	Apasho	Dippi
96 Iron	Baliss	Kaha	Hilui	Mani	Midung	Silok
97 Knife	Mamanan	alao	ulat	Ulut	Tadao	Bottul
98 Spear	Snabunan	Dadakuss	Simbarangan		Akutan	
99 Sword	iss	Matara tadao	Simdat kana-dish	Takaili	Tadao	Tabba

ENGLISH.	TSUI-HWAN.	SEK-HWAN.	BU-HWAN.	PEFO-HWAN.	PELAM.	FAVORLANG.
100 Bow	Spalisan	Buzueh	Bahenek	Kuh	Baknan	
101 r ^h w	Fihlat	Wil	Budi		Timra	
102 Cord	Futut	Sariss	Halung	Lantu	Atali	Atippo
103 Gun	Putum	Miss	Halung			
104 Powder	Kafo	Au patuss	Khalit			
105 Shot	Filush	Haidang	Bali			
106 d ^h se	Taoun	Huma	Sapah	Hamadung	Aruma	Don
107 Roof	Tafuk	Tilap	dmuch	Alub	Karaobuan	
108 Dor	Pitao	Rahawanan	Rahengun	Natap	Apitoun	
109 sc	Htha	Parana	Ashu		an	Abak
110 Mo	Parutha	Arupa parana	Aku		amsh	
111 Good	Makitan	Reak	Mup	Magani	Inaba	Mario
112 Bad	Makarman	Sadial	Wh	Mabulin	Inatai	Marapies
113 Sweet	Min	Miss	Sasibuss	Mahami	Dalo	Mo
114 Sour	Makaitho	Marinu	Ahi	Maagmid	am	
115 Bter	Mar	Paijid	Mangihul			Mpe
116 Ugly	Mr	Kalial an	Sesechaun	Madidung		
117 Hot		Mdalass	Matatiluch tidao	Mazalat	Biash	
118 Pretty	Man	Kiarun	hoh	Mabutira		
119 drg	Makurin	Miss	Kanadish	Mahadat		Matsilo
120 Short	ush	Hatikul	h	amg		Mapapa
121 Big	Marawin	Mru	Paru	amg	Matina	Mato
122 Isle	Matapun	Afik	Tikoh	amg	Makitung	Maromoromo
123 dd	Makarimosut	Itich	Mariemuch	Marungneung		
124 Square	Nto	Supadzu kudzuk	af ^t balai			
125 Warm	Mala	Mulalap	Matatiluch	al ^t		Tadach

ENGLISH.	TSUI-HWAN.	SEK-HWAN.	BU-HWAN.	PEPO-HWAN.	PELAM.	FAVORLANG.
126 Cold	Masunlao	Lamik	Masckuich	Mahaumung	Lituk	Maasumak
127 No	Oa	Koah	Ukach	Akousai	Inian	Pa
128 Yes	Ani	Nahada	Balaiwa	Hai	Amao	Makaries
129 Run (verb)	Mushaida	Mitalam	Matugessa	Mahangai		Micham chatto
130 Smoke tobacco	Amakan tamako	Dadohai tamako	Makan tamako			
131 Eat	Amakan	Kakanai	Manakamakan	Input	Amkan	Micham
132 Drink	Mikela	Dadohai	Nimah	Mudadarang	Tümkür	
133 Walk	Oshumpado	Dzadzakai	Makakaisha	Marisip		
134 Liedown	Masutl	Paharasai	Tarakarak	Mariku		
135 Sleep	Mapushkah	Mudamai	Mataakai		Medüng	Paichasarra
136 Die	Mathai	Purihadai	Mahokal	Mapatai	Ua	Macha
137 Go		Mukusa	Musha	Madarang	Alamo	Mbe
138 Come	Ititha	Mopuzah	Maidzach	Mapunakuli		
139 Buy	Mushnao	Mobareo		Pilakuli		
140 Sell	Afario	Mahebareo		Mirakukuli		
141 Weep	Thmanit	Mangidz	Leminish	Mangi		
142 Laugh	Masasana	Mahatan	Mahulish	Matawa		
143 Sing	Makakuyash	Maturai	Mahoyesh	Ururao		
144 Talk	Matlinula	Makakawasai	Marangao	Masasuu		
145 Work	Araran	Maramai	Komopach	Muuma		
146 Roast	Opushnara	Mohareub	Papurai			Pasoso
147 Boil	Opintala	Tataluk	Hamangut	Juku		Mado
148 Fish	Manitha	Matakapiss				
149 Hunt	Panok	Malup				Maribaribat
150 Fight	Mapathai	Mohazab		Malup		Mapiegh



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ENGLISH.	TSUI-HWAN.	SEK-HWAN.	BU-HWAN.	PEPO-HWAN.	PELAM.	FAVORLANG.
177 Eight	Kaspat	Hasubituru	Mpat	Pipa	Waro	
178 Nine	Tamaso	Hasubisupat		Kuda	Iwa	
179 Ten	Muksin	Issit, Shid	Nahal	Keteng	Pulu	Zchiet

Note.—A more complete idea of the Favorlang numerals may be formed from the following:

Once	Mas
Twice	Mannawas
Five	Mannatorrous
Six times	Mnaspattil
Eight times	Mnatapil
Ten times	Mamaspatil (? Mannamaspatil)
	Met

ART. XV.—*On the Revenues of the Moghul Empire.*

By H. G. KEENE, Esq.

Communicated through the Secretary R. A S.

IT is not without sincere diffidence that I venture to lay before Oriental scholars the following remarks. It is my misfortune to find myself constrained to oppose the conclusions of one who, when I first took up the question, was the most accepted authority on the subject—the late Edward Thomas. That learned and distinguished man has recorded, in commenting on some former notes of mine (in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*¹), that I treated the matter in so discursive a way that he was unable to catch my drift. On observing this, I wrote a fresh paper for the Royal Asiatic Society—which has been unfortunately lost—in which I strove to speak out in a manner that should leave no room for misconception. Unhappily Mr. Thomas is no more among us; and one is again in the old difficulty. A hesitating delivery of opinion, which was originally caused by deference to the justly-deserved reputation of the opposing advocate, is now, in a manner, called for by respect for the memory of the departed.

But *magna est veritas*; and the importance of the subject ought to be my excuse for saying that Mr. Thomas overestimated the Moghul revenues, and supported his estimates by untenable argument. I desire to say it, with unfeigned respect for his great labours; but I submit that, if only my opinion be right, it is one that ought to be expressed. It is not only of scientific importance to know the truth; the

¹ J.A.S.B. July, 1878 (vid. *ibid.* vol. i. pt. i. 1881).

knowledge of it may have an exceedingly great political importance. It thus becomes necessary to state, as concisely as may be, the grounds on which I have been led to make these assertions.

In the first place, Mr. Thomas appears to assume that the rupee of those days is equivalent to two-twentieths of a pound sterling of English currency. Anglo-Indians know too well that such is certainly not now the case; but in point of fact it is only known to have been so during the first sixty years of the current century and a short preceding period when British commerce was beginning to work with weight upon Indian markets. In the reign of Aurangzeb, the last powerful Emperor, we learn from Manucci, the Italian physician, that a revenue of thirty-eight *krors* was at one moment¹ realized, and that this sum was tantamount to five hundred and eighty millions of *livres*. In another place the same writer reports that the rupee was equal to thirty *sols*. So Tavernier, in estimating the value of "The Great Table Diamond," tells us that it was "priced at five hundred thousand rupees, or seven hundred and fifty thousand *livres* of our money." We have then to imagine what proportion to our pound was borne by the French *livre tournois* of that period, one and a half of which formed the equivalent of the rupee.

Fortunately we have, in Justice's *Moneys and Exchanges*, London, 1807, an exact account of the relation between the French and English money of those days.² The pound sterling was "an imaginary sum" not coined, but expressing two hundred and forty pence: and fifty-four pence were equal in exchange to seventy-two *sols*. Hence the "imaginary" pound of two hundred and forty pence was equal to 320 *sols*, or 16 *livres tournois*; or, in other words, the *livre* was the sixteenth part of a pound sterling. Therefore the thirty-eight *krors*—which made Aurangzeb's *maximum* budget—were only equal to £36,250,000; and the ordinary

¹ In 1697.

² The book is in the Bodleian, and I am indebted for its use to the kind information of Mr. Thorold Rogers. Justice gives the values of 1703.



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of the public fisc. During about half a century there was a poll-tax levied on the Hindus; but there are no means of knowing exactly what amount reached the Treasury under this head. It was probably not above four *krors* of rupees.

I believe, further, that the revenue of the Empire rose, from one cause or another, from ten *krors* of rupees in Akbar's reign to whatever it reached in that of Aurangzeb; and that from about 1697 it again steadily declined. For the former estimate I cite 'Abul Fazl and Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, who were both fiscal officers of the Empire towards the end of Akbar's reign. The one says that all India, as ruled by the Moghul, yielded a revenue of "640 *krors* of *murâdi tankas*" annually; and *murâdi tanka* is a well-known accountant's way of describing copper coins of which sixty-four went to the rupee.¹ The other, in the *Akbarnâma*, gives detailed statements (which he calls *taqsim-jamas*), the total of which 'aggregates just under ten *krors*, inclusive of customs. It was to be expected that the two statements should agree; and I can see no reason for doubting that, in point of fact, they do. Coming to the reign of Akbar's son and successor, Jahângir, we are met with the view of a Dutch writer, J. de Laet, who is sometimes cited in support of a higher estimate. On this we need not linger; save to remark that de Laet was a mere compiler who had never been in India, and whose work abounds in errors. Hawkins, who puts the revenues of Jahângir at fifty *krors*, had local knowledge, but he was a mere mariner who is in direct opposition to an educated contemporary. Coryat, the eccentric but highly observant and intelligent Vicar of Odcombe, who was in Hindustan at the same epoch, states distinctly that the income of the Empire was forty millions of crowns of six shillings each, say twelve millions. Hawkins's estimate is from land only;

¹ Thomas is much puzzled by the term *murâdi tanka*. But he himself shows elsewhere that the rupee was divisible by 64; and a coin of this value (called *pai* and weighing 100 grains of copper) continued to be struck in the name of the Emperor down to the present century.

which we may see to be extravagant by this one consideration. If a drunken trifler like Jahângir could derive fifty *krors* from land alone, how was it that his avaricious and able successor admittedly raised no more than from twenty-two to twenty-six *krors* from a more extensive area? One contemporary—the author of the *Bádsháhnáma*—puts Sháh Jahan's revenues as low as eighteen *krors*. Thevenot gives the revenue in 1666 as 376,000,000 *livres*; and Ramusio in 1707, after the annexation of the Deccan and the imposition of the poll-tax,¹ at thirty *krors*. It is therefore just possible that, ten years earlier, a maximum budget of thirty-eight *krors* may have been raised, as Manucci believed.

There is this obvious danger in forming excessive estimates on this subject, that we never can tell what nonsense might be stated, in Parliament or by the press, as to the capacity of the country. India is a very poor country, and its people are not represented in the Government. If, therefore, it were really believed that, with all the subsequent fall of money, the British rulers of India did not raise anything like the same (nominal) amount that was raised by the unscientific Turks of two or three centuries ago, pressure might well come, fraught with the most disastrous consequences. It has been laid down that the Moghul revenues rose, at last, to eighty millions of pounds sterling. What that would be equal to in modern money I do not exactly pretend to know. But it would be a sum the attempt to levy which could only end in some form of ruin.

¹ The poll-tax was imposed in 1677, and the Deccan annexed in 1688. These two sources combined may have added eleven *krors* to the revenue of 1666. But the Empire was in disorder by that time.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(March, April, May.)

I. REPORTS OF MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, SESSION- 1886-87.

Fifth Meeting, 21st March, 1887.—Col. H. Yule, R.E., C.B., President, in the Chair.

Elections: Messrs. C. Capper and Holt L. Hallett, Resident Members.

After referring to the recent deaths of Sir Walter Elliot and Mr. Alexander Wylie, two distinguished Orientalists, the former of whom had been a member of the Society for about half a century, the President called upon Professor Douglas, in the absence of the author, to read Mr. Colborne Baber's paper on "Nine Formosa-MSS." It described a batch of MSS. received from the island of Formosa, and obtained by the Rev. W. Campbell within the last three years, from the Pepohwan tribe, at one of the villages in the low-lying hill region eastward from Taiwanfoo. These Pepohwans had lost all knowledge of the language represented in the documents. They had removed inland to their present settlements some eighty years ago, their own ancestral territory being what was known under the Dutch occupation as the township of Sink-kan, a name still preserved in the large Chinese market-town of Sinkang, about 21 li (7 miles) N.N.E. of the city of Taiwanfoo.—Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie followed Professor Douglas in remarking upon the MSS. described, and read some notes in connection with the subject which, together with Mr. Baber's paper, would be prepared for publication in the Journal.—Sir Thomas Wade, Mr. H. Howorth, M.P., and others took part in the brief discussion which ensued; and the President, before closing the proceedings, expressed the thanks of the meeting to the authors of the papers.

Sixth Meeting, 18th April, 1887.—Col. H. Yule, R.E., C.B., President, in the Chair.



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Woosung, and took him and the other friends who had voyaged with him from England, up the river to Shanghai. I fully endorse all that has now been said by M. Cordier and Sir Thomas Wade, and would emphatically commend the "Notes on Chinese Literature" as an indispensable help to all Chinese students. The labour spent on this book was immense, and the more it is known, the more highly will it be estimated. I had the pleasure of introducing Sir Emerson Tennant to Mr. Wylie. Having translated some passages in Chinese books for this gentleman's History of Ceylon, and finding that he needed further research made; I advised him to apply to Mr. Wylie, who signally helped him in completing his very valuable and useful work. In the same way I had the honour of introducing him to you, Mr. President, when for your great work on Marco Polo, you wanted information from Chinese sources, which as you know he so well supplied. In conclusion, I would thank you, Mr. President, for enabling me to express before this Society my feeling of great regard for the memory of one with whom I was so long associated, and whom I sincerely esteemed and loved.

The Very Rev. Dr. Butcher, formerly of Shanghai, added:—When one risks to speak on an Oriental topic in the presence of Sir Thomas Wade, one resembles in temerity the man who lectured on the Art of War in the presence of Hannibal. But I feel that I should be neglecting a duty if I failed to add a tribute to the memory of the distinguished man whom I knew for 17 years in Shanghai. I cannot speak of him so fully as Sir Thomas could do, for he was more closely connected with him than I was, but we were often together at the meetings of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and though others more competent than I am can speak to the vastness of his erudition, I yield to none in estimation of his high character, his simplicity, his purity of motive, his deep devotion to duty. I can only say of him as was said of a good man lately taken from us: "There is no marble white enough to form a monument to his memory."

Some feeling words were added by the President, who bore testimony, from his own personal knowledge, to the value of Mr. Wylie's labours, and his worth of character: thanks were then passed to M. Cordier for his interesting memoir.

Seventh Meeting, 2nd May, 1887.—Sir Thomas Wade, K.C.B., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Election: M. Enrico Vitto, Vice-Consul at Aleppo of H.M. the King of Italy, as Non-Resident Member.

Surgeon-General Bellew read selections from a paper which he had prepared for the Society under the title of "Notes on the Names borne by some of the Tribes of Afghanistan." Commencing with the statement that the country now called Afghanistan was hardly known by that name until the establishment of the Afghan monarchy in the middle of the last century, he pointed to the fact that the new kingdom then created by the Abdali chieftain was not called the Afghan kingdom at all. Ahmad Khan Sadozi was crowned at Kandahar, not as sovereign of the nation, but as king of the Duráni people, who, in representing the ancient Drangæ of Drangiana, revived an apparently obsolete name. After referring to the little that was known of the Afghans, and briefly alluding to the increase of our knowledge regarding them and their country through the means of embassies, followed by war, military occupation, and partial annexation of their country, he proceeded to notice the names borne by some of the tribes now found in Afghanistan, offering suggestions for their identification with peoples bearing similar names, of whom mention is made in the works of ancient Greek and Latin authors. Of the two countries spoken of by Herodotus under the name Pactyica, one, on the western borders of Persia, comprised the Armenians, with the contiguous nations as far as the Euxine; the other, on the eastern frontier of Persia, bounded by the Indus,¹ comprised the Sattagydæ, the Dadikæ, and the Aparytæ. From the application of the name to two countries of similar physical conformation, situated at opposite extremes of the Persian empire, he advanced the conjecture that this similarity of geographical aspect possessed in common by both was significative of the meaning of the name itself, and that this notion appeared to be confirmed by the names which these two regions have respectively borne in subsequent times, as well as by the names applied collectively to the inhabitants of each, even up to the present day. Reviving an old discussion carried on by writers in the past century, on the affinity of Afghan and Armenians, Dr. Bellew, moreover, entered into an elaborate definition of the name Afghán as derived from the Armenian Alwán or Albán, written "Aghván," and referred to the close connection which formerly existed between the Eastern and Western provinces of Ancient Persia, as also to the fact that, during the reign of Cyrus, and the reigns of his immediate

¹ Ἄπὸ Πακτυϊκῆς δὲ, καὶ Ἀρμενίων, . . . τετρακόσια τέλιαντα. Herod. Thalia, iii. 93. Also in the same chapter, 102: Ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν Κασπατέρφ τε πόλει καὶ τῇ Πακτυϊκῇ χώρῃ εἰσι πρόβουροι. . .

predecessors and successors, the wholesale transportation of nations and tribes from one part of the empire to another, often remotely distant, was an operation of by no means uncommon occurrence. After a brief notice of the different nations mentioned by Herodotus as comprising the several Satrapies of Persia, the lecturer observed that these names probably referred only to the dominant people in those satrapies with which they were associated, citing as evidence in point a passage in Alexander's history tending to show that there were in those days other tribes amongst the Aparytæ—the modern Afrídí—who are not mentioned by the Father of History. The concluding part of the paper was taken up with short notes on tribes supposed to be of Greek descent, and on others representing the Persian inhabitants of the country.

Sir Henry Rawlinson, admitting the pains taken to make good the proposition, stated that he could not recognise the mode in which the conclusions had been reached as convincing, or exemplifying the true principle of appreciation. The subject, however, was one of considerable interest.—Dr. Stein followed with some remarks and illustrations, and thanks were passed to Surgeon-General Bellew for his paper.

Eighth and Anniversary Meeting, 9th May, 1887.—Sir Thomas Wade, K.C.B., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The President's written Address having been read by the Honorary Secretary, and the Report by the Secretary (see page i to vi), the adoption of the Report was proposed by Mr. G. W. Rusden, seconded by Mr. E. Delmar-Morgan, and carried *nem. con.*

Mr. Habib Anth. Salmoné took the opportunity of the discussion opened to say a few words on a subject which he had before touched upon in a paper read to the Society, and printed in the *JOURNAL*. He expressed the hope that, before long, the movement on behalf of the study of Oriental languages, referred to in the President's address, might have some definite and practical result, like the establishment of a special school or schools on the plan of those so successfully conducted on the continent, or in any other more convenient form. Why, he asked, should there not be in London—connected, if thought advisable, with the Imperial Institute—an Oriental college or school which might be held available to all classes of the community? Would not the founding of such an Institution be a very proper way of commemorating the Jubilee of the Empress of India, and was not this Society peculiarly fitted and qualified to take the lead in a matter of the kind?



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Dr. Cust, in proposing a vote of thanks to their late President, observed that Colonel Yule had been constantly called upon to take an active part during his term of office, and the duties he had had to perform were very onerous. He had, however, conducted the work with great advantage to the Society, whose Members must deeply regret the cause of his absence on this occasion.

Mr. H. Howorth, M.P., in seconding the motion, urged that the Society would do well to formulate questions, and send them to be worked out by certain select men in India. He would wish to see it undertake translations from the Russian and other languages. Especially, in conjunction with the Royal Geographical Society, did he think great service might be rendered by this means to the cause of literature.

The vote was cordially and unanimously passed, and the proceedings terminated with the announcement that the Annual Dinner would be held that day in the Criterion at 7.30 p.m.

II. PROCEEDINGS OF ASIATIC OR ORIENTAL SOCIETIES.

Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1st December, 1886.—E. T. Atkinson, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Twenty-eight presentations were announced, and the election of an Associate Member, one death, and two withdrawals notified.

The Philological Secretary exhibited two gold and three silver coins, presented by the Bombay Branch of the R.A.S. The former were stated to be known as the Hun coins of Bījápúr, the emblems of which had not been interpreted. They were described as of inferior gold, and had been referred to by Marsden and Tavernier, though neither date nor reign had been assigned. A Report was also read on a find of 405 old coins in the Maldah District—all silver rupees of periods between A.D. 1719 and 1806.

Of the papers read, one was entitled, "On probable Changes in the Geography of the Panjáb and its Rivers," and another, "Notes on Indian Rhynchota."

5th January, 1887.—E. T. Atkinson, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Thirty-two presentations were announced, and a re-election of an ordinary Member, and two withdrawals notified.

The Philological Secretary exhibited four ancient copper coins presented by Kaviráj Shyámál Das of Udaipur, and read a report on 67 round silver rupees, found in the Sagár district, of periods between A.D. 1556 and 1707.

Dr. Rájendralála Mitra read the extract of a letter he had received from Professor Max Müller, asking information as to whether in reference to the word *ekoṣibháva*, analogies were found in Sanskrit for “the contraction *eka koṣi* into *ekoṣi*,” illustrated in English by *wholly* for *wholely*, and in Latin, by *nutrix* for *nutritix*. He himself had no hesitation in saying that “the changes by which *eka koṣibháva* can be reduced to *ekoṣibháva* cannot be accounted for by any rule, general or special, in the Sanskrit Grammars.” Apart from Grammar, he had “ransacked the wide field of Sanskrit vocables, but with no better result.”

The papers read were a “Note on the Rice-juice sapper of Madras ;” an “Account of the Ancient Town of Nagari, apparently the capital of Meywár before Chitor was built,” with three inscriptions attached; a “Brief Account of Tibet,” from “Dsam Ling Gyeshe,” the well-known geographical work of “Lama Tsanpo Nomankhan of Amdo,” and two more in the Natural History Department.

China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai, 30th November, 1886.—Dr. F. Hirth, President, in the Chair.

It was announced that seventeen new Members had been elected since the last meeting.

A paper by Mr. Herbert Allen, under the title, “Is Confucius a Myth?” was read by the Ven. Archdeacon Moule, and provoked a lively criticism. The speakers were the Rev. Ernest Faber, Archdeacon Moule, Dr. Williamson, the Rev. Mr. Muirhead, and Messrs. Ting and Playfair, all clearly believers in the Philosopher’s existence. Notwithstanding the one-sided character of the discussion, the Chairman remarked that the Meeting had been fortunate in hearing the opinions of recognised authorities on the subject mooted. The papers will be found noted among the contents of the Society’s Journal.

16th December, 1886.—Dr. R. A. Jamieson, Vice-President, in the chair. After notification of the election of four new Members, a paper was read by Dr. D. J. Macgowan on “Chinese Guilds or Chambers of Commerce and Trades Unions.” Some notion of its merits may be obtained from the laudatory observations of the speakers in the discussion which followed the reading, one of whom said: “All would agree that a more interesting paper had not been read before the Society for many years. It was such papers as Dr. Macgowan’s that they would like more particularly to have in the Society.” A vote of thanks to the author was

carried by acclamation, and reference made by the Chairman to the instructive remarks it had elicited from other members present. Further allusion to it will be made in the notice of the *Shanghai Journal*.

Société Asiatique, Paris, 14th January, 1887.—M. E. Rénan, President, in chair. After the election of seven new Members, M. Halévy gave some account of the Semitic word *raṣan*; M. Berger communicated the results of his investigation of the Neo-Punic inscription of Altiburos; and M. Pognon described a Punic inscription on an ancient dish found at Tripoli, in Barbary, the authenticity of which he had no reason to doubt.

11th February, 1887.—M. E. Rénan, President, in the chair. Three new Members were elected. M. Berger traced an apparent analogy between a Neo-Punic inscription recently discovered at Delos with that presented at the last meeting by M. Pognon, M. Halévy dwelling on a particular word he had himself interpreted in the former. The result of his further studies of this class of inscriptions was also stated by M. Berger.

11th March, 1887.—M. E. Rénan, President, in the chair. The death was notified of M. l'Abbé Girard, a scholar who had published a translation of the Psalms from the Hebrew text, and left a manuscript rendering of the Rig Veda from the Sanskrit. M. Oppert presented the translation of a Babylonian tablet of Nabuchodonosor regarding a slave named Barichel. M. Graff made a statement on the formation of Egyptian proper names; and further communications were addressed to the meeting by M. Clermont Ganneau, M. Zotenberg, and M. Berger.

III. CORRESPONDENCE.

1. *Buddhist Remains at Guṇṭupalle.*

MASULIPATAM, *5th March, 1887.*

SIR,

The following note on newly-discovered Buddhist remains may interest the readers of the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*:—

The Ordnance Survey Map of the Godāvāri District of the Madras Presidency shows a group of hills about twenty miles north of Ellore, a large town situated between the Godāvāri and Kṛishṇā Rivers, just at the spot where the irrigation areas of both rivers meet, and a few miles north of the large drainage lake known



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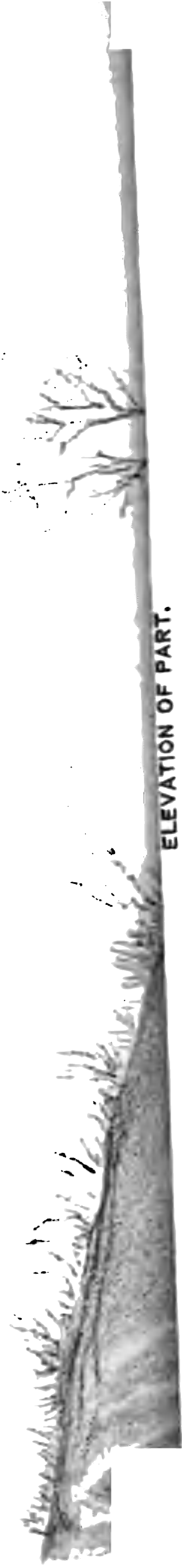
work, very kindly drew the plans, while I made the accompanying rough sketches, in the hope that by means of these crude illustrations, all doubt as to the nature of the remains in question might be removed. [See Illustrations 1 and 2 attached.]

Guṇṭupalle is a small village in a very out-of-the-way tract, the route to which runs along a road north of Ellore for twenty-one miles to the old foot of Kāmavarapukōṭa (fair tope for camping) and thence, on a village field-path five miles due west to the base of a line of low hills which forms the southern boundary of a somewhat extensive patch of forest-land. The ravine already mentioned leads from the plain northwards into the forest, and is shut in by a ridge that connects the two scarps. Ascending a rough rocky stairway at the head of the little ravine, the visitor turns to the left and finds himself in front of the *Chaitya* cave. This is a small circular chamber, with a simple façade somewhat resembling the more elaborately decorated "Lomas Rishi" cave in Behar,¹ but with one striking difference. The jambs of both inner and outer doorways of that cave slope outwards from top to bottom; here the inner door-jambs slope inwards from the top, following the curve of the outer horse-shoe arch in its lower half, while the outer door-jambs are perpendicular. Above the inner door is a projecting roof-like member, similar to that in the Lomas Rishi and other caves.

The chamber is circular, having a domed roof with sixteen deep ribs and three concentric bands, apparently intended to represent the under-side of the sacred umbrella. Occupying almost the entire space of the chamber, and leaving a space of only one foot and a half width all round, for *pradakṣhaṇa*, is the dagoba, seven feet high. On its summit is, as described by my native correspondent, an object resembling a *liṅga*. This may be accounted for in two ways. It is, perhaps, possible that the Tec in this case was not a portion of the dagoba itself, cut out of the solid rock, but that it was lifted to the summit of the dagoba on occasions of ceremony, and held in its place by this solid stone pin. On the other hand, it is remarkable that in one of the Tūljā Lēṇa group of Buddhist remains near Junnār,² to which group Dr. Burgess especially likens these Guṇṭupalle caves, one of the chaityas presents,

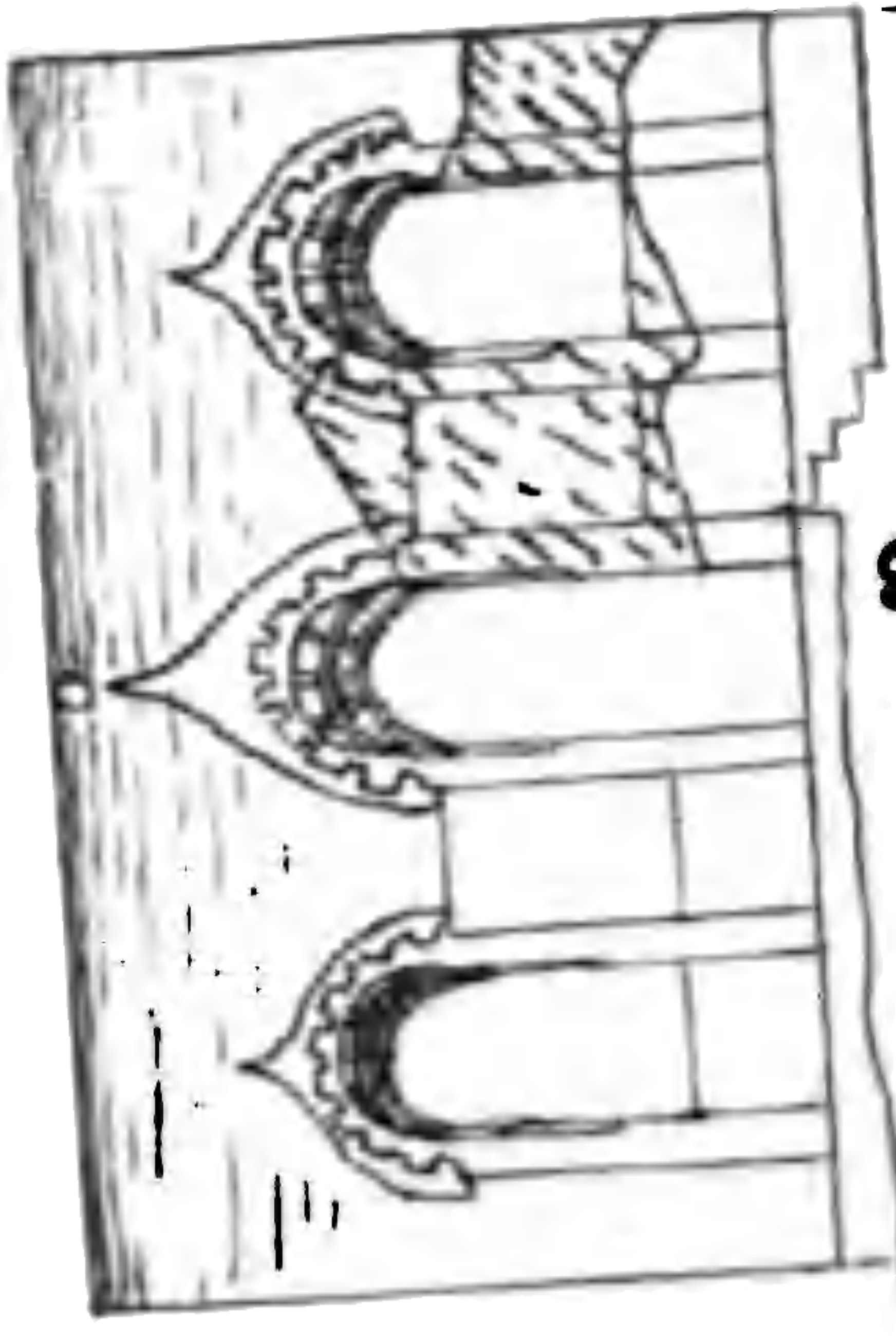
¹ Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 109. *Cave Temples of India* (Fergusson and Burgess), p. 39.

² *Indian Antiquary*, vol. vi. p. 33, *Memorandum on the Buddhist Caves at Junnār* (Burgess).

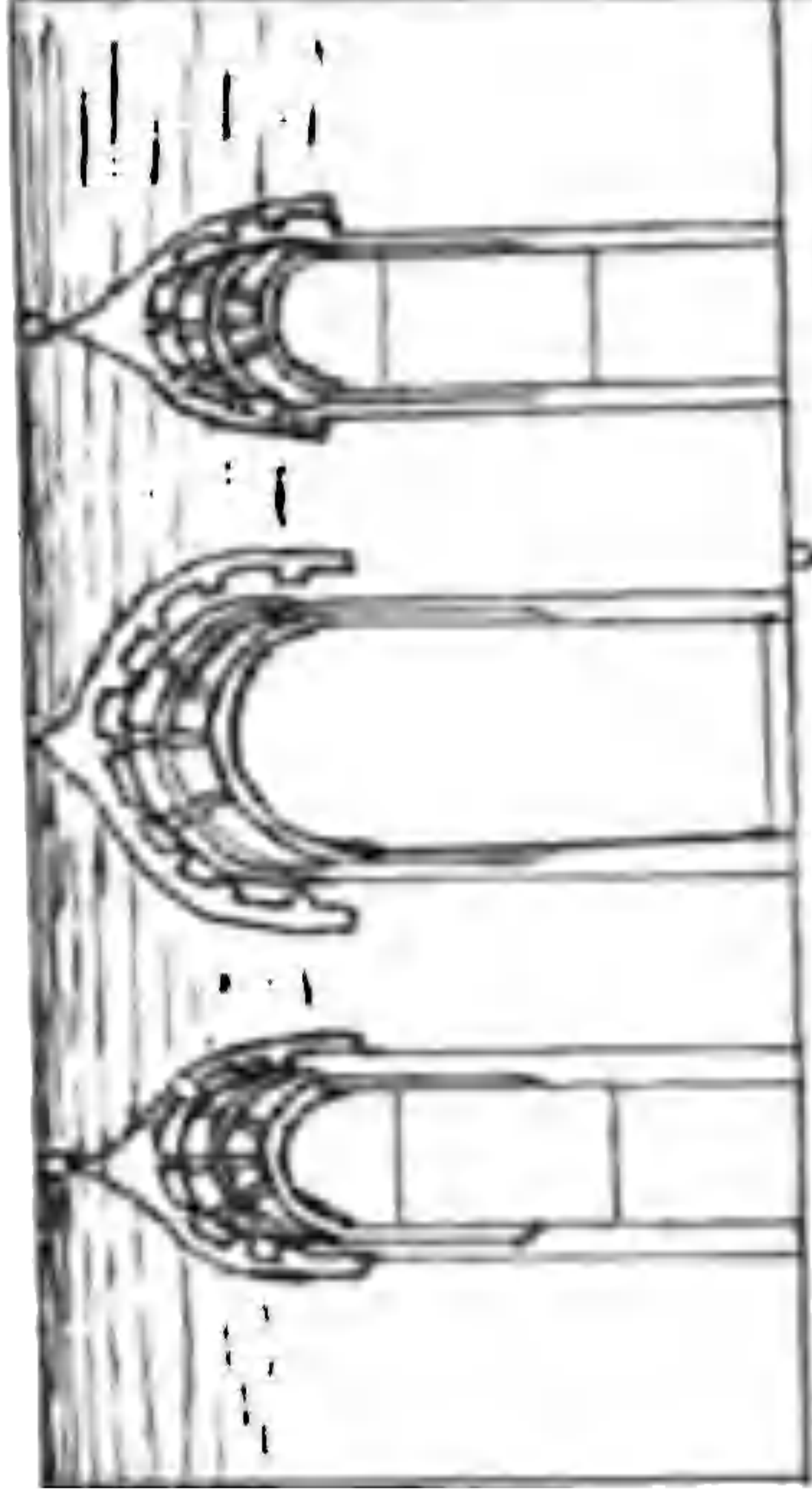
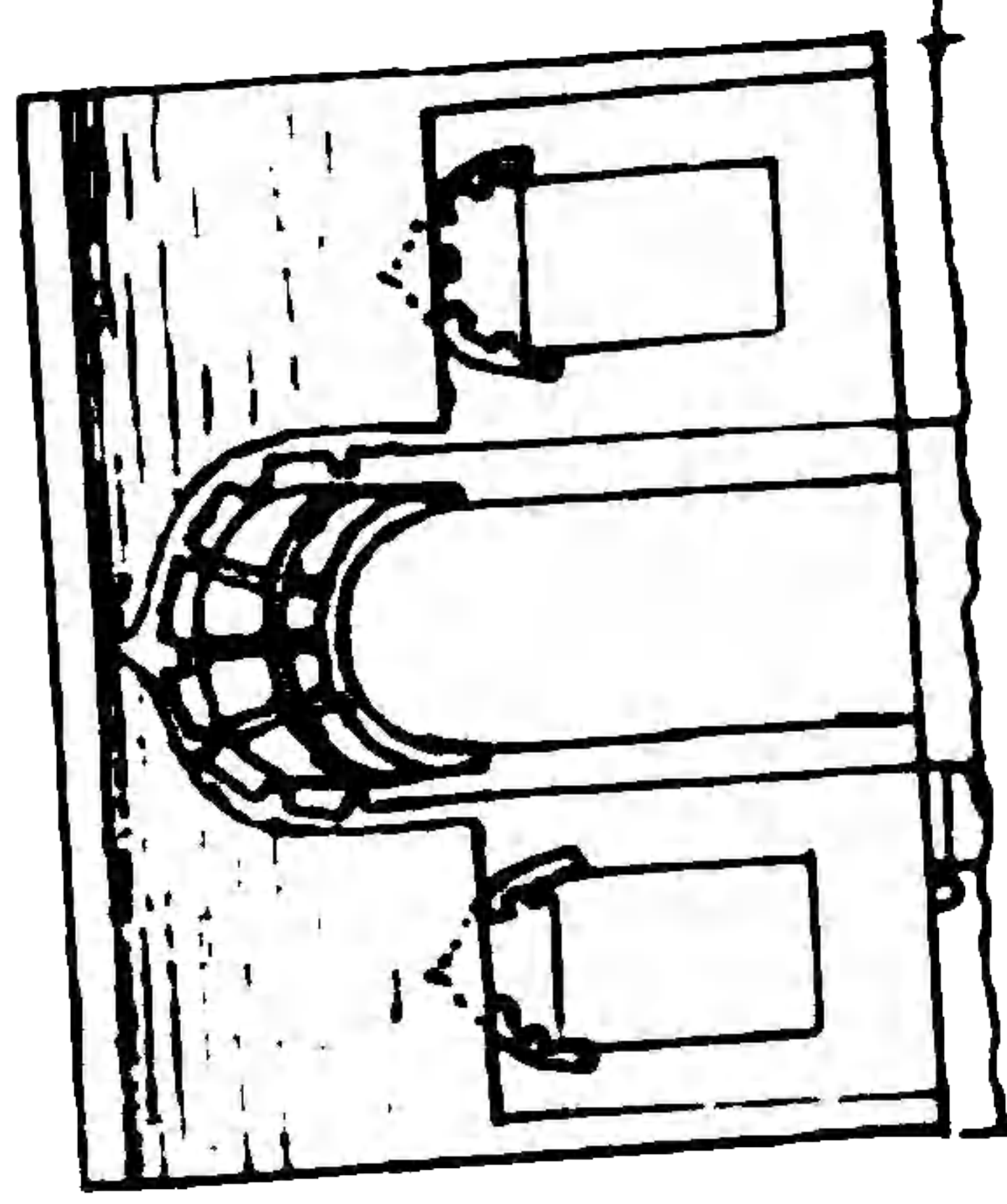


ELEVATION OF PART.

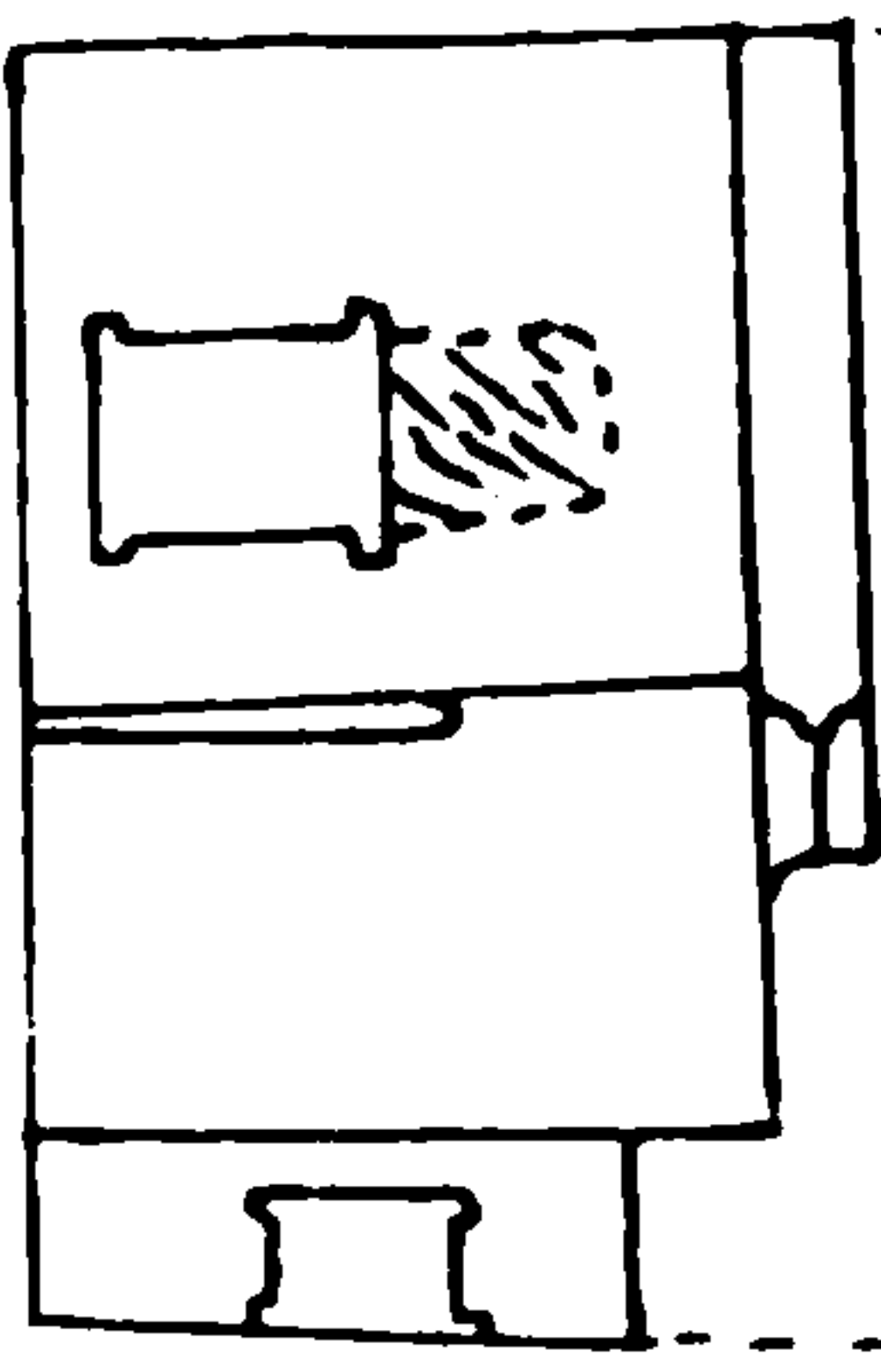
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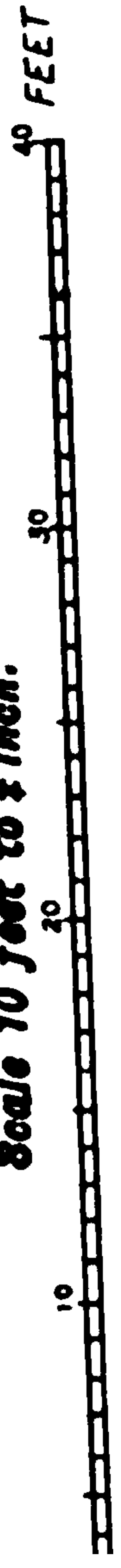


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GROUND PLAN.

Scale 10 feet to 1/2 inch.





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where his early life was spent, and partly in London. Apprenticed, when old enough, to a cabinet maker, he passed, while in this business, some months at Hatfield, restoring the library at Hatfield House, which had been considerably damaged by a fire. He was also much engaged in seeking out and selecting old carvings in wood, and travelled in Germany and France, in pursuit of objects of this character; afterwards recombined and formed into various articles of beauty and taste. In speaking of Mr. Wylie, it is impossible to separate his religious life from his ordinary life, as with him religion was at all times the inspiring motive.

At this time he became a member of the Church of Scotland, attending the place of worship in Crown Court. Having entertained a strong desire to go to China, presumably as a missionary, he devoted himself assiduously to the study of Chinese. Dr. Legge, alluding to this part of our friend's life, says that he called on him in 1846 wishing to obtain more guidance in the prosecution of the knowledge of that language, and in the course of conversation it transpired, that having obtained at a book stall Prémare's *Notitia Linguae Sinica*, he had learned Latin so as to be able to understand it, and had become deeply interested in the subject. He afterwards obtained a New Testament in Chinese, and endeavoured with much success to gain a knowledge of the meaning of its characters. He also put together in the form of a vocabulary all the words he had so laboriously acquired, and the little dictionary thus formed is a relic of great interest, and is reverently kept as a testimony of his untiring assiduity. It so happened that the Delegates of various English and American Missionary Societies were engaged on what is called the Delegates' Version of the New Testament in Chinese, the British and Foreign Bible Society having engaged to print the book. Dr. Legge was anxious to procure the services of a man to take charge of the London Missionary Society's printing office in Shanghai, where the work was to be done, and eventually Mr. Wylie was engaged and sent to the office of Sir Charles Reed, to study printing for several months, preparatory to his going to China as the paid agent of the London Missionary Society. The printing of the Sacred Scriptures, however, was done at the cost of the Bible Society, and from 1855 to 1861 that Society paid Mr. Wylie's salary. He left England April 6, 1847; arrived at Shanghai August 26, 1847, and at once entered on the work of the printing office.

He was married to Miss Mary Hanson in 1848. She had been a

missionary in Kaffirland for seven years, but had been obliged to return to England on account of the war. She followed Wylie to China, and they were married at Shanghai, but she died the following year, 1849, leaving him with a daughter a few days old, who was early sent to England to the care of relatives. About 1860 he was the means, in conjunction with the Rev. Dr. Edkins, of establishing at Shanghai the local branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, at whose meetings he read a number of valuable papers, on various subjects in which he was deeply interested, as the list of his writings appended sufficiently testifies. He left Shanghai in November, 1860, arriving in England in February, 1861. In 1863 he returned to China as the agent of the Bible Society, for the organization of plans to forward the circulation of the Sacred Scriptures in Chinese throughout the country. He travelled by way of St. Petersburg through Siberia to Peking. On arriving at Peking he was asked by Mr. Lockhart what he thought of the inscription on the Archway in the pass at Kiu-yung kwan, in which he had formerly been so much interested. He said he did pass through an archway, in the dusk of the evening, but did not notice the inscription on the walls, and was much astonished that he should thus unconsciously have passed through the place he had so long wished to see. Letters had been sent to Kiachta, to tell him exactly the position of the place, but they had missed him. The first thing he did was to get men to return with him to obtain rubbings of the Inscription, a work which after great exertion, then, and on a later visit in 1867, with the help of Dr. Edkins, was successfully accomplished. These form the series of the Kiu yung kwan Inscriptions, now in the British Museum, and which are described in the paper for the R.A.S. on this subject, the title of which is in the List. Wylie was the first Englishman of our time who came to Peking viâ Russia and Siberia. He arrived at Shanghai in November, 1863, and spent the next fourteen years in the service of the Bible Society. His head-quarters during this period were there with his friends, the Rev. Wm. Muirhead, and Rev. J. Thomas, but he took extensive journeys into the interior, arranging his work, and also twice visited Japan. In 1868 he took a long journey, in company with the Rev. Griffith John, through the then almost unknown provinces of Hoopih, Sze-chuen, and Shensi. In this way at various times, he travelled in seventeen of the eighteen Provinces of China, carrying on his work as long as possible, both by personal effort, and by superintending and directing the labours of several foreigners and

natives connected with him ; and what he undertook was thoroughly and effectually done.

In 1877, on account of failure of eyesight, Wylie returned to England, and, retiring from active labour, settled at Hampstead, where he resided till his death. His daughter, who now for the first time found a home with him, was his nurse, companion, and helper during all the time of his blindness and illness.

He was taken ill in 1883, became totally blind, and gradually very feeble, and for the last two years was entirely confined to his room. He was always placid and cheerful, and did not suffer pain. Towards the last his mind used to wander very much, and generally reverted to the active scenes of his earlier life. He peacefully died February 6th, 1887.

Sir Thomas Wade writes : " A better man I think I never knew, whether in what he laid down to be done, or what he did in his own province of Sinology. In both Bibliography and Archæology he was greatly valued, and I have heard scholars of note admit their obligations to him. Colonel Yule is perhaps the one of whom I am thinking more particularly. I wish thus to show my respect and regard for the man himself." Dr. Legge, after eulogising his various writings, concludes by saying : " In social life he was eminently blameless, and helpful to very many, never seeking his own things, but only the promotion of the great object to which he had consecrated his life. He made many friends, and not a single enemy. Few have more fully realised the ideal of a self-made man." Of him it might truly be said, as of Nathaniel, the Israelite, that he was one " indeed in whom was no guile." He was faithful and true to his Christian profession, whilst occupying a foremost rank as a Chinese scholar.

WORKS IN CHINESE AND TRANSLATIONS.

Arithmetic for the Young, 1853.

De Morgan's Algebra, 1858.

Loomis's Geometry and Differential and Integral Calculus, 1859.

Euclid's Elements of Geometry. The first six books were translated by Père Ricci, and the others by Mr. Wylie, completing the work, 1865.

Herschel's Outlines of Astronomy, 1874.

Whewell's Elementary Treatise on Mechanics, 1867, Translation of.

Treatise by Maine and Brown on the Marine Steam Engine, 1871.

CATALOGUE OF WORKS BY MR. WYLIE RELATING TO CHINA AND THE EAST.

Translations of the Ts'ing-wan-ke-mung ; a Chinese grammar of the Manchu Tartar language, 8vo. Shanghai, 1855.

Memorial of Protestant Missionaries, 8vo. 1867, Shanghai.



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- History of the Treaty between China and Russia from the *Shing-woo-ks*, or Wars of the Manchus, by Wei-yuen of *Shaou-yang* (translated).
 Supplementary Remarks on Russian Affairs, from the same author as above.
 The Subjugation of *Chaou Seen* (Corea). A paper read at the Italian Congress of Orientalists in September, 1878.
 The Catalogue of the London Mission Library.
 Imperial Despatch on the British Proclamation regarding the Rebellion.
 Notice on New Mathematical Works.
 Memoire traduit de l'Anglais par M. l'Abbé Th. Blanc. et annoté par M. G. Pauthier. (Extrait des Annales de Philosophie Chretienne, Nos. 50 et 51, Fevrier et Mars, 1864.) (Chinese and Japanese Repository, vol. i. Nos. 1 and 2, July and August, 1863).
 Translation of Whewell's Elementary Treatise on Mechanics, 5th October, 1867. (A review or introduction of Dr. Edkins' translation.)
 Translation of Euclid's Elements, Book VII. to Book XV. (Introductory letter.)

The last work on which he was engaged was the History of the Han Dynasty in two portions. The first, on the Tseen Han Shoo, is the history of China, during the two centuries before Christ by Pan Koo. The first and second chapters are about the Heung-noo, whose ancestor was the great Yu founder of the Hia Dynasty. They were a nomad race, probably the ancestors of the Eastern Turks.

The other chapters deal with the tribes of South and South-Western China and Corea, also Thibet, Yarkand, Khotan, and Kashgar. This volume is complete, and appeared in the Anthropological Society's Journal.

The History of the How (or After) Han embraces the period A.D. 25 to 220, and takes up the history where the Tseen Han left it, written by Fan-ye; it treats of the tribes and nations on the North-East seaboard of China, and the territory now known as Manchuria and Corea. Also of the subjugation of the various tribes in the South, bringing them under the control of the rulers of China. Three chapters have been published in Monsieur Cordier's *Revue de l'Extrême Orient*, 1882. The fourth chapter, treating of Western regions, Rome and India, also of the introduction of Buddhism into China, is finished in manuscript, and it is hoped that the whole may yet be published in one volume.

As an instance of the indomitable perseverance of Mr. Wylie, it is thought suitable to give briefly an account of the way in which the above was written during his constantly increasing blindness. The first part of the Tseen Han was written in China, and as he was very desirous of completing the second part, he taught his daughter to find characters in the dictionary.

As his blindness increased, she wrote characters she could not find in the dictionary in large size, and he tried to recognize them

with more or less success; but by and bye, when he became quite blind, she had to draw the characters on his hand, and he would thus manage to find out what they were. When a certain number had been found, she would read them out altogether, and he translated the sentence, and she then wrote it down. In this way the chapters were translated, at the rate of two pages of Chinese text a day, as often as he was well enough to work.

Any Chinese scholar can easily understand how difficult it must have been for a blind man thus to translate a work such as that above described.

We have to record with great regret the death of *Sir Walter Elliot*, K.C.S.I., LL.D. and F.R.S.,¹ for half a century a Member of this Society, which occurred at Wolfelee, near Hawick, on the 1st of March last. An obituary notice would have appeared in the last number of this Journal, had the time available admitted of the preparation of such an account of the leading facts of his career as appeared to be called for, alike by his distinguished public services, and by the literary and scientific work which formed one of the chief interests in his busy and useful life.

Walter Elliot was born in Edinburgh on the 16th January, 1803. He was the son of James Elliot, of Wolfelee, Roxburghshire, a member of a junior branch of the old Border family of Elliot of Lariston, and through his mother, Caroline Hunter, he was a great-grandson of the Earl of Cromartie, who forfeited his title and estates in 1745. Walter Elliot's early education was conducted, partly in Cumberland by the Rev. James Traill, afterwards a Government Chaplain in the Madras Presidency, and partly at home under a private tutor, after which he spent some years at a school at Carr House, near Doncaster, under the Rev. P. Inchbald, D.D. In 1818 he was sent to Haileybury College, having obtained a writership in the service of the East India Company at Madras. He reached India on the 14th June, 1821, and two years later was appointed to the public service, after having been granted the honorary reward of 1000 pagodas for proficiency in the Tamil and Hindustani languages. His first appointment appears to have been that of Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Salem; but very shortly afterwards he was transferred to the Southern Mahratta country, then administered by the Government of Madras, and was appointed an Assistant to the Principal Collector and Political Agent, Mr. St. John Thackeray, continuing to serve in the Southern Mahratta country,

¹ Communicated by Sir A. Arbuthnot, K.C.S.I.

chiefly at Dhárwár, until 1833, when he returned to England on furlough. In the first year of his service in that part of India, he was present at the insurrection at Kittúr, when the Political Agent, Mr. Thackeray, and three officers of a troop of Madras Horse Artillery, sent there to maintain order, and a large number of the men, were killed; Walter Elliot and Stevenson, a brother Assistant, being made prisoners, and detained for several weeks in the hands of the insurgents, at great peril of their lives. In the latter part of Elliot's service in the Southern Mahratta country, that territory, which it had been intended to retain under the Madras Presidency, was annexed permanently to Bombay, and Elliot, in the ordinary course, would have been re-transferred to a Madras district, but at the special request of Sir John Malcolm, then Governor of Bombay, he was allowed to remain until he left India on furlough. During the nine years that he spent in the Bombay Presidency, Elliot made several journeys in Western India, meeting Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone at Sattára in 1826, and Sir John Malcolm at BÍjapúr in 1828. He also made a tour in Gujarát in 1832. Leaving Bombay on the 11th December, 1833, in company with Mr. Robert Pringle, of the Bombay Civil Service, he returned to Europe by way of the Red Sea, landing at Kosseir, and riding across the Egyptian desert to Thebes, whence, taking the Nile route as far as Cairo, he crossed into Palestine, and was present in company with the late Hon. Robert Curzon, the author of 'The Monasteries of the Levant,' at the exhibition of the Holy Fire in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, when so many people were killed (Curzon's Monasteries of the Levant, ch. 16). After visiting Constantinople, Athens, Corinth, Corfu and Rome, he reached England on the 5th May, 1835. In the autumn of the following year he again embarked for India as Private Secretary to his relative, Lord Elphinstone, who had been appointed Governor of Madras, and the remainder of his Indian service was spent in the Madras Presidency. In conjunction with the Private Secretaryship, he held the appointments of Member of the Board of Revenue and of Translator to Government in the Canarese language, officiating as Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department during the last few months of Lord Elphinstone's government.

During the years immediately succeeding Lord Elphinstone's retirement from the Government, which took place in 1842, Elliot was employed upon the ordinary duties of a member of the Board of Revenue; but in 1845 he was deputed to investigate the condition of Guntúr, one of the districts commonly known as the



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instruction in Western literature and science to the natives of the Madras Presidency, and during the intervening years he had lost no opportunity of manifesting a warm interest in native schools. He had also been, throughout his Indian life, a cordial friend, and, in his private capacity, a generous supporter of Christian Missions. One of the most valuable minutes recorded in the Council in connection with the working of the celebrated Education Despatch of 1854, and especially in connection with the development of the Grant-in-Aid System, of which he was a staunch advocate, proceeded from Elliot's pen. While Senior Member of Council, it devolved upon him, owing to the illness of the Governor, Lord Harris, to preside on the occasion of the public reading at Madras of the Queen's Proclamation, issued on Her Majesty's assumption of the direct Government of India.

Valuable as he was as a public servant, the branch of Elliot's work which has a special interest to the members of this Society is that with which he occupied the greater part of his leisure time, viz. investigations into the archæology and the natural history of India. At a very early period of his residence in the Southern Mahratta Country, so far back as 1826, Elliot commenced his archæological inquiries. Working in concert with a young Brahman, named Rungá Ráo, who was attached to his office, and who entered into all his pursuits, joining him in his hunting and shooting expeditions, and with the aid of a gumástah, or native clerk, belonging to the village in which he principally resided, Elliot mastered the archaic characters in which the old inscriptions were written, and during the remainder of his life in India devoted much time to deciphering and translating the inscriptions found by him in various parts of the country. In Zoology, Ornithology and Botany he took the keenest interest. In 1837 he published in the Journal of this Society a paper on Hindu inscriptions, and from that year to the last year of his life he was a frequent contributor to one or other of the journals which deal with the objects of his favourite researches. The Madras Journal of Literature and Science, the Indian Antiquary, the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Journal of the Ethnological Society, the Transactions of the Botanical Society, the Journal of the Zoological Society, the Reports of the British Association, the Berwickshire National Club Journal, the Proceeding of the Antiquarian Society of Scotland, all contain contributions, some of them numerous contributions, from his pen, the results of

accurate and intelligent observation, recorded in a clear and popular style. His most important work is his treatise on the coins of Southern India, published in 1885, when the author was in his eighty-third year, which forms Part II. of the third volume of the *International Numismata Orientalia*, and contains an interesting account of the ancient races and dynasties of Southern India, derived from the inscriptions and coins which have been discovered. A remarkable fact connected with this treatise, and with all Elliot's later compositions, is that when they were written, the author, who had been extremely near-sighted all his life, was all but blind, latterly quite blind, and had to depend upon the pen of an amanuensis to commit them to paper, and upon the eyes of relatives and friends to correct the proofs. His collection of South Indian coins, about 400 in number, and a collection of carved marbles belonging to a Buddhist Tope at Amrávati, which he made when residing in the Guntúr District in 1845, are now deposited in the British Muscum, where the marbles are placed on the walls facing, and on each side of, the grand staircase. Three folio volumes of translations, with other valuable MSS. matter, drawings, etc., perished in a vessel laden with sugar, which, encountering a hurricane off Mauritius, shipped a great quantity of sea-water, which wetted the sugar, and penetrating the tin-lined cases, destroyed their contents.

On some points of Elliot's character, such as his untiring industry, his eagerness in the pursuit of knowledge, his sound judgment in affairs, an estimate may in some measure be formed from this brief notice of his public life and avocations. His character was not less admirable in the relations and duties of private life. Deeply impressed by the truths of Christianity, but in this and in all other matters perfectly free from ostentation or display; possessing a singularly calm and equable temper; bearing with unfailing patience and resignation in the latter years of his life a deprivation which, to most men, with his tastes and with his active mind, would have been extremely trying; a faithful husband; an affectionate father; a staunch friend, and a kind neighbour, he furnished to all around him an example of qualities, which, if they were less uncommon, would make this a better and a happier world. During the last twenty-four years of his life he resided principally in his home at Wolfelee, taking an active part in parochial and county business, and dispensing a genuine and refined hospitality to his friends and acquaintances. At his house, which was quite a museum, he was

always glad to receive and instruct persons who were engaged in his favourite studies. His intellectual vigour remained undiminished literally to the last hour of his life. On the morning of the day of his death he dictated and signed with his own hand, a note to Dr. Pope, the eminent Tamil scholar, stating that on the previous day he had read (*i.e.* heard read) with much appreciation a notice of Dr. Pope's forthcoming edition of the Kural, and that notwithstanding loss of sight and advancing years, his "interest in Oriental literature continues unabated," and enquiring whether his correspondent could suggest any method of utilising certain "disjecta fragmenta," connected with the late Mr. F. W. Ellis, which he had collected many years before. In the evening he died, with little or no suffering.

In recognition of his services in India, Walter Elliot was created in 1866 a Knight Commander of the Order of the Star of India. In 1877 he was appointed a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1878 he received from the University of Edinburgh the degree of LL.D. He was a Deputy-Lieutenant and Magistrate for Roxburghshire. In 1839 he was married at Malta to Maria Dorothea, daughter of Sir David Blair, Bart., of Blairquhan, who survives him, and by whom he has left three sons and two daughters.

Sir William Patrick Andrew, K.C.I.E., was a comparatively recent Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, having only been elected in May, 1882. But his long connection with India and Indian Railways, and the active part taken by him in laying before Parliament and the public the important question of establishing a link of communication with our Eastern possessions by means of the Euphrates Valley, have rendered his name familiar to the most superficial English readers of modern Oriental annals. Author of many pamphlets on the above, his favourite theme, and considerations thereto appertaining, he has on one or two special occasions brought out a more ambitious publication—such, for instance, as "India and her Neighbours," which appeared in 1878. In this he expressed the strong opinion that if we failed to connect the Mediterranean with the Persian Gulf, Russia would connect the Persian Gulf with the Black Sea. Sir William Andrew was the only surviving son of the late Mr. Patrick Andrew, of Edinburgh, and was the founder of the Sind, Panjáb and Dehli Railway. He died on the 11th March, in the eighty-first year of his age.

The *Rev. James Long*, whose death took place on the 23rd of March in London, had been for some six years a Member of the



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he took his B.A. degree in 1830, obtaining a First Class in Lit. Hum. and a Second Class in Mathematics.

The study of Oriental languages was a favourite one with him, and he obtained the Kennicott Hebrew Scholarship in 1831, and the Pusoy and Ellerton Hebrew Scholarship in 1832. He studied Semitic languages for some time in Paris, under a then celebrated teacher; and although he did not proceed very far with Arabic and Syriac, yet his proficiency in Hebrew was remarkable. He had been a favourite pupil of Dr. Pusey, the Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, and, on several occasions when the Professor was absent from Oxford, his place in the lecture room was filled by Benjamin Harrison. His critical knowledge of the Sacred Text of the Old Testament was so notorious that he was unhesitatingly selected as one of the Revisers of that Book. At the meetings of the Revision Company during the many years over which their task was spread he was a very assiduous attendant; and it was a great gratification to him to have lived to witness the publication of the results of this labour of love. For ten years, 1838–1848, he was the domestic chaplain of Archbishop Howley, himself no mean Oriental scholar, and during this time he exercised that wise counsel for which he was so well known, in advising George Augustus Selwyn to accept the proposal to go forth as the first Bishop in New Zealand.

Archdeacon Harrison was a man of books. Archbishop Howley bequeathed his library to him, and so did Sir R. Inglis, Bart., M.P., and he also possessed those which had belonged to his father. In addition to these he purchased many himself: and to the last he kept himself *au courant* with the literature of the day.

We have only space to add a few words about his sweet, gentle, amiable disposition. He was kindness itself. No one in trouble shrank from consulting him, and never would the interview be without comfort to the distressed one. He was overflowing with lively wit, and his fund of anecdote seemed inexhaustible. It may truly be said of him that he died respected and beloved by all who knew him.

Among the losses by death to the Society during the last quarter, that of a distinguished Honorary Member, Professor A. Nussim, demands special notice. He died at Breslau on the 27th February, aged 79. The *Annals* of March 12 designates him as "the last of those who may be called the founders of Sanskrit scholarship in Germany"; adding, "the present generation of

young Sanskrit scholars in England know little of him and of the good work he did in his day." Messrs. Trübner have kindly placed the following brief memoir of the deceased Professor at our disposal:—Adolf Friederich Stenzler was born on July 9th, 1807, at Wolgast, in Pomerania. He studied divinity between 1826 and 1829, at Greifswald, Berlin and Bonn, but soon turned to a more congenial study, viz. Oriental languages. His knowledge of Sanskrit was second to none in those early days of philology, and after having edited Specimens of Brahma-Vaivarta Purâna, he visited the Paris University for a year, and then came to London, where he was engaged in literary work at the old East India Company's Library. In 1833 he received the post, which he held till the end of his life, of Professor of Sanskrit at the Breslau University. He was also engaged as sub-librarian at the Breslau University Library from 1834 to 1872. Professor Stenzler was of an amiable and obliging disposition, and had a large circle of friends and acquaintances. He was in London during the Second Orientalists' Congress in 1874. The following is a list of his most important works:—

- Brahma-Vaivarta-Purâna. Specimen. Textum e. Cod. MSS. Bibliothecae Regiae Berolinensis edidit. 4to. Berlin, 1829.
 Raghuvansa Kalidasae Carmen, Sanskrite et Latine. 4to. London, 1832.
 Kumâra Sambhava, Kâlidâsae Carmen, Sanskrite et Latine. 4to. Berlin, 1838.
 Juris criminalis veterum Indorum Specimen. 4to. Breslau, 1842.
 Mrichchakatika, id est curriculum figlinum Sudrâkâe regis fabulae, Sanskrite edidit. 8vo. Bonn, 1847.
 De Lexicographiae Sanscritae principiis Commentatio. 8vo. Breslau, 1847.
 Gajnavalkyas Gesetzbuch (Sanskrit und Deutsch). 8vo. Berlin, 1849.
 Pâraskara. Ein Bruchstück aus Paraskara's Darstellung der hauslichen Gebräuche der Inder (Sanskrit text, translation, and notes), nebst einem Glückwunsch von Freiherrn A. von Humboldt. 4to. Breslau, 1855.
 Commentationis de domesticis Indorum ritibus particula. 4to. Breslau, 1860.
 Ueber die Wichtigkeit des Sanskrit-Studiums und seine Stellung an unseren Universitäten. 8vo. Breslau, 1863.
 Indische Hausregeln. Sanskrit und Deutsch. I. Acvalâyana. 2 parts. 8vo. Leipzig, 1865.
 Sanskrit Texte mit Vocabular. Für Anfänger. 8vo. Breslau, 1868.
 On the Hindu Doctrine of Expiation (Transactions, Congress of Orientalists, 8vo. London, 1874).
 Elementarbuch der Sanskrit Sprache, Grammatik, Text, Wörterbuch. 8vo. Breslau, 1880.
 Çri Gautamadharmasûtram, the Institutes of Gautama, with an index of words. 8vo. London, 1876.
 Megha-Duta (Cloud Messenger). Gedicht von Kâlidâsâ mit Kritischen Anmerkungen und Wörterbuch. 8vo. Breslau, 1885.

M. Stenzler was elected an Honorary Member of the Asiatic Society in 1873. In justice to his memory, a further extract from the appreciative notice in the *Academy* is here recorded: "Those who knew Stenzler personally, knew how the sterling nature of his

literary works reflected only his own sterling character. He was an honest scholar and a perfect gentleman, conscious of his own worth, but free from any self-assertion or boasting. No one ever suspected him of intrigue, and there was nothing he loathed so much as to see the sacred cause of learning betrayed by those who ought to have been the first to defend it. He belonged to no clique, he never levied tribute from his pupils, he never joined any mutual admiration society. He worked as long as it was day; and to the very last year of his life he was a devoted teacher and unselfish guide to all who had an honest desire to study the ancient language and literature of India in the same spirit in which he had studied it—as a critical scholar, a historian, and a philosopher. His life was bright and serene, and full of useful activity to the very end.”

V. EXCERPTA ORIENTALIA.

Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.—vol. xxi. (Nos. 3 and 4)¹ is full of instructive and interesting matter. The first and most important article is that by Dr. Macgowan on Chinese Guilds or Chambers of Commerce and Trades Unions. Two parts fairly exhaust the subject expressed in the title, and a third treats of agricultural labourers, agrarianism and the “Contentment of the Proletariat of China”—contentment described as “the result of a legitimately-begotten Conservatism”—again explained to be “a Conservatism whose sire was Radicalism, which, more than 2000 years ago, in the form of the one revolution of China, opened the way to rank and power of every qualified man.” The other papers are “Is Confucius a Myth?” and Ta-ts’in and Dependent States, by Mr. Allen: “Philological importance of Geographical Terms in the Shi-Ki,” by Dr. Edkins: “Reply to Mr. Allen’s paper on Ta-ts’in and Dependent States,” and “Chinese Equivalents of the letter ‘R’ in foreign names,” by Dr. Hirth. Notes and Queries, Literary Notes, and Correspondence follow, but these do not call for any special notice.

The *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, bearing the date of June, 1886, but published in 1887, has a bibliography of Siam by Mr. E. M. Satow, C.M.G.; Sri Rama, the Fairy tale of a Malay Rhapsodist, by Mr. W. E. Maxwell, C.M.G.; and a Portuguese History of Malacca, reprinted from the *Malacca Observer*, and annotated by Mr. D. F. A. Hervey. In the Occasional Notes, a review of a treatise by Mr. H. A. Hymans on the Sultanate of Siak, relates to one of the largest of the Malay Independent

¹ Part 2 of vol xix., received in the last quarter (April), belonged to the year 1884, though only received here in 1887. Parts 1 and 2 of vol. xxi. were noticed in January.



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Persian.—Zafarnámah, by Mauláná Sharfú'd-dín 'Ali Yazdi, ed. Maulavi Muhammad Iahdád. Vol. i. fasc. vii.

And four numbers of the Old Series (256 to 259), being a Biographical Dictionary of Persons who knew Muhammad, by Ibn Hajar, ed. (in Arabic) Maulavi Abdu'l Hai. Fasc. xxxii. to xxxv. vol. iii. Nos. 11, 12, 13, and vol. ii. No. 10.

Archæology.—A reprint from the *Madras Christian College Magazine* for December, 1886, furnishes an excellent account of the ruins of Vijayanagar, capital of the mediæval kingdom of that name, situated on the south bank of the Tungabhadrá, some 32 miles N.W. by W. from Bellary. Preceded by a short sketch of its history, there is a detailed description of its religious buildings, streets, palatial structures, private houses, tombs and fortifications, which will interest the archæologist, although nothing is certified to belong to a period before the fourteenth century A.D., in the first half of which the Vijayanagar dynasty was founded. The *Dhannakarta* of the *Sri Pampápatisvâmi* Temple at Hampi states that inscriptions exist, proving that the *gópma* of the inner *prakâra* of the temple was built in A.D. 1199, when the village of Hampi was given in grant to the temple by a certain Bodayya Râja; but the statement still remains to be proved, for it is not borne out by any available testimony. Fergusson mentions a tradition that an earlier city was founded by Vijâya Rayal in A.D. 1118. There is, however, no evidence of whole buildings to support a theory to this effect, and that of fragments, though favourable to this belief, is inconclusive.

The February number of the *Indian Antiquary* contains the conclusion of "The Dakhan in the time of Gautama-Buddha," by the Rev. Thomas Foulkes; as of Mr. Murray-Aynsley's "Discursive Contributions towards the Study of Asiatic Symbolism"; a "Gaya Inscription of Yakhshapala," by Professor Kielhorn; "Why the Fish Talked," by the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles; and the conclusion of Mrs. Grierson's "English-Gipsy Index." In the "Miscellanea," Mr. Fleet discourses on "Hindu Dates," and Mr. Grierson on Continental periodicals treating of Oriental subjects, and what are called "Tatah Kim Verses." Under "Book Notices," Mr. Grierson reviews Fasciculus I. of Dr. Hoernle's *Uvasagadasao*, edited in the original Prakrit, adding, "all scholars must hope for another instalment at an early date of a work begun so well." Professor Kielhorn also praises the "neat edition of the *Siddhânta-Kaumudi* brought out by the proprietor of the Nirñayasâgar Press, and to be bought for four shillings, while the Calcutta edition costs eight times as much. The number for March opens with Mr. Fleet's "Lunar Fortnight of Thirteen Solar Days," which he finds to be "the bright fortnight of the month Jyêshtha (May-June) of Saka Samvat 1800 (A.D. 1878-79), the Bahudhânya *sainvatsara*;" Col. Jacob on "The Vasaduva and Gopichandana Upanishads;" Mr. Howorth's "Chinghiz Khan and his Ancestors," part xxxiii.; "Silver Copperplate Grant of the Maharaja Rudra-

dasa," by Pandit Bhagwan Lal Indrajī; "The Villages mentioned in the Gujarat Rathor Grants," Nos. iii. and iv., by Professor Bühler; "Notes on the Mahabhashya," by Professor Kielhorn; and "Folk-lore in Southern India," by Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastri. In the "Miscellanea," Mr. Fleet continues his "Calculation of Hindu Dates," and Mr. Grierson his "Progress of European Scholarship." The Book Notices comprise the "Tarka Kaumudi of Langakshi Bhaskara, by Professor Kielhorn. In April, Mr. Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit, of the Bombay Educational Department, treats of "The Method of Calculating the Week Days of Hindu Tithis and Corresponding English Dates;" Mr. Howorth supplies the last of his learned papers on "Chinghiz Khan and his Ancestors," winding up with an eloquently-argued deduction that "the progress of civilization is not continuous;" Mr. Fleet continues his illustrations of Sanskrit and Canarese Inscriptions," by describing the Parla-Kimedi Grant of Indravarman, already noticed in 1884; Mr. Rehatsek discusses a "Letter of the Emperor Akbar asking for Christian Scriptures;" and Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastri contributes No. xvi. of his Folk-lore in Southern India. The number is closed with a review of Professor Legge's translation of the "Li Ki" (Sacred Books of the East, vols. xxvii.-viii.). Three articles of interest, viz. Mr. Fleet's on "The Scheme and Equation of the Years of the Gupta Era;" "The Legend of Tulasi as told in Southern India by the Orthodox," under the initials R. D. M.; and "The Maurya-Passage in the Mahabhashya," by Professor Bhandarkar, combine with the "Miscellanea" to make up the May number. Under the last head is a reprint of the proceedings of the Aryan Section at the Seventh International Congress of Orientalists held in Vienna during the autumn of 1886.

The Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund for April contains a sketch and descriptive note of the Sakhrāh, or Summit of Mount Moriah, and the following articles:—1. On the Tomb of Philip d'Aubigné at Jerusalem, by M. J. E. Hanauer. 2. Notices of the Dome of the Rock and of the Church of the Sepulchre by Arab Historians prior to the First Crusade, translated by Mr. Guy Le Strange. 3. Notes by Captain Conder. 4. A Remarkable Tomb, described by M. Schick, and 5. Conclusion of the paper called "Middoth, or the Measurements of the Temple." In the introductory Notes and Queries one item of intelligence is important. This is, that Herr Schumacher has traced the whole wall of Herod's City of Tiberius, three miles in length and of oblong shape. Dr. Wright's letter to the *Times* forwarding the Rev. Mr. Eddy's report of the discovery of a tomb temple at Sidon, is reprinted with additional particulars. Professor Porter, of the American College at Beirut, referring to one of the tombs, says "that he saw nothing to equal it in the collection at Athens, and very little in sculpture finer anywhere."

Hebrew and Semitic Languages.—In the *Academy*, 19th March, the Philology Notes mention the recent discovery of a Hebrew

inscription at Riva, dated A.D. 620, to be published by Professor Müller of Vienna. They also notice a laudatory review of Dr. Neubauer's *Catalogue of Hebrew MSS. in the Bodleian*, contained in the Russian *Voskhod*. In the *Athenæum* of the same date, Prof. T. W. Davies, writing from the Haverfordwest Baptist College, on the 7th March, asks whether the time has not come to establish a British Institute of Hebrew, "the object being to promote the study of the language, and of other Eastern tongues that help in the understanding of the Old Testament language and literature." The writer very aptly cites the success of the American Institute, which, though nominally for Hebrew only, "seeks to help forward the study of the allied languages—Syriac, Chaldee, Arabic and Assyrian." It moreover undertakes to provide for the teaching of Hebrew and cognate languages "by correspondence and otherwise." The last expression, perhaps, needs a somewhat closer definition; but the subject is clearly one deserving of serious attention. In the *Athenæum* of the 2nd April, Professor Davies, continuing the discussion, refers to the German *Morgenländische Gesellschaft*, which publishes the *Literaturblatt für Orientalische Philologie*, expressing his ignorance of the existence of any English Society with a like "specific object in view." Mr. Hyde Clarke sees in our Indian service an effective body of Orientalists, and thinks the Professor would do well to enlist those among them "who return home as well as those who remain on duty." In stating, however, that "our Asiatic Societies are supported by Indians, and not by our University men," he applies a rule which, even at the present moment, admits happily of notable exceptions.

Arabic.—The *Journal Asiatique* for February and March has the following note from M. H. Zotenberg:—

Galland's translation of the Thousand and One Nights contains several tales now celebrated, such as Zainu'l Aşnám and the king of the Genii, 'Aláu'd-dín or the Wonderful Lamp, the blind Bába 'Abd Allah, Sídí Noûmán, 'Ali Bába and the Forty Thieves, the two Sisters jealous of their younger Sister, and certain others of which the original text is unknown. They are neither to be found in the editions of Habicht, Bulak or Calcutta, nor in any manuscripts of a European library. It has been erroneously supposed that all these tales are included in the fourth volume of that particular copy three volumes of which after Galland's death became the property of the king's library. This fourth volume contained, in all likelihood, the greater portion of the story of Kamaru'l-Zamán (the commencement of which is in vol. iii), that of Ghánim, that of the Sleeper awakened, and that of the unhappy Lover confined in a mad-house, which Galland never translated: because there is reason to suppose that the first part of the Arab MS. of the National Library (1716), written by the Syrian monk Charis, is transcribed from it.

The narratives in the later volumes of Galland's selection are traceable to another origin; as may be inferred from the under-



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avowedly a work of pure love, without *arrière pensée* of hostility or profit. Brother Orientalists who wish to possess it may, we are told in the Preface, be supplied with it gratuitously; while those whose works are criticised in it are invited to send their replies for publication in its pages. In the first number are a notice of Müller's *Al-Hamdáni*; De Goeje's *Kitábu'l Baldán*; Houtsma's *Ibn Wadih (Al Ya'kubi)*, and Dr. Snouck Hurgronje's *Proverbs and Idioms of Makka*. The first and last are written in German, the two others in French. M. de Goeje had replied to the comments upon his work, but did not wish his MS. published. The editor's counter-reply, however, shows the general drift of the learned Professor's arguments.

From the same brochure, we learn that King Oscar II. has postponed the period for receiving MSS. in response to his offer of prizes (alluded to in Vol. XVIII. Part III. of the Journal, July, 1886) to the 1st January, 1890. The subjects stated were, it may be remembered: 1. A history of Semitic languages; 2. A description of Arab Culture before the time of Muhammad. It is now apparent that there will be many learned competitors, Christian and Muhammadan, for the second award. As regards the first, the field will, probably, be restricted to Europe.

Le Hadhramout et les Colonies Arabes de l'Archipel Indien, by M. L. W. C. Van den Berg, is a volume of great interest as regards geography, ethnology and language. Our information on the tract of mother-country to which it refers is more or less incidental, though one work, that of Heinrich von Maltzan, bears directly upon it, when treating of the exploration of M. de Wredé in 1843. If we compare its description in the pages of Wellsted's *Travels*, or the map attached to Gifford Palgrave's *Central and Eastern Arabia*, with that now afforded by letterpress and illustrations, in this late issue from the Government Press of Batavia, we scarcely recognize that one and the same locality is intended. But the more important part, as the main object of the publication, is that which treats of the colonists in the Indian Archipelago. The spirit of roaming and enterprize which takes the Hadramaut Arabs from the land of their birth, not only to the comparatively near coast of Abyssinia,¹ but to the islands of Java, and to Sumatra, Singapur, and Borneo, is well worthy the historian's attention in its results, and, viewed in this respect only, the present volume supplies admirable data for history. But instruction is abundant on other points also; and the lives and works of the more intellectual and educated Arab colonists are among the particular passages which render the volume a fitting subject for consideration in the pages of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal.

The *Academy* of 12th March notices with much favour the second and third volumes of Lady Burton's Household Edition of

¹ See Munzinger's *Journey through the Afar Country*, *Journal Roy. Geog. Soc.* vol. xxxix. pp. 190-211, on the Hadarema in Amphilla.

the Arabian Nights, containing the story of Kamaru'l-zamán and of Sindbad the Seaman and Sindbad the Landsman, and introducing a large number of minor tales not included in Lane's edition.

The Political Agent at Maskat has forwarded to the Society a paper on the dialect of Arabic spoken in the principality of Oman, prepared by Surgeon-Major O. S. Jayakar, Civil Surgeon at the Station. As pointed out by Colonel Miles, owing to its remote position and its isolation by a broad desert from the rest of the Peninsula, Oman possesses a very peculiar dialect containing many antique and strange words, which are either unknown or used in a different sense in other parts of Arabia. Explaining that the paper consists of two parts, one exhibiting the grammatical variations, and the other containing a vocabulary to illustrate the first part, he adds that Dr. Jayakar's opportunities of studying the dialect have been exceptional, and as this officer has been enabled to put forward much information that will be new to Arabic scholars, he believes that the MS. will be welcomed as a valuable contribution to Arabic philology.

Assyriology.—M. Carl Bézold's *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* for January contains, independently of the *Sprachsaal*, *Bibliographie*, and notices of books, the following six articles:—Franz Reber on Old Chaldaic Art; J. N. Strassmaier on Two Babylonian Treaties of the Time of Nabonid; G. Hoffmann, who under the comprehensive title of *Namen und Sachen*, supplies critical notes on Biblical and other readings; C. F. Lehmann on two Edicts of King Asurbanipal; H. Winckler on a Text of Napolassar; and P. Jensen's "Hymnen auf das Wiedererscheinen der drei grossen Lichtgötter."

The *Babylonian and Oriental Record* has appeared for April and May, and shows a long list of collaborateurs. To No. 6, Mr. Pinches contributes an interesting translation of Babylonian Tablets referring to the apprenticeship of slaves: R. Q., a "Retrospect" on the subject of the Hittite Inscriptions: Mr. Baynes, a paper on the "Eranian Origin of the Teutonic Concept of Deity:" Prof. de Harlez, a continuation of his "Iranian Studies," and Dr. Casartelli, No. 1 of "Pehlevi Notes." No. 7, the May issue, contains Dr. Casartelli's "Two Discoveries of Chosroes;" Professor and Dr. Revillout's "Sworn Obligations in Egyptian and Babylonian Law:" and an abstract of two of Professor Sayce's recently delivered Hibbert Lectures. It would be satisfactory to see some modification in the outer appearance of this new periodical. The pages of the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* are not so long and broad, but the Leipzig Journal has a more attractive and convenient form, and may commend itself as a fitting model.

Syriac.—Chwolson, in the Transactions of the Imperial Academy of Science of St. Petersburg, April, 1886 (xxxiv. No. 4, *Syrische Grabinschriften aus Semirjetschie*), gives an interesting report on Nestorian epitaphs found in two Syrian cemeteries recently discovered. These are situated about 540 werst west of Kulddha, and 420 werst south of Kashgar. The tombstones are small and rude,

mostly marked with a cross, and the epitaphs are in Nestorian character. The Turkish words and names which occur in them are the only difficulty in their interpretation, and indicate that the persons interred were chiefly Tartar converts of the Nestorian Christian missionaries. The dates on the headstones are in the Seleucidan era, and vary between A.D. 858 and 1338. Four of the original tombstones have been sent to the Museum in the Palace of the Ermitage. Professor Chwolson has obtained photographic copies of 14 other inscriptions. The Russian Government has sent instructions to have the remaining tombstones collected and photographed.

Hittite.—Some three columns of the *Academy* of May 21st are taken up with an interesting notice by Professor Sayce of Captain Conder's *Altaic Hieroglyphs and Hittite Inscriptions* (Bentley), a book which has been awaited with interest. In the hypothesis put forward by the author, his reviewer observes the following three assumptions: (1) That there is a connection between the Hittite hieroglyphs and Kypriote syllabary which enables us to find certain phonetic values among the former by comparison with equivalents among the latter. (2) "That the pictures out of which the Cuneiform characters have developed have the same origin as the Hittite hieroglyphs and Kypriote syllabary, and thus throw light on several of the Hittite forms." (3) That the grammar and vocabulary of the Hittite texts is "neither more nor less than Akkadian." As regards the first of these assumptions, Professor Sayce allows that the connexion of the Hittite and Kypriote characters is a fact generally accepted by the palæographical authorities. The second he considers untenable, and that there are no sufficient grounds for comparing together Hittite hieroglyphs and Babylonian characters. As to the third assumption, while admitting that the language of the inscriptions is not Semitic, he thinks it quite unlikely that we should discover Akkadian words "in a recognizable condition among distant tribes in Northern Syria and Kappadokia," and proceeds to illustrate the misapprehension under which Captain Conder appears to have laboured in supposing such words to lie concealed under Hittite symbols. In summing up his conclusions, the Professor gives credit to the learned and gallant author for having advanced the solution of the problem, adding—"His observation that 'a series of groups (of characters) followed by a single emblem indicates a packet, so to say, forming one expression,' is very happy. He is also possibly right in seeing a personal pronoun in the character he would read *ne* (my *e*); and his comparison of certain Hittite characters with the Kypriote *re, ni, ta, li,* and *te,* is attractive. Equally good is his observation that the important words—nouns and verb-roots—are apparently distinguished by larger emblems than the grammatical syllables prefixed or following."

At the Académie des Inscriptions, M. Henzey read a paper on certain specimens of so-called "Hittite" art discovered near Aidin.



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tom. ii. et dernier, Paris, Leroux. Pânini's Grammatik, Hrsq. übers. erläutert etc., v. O. Böhtlingk, 7 Lfg., Leipzig, Haessel.

Persian.—In the review of Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot's Persian Portraits, published in the *Academy* of 2nd April, Mr. C. E. Wilson describes the selections given as "thoroughly successful and interesting attempts to bring out all the real spirit and force of the originals, and to give thought for thought instead of phrase for phrase, or merely dry and uninteresting explanations." With reference to the author's lament that many locally celebrated Persian writers had never been introduced to the home public, the reviewer concludes his notice with making known the significant fact that he himself had on his hands at the time of writing, "a translation of the whole of the Baháristán of Jámí," for which he had "in vain awaited a publisher since its completion in 1877."

Mr. Whinfield's *Masnavi-i-Manavi*, or the spiritual couplets of *Mauláná Jalálu'd-din Rumi*, affords a new proof of the great attraction which Sufi mysticism presents to Englishmen whose tastes and linguistic attainments enable them to appreciate the Persian poets in the original. The Song of the Reed, so gracefully Anglicized by Sir William Jones about a century ago, has, together with other poems by its author, been reproduced in our tongue by Robinson, Redhouse, Palmer,¹ and it may be many more; and now, again, it reappears in a new English dress as the prologue of a volume which is one of the latest contributions to Trübner's Oriental Series. In its present form the Masnavi, though a declared abridgment, is a comparatively full translation. Unlike the late Professor Palmer's, which, in the few specimens given, exhibited a combination of narrative and moral, Mr. Whinfield's book, separating the two, contains "abstracts of the principal stories and a literal translation, line by line, of the principal doctrinal morals."

An article by Mr. Edmund Montet on "La Religion et le Théâtre on Perse" opens No. 3 of M. Jean Réville's *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, tome xiv. The penultimate sentence expresses the opinion that if Persia is ever enabled to regain a position among nations worthy of her past history, the revolution will possibly be due to the renovation of her literature by means of the drama. Is it not rather a question of regeneration than renewal?

Literature in India.—No. ccxxiv. of Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department, Serial No. 4, "Reports on Publications issued and registered in the several Provinces of British India during the year 1885, published in Calcutta during the current year," has reached the Society. It is full of statistical interest, and otherwise valuable and suggestive. The two Reports included in it are all dated in 1886; those from the Central Provinces and Háidarábád in the month of February; from

¹ Published ten years ago. See the "Sufi Poets of Persia," *Pall Mall Gazette*, 24th January, 1877.

Assam and Maisur in March; from Bengal and Burma in August; that from the North-West Provinces (including Oudh) in April; Madras in May; the Panjáb in June; and Bombay in September. Irrespectively of the usual information obtained from the Calcutta Review, which usually affords data more or less directly bearing upon the progress of the Indian mind, a brief notice of the results achieved by the Departmental machinery applied in India to educational purposes, and tabulated in the State Record, may not be unacceptable. The Provinces are placed according to the order assigned them in the summary of Reports:—

Madras.—753 books and pamphlets and 119 periodicals, published in 1885, giving a total of 872, show an excess of 54 publications—that is, of 9 books and pamphlets and 45 periodicals on the numbers of the previous year. Of the whole 872, more than two-thirds are in the current vernacular languages—principally Tamil, thus, for the greater part, Telugu, Malayalam, and Canarese—and more than one-sixth in English and other European languages. A small proportion consists of books in Indian classical languages, and of much the same number in more than one language. 340 are original, 79 translations, and 453 republications. The subjects treated are divided into sixteen heads:—Art, Biography, Drama, Fiction, History, Language, Law, Medicine, Miscellaneous, Poetry, Politics, Mental Philosophy, Religion. Science (Mathematical and Natural), Travels. From an average of ten years, the most significant increase appears to be that shown under Science; nor is it at variance with such result to find that Drama, Fiction, and Poetry are on the decline.

Bombay.—1527 books and 496 periodicals, published in 1885, giving a total of 2023, show an excess of 394 publications on the numbers of the previous year. Of these nearly 92 per cent. are in Eastern languages—notably Maráthi, Gujaráti, Urdu, and Sanskrit—and somewhat more than six per cent. in English. Nearly half the Maráthi and more than half the Gujaráti are first editions of original works. In the former case the favourite subject is Poetry; in the latter, the greater number of publications come under the head “Miscellaneous.”

Bengal.—2309 books and 422 periodicals, published in 1885, giving a total of 2731, show an excess of 341 publications on the numbers of the previous year. Of these more than two-thirds are in the vernacular languages spoken in the province, 208 in the Indian classical language, 322 in more than one language, and 317 in English. Nearly 80 per cent. of the whole are original, and 56 per cent. in Bengáli. The greater number of publications come under the head “Miscellaneous”; after which Religion, Language, Poetry, and Fiction deserve special mention.

N. W. Provinces and Oudh.—The total number of registered publications is 1290, being 526 more than shown in the previous year, and the highest for any year on record. About 40 per cent. are in Urdu, 22 per cent. in Hindi, and 8 per cent. in Persian (mostly re-

publications). The proportion of original works is greater for new editions than first issues, and applies mainly to "Language."

Panjáb.—1566 publications were catalogued in 1885, or 31 more than registered in the previous year. Of these more than half are in Urdu, more than a seventh in Hindi, and a little less than a seventh in Panjábí. The largest number, over 25 per cent. of the whole, come under the head of Poetry, but the report assigns no high position to these, and some 70 per cent. are republications.

Central Provinces.—The return shows only 1 English, 1 Sanskrit, and 1 Hindi publication.

British Burma.—68 publications are registered for this province, of which 29 are on Religion, 16 on Language, and 13 on History. Of these, less than half are first editions of original works.

Assam.—The return shows only 12 works, or a decrease of 4 on the previous year, i.e. 1 original Sanskrit work on Religion, 1 original Assamese drama, and 2 Assamese publications under Poetry; 7 "Miscellaneous" works in Bengali, and 1 work on Religion in Bengali and Sanskrit together.

Maisúr.—The total number for 1885 is 125, of which two are periodicals, being a decrease of 18 on the previous year. They are thus summarised.

In the vernaculars spoken in the province:

Kannada, 65; Telugu, 4; Tamil, 2 71

In Sanskrit 38

Bilingual, i.e. English and Kannada, 1; Kannada and English, 1; Sanskrit and Kannada, 14 16

Arranged according to the subjects treated, the largest number fall under Religion (31) and Language (29); Mental and Moral Philosophy have 16; Poetry and Drama 13 each; Fiction 5; Law 4; History and Natural Science 3 each; Biography, Medicine and Mathematical Science 2 each; Arts 1; and Miscellaneous 1. Of the whole 27 are educational and 98 non-educational. In the Civil and Military Station of Bangalur 16 works, including 2 periodicals, were published. This shows a decrease of 42 on 1884, possibly occasioned by the removal of troops to the N.W. Frontier and Burma. Four of the works are in English, 2 in English and Tamil and Telugu and English, 2 in Tamil, and the remaining 8 in Hindustani. The majority of publications are on Religion, all in Hindustani.

Haidarabad.—The report shows that 18 first editions of original works were published in 1885, being 1 less than the figure of the previous year. They consist of 11 numbers of a monthly agricultural magazine, 5 numbers of the "Berar School Paper," an educational periodical, and two publications on crops.

Calcutta Review.—Of the ten articles, other than quarterly summaries and notes, which make up the April number of this journal, that by M. Parbati Churn Roy on "High Education in Bengal" is not the least worthy of attention, and bears out the observations made in our last issue, on "the marvellous indications



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other hand, however, Mr. Warren's plea, a week later, on behalf of readers at the Bodleian who go up to Oxford expressly to inspect certain books and documents, and are told they are out on loan, is not without reasonable claim to consideration.

Congress at Stockholm.—His Majesty Oscar II. had entrusted to the organising committee of the Vienna Congress the election of a president and organising committee for the ensuing Congress at Stockholm; but the decision come to was that the Stockholm committee should elect its own president. The latter is thus constituted:—

Professor E. Tégner, of the Swedish Academy, Lund.

Dr. Fr. Fehr, *pastor primarius* and President of Consistory, Stockholm.

Professor Almkvist, Upsala.

Professor J. Lieblein, Christiania.

Dr. Count Carlo von Landberg, Stuttgart (Stockholm).

According to the last-named authority, from whose *Critica Arabica* this information has been obtained, a hope has been expressed that the Congress would hold one sitting in the capital of Norway.

China and Dutch Indian Settlements.—Through the kindness and courtesy of the Government of the Netherlands the Society has received the first and second sections of part i., Dr. G. Schlegel's valuable *Nederlandsch-Chineesch Woordenboek in the Tsiang-Tsui Dialect*: also a newly-published work of M. Van den Berg, entitled 'De Inlandsch Rang en Titels op Java en Madoera.'

Egyptology.—The *Academy* for March 12th contains a letter from Mr. Greville Chester, mentioning various places up the Nile where inscribed Ostraka are still to be found, and making an appeal to Englishmen to raise, by private subscription, a sum sufficient to bring to England the noble head of Ramses given to our nation by Muhammad Ali. It appears that there is some talk of erecting the head on a pedestal at Memphis, where it would be exposed to the knives of tourists and the stones of the Arab boys. March 26th gives a letter from Mr. Flinders Petrie on "Rock Graffiti in Upper Egypt," and under the heading "Art and Archæology" speaks of Mr. Petrie at Thebes taking a series of photographs and paper casts of the typical heads of foreigners in the great bas-relief tableaux of Luxor, Karnak, the Ramesseum and Medinet Habu. We are further told that he has photographed and "squeezed" a variety of similar types at Silsilis and other places. The ethnological series will comprise some 250 to 300 heads, including the finest known examples of types of Libyans, Ethiopians, Amorites, Hittites, Sardinians, Ionians, etc. Mr. Petrie has also taken paper casts of that which, as the *Academy* has it, "may be called the oldest botanical work in the world," viz. the representations of foreign trees and plants brought to Egypt by Thothmes III. in the course of one of his Arabian campaigns, all of which are sculptured with the minutest attention to botanical details on the walls of a chamber

in the great temple of Karnak. The plant, or tree, is in most instances given on a small scale complete, with accompanying sculptures on a larger scale, showing the leaves, fruits, and seed-pods precisely as in the botanical works of the present day. April 23rd has an account of the Necropolis at "Tell el Yahoodieh" by M. Naville, together with an informal report on the same subject from Mr. F. Ll. Griffith, and some remarks from Miss A. B. Edwards as to the possible Babylonian origin of some of the apparently foreign-shaped vases and coffins. May 7th, under head "University Jottings," announces that Professor L. Dickerman will take a class for the ancient Egyptian language and study of hieroglyphs at Chautauqua College, New York, during the summer session of 1887. In addition to these classes, Prof. Dickerman will deliver a series of four lectures to the students of Chautauqua on "The Life, Work, Art, Architecture, and Religion of the Egyptians." May 14th publishes a letter from Mr. Ernest Gardner in answer to criticisms made by Professors Kirchhoff and Hirschfeld on Naukratis Inscriptions. In the same *Academy* Miss Edwards gives some account of M. Maspéro's "Bulletin Critique de la Religion Egyptienne," which has special reference to the ceremonial rites at funerals and other solemn occasions, and is to appear in the number for May and June of the "Revue de l'Histoire des Religions." In the *Academy* for May 21st, Miss Edwards has a glowing review of M. Maspero's "L'Archéologie Egyptienne," and May 28th tells of the exhibition to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society of a few of the skulls from the large collection recently made in Egypt by Mr. E. A. W. Budge for the Anatomical Museum of the University.

The two numbers of the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* for November and December, 1886, and for January and February, 1887, contain a lengthy article by M. E. Amélineau, entitled "Le Christianisme chez les Anciens Coptes." The writer is evidently displeased and disgusted with the Copts for being Egyptians. He takes great pains to show that the Copts retain many of the old religious ideas and beliefs under the new garb of Christianity; but he does not appear to approve either of the old or of the new state of things. He makes out that the Egyptian religion old and new is a very selfish bit of bargaining—so much is performed during a short lifetime here in order to win a good time in the future. But he states that the monks in Paradise were found by those who visited them still leading the religious life; that they prayed, sang, read the Scriptures at the same hours of the day and night as on earth. We question whether life such as this should be called a purely selfish end. M. Amélineau appears to have arrived at thoroughly despising the Copts, because, like the old monuments, they are too changeless. His advice to them would not be "Show yourselves to be worthy of your ancestors," but rather "Shake yourselves free from the superstitions of past centuries—forget your origin—the great purpose of Christianity is the progressive elevation of humanity."

The same contributor has in the *Journal Asiatique* the reproduction of a Coptic document with French translation and remarks. The MS. is one of two (the other is the Life of the Patriarch Isaac), which have apparently lain unnoticed in the Musée Borgia till last year, when they were brought to the notice of students in a lecture delivered at the Egyptian Institute in Cairo by M. Amélineau. The "Document" given in the *Journal Asiatique* is "Le Martyre de Jean de Phanidjoit." It is important as being the latest Coptic work yet known. The martyrdom is said to have taken place on April 29th, 1209 A.D., and the account is written by a priest named Mark in 1210. It is divided for church reading, and appears to be read in the Coptic churches now on the day of the martyrdom.

Le Muséon for January and for April has articles by M. F. Robiou on "La Religion Egyptienne." The number for April contains three hieroglyphic inscriptions from Boulak, with translations and remarks by Karl Piehl.

In the *Revue Critique* for May 23rd M. Maspéro criticises M. L. Oberziner on Sun Worship amongst the Ancient Egyptians.

The March and April numbers of the *Monatschrift für den Orient* give the continuation and ending of A. v. Schweiger-Lerchenfeld's "Cultur-Einflüsse und Handel in Aeltester Zeit." The number for May has an article on Karabeck's communications from the Archduke Rainer Papyrus.

Amongst new books on Egypt we note: E. M. Coemans, *Manuel de la Langue Egyptienne, Première partie, Les Ecritures Egyptiennes*, Gand. E. Toda, *Estudios Egiptológicos*, 3 parts, Madrid. Ph. Virey, *Études sur le Papyrus Prisse, le livre de Kaqimna et les leçons de Ptâh Hotep*, Paris, Vieweg. Dr. Alfred H. Kellogg, *Abraham, Joseph, and Moses in Egypt*, Trübner. A. J. Butler, "Court Life in Egypt," Chapman & Hall.

Numismatics.—An interesting notice of a catalogue of the Oriental coins in the Rumianzof Museum at Moscow, by a young Russian student, M. Trutowski, appears in the *Athenæum* of the 16th April. Although the work is said to present "an unnecessarily large number of slips and oversights," it is anticipated that such shortcomings will be corrected by experience and study, and the début of the new numismatist is warmly welcomed. "The Rumianzof Cabinet," according to the *Athenæum*, "contains 4980 coins, of which 2760 belong to the dynasty of the Khans of the Crimea, but 1400 of these are effaced and illegible. There are 963 Ottoman coins of little interest, and 415 specimens of the Golden Horde, mostly well known. The rest consists of Sassanian and other Pahlavi coins, a couple of hundred issues of the Khalifs, the same number of Sāmāni Governors of Samarkand, and some examples of the Táhiris, Ilék Khans (44), Seljuks, rulers of Volga Bulghar, and other dynasties, with 100 coins of the Shahs of Persia. The Krim Khans and Iléks are the most noteworthy part of the collection."

Vol. xxii. of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, issued in June, contains



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sumed to be of the Bantu family. The compiler is a Spaniard, Dr. Osorio, who had resided some time in the country, and who called upon the writer of these notes to help him to publish his vocabulary. As it seemed of value, was certainly genuine, and filled up a great gap in our existing knowledge, Dr. Cust consented to do so, as his contribution to the extension of our knowledge of Africa.

Among this year's books on African Languages, mention should be made of three published at Vienna: The *Manuel de la Langue Tigräi*, by M. Schreiber; the *Lingua Afar nel Nord-Est del' Africa*, by Giovanni Colizza; and *Die Bilin Sprache*, by Leo Reinisch. The Tigräi is spoken in Central and Northern Abyssinia; it is Semitic, and a sister language of the Tigré, both sprung from the old Ethiopian, or Giz. Along the shores of the Red Sea, and in the islands between the Bay of Adulis and Gulf of Tajirah, is the tribe known to outsiders as Danakil, to the members themselves, Afar. Mention has already been made of Professor Leo Reinisch's volumes on this tribe. In the general scramble for Africa, Italy laid hands on Assab, a port of the Red Sea, and Government was induced to send young Italians to acquire the language of the neighbouring tribes with a view to annexation. Hence Signor Colizza's work, a most complete one, and a valuable addition to science. The vocabulary of the Bilin, a language spoken by the Bogos tribe on the northern frontier of Abyssinia, is a masterly production, written in German.

*Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, von Dr. Fried. Müller.*¹—Vienna, Holder, 1886.

The completion of this remarkable and epoch-making work deserves a notice, though totally inadequate to the greatness of the subject, and the comprehensive manner, in which it has been treated. Six years ago the first volume appeared, and the author promises two additional volumes by way of appendix. But the subject of the Science of Language expands year by year, and this noble work forty years hence will be as far below the high-water level, as the famous *Mithridates* of Adelung and Vater, which astonished the world in 1817, and is now entirely out of date.

To this work there is no Index, and there are no Language-Maps. It cannot for one moment be considered to embrace our linguistic-knowledge of the world, as the author restricts himself to those languages of which he has competent Grammars. It is obvious that at the present moment a very large proportion of Languages is represented by Vocabularies alone, and a certain proportion, though known to exist, is unrepresented by any linguistic document. The

¹ Contributed by Dr. R. N. Cust.

book is therefore a survey of our knowledge of the Science, as far as Grammars have been compiled, and is therefore an inadequate representation of the World's store of the Form of Speech in actual use by Mankind.

Then there is an inherent difficulty in the method adopted, which is meant to combine Ethnological and Philological results. It is obvious that Race is innate, and cannot be changed either by Nations or individuals, and that Language can be changed even without leaving the Native Country, of which we have a notable instance in the Fellahs of Egypt, and the English-speaking Negroes of West Africa.

It can truly be said that no such a thesaurus of language can be found in any other work, ancient or modern, and no Library is complete without it. The main body of the work consists of careful analyses of the Phonology and Grammatical Forms of every language of which the Sounds and Forms have been brought to book. Texts are in most cases supplied with interlinear translations, and careful grammatical notes. To few, if to any one, has it been given to possess the acumen required for such a task, and the industry to carry the author up to the point of knowledge which would supply the characteristic features of the language, and then drop the subject, and pass on to an entirely different specimen of Sound-Lore, Word-Lore, and Sentence-Lore. If the question arose as to the Grammatical Construction of any language in South Africa, North America, the Extreme Orient, or the South Sea Islands, the student has only to turn to the page assigned to that language, and he will find the phenomena set forth after a careful diagnosis, and a reference to the authority, thus enabling the accuracy to be tested.

The order in which the author grapples with his subject is the ascending one. He commences with Mankind, as he is found in the lowest round of human culture, but the language of such races is sometimes found to be superior, as a language, to the culture of the race.

In the first volume he treats of the Woolly-haired races, and passes under review the Bushman, the Hottentots of South Africa, and the Papuans of New Guinea. Thence we rise to the great variety of African Negro Languages spoken in the tropical Regions North of the Equator, and the wonderful Bantu Family, which occupies the whole of South Africa South of the Equator, allowing for the Bushman and Hottentot Enclaves.

In the second volume we find an account of the Straight-haired

Races: the Australians, and the Hyperboreans, the Jenisee-Ostyak, the Ainu of Japan, the inhabitants of the Aleut Islands, and the Eskimo. To them succeed the long row of American indigenous languages from the North to the extreme South of that Continent.

In the second part of the same volume are passed under review the languages of Polynesia, Melanesia, and Malaysia, the great Altaic Family of High Asia, the Japanese, Korean, the Tibeto-Burman Family, the Tai Family, the Khasia in the Himalaya, the language of Annam, and the languages of China. The vast area traversed in this section indicates how brief, summary, and inexhaustive must be the survey even of the series of languages, of which Grammars have been compiled.

In the third volume we get a glance, but a glance only, at the great Nuba-Fulah Family of North Africa, and Dravidian of South India; the Basque of the Pyrenees, the languages of the inhabitants of the Caucasus; the Hamitic language of North Africa, and the Semitic of Asia, and we are landed at last in the familiar Region of the great Aryan Family, and touch ground.

The book is avowedly a continuation of the author's highly esteemed "Allgemeine Ethnographie." We cannot doubt that to the appendices promised in the autumn, there will be added a long row of additional volumes, to be incorporated in a second edition of the whole work in their proper places in the Narrative.

There is room for an abundance of criticism in detail, and there will be no severer critic of the work than the author himself, but he has to be congratulated on accomplishing his task.



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ADDRESS.

MADAM,

At a time when from every side Your Majesty's subjects are hastening to tender their congratulations upon the completion of that half century of rule, which, both morally and materially, has been so blessed throughout Your dominions, it would appear doubly incumbent on the Royal Asiatic Society to pray Your acceptance of its tribute of duty and affection.

For while, in common with other learned associations, this Society has been, since its first foundation, encouraged by the patronage of the Sovereign, it is under Your Majesty as Empress of India that its labours have acquired for it a special claim to be regarded as a body identified with the interests of Your Majesty's subjects in the far East.

That the same measure of prosperity that has distinguished Your long reign may be continued throughout the years yet in store for Your Majesty, is the sincere and earnest hope of those on whose behalf, as members of the Asiatic Society, I humbly beg, Madam, to lay this Address before Your Throne.

I have the honour to be,

Madam,

With the profoundest respect,

Your Majesty's most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS FRANCIS WADE,

President Royal Asiatic Society.

The Address having been laid before the Queen, its acceptance was notified to the President in the following letter :—

WHITEHALL,
30 *June*, 1887.

SIR,

I have had the honour to lay before the Queen the loyal and dutiful Address of the Royal Asiatic Society on the occasion of Her Majesty attaining the fiftieth year of her reign, and I have to inform you that Her Majesty was pleased to receive the same very graciously.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

HENRY MATTHEWS.

*The President of the Royal Asiatic Society,
22, Albemarle Street, W.*



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allowance for this lack of precision, *miryek* is so much like the Turki *meniak*,¹ 'great,' or 'prince,' that it may be connected with it. The relationship of the Corean with the Turki and other Altaic languages is real, though remote,² so that, after all, the word may not be an importation, and simply be a common heirloom; but the probabilities here are the other way, and further investigations and discoveries in Corea cannot fail to throw some light on the matter.

III.

The curious double cap of the Miryek of Un-jin is highly suggestive of two of the currents of tradition which are met with in Corea, whilst the oblong slab and its pendants remind us of the old Chinese dress cap as illustrated in the ancient rituals;³ the repetition of such a thing on a smaller scale above, and their arrangement on a central column, were obviously suggested by the Indian Pagoda-umbrella. There is no doubt that the Miryek of Unjin is Buddhist. The position of the hands,⁴ and especially the mark between the eyebrows (i.e. the *urna*, one of the 32 lakchanas or characteristic physiological marks by which every Buddha may be recognized),⁵ are, I think, conclusive.

Un-jin (the Eun-tjin of the missionaries' map),⁶ near the Keun Kang, or river within the province or *To* of Tchyung = Tchyeng, and in proximity to, but not within the limits of that of Chöl-la-To (Tjyen-la-to), Ko-yang and Pha-ju (Hpa-tjiu) at 40 and 80 li N. of the capital, as well as Unjin, all three places where Miryekes still exist, were formerly parts of the Pek-tsi state, where Buddhism (introduced about the end of

¹ *Meniak* is also the name of tribes in the east of Tibet. Cf. my book *The Languages of China before the Chinese* (London, 1887), § 173.

² Cf. Dr. Heinrich Winkler, *Uralaltaische Völker und Sprachen* (Berlin, 1884), pp. 70-72.

³ Cf. the plates of the *San Li t'u*, or simply the illustrations in G. Pauthier's *Chine*, pl. xxxv., or S. Kidd's *China*, pl. i. and xiii.

⁴ For the Buddhist's position of the hands cf. F. v. Schlagintweit, *Buddhism in Tibet*, ch. xiv. And also the plates in Hoffman's *Buddha Pantheon*.

⁵ E. J. Eitel, *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*, p. 61. The Pagoda-umbrella is probably connected with the idea of the revolving-pagoda.

⁶ In the *Dictionnaire géographique de la Corée*, 2nd Appendice of *Dictionnaire Coréen-français* (Yokohama, 1880, 8vo.).

the fourth century) was conspicuous for the number and splendour of its monuments, in the ages immediately succeeding—according to the Chinese notice of the country in the dynastic annals of the Northern Sung (420-478 A.D.).¹

IV.

The existence of such big statues is interesting in connection with similar or somewhat similar ones which have been erected in other countries in honour of the Gautama Buddha, in ancient times. The huge statues at Bamian have lately been described in this Journal.² But others are still unknown or have not been studied. In the *Burma Gazetteer*, compiled by Major H. R. Spearman, the frontispiece is a photograph representing the ruins of a colossal image of Gautama at Zaing-ga-naing.³ Leaving aside instances of late date, which offer little interest here, we may mention some early cases hitherto unnoticed.

In 419 A.D., Kung-Ti, the last Emperor of the Chinese Dynasty of the Eastern Tsin, being a faithful Buddhist, melted away ten million pieces of *ho* money,⁴ and made a statue in metal of 60 cubits in height for the *Wa Kung* temple.⁵ In the same century, we hear through the annals of China and those of Annam about huge Buddhist statues in the country of Lin-yh, otherwise Lâm-âp, corresponding notably to the modern provinces of Ninh-binh and Thanh-

¹ The fragment appears without acknowledgment as usual in Ma-Tuanlin's *Wen hien t'ung kao*. Cf. D'Hervey de Saint-Denys, *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine* par Ma-Touan-Lin, vol. i. Genève, 1876, p. 279.

² *The Rock-cut Carvings and Statues of Bamian*, by MM. M. G. Talbot, P. J. Maitland, and W. Simpson, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVIII. 1886, pp. 323-350.

³ *British Burma Gazetteer*, vol. i. The statues of 'Buddha entering Nirvana,' or 'sleeping Buddha,' i.e. recumbent, instead of sitting down or erect, belong probably to another wave of the Buddhist statuary. Such, for instance, as those mentioned by Col. H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco-Polo* (2nd edit.), vol. i. p. 223. According to tradition, the first statue of Buddha seated was made during the lifetime of Gautama. Cf. *Isandan dsou yin domok*, Légende de la statue de Bouddha, traduite du Mongol, by A. Ivanowski (*Le Muséon*, 1883, vol. ii. pp. 93-104).

⁴ In the text: *tsien wan ho* 'a thousand myriads ho.' The latter I understand to be the name of the current money as it was for several centuries previously. Cf. my work on *The Coins of China in the British Museum*, etc., vol. i. p. 385.

⁵ *Tsin shu*, in *Tai-ping yü-lan*, bk. 657, f. 3.

hoa of Annam.¹ The records of the latter country state that the Lâm-âp professed the religion called *Mé-càn*, and that they worshipped huge gold and silver statues, some of which were more than ten *mètres* (?) in circumference.² The Chinese records, on the other hand, state simply³ that one of the kings of Lin-yh, a believer in the everlasting principles of India, caused statues to be cast in gold and silver, ten half-cubits in height.⁴ The word *Mé-càn* is perhaps an alteration, and intended to represent *Magadha*, the country of Gautama Buddha. Maritime intercourse was active in former times between Indo-China, the Indian Archipelago and the northern coasts. It is from this intercourse with Japan in the third century, that the Chinese have first heard of Formosa, the Philippines, the Archipelago, etc.⁵ And nothing would be surprising should an early spread of Buddhism in Corea have come by this maritime way, thus causing, as in Indo-China, the erection of the *Miryeks*. The countenance of these huge statues may be found at fault in various details with the standard imagery and statuary of Buddhism, but these differences have obviously resulted from their peculiar surroundings in this remote corner of N.E. Asia.

¹ Cf. the *Hoang viet dia du chi* (Official Geography of Annam), vol. i.

² I translate from P. J. B. Truong Vinh-ky, *Cours d'histoire Annamite*, vol. i. (Saigon, 1875, 16mo.), p. 29, as I have not the original text at hand. I doubt the *mètres* of the translation.

³ Cf. *Nan she* or Southern history (420-589 A.D.) in *Tai-ping yū-lan*, bk. 786, fol. 4 v.

⁴ This unsatisfactory statement is perhaps a misrendering only. The text says: 大十圍 *ta shih hwei*; the latter word means circumference, and also a measure of half a cubit.

⁵ Cf. my *Formosa Notes*, § 34.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON, July, 1887.



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language by the supposed first grammarian, and following his example by Tolkâppiyam,¹ into three dialects, a poetical (Içai), a dramatical (Nâḍagam), and a colloquial one (Iyal). How are we to account for the existence of such a threefold division of the language before the commencement of all literature? What was the object and utility of such a classification at almost the birth-time of the language? What was the basis upon which the grammarian proceeded to establish the above distinction? for he could not surely have evolved it out of his own "inner consciousness." These are questions which suggest themselves on the very threshold of any inquiry into the origin of the Tamil literature.

Of the above difficulty two solutions are proposed; one of traditional, and the other of recent origin; but neither of which seems to be capable of bearing the light of criticism. To the orthodox Hindu believer there is nothing surprising in the whole matter; the solution is very simple, it was done by a stroke of miracle; for to a *muni* like Agastya nothing was impossible. Did not the same sage, though no higher than one's thumb, drink the whole ocean in one sip, and sink down the Vindhya mountain with the mere pressure of his toe? Different sects vied with each other in claiming the invention of the Tamil language for their favourite divinities, though all of them are unanimous in regarding Agastya as the mouthpiece of their respective deity. To the Çaivas it was Skanda who vouchsafed to reveal the language as well as its grammar; to the Buddhists, if we are to believe Buddhāmitra,² the author of *Vîraçôṛîyam*, a standard grammatical treatise, it was Avalokiteçvara who condescended to make this linguistic revelation. In the opinion of the Arhatas, Tamil is one of the eighteen languages revealed by

¹ Tolkâppiyam, chap. i., with the commentary of Natchinârkiniyâr, manuscript belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

² *Vîra-çôṛîyam*, introductory stanza, which runs as follows: "Âyum gunat' Avalokitan pakkal Agattiyan kêt'. Eyum puvanik' iyampiya tîm Tamil. . . ." Dr. Burnell ascribes the composition of *Vîra-çôṛîyam* to the eleventh century, apparently from the fact that a certain Vira Çhola flourished at that period. According to an anecdote occurring in connection with the Skanda Purâṇa (Tamil), the work was in existence in the eighth century A.D.

the omniscient Jîna. At this day, however, it is inadmissible that even so great a personage as Agastya, notwithstanding all the supernatural aids he was favoured with, could have invented a language and launched it forth into the world ready-made. We are forced to go upon the supposition that the Tamil had a natural birth and development like all other languages.

By the side of this theory of divine inspiration, there is another of recent¹ birth, which, so far as its chances of probability are concerned, might, I think, well contest the palm with the former. It offers on many points a striking analogy to the former, and appears to be based much on the same fundamental principle, revelation excepted. According to this hypothesis, the *Çentamil*² is an artificial style. In the former theory the whole language was the invention of or at least revealed by the instrumentality of one man; in the latter the poetic dialect only can claim that characteristic speciality, the inventors in this case being a certain number of poets and grammarians of the ninth century A.D. This theory would thus confer on the Tamils the unique distinction of a people whose poetical sentiment, not content with its natural expression in intelligible language, gave vent to itself in a conventional gibberish!

I need hardly say that both of the above-mentioned theories are to my mind far from being satisfactory. The language of a people, whether it be poetical or colloquial, can no more be created by one man than by the deliberate consent of a number of men. At least, experience does not seem to confirm such a supposition. On the contrary, it seems to grow up with the people unconsciously, and to undergo its changes slowly, varying in the rapidity of its

¹ See Dr. Burnell's South Indian Palæography, p. 142.

² Dr. Burnell seems to confound *Çentamil* with *Isai* (poetic) Tamil. The poetic language was no doubt derived from *Çentamil*, but the terms are not synonymous. *Çentamil* words sometimes undergo in poetry certain modifications, which are caused by the exigencies of euphony and metre. These changes are called *çeyu! vikâram* (poetic changes), and the language is then technically called *Isae' Tamil*. But such abnormal variations are not of the essence of *Çentamil* itself. *Çentamil* was at first the dialect of a particular district of the Tamil country.

movement according to the march of the nation, to whom it serves as a vehicle of expression. It is for the advocates of the latter theory to prove that *Çentamil* was an exception, and to furnish historical evidence of the age and circumstances in which and the persons by whom the compact was entered into, of creating *Çentamil*, and of the exceptional circumstances which justified it. For my part I am unable to discover traces of such a convention, either express or tacit, in the whole field of *Çentamil* literature.

Not to speak of the unnatural singularity of the above hypothesis, there are two or three strong objections against it, which, as it seems to me, decisively stamp it as improbable.

1. It throws no light on the division of the old language into the three varieties of *Iyal*, *Içai* and *Nâḍagam* by the very first grammarian, to whom existing literature, in common with tradition, ascribes the first work of that kind.

2. In a *sasana* belonging to the Jews of Cochin,¹ which Dr. Burnell assigns to the ninth century, the language employed is much like the modern Tamil. If modern Tamil was in current use in the ninth century, and *Çentamil* was an artificial language invented only in the ninth, how are we to account for the existence in the latter of words common to the whole Dravidian parent stock, but which are unknown to the colloquial idiom? The Telugu and Canarese must have been separated from the Tamil more than 2000 years ago,² as Dr. Caldwell has ably demonstrated in his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*; yet words belonging to the two former abound in *Çentamil*, while they seem to be unknown to the current language of the present day as to that of the ninth century. For instance, the following words amongst many others are in common use in Canarese and Telugu, while in Tamil, though they are unknown to the daily idiom, they are of very frequent occurrence in the poetic dialect:

¹ See a copy of it in Burnell's *South Indian Palæography*, p. 140.

² See Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, Introduction.



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years, so as to be incorporated into a literature which came into being about the ninth century.

3. The above theory does not accord with the little we know of the history of the Tamil people. In the absence of all means of verification I will pass in silence the records of native authorities, according to which more than 200 Pâṇḍiyas¹ are said to have reigned at Madura before the commencement of the fourteenth century. It would, however, be well to bear this circumstance in mind, to see how far it is corroborated by external evidence. The Mahavanso² uniformly refers to the Tamils of the Pâṇḍiyan country as possessing a national existence and civilization anterior to that of the Singhalese, and mentions that Wijaya, the first king of Ceylon, married the daughter of a Pâṇḍiyan about the sixth century B.C. The fact of the Pâṇḍiyan kingdom figuring as a well-established monarchy at that period argues to its having been in existence for some two or three centuries at least previously. In the time of Buddha, the principal Dravidian countries appear to have been on a par with those of the North in point of moral and material progress.³

Megasthenes,⁴ the ambassador of Seleukos Nikator at the court of Pataliputra in Northern India (302 B.C.), could not have heard of the kingdom of Pâṇḍiya in the extreme South, if it had not attained considerable power and reputation in his days. The Mahâbhâshya⁵ of Patanjali (second century B.C.) speaks familiarly not only of the Pâṇḍiya and Chola countries, but also of particular towns and rivers in the South, as Kânci and Kâvêri. The kingdoms of Pâṇḍiya, Chola and Kerâla are also met with in the inscriptions⁶ of Asoka (250 B.C.). The fragments of Eusebius allude to two embassies sent by Pâṇḍion to Augustus, and Strabo⁷ men-

¹ Madura Sthala Purâṇa; Irayanâr Agapporul, etc.

² See Turnour's Mahâvanso, pp. 55-57.

³ Lalita Vistâra; Mahâvanso, pp. 59, 67, 73.

⁴ Schwanbeck's Megasthenes.

⁵ The Mahâbhâshya of Patanjali, Benares edition, p. 82.

⁶ Tablet II. of Asoka Inscriptions, "Evam api samantesu yathâ Choda, Pânda, Satiyaputo, Ketaliputo," etc.

⁷ Strabo, Traduction française par La Porte du Theil.

kingdom of the Chera; another Dravidian prince, sought also the friendship of the Romans. Pliny² speaks of the kingdom of Pāṇḍiāya (A.D. 77, and its capital Madura.¹ Ptolemy (second century A.D.) and the *Periplus Mari Erythraei* of Arrian (third century A.D.), equally refer to the three Tamil kingdoms as the most prominent: in the South. Indeed, Porus in the North and Pāṇḍiāyan in the South seem to have been the two most powerful monarchs⁴ of India whose fame overshadowed the rest in the time of the Greek supremacy in Western Asia. Varāha-Mihira,⁵ the astronomer (404 A.D.), makes allusions to the kingdoms of Pāṇḍiāya, Chola, Kerāla, Karnataka, Kalinga and Āndhra, all of which were Dravidian, and to the rivers Kāvēri and Tambraparni in the South. Fa-Hian,⁶ the Chinese traveller in India of the fourth century, heard of a powerful kingdom in the South, which Mr. Fergusson has identified with the Paṅḍava kingdom, a recognized seat of the Tamil language. The testimony of Greek and Roman writers attest that Kolkai,⁷ the ancient seaport of the kingdom of Pāṇḍiāya, was a great emporium of commerce. According to Chinese⁸ authorities, in A.D. 500 an ambassador, I-sam Woo, came from South India to China, who gave them to understand that trade was carried on between Southern India and the Roman Empire. Arab historians⁹ agree as well in affirming that maritime commerce existed from the earliest times between the Phœnicians and Arabs on the one hand and the Pāṇḍiāya and other kingdoms in the South.¹⁰

¹ *Κηροβόρον*, whose capital was *Κασούρα*. The Sanskrit termination *putra*, added to the Dravidian *Chera*, shows that Southern India was already brought under Brahmanical influence.

² *L'Histoire Naturelle de Plin*, par Poinssinet de Sivry, Livre vi.

³ Table X. of Ptolemy.

⁴ Strabo, vol. v. bk. xv.

⁵ Dr. Kern's Translation of *Bṛhat Sanhitā*, Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. Vol. VI. An inscription of the Chālukya dynasty dated 490 A.D. shows the existence of the Chera, Chola and Pāṇḍiāya monarchies towards the close of the fifth century. See Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. Vol. V. p. 343.

⁶ Beal's Travels of Fa-Hian.

⁷ Ptolemy's Table X.

⁸ Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. Vol. VI. p. 458.

⁹ See also Marco Polo, by Colonel Yule, vol. ii. pp. 267-275.

¹⁰ According to M. Chabas, in the reign of Thothmes III. (seventeenth century B.C.) of Egypt, Phœnicians had commercial intercourse with India (*Études Égyptiennes*, p. 120).

From the *Çentamil* words found in the Hebrew¹ Bible as terms to designate peacocks, apes, etc., brought by ships from Tarshish, it has been inferred that commercial intercourse had been going on between the Tamils and the Phœnicians as early as the days of Solomon, king of the Hebrews (1500 B.C.).

To suppose that a people who had commercial and sometimes political relations with Phœnicians, Greeks, Romans, Chinese and Arabs from very early times, and who were in contact for centuries with one of the most refined of languages, the Sanskrit, and who had well-organized kingdoms of their own, as historically attested from at least the sixth century B.C., to suppose, I repeat, that such people had no literature of their own till the ninth century A.D., seems to me, to say the least, to be running counter to all probability. It is difficult to believe that the kingdom of Pâṇḍiya, sung by poet and bard as the cradle of *Çentamil*, had continued to exist from before the sixth century B.C., and had produced no literature during its palmy days until its old age and decrepitude in the ninth century A.D., when there was nothing capable of giving such an impulse.²

The various considerations referred to above seemed to me sufficient to reject the theory of *Çentamil* being an artificial language of the ninth century, and to search for a more rational explanation of it. The only method capable of rendering any trustworthy data appeared to me to be the comparative one, which has so often been employed with the most fruitful results.

Whatever doubts one might entertain as regards the period anterior to Asoka, we know to a certainty from the inscriptions³ of that monarch that Sanskrit and North Indian

¹ Dr. Caldwell, Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Drâvidian Languages.

² In the fourth century Fa-Hian found Brahmans and heretics in Java, and the old Kawi literature seems to contain Sanskrit words in a Drâvidianized form. See Fa-Hian's Travels by Beal, p. 168, and South Indian Palæography, pp. 132-133. This would indicate that the old Javanese colonists were either Tamils or 'Telugus, and that Sanskrit influence and culture had spread through South India long before.

³ Asoka Inscriptions, Tablet II.



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marians. If they had any hand in it, it is improbable that they should have adopted for it a system different from that which they have employed for the other cognate Drâvidian languages of Telugu and Canarese.

Palæographically,¹ too, the ancient Tamil written alphabet called Vatteruttu has been found to be independent of the characters in which Sanskrit and other North Indian languages have been written at different times.²

The obvious inference is that the Tamils had an alphabetical system of their own before they came in contact with Sanskrit or Pali. The Asoka inscriptions imply that they possessed a knowledge of a written alphabet in the third century B.C., for it would be the height of absurdity to issue proclamations by means of inscriptions to the Pâñḍiya, Chola and Chera monarchs, if the latter could not decipher written characters. The Lalita³ Vistâra, a work translated into Chinese in the first century A.D., seems to confirm the above view, for among the sixty-four alphabetical systems which Buddha is said to have learnt in his infancy, is included the Drâvida or Tamil. From this fable relating to the supernatural linguistic attainments of Buddha we may draw one rational conclusion at least, viz. that at the time of the composition of the Lalita Vistâra, its author or authors knew of the existence of a Tamil alphabet.

2. Another important fact which is elicited by comparison is that the *Çentamil* versification was independent of Sanskrit.

¹ See South Indian Palæography, p. 51.

² Lalita Vistâra, Edition Foucaux, Annales du Musée Guimet, Adhyâya X.

³ The modern Tamil alphabet is, according to Dr. Burnell, an adaptation from the Grantha alphabet of the tenth century, which again is derived from the Chera alphabet of the third (see South Ind. Palæogr. p. 46). It seems to me, however, on a comparison of the Vatteluttu used in the Cochin Sâsna, with the Tanjore inscriptions of the tenth century, that the modern Tamil characters, allowances being made for the individual peculiarities of writers, might with more probability be said to be derived from the Vatteluttu by a natural process of development than to have been copied from the Grantha.

The introduction of printing has effected considerable modification in Tamil characters. In a deed of the date of 1737, which belonged to my seventh paternal ancestor, Kuruli Kâvala Sênâthi Râja Mudaliyar, the characters employed seem to resemble those of the tenth century more than those of the present day. The same remark applies to all documents of the last century that I have met with in the north of Ceylon. What change, when compared with the eight centuries preceding!

The metres of the former were radically different from those of the latter. While the sister Drâvidian languages, the Telugu¹ and the Canarese, have literally borrowed almost all the varieties of ganachchandas and matrâchchandas from Sanskrit, the *Çentamil* has preserved intact her ancient metres of *Agaval*,² *Veipâ*, *Kalippâ* and *Vanchippa*.³ Nâgavarma⁴ in his rules of Canarese prosody constantly cites Pingala and other Sanskrit grammarians as authorities, while Tolkâppiyam, the oldest known Tamil grammarian, knows no higher tribunal than the still older *Çentamil*⁵ poets. The *Âryâ*, *Vaitâlîya*, *Anushtubh*, *Gâyatrî*, and other ordinary Sanskrit metres, have not their corresponding equivalents in *Çentamil*, and are incomprehensible to it, while they are closely imitated by Telugu and Canarese poets. Of the six constituent parts of a verse, as enumerated by *Çentamil* grammarians,⁶ *eruddu*, *açai*, *cîr*, *talai*, *adi* and *toçai*, the fourth (*talai*), so valued by Tamil poets, is altogether foreign to Sanskrit poetry. Of the 43 varieties of *toçai*, the *mônai* and *edugia* are not at all met with in Sanskrit, while there are vestiges⁷ of them in Canarese, a fact which leads me to the inference that old Canarese poetry originally resembled that of the *Çentamil*, although it was gradually recast on a Sanskrit mould. In short, *Çentamil* versification is purely Dravidian, its genius is utterly distinct from that of the Sanskrit, and the whole is free from any foreign admixture.

It is almost a truism to say that the earliest records of all nations are preserved in their national poetry. That the Tamils have been no exception to this rule is proved by their

¹ See Brown's Telugu Grammar.

² See Yâpparungalam and Karigæ.

³ See Kittel's Canarese Prosody of Nâgavarma.

⁴ The hackneyed phrase in Tolkâppiyam is '*enmanâr pulavar*' (so say the learned or poets).

⁵ I do not include *marudpâ*, which is not recognized as a separate and distinct metre by the oldest authorities. It is only a mixture of *Veipâ* and *Asiriam* or *Agaval*.

⁶ See Yâpparungalam. (See Dr. Pope's Tamil Grammar, and his edition of the Kurral.)

⁷ According to Kêsava, in the first period of the Canarese poetry as it exists at the present day, each verse-line in its second letter bears an alliteration, this being the same for all the four lines. (See Kittel's Nâgavarma.) This alliteration is identical with the *edugai* of the Tamil poets. Compare also Yâpparungalam on *mônai* and *edugai*.

metres and versification, the only department which has been free from Sanskrit intrusion. The possession of numerous varied and polished forms of verse independent of any Sanskrit model leads to the inevitable conclusion that *Çentamil* had a literature of her own before her contact with Sanskrit. Without a poetic literature metres and rules of versification are meaningless. If that literature had come into being only about the ninth century, as some have supposed, it would be a mere imitation of the Sanskrit in form and substance, as it is in Telugu and Canarese. This point established, it becomes easy to explain why the author of *Tolkâppiyam* makes frequent allusion to old poets, and cites their authority. If Agastya had been the first inventor of *Çentamil*, or the first author who composed in it, his disciple would simply have quoted his master as the supreme arbiter on all points.

Viewed by this light, the distribution of the old language into three dialects of poetic, dramatic and colloquial, by the earliest grammarians, becomes intelligible also. Of the many old dialects of the Tamil language, one which had originally been the local *patois* of the tract of land lying between *Karuvûr* on the East, *Maruvûr* on the West, the river *Vaigai* on the South, and the river *Marutam* on the North, had, by some fortunate coincidence of circumstances, been singled out among others, by poets for the purpose of versification.¹ A certain amount of national literature, consisting for the most part of war-songs and love-ballads, continued to be produced in it. The language thus employed by a succession of poets and bards to celebrate the victories of their heroes or their loves had naturally come to be regarded as classic, and acquired the name of *Çentamil* (elegant Tamil), while the other dialects were called *Koduntamil* (or barbarous Tamil). Thus even at the present day many of the words employed in the Malayâlam language will be considered vulgar by the

¹ There were in ancient times thirteen Tamil *nâdu* or countries, of which the one enclosed in the limits described was called *Çentamil-nâdu*. The other twelve *Koduntamil-nâdu* are the following: *Tenpândi*, *Kuttam*, *Kudam*, *Kalkâ*, *Vên*, *Pûli*, *Panri*, *Aruvâ*. *Aruvâvatalai*, *Cidam*, *Malâdu* and *Punnâdu*. (See *Beschi's Çatur-Agarâdi*.)



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It is also now easy to account why the *Çentamil* vocabulary is so copious, and contains words more easily understood by Telugus and Canarese than by its actual owners. The truth is that *Çentamil* has in a certain measure preserved forms common to the whole Dravidian parent-stock before the differentiation of the latter into separate languages. Such of those ancient words as have been employed by a succession of *Çentamil* poets having become fixed in the poetic language have come down to us obsolete, while some of them by a freak of accident having continued as terms of every-day life among the Canarese and Telugus remain so to the present time.

The fact that the language of the eighth century is nearly modern is perfectly in accord with and confirmatory of what we have seen above of the history of the Tamil language. There is nothing uncommon in the fact that the language should have undergone slow evolution from the days of Solomon and the Phœnicians, and have assumed its nearly modern form about the eighth century of the Christian era. What seems remarkable is that there should be only so little difference between the language of the eighth century and that of the present day—a characteristic indication how language like everything else has changed only very slowly in India, and what length of time was necessary by this slow process for the transition from the old *Çentamil* to modern Tamil.

I said that the language of the eighth century is seen to be nearly modern, for I find on examining copies of the *sâsanas*¹ of the Cochin Jews and Persians, that they contain a certain proportion of classic terms and forms. I have noted the following among others: *Vidutta*, *Kilpark'*, *tenpark'*, *naḍatti*, *yâlaninrā*, *nôkkip'*, *pâynda*, *melpark'*, *irvisaitta*, *olirinri*, etc. These forms are very valuable as affording additional proof that the older forms of *Çentamil* were not

¹ See South Indian Palæography, pp. 140, 142. If the *Çentamil* had been an artificial style, it is difficult to conceive how *Çentamil* words and forms could have been employed in *Sâsanas*, which are generally written in the plainest language possible.

in the eighth century in a state of formation, but of gradual disappearance. For if the tendency of the language in the eighth century was to introduce the new forms of words which is styled *Çentamil*, with the stimulus given to that supposed innovation in the ninth and the succeeding centuries, we should have more of those words in daily use now than during the eighth century. The truth, however, seems to be the reverse of this. The language, instead of marching in that direction, seems to be receding from it, and divests itself daily and unconsciously of the older *Çentamil* words and forms.

From what has been said above, it results, then, that the ancient Tamils were in possession of an alphabetical system and a certain amount of literature independent of Sanskrit. The *Çentamil* having received a partial culture during an indefinitely long period, had become divided into a poetical and colloquial dialect even so early as the time of Agastya. The age of Agastya¹ was in reality a new era in the history of Tamil literature. It was then that Sanskrit influence first began to be felt. Northern religions and social institutions were introduced, and the Brahmanical priesthood, and in its train Buddhists, Nirgranthas, Ajîvakas, and other sects began to pour upon the South. It was then that grammars modelled on those of Vedic schools were first propounded by Agastya and his followers. It was then that literature exclusively Drâvidian was replaced by Northern traditions and legends. The national literature was slowly modified, its legends transformed, its heroes amalgamated with or lost in the personality of those of the North, and its gods absorbed with a change of name into the Brahmanical pantheon. This process of gradual change and assimilation

¹ By Agastya I do not of course mean the mythological personage who drank the ocean, and who is supposed by ignorant people to be still living in the Podiya mountain. I only speak of the historical predecessor of Tolkâppiyam, and the author of the grammatical treatise called Agattiyam, quotations from which are cited in old grammars. It has been the fate of all eminent men in India at all times to have their whole history overclouded by and lost in a host of absurd legends. The childish stories current of the great Panini, of his distinguished successor Patanjali, and indeed of all celebrated men of antiquity, are familiar to students of old Indian literature.

was a *fait accompli* before the second century A.D., for in Ptolemy and in the Periplus of the Red Sea, the most Southern point of India is known by its Sanskrit name of Kumari.¹ The soul, then, of the old Drâvidian literature had taken its flight with the advent of Sanskrit, while the body only has survived with a new life infused into it. The old language only, the *Çentamil*, that which served as a medium of thought to ancient Tamil poets and bards, remains unaltered, for it could not be easily changed. It had already become fixed, it was rich in resources, it had many different kinds of verses and metres full of rhythm and euphony. It was in some sort the language of the Dravidian troubadours. It was impossible to recast it on a Sanskrit mould, as was done with regard to Canarese and Telugu. So it was left untouched, and has survived to this day unconscious of its origin, and a puzzle to the philologist.

Are there any traces, however small, it may be asked, of this older purely Drâvidian literature? In spite of the complete transformation which the ancient Tamil literature has gradually and almost imperceptibly undergone, the comparative process is again going to reveal to us some interesting vestiges of it in the existing literature of the present day. It is the grammatical authors alone who have preserved many of the old peculiarities, and can furnish a trustworthy clue. The Tamil grammarians from the time of Agastya have incorporated, it seems to me, into their grammatical treatises, composed on Sanskrit models, a portion of

¹ The theory of Dr. Caldwell that Jainism must have existed as an undeveloped esoteric faith in the eighth century, and as some considerable portion of the early Tamil literature which we possess is Jaina, the oldest Tamil work could not have been older than the eighth century, is no longer tenable at the present day. Such a hypothesis was no doubt in accord with what little was known of the Jaina sects at the time when the "Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages" was first written. Asoka inscriptions now clearly prove the existence of the Nirgrantha Jains in the third century B.C. Varaha-Mihira in the fifth century A.D. gives even the form and appearance of Jain idols (Dr. Kern's *Brihat-Sanhitâ*, chap. 58, 45). Hiwen Tshang testifies that during his visit to India the Nirgranthas were more numerous in the South than elsewhere (see *Voyages des Pelerins Bouddhists*, par Stan. Julien, vol. vi. p. 119). See also Colonel Yule's "Marco Polo," vol. ii. p. 271, for an able discussion of the age of Sundara Pândiyan, in which the Colonel assigns that king to the eleventh century, and not to the fourteenth, as does Dr. Caldwell.



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away by the enemy. The warrior who thus vindicated the honour of his chief and people, had the distinction of being crowned with a garland of *Karandai* or sweet basil. 3. Invading the territory of the enemy. The aggrieved or the aggressor, as the case may be, desires to settle a pending dispute by the arbitrament of war, and marches on the enemy. To the warrior who in an attempt of this nature successfully attacks the enemy is reserved the honour of wearing a garland of *Vanchi*. 4. The next stage is resisting an invading enemy. He who offered a valiant resistance to the assailants was entitled to a garland of *Kānchi*. 5. Defending one's fortress. Those who distinguished themselves in that undertaking wore a garland of *Noch'i*. The enemy who is besieged is forced by necessity or otherwise to fight. 6. So the next head is fighting. Valiant men, who courted danger and flew to battle, adorned themselves with a garland of *Tumbai* (*Phlomis indica*). 7. The next stage is gaining the victory, and the heroes who had by prowess of arms vanquished their foes, wore proudly garlands of *Vāgai* (*Mimosa flexuosa*). Victory, however brilliant, would be useless unless the enemy was rendered powerless. 8. So the last step was taking possession of the fortified places of the enemy. The warriors who succeeded in this sort of exploit were crowned with garlands of *Uliṇai*¹ (*Illecebrum lanatum*).

I need hardly say that the state of society which we infer from the above carries us back to remote times, to the beginnings of Drâvidian society, to a semi-agricultural and nomadic state, when the chief wealth of a tribe consists of cattle.

Agap' Poruḷ treats of love, and is conventionally divided into three heads. The first two of the three heads, though

¹ Wearing long hair was an ancient Drâvidian custom, and warriors are described as wearing flowers on their *kondai* (knot of hair) after their victories over the enemy. The Singhalese, among whom the custom is in vogue at the present day, have evidently copied it from their neighbours, with many other customs, habits, and even elements of civilization. It was certainly not a Brâhmanic custom, and could not be said to have been imported from Magadha. The imitation seems to have taken place very early, for Agathomerus, a Greek geographer of the third century A.D., describes the Singhalese as cherishing their hair like women. The Singhalese word itself *kondai*, signifying a knot of hair, is manifestly borrowed from the Tamil.

introduced incidentally to play a subordinate part to the third, are, it seems to me, of the utmost importance historically, as furnishing an insight into the constitution of the ancient Drâvidian society in pre-Sanskritic times. The most notable points we gather from them were the absence of caste, and of organized kingdoms with crowned chiefs. There were then five different communities, scattered in various parts of the country, and living apart by clans, each having its own tutelary deities, chiefs, habits, and manner of living. With the introduction of the Brahmanical sacerdotalism the names of the indigenous deities were gradually replaced, it seems to me, at least in poetical compositions, by those of the Vedic, an innovation which was naturally to be expected. Those communities were: 1. Marutanilamâkkaḷ or agricultural tribes. 2. Kurinchimâkkaḷ or semi-agricultural tribes. 3. Mullaimâkkaḷ or pastoral tribes. 4. Neydamâkkaḷ or fishing tribes, and 5. Palaimâkkaḷ or nomad tribes.

1. Marutamâkkaḷ or agricultural tribes. They consisted of *maravar* (ploughmen), who inhabited fertile and well-watered spots called *marutanilam*, so called from the *maruta* trees (*Terminalia alata*), which flourish in the vicinity of water. Their tutelary deity lost his local name and was merged in the personality of the Vedic Indra.¹ They lived upon rice, which they produced, and drank the water of rivers which ran past their fields. Their occupation consisted of sowing, ploughing, reaping, and celebrating festivals. On festive occasions, and in marching to war, they beat a drum called *parrai*.² They had also a kind of stringed musical instrument on which they sang a tribal air

¹ I venture to think that Dionysus, said by Megasthenes to have been worshipped by the inhabitants of the mountains, was not Çivâ, as is generally supposed, but Skanda, and that Hercules, worshipped by the people of the plains, was not Vishnu, but Indra. This seems to result from the fact that the first northern colonists to the south identified the god of the Drâvidian mountaineers with Skanda, and the god of the agricultural tribes with Indra, designations which they must have given in conformity with the usage of the north.

² The ancestors of parraiyyar (Pariahs) of the present day, the beaters of *paræ* (drum), which is still their occupation in remote country villages, were originally the slaves of the Vellâlar, and their chief occupation from the remotest time seems to have been beating the drum. In patriarchal and martial times they beat the war-drums of the agricultural tribes, and at the present day they discharge the same functions more peaceably on certain festive and other occasions.

called *marutam*. Their towns were called *perûr* (large village) and *mûdur* (old village), and their chiefs were called *ûran* (lord of the village) or *kiravan*¹ (elder, owner).

It seems from the above that the termination *ûr*, added to the names of large towns and even districts at present (as Tanjâvûr, Nallûr), was originally the name of agricultural villages.

Also the word *kiravan* seems to throw some light on the origin of the Pâṇḍiyas. The words *kiravan* and *pâṇḍiyan* are in *Çentamil* synonymous, and at first meant an old man or elder. When nomad communities settle down to agriculture, the old men, who were before burdens to their descendants, become their acknowledged heads, and begin to exercise at first a sort of patriarchal authority over them. With the increase of family this power augments, and he becomes a chieftain. The first of the Pâṇḍiyans appears to have been precisely one of those patriarchs of an agricultural community, as his name seems to imply, who perhaps by conquering some of the adjoining tribes had become a sovereign. This seems to be confirmed by tradition, which describes the first of the Pâṇḍiyas as a Vellâlan, the principal landowner caste in all Drâvidian countries. It was no doubt the first Brâhmanical adventurers from the North, who, finding an apparent similitude of names, traced some connection between the Pâṇḍavas of the North and Pâṇḍiyas of the South, and assigned the latter to Chandravamsa.

I also conjecture that Madura, the ancient capital of the Pâṇḍiyas, was only a Sanskritized form of Mûdûr, the old name for the town of an agricultural community. The

¹ Kira = paṇḍu = old. The word *kiravan* seems to contain a vast lore of ancient history in itself. Thus in *Çentamil*, *kiravan* 'an old man,' comes gradually to signify 'a chief,' perhaps with the evolution of society from a nomadic to a settled state. Then it comes to mean 'a proprietor,' implying appropriation of land by the lords of the tribes. The word *pâṇḍiyan*, anciently the synonym of *kiravan*, had advanced in parallel lines with the latter until it came to signify 'a chief,' and then has become fixed by becoming the designation of a particular dynasty of kings. The word *kiravan*, less fortunate than its rival *pâṇḍiyan*, came latterly to signify a mere village chief (see Periya Purâna). In its third stage, meaning 'a proprietor,' *kiravan* has found a synonym in *Uḍaiyân* (lit. 'proprietor'), a term which still continues to designate 'a village head man' among the Tamils. The latter word (*Uḍaiyân*) has itself been luckier than *kiravan*, for after the fall of the Pâṇḍiya dynasty a succession of Uḍaiyâr reigned for a time at Madura.



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dark complexion. Their land was the abode of stags, hares and wild fowls, on which they fed, as well as on the produce of their cattle and grains, which they obtained by exchange. Grappling with bulls, dancing hand in hand with young cowherdresses on luxuriant meadows where their cattle grazed, and playing on their flutes the tribal air of their clans called *câdâri*, such were the favourite pastimes of the youthful cowherds. They lived in villages called *pâdi* (from *pâdu* 'sing'), so named perhaps from the clamorous songs and joyous sounds in which their inhabitants delighted, in addition to their bucolic sports. The word *pâdi* again is preserved in the names of many towns and villages in Tamil-speaking countries. Their tribal drum was called *pambai*.

4. Neytamâkkal, or fishing tribes. They lived along the sea-coast in small fishing villages called *pattanam* or *pâkkan*. Their occupation consisted in fishing, fish-curing, and salt-making, and fish entered largely into their daily consumption. They paid adoration to a god who was the Drâvidian counterpart of Varuṇa. They made use of a drum similar to that of the pastoral tribes, and played a flute called *vilari*. Their chiefs were called *cerppan* or *pulamban*.

Here we find a curious account of the history of the word *pattanam* or *patnam*. Originally applied to small fishing villages, *patnam* now designates only large towns and cities, such as Çennapatnam (Madras), Muslipatam. This is evidently from the circumstance that fishing villages generally rose to importance by maritime commerce, and very often attained the proportion of large cities. It seems also extremely probable that all the towns on the sea-coast bearing the termination of *pattanam* (or its abbreviation of

168, and a masterly refutation of it by Barth, *The Religions of India*, pp 218-223. Also see Monier Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, p. 153.) From the occurrence of the name of Krishna in connection with pastoral tribes, even among the Drâvidians, we are led to infer that he was considered as patron of the pastoral tribes in Northern India, and was so identified by the colonists from the north. The omission of his name in the Vedas was perhaps owing to the fact that he was not an Aryan god in the earliest times, and was only worshipped by the surrounding aborigines in the North. The name of Krishna occurs however as early as the time of Pânini, fourth century B.C. (Pânini, iv. 3, 87).

go upon the old lines of tribal distinction.¹ The reason why Manu styled the Drâvidian Vellâlar as degraded Kshatriyas was doubtless owing to the fact that the first Brahman settlers found them almost in exclusive possession of land like the Kshatriyas of the North, while they practised none of the external rites and ceremonies incidental to that caste. As in primitive society, external forms and rites were of the highest importance, those who failed to practise that rigorous formalism were naturally regarded as degraded.

¹ The Singhalese, who had borrowed most of their social and political institutions, laws, arts, and sciences from the Tamils, have adopted the distinction of caste also on the same model as the Tamils. Their castes too have nothing in common with the fourfold division of the Âryans of Northern India. Even the word Vellâla, which designates the highest caste among them, is undoubtedly no other than the Tamil Vellâlar. They are equally indebted to the same source for the word *mudaliyâr*, much prized among them as a title of honour.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

It is but fair to state that, owing to unavoidable causes, the foregoing paper has not had the advantage of the writer's personal revision. Dr. Pope, Professor of Tamil at Oxford, one of our most distinguished members and contributors, has very kindly checked the transliteration of native words: but there has been scarcely any, even literal, modification in the text of the original MS.

modern), Kurumbukôtlai, etc. Tondamaṇḍalam, of which the ancient capital was Kânci, is said to have been conquered from the nomadic tribes by a Chola lieutenant called Adondai, and to have been distributed by him to clans of Vêlḷâlar. The name of Kânci already occurs in Patanjali, and some of the names of places given to them by the Vêlḷâla colonists are to be seen in Ptolemy's tables. Kânci afterwards became the capital of the celebrated Paḷlava dynasty, to which are attributed the works of Amarâvati and Mahâ-mallapura.

It is very interesting to observe that in India, where everything becomes fossilized, the five different tribes above enumerated have continued to exist side by side for centuries, some of them even to the present day, with their characteristic habits and manners. There are still people called Kaḷḷar (thieves) and Marravar, descendants of the old nomads, and Kurraver or foresters.

The distinction of caste¹ was unknown to the ancient Drâvidians, and was of course introduced by Northern colonists. Before the introduction of the caste system, the patriarchal communities of the South had become organized states. One at least of the chiefs of the agricultural communities, a *kiṛavan* or *pâṇḍiyan*, had subdued the neighbouring chiefs with the help of his clans, called Vêlḷâlar, and had assumed regal power in this *Mudûr* (or Madura). The conquered lands were naturally divided among the Vêlḷâla clans, who became a class of hereditary landowners,² and reduced the neighbouring tribes to a sort of quasi-feudal dependence. The caste distinction brought by the Brahmans, although it was in theory the same as in Northern India, was radically different in practice among the Drâvidians, and continued to

¹ This is borne out by the fact that no express mention is made of any caste. No allusion is made to Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, or Sudras. The only distinction is between the high (Uyarntôr) and the low (Iṛintôr). So there were only patricians and plebeians, lords and slaves, as we find in all primitive communities, and no caste.

² Papers on Mirasi Rights, Ellis. Also Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. Vol. I. p. 296. Tondaimandalam is said to have been colonized by Vêlḷâlar, among whom the land was divided in Kâniyâdchi (absolute ownership), with eighteen Kuḍimakkal as their servants.



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ART. XVIII.—*Were Zenobia and Zebbā'u Identical?* By J.
W. REDHOUSE, M.R.A.S., C.M.G., Litt.D., etc.

THE French translators of the "Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems," by the Arabian traveller and writer Mes'ūdiyy, who composed this book in A.H. 332 (A.D. 943), refer their readers, in their general index, from the name of Zebbā'u, which they have unaccountably transliterated as "Zibba," to "Zenobie," though they never once use this latter name in the eighteen pages (vol. iii. pp. 181-198) of the work devoted to the history of this princess. Neither have they said one word in their notes to that part of the volume to show how Zebbā'u may be identified with Zenobia. (But see the concluding passages to this paper on p. 596.)

Possibly, some other continental writer, of whom I confess myself entirely ignorant, may have discussed the question, and to his own satisfaction clearly established the identity of the two princesses, who, though nearly contemporaneous, were not quite so, whose territories were not quite the same, whose capitals were distinct, and whose reported histories differ widely from one another.

The system of transliteration of Arabian names used by those translators, too, is exceptionally incorrect, even when we admit that every one is free to adopt or invent for this purpose such system as he may prefer, so long as he does not corrupt the names. Both Jewheriyy and Fīrūzābādiyy, in their lexicons, give the names of Zebbā' and Jedhīma (which, in the usual inaccurate system, would be written Zabbā or Zabbā and Jaḍīmah or Jaḍīmah), and there is really no excuse for corrupting them into "Zibba" and "Djodaimah."

Other vicious transliterations abound in this work. I pass them over in silence here, and gladly hasten to offer my tribute of admiration for the generally successful manner in which the difficulties of the translation have been surmounted. The onerous task of collating and editing the Arabic text, again, has been extremely well performed, and the warmest thanks of Orientalists have been abundantly merited on the whole, so as greatly to increase one's regret at feeling compelled to find fault with a mere detail.

I have observed that the eminent scholar, Professor W. Robertson Smith, in his recent, very learned treatise on Kinship and Marriage among the Early Arabs, has adopted the theory of the identity of Zebbā'u and Zenobia. I feel, therefore, doubly bound to weigh the discrepancies with the greatest care, and to lay my difficulties before the Royal Asiatic Society with the utmost diffidence. Should there be a possibility for the Members of that learned body and for Orientalists in general, here and on the continent, in India and in America, to judge that I have not done wrong in directing their attention to the apparent incompatibilities that have caused me to doubt, I shall be amply repaid for the labour of preparing this paper; and in any case, I venture to hope they will pardon any excess of zeal in seeking for the truth, if they are led to conclude that I have not succeeded in fully establishing my contention.

Mediæval writers generally, and eastern mediæval authors in particular, are not very accurate or discriminating in relating the details of events that occurred before their time, or in countries other than their own. We have to weigh, as is indeed so necessary even with accounts of our own contemporary domestic events, one statement with another, and thus determine as best we may what we consider to be the truth. For example, here is our gossiping Mes'ūdiyy, a kind of Arabian Herodotus, who relates, on the one hand, how 'Amr son of 'Adiyy, nephew of Jedhīma the Leper, killed Zebbā'u

in about the twenty-fifth year of the Sāsāniyy dynasty, A.D. 251, founded the Lakhmiyy succession at Hira, and reigned a hundred years, goes on then to give in detail the list of his successors and the length of every reign, until Khusrew-Perwiz (King of Persia from A.D. 590 to 628) put an end to the series by causing its last prince, Nu'mān, to be trodden to death under the feet of an elephant exactly five hundred years later, i.e. in A.D. $251 + 500 = 751$; to which must yet be added a period of somewhat more than 26 years for an unknown remnant of the reign of that king, and the 26 that elapsed after him before the Arabian conquest of Persia in A.D. 651. If we allow only four years for the remnant, we shall arrive at A.D. 781 instead of 651; that is, Mes'ūdiyy has exaggerated the Lakhmiyy period by 130 years. On the other hand, he has curtailed the reigns of the Gassān line from thirty-four princes to twelve; he names seven only of these, Nos. 3, 5, 9, 20, 26, 29, and 34 of the chronological table to be found further on, and he does not give the length of the reign of any one of them. He thus reduces the house of Gassān to a mere fraction of its totality, while its rival of Lakhm is made to appear more ancient and more important than it really was.

To put my readers in a position to judge of all the phases of the question known to myself, it may be of interest to them to be informed that although, as above stated, the notes to the eighteen pages of Mes'ūdiyy's *Meadows of Gold* directly concerned with the history of Zebbā'u give no clue to her identification with Zenobia, a note to an incidental recurrence of her name on p. 275 of the same volume gives a reference to the valued work of an eminent French Orientalist, M. Caussin de Perceval, entitled "Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'islamisme," etc., published in Paris in 1847, and in which the learned author, to his own satisfaction (as observed above), and in agreement with a previous "conjecture" by the equally esteemed *savant* M.



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Jezīmetu 'l-'Ebresh (Jezīma the Leper), king or prince of Hīra and 'Anbār, had killed the father of Zebbā'u, and had taken possession of his territories. But Zebbā'u, with much trouble, had regained her dominions and had managed to compass the destruction of Jezīma himself, as is related in books of history and in books of proverbs. The proverb: 'For a purpose did Qaşır cut off his own nose,' took its rise out of her history."

This amplification of the story by the Turkish Qāmūs assumes that the "Jezīra" mentioned in the Şihāḥ as well as in the Arabic Qāmūs, and which usually (besides other significations) means *Mesopotamia*, here stands for the town of Jezīretu-'bni-'Umer. This is the ancient "Bezabde," a strongly fortified city on a rocky island in the river Tigris, some seventy or eighty miles above Mewşil (*Mosul* of maps), and in latitude 37° 27' N. longitude 42° 2' E., in the neighbourhood of Jebel Jūdiyy, the "Ararat" on which, according to all Arabian legend, Noah's ark rested on the subsidence of the deluge; our modern Christian Ararat in Armenia being unknown to Arabians. The assumption is probably founded on some legendary basis, but it is not in accordance with the details of the story of Zebbā and Jedhīma, as given by Mes'ūdiyy, where the river Tigris is not once alluded to, the Euphrates alone being there in question.

Mes'ūdiyy's account might now be given, as re-translated by myself, had a few more pages been available, but in default of space, reference, if required, must be made to the French versions. The passages I had selected show how unreliable are the stories told by Arabian authors relating to times anterior to Islām. Here we have a Sumeyda', son of Hewber, king of the Amalekites, and fighting against Joshua son of Nun (about fourteen hundred years before our Era); and then we have his son 'Udheyna made king by the Romans. If this 'Udheyna be intended for the Odenathus of

Roman History, husband of Zenobia, and murdered with her suspected privity in A.D. 266, the story would appear to suppose that Sumeyda's life extended to the ultra-Methuselah period of about 1600 years, though it may be contended that 'Udhey^{na}, the son of Joshua's contemporary, was not the same person with the 'Udhey^{na} of whom the Zebbā'u of Mes'ūdiyy was the great-great-great-granddaughter.

I find in Numbers xxvi. 32, mention made of a contemporary of Joshua who was named Sumeyda', الشَّمِيدَعُ, שְׁמִידָע, rendered "Shemida" in our version. The two names are evidently one, and this one had perhaps been foisted into Arabian history by some zealous Jewish convert to 'Islām in its very early days. I do not find that Joshua fought the Amalekites in any other battle than that at Rephidim, and no king's name is mentioned there. The Shemida of our version was a Jew, chief of a family that was a branch of the half-tribe of Manasseh.

But the 'Udhey^{na} who was a king under the Romans, and was great-great-great-grandfather to Zebbā'u, could not be Odenathus husband to Zenobia. Neither, by Mes'ūdiyy's account, could she be the Roman Zenobia, wife and widow of Odenathus, who had had a former husband before Odenathus, and a son named "Waballath" or "Athenodorus" by that husband. From this alias we may infer that the son's correct Arabic name was Wehbu-'l-Lāt, the Gift of (the goddess) Lāt, اللَّاتُ; and that Lāt was considered to be Athene, Minerva, as far as he was concerned. Zebbā'u was a virgin when wooed by Jedhīma the Leper, her father's slayer; she must be supposed to have been so when she put him to death; and there is no mention of her having changed her condition after that event, until she fell a victim herself to the plot of Qasir. Whereas the Roman Zenobia, twice a wife, had two families; for "her surviving son" was made king of a petty state in Armenia, and "her daughters were married into noble Roman families."

Jedhīma is said by Mes'ūdiyy to have lived twenty-three years during the reigns of Artaxerxes son of Bābek, and of Sapor the First, son of Artaxerxes. This Artaxerxes is held by chronologists to have become king of Persia in A.D. 226, reigning till A.D. 240, and being succeeded by Sapor, who died in A.D. 273. Jedhīma, then, must have been put to death by Zebbā'u in A.D. 249, and she may have been killed by 'Amr, nephew to Jedhīma, with the help of Qaşır, in about A.D. 251; whereas Zenobia was captured by Aurelian in A.D. 273, the year of Sapor's death, and was carried to Italy in A.D. 274, never again quitting the land of her exile. That is to say, Zebbā'u the virgin was killed twenty-three years, or so, before Zenobia, the twice-married wife, widow, and mother of sons and daughters, was carried alive, as captive, to Rome. Can it be possible, under these circumstances, that Zebbā'u was Zenobia?

Another very mark-worthy difference between the two queens is, that while Zenobia was queen of Palmyra, the Tedmur of the Hebrews and Arabians (تدمر, תדמר), which words appear to be related to *destruction*, and have no connection with the date-palm or the dry date-fruit, تمر, تَمْر, as some have said they have), with a dominion extending to the frontiers of Bithynia, the city of Zebbā'u was on the west bank of the Euphrates, somewhere between Circesium and Thapsacus. Tedmur is never once mentioned by Mes'ūdiyy in his story of Zebbā'u, nor does he mention Zebbā'u in his notices of Tedmur. This would be surprising if Zebbā'u were Zenobia, for Tedmur has always been famous among the Arabians, as the city built for Solomon by his vassal genii.

Zebbā'u is only a nickname, meaning the hirsute or long-haired woman. Her real name is said to have been Nā'ila, نَائِلَة; and out of the nickname Zebbā'u one cannot possibly form the word Zenobia, though we have seen that Odenathus is a corruption of the Arabic 'Udheyne. We may conjecture



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Zebbā'u, therefore, must have lived at a date more remote still from that of Zenobia's captivity, and be so much further removed from identity with Zenobia. If a Zebbā'u were really mother of Ḥassān son of 'Udhey^una, such Zebbā'u and such 'Udhey^una must have lived more than a hundred years before Zenobia and Odenathus.

Mes'ūdiyy, then, writing in A.H. 332 (A.D. 943), leaves the question very strongly decided against the possible identity of his Zebbā'u with the Roman Zenobia of Palmyra.

In the History of the Resūliyy dynasty of Yemen by Ḥasan son of 'Aliyy, 'El-Khazrejiyy, of which a unique manuscript copy exists in the Library of the India Office, a gift of Warren Hastings, there is recorded in the preliminary chapter, from an older work by 'Ebū-'l-Ḥasan Ḥamza son of Ḥasan, of 'Ispāhān, supplemented from other writers, the whole list of thirty-four princes of the Gassān line who acted as viceroys of Rome in trans-Jordanic Syria, from the time when they overcame their Selīḥ predecessors in that high office, until the last of the line was expelled from the province by the victorious hosts of 'Islām in the time of the second caliph, 'Umer son of 'El-Khaṭṭāb, in about A.D. 639. The Resūliyy dynasty claimed to be the descendants of the fugitive; and for this reason the ancient history of the line possessed a special interest for them. The length of the reign of each Syrian prince of the house of Gassān is given, with a few exceptions, so as to reach a total of 616 years.

The third king of the Syrian line, Ḥārith the Great, is apparently the "Aretas the King" of 2 Corinthians xi. 12, who ruled for twenty-two years. The conversion of St. Paul at Damascus is put in A.D. 35, when he had to escape thence by stealth, by reason that "the governor under Aretas the king kept the city of the Damascenes, desirous to apprehend" him.

But this king, Ḥārith the Great, was also father-in-law to Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, murderer of John the

Baptist, to whom Pilate, according to St. Luke, sent Jesus before he delivered him over to the Jews for execution. When Herod took to wife the profligate Herodias, the wife of his own brother, the daughter of Hārith quitted him in disgust, and Hārith invaded the territory of Herod, inflicting a defeat on his forces. This must have been before A.D. 38, when Herod, after the death of Tiberius, went to Rome and was exiled, first to Gaul, and then to Spain, where he died. It was, perhaps, about the year A.D. 34, after the death of John the Baptist and the crucifixion. Herod had then been tetrarch about thirty-four years, having been appointed on the death of his father B.C. 4. If Hārith began to reign as late as A.D. 33, one year before he punished Herod, then, as his father, 'Amr son of Jefna, reigned only five years, his grandfather Jefna, the conqueror of the Selīḥ tribe, will have died in A.D. 28, only five years after the date of his victory, as $639-616 = \text{A.D. } 23$, the date of the commencement of the Gassān supremacy. This being accepted as, at any rate, approximately correct, the dates of reigns of the Gassān princes will fall as in the following table:—

CHRONOLOGY OF THE SYRIAN PRINCES OF GASSĀN.

	B.C.
1. Jefna 1, son of 'Amr, son of 'Āmir becomes prince	17
,, defeats the Selīḥ tribe and becomes king .	23
,, dies, having been prince and king 45 years	28
2. His son 'Amr I. reigns 5 years, dying	33
3. His son Hārith I. the Great (Aretas), reigns 22	55
4. His brother Tha'leba reigns 17	72
5. His son Hārith II. the Halting, reigns 20	92
6. His son Jebela I. reigns 40	132
7. His son Hārith III. the Less, reigns 10	142

			A.D.
8.	His son <u>Mundhir</u> I. reigns 3	dying	145
9.	His brother Nu'mān I. the Great, 15	„	160
10.	His brother Nu'mān II. the Younger, 13	„	173
11.	His brother <u>Jebela</u> II. reigns 34	„	207
12.	His brother 'Eyhem I. reigns 3	„	210
13.	His brother 'Amr II. reigns 26		236
14.	The son of Nu'mān (9), <u>Jefna</u> II. 3	„	239
15.	Nu'mān III. grandson of <u>Mundhir</u> (8), reigns 1	„	240
16.	Nu'mān IV. son of 'Amr bin <u>Mundhir</u> bin <u>Mundhir</u> (VIII). 27	„	267
17.	<u>Jebela</u> III. son of Nu'mān, reigns 16		283
18.	Nu'mān V. son of 'Eyhem bin <u>Hārith</u> , reigns 22	„	305
19.	Nu'mān VI. son of <u>Hārith</u> bin 'Eyhem, reigns 18		323
20.	<u>Mundhir</u> II. son of <u>Hārith</u> bin 'Eyhem, reigns 32		355
21.	<u>Mūndhir</u> III. son of Nu'mān, reigns 19		374
22.	'Amr III. son of Nu'mān, reigns 33		407
23.	<u>Hujr</u> , son of Nu'mān, reigns 26		433
24.	<u>Hārith</u> IV. son of <u>Hujr</u> , reigns 12		445
25.	<u>Jebela</u> IV. son of <u>Hārith</u> , reigns 19		446
26.	<u>Hārith</u> V, son of <u>Jebela</u> , reigns 21		485
27.	Nu'mān VII. son of <u>Hārith</u> , reigns 37		522
28.	'Amr IV. 'Ebū <u>Shemir</u> , reigns 25		547
29.	'Awf, son of 'Amr 'Ebū- <u>Shemir</u> , 45		592
30.	'Eyhem II, son of <u>Jebela</u> bin <u>Hārith</u> , reigns 29		621
31.	<u>Mundhir</u> IV. son of <u>Jebela</u> bin <u>Hārith</u> , reigns 1		622
32.	'Amr V. son of <u>Jebela</u> bin <u>Hārith</u> , 10	„	632
33.	<u>Jebela</u> V. son of <u>Hārith</u> bin <u>Jebela</u> , 4	„	636
34.	<u>Jebela</u> VI. son of 'Eyhem bin <u>Jebela</u> , 3	expelled	639



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Jebela VI., in A.D. 639, after he had embraced 'Islām, and had accompanied the caliph 'Umer, on his return from Jerusalem, to the pilgrimage at Mekka. He was there performing the circumambulation of the Cubical House, his mantle was inadvertently trod upon by a man behind him, and he inflicted on the offender a blow in the face that knocked out some of his teeth. The injured man carried his suit before the caliph, who suggested to Jebela that he should compensate the man privately. Jebela urged due consideration for his princely rank; but 'Umer told him that all Muslims being brethren and equals before the law, he should himself feel bound to command open compensation if the complainant were not privately satisfied and so silenced. Jebela asked for a remand till the morrow, and this was accorded. He then decamped by night, repaired to Antioch, renounced 'Islām, and rejoined the Christian fold, fleeing shortly afterwards to Constantinople in the suite of the Roman Emperor Heraclius.

If the foregoing chronological table be approximately correct, then the thirteenth prince of the Gassān line, 'Amr II., son of Mundhir son of Hārith the Less, who ruled twenty-six years, was lord of the Arabians of trans-Jordanic Syria when 'Erd-Shir son of Bābek founded the Sāsānian monarchy of Persia in A.D. 226; the fifteenth, Nu'mān III., who ruled only one year, was prince when Sapor I. succeeded in A.D. 240; the sixteenth, Nu'mān IV., was ruling when Odenathus was murdered in A.D. 266; and the seventeenth, Jebela III., who reigned sixteen years, was on the throne when Sapor died in the same year that Zenobia was captured by Aurelian, A.D. 273, and carried to Rome in A.D. 274. But the father of this Jebela, the above-mentioned Nu'mān III., must have been still reigning when Jedhīma the Leper was put to death by Zebbā'u in A.D. 249, twenty-three years after the accession of 'Erd-Shir son of Bābek, and also when Zebbā'u was killed in turn by Jedhīma's nephew, 'Amr son of

'Adiyy, in about A.D. 251, twenty-three years before Zenobia was carried to Rome, never to return.

There is, however, a most important remark to offer here with respect to the date of Zebbā'u and of her death. Ḥamza of Isfāhān is far more correct and careful in his chronology than is Mes'ūdiyy, as has been shown by his list of the princes of Gassān, and the remarks on the exaggeration of Mes'ūdiyy in his list of the Lakhmiyy princes of Hira. But this exaggeration requires, according to Ḥamza's account of the Lakhmiyy dynasty, to be still further corrected in a way that throws the date of the death of Zebbā'u back nearly a century, and removes her far away from the time of Zenobia. It must be remembered that Ḥamza was really contemporaneous with Mes'ūdiyy, his book having been finished eighteen years only later than the date A.H. 332, so frequently adduced by Mes'ūdiyy in the Meadows of Gold. The correction is this: According to Ḥamza, instead of Jedhīma's having been killed and having been succeeded by his nephew 'Amr son of 'Adiyy in the year A.D. 249, the ninth year of Sapor I., and 23 years after the accession of Artaxerxes, Jedhīma was killed at such time that, out of 'Amr's total reign of 118 years (60 only being allowed to Jedhīma), ninety-five were past when Artaxerxes became king of Persia. Zebbā'u must then, by this chronology, have been killed by 'Amr about A.D. 156, in the reign of the Roman Emperor Antoninus Pius, one hundred and twenty-three years before Zenobia was defeated by Aurelian. The lengths of reigns assigned by Ḥamza to the Lakhmiyy princes that reigned at Hira after the death of 'Amr son of 'Adiyy, added together, make a total of 419 years, or more than thirty years over what is required to bring us up to the invasion of Hira by Khālid son of Welīd and the final overthrow of the Lakhmiyy dynasty. But as a reign of 114 years is given by Ḥamza to 'Imru'u-l-Qays, the successor of 'Amr son of 'Adiyy, those 31 years may be well deducted, so as still to leave him a

reign of 83 years, whereas Mes'ūdiyy gives him but a modicum of sixty, the length of reign of his son 'Amr, according to Ḥamza.

Should these details of the reigns of the Syrian viceroys of the Gassān line be found on investigation to be moderately correct, they will form in themselves a not uninteresting chapter of history, and may help to fix the date of many an obscure event connected with the Roman domination in Syria, and with the fortunes of Christianity there. The true history of the rival line of Lakḥm at Ḥira, descendants of Jedhīma's sister and her son 'Amr son of 'Adiyy, may be deduced from the contemporaries of the two lines, and from the known dates of the Sāsāniyy sovereigns of Persia; and hence the date of many an Arabian event may become determinable. It is not a little singular that no mention of Zebbā'u or Zenobia is found in them.



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Mandala rather risky. It is, according to him, an “ingénieuse mais très-aventureuse hypothèse.” Three years ago I pointed out certain facts which indicated that the First Mandala was a ritual, consisting of hymns selected from those of the various families of Rishis to whom other Mandalas are ascribed. M. Bergaigne does not attempt to discuss this view; he simply dismisses it with an epithet, and in its place he supplies an elaborate exposition of the Mandala, in the course of which he is driven to divide the book into sections, to split up single hymns into fragments, to imagine interpolations, to reject hymns altogether,¹ and having, by these hazardous courses, produced a number of clusters of hymns, he ends with the statement that, “on n’aperçoit qu’une seule succession à laquelle il semble possible d’attacher quelque importance.” Thus the entire explanation ends, to all intents and purposes, in a *fiasco*. In proof that I do not exaggerate, I cite M. Bergaigne’s final remark on this Mandala:—“Il est impossible qu’une samhita aussi systématique que celle qui comprend les Mandalas II.-VII., ait commencé originairement par le Mandala I. tout entier, sous sa forme actuelle. . . . Je ne vois donc que deux hypothèses possibles : ou bien le Mandala I. a été ajouté tout entier après coup ; ou bien il se composait primitivement d’une seule collection, qui est devenue le noyau autour duquel se sont groupées successivement les autres.”

This plain statement of defeat surely renders it desirable to adduce some of the additional evidence which I formerly withheld, confirmatory of my apparently bold assertion, that the First Mandala is, in reality, an orderly ritual. To make this clear, I will first indicate the influence under which the Sanhitâ was arranged; next, I will show that the First Mandala is, in a way, eclectic; thirdly, I will point out unmistakable evidence of orderly arrangement; and, lastly, I will adduce some proof of its ritualistic character.

1. It has long been known that the Ângirasas were greatly concerned in the arrangement of the entire Sanhitâ, and in

¹ At the end of his second paper, M. Bergaigne gives a list of 184 hymns, and parts of hymns, in the Rîg-Veda which he regards as interpolations.

the development of the ceremonial generally.¹ A very large number of the hymns in the Rig-Veda are directly ascribed to members of the Angiras family; and this also was the family which gave canonical sanction to the Atharva-Veda;² which must have been done at an early date, for the book is mentioned as a Veda in the Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa. The Śâṅkhâyana-sûtra (xvi. 1) particularly associates the Angiras family with the Soma.³ Shadguruśishya intimates, in one of his anecdotes, that the Ângirasas claimed authority over Maṇḍalas not ascribed to members of their family. It is related that Śaunahotra (of the Bhâradvâja branch of the Angiras family) pleased Indra, who thereupon changed his name to Gṛitsamada, and caused him to be born in the race of Bhrigu, and to become the seer of the Second Maṇḍala. This tale seems obviously designed to show that the Second Maṇḍala owes its existence to an ancient representative of the Angiras family. A further indication of union between the Ângirasas and the Bhârgavas is found in the fact that the Atharva-veda—the special child of the Angiras family—is known as the “Bhrigvangiras,” as well as the “Atharvângiras,” thus associating the name of Bhrigu with the production.⁴ Again, the story of Śunahsépha is calculated to show how deeply the Vaiśvâmitras are indebted to the Ângirasas, and indeed owe their very Brahmanhood to the dominant family.

The foregoing facts show that the Angiras family claimed an interest in nearly the whole of the First Maṇḍala, the Second, Third, Fourth, Sixth, Eighth, and portions of the Ninth and Tenth Maṇḍalas. A very similar state of things is found in the case of the *Ādi Granth*. That book is well known to have been arranged by the fifth Guru, Arjun; and, having counted the verses, I am able to state that, out of the 15,575 stanzas

¹ In the 83rd hymn of this Maṇḍala Gotama makes the following statements about his family: “The Ângirasas first prepared the sacrificial food, and then, with kindled fire, (worshipped) with a most holy rite: they, *the institutors* (of the ceremony), acquired all the wealth of Paṇi, comprising horses, and cows, and (other) animals.”

² See the 80th hymn of this Maṇḍala.

³ See Prof. Max Muller's *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 38.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 446.

which the book contains, no fewer than 6204 stanzas were composed by Arjun, the Arranger, himself.

The predominating influence of the Angiras family is further indicated by the fact that, of the Forty-nine Gotras into which the faithful were divided, no less than thirty-eight are those of Ângirasas, and their friends the Vaiśvâmitras and Bhârgavas. Surely here is enough to prove the powerful influence of this great family, and to relieve one of any charge of venturesomeness in ascribing the arrangement of the R̥ig-Veda to Angiras influence. In the First Maṇḍala this is yet further marked by the *exclusion* of Âtreya hymns, and by the *inclusion* of both branches of the Angiras family.

2. The eclectic character of the First Maṇḍala is demonstrated by the fact that it contains hymns of *seven out of the eight great families of R̥ishis*.¹ This, to my mind, is conclusive on the question. No other portion of the R̥ig-veda is of this mixed character. The Eighth Maṇḍala (which contains hymns by four families) is in no respect representative; for nearly all its hymns are by Ângirasas, the only exceptions being *one* by a Kâśyapa, *one* by an Âtreya, and *three* by Bhârgavas.

The First Maṇḍala was certainly intended to bring together representatives of the various families of R̥ishis. There are hymns by the Vaiśvâmitras, by both the Gautama and the Bhâradvâja branches of the Ângirasas, by the Vâsisht̥has, by the Kâśyapas, by the Bhârgavas, and by the Âgastyas. The hymns of these families are arranged in a definite order, as will be shown further on. The only family excluded is that of the Âtreyas; but there are reasons which satisfactorily account for this exclusion.

In the first place, the theology of the R̥ig-veda is pre-eminently Solar; and this is strikingly apparent in the First Maṇḍala. The R̥ishis represented in this Maṇḍala are, all of them, authors of hymns to Agni, the typical Solar deity. It is

¹ The Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa reckons only *seven* Brahmarshis, by omitting Agasti from its list; but Agasti is a Devarshi of the highest rank, and the progenitor of an orthodox Gotra or family.



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The Atreyas were the friends of the Gaupâyanas,¹ who were dismissed from their office of Purohita to the Ikshvâku race. They made themselves obnoxious in consequence of their dismissal; but were punished by the incantations of their rivals, who are termed *mâyâvin* "possessors of magic arts." When we remember that the Ângirasas were the Rishis of the Atharva-veda, we see, in this tradition, the record of an enmity between the believers in, and the disbelievers in, the magic formulæ of the Atharvans; and, as the Ângirasas ultimately gained the ascendancy, they excluded from their ritual the hymns of their opponents.

But this tradition has another phase. We know that Viśvâmitra and Vasishṭha were the rival orthodox Purohitas of the Ikshvâkus, and that Viśvâmitra was connected, in an especially cordial manner (by the Śunahsépha affair), with the great Angiras family. Here we have an additional reason for the exclusion, from an Ângirasas ritual, of the hymns written by the friends of those who had been dismissed by the Ikshvâkus, the patrons both of themselves and of their friends the Vaiśvâmitras.

The exclusion of the hymns of the Âtreya family from the First Maṇḍala is certainly remarkable; but the reasons given above are sufficiently cogent to account for it. It may be objected that it is not an easy thing to reject the hymns of an undoubted Devarshi, and unsettle the traditions of so conservative a faith as that of Brahmanism. To this I reply, that the Âtreyas do not seem to have been popular. They founded only two Gotras out of the Forty-nine, and were thus, apparently, but little known. Furthermore, the Lunar devotees may have been held to be sufficiently represented by the hymn of Kaśyapa, the pre-eminent Rishi of the Soma. The fact that the very centre of the Maṇḍala is given to the representative of the Soma or Lunar cult may well be held to have satisfied the claims of both the Âtreyas and the Kâśyapas.

The rejection of Atri's family necessarily reduced to six

¹ This is plainly shown by the inclusion of the Gaupâyana hymn in the Fifth or Âtreya Maṇḍala.

the number of families taking part in the ritual. A change in number is a far more patent fact than a change of names. There is abundant evidence to show that the ancient originators of Brahmanism were spoken of as the Seven Rishis. In order to make the First Mandala conform to this recognized number, after the rejection of Atri, the simple expedient was adopted of admitting both branches of the Angiras family. The Seven Rishis are not always mentioned under the same names. Conflicting lists of names are given in different works; and, although some of these varying names are equivalents of each other, the diversities are sufficient to show that the only thing settled was the number Seven. This number was preserved, as we have seen, by dividing the Ângirasas into two branches.

3. As to the arrangement of the First Mandala, my hypothesis is, that the Angiras family of worshippers of Agni by means of Soma, placed the *only hymn invoking Agni written by the peculiar Rishi of the Soma* (Kaśyapa), as a centre, in conjunction with the antique poem of the so-called Râjarshis, addressed to *Indra*. On each side of these they placed *their own hymns* to Agni and Indra, bearing the name of the progenitor of their race, the Devarshi Kutsa.¹ Outside these again were placed hymns from *the other branch of their family*, thereby monopolizing the posts of honour. Two other families were then admitted, one on each side, flanked by other collections of Ângirasa hymns; ending, at the two extremes, with the hymns of two other families. Whether my explanation of the *reason* is the right one, or not, the *fact* is indubitable, that the family clusters are arranged in the order I have stated.

I have conceived that this very methodical arrangement was intentional, and for liturgical purposes of an eclectic character. It is certainly remarkable that hymns of the

¹ The hymns are said to have been 'seen' by Kutsa, of the *race* of Angiras, or the *son* of Angiras; but the relationship of these remote progenitors is decidedly problematical. Kutsa may have been an old, or specially influential, member of the Bhâradvâja family, and may have been accounted a Devarshi in consequence; or, being already accounted a Devarshi, hymns ascribed to him may have been selected to represent the Bhâradvâja family. It is remarkable that Yâska, in his *Nirukta*, quotes *Kautsa* as a heterodox disbeliever.

Seven Rishis should be found arranged in this peculiar manner; and it is difficult to imagine that this could have occurred through mere accident, or that it could have been purposely done except for a liturgical object.

A startling confirmation of the truth of my suggestion is found in the fact that the *Âdi Granth* of the Sikhs is arranged on precisely the same system; and this was done, undoubtedly, for liturgical purposes. The *Âdi Granth*, as I showed in my paper last July, consists of three parts; the first contains the sacred texts used in daily prayer, and this is certainly of a liturgical character; the second contains the various Râgs, the equivalents of the Maṇḍalas II.-VII.; and the third part consists of a supplement, not unlike the Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Maṇḍalas. In this case, no doubt whatever exists as to the principle of arrangement, and it is, therefore, not unreasonable to conclude that similar causes produced similar effects in the case of the R̥ig-veda. I must confess that the more I study the First Maṇḍala, the more clearly does its liturgical character appear, and to abandon my hypothesis in favour of the explanation proposed by M. Bergaigne seems to me like quitting a Copernican to return to a Ptolemaic system. The orderly arrangement of this Maṇḍala will be further explained in the next paragraphs.

4. The foregoing facts make it clear to my mind that the First Maṇḍala is a collection of hymns intended to represent the families or Gotras of the Seven Rishis, the grand originators of the Brahmanic faith, and to unite in a single ceremonial observance the entire body of the orthodox. The next point to ascertain is, whether this Maṇḍala is really ritualistic in character. I have spoken of the difficulties and complications into which M. Bergaigne is driven by his rejection of my suggestion that the hymns are clustered round a centre represented by the hymn of Kaśyapa. Let any one compare M. Bergaigne's attempt with my simple exposition, and ask himself which is the more venturesome. I simply lay down the facts as we find them, which arrange themselves in the following manner:



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It will be seen that, starting from Kaśyapa, the hymns of this Maṇḍala fall naturally into five clusters on each side of it; and, therefore, the entire Maṇḍala consists of eleven divisions. These divisions exhibit themselves on mere inspection, and do not call for the smallest interference with the preserved text. It is an incontestable fact that there are eleven divisions, five on each side of a medial one, whether any special significance attaches to that fact, or not. The mere coincidence of these eleven divisions in an assortment of hymns representing the families of the Seven Ṛishis, instantly calls to the mind of every student of ancient Brahmanism the old Puroḷāśa offering in eleven receptacles.

With respect to this number 11, the Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa tells us that, at the Purushamedha, “for the initiation (there should be) *eleven* animals fit for Agni and Soma; for them there should be *eleven* sacrificial posts; *eleven* syllables are comprised in the Trisṭubh metre. The Trisṭubh is the thunderbolt—it is vigour . . . In the rite of consecration there should be *eleven* victims . . . because the victims are *elevenfold*, therefore, verily, is all this creation *elevenfold*. Prajâpati is *elevenfold*; all this is truly Prajâpati; all this is the Purushamedha, which is the means for the attainment and subjugation of all this.” This quotation is sufficient to show that an important sacrifice was really divided into eleven parts, and that a ritual might be expected to follow such an arrangement.

Orderly arrangement is, furthermore, indicated by the fact that the hymns of Kutsa are divided into two portions; those addressed to Agni being placed before the 99th hymn, and those to Indra after it. If we consider the 99th hymn as the medial act of a ceremonial, we then find that the hymns placed in immediate contiguity to it, on each side, are those bearing the name of *the great Devarshi representing the very family under whose influence we have excellent reason for believing that the entire Sanhitâ was arranged*. Again, if we consider the verse of Kaśyapa as a dividing line, we find that the Âprî hymn of the Bhâradvâjas occurs on one side of that line, and the Âprî hymn of the Gautamas on the

other side, thus conferring very special distinction on the Angiras family. Yet again, it cannot fail to attract attention that, on one side of Kaśyapa's hymn there are two sets of Bhâradvâja hymns and one of Gautama, while, on the other side, quite systematically, there are two sets of Gautama hymns and one of Bhâradvâja. It would, indeed, be most remarkable if all this were the result of pure chance; more especially, when we remember that the hymns of Kutsa are quite peculiar in this fact of division, and that the effect is to place the praises of Agni and Indra on each side of a central hymn on the Soma, in conformity with the dictum that Agni and Indra share the Soma between them.

Patient investigation will, no doubt, reveal further confirmatory details; in the meantime it is well to point out that the First Mandala admits of division into eleven parts in another way, still without the least tampering with the text. This is effected by simply utilizing the fact that the hymns of Agasti are in three clusters, viz. those addressed to Indra and the Maruts (hymns 165-172); those celebrating Indra and the Aświns (hymns 173-183); and those devoted to Agni and the Sun (hymns 184-191). Room is found for these new divisions by bringing together the hymns of each family, thus absorbing a cluster of Bhâradvâja hymns on one side of Kaśyapa, and a cluster of Gautama hymns on the other side, in the following manner:

1. Vaiśvâmitra hymns (1-10).
2. Bhâradvâja hymns (11-64 and 95-98).
3. Vâsishṭha hymns (65-73).
4. Gautama hymns (74-94).
5. Kaśyapa and the Five Rishis (99, 100).
6. Bhâradvâja hymns (101-115).
7. Bhârgava hymns (128-140).
8. Gautama hymns (116-127 and 141-164).

Hymns of Agasti.

9. Indra and the Maruts (165-172).
10. Indra and the Aświns (173-183).
11. Agni and the Sun (184-191).

This last method of classification satisfies the rule of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa, that the Puroḷâśa is offered in eleven receptacles, eight of which belong to Agni, and three to Vishṇu. There is no difficulty with respect to the first eight divisions; they are all specially consecrated to Agni by beginning with that deity's hymns; for even the verse of Kaśyapa is addressed to Agni, although invoking a blessing on the libation of Soma. With respect to the hymns of Agasti, a careful inspection will show that there is nothing fanciful in this suggested division into three parts. They separate readily and naturally into clusters of 8, 11, and 8 hymns respectively. But a real objection to considering the hymns of Agasti as the portion of Vishṇu lies in their subject-matter. There seems no reason why hymns to Indra, the Maruts, the Aświns, Agni, and the Sun, should be held to represent Vishṇu in particular. Of course, as the Vishṇu of the Vedas is the deity of the fire on the hearth, while Agni is the ethereal or heavenly fire, the last portion may be held to celebrate the earthly or material fire, bearing the oblation from earth to heaven. It seems to me, however, far more probable that the entire ceremonial was completed in eleven acts, which were simply allotted in the proportions of 8 and 3 without particular reference to any part of the ritual. As a fact, furthermore, the material offering was divided into eleven portions in eleven platters, and the rule of division has, probably, reference solely to that fact, without involving a corresponding division of the hymns which accompanied the offering.

It is not a little remarkable, however, that the First Maṇḍala admits of division into eleven parts in a manner which separates the whole Maṇḍala into three well-defined clusters, with an Angiras Âprî hymn in the first and last; and Kaśyapa and its companion hymn occupy the centre of the middle cluster. This also is effected without the least interference with the text:



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worship"; and the 47th hymn speaks of the "*thrice-heaped sacred grass.*" The expression "*thrice eleven* divinities," which several times occurs, seems to connect the numbers 3 and 11 together.

The foregoing facts tend to prove still more plainly that the First Maṇḍala is systematically arranged; for, in whatever way we test it, we find that it presents features of regularity. This can only be the case when objects recur in an orderly series. Under such circumstances, from whatever point the search may start, an orderly succession is detected. The initial fact of orderly arrangement having been ascertained, the discussion can be narrowed to the discovery of the correct starting-point.

The arrangement which I think the true one is that set forth in my first paper, in 1884, where I place five sacrificial acts on each side of a middle point. The dogmatic allotment of eight of those parts to Agni, and three to Vishṇu, on account of the Gâyatrî metre and the three mythological steps, seems to belong to an epoch when the primitive ideas had become clouded with misapprehension.¹

There is one argument against the ritualistic character of the First Maṇḍala which demands consideration, and that is the fact that it contains three Âprî hymns. We know that each family was particular in the use of these hymns, and each claimed the right to introduce its own Âprî hymn at the sacrifices. If the First Maṇḍala is a general ritual, how is it that it contains, not seven Âprî hymns, one for each family, nor one Âprî hymn of the dominant party, but three Âprî hymns? As regards two of them we need feel no surprise; for they are the Âprî hymns of the two branches of the Angiras family; one of them being placed before, and the other after, the medial point marked by the hymn of Kaśyapa. The predominant influence of the Ângirasas renders this quite intelligible. Nothing can be more natural than the desire to include both these representative hymns;

¹ The legend that Vishṇu stepped three times is found in the 22nd hymn of this Maṇḍala; but the steps were taken "to uphold righteous acts," and Vishṇu was aided in the performance "by the *seven* metres," without allusion to the eight Gâyatrî feet.

one to be rehearsed towards the beginning, the other towards the end, of the ceremony.

But these two hymns exhibit a striking peculiarity. They consist of twelve and thirteen verses, respectively, whereas all the other Âprî hymns in the Rîg-veda contain only eleven verses each. The ordinary Âprî hymns invoke the Sun under either the name *Tanûnapât* or *Narâsansa*; these two hymns alone invoke the Sun under both those names, and this occasions their extra length. Here we have another plain proof, not only of orderly arrangement, but of designed eclecticism or selective combination. These two hymns were intended to express both forms of adoration; the verse invoking *Tanûnapât* gratifying the Agastyas, the Vaiśvâmitras, the Kâśyapas, and the Jamadagnyas; while that invoking *Narâsansa* must have been pleasing to the Bhârgavas, the Âtreyas, the Vâsishṭhas, and the Bâdhryasvas. This fact of *double intocation*, in the case of two Âprî hymns, just where (on the ritual theory) we should expect such a phenomenon to appear, is too remarkable to be set aside as a mere accident.

With respect to the third Âprî hymn, it is sufficient to remark that it is found among the hymns of Agasti at the end of the First Maṇḍala. This small batch of hymns contains all the hymns of the Rishi Agasti; and, if his Âprî hymn were not placed among them, it would have no place of rest in the canon, according to my theory of the arrangement of the Rîg-veda. This of itself is sufficient reason for its present position. There is only one other hymn of the Agastya race in the Rîg-veda, and that is one addressed to Soma in the Ninth Maṇḍala; accordingly, if the Âprî hymn of this family were rejected from the First Maṇḍala, it would have to form a Maṇḍala by itself. Furthermore, as the First Maṇḍala contains *all* the hymns of each Rishi whose hymns are included in it, there would be no valid reason for rejecting this hymn, which is ascribed to Agasti himself.

It is, at the same time, worth remarking that, according to the suggested division of this Maṇḍala into eight and three parts, respectively, the Âprî hymn of the Agastyas would fall

in the latter part, hypothetically devoted to Vishṇu. This would give eight parts and two Âprî hymns to Agni; and three parts and one Âprî hymn to Vishṇu. Another fact, of which more will be said presently, is that there are twice as many verses of the Agastyas in this Maṇḍala, as there are verses of the other Rishis, with the exception of the Ângirasas. This fact indicates, possibly, a partiality, which might also have been extended to the admission of the Âprî hymn of that family. On this point further investigation is needed. But surely there are sufficient facts in support of my hypothesis, to warrant the serious consideration of my views on this point.

The interesting question here not unnaturally suggests itself, why the head of each family should not have been selected as its most fitting representative. Why, for instance, should Madhuchchhandas be chosen to represent the Vaiśvâmitras, instead of Viśvâmitra himself? In this particular case we have the legend that Madhuchchhandas was the eldest of the sons of Viśvâmitra, who consented to recognize the leadership of Śunahśepha, after his adoption by their father. He received a special blessing in consequence of this dutiful conduct; and the prominent position assigned to his hymns as the first in the Maṇḍala is in conformity with the indications of the legend. Close upon the heels of the hymns of Madhuchchhandas come those of Śunahśepha himself, the first two of whose hymns are those which specially celebrate the circumstances which made him the link between the Ângirasas and the Vaiśvâmitras. This, of course, emphasizes the distinction conferred upon Madhuchchhandas, by implying that the story of Śunahśepha was in the mind of the Arranger, when he placed these hymns near each other.

It is not improbable that other circumstances, which at this distance of time do not readily catch attention, may have led, in a similar way, to the selection of the other Rishis as the representatives of their respective families. It is even possible that the term Śatarchin, applied to these Rishis, may indicate that, of all members of their families, their hymns approach nearest to a total of 100 *riches*. This is, in reality,



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quantities contributed by the different families bear relative proportions the one to the other; and the proportions which they bear to each other are exactly those which my previous arguments would have led the student to expect. The totals of the *riches* are as follows:—

Kâśyapas	1
The Five Rishis	19
Vâsishṭhas... ..	91
Bhârgavas... ..	100
Vaiśvâmitras	110
Agastyas	229
Gautamas	594
Bhâradvâjas	829
—	
Total	1973 <i>riches</i> .

Here we find that the apostle of the Soma is represented by unity; the Vâsishṭhas (the orthodox *antagonists* of the Ângirasas and their friends) are in a minority; the Bhârgavas and Vaiśvâmitras (*friends* of the Ângirasas) have more space accorded to them; while double their number of *riches* is allowed to Agasti, who sings of Agni and Indra exclusively (a champion of the Solar cult); but four times the space is given to the Gautamas, and eight times the space to the Bhâradvâjas. It must not be forgotten that Kutsa's hymns are placed on both sides of the middle of the Maṇḍala, and that he was a Bhâradvâja. This fact, and the enormous preponderance of Bhâradvâja verses in the Maṇḍala seem conclusively to prove that the Maṇḍala, and probably the entire Rig-Veda, as we possess it, were arranged by the Bhâradvâja branch of the Ângirasas, and that Kutsa's hymns are, in reality, placed in the post of honour, on each side of the 99–100th hymn, which indicates when the libation of Soma was poured out.¹

¹ I am, of course, aware that the particular Śâkhâ preserved to us is that of the Śâkalas, and this appears to have been the Śâkhâ followed by Śaunaka, of the Śunaka-gotra, of the Bhṛigu race. But this does not imply that the text we possess is the Bhârgava version, and therefore unsuitable as a foundation for

It is now necessary to examine this middle point a little more closely, in order to show that, like every other feature of this Maṇḍala, it lends its quota of proof to the hypothesis that the First Maṇḍala is a devotional ritual.

In the first place, as I pointed out three years ago, the libation of Soma was unquestionably the most solemn moment of the sacrifice ; and in the orderly arrangement of the hymns of the First Maṇḍala we find that the medial hymn consists of a single verse, plainly asking the blessing of Agni on the Libation then being offered. This remarkable hymn is ascribed to Kaśyapa, the pre-eminent Ṛishi of the Soma, and therefore the most appropriate Ṛishi to memorize when the Soma was being offered. All the hymns of the Kâśyapas, but two, are invocations of Soma. The two exceptions are this very hymn to Agni and one to Indra in the Eighth Maṇḍala. This single-versed hymn is addressed to Agni as *Jâtavedas* "the knower or possessor of all creatures"; and this very epithet, by which Agni is here invoked in the act of offering the libation, is an additional testimony to the eclectic character of the whole Maṇḍala. It implies that the offering was made for all creatures, and was, therefore, accompanied by hymns from the Ṛishis of all sections of Brahmanism. "Let us offer libations of Soma to Jâtavedas," is the prayer ; that is, let us worship the one who knows all clans, before whom there is no difference of family or race, he who is the owner and knower of all creatures. It is in some such form as this that we should expect the libation to be made, if it were indeed offered in the name of an entire community ; and the fact that these remarkable words occur as the very middle of the Maṇḍala strengthens the conviction that they indicate the middle

arguments relating specially to the Bhâradvâjas ; for the Prâtisâkhya of this Śâkhâ claims to follow the Sanhitâ of the Śaisirîya-śâkhâ. Now Śisira and Mudgala, both founders of Bhâradvâja Gotras, are cited as two of the five students of the Śâkala School who propagated varying recensions of the Rig-veda ; hence I infer that the Bhâradvâjas were intimately associated with the Śâkalâs. Śaunaka, also, though reckoned an adherent to the Śâkala School, yet openly differed from the Śâkalas on various points.

ceremony of the sacrifice,—the pouring out of the libation,—and also that the office is arranged on eclectic principles.

I have held that the words of Kaśyapa were used at what I believe to be the moment of offering the Soma ; because he is the peculiar Ṛishi of the Soma, because of the nature of the words themselves, and because of their medial position. We have not only the evidence of our senses, that nearly all the Soma hymns handed down to us are by members of the Kâśyapa family ; but we have also the express declaration of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa, that the Kâśyapas conquered the Soma-juice for the benefit of creatures. This is good evidence to show that almost in Vedic times it was acknowledged that the Kâśyapas were the representatives of Soma worship.

There is, however, another and equally cogent reason for placing Kaśyapa in the middle as the leader in sacrifice. Kaśyapa was recognized as the first human teacher who received sacred knowledge from the gods themselves. We find, by the lists of revered teachers preserved in the Vanśa-Brâhmaṇa and the Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa, that traditional knowledge passed through a long line of teachers, who received divine truth one from another, until, in the remote past, the list ends in Kaśyapa, who received the secrets directly from Agni himself. These instructive lists of teachers afford something like historical evidence that the early Brahmans held that their system of belief had its origin from Kaśyapa ; at any rate, he was certainly regarded as the Father of the Faithful. This high antiquity and venerable position, as the ultimate link in the chain of union between heaven and earth, renders Kaśyapa the most suitable of all the Ṛishis to be the leader in the greatest sacrificial ceremonial. The extravagant veneration felt for Kaśyapa is reflected through all stages of Sanskrit literature, and finds its expression in the legends of the Vishṇu-Purâṇa, in which Kaśyapa is fabled to have been the husband of Diti, the parent of the Maruts, the progenitor of the Âdityas, if not the very Creator of the Universe. It is this name, written thus deeply in the Brahmanical system, that we find placed in the very middle of the First Maṇḍala, as the point around



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the use of the word *angiras* in this way may have had its influence in placing the hymn in the prominent position in which we find it. But it seems perfectly clear that a stronger reason lay in the fact that it celebrates Indra and the Maruts in an especial manner. We know positively that Agni along with Indra and the Maruts share the Soma between them; and here, just where other reasons have led us to conclude that the Soma was offered, we find the remarkable verse of libation offered to Agni, immediately followed by this peculiar hymn celebrating Indra and the Maruts.

The hymn consists of nineteen stanzas, the first *fifteen* of which end with the refrain, "May Indra, with the Maruts, be our protection." It might almost be inferred that the statement of the 72nd hymn of this Maṇḍala must have special reference to this particular composition. Thus it is seen that both the middle position and the nature of these two hymns answer precisely the conditions requisite to give them the characters I assign to them.

But this is not all. It will be seen that this hymn of the Five Rishis changes its character after the 15th stanza. Up to that point each stanza ends with the same refrain, but the refrain disappears from the last four stanzas. This peculiarity of *fifteen* stanzas leads to the reflection that something turns on the number 5. The number 15 may consist of five threes, or of three fives; and it will instantly recur to the mind that this Maṇḍala is divided, by the families of its Rishis, into two sets of five, with the two hymns now under discussion as a point of separation. This implies that some special significance may have been associated with the number 5. The 12th stanza of this hymn of the *Five* Rishis seems to direct our minds to an exact understanding, by lauding the Soma on the ground that it "inspires the *five* classes of beings." These five classes of beings have been held by Sâyaṇa to mean the four castes and the Nishâdas;¹ in other words, they

¹ It is clear from other hymns of this Maṇḍala that by this term is meant all the dwellers on earth; thus the 7th hymn says that "Indra rules over the five classes of the dwellers on earth;" and the 89th hymn, wishing to express the universality of Aditi, says, "Aditi is all the gods; Aditi is the five classes of

represent the community at large, and this precisely tallies with my discovery that the entire Mandala is of a corporative character. It was intended to unite in one common act of worship all sections of the community; and the "five classes of beings" were typified by five ceremonial acts before the libation, and by five similar acts after it; while at the most solemn moment of the sacrifice they were specially mentioned in a hymn consisting of three parts of five stanzas each, or of five parts of three stanzas each, and a Supplementary group of four verses.¹

On directing attention to this Supplement, it will be seen that the tone of the hymn changes. In the former part, Indra is celebrated as the bestower of rain, the god of the thunder-clouds, the fertilizer and sustainer,—he is, in short, hymned as the farmer's friend. In the Supplement, though still styled "the showerer," he is celebrated as the god of war; and his aid is sought in the subjugation of very human foes. This is one of the hymns which contain unmistakable allusion to the conquest of the aborigines by the fair-complexioned Aryans. I do not wish to assert that this Supplement is an addition to a previously existing poem; for I am well aware that sudden changes of style and subject are common enough in the Rig-veda; still, it deserves notice that, in the present case, this change of style takes place just after we pass the sets of five verses, and the special refrain of the hymn.

There can, however, be no objection to the idea of a designed introduction of the warlike character of Indra into the ceremonial; on the contrary, it makes the principal act of worship more complete. Accepting these four stanzas as part of the original arrangement, we should have, in the middle of the ritual—(1) the praises of Agni (fire, warmth,

men:" and the 117th hymn says that Atri was "venerated by the five classes of men." meaning that all mankind honoured him.

¹ It deserves remark that the Śatapatha-Brahmana expressly tells us that the sacrifice is *pīṣṭa*. The words are: "The Purushamedha occupies five days, and is the greatest rite of sacrifice. The sacrifice is fivefold, and fivefold are the sacrificial animals: five are the seasons included in the year. Whatever is fivefold in celestial matters may be obtained through this."

and comfort), who is also asked, in his military capacity, to “consume the wealth of those who feel enmity against” the Aryans; (2) the libation of Soma; (3) the praises of Indra and the Maruts for both agricultural and military success.

The supplemental character of the last four stanzas of the hymn of the Five Rishis deserves remark more from its interference with any idea that might be based on the significance of the numeral 5. There is, however, a further point to remark, which is, that the names of the so-called Five Rishis do not occur in the first fifteen stanzas. They are found in the seventeenth verse, as part of what I call the Supplement. I am not disposed to consider these stanzas as a later addition, on that account; much less, to deem them spurious. I would rather seek to discover their meaning. These five names are asserted to be those of Râjarshis, possibly because the name of one of them agrees with that of a King of Oudh; for little else is known of them. This interpretation appears to rest on the word *Vârshâgir*, which, with grammatical correctness, has been held by commentators to mean “descendants of Vrishagir.” It has never occurred to any inquirer to suggest that these words are not necessarily patronymics at all. In the note to my former paper I pointed out that *Vârshâgir* would mean, equally well, “descendants of the adorers of the sprinkler,” and that this would very fitly designate those who praised Indra as “the showerer,” or rain-god, *in the manner of this very poem*. If we extend this process to the other names, we shall see that they also are significative in a very unexpected way. The word *Rijraśva* means “the horse of the leader,” or the horse of sacrifice; *Ambarîsha* is a cooking utensil for frying or broiling; *Sahadeva* is “the bearer,” or “carrying deity,” a common term for the sacrificial fire; *Bhayamâna* is the decoction or preparation of “fear,” or “anxiety,” not an inappropriate name for the Soma itself; while *Surâdhas* is plainly “the receptacle of the Soma.” These translations enable us to see the reason for the introduction of the word *rijraśva* into the 16th verse. That verse praises the long-limbed coursers of Indra, and asks that they may be made



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this gives two posts to each of the *fire* ceremonial acts I have spoken of, still further confirming my theory. The Taitirîya-Brâhmaṇa tells us that “*ten times eighteen*” heads of animals were required for the *Aśvamedha*, which again brings two fives before us in connection with this sacrifice. It will also be noticed that “*ten times eighteen*” are 180. Now, there are 191 hymns in the First Maṇḍala, that is, $180+11$; from this it might be inferred that 180 hymns were each accompanied by the slaughter of an animal, and that *eleven* (again this figure 11) were repeated without sacrifice. Can it have been that one hymn out of each of the eleven sets into which I have shown that the Maṇḍala is divided was a simple prayer, introduction, or doxology? At the *Aśvamedha* a human being was offered, and therefore the peculiarities of a *Purushamedha* attach to it, as noticed in a previous part of this paper.¹

The conclusions to which my interpretations and arguments lead are so startling, that the premisses on which they are based will receive, and ought to receive, the keenest criticism; but they are far too numerous, and far too cogent, to be set aside with a contemptuous allusion. We find that the First Maṇḍala has preserved to us the ritual of the famous Horse-sacrifice, which is admitted to have been the most solemn ceremonial of ancient Brahmanism. The Maṇḍala itself, by its repeated mention of Brahman, Adhvâryu, Hotṛi, and Potṛi priests, shows that a complicated ceremonial existed before the formation of the Sanhitâ. It is such a ceremonial as that of the *Aśvamedha*, and only such a ceremonial as that, which could influence the arrangement of the *Rig-veda*; and it will require serious argument and solid facts to shake the weighty and numerous considerations which I have adduced in support of my discoveries that:

1. The First Maṇḍala is an eclectic ritual.
2. That it is orderly in its arrangement.
3. That it expresses eleven acts of worship.
4. That the eleven acts are placed five on each side of a medial one.

¹ See pp. 607 and 620 *note*.

5. That the medial point is the hymn of Kaśyapa, together with the hymn of the Five Ṛishis.
6. That the so-called Five Ṛishis are not historical personages, but are the names of the principal facts in the famous Horse-sacrifice.
7. That the ritual of the First Maṇḍala was intended to unite in one act of worship the "five classes of beings," that is to say, all sections of the community.
8. That there is good ground for believing that the Maṇḍala is the ritual of the Aśvamedha.

In the course of arriving at these conclusions, I have never been driven to amend the text handed down to us. Throughout my elucidation I am able to accept the text as it stands; and, although I do not pretend to have explained all the details, or to have actually demonstrated in an incontestable manner every suggestion which I have advanced, yet I do maintain that I have brought together such an accumulation of evidence that it will require the strongest of testimony to shake the conclusions which I have sought to establish.

ART. XX.—*Origin and Development of the Cuneiform Syllabary.* By G. BERTIN, M.R.A.S.

INTRODUCTION.—Graphic development.—Pictorial stage.—Influence of material used for writing.—Primitive arrangement of the signs.—Change of order and position.—Modern order of the columns.—Decay of the primitive images.—Confusion of the signs.—Archaic and ornamental styles.—Fanciful archaic.—Cursive writing.—Period of its invention.—Phonetic development —Figurative stage.—Second stage.—Phonetic complements.—Determinatives.—Third period.—Akkadian values.—Phonetic determinatives.—Prefixes and determinatives.—Compound ideograms.—Akkadian phonology.—Its influence on the values attributed to the signs.—Fourth period.—Sumerian values.—Phonetic decay.—Fifth period.—Semitic renaissance.—Lists of words and signs.—Eclecticism.—Syllabic determinatives.—Pictorial origin of the signs.—Theories on its origin.—Akkadian theory.—Semitic theory.—Egyptian theory.—Pre-historic theory.—Kushite theory.—Egyptian and Babylonian signs.—Symbolism.—Phonetic changes.—Change of meanings.—Illustrations.—Syllabaries derived from the Babylonian one.

PALÆOGRAPHY never attracted much the attention of Assyriologists, and in only a few cases have they either turned their mind to the origin, growth and development of the Cuneiform syllabary. M. Menant, who tried in his grammar¹ to give a list as complete as possible of all the signs of various styles and epochs, has unfortunately accepted many doubtful characters, and has not distinguished the really archaic from the ornamental style. F. Lenormant,² who specially studied the Babylonian syllabaries now in the British Museum, has done much to elucidate many points, but his observations bear only on a few characters, and have for principal object to ascertain the values and meanings in order to help the decipherer in reading rightly the inscriptions. He made a great step no doubt in attributing exclusively certain values

¹ *Manuel de la langue Assyrienne*, Paris, 1880.

² *Etude sur quelques parties des Syllabaires Cunéiformes*, Paris, 1876. *Les Syllabaires Cunéiformes*, Paris, 1877, etc.



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adopted clay, so abundant and so easily obtained. The use of clay as writing material, combined with the use of a square wooden style,¹ gave to all the lines a peculiar form, and originated the Cuneiform writing, each line having the form of a nail or wedge.

At about the same period stone was also used as a writing material; in that case, for some inscriptions at least, the scribe preserved to the signs a more primitive form; curved lines were rare, but in the Cuneiform style they are impossible. For this reason the linear inscriptions often give us forms nearer to the pictorial stage.²

One of the most important modifications, brought on by the use of clay as writing material, is that which affected the grouping of the characters and the direction of the writing. As I have already noticed,³ the inscriptions were at first written in horizontal columns, each column was divided by small divisions running from right to left, and in each of these divisions the signs (three, four or more in number, but forming one word or one connected expression, as *powerful king, son of so and so, etc.*), were grouped rather irregularly, the first sign of the expression, however, being always placed at the right hand top corner; representing each sign by one cipher, the following diagram will give an idea of the grouping.

1	2	1	3	2	1	4	1	4	1	2	1	3	1	Col. I.
2	3	4	4	2	5	3	5	2	4	3	4	2		
3	2	1	2	1	4	1	3	2	3	1	2	1	2	Col. II.
4		3	6	5	3	2	3	2		3	2	3		
etc.											4	3	1	Col. III.
													2	

¹ Mr. Pinches has noticed that on the tablets the grain of the wood impressed by the style is often visible.

² In some cases the linear inscriptions seem to have been copied from a Cuneiform copy, and the linear character wrongly transcribed; the same has happened in Egyptian, where the scribe or carver had hieratic copies for the texts he had to engrave on the stone. In many cases he transcribed the wrong hieroglyphs.

³ J.R.A.S. Vol. XVIII. p. 422.

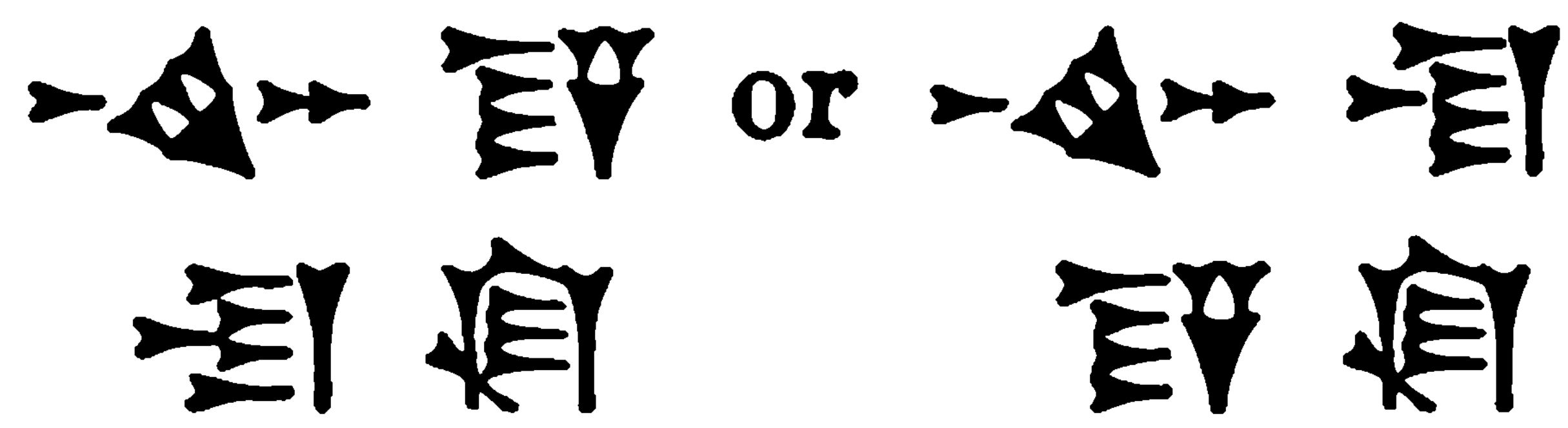
When clay was used to write on, and a square piece of wood as style, the scribe was necessarily brought to turn the tablet, and to place what used to be the right hand side at the top.¹ As a consequence of this change, the columns ran from left to right, and the divisions in each column from top to bottom. The irregular grouping of the characters was still preserved, but then the first sign of each group appeared to be placed in the left hand top corner of each division, in consequence of the shifting of the tablet. The scribes preserved for a long time the ancient habit of dividing the tablet into small columns, so small in fact that many words could not have been written in one line if they had wished to do so; little by little they gave up this practice, and when the columns were more extended, the irregular grouping became impossible; they therefore adopted the plan of placing all the characters after one another from left to right; the division lines were preserved only to mark what we call paragraphs. In some Omen tablets, no doubt, by tradition and in a few and exceptional cases, these division lines are retained and used as in the old documents.

In writing afresh any old tablet, or in copying proper names, or quoting from ancient records, the scribes had naturally to restore to the words the phonetic sequence of the signs irregularly grouped in the original texts; this was easily done for all phonetically written expressions; but when the scribes came to compound ideograms or compound ideographical expressions, the elements of which had no relation to the pronunciation of the group, often, perhaps by ignorance or either because the position of these compounding elements had no importance as long as they carried to the mind of the reader the expression meant, they copied these groups irregularly, one or two characters being by so doing transposed. For instance, as I have already noticed, the name of the town of Lagash,² written by means of a com-

¹ This observation is due to the Rev. Mr. Tomkins (though I do not think it was ever printed), at one of the meetings of the Society of Biblical Archæology.

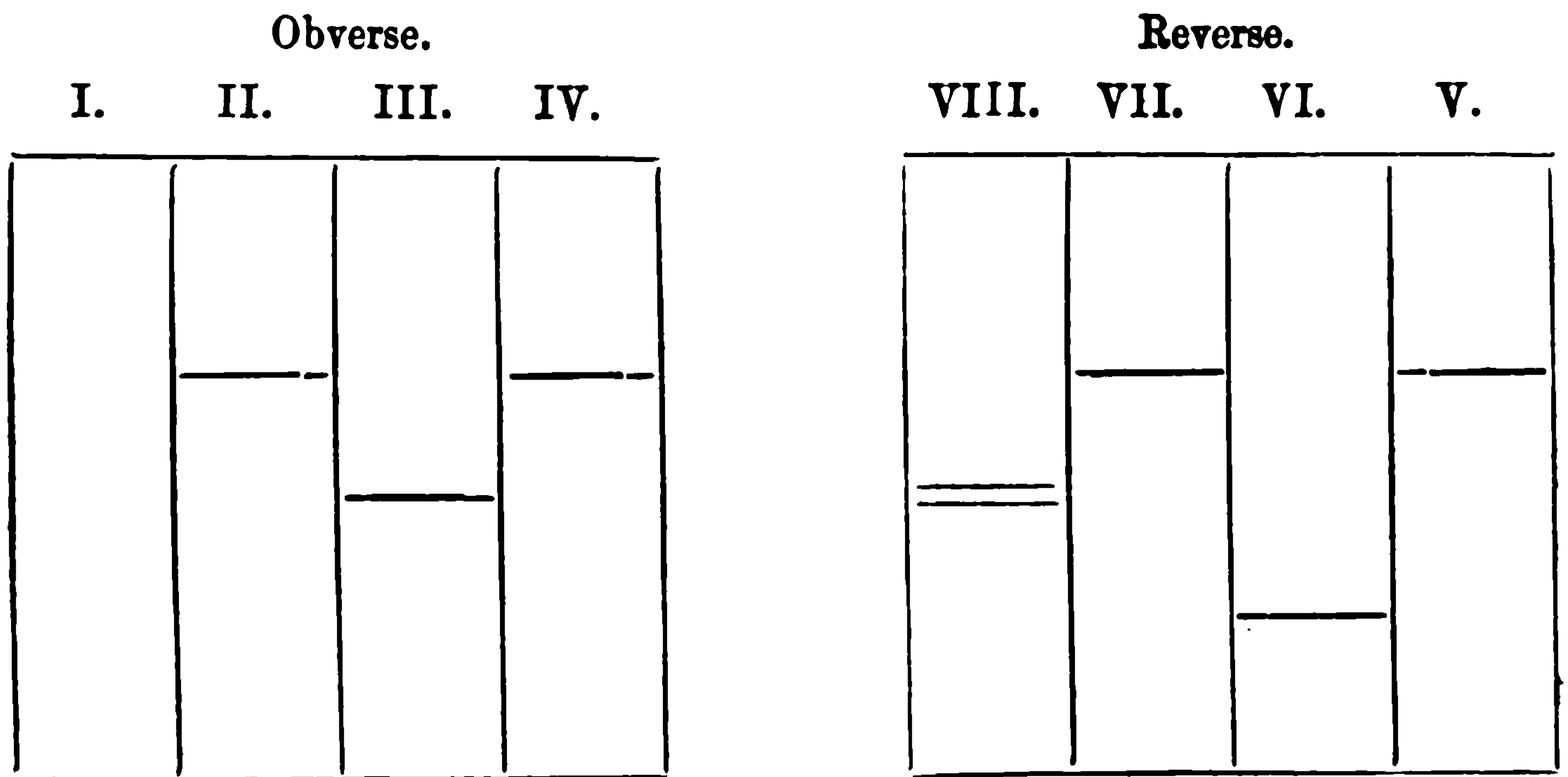
² J.R.A.S. Vol. XVIII. p. 422.

pound ideogram, and the characters being unequally grouped according to the old arrangement, was



The scribes copied either or but read in either case *Lagaš*.

Another remnant of the old irregular arrangement of the old tablets is preserved in the relative position of the columns of the obverse and reverse of the modern tablets. In the obverse they follow regularly from left to right, but in the reverse from right to left, because, when the scribe arrived at the end of the last column of the obverse, he went on over the bottom edge and straight to the other side,¹ so the second column of the reverse had to be placed to the left, and therefore run from right to left, as shown in the following diagram :



The change of position of the tablet had a more important consequence for the characters ; all the objects represented were by this change reversed on the side, or rather on the back, for, like in early Egyptian, they always faced the right, so the foot meaning "to stand," was reversed to and the Cuneiform character became .

¹ The position of the reverse is besides contrary to that of the obverse ; a tablet is not turned over as the leaves of a book, but as our gold and silver coins.



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are not besides a mark of antiquity, as the material used to inscribe on greatly influenced the scribes. When the stone was soft and the scribe careless, the characters were often linear and badly formed, as the careful engraving of each Cuneiform wedge required much time. We have of the same king linear and Cuneiform inscriptions. In some cases also inscriptions were written in linear characters to give them an archaic appearance.

The Cuneiform characters were primitively most elaborate; at first the scribe seems to have endeavoured to represent with the straight lines the object meant, but in course of time, through the natural desire to abbreviate and simplify, the characters were more and more decayed till the stage of the later Babylonian Empire, where the most complicated groups are reduced to a few wedges, as we have seen for the sign for "man."

In some cases it happened that two groups quite different were brought by decay to one form, as the Ninevite  and , often confounded by the scribes; the first comes from the image of a garden , and the latter from that of a tower .¹

G. Smith was of opinion that in other cases the Babylonian scribes had created a kind of graphic doublets to differentiate two phonetic values of the same polyphonic sign.²

The number of wedges in each sign and their position varied according to the time and the locality. The study of palæography became for this reason a special branch, for the difficulties were as great for the Babylonians as for ourselves. Lists of these variations were drawn up; one which has come down to us gives twenty different variants of the same character.³

¹ Pinches, Proc. S.B.A., June, 1886. The author points out that the difference was kept up more clearly in the Babylonian style, in which  =  and  = ; see also Zeitschr. für Keilschr. vol. ii. p. 158. For other examples, G. Smith, *Phonetic Values*, p. 4.




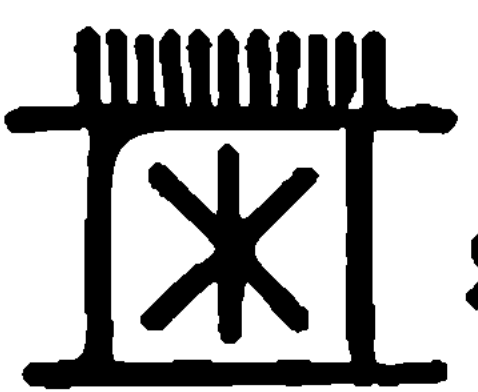
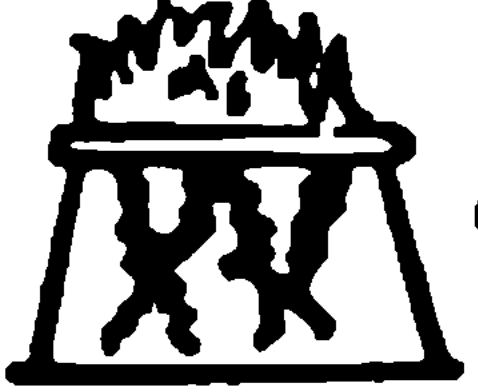
² *Phonetic Values*, London, 1871, p. 3.


³ Pinches, *Archaic Forms of Babylonian Characters*, in *Z. für Keilschr.* vol. ii. p. 149 et seq.

It is to be noticed that the difference between the Cuneiform signs at Babylon and Nineveh was great enough to make a transcription necessary. In the case of the very old Babylonian documents copied by order of the Assyrian kings, the Ninevite scribes, sometimes unable to transcribe a sign, merely copied it.

The archaic style, as our old English, was often used as ornamental; it was, for instance, always the one used on seals. One syllabary gives in the archaic style the signs to be explained, using it as a kind of italic.



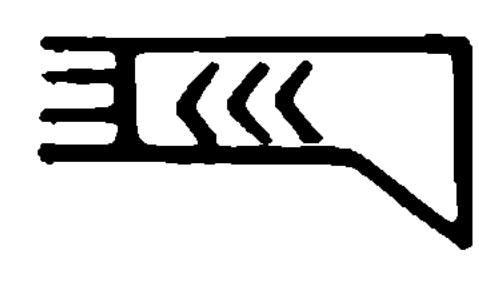

The old form of characters used as an ornamental writing has been also employed by several kings, and the inscriptions which affect the oldest or rather the most elaborate style are after that of Antiochus. In one of his inscriptions Nebuchadnezzar has in the same way adopted an archaic style.

In the case of this ornamental archaic we must be very careful, for often the scribes have adopted signs which they believe or assume to be archaic, but really invented by them. For instance, in the inscription of Nebuchadnezzar the sign for sacrifice  is written by this group , intended no doubt for the representation of a Zigarat, as represented on the monuments , but placed on the side, the scribe being under the impression that the sign was the representation of a temple.¹ But the real archaic form was in linear before it was placed on the side , which represents a blazing altar with the libation or the blood of the victim running down .

The explanations which the Babylonian scribes tried to give of the origin of the signs are all of the same misleading character, if we judge from those given in the fragment of a tablet now in the British Museum;² for instance, the sign , which has the meaning of hand, arm, limb, wing, power, etc., is explained as being derived from three different


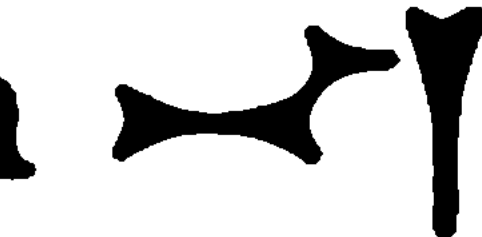
¹ This observation is due to Mr. Pinches.

² Published by the Rev. Mr. Houghton, in his paper S.B.A. Trans. vol. iv. part ii.

objects, the first looking as a quiver , the second, difficult to determine, may be a jug, and the third appears to be a throne, the scribe being no doubt uncertain, gave the three alternatives; but if we go back to the most archaic  and the linear form , we have clearly the representation of the fore-arm and fist , with an ornamental sleeve.

In the private documents the writing decayed more rapidly after the Persian conquest. The tablets of this period are very roughly written, but the decay attained its highest point under the Greek and Parthian kings. The documents of these periods are almost illegible, and require a special study.

The decay of the Cuneiform writing is well illustrated by the private documents: letters, contracts, receipts and the like. The alteration was slow and insensible, though uninterrupted; a simple but careful examination of the writing of a private document is sufficient in fact to fix its approximate date.

The oldest private documents, those of the time of Hammurabi, have the highest palæographical interest.¹ The characters of these documents seem to be the connecting links between the old complicated and the modern characters, all the wedges which were at a later date left out are faintly impressed, but those which remain are deeply marked, for instance, in the sign  *na*, the three inner lines are faint, and the others give the modern form .

Phonetic Development.—The modifications which the syllabary experienced, as to the values given to the characters, and the way in which those were combined, were less capricious, and resulted to a great extent from the phonetic peculiarities of the languages or dialects to be expressed. Considered under this aspect, the syllabary went through five different periods, during each of which modifications were brought

¹ All the contract tablets of this period have been published in autography by Dr. Strassmaier in the Transactions of the Congress of Orientalists held at Berlin; his copies give a fair idea of the originals; when one knows how difficult these are to read, he cannot be surprised in finding some mistakes.



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relation, to determinate the way in which the ideogram was to be read, the Babylonian repeated the final sound of the word. The sign $\rightarrow\text{𐎶}$ had the values of 'god' *ilu* and 'heaven' *šame*; when they wanted to write the latter, they placed after the ideogram another character having the phonetic value *e*: $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \rightarrow\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶} = \textit{šame}$. In the same way 𐎶 , among its ideographic values, had that of 'to fix,' in Babylonian *šakānu* in the infinitive; when the scribe wanted to express the third person of the aorist *iškun*, he wrote after the ideogram another character $\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$, giving the phonetic ending *un* of the verbal form, to be pronounced $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}\text{𐎶} \textit{iškun}$.

We may here notice that the Babylonians never went, in the use of the phonetic complements, as far as the Egyptians, who not only expressed the final sound by a phonetic sign, but often placed before the ideogram another sign giving the initial sound.¹

Besides the use of final phonetic complements, the Babylonians had another graphic contrivance in common with the Egyptians, that is, the use of determinatives; but it is, however, much more limited, as the determinatives are found prefixed regularly only to proper names of men and women, names of gods, cities, countries, stars, rivers and months, and may have been pronounced in many cases. The Babylonian differ from the Egyptian determinatives also as to position, they are always placed before and not after the words.

It is difficult to determine at which period the use of determinatives was resorted to, for it seems to have slowly grown with the desire for clearness. For instance, determinatives placed before proper names of men, 𐎶 , and before those of women, 𐎶 , appear only after the reign of Hammurabi. The use of determinatives may also have been the outcome of the adaptation of the Semitic syllabary by the Akkadians, though these determinatives were generally pronounced in Akkadian.

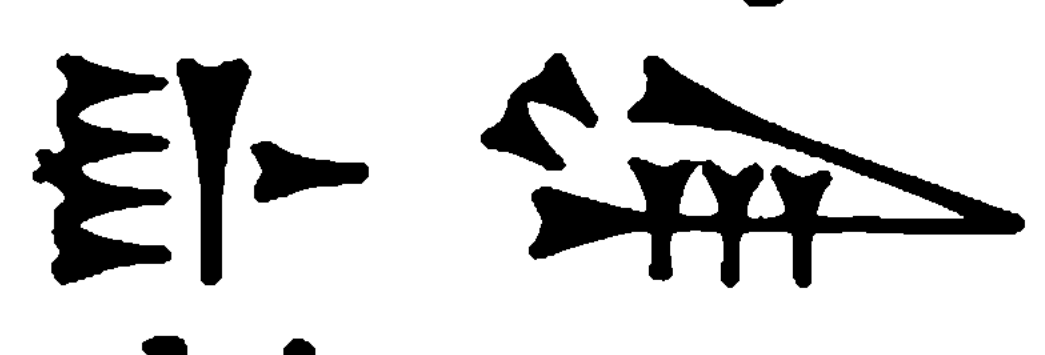
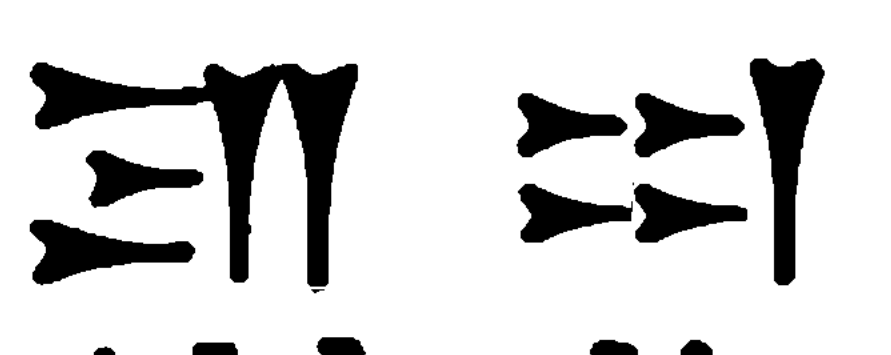
¹ At the later Babylonian period we find, however, in some cases what might be called a phonetic determinative prefix, but it is only to make certain the pronunciation of a syllable which is doubtful, as $\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}\text{𐎶} \textit{e-iš-tin}$ for *eštin* 'one,' and $\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}\text{𐎶} \textit{u-ul}$ for *ul* 'not.'




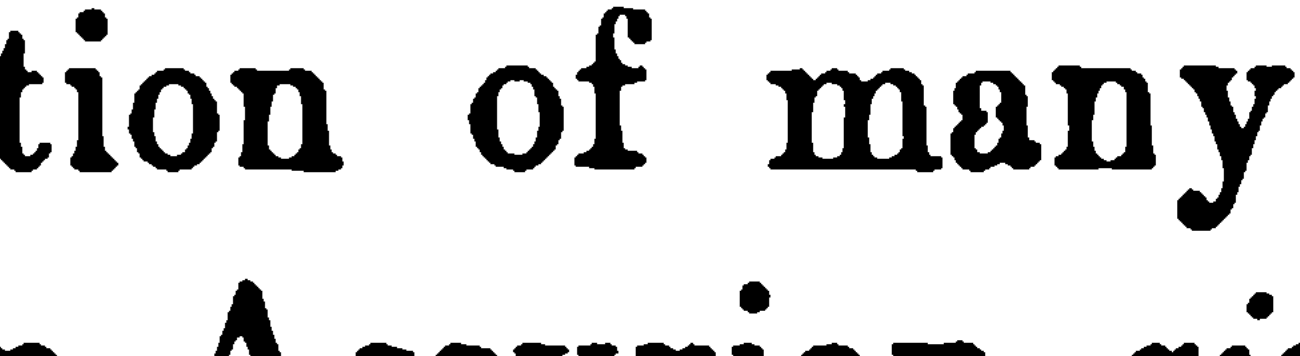

The third period begins with the Akkadian invasion of Mesopotamia. The Akkadians spoke, as far as we can judge, and as generally admitted by Assyriologists, a Turanian agglutinative language having nothing in common with the Semitic tongue of the Babylonians; after the more or less prolonged struggle required to subdue the Semites, they acquired peaceful possession of the country, and adopted the civilization of the conquered race. Their first care was no doubt to adopt the system of writing of the Semites; it was so much more easily done that the writing was still at the figurative or ideographic stage; they had therefore only to take the Babylonian signs and read them in their own language, as we did ourselves for the ciphers borrowed from the Arabs: ∇ *šakānu* 'to place,' was read *gin*, \rightarrow ∇ *ilu* 'god,' was read *dingir*.


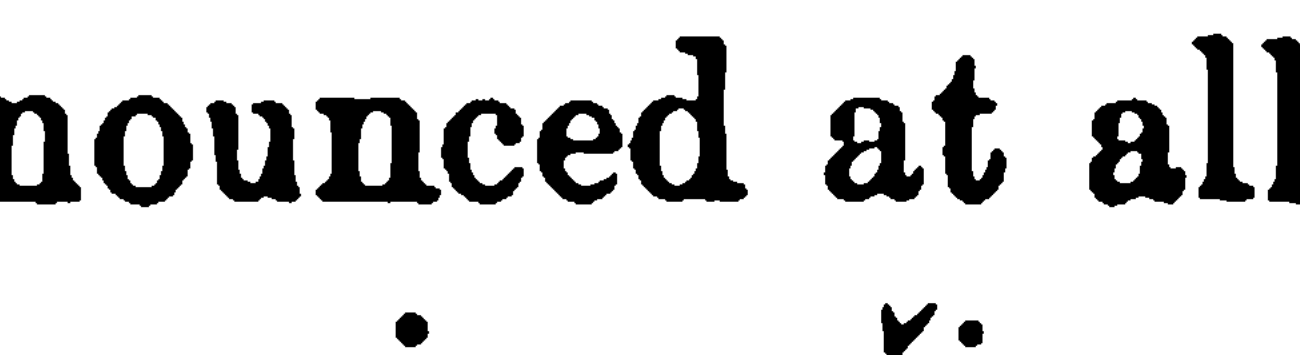

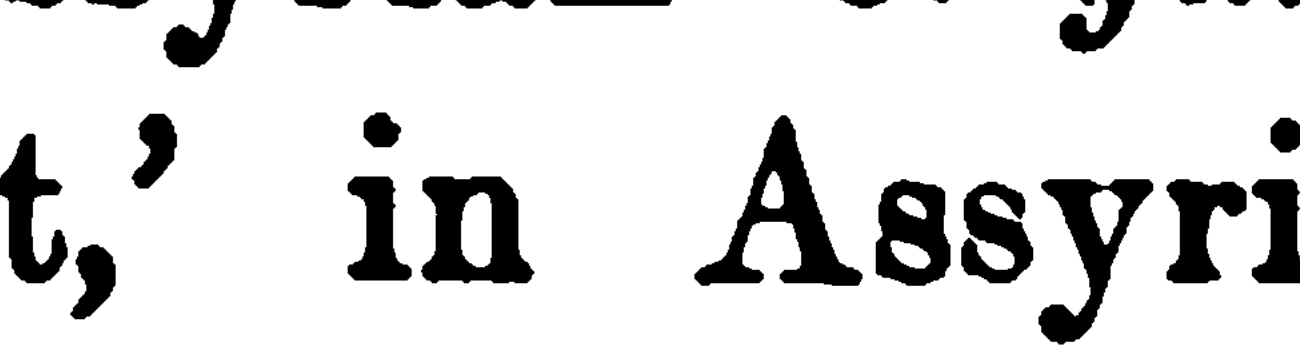
As a consequence of the use of phonetic complements, the Babylonians had been obliged to employ their signs sometimes ideographically and sometimes phonetically; the Akkadians in adopting the system of writing were naturally brought to adopt the phonetic values of the signs when not used ideographically, and also to give to such signs the phonetic values obtained by the Akkadian readings. To remedy the obscurity resulting from such a polyphony, the Akkadians imagined to write inside or after the ideogram its pronunciation, a system which was also resorted to by the Egyptians,¹ and we call these phonetic groups by the same name adopted by Egyptologists—phonetic determinatives. The Akkadians, who borrowed the word for 'price' *šimū* from the Semites, written primitively by the sign \rightleftharpoons , wrote inside it, its pronunciation, or rather their pronunciation of it, \ll ∇ \rightarrow ∇ *še-am*, and the sign became \rightleftharpoons \ll ∇ \rightarrow ∇ .

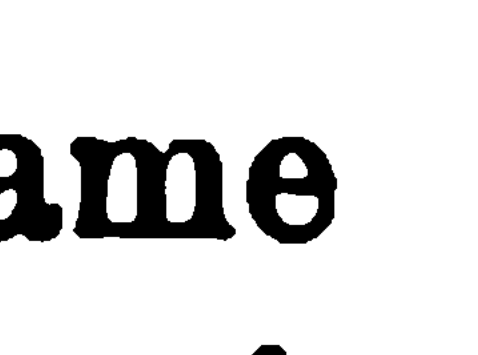
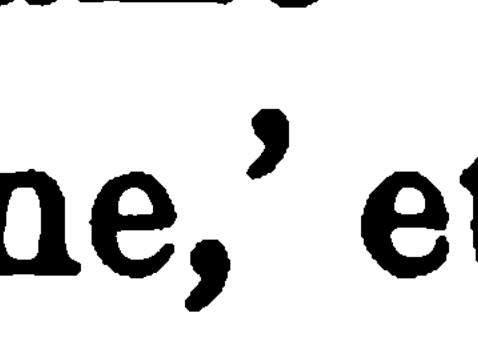
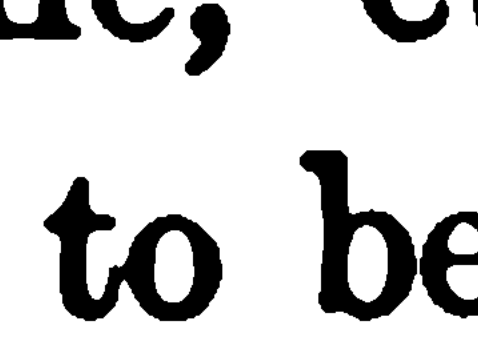
Often, however, the Akkadians were satisfied in writing inside or by the side of the sign its Akkadian phonetic complement, thus inside the sign for mouth \rightleftharpoons ∇ , used to express language, they wrote when so used ∇ *me*, phonetic complement of *eme* \rightleftharpoons ∇ , in Babylonian *lišānu*.


¹ In Egyptian the phonetic determinatives follow the words.

One of the most curious peculiarities of the writing of this period is that a certain number of words are read backwards like *lu-gal* 'man great,' written in archaic characters clearly  *gal-lu*, and *apšu* written  *su-ap*. But this comes from the fact that the Akkadians, as I have shown in my previous paper, changed and partly reversed the ideological order of their language; these compound ideograms had been invented, perhaps, before the change, and then retained after by tradition.

On account of its agglutinative character, and the use of the phonetic determinatives, the Akkadians gave a great development to what may appear at first sight a system of determinative prefixes. The words are easily decomposed into their compounding elements; for instance,  *gis-uru* 'a beam,' which passed in Babylonian with the same meaning, is evidently formed of  *gis* 'wood' or 'tree,' and of  *uru* 'strong.' The first of these two words enters into the composition of many others:  *gis-sa-ra* 'the door post,' in Assyrian *giz-sir-ru*;  *gis-bar* 'the barra tree,' in Assyrian *giš-bar-ru*.

In time the first formative element was either neglected in the pronunciation through phonetic decay, or considered as a determinative aphone, as in the following words, which passed into Assyrian at a time when the first element  was not pronounced at all:  *gis-si-gar* 'a wooden lock,' in Assyrian *ši-gar*;  *ša-kā-na* 'a wooden bolt,' in Assyrian *šakanaku*;  *apina* 'foundation,' in Assyrian *epinu*, and many others.

In the same way  *u* 'plant,'  *ku* 'clothing,'  *sa* 'stone,' etc., which formed the first element of many words, came to be considered as determinative prefixes.

When the phonetic complement gave the pronunciation of the whole word, the ideogram was easily mistaken for a determinative prefix, or even considered as such by the Akkadians themselves, as was no doubt the case for the word for 'horse,' written by the sign for 'ass,' followed by the phonetic pronunciation *kurra* . In the case of this particular word, we must remember that the horse was



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The Akkadian consonants also have not the clearness of sound of the Semitic ones; the same signs are used often to express different syllables, *pu* or *bu*, *ša* or *sa*, etc.

These peculiarities contributed not a little to throw confusion into the syllabary, but it had not the same importance for Akkadian as for Babylonian, because Akkadian at all periods was always written much more by means of ideograms than the Semitic language of the post-Akkadian period.



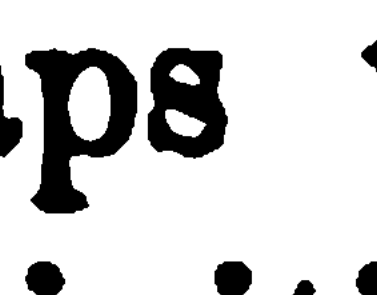
The fourth period is the one during which the Sumerians made use of the Cuneiform syllabary. The Sumerians, who took the power after the Akkadians, spoke a similar language, or rather a dialect of the same language. There are no grammatical, or at best very few, differences between Akkadian and Sumerian, but only phonetic variations, and, as Akkadian was written chiefly by means of ideograms, the Sumerians had only to read their ideograms with their own pronunciation. By doing so they naturally attributed new values to the characters, values given by the phonetic expressions in their own dialect. All the Cuneiform characters acquired, therefore, as new values all the phonetic variations of Sumerian :

 *gar* became *mar*.
 *kim* „ *dim*, etc.

The consequence was to double the number of values attached to each character, already polyphonic in many cases.

The confusion resulting from this polyphonism caused naturally a greater tendency towards phonetism, and in the Sumerian texts we find a greater number of words written phonetically. There was, however, a great difference still between the phonetism of this period and that of the pure Assyrian and later Babylonian empires. The phonetism of the Sumerian texts is as a rule but the development of the principle of phonetic determinatives; in many cases the words, though phonetically written, are preceded or followed by their ideograms.

During this period, and perhaps also during the preceding one, another cause came to add still more to the polyphonism,

that is, the phonetic decay. In all unwritten languages, and also in those written by means of ideograms, the phonetic decay is very rapid, as in the symbols used to represent the words there is nothing to keep visible the real or conventional pronunciation; the frequent invasion of Kassites and their domination at various times may have contributed to accelerate the phonetic decay, especially as in Kassite there appears to have been a tendency to abridge all words by dropping a consonant placed between two vowels. At any rate, we see the phonetic decay at work in Akkadian and Sumerian, even at the literary period of these languages; if there was no other evidence than that taken from the syllabary, it would be conclusive; for instance, the sign  had at first the value *gur*, it was weakened in *gur* or *hur*, then in *mur* (*wur*), and finally in *ur*; in the same way  became *iš*; the sign , with the meaning of 'flower,' was to be read *kuš*, and its phonetic value *u* came perhaps through the same process of decay by the loss of the initial and final consonants.

The fifth period of the syllabary, which began with the age of Sargon of Agade or some time before, was the result of the adoption, by the Semites of the renaissance, of all the values attributed to the characters in the previous ones, a kind of eclecticism, so to say.


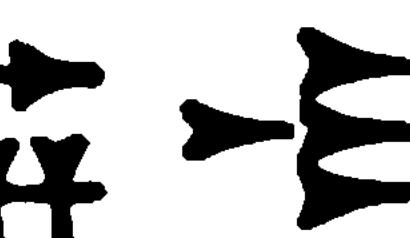


The Semites, during the long rule of the Akkadian and Sumerian dynasties and their struggle with the Kassites, appear to have lost all clear remembrance of the first age of their independence, and to have accepted the notion that their masters the Akkadians had initiated them in every art and science; they looked at the Akkadian pronunciation of the ideograms as the primitive one. The age of literature was over; the Semitic writers seem to have exhausted their resources during the Akkadian and Sumerian periods, when the Patesi, encouraging fine arts, received at their courts poets and prosators of the two races. The Semitic renaissance was the age of grammarians and commentators.

The new school of scribes classified the signs of their complicated syllabary, giving to them names drawn from the

Akkadian vocabulary, wrote lists of Akkadian words or expressions explained in the Semitic language, and also inter-linear translations of the Akkadian and Sumerian literary productions.

A careful survey of the syllabaries and word-lists, as they have come down to us, leaves no doubt as to the period in which they must have been written. The words, for instance, are classed not according to the Akkadian, but the Semitic root system, and in the lists of verbal forms the third person is always given first, as is customary among Semitic grammarians.

The Babylonian scribes classified also the Cuneiform characters according to a certain order,¹ but, as in some lists certain groups are left out, it is difficult, before more documents are found, to determine according to which principle.

The Semites at any rate adopted the graphic system, with all the modifications and alterations brought on by their predecessors, not only the new phonetic values, but, as we have seen, the graphic variations and additions, and often took even with the ideogram its Akkadian or Sumerian phonetic complement: *šar* was written   *lugal-la*, the Akkadian word with its phonetic complement; in the same way   *hur-ra* stands for *hubullu* 'pledge,' just like in English *No.* (the French abbreviation of *numéro*) has been taken to mean 'number.'

In the historical inscriptions the scribes, having clearness as one of their objects, gave a greater development to phonetism, but in the trade documents, in which the writers wanted to economize space and time, ideograms are very common, and also ideograms with Akkadian phonetic complements, even down to the latest age of the Cuneiform writing.

This strange use of a foreign phonetic complement had no doubt for object to determine more precisely the Semitic word which was to be read, and the Akkadian word with its phonetic complement was really considered as a compound ideogram.

The use of the real phonetic complements was not resorted

¹ Dr. Peiser first pointed it out.



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took up the subject.¹ This writer was certainly very happy in some of his identifications, but the progress of Assyriology has shown that he was also wrong in many, as in some cases he took compound ideograms for simple, and simple for compound.

There is also an important rule, which was unknown to the Rev. Mr. Houghton, and which must not be lost sight of when the characters are identified; it is that all the figures of men, animals, and objects are always represented in profile² and looking to the right, as in Egyptian; for instance, 'the mouth,' *ka* in Akk. and *pu* in Bab., is the decayed form of , which appears to be a representation of the opened mouth, with the upper lip covered with a moustache . The signs for 'man' and 'dog' or animal in general are also, as we have seen in the early part of this paper, derived from pictures in profile.

A great many signs still resist our analysis, but enough of them can be identified to leave no doubt on the principle which guided the inventors of the writing. It will not be out of place to give here a few examples:

used ideographically for 'by the side of,' archaic form , being the hand and fore-arm

ideogram for 'man,' especially 'servant,' archaic lineary form , representing the legs of a man walking .³

ideogram for 'corn' or any other seed, archaic lineary form , representing an ear of corn.⁴



ideogram for 'child,' archaic form , lineary form , being the breasts with flowing milk



¹ S.B.A. Trans., vol. vi. part ii.

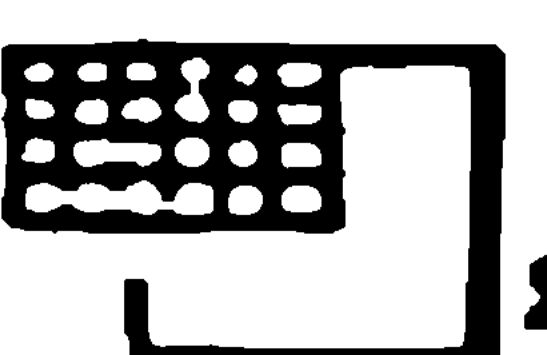
² As far as the signs are explained. Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie has been wrongly informed, when he states that the figures face the reader (J.R.A.S. Vol. XV. p. 279).

³ This last form is taken from the fragment of a very archaic inscription which was in the British Museum, but this stone was mislaid when Mr. Budge had the partition of his room raised, and it has not yet been found, in spite of the efforts of Mr. Pinches.

⁴ These identifications are due to Mr. Pinches.

𐎶𐎶𐎶 ideogram to express 'to multiply,' archaic lineary form , representing a fish throwing its eggs 

𐎶𐎶 ideogram for 'hollow,' by extension of 'the abyss,' archaic lineary form , being the representation of a well or cistern as still constructed by the Arabs .

𐎶𐎶𐎶 ideogram for 'to inundate,' lineary form , representing the open door of a canal lock.

These few examples prove that the principle was the same for the Egyptian and Babylonian picture-writing. But who were the inventors, when and where was it invented? That is what is difficult to decide.

Many theories have been brought forward, but none has been as yet scientifically developed or supported by any proof and a scientific demonstration.

The opinion, accepted by all the Assyriologists till the publication of my last article, is that the system of writing from which we derived the Cuneiform characters was invented by the Akkadians, according to some before the invasion of Mesopotamia,¹ according to others after their settlement there. One of the strongest arguments in favour of this theory of the Akkadian origin of the writing is the opinion of the Babylonians themselves: though they never said anything about this question, it is evident that, as they attributed to the Akkadians all the inventions in art and science, they must have considered writing as an Akkadian invention. But I have in my last paper shown in a satisfactory way, I think, that writing was known to the Semites previous to the Akkadian invasion. The Akkadian origin of the writing must be therefore dismissed.²





Another theory, the Semitic origin of the Cuneiform writing, which the first Assyriologists were inclined to accept before the discovery of the existence of the Akkadians by Sir H. Rawlinson, was soon abandoned, and the tendency

¹ This opinion is the more general, it was that of the late F. Lenormant.

² In my last paper I spoke only of this opinion, because after the discovery of Akkadian all the Assyriologists, except myself, had accepted it.

was to consider the art of writing as of foreign origin; the indigenous and Semitic origin is advocated now only by those exclusive Semitic scholars, who will not admit that the Semites borrowed anything. There is, however, in support of the theory the fact that some of the characters must have been invented in Babylonia.

Many reasons speak in favour of a foreign origin. The Semites never invented anything; in art and science, as literature, they always copied or imitated their neighbours, and the invention of a system of writing requires certain aptitudes which are wanting in the Semitic race. The Arabs, who, according to most writers, represent the Semites *par excellence*, lived till the third or fourth century without any system of writing.

The proximity of Egypt, the constant commercial intercourse of the Semites with this country, and the evident pictorial origin of the Cuneiform characters, seem to have suggested to Dr. Hincks the Egyptian origin of the Babylonian writing. Norris seems to have entertained the same opinion, but his great caution prevented him from writing anything about it. Dr. Hincks only compared two characters, [^]^ 'country,' in Egyptian , and , archaic  'city,' in Eg. ;¹ he had noticed no doubt the similarity of other characters, but was perhaps waiting to compare the two systems of writing, that more might be known about the Cuneiform syllabary.

This similitude of a few characters in the two systems of writing was explained by others in a different way. Mr. Hyde Clarke was the first one² who brought forward the theory that both systems of writing—and that also developed in China—sprung from a more archaic system of writing, which was afterwards lost and must have been pictorial. This ingenious theory, supported by only a few philologic considerations, was not however scientifically demonstrated. The two points of Mr. Hyde Clarke's theory are: 1. The common origin of the Egyptian and Babylonian systems of

¹ In the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.

² See Journal of the Society of Arts, vol. xxviii. p. 791.



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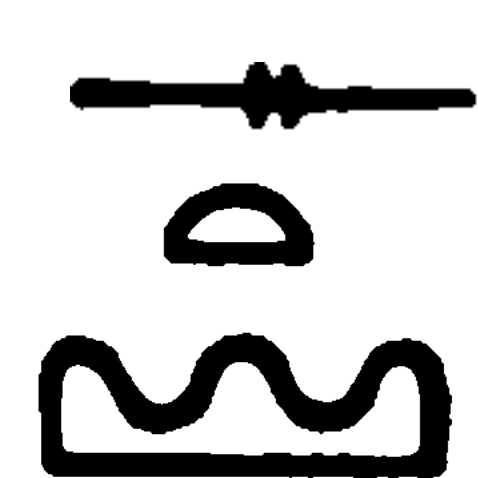
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with the Agau. The natural conclusion is that a theory, having as principal part the hypothetical existence of so uncertain a population, cannot be scientifically entertained.

For a comparison with Egyptian we have at least more solid ground to stand on. The hieroglyphs of an early period are known to us, and their pronunciation, if still doubtful for a few, is certain for the greatest number.

As has been said above, the likeness of some of the Babylonian signs with those of Egypt struck the very first Assyriologists, but the subject never was taken into serious and scientific consideration, and no comparative list drawn.¹ The vague statement of the common origin or the derivation of the Babylonian from the Egyptian syllabary never was besides, except in the case of the two signs given by Dr. Hincks, supported by any illustration at all.

There is another most important consideration, which does not appear to have been taken into account by those who hazarded the statement; it is, that in two pictorial systems of writing, even independently elaborated, many symbols must be the same; for instance, a man, a dog, etc., would always be represented by the image of a man, a dog, etc., or by the most characteristic part of the animal; the idea of walking will always also be represented by the foot or leg. We may have two examples of this necessary likeness in the two signs quoted by Dr. Hincks: , Eg. , may be the representation of an undulated land, and in , Eg. , the representation of a town with its streets; therefore two different inventors may have come to adopt symbols not far dissimilar to represent the same notion, and what in these two cases supports this explanation is, that the phonetic readings of the signs are not the same in both syllabaries. The first, however, , with the meaning 'mountain,' can be read in Assyrian *šadu*, and in Egyptian we have the value *set* for , from its meaning of 'country'  *set*.

¹ A list was drawn by Dr. Hommel; it contained only ten characters, among which were the two given by Dr. Hincks and two very doubtful. A list drawn by Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie contained only ten or twelve characters, among which the two above noted and some others were apparently misread.

There are many difficulties which render any comparison of the two syllabaries unsatisfactory and awkward.





I have myself, too hastily perhaps, accepted the probable connection between them; for, when I came to draw parallel lists of the signs of both, my belief was shaken a little, and, though my comparative table contained more than fifty characters, I felt that there were so many things which ought to be taken into account, that what might be considered as a connection may, if the utmost care be not taken, prove often only accidental.



The objects represented by the Cuneiform characters cannot always be identified with certainty, even when the lineary forms are known, as at that stage they have deviated already from the primitive drawings. We have not to contend with such a difficulty in the Egyptian syllabary, but for both there is a question of great importance which in many cases it is impossible for us to answer satisfactorily; that is, the question of symbolic relationship between the material objects and the abstract ideas. This depends upon many causes, especially on accepted notions, on figures of speech used in the language, and on the use made of the objects. For instance, a feather taken symbolically with us would mean 'to fly away,' but on the Western Coast of Africa it means 'to hear,' from the custom of the inhabitants of this part to use a feather to clean their ears. This one example is enough to show how little we may be able to understand the symbolism of other nations. And how different may have been the symbolical notions of people separated from us by hundreds of centuries, and living under a different climate with different wants!




On account of the symbolic meaning attached to characters we found that the phonetic value in many cases does not give the name of the object represented.

In Egyptian a small pot 𐤏 has the value *nu*, and we may look in vain in the Egyptian vocabulary for a word *nu*, meaning 'pot,' but this same pot is used as a determinative to words meaning liquids, perfumes, oils; we may therefore

infer that the value is taken from *nu* 'sweet water,'¹ an antiquated word, which has been preserved in the name of the Goddess Nut,² the primordial water, or the abstract water, the vase being taken to give the idea of its contents.

In Babylonian we have a similar pot very likely in the sign , archaic form , from ,³ it has the phonetic value *ni*; but, as in the case of the Egyptian sign , this value is not the name of the object represented. A bilingual list tells us that its ideographic meaning is *mustabaru* 'conductor.' We have here again a case of symbolic adaptation. Any one carrying an order or doing something for somebody else has been symbolically compared in the East to the vase or vessel containing a liquid, and it explains why this character has the ideographic values of 'conductor' or 'leader,' for the one who leads metaphorically carries his followers, and by extension 'man' in general.

Can we, however, assimilate the two characters  *nu* and  *ni*, because their phonetic value is nearly the same, and because they both represent a pot?

The Egyptian and Babylonian characters are most of them, we must not forget, polyphonic. This of course increases the possible accidental coincidence of sound. As seen above,  and  have the phonetic values *šad* and *set*; but the former may be read *mat*, *nat*, *lat*, *kur*, etc., and take its value of *šad* from its ideographic meaning of 'mountain' *šadu*; the Egyptian  on the other side may be read *set* only from its meaning of 'country.'

Other causes come also to increase the number of values attached to the signs.

In Egyptian there is a double vocabulary. As far back as we can go in the Egyptian literature, we can detect clearly the existence of two sets of words, one which may be called Hamitic proper, and the other which is more or less Semitic. The latter are not a later introduction through foreign

¹ This word is not given in the Dictionary of Pierret; but see S.B.A. Trans. vol. viii. p. 218.

² There is also the masculine form, the god *Nu*.

³ This identification is due to Mr. Pinches.



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either Babylonian, Egyptian or other, have neglected to take into account two important considerations, the change of the meanings of the words, and their phonetic alteration in the long period which elapsed between the invention of the syllabary and the time at which the words of the language known to us belong. The second consideration is especially important for the case which concerns us now.

As already stated, Egyptian and the Semitic tongues are derived from the same stock, and a regular phonetic change ought to be traced from one language to the other. This is not the place to enter into an elaborate comparison of the two vocabularies, but I may state now that from a slight comparison of them I have noticed the following most important changes :

Eg. $m =$ Semitic p , $n = r$ or l , $f = w$ or m , $r = l$, $\chi = \acute{s}$, $s = k$.¹

These changes are not, however, constant and invariable. Some words, like the pronouns for instance, have escaped the law. We also notice in the Egyptian vocabulary a class of words which give exactly the Semitic forms, but are not of a later introduction, and appear on the monuments of the first dynasties. This might be explained by the supposition that, after the first separation, and after having experienced in their vocabulary the phonetic changes, a few of which we have noticed above, the Semites and the Egyptians came again in contact, and the latter borrowed largely from the vocabulary of the former.²



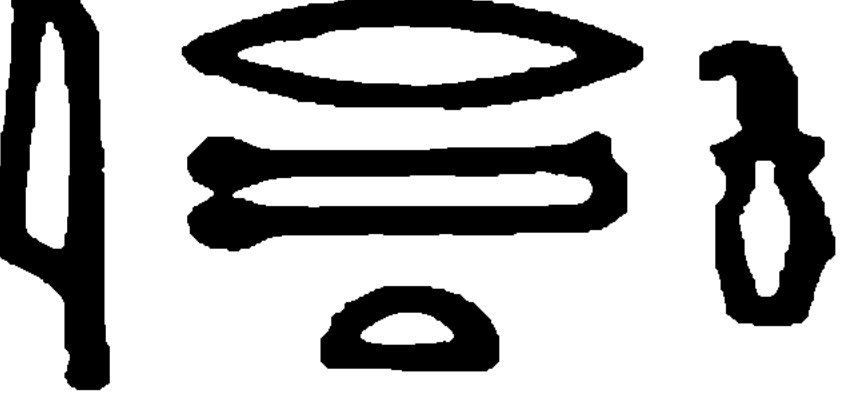
The two hypotheses, (1) that the hieroglyphic writing was invented before the first separation of the Hamites and Semites, and (2) that after this separation the Egyptian language suffered greatly from phonetic decay, are supported by the curious fact that the phonetic values of the hieroglyphs are more often found to correspond to the Semitic words of the picture, the Semitic tongues having perhaps suffered less from phonetic decay.


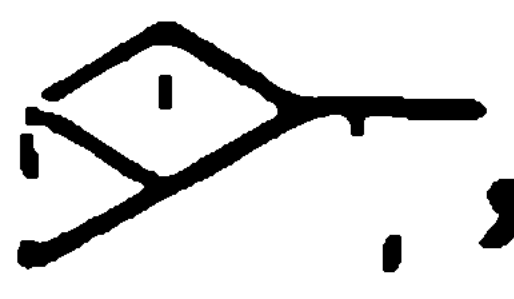
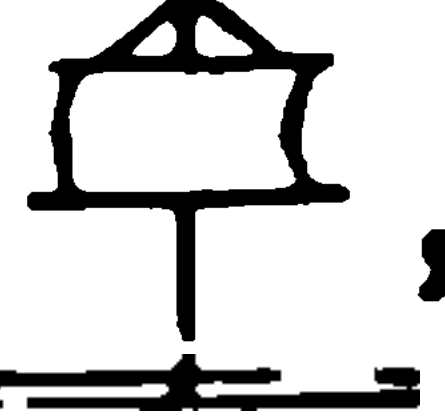

I will now give two or three examples of Babylonian








¹ I cannot here give any examples, as it would extend this paper too much.






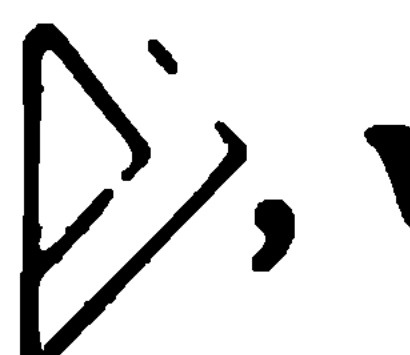

² This contact must have taken place before the historical period.

signs, with their pictorial origin and their possible Egyptian equivalents:

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, lineary form , representing a steaming pot, phonetic value *ga*, primitively *gur*, the first is 'milk' in Akkadian, but in the Semitic tongues we have 𐤒𐤁 'to be hot, to boil up,' 𐤁𐤒 'ewer, pot with pointed bottom,' we find in Egyptian the steaming pot  as determinative to  *ar-t* 'milk,' perhaps weakened form with loss of initial *g*, and the *t* mark of the feminine.

𐎶𐎶𐎶, archaic , lineary , represents the sail of a boat , the Semitic value *rim* (for *riic*) is taken from the root 𐤓𐤓𐤓 'to breathe,' the aspirate is often lost in Babylonian. In Egyptian we have the sail used as determinative for the word for 'wind, blow of wind, breathing,'  *nesi*. This word corresponds also to the Semitic one, Eg. *n*=Sem. *r*, Eg. *f*=Sem. *ic*, and the Eg. *i* represents the lost aspirate.

𐎶, arch. , lin. , is the image of an ear of corn, phonetic value *še*, in Babylonian *šeim*, 'corn, wheat.' In Egyptian we have  *su* 'wheat,' with a feminine form  *stu*, to be read *sut*, and    *šames* 'an ear of corn.'

It is tempting to compare  and  with the Egyptian , both signs have the ideographic meaning of 'life,' *Balatu* in Assyrian, in which it is also used with the value of *laḫu* 'to take,' and *silu* 'side'; its phonetic value is *ti*, supposed to be the Akkadian pronunciation of the ideogram; in Egyptian the sign is read *ānḫ* 'life.' The value 'life' may after all in Babylonian have been given because the sign had the value *ti*, weakened Sumerian form of the word *til* 'life,' Akk. *din*. The ideogram for life, read *din* in Akk., is , arch. , lineary , which represents an eating bowl , and no doubt used symbolically to mean 'living' and 'life.'

Before concluding, a few words must be said of the syllabaries derived from that of Babylon. The oldest of these derived syllabaries is that used at Susa, which yet differs very little from that of Babylon, and may be considered as only graphic variants.

The Vannic syllabary¹ is derived from the Ninevite style of writing, and the combinations of the wedges are adapted to stone engraving. The characters have been much reduced in number, but the use of ideograms and determinatives is largely resorted to.

The syllabary of the Apirian inscriptions at Mal-Amir and that of the Medic text of the Bihustun monument are variants of the same.² The first one, which is the oldest, appears to have been derived from the Babylonian signs of the later epoch. The characters have been considerably reduced in number and abbreviated; the ideograms are but few, but the determinatives are still maintained.

The Persian syllabary is nearly alphabetic. It seems to have been devised under the reign of Cyrus, by translating the Babylonian signs and taking for value the initial sound of the Persian words.³

The Kappadokian syllabary, of which very little is known, was no doubt derived from early forms of characters used at Babylon. And possibly from it is derived the Cypriot system of writing.

As far back as 1868 F. Lenormant advanced that the Chinese system of writing was derived from that which was, he supposed, introduced by the Akkadians into Babylon.⁴ The same theory was advocated by Mr. Hyde Clarke. Lately an eminent Chinese scholar, Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie, took up the theory again; well qualified by his knowledge of old Chinese, but unfortunately unable, through his ignorance of the Akkadian and Babylonian syllabary and languages, to control the statements of the Assyriologists he had

¹ Sayce, *Inscriptions of Van*, J.R.A.S. Vol. XIV. Parts III. and IV.

² Sayce, *Inscriptions of Mal-Amir*, Congress of Orientalists of 1883, at Leide.

³ Oppert, in the *Journal Asiatique*.

⁴ *Manuel d'Histoire ancienne*, Paris, 1868, vol. i. p. 401.



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ART. XXI. — *The Babylonian Chronicle.* By THEO. G.
PINCHES, M.R.A.S.

AMONG the tablets acquired by the British Museum in 1884, is one of peculiar interest. It is a tablet of unbaked clay, $6\frac{1}{8}$ in. by $7\frac{3}{4}$ in., inscribed, on both sides, with two columns of writing in the Cuneiform or wedge-character. This tablet is one of a series which must have contained, when entire, a complete chronicle of all the important events which had taken place in Babylonia, Assyria, Elam, etc., in ancient times. The text (of which a paraphrase has already been published by the present writer,¹) begins with the reign of Nabonassar (747 B.C.), and ends with the accession of Šamaš-šum-ukîn or Saosduchinos, brother of Aššur-banî-âpli (667 B.C.). The subject of this tablet was continued on others of the series, a part of one of the tablets, referring to the reign of Nabonidus and relating the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, having been acquired in 1878.²

The publication of the present text was announced in the April number of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (p. 327), but my publication of the text of the Chronicle, made known to the world by the paraphrase given by me in 1884, has meanwhile been forestalled by a German Assyriologist, Dr. Hugo Winckler.³ No notice of his intention was given to me by Dr. Winckler, it having been fondly hoped (as I hear) by him and his friends, that my publication of the text would be rendered superfluous by this act. Dr.

¹ Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology for May, 1884.

² See the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology, vol. vii. part i. 1880.

³ Zeitschrift für Assyriologie for June, 1887.

Winckler's edition of the text, however, is reproduced by the autographic process, and many of the characters are imperfectly printed. It contains, moreover, no less than fifteen mistakes, either of omission or of commission. Whether, therefore, my edition of this text be rendered superfluous or not by Dr. Winckler's forestalling, I leave to the reader to judge.

The first portion of the text, which includes four short paragraphs, refers to the reign of Nabonassar, during which there was a revolt in Borsippa. The next paragraph tells of the death of Nadinu, his son (who was killed in a revolt), the accession and overthrow of Šum-ukîn, and the accession of Ukîn-zēr or Chinzirus. After this is a paragraph which speaks of the invasion of Babylonia by Tiglath-pileser III. of Assyria, and his mounting the throne of Babylon.

The seventh paragraph mentions the death of Tiglath-pileser and the accession of Shalmaneser. The eighth speaks of the death of the last-named and the accession of Sargon in Assyria and Merodach-baladan in Babylonia. The next five paragraphs treat of the conflicts which took place between the Babylonians and the Elamites on one side and the Assyrians on the other. Four of these paragraphs are imperfect, and the connection is sometimes lost. The 13th ends with the accession of Bêl-ibnî (Belibus), who was placed on the Babylonian throne by Sennacherib. The next two paragraphs give an account of Sennacherib's continued incursions into Babylonia, the deposition of Bêl-ibnî, and the accession of Aššur-nadin-šum, his son, to the throne of Babylon.

The 16th and 17th paragraphs give an account of affairs in Elam, and Sennacherib's invasion of that country, in revenge for which, Hallušu, king of Elam, invaded Babylonia, carried Aššur-nadin-šum captive, and set Nergal-ušêzib on the Babylonian throne. This king, as was natural, resisted the Assyrians, the result being that he was captured by the Assyrians in a battle which took place near Niffer (18). Affairs in Elam are then treated of, and the paragraph ends with an account of a renewed invasion of Elam by Sennacherib, and

the accession of Mušêzib-Marduk in Babylon. The next paragraph (the 19th) refers to the battle of Ḥalulê between the Assyrians and the Elamites, the victory being attributed to the latter. The Elamites, however, seem afterwards to have united with the Assyrians against the Babylonians, and Mušêzib-Marduk was captured and sent to Assyria.

The 20th paragraph refers to the affairs in Elam, and—most important of all—the murder of Sennacherib by one of his sons, during a revolt, and the accession of Esarhaddon. This is followed by an account of the rule of Esarhaddon in Babylon (paragraphs 21, 22 and 23), and a notice of his expedition against Sidon, etc., which is continued in the following paragraph. The 25th paragraph speaks of an invasion of Babylonia by Elam, the death of the Elamite king in his palace, “not sick,” the accession of Urtagu, and the carrying off of a Babylonian official to Assyria. The 26th refers to an Assyrian expedition to Egypt, and the return of Babylonian gods held captive by the Elamites; the 27th to Esarhaddon’s progress towards Egypt, and the death of his queen. The 28th refers again to Esarhaddon’s progress in Egypt, and records three battles there, resulting in the capture of the city of Memphis by the Assyrian army. The 30th refers to a second expedition of Esarhaddon to Egypt, his death on the road, and the accession of Assurbanipal in Assyria and Saosduchinos in Babylon. The 31st refers to the restoration of Babylonian gods held captive by the Assyrians, and is followed by the colophon giving the name of the owner and writer of the document.



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TRANSCRIPTION.

COLUMN I.

1. šar Bâbîli D.S.
2. ina mât Aššur ina kussî îšab
3. šattu šuatu . . mât Akkad D.S. ur-dam-ma
4. âlu Rab-bi-su u âlu Ḥa-am-ra-nu iḫ-ta-bat
5. u îlāni ša âl Ša-pa-az-za i-ta-bak
-
6. A-na tar-ši Nabû-našer Bar-šip D.S.
7. itti Bâbîli D.S. it-te-kir. Šal-tum ša Nabû-našer
8. a-na lib Bar-šip D.S. i-pu-šu ûl ša-ṭir
-
9. Šattu ḥamiltu Nabû-našer Um-ma- ni-ga-aš
10. ina mât Êlamti ina kussî îša-ab
-
11. Šattu ârbâ-êšrit Nabû-našer imruš-ma ina êkalli-šu šîmāti
12. ârbâ-êšrit šanāti Nabû-našer šarru-tam Bâbîli D.S. êpu-uš
13. ṽ Na-di-nu mâri-šu ina Bâbîli ina kussî îša-ab
-
14. Šattu šanātu Na-di-nu ina si-ḫi daiku
15. Šanātu šanātu Na-din šarru-tam Bâbîli êpu-uš
16. ṽ Sum-ukîn, bêl piḫâte, bêl si-ḫi ina kussî îša-ab
17. ârḫi šanî, ûmu [Šum]-ukîn šarru-tam Bâbîli
(D.S.) êpu-uš
18. ṽ Ukîn-zēr kussā idkû (?)-šu-ma kussā iṣ-bat
-
19. Šattu selaltu Ukîn-zēr, Tukul-ti-âpil-ê-šar-ra
20. âna mât Âkkadi D.S. ki-i u-ri-dam
21. Bêt-a-mu-ka-nu iḫ-ta-pi u Ukîn-zēr ik-ta-šad
22. Šalšu šanāti Ukîn-zēr šarru-tam Bâbîli D.S. êp-uš
23. ṽ Tukul-ti-âpil-ina-Ê-šar-ra ina Bâbîli ina kussî îša-ab
-
24. Šattu šanātu Tukul-ti-âpil-Ê-šar-ra ina ârḫi Ṭebeti šîmāti
25. šanāti Tukul-ti-âpil-Ê-šar-ra šarru-ta^m mât
Akkadi (D.S.)
26. u mât Aš-šur êpu-uš šanātu šanāti ina libbi ina mât
Akkadi êpu-uš



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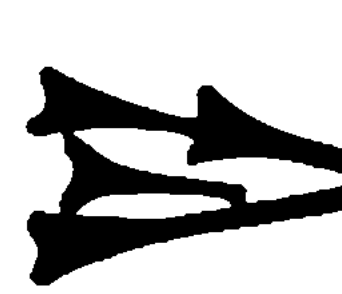
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4. šanê-êšrit šanāti
5. Šarru-ukîn
-
6.
7.
8. ina kussî (?)
9.
10. îlani
11. ša ina pani (?)
12. šattu šanîtu
- [Lines 13 to 16 illegible.]
17. Marduk
18. it-ta-ši >✘ Sin-âḫê-êriba ina
19. Bâbîlâa ul-taḫ-mi-iṣ
20. ir-tib-ba Marduk-âbla-iddin u
21. ḫu-bu-ut mâti-šu iḫ-ta-bat u
22. âl La-rag âl Šar-ra-ba
23. ki-i irki-su ✘ Bêl-ib-ni ina Bâbîli ina kussî ul-te-šib
-
24. Šattu êštin Bêl-ib-ni >✘ Sin-âḫê-êriba
25. Âl Ḫi-ri-im-ma u Âl Ḫa-ra-ra-tum iḫ-te-pi
-
26. Šattu šalištu ✘ Bêl-ib-ni >✘ Sin-âḫê-êriba ana mât Âkkadi
(D.S.)
27. ur-dam-ma ḫu-bu-ut mât Akkadi (D.S.) iḫ-ta-bat
28. ✘ Bêl-ib-nî u ➤ rabûti-šu ana mât Aššur ul-te-ek-lu
29. Šalšu šanāti Bêl-ibnî šarru-ta^m Bâbîli (D.S.) êpu-uš
30. >✘ Sin-âḫê-êriba >✘ Aššur-nadin-šumi mâri-šu
31. ina Bâbîli (D.S.) ina kussî ul-te-šib
-
32. Šattu êštin >✘ Aššur-nadin-šumi Iš-tar-ḫu-un-du šar
Êlamti
33. Ḫal-lu-šu âḫi-šu iṣ-bat-su-ma bâba ina panî-šu ip-ḫi
34. Samaššerit šanāti Iš-tar-ḫu-un-du šarru-tam mât Êlamti
êpu-uš
35. Ḫal-lu-šu âḫi-šu ina mât Êlamti ina kussî îša-ab
-
36. Šattu šiššu >✘ Aššur-na-din-šumi >✘ Sin-âḫê-êriba

37. ana mât Êlamti u-rid-ma âl Na-gi-tu^m, âl Ĥi-il-lu^m
 38. âl Pi-il-la-tu^m, u âl Ĥu-pa-pa-nu iĥ-[te-pi]
 39. ĥu-bu-us-su-nu iĥ-ta-bat, ârki Ĥal-lu-šu šar Êlamti
 40. ana mât Akkadi (D.S.) illi-kam-ma >×  ana Sipar
 (D.S.) êrub
 41. nîšê idûk, >× Šamaš ûltu Ê-bar-ra la îsu
 42. >× Aššur-na-din-šumi iṣhat-ma ana mât Êlamti a-bi-ik
 43. Siššu šanāti >× Aššur-nadin-šumi šarru-ta^m Bâbîli
 (D.S.) êpu-uš
 44. Šar Êlamti >× Nergal-u-še-zib ina Bâbîli (D.S.)
 45. ina kussî ul-te-šib . . . mât Aššur iṣakka-an

-
46. Šattu êstin >× Nergal-u-še-[zib] âraĥ Du'uzi, ûmu
 šiššîšerit
 47. >× Nergal-u-še-zib Nippuru (D.S.) iṣ-bat izammi-ir
 ušal-lal (?)
 48. âraĥ Tešrîti ûmu êstin [ûmmanê mât] Aššur ana Uruk
 (D.S.) êrubu

COLUMN III.

1. îlani ša šu-ud Ūruk (D.S.) u nîše-šu iĥ-tab-tu
 2. >× Nergal-u-še-zib ârki  Êlamê illi-ku-ma îlâni
 šu-ud Ūruk (D.S.)
 3. u nîšê-šu i-te-ek-mu. Âraĥ Tešriti, ûmu sibû, ina pi-ĥat
 Nippuri (D.S.)
 4. ṣal-tu^m ana lib ûmmani mât Aššur êpu-uš-ma ina tâĥazi
 ṣêri ṣa-bit-ma
 5. ana mât Aššur a-bi-ik. Šattu êstin, [sîššit (?)] ârĥe >×
 Nergal-u-še-zib
 6. Šarru-tam Bâbîli (D.S.) êpu-uš. Ârĥu Tešriti, ûmu
 šiššu-êsrâ
 7. Ĥal-lu-šu šar Êlamti nîšê-šu is-ĥu-šu-ma bâba ina panî-šu
 8. ip-ĥu-u idûku-šu. Siššu šanāti Ĥal-lu-šu šarru-ta^m mât
 Êlamti êpu-uš
 9. Kudurru ina mât Êlamti ina kussî iṣa-ab. Ârki Sin-
 âĥê-êriba
 10. ana mât Êlamti u-rid-ma ûltu mât Ra-a-ši a-di

11. Bît-Bur-na-ki iḫ-te-pi, ḫu-bu-ut-su iḫ-ta-bat
 12. Mu-še-zib-Marduk ina Bâbîli ina kussî îša-ab
-
13. Šattu êštin Mu-še-zib-Marduk, âraḫ Âbi, ûmu sebîššerit
 14. Kudurru šar mât Êlamti ina si-ḫi ṣa-bit-ma dêku.
 Êšrit ârḫi
 15. Kudurru šarru-ta^m mât Êlamti êpu-uš. Me-na-nu ina
 mât Elamti
 16. ina kussî îša-ab. Šattu-lâ-îdû ḳ Me-na-nu ûmmani mât
 Êlamti u mât Akkadi (D.S.)
 17. id-ki-e-ma ina âl Ḫa-lu-li-e ṣal-tu^m ana lib mât Aššur
 18. êpu-uš-ma nabalkut-tu^m mât Aššur išakka-an
 19. Šattu îrbit Mu-še-zib-Marduk, âraḫ Nisanni, ûmu
 ḫamiššerit.
 20. Me-na-nu, šar mât Êlamti, mi-rit-tum i-mi-rit-su-ma
 21. pî-šu ṣa-bit-ma at-ma-a la-li-'
 22. Ina ârḫi Kisilimi, ûmu êštin, âla ṣa-bit, Mu-še-zib-
 Marduk
 23. ṣa-bit-ma âna mât Aš-šur a-bi-ik
 24. arbâ šanāti Mu-še-zib-Marduk šarru-ta^m Tin-tir D.S.
 êp-uš.
 25. Ina ârḫi Âdari, ûmu sibû, Me-na-mu šar mât Elamti
 šîmāti.
 26. Arbâ šanāti Me-na-nu šarru-tam mât Êlamti êp-uš.
 27. Ḫum-ba-ḫal-da-šu ina mât Êlamti ina kussē îš-ab
-
28. Šattu samnu šarru ina Tin-tir ki . . . âraḫ Du'uzu,
 ûmu šalšu
 29. îlāni šu-ud Uruk D.S. ultu mât Aššur D.S. âna Uruk
 D.S. êtarbu
 30. Ina âraḫ Tišriti, ûmu [šalaš-êšrâ] Ḫum-ba-[ḫal]-da-šu
 šar Êlamti ina >✱ >✱ >✱
 31. ma-ḫi-iṣ-ma ina âdari-e >✱ . . . imu-ut. Samnu šanāti
 Ḫum-ba-ḫal-da-šu
 32. šarru-tam mât Êlamti êp-uš
 33. Ḫum-ba-ḫal-da-šu šan-û ina mât Êlamti ina kussî îš-ab.
 34. Âraḫ Tebēti, ûmu êšrâ, Sin-âḫê-êriba šar mât Aš-šur,



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7. nak-is-ma âna mât Aš-šur na-ši. Ina âraḥ Âdari
kaḳḳada ša šarri
8. ša mât Kun-du u mât Si-su-u nak-is-ma âna mât Aš-šur
na-ši.
-
9. Šattu šiššitu šar Êlamti âna Sipar D.S. êrib, idûk. D.P.
Šamaš ul-tu
10. Ê-bar-ra lâ iṣû. Mât Aš-šur âna mât Mi-ṣir illik me-lu-u
sibittu
11. Ḥum-ba-ḥal-da-šu šar mât Êlamti lâ marsu ina êkalli-šu
imût
12. Ḥamištu šanāti Ḥum-ba-ḥal-da-su šarru-tam mât Êlamti
êp-uš.
13. Ur-ta-gu, âḥi-šu ina mât Êlamti ina kussī iš-ab.
14. Âraḥ-lâ-idû Nadin-šum D.P. gu-en-na
15. u Kudurru, mâr Da-ku-ri âna mât Aš-šur ab-ku
16. Šattu sibittu, âraḥ Âdari, ûmu ḥamšu, ûmman mât
Aš-šur ina mât Mi-ṣir idûku
17. Ina âraḥ Âdari Istar A-ga-de D.S. u îlāni ša A-ga-de
D.S.
18. ûltu mât Êlamti illiku-nim-ma ina âraḥ Âdari, ûmu êšrit,
âna A-ga-de D.S. illiku.
-
19. Sattu samantu Assur-âḥa-iddin, âraḥ Tebēti, ûmu (ḥi-bi)
20. mât Ru-ri-ša-a-a ṣa-bit, šal-lat-šu šal-lat
21. Ina ârḥi Kisilimi šal-lat-su âna Uruk D.S. i-tir-bi
22. Âraḥ Âdari, ûmu ḥamšu, âššat šarri mât-at
-
23. Šattu êšrit, âraḥ Nisanni, ûmman mât Aš-šur âna Mi-ṣir
illiku (ḥi-bi)
24. Ârḥu Du'uzu, ûmu šalšu, ûmu [šiššiserit], ûmu
[samaššerit]
25. šelalta šu di-ik-tum ina mât Mi-ṣir di-kat
26. Ūmu [šanêšrâ] Me-im-bi, âlu šarru-tam ṣa-bit
27. šarri-šu ul-te-zib, mâri-šu, u [mârāni âḥi-šu ina ḳâtâ]
ṣab-tu
28. šal-lat-su šal-lat, nêši šu ina kir-ta ša-šu-šu . . tal-lu-ni

29. Šattu êštinêšrit šar ina mât Aš-šur D.P. rabûti [šu ina kakki] id-du-uk

30. Šattu [šanêšrit] šar mât Aš-šur ana mât Mi-sir illik . . .

31. ina ḥarrani imruṣ-ma ina ârḫi samna, ûmu êšrit šîmati

32. [Šanêšrâ] šanâti Aššur-âḫa-iddin šarru-tam mât Aš-šur êp-uš

33. Šamaš-šum-ukîn ina Ê-ki Ḳ Aššur-banî-âbli ina mât Aš-šur šanê mârâni-šu ina kussî î-šib.

34. Šattu rêši Ḳ Šamaš-šum-ukîn ina ârḫi Aari

35. Bêl u îlâni ša mât Akkad D.S. ul-tu âl Aššur

36. u-ṣu-nim-ma ina ârḫi Aari [a-na Bâbîli] D.S. eribu-ni

37. Šattu ša'atu âlu Biš-bi-tum . . . šarri-su ka-sid.

38. Ârah Ṭebēti, ûmu êšrâ Ḳ Bêl-êd-ir . . . Tin-tir D.S. ṣa-bit-ma dêku.

39. Ḥis-su rêš-tu-u, ki-ma labiri-šu šaṭru-ma ba-ru û ub-bu-uš.

40. Dup-pi Ḳ A-na-Bêl-garib, âbli-šu-ša Ḳ Li-ib-lu-tu,

41. mâr Ḳ Ur-Aku, ḳa-at Ḳ E-a-iddin, âbli-šu ša

42. Ḳ A-na-Bêl-garib, mâr Ḳ Ur-Aku. Tin-tir D.S.

43. Ârah . . . , ûmu šiššu, šattu [šanêšrâ], Da-ri-ia-muš, šar Ê-ki

44. u mâtâti.

TRANSLATION.

COLUMN I.

I.

1 king of Babylon.

2 sat on the throne in Assyria.

3. That year [to] Akkad he descended and

4. plundered Rabbisu and Ḥamranu,

5. and carried off the gods of Šapazza.

II.

6. In the time of Nabonassar, Borsippa,

7. against Babylon revolted. The battle which Nabonassar

8. fought in the midst of Borsippa is not described.

III.

9. In the 5th year of Nabonassar Ummanigaš
10. sat on the throne in Elam.

IV.

11. In the 14th year Nabonassar fell ill and died in his
palace.
12. Nabonassar had ruled the kingdom of Babylon 14 years.
13. Nadinu, his son, sat on the throne in Babylon.

V.

14. In the 2nd year Nadinu was killed in a revolt.
15. Nadinu had ruled the kingdom of Babylon for 2 years.
16. Šum-ukîn, a governor, leader of the revolt, sat on the
throne.
17. Šum-ukîn ruled the kingdom of Babylon for 2 months
and days.
18. Ukîn-zēr hurled him from the throne and
took the throne.

VI.

19. In the third year of Ukîn-zēr Tiglath-pileser
20. to the land of Akkad then descended.
22. Ukîn-zēr had ruled the kingdom of Babylon for 3 years.
21. He destroyed Bêt Âmukan and captured Ukîn-zēr.
23. Tiglath-pileser sat on the throne in Babylon.

VII.

24. In the 2nd year Tiglath-pileser died in the month Tebet.
25. [¹] years Tiglath-pileser the kingdom of Akkad
26. and Assyria had ruled; he had ruled two years in the
midst of Akkad.
27. On the 25th day of Tebet Shalmaneser in Assyria
28. [²] sat on the throne. He destroyed Šabara'in.

¹ Blank.

² Here a blank, followed by the character *ki*.



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4. 12 years
 5. Sargon
-

XIII.

6.
 7.
 8. Assyria (?)
 9.
 10. the gods
 11. which before (?)
 12. the 2nd year
 [Lines 13 to 16 illegible.]
 17. Merodach
 18. went forth. Sennacherib
 19. the Babylonians he afflicted
 20. he increased. Merodach-baladan and
 21. the plunder of his country he carried off and
 22. Larancha and Sarraba
 23. then he captured. He seated Bêl-ibnî on the throne in
 Babylon.
-

XIV.

24. In the first year of Bêl-ibnî Sennacherib
 25. destroyed the cities Ĥirimma and Ĥararatum.
-

XV.

26. In the 3rd year of Bêl-ibnî Sennacherib to Akkad
 27. descended, he carried off the plunder of Akkad,
 28. he took Bêl-ibnî and his great men to Assyria.
 29. Bêl-ibnî had ruled the kingdom of Babylon 3 years.
 30. Sennacherib set Aššur-nadin-sum, his son,
 31. on the throne in Babylon.
-

XVI.

32. In the first year of Aššur-nadin-sum, Ištariḥundu, king of
 Elam,
 33. Hallušu, his brother, took him, and closed the gate
 upon him.

34. Istarhundu had ruled the kingdom of Elam for 18 years.
 35. Hallušu, his brother, sat on the throne in Elam.
-

XVII.

36. In the 6th year of Aššur-nadin-šum, Sennacherib
 37. descended to Elam, and the cities Nagitum, Hillum,
 38. Pillatum, and Hupapanu he destroyed,
 39. he carried off their plunder. Afterwards Hallušu, king
 of Elam,
 40. went to Akkad and in anger (?) descended to Sippara.
 41. He killed the people, (but) the Sungod went not forth
 from E-bara.
 42. He captured Aššur-nadin-sum and took him to Elam.
 43. Aššur-nadin-šum had ruled the kingdom of Babylon 6
 years.
 44. The king of Elam set Nergal-ušêzib on the throne
 45. in Babylon. He accomplished [the defeat] of Assyria.
-

XVIII.

46. In the 1st year of Nergal-ušêzib, the 16th day of
 Tammuz,
 47. Nergal-ušêzib took Niffer, proclaimed himself (?) and
 took spoil (?).
 48. On the 1st day of the month Tisri, the people of Assyria
 descended to Erech.

COLUMN III.

1. They carried off the gods which were over Erech, and its
 people.
2. Nergal-ušêzib went after the Elamites, and the gods over
 Erech
3. and its people he carried off. On the 7th day of Tisri in
 the province of Niffer
4. he made battle with the army of Assyria and was
 captured on the battle-field and
5. taken to Assyria. For 1 year and 6 months Nergal-
 ušêzib

6. had ruled the kingdom of Babylon. On the 26th day of [Tisri]
 7. Ḫallušu king of Elam his people revolted against him and the gate before him
 8. they shut; they killed him. Ḫallušu had ruled the kingdom of Elam for 6 years.
 9. Kudurru sat on the throne in Elam. Afterwards Sennacherib
 10. descended to Elam, and from Râš to
 11. Bît-Burnaki he devastated, he carried off its plunder.
 12. Mušêzib-Marduk sat on the throne in Babylon.
-

XIX.

13. In the 1st year of Mušêzib-Marduk, the 17th day of Ab,
14. Kudur king of Elam was captured in a revolt and killed. For 10 months
15. Kudur had ruled the kingdom of Elam. Menanu in Elam
16. sat upon the throne. In a year unknown Menanu the army of Elam and Akkad
17. gathered, and in the city Ḫalulê battle with Assyria
18. he made, and accomplished the overthrow of Assyria.
19. In the 4th year of Mušêzib-Marduk, the 15th day of Nisan,
20. Menanu king of Elam plotted (?) against him and
21. his command he took away and annihilated (?) his authority.
22. In the month Kislev, the 1st day, he took the city; Mušêzib-Marduk
23. he captured and took away to Assyria.
24. For 4 years Mušêzib-Marduk had ruled the kingdom of Babylon.
25. On the 7th day of Adar Menanu king of Elam died.
26. For 4 years Menanu had ruled the kingdom of Elam.
27. Ḫumbaḫaldašu sat upon the throne in Elam.



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XXIII.

48. In the 2nd year the chief of the house
 [2 lines illegible.]

COLUMN IV.

1. âhê-šullim the *guenna*
 2. . . . they carried off to Assyria and killed in Assyria
 3. . . . Sidon was captured, its spoil carried off
 4. . . . the chief of the house in Akkad gathered an
 assembly.
-

XXIV.

5. The 5th year, on the 2nd day of Tisri, the army of
 Assyria Bazza
 6. took. In Tisri the head of the king of Sidon
 7. was cut off and taken to Assyria. In the month Adar
 the head of the king
 8. of Kundu and Sisû was cut off and taken to Assyria.
-

XXV.

9. In the 6th year the king of Elam went down to Sippara
 and made slaughter. The Sungod from
 10. Ê-bara did not go forth. Assyria went to Egypt, 7
 bands (?).
 11. Ĥumbaḥaldašu, king of Elam, died in his palace. He
 was not sick.
 12. For 5 years Ĥumbaḥaldašu had ruled the kingdom of
 Elam.
 13. Urtagu, his brother, sat on the throne in Elam.
 14. In a month not known, Nadin-šum, the *Guenna*,
 15. and Kudurru son of Dakuri, were carried off to Assyria.
-

XXVI.

16. In the 7th year, on the 5th day of Adar the army of
 Assyria fought in Egypt.
 17. In the month Adar Istar of Agadé and the gods of
 Agadé

18. went from Elam and descended to Agadé on the 10th of Adar.

XXVII.

19. In the 8th year of Esarhaddon, the . . . day of Tebet
 20. the land of Rurišâa was taken and its spoil carried off
 21. In the month Kislev its spoil was taken down to Erech.
 22. On the 5th day of Adar the wife of the king died.
-

XXVIII.

23. In the 10th year, the month Nisan, the army of Assyria went to Egypt.
 24. On the 3rd, 16th, and 18th of Tammuz
 25. three times a battle was fought in Egypt.
 26. On the 22nd day, Memphis, [the royal city], was taken,
 27. its king fled, (but) his sons, and the sons of his brother, were taken.
 28. Its spoil was carried off, its people in difficulty (?)
 their (?) goods
-

XXIX.

29. In the 11th year of the king in Assyria, he killed his great men with the sword.
-

XXX.

30. In the 12th year the king of Assyria went to Egypt . .
 31. he fell ill on the road, and in Marcheswan, on the 10th day, died.
 32. Esarhaddon had ruled the kingdom of Assyria for 12 years.
 33. Šamaš-šum-ukîn in Babylon, (and) Aššur-bani-apli in Assyria, his two sons, sat on the throne.
-

XXXI.

34. In the accession-year of Šamaš-šum-ukîn, in Iyyar,
 35. Bel and the gods of Akkad from the city of Assur
 36. went forth, and in Iyyar, to Babylon descended.

37. That year, the city Bišbitum [and] its king were captured.

38. On the 20th day of Tebet Bêl-êdir . . . was taken to Babylon and killed.

39. First tablet, written, explained, and made like its old copy.

40. Tablet of Ana-Bêl-garib, son of Libluṭu.

41. son of Ur-Aku, (written by) the hand of Êa-iddin, son of

42. Ana-Bêl-garib, son of Ur-Aku. Babylon,

43. month day 6th, 22nd year of Darius, king of Babylon,

44. and countries.

(To be continued.)



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Most Gracious Majesty the Queen Empress on the occasion of the Jubilee, prepared in accordance with the resolution of Council, was presented to the Viceroy by a deputation, together with a copy of the Centenary Review of the Society bound in vellum and enclosed in a kincob (*kim-kwáb*) case.

Lieut.-Col. Waterhouse submitted some photographs, showing the application of the principle of so-called "orthochromatic photography"; also some specimens of heliogravure produced in the Survey of India Offices; and Dr. Rajendralála Mitra made some appreciative remarks on the death of our late esteemed Member, Mr. Arthur Grote. After two contributions in natural history, a short paper was read by Mr. J. Cockburn on "Sitá's Window, or Buddha's Shadow Cave, near Prabhása, with an eye copy of an ancient inscription in the Asoka characters."

6th April, 1887.—Lieut.-Col. J. Waterhouse, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Twenty presentations were announced; the election of three Ordinary Members, one withdrawal, two deaths (one that of an Honorary Member) notified; and the names of five candidates for election were brought forward.

Dr. Rájendralála Mitra, referring in laudatory terms to the new edition of Manu with seven Commentaries, edited with notes by the Hon. Rao Sáhib Vishvanáth Nárayán Mandalik, C.S.I., put it to the Council whether this publication had not done away with the necessity of continuing the Manu-tika-sangraha, of which two fasciculi, or a ninth part only, had appeared in the Bibliotheca Indica.

The Philological Secretary read the report of a find of 38 old coins in Pargana Bánsi, east of the Bastí district; also an extract of a letter from Mr. C. J. Rodgers regarding coins he had lately collected, and one from Mr. A. M. Markham, of Bijnaur, on two terra-cotta Buddhist medals. He further exhibited a new gold Gupta coin forwarded by Mr. Rivett-Carnac, and a MS. in two volumes called "Visúddhi Márya," by Buddha Ghosha, lent by the Archbishop of Siam. Dr. Hoernle then submitted the Joint Report of Mr. Grierson and himself on the Congress of Orientalists at Vienna, to which they had been deputed as delegates from the Government of India.

4th May, 1887.—Lieut.-Col. Waterhouse, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Eleven presentations were announced; the election of five Ordinary

Members and two withdrawals notified; and three new candidates were proposed for election.

The Chairman reported that the publication of the Persian work *Ma'âşiru'l Umará'*¹ in the *Bibliotheca Indica* had been sanctioned, edited by Maulaví Abdu'r Rahim.

The Philological Secretary exhibited 20 old copper coins, Kashmíri, Indo-Scythian, and Indo-Bactrian, received from Babu Jogesh C. Dutt; also some ancient copper coins from Népal, forwarded by Mr. V. Smith, C.S., which Dr. Hoernle pronounced to be of great interest and "of a type hitherto unknown."

A paper by the Rev. J. H. Knowles was read on Kashmíri Riddles; one by the Rev. James Tracy on Pandyan Coins; and one by Babu Sarat Chandra Dás, C.I.E., on the Coinage and Currency of Siam. Col. Biddulph communicated "Rock-Cut Figures and Inscriptions in the Chittral Valley (Kashmír), and at Gangani, on the Upper Indus." "Notes on the City of Herat," were contributed by Capt. C. E. Yate, of the Afghan Boundary Commission.

Société Asiatique, Paris, 6 April, 1887.—M. Barbier de Meynard, Vice-President, in the Chair. After the election of a new Member, M. Senart presented a fresh impression of the Bhabra Inscriptions, and explained in detail such passages as had become clearer in its light. M. Clément Huart made some remarks upon three Bâbi works which would shortly be reported in the Journal. M. Halévy called attention to the following points in Assyrian texts: first, a system of enumeration like that in the *Mané thecel pharès* of Daniel; second, the orthography *Sa-mu-nu-ya-tu-nu* for the Phœnician Eshmounyaton.

13th May, 1887.—M. Rénan, President, in the Chair.—After the election of four Members and ordinary business, M. Barbier de Meynard, in presenting from the author, M. René Basset, *Le Manuel de Langue Kabyle*, expressed his opinion that this work would not only be useful for the study of Berber dialects, but also in generally forwarding the political and commercial interests of the French-African colony.

M. Rubens Duval gave some further information on M. Loevy's new study of the *Stèle de Mesha*; and M. Rochemontaix, alluding to M. Quatremère's identification of *Phanidjoit* with *Es-Zeitoun*, and *Pouschin* with *Bousch* (accepted by M. Amélineau), showed

¹ See Dr. Rieu's interesting notice of this book and its author, *Shahnawás Khan*, pp. 340-41, *Catal. of Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, vol. i.

cause for believing the first of these Coptic names to be found in *Ez-Zeidya*, and the second in *Ausim*.

American Oriental Society, May 11th, 1887.—The Rev. Dr. Peabody, of Cambridge, Vice-President, in the Chair.

After the election of a Corresponding Member and eight Corporate Members, and transaction of ordinary and miscellaneous business, the Society proceeded to hear communications. The following is a list of the papers read, or accepted for reading:—

1. The rising sun on Babylonian seals; by the Rev. Dr. W. Hayes Ward.

2. On the Syriac text of the book of the Extremity of the Romans; by Professor Isaac H. Hall.

3. On the Transliteration of Sanskrit proper names into Tamil; by the Rev. John S. Chandler.

4. On Naville's Book of the Dead; by the Rev. Mr. C. Winslow.

5. On the relationship of the Kachari and Garo Languages of Assam; by Prof. John Avery.

6. Notice of Delitzsch's *Assyrisches Wörterbuch, Erste Lieferung*; by Professor David G. Lyon.

7. The discovery of the Second Wall, and its bearing on the Site of Calvary; by the Rev. Selah Merrill.

8. On Ikonomatic Writing in Assyrian; by Professor Morris Jastrow, jun.

9. The Lokman legend; by Professor C. H. Toy.

10. A Syriac Bahîra Legend; by Dr. Richard J. H. Gottheil.

11. On a Syriac manuscript of the New Testament belonging to the Rev. Mr. Neesan; by the same.

12. On the MS. of a Syriac Lexicographical Treatise belonging to the Union Theological Seminary of New York; by the same.

13. On Avestan Similes: II. Similes from the Animal World; by Dr. A. V. Williams Jackson.

14. The Afrigān Rapithwin of the Avesta, translated with comments; by the same.

15. On the *Vyūha*, or Battle Order of the Mahābhārata; by Professor Edw. W. Hopkins.

16. On Fire Arms in Ancient India; by the same.

17. On Professor Bühler's "Manu"; by the same.

Of these, no less than four are evidences of Syriac, and three of Assyrian and Babylonian scholarship.



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IV. OBITUARY NOTICES.

The *Rev. George Shirt*,¹ Senior Missionary of the Church Missionary Society in Sindh, was born at Cawthorne, Yorkshire, in 1843. Educated at the C.M.S. College, London, and the University of Cambridge, he took his B.A. degree at the latter, with honours (Oriental Tripos) in 1864. He left England for India in 1866, and was shipwrecked on his way out; but after spending four days and nights in an open boat, he and his companions in peril were picked up by a passing vessel, and landed safely in Bombay. Mr. Shirt was appointed to Hyderabad, the old capital of Sindh, and having rapidly acquired the language of the country, he laboured on till 1873, when he left on furlough to England. His stay at home was spent at Cambridge, where he was engaged chiefly in the study of Oriental languages. He returned to Sindh in 1875, and was stationed at Karachi till 1877. During these two years he compiled, at the request of the Government of India, his *Sindhi Dictionary*. In October, 1881, being in a bad state of health, he went to Quetta for three months, during which short period, besides carrying on his studies in Arabic, he acquired a considerable knowledge of Brahui. In August, 1882, he came to England on furlough, and again settled at Cambridge, where, besides taking an active part in parish work, he continued his Oriental studies in the University. During this period he competed for the "Brotherton Sanskrit Prize," and was adjudged equal with another, the prize being divided. In January, 1885, he returned to India through Persia, by means of which tour he added to an already scholarly acquaintance with Classic Persian a powerful knowledge of the Colloquial.

Arriving in Sindh, he made Sukkur his head-quarters, and once again took up the great work of his life, in carrying on his Translation of the Bible into Sindhi. He was spared, not only to translate, but also to thoroughly revise and test, the greater portion of the Holy Scriptures. A number of smaller books, tracts, and hymns were given by him at various times, during his twenty years' work, to the Sindhi Church. In April, 1886, he was sent, in company with Dr. S. W. Sutton, to open the new C. M. S. Mission at Quetta. He entered upon this fresh sphere of work with all his accustomed energy, working at the same time hard at Brahui. At

¹ Memoir kindly contributed by the Rev. J. Bambridge.

the beginning of June he was taken ill, and on the 16th he died, quite suddenly, and without pain. As a Christian Missionary and Pastor he was equalled by few, whilst by a diligent use of his great linguistic talents, he surpassed many in the amount of literary work he was enabled to accomplish. By Europeans and natives, Christians and Non-Christians, throughout the Province of Sindh, he was beloved and respected. Mr. Shirt was married in 1868, and leaves a widow and eight children.

In 1878 his name first appears among the Members of the Royal Asiatic Society. He was, moreover, a Fellow of the University of Bombay.

The *Hon. Sir Ashley Eden*, K.C.S.I. and C.I.E.,¹ whose death took place in London on the 9th July, was a son of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and educated at Winchester and Haileybury. Of his life at the latter seminary nothing is worthy of remark save his comparative indifference to the results of the periodical examinations, which are popularly supposed to foreshadow the career of after-years. Passing in some way or another through these barriers of successful egress, he passed out in 1852, and joining the Bengal Civil Service, soon began to show of what stuff he was made, with the result, that in 1861, although but of nine years' standing, he was selected as Special Envoy to Sikkim. He did his work well on this occasion, and was rewarded with the Secretaryship of the Bengal Government, a post which he held for the long period of nine years, leaving his duties for a while to take charge of the Special Mission to Bhutan in 1864. In 1871 Mr. Eden became Chief Commissioner of British Burma, and in 1882 succeeded to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal. After the regulated five years—having become in the meanwhile Hon. Sir Ashley Eden, K.C.S.I.—he retired from the Service, and joined the Council of the Secretary of State for India. Possessed of great determination of character, and wide experience of Bengal customs and manners, his loss in this country is well-nigh irreparable. Many who disagreed with his views will avow that he was a most powerful opponent and a most vigorous foe. He became a member of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1882, and at the period of his decease was on the Executive Committee of the Imperial Institute.

The death of *Sir Barrow Helbert Ellis*, K.C.S.I.,² removes from

¹ By A. N. Wollaston, Esq., C.I.E., M.R.A.S.

² By Sir George Birdwood, M.D., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., M.R.A.S.

the world a distinguished member of the Anglo-Indian community of London, and one of the most active Members of this Society, which he joined in 1876, and served on its Council from 1878 to the period of his decease, having been for three years a Vice-President. He was educated at University College School, and University College, London, and matriculated, in 1839, at the University of London, taking a scholarship in classics. He subsequently entered Haileybury College, from which he was appointed to the Bombay Civil Service on the 26th of July, 1843, arriving in India on the 11th December in the same year. He served from 1844 as Third Assistant-Collector, and from 1847 as Second Assistant at Ratnagiri; from 1848 as Commissioner for investigating certain claims against the Nizam's Government; and from 1851 to 1855 as Assistant Commissioner, and from 1855 to 1857 in charge of the office of Commissioner, in Sind. This was during Sir Bartle Frere's absence in England, just before the outbreak of the Mutiny. From 1857 to 1859 he was at different times in charge of the office of Revenue Commissioner for the Southern Division of the Bombay Presidency, Special Commissioner for Jaghirs in Sind, and afterwards Acting Secretary to the Government of Bombay in the Revenue, Finance and General Departments, Government Director of the Bank of Bombay, and a Member of the Mint Committee; and, finally, for a short time, Collector and Magistrate of Broach. In April, 1860, he was confirmed as Secretary to Government, and in 1862 was made an additional Member of the Bombay Legislative Council, and Revenue Commissioner for the Northern Division of the Bombay Presidency; and in 1865 an ordinary Member of the Bombay Council. On the 2nd of May, 1870, he was selected as a Member of the Governor-General's Council; and on retiring from the Bombay Civil Service, on the 27th of April, 1875, he was appointed a Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for ten years from July, 1875. Within two years of his final retirement from the public service he died, on the 20th of June last, at Aix-les-Bains. His remains were brought home, and buried in the Jewish Cemetery at Willesden.

Sir Barrow Ellis was one of the ablest Revenue Officers of the Bombay Presidency, ever prolific of ability in this important department of the Indian administration, the brilliant traditions of which have been so honourably sustained in the present generation by such men as Sir B. Ellis, Mr. Pedder, C.S.I., and Mr. Peile, C.S.I.

Sir Barrow Ellis was remarkable also for the perfect confidence he



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1847—Dr. Dickson was well known to European residents and natives of all grades in the Shah's capital, not only for his medical skill and the readiness and kindness with which this was rendered available to his fellows, but for his intimate acquaintance with the ways and customs, and sympathy with the character of the people among whom he lived. Many visitors to Teheran during the present generation will bear testimony to the deceased officer's genial qualities, and usefulness in imparting those lessons of local experience which are invaluable to travellers and diplomatists. His place of residence was always to be distinguished by groups of patient candidates for treatment and advice seated outside the door; and the fluency with which he spoke Persian, as also his intuitive grasp of its idiom, were remarkable. Sir Joseph Dickson accompanied the Shah on his visit to England in 1873, and on the 30th June of that year received the honour of Knighthood.

V. EXCERPTA ORIENTALIA.

The first number of part i. vol. lvi. of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* contains a brief account of Tibet from "Dsam Ling Gyeshe," the well-known geographical work of Lama Tsan-po Nomian Khan of Amdo, translated by Sarat Chandra Dás, C.I.E., and Sítá's Window, or Buddha's Shadow Cave, by S. J. Cockburn, Esq., M.A.S. Bengal. Mr. Sarat Chandra Dás is a most painstaking and intelligent Government servant, honourable mention of whose name has already been made in these Notes. His present paper is a reprint from an official report, but valuable in more than an official sense. The second paper, though very brief, is replete with epigraphic interest. The writer would identify the cave to which he refers with the "lofty stone cavern of a venomous dragon, in which Buddha was supposed to have left his shadow, and the spot visited by Hwen Thsang in the seventh century." Mr. Cockburn was enabled to copy the inscription above the door by using an astronomical telescope. He had first discovered it through his own glass, for it is, to all intents and purposes, invisible to the naked eye.

An extra number of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* is given up to Prof. Peterson's third Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle during 1884-86. To this is added an Index of Books for the three Reports, and three valuable Appendices, the first of which is an illustrative and elaborately-prepared catalogue of the Palm-leaf MSS. in the Temple at Santinath, Cambay; the second supplies extracts from books preserved in libraries at Ahmadabad, Boondi, Kotah, Indore and Cambay; and the third relates to the Manuscripts acquired for Government.

Part I. of the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* contains the following papers: 1. Japanese, by E. H. Parker; 2. The Yellow Languages, by the same; 3. On the Quasi-characters called Ya-jirushi, by B. H. Chamberlain; 4. The Gakashikaiin, by W. Denning; 5. The Manchus, by E. H. Parker; 6. The Manchu Relations with Corea, by the same; 7. Connection of Japanese with the adjacent continental languages, by Dr. Edkins; 8. On Maritime Enterprise in Japan, by H. A. C. Bonar; and 9. An Aino Bear Hunt, by B. H. Chamberlain. It will be seen that out of nine articles, no less than four are from the pen of Mr. Parker. The first two of these contributions are linguistic, while the other two are concise historical notes. Of Mr. Chamberlain's two papers the main defect is brevity. Not inferior in interest to any of the articles is Mr. Denning's account of the Society named in his title, founded at the suggestion of the Vice-Minister of Education in Japan. Mr. Bonar imparts to his readers much valuable information, and his pages are beautifully illustrated. Altogether, the June number of the Journal is excellent.

In the *Journal Asiatique*, huitième série, tome ix. No. 3 (Avril-Mai-Juin, 1887), are the following papers:—1. Le Sûtra d'Upâli (Upâli Suttam), by M. L. Fœer. This creditable outcome of studies in Buddhism (*Études Bouddhiques*), is a translation from the Pâli text, with extracts from the Commentary, and an instructive prefatory Note. 2. Bibliographie Ottomane: a notice of Turkish, Arabic and Persian Books printed in Constantinople, by M. Cl. Huart. 3. Le premier conflit entre Pharisiens et Saducéens, by M. Montet: a singular paper, discussing three authorities, Josephus, the Babylonian Talmud, and Abu'l Fath, the Samaritan chronicler of the fourteenth century. 4. Le texte originaire du Yih-king, sa nature et son interprétation, by M. C. de Harlez. 5. Note sur la grande inscription Néo-punique, et sur une autre inscription d'Altibaros. 6. Notes d'épigraphie et d'histoire Arabe, by M. Clermont-Ganneau. The *Nouvelles et Mélanges* contains M. Rubens Duval's criticism of the method of Dr. Payne Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus*, but in no way disparaging its high merit. He says: "La richesse des renseignements qu'il renferme, l'abondance des citations toujours exactes, empruntées aux meilleurs autorités, les dissertations du savant Orientaliste, toujours en quête des nuances les plus délicates des mots, font de l'ouvrage un guide indispensable pour quiconque veut acquérir une connaissance approfondie de la langue Syriaque ou éclaircir des locutions difficiles des autres langues Sémitiques." There is also a second note by M. Bergaigne on his *Recherches sur l'histoire de la Saphitâ du Rig-veda*; M. Mourier's memoir of Chota Rousthavoli, a Georgian poet of the twelfth century; a paper by M. Rodet, on a subject too little studied, and at one time utterly neglected in Indian Civil Service examinations—the expression of numbers in writing among natives of India; and short reviews of M. Van den Berg's *Hadhramout* and a French translation of the late Count de Noër's essay on Akbar.

German Oriental Society, vol. xli. part i. contains: "II. Die Separat-Edicte," being a continuation of G. Bühler's interpretation of the Asoka Inscriptions; Goldziher's "Materialen zur Kenntniss der Almohaden bewegung in Nord-Afrika"; Himly's "Die Denkmaler der Kantoner Moschee"; and Böhtlingk's "Noch ein Wort zur Maurja-Frage in Mahábháshya." There is also a review, signed O. Böhtlingk, of Dr. Speijer's Sanskrit Syntax, mentioned in our April Notes.

In the recently-published Part I. Vol. IX. *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, the Memoir of Dr. Birch, Notes on Antiquities from Bubastis, Professor Sayce's "Karian Language and Inscriptions," and M. Lefébure's paper on "Le Cham et l'Adam Egyptien," have all a certain interest for the Royal Asiatic Society. The "Martyrdom of Isaac of Tiphre" affords a new instance of the increased activity of Coptic scholars in bringing to light valuable records hitherto little known in this country. M. Amélineau, though dwelling chiefly on a later period of Egyptian history, may be looked upon as a fellow-labourer in the same field.

Archæology.—In the *Madras Mail* of June 29 Surgeon-General Bidie gives a very interesting account of his visit, in company of Mr. Thorowgood, to the prehistoric graves near Pallávaram. The following are extracts:—

"Such burial-places are known to the natives in some districts as *Pandu-kuris* or *Pandu-kulis*, and in other districts as *Pandavagudlu*, *Pundaval-kovil*, etc. . . . In some instances, they are simply kistvaens; in others—and more commonly—dolmens or cairns as on the Nilgiris, and lastly, we have the coffin-like vessels, such as those under notice, made of coarse pottery. The dolmens also differ in type, being in some cases roomy stone-built chambers with a cap-stone, the whole being usually buried in the earth; while in other localities they stand free, the dolmen being surrounded with several circles of stone slabs with rounded tops, like the head stones in a modern graveyard. Excellent specimens of the latter type exist at Tralabanda, Bapanatham, near Palmaner, and in the Kolar district, but this style is not common. The dolmens vary in size, some of those buried in tumuli having a floor area of $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and being as much as $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet in depth. In some cases a rectangular stone slab like a couch or bed, and supported at the corners by bits of stone, like legs, has been found resting on the floor of the dolmen. In fact, the construction of these sepulchral chambers shows some resemblance to the dwellings of the living, and we shall find that the similarity was still further maintained by the deposit along with the dead body of household utensils, arms, ornaments and tools, such as were used by the person when alive. It seems also pretty clear that the tumulus with its dolmen in the interior or outside on the crown of the elevation, and its enclosing concentric circles of stones, was the prototype of the Buddhist tope or dagoba, with its rails, mound and relic casket. At present there is no people in Southern India who practise



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of such monuments if they were the work of one race. It appears to me that not one but many races living at different times were the constructors of the *dolmens*. In fact, that these structures indicate a certain stage in the mental history of a people, and are due to a psychological principle which is the constant outcome of intellectual development. . . . The differences which we see in them would probably be due to the nature of the constructive materials available, and to the variation in customs and beliefs."

In the *Academy* of June 4, Mr. Burgess explains how Dr. Führer discovered, and obtained his copy of the inscription, in Gupta characters, over the cave of Rája Gopála (Banda district). He was not at the time aware that it had been previously brought to notice.

A Supplement to the Fatehpur Gazetteer, by Mr. F. S. Growse, published at Allahabad in 1887, purposes to correct certain inaccuracies in the topographical half of the larger work, and to supply the blank in architectural and archæological information occasioned by the incompetence to deal with such matters of the native subordinates engaged on the original compilation. The statement in the preface that "every paragraph is the result of personal observation" will carry double weight from the writer's well-known zeal and ability. "It will now be seen," he says, "that the district, instead of being exceptionally barren in objects of historical interest, is richer than many—far more so than Bulandshahr, for example, in monuments of the past."

The June and July numbers of the *Indian Antiquary* continue Mr. Patlibhai B. H. Wadia's "Folk-lore in Western India," and Pandit S. M. Natesa's "Folk-lore in Southern India"—both pleasant reading and instructive to those who seek more from them than amusement; Professor Kielhorn contributes a note on the Mahábháshya, and a paper on "Three Chandra Copper Plate Grants"; the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles three more Kasmiri stories; the Rev. S. Beal "Some Remarks on the Suhrikka, or Friendly Communications of Nagarjuna-Bodhisatva to King Shatopohanna"; Professor R. G. Bhandarkar "A Supplementary Note on the Maurya Passage in the Mahábháshya"; and Mr. Fleet "No. 170 of Sankrit and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions," as well as "The Date of the Poet Rajasekhara." The Miscellanea and Book Notices of both the *Antiquary* and *Notes and Queries*, would, it is believed, carry more weight if *invariably* signed or initialled by the several writers; or the source specified where an extract is taken from another periodical. Part cxcix. for August, besides a continuation of the Pandit's Folk-lore in Southern India, Mr. Fleet's Sanskrit and Kanarese Inscriptions, and Professor Kielhorn's Notes on the Mahábháshya, has a practical and praiseworthy though very short paper, on the "Somáli as a Written Language." Its writer, Capt. King, of the Bombay Staff Corps, alluding to Dr. Cust's classification of this tongue under the Ethiopic sub-group of the Hamitic family, says:—"This may be the original stock on which the language mainly is founded; but the existence of a pre-Hamitic

element in it is not improbable. Various influxes from Hadhramaut and Yemen have added a Semitic element which now seems to predominate, and this element is observable, not alone in individual words, but also in the construction." A bright note by Mr. Grierson forms the month's "Miscellanea."

In the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund* for July the chief contributors are Capt. Conder, MM. Schick and Schumacher, and Drs. Chaplin and Hutchinson. From the "Notes and News" it appears that Herr Schumacher will arrange with the Turkish authorities for the removal of the sarcophagi recently found near Sidon; and that the same gentleman's English-translated "Jaulan" and Ajlun Memoirs will be published by the Society. Whatever opposition Capt. Conder may meet with in the pending settlement of the great Hittite question, he will deserve the thanks of philologists and other learned bodies for a bold enunciation of views which none but a privileged few are competent to accept or reject, as well as for throwing broadcast original linguistic problems to interest the many. His notion that Ed Dejjâl, or more strictly "Al Masihu'd-Dajjâl," may originate in "the Masdean ideas of the false prophet," because "nearly the whole of the Moslem eschatology is founded on Persian ideas," needs, however, warranted as a general observation, to be confronted with the many interpretations given by learned Muhammadans of the Anti-Christ they have been taught to expect. According to the compiler of the *Qámus*, Mr. Hughes reminds us in his Dictionary of Islám, "there have been at least fifty reasons assigned for his (the Dajjâl) being called *al Masih*."

Hebrew and Semitic Languages.—In a note headed "Semitismi nel Libro dei Re di Firdusi," at page 74 of the *Giornale della Societa Asiatica Italiana*, M. Pizzi finds in the Shah Nameh certain Aramaic, Judæo-Pahlavi, and Arabic words, forms or expressions of which he gives instances: Masihâ, Salípâ (*salibó*), Skûbâ and Skûpâ (*episkúpó*). These, he is disposed to believe, the author obtained from a Pahlavi source, rather than that they were words in common use by the people among whom he lived. 2. Badkunisht he looks upon as exemplifying, in the final *sht* of Kunisht, a Judæo-Persianism, consequently a Semiticism. 3. Khudávand, when used in the sense of Sahib, "possessor," before the thing possessed, he regards as an Arabicism; for instance, Khudávand-i-nám, Khudávand-i-shamshír, etc., etc. Nishast (inf. Nishastan), combined with Gâh, a place, is compared with the Arabic Majlis or Maglis, a place of sitting. Rámish and Rámishgar, when meaning music and musicians, are likened to the Tarab and Muṭrib of the Arabs. Dár, used as a capital, is assimilated to the Arabic Báb.

The *Athenæum* of July 23 recommends to beginners the *Hebrew Grammar* by the Rev. W. H. Löwe, which has just appeared in Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton's series entitled "The Theological Educator." It remarks that "Mr. Löwe has shown his immense learning in Biblical Hebrew by his commentary on the Psalms and

on Zechariah, and in Rabbinical Hebrew by his edition from MSS. of the so-called Mishnah of the Talmud of Jerusalem, and of a fragment of the Babylonian Talmud of Pesahim."

General Houtum-Schindler, in the *Academy* of June 18, reverts to the translation of the word "Kipôd," propounded by the Rev. J. Davies in the same journal last December (see page 325 of our Quarterly Notes). He considers the Arabic version *hubdra*, "bastard," to be the right one—utterly discarding the fanciful connection of this word with the Persian *âhû-barah* "a fawn."

Die Semitische Sprachen. Eine Skizze, von Th. Nöldeke.—In our January "Notes," allusion was made to Professor Nöldeke's valuable contribution to vol. xxi. of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The German original of this article, revised and enlarged, has been reprinted at Leipzig, and forms the subject of an elaborate notice by M. J. Halevy in the *Revue Critique* of the 8th August. In one respect M. Nöldeke and his reviewer differ. The former considers the Nabateans to be Arabs who used the Aramean as a literary language; while the latter regards them as Arameans who had borrowed certain Arabic words from the dialects of their Arab neighbours.

Dr. M. Rabbinowicz has announced the approaching publication of a new edition of his French translation of the Babylonian Talmud, or that section regarding the civil and criminal law of the Jews, the position of the women, medicine and other sciences, beliefs, manners and customs, and relations with the heathen. The work will be published in six volumes of about 500-600 pages octavo each, printed on fine paper. Six hundred copies, handsomely bound, will be issued to subscribers at one guinea a volume. It is expected that they will be ready at intervals of about six months. Messrs. H. Grevel and Co., 33, King Street, W.C., are the London agents.

In the *Academy*, 11th June, Professor Neubauer, under the head "Arabia in the Land of Goshen," throws out the following suggestions: "Can it be that the word Arabia represents the Hebrew *Arba* in the old name of Hebron, *Kirjath Arba*? . . . I have always been tempted to consider the פ in such proper names as Balak, Amalek, and Anak as a suffix. Balak would thus be 'one who belongs to Baal'; Amalek, a tribe worshipping Amal=Amel; and perhaps also *Dameshek* (Damascus), a town consecrated to a deity called Demesh, or something like it."

Arabic.—The somewhat exceptional character of *Howell's Grammar* and *Prof. Sachau's Albirûni* render it necessary to defer notices of both works until January. In the meantime, attention is drawn to the estimate of the former expressed in the *Saturday Review* of March 26, and to the high value set upon the latter by our distinguished Honorary Member, Senator M. Amári of Pisa.

A new fasciculus (viii. 2) of Lane's Arabic Lexicon, edited by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, has appeared, reaching page 2912. Two more fasciculi (*Athen.* 16 July) complete the alphabet. Hasty criticism



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Brown, jun.; and Notes, News and Queries on miscellaneous subjects.

Independently of its Journal, the Italian Asiatic Society has issued No. 1 of its separate publications, entitled *Crestomazia Assira con Paradigmi Grammaticali*. The author, Dr. Bruto Teloni, claims to be but a compiler, and his work is meant for beginners in Assyriology. It contains a syllabary, a sketch grammar, a few texts, with interlineary transliteration and commentary, and a glossary, in which the words are placed under the Hebrew roots. Some critics will doubtless object that the Doctor follows too closely the German school, and ignores much that has been written in other countries, consequently falling into errors which a wider study might have avoided.

Hittite.—In the *Times* of August 22 is described a quadrangular hæmatite seal discovered not long ago near Tarsus by Mr. Greville Chester, and, owing to certain of its characteristics, regarded as Hittite. The presence of equilateral triangles on this, as on the circular seal previously found at Yuzgat (and now in the British Museum), is interpreted to represent sacred or mystical objects. If such notion be correct, the two together are brought into apparent connexion with Indian symbolism.

Aryan Languages.—M. Sol. Rainach, in a long and instructive criticism of M. Penka's *Die Herkunft der Aryer* (Wien, Prochaska), speaking of the lately disputed Asiatic origin of the Aryans, writes: "Le premier qui ait envisagé le problème sous toutes ses faces, en appelant à son aide les témoignages de la linguistique, de l'anthropologie, de la paléontologie, et de l'histoire, pour conclure à l'origine Européenne des Aryens, est M. Penka." This assertion is of itself a powerful advertisement. But the whole question has just been reviewed by Prof. Sayce in the Anthropological Section of the British Association at Manchester.

Sanskrit.—In the *Revue Critique* of June 6 is a notice of Dr. Pischel's edition of Rudrata's *Çrngâratilaka* and Ruyyaka's *Sahrdyatila*. The first of these works, according to M. Sylvain Lévi, has enabled its author to display that passion for subtle analysis and minute classification which exemplifies at once the genius and mania characteristic of the Hindu mind. The second work is chiefly commended as illustrative of literary composition of a peculiar kind. With reference to the whole performance, it is considered that, whatever value may be attached to the learned editor's own conclusions, his publication and exposition of the native text will henceforth become indispensable to students.

Professor Max Müller enriches the columns of the *Academy* of July 30th with a pleasant review of Professor Peterson's edition of the popular *Hitopadesa*, noting his discovery of the verse containing the author's name, "suppressed," for some reason or other, by Schlegel and Lassen. The editor is said, by this new publication, to have "earned the thanks of all Sanskrit scholars."

The same number also mentions an edition of the *Bhagavadgita* with Sṛīdharasvâmin's Commentary and a Bengali translation

under preparation, chiefly for the use of native students, by Gopāla Chandra Chattopadhyaya, in Calcutta.

Among the papers laid before the 18th Annual Meeting of the *American Philological Association*, held at Ithaca, N.Y., in July, 1886, was a translation by Professor Whitney of the *Katha Upanishad*. Instead of reading it through, the learned philologist remarked upon the Upanishad literature in general, in its relation to the history of religious thought in India. The abstract of his address, recorded in the Proceedings, concludes as follows:—"It appears impossible to regard the element of metempsychosis itself as having a popular origin, as developing by any natural process out of the older forms of Hindu religions; it must have been, as it here exhibits itself, rather the product of a school of religious philosophy, though winning afterward a general currency and acceptance, as is testified by its underlying the later systems of philosophy, including the philosophy of Buddhism."

In the *Athenæum* of July 30, a *Sanskrit Critical Journal*, "edited under the auspices of the Oriental Institute at Woking, by Pandit Rishi Kesh Shastri," is noticed. "Its object," we are told, "is not only the cultivation of Sanskrit learning and research, but also the formation of a linguistic command over that ancient language, especially for the expression of modern ideas."

The publication of Panini's *Grammatik* Hrsg., übers., erläutert., &c., O. Böhtlingk, 8 Lfg. Leipzig, Haessel, is notified in the *Academy* of June 11.

Pahlavi.—M. Darmesteter notices in the *Revue Critique* of June 20 a pamphlet of 80 pages, entitled *Gajastik Abalish*, professing to be the report of a Theological discussion presided over by the Khalif Ma'mún. The text is published for the first time with translation, commentary and lexicon, and should be of exceptional interest to Pahlavi students.

Vol. xxxii. of the splendid series of *Sacred Books of the East*, containing part iii. of the *Zend Avesta*, translated by the Rev. L. H. Mills, has been received in the Society's Library. Professor Darmesteter, to whom the public is indebted for the translation of parts i. and ii., not having the requisite time at his disposal to continue his labours in this field, had himself apparently indicated a fitting successor.

Turkish.—The June number of the Austrian monthly journal (*Monatsschrift für den Orient*) has an interesting paper on Turkish Inscriptions of the last century in the grounds at Hadersdorf; and in July there is a notice, dated Basrah, 1884, on the inhabitants and tracts of Turkish Arabia between Baghdad and the Persian Gulf.

Central Asia.—The *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung* of July 9 remarks that Karasin's *Sketches of Travel on the Road from Orenburg to Tashkend* are "full of life."

India.—The first Annual Report of the Max Denso Hall Literary Society for 1885-86 is indicative of healthy work at Karachi. There is no apparent reason why this should not be the nucleus of

a yet larger and more important Institution, as contemplated by many of its Members. But efforts must be continuous and wisely directed.

The three numbers of *Indian Notes and Queries* for the first quarter of 1887—of which February and January were saved from the wreck of the *Tasmania*, and reached the Society on the 21st July—are fair specimens of the whole work. Capt. Temple's remarks on the Orthography and Transliteration of Geographical names merits particular notice in reference to what is called the somewhat unscientific "phonetic" system. The numbers for April and May have followed, and are full of pleasant and instructive reading.

In an interesting notice of the *Report of the Operations of the Survey of India*, the Athenæum of July 16 remarks that had the native traveller known by the initials R. N. succeeded in his main object of gaining Gyala-Syndong, "the lowest point yet reached on the Sanpou," and starting thence kept down the stream and reached India without crossing it, "he would have been the most famous Asiatic explorer of the day." But while it was not R. N.'s good fortune to achieve such a triumph as this, he was still enabled to perform a useful and honest piece of work.

China.—The resolution of the Chinese Government to send a certain number of their civil servants to study Western lore in Western countries is a remarkable sign of the times in which we live. Each missionary, we learn from the *London and China Telegraph*, is to receive a salary a little over £500 a year, with an allowance of £125 a year for an interpreter and travelling expenses.

Professor Legge, in the Academy of the 9th July, when reviewing Mr. P. H. Balfour's *Leaves from my Chinese Scrap Book*, points to that writer's monograph of Ts'in Shih Hwang Ti, as "the longest and most discriminating account that has yet appeared in English of this remarkable personage." The reviewer's estimate of this hero places him third in the list of Chinese conspicuous above all others by "grand proportions and distinct personality." Yü the great is the first, and Confucius the second.

The two beautiful books on the Amoy Yearly Feasts, which have been translated into French and published under the authority of the Minister of Public Instruction as the 11th and 12th volumes of the *Annales du Musée Guimet*, are worthy pendants of a remarkable series. M. De Groot can hardly complain that justice has not been done him in this reproduction of his valuable work. Type, illustrations, paper—all are unexceptionable. Perhaps the most palpable drawback to the English reader is that the familiar 'Amoy' is replaced by 'Émoui.' In showing cause for this, the author tells us in his preface that he might have been more accurate had he written "E mung," and that some European maps have recorded the Mandarin pronunciation of "Hia-mun."

Of less bulk and substance, but attractive in its way, is an essay privately printed in Philadelphia by Mr. Stewart Curtin on "The Religious Ceremonies of the Chinese in the Eastern Cities of



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Bubastis, of which we have cleared only about one-third." July 9 contains a letter from Professor Hirschfeld at Königsberg confirming his view against that of Mr. Gardner that there was no Greek town of Naukratis before the time of Amasis. In July 16, both Mr. Gardner and Mr. Flinders Petrie continue the discussion, ranging themselves on the opposite side of the question. August 6 brings a letter from Professor Sayce as a fresh contribution to the evidence adduced; and Professor Hirschfeld publishes a courteous rejoinder to M.M. Gardner and Petrie on August 20. "It will perhaps be of use," he says, to "renew the discussion after the results from Daphnae have been published;" and he is "glad to learn that this will be accomplished with the same promptitude which has already, in the case of Naukratis, won for Mr. Petrie the heartiest thanks of every scholar." There has been going on for some days in Oxford Mansions a so-called "Exhibition of Minor Antiquities" in connection with the work of the Egypt Exploration Fund. On Miss Edwardes' high authority (see *Academy* of 13th August), "those who are interested in flint implements and pottery" are informed that a visit to this quarter will reward them more or less for the trouble involved.

Some interesting papers on Egyptian exploration have appeared lately in the *Times*, and added to the universally-recognized value of its many columns. One in the issue of August 22, commencing with the statement that Professor Maspero "has laid down the itinerary and topography of the Egyptian Inferno with a circumstantiality that is positively startling," proceeds to an elaborate analysis of the question mooted. While to the initiated the article will not be unattractive—to the uninitiated it will be instructive and pleasant reading, affording a curious insight into the beliefs of an ancient people.

M. Amélineau has published separately the thirteenth century Coptic MS. of the Martyre de Jean de Phanidjoit, mentioned in the last Notes of the Quarter as among the contents of the *Journal Asiatique* for February and March last. He has also made more generally known, by republishing in pamphlet form, his "Étude Historique sur Saint Pachome," heretofore confined to the pages of the "Bulletin de l'Institut Egyptien." Saint Pakhōm or Pakhōn of the Coptic Kalendar was the founder of the Cænobia, and called the father of the Cænobites. We read in the Rev. Mr. Malan's translation of the Arabic Notes of the Coptic Church that he wrote "Fifty Rules or Precepts for a Monastic Life," given in *Patres Egyptii*, p. 9, n. 8, ed. Migne.

In announcing that he has undertaken the preparation of a history of Christian Egypt, M. Amélineau explains the process by which he has attained the necessary knowledge and experience for so important a work. The materials which he has been enabled to collect during his residence in the country are such as throw much new light on the state of its Christian inhabitants, from the period of Diocletian (A.D. 284) to the thirteenth century. Indepen-

density of these. He has taken copies of all Coptic and Arabic MSS. bearing upon this particular subject in various public and private libraries of Europe, sufficient in themselves to fill many large-sized volumes. M. Amelineau has already drawn attention to the fact that many Coptic documents, lost in the original language, have been preserved in Arabic translations, made at the time that Coptic fell into disuse as a spoken language, to be superseded by Arabic. He proposes to render his *excerpta* faithfully into French for the benefit of students; each volume of collections being supplemented by a critical review of the *data* supplied, written without prejudice or partiality. His own private conclusions will be quite a separate affair, which he reserves to himself the right of expressing in such form as he thinks fit.

The French Government will lend its aid to the proposed publication, and has furnished the requisite funds for defraying the cost of the first volume (to appear in the course of October), but the subvention will, it is believed, be insufficient to cover the whole expenditure necessitated. An appeal is therefore addressed to learned Societies to secure, by means of a subscription list, completion of the author's labours. The work will be costly, and the price of each volume will depend upon the number of its pages. One volume will appear every year.

Numismatics.—M. A. de Barthélemy's short but suggestive notice, in the *Revue Critique* of June 27, of M. Théodore Reinach's "Essai dans la Numismatique des Rois de Cappadoce," designates the work to be a new and eloquent testimony in favour of those data which "Archæology supplies for the completion, and often rectification, of classical texts." and, moreover, a fresh argument in support of the writer's own proposition that historians and archæologists can, *of themselves*, "render but very imperfect service." According to the reviewer, M. Reinach examines successively the state of Kappadocia under the Persian rule (B.C. 546–333), the respective dynasties of the Ariarathes (333–100), and the Ariabarzanes (96–36); and Archelaus, placed on the throne by Mark Antony (36–17). The Persian period he finds illustrated only by a drachma coined at Sinope, and bearing the name of Datames. Now, the best numismatic authorities hold this personage to be the son of Kamissares, Governor of Kappadocia under Artaxerxes II.; but the concise character of the texts does not allow him to accept the fact as indisputable. On the other hand, he writes, "la série des Ariarathe et celle des Ariabarzane est classée avec une méthode et une critique qui ne laissent rien à désirer; la foliation des types, l'examen scrupuleux des surnoms pris par chacun de ces rois homonymes, tout concourt à reconnaître que M. R. n'a rien avancé sans être à même de fournir des preuves à l'appui de son système de classification."

Epigraphy.—At a sitting of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* on the 29th July, M. J. Halevy made some observations on the word *adlân*, which occurs in the lately discovered

epitaph on King Tabnit. The passage runs thus:—"Do not open my sepulchral chamber, nor disturb me, for there is neither an *adlān* of silver, nor yet of gold, nor any treasure whatever." *Εἶδωλον* in Greek (image) was thought to be the word intended. At the same meeting, the same gentleman had something to say on the origin of the Phœnician letter *thét*. According to M. de Rougé, the Phœnicians had borrowed from the Egyptians the 22 letters of their alphabet. M. Halevy, on the other hand—holding the theory that they had only borrowed from them 12 or 13, making up the remainder by adding a diacritical sign to, or otherwise modifying some of these—showed that the letter *thét* was a combination of two others—the *tāv* and *ain*.

Miscellaneous.—The *Athenæum* of July 16 has a criticism of Mr. Arthur Lillie's *Buddhism in Christendom*. The chapters on ritual and observances, it remarks, are rendered attractive by a number of interesting illustrations.

A volume just published by Messrs. Whittingham, under the title "Christianity, Islam, and the Negro Race," merits the close attention of those who are sceptical as to the successful results of culture on the African mind. Dr. Blyden, its author, is, it is true, in respect of literary distinction, one of a million; but he shows us in his writings that there are a sufficient number of his fellow-countrymen (in the widest sense of the word) to prove the Negro capable of attaining the higher degrees of civilization. It is to the general tone of the papers put together, of which there are fifteen, exclusive of the Preface and interesting Biographical Note in this book, rather than to the literary composition—however able this may be—that the reader's attention should be drawn.

In the Oxford "Examination Statutes" for the Degrees of Bachelor of Arts, of Music, of Civil Law, and of Medicine, revised to Trinity Term of the present year, it is provided that there shall be two examinations in the Honour School of Oriental studies:—an examination in Indian studies, and an examination in Semitic studies. Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Hindustani, Hindi, Marathi, Bengali, Tamil and Telugu are the languages included in the former, and Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic in the latter. The books chosen for Indian studies are:—The *Hitopadeśa*, *Raghuvansha*, *Bhagavad-gītā* and *Vedānta-sāra*; the *Shāhnāma*, *Life of Janghiz Khan*, *Jalālu'd-din's Masnavi*, and *Akhlāk-i-Jalāli*; extracts in *Wright's Reading Book*, *al Fakhri*, the *Kuran*, and the *Hamāsa*; the *Ikhwānu's Safā*, *Arāish-i-Mahfil*, and *Nasr-i-benazir*; the *Vikramorvasī*, *Rājnītī*, and *Bāl-kānd* of the *Rāmāyan* of *Tulsī-Dās*; the *Mukta-mālā*, *Veṇīsamhāra Nāṭaka*, and *Tukārāma*; the *Charitāvali*, *Nabanāsi*, and *Mahābhārata*; the *Pañcatantra*, *Kurraḷ*, and *Nīti Nerri Vilakham*; the *Vikramānka Tales*, *Vēmana*, and *Nala Dvipada*. For Semitic studies:—Extracts in *Wright's Reading Book*, *al Fakhri*, the *Kurān*, and *Hamāsa*; i. and ii. *Samuel*, *Jeremiah*, *Job*, *Pirkê Ābhōth-Pesiktā*, *Rashi* on i. *Samuel*, *Kimchi* on *Jeremiah* 1–15; *Onkelos* on *Genesis*, the *Targum* of *Jonathan*



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languages, or dialects of languages, spoken by the numerous tribes, or sections of tribes, which have pressed down from the unknown interior to the coast; they are all savage Pagans, but not unfriendly. These languages belong to the Melanesian Group with certain Polynesian affinities: totally without literature or written character. Mr. Lawes had seven years' residence among the people, to teach him the language of this important tribe, which lives near to Port Moresby, and he has translated a portion of the New Testament, which was printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society. It is of such importance that the officials appointed to carry out the Protectorate should understand this leading language, which no doubt will become the *lingua franca* of the South Coast, that Mr. Lawes deserves the thanks of the Government. He promises, on his return to the scene of his benevolent labour, a Comparative Grammar, and Collective Vocabulary of all the forms of speech spoken in the districts influenced by his Mission Stations. Attached to this Grammar is an English-Motu and Motu-English Vocabulary, of considerable length. It is an excellent book, and reflects credit on the Australian publisher.

Asia. — Indo-Chinese Peninsula. — Cambodia. — Dictionnaire Stieng; Recueil de 2500 Mots Fait à Brolam en 1865 par H. Azémar, Missionnaire, Saigon, 1887.—In the valley of the great Mekong, in Cambodia, are a great many wild tribes, of whose language little is known. Among them are the Stieng, and a French Roman Catholic Mission has been established in their midst for more than a quarter of a century. Their existence is noticed in the travels of Garnier and Bastian. M. Azémar was one of those Missionaries, who settled at Brolam in 1861, and left in 1866. He dwelt quite alone among the people, and picked up their language, and compiled this Vocabulary in the French language, which, accompanied by a full description of the tribe, has been published by the French Colonial Government of Cochin-China, and a copy has found its way to the Library of the Royal Geographical Society. It is a very creditable performance.

La Società Asiatica Italiana.—We welcome the appearance of the first volume of the Journal¹ of the Italian Asiatic Society, published at Florence. Its President, Count Angelo di Gubernatis, had lately visited India, and on his return conceived the idea of an Italian Asiatic Society and an Indian Museum. The King of Italy accepted the office of Patron, and in His Majesty's presence both Institutions were opened, and the President delivered his first address. Some of the most distinguished scholars of Europe and America have accepted the office of Honorary Members. The Society held its first Annual Meeting in May of this year. The Journal consists of 153 pages, of which 88 are devoted to 9 original communications on a great variety of Asiatic subjects, and 68 to Notices of 13 works in different languages of Europe. The account

¹ See *ante*, p. 699.

of the *res gestæ* of the Society occupy 39 pages in addition to the above. The whole is in the Italian language, and there are no illustrations. The Universities of Italy are numerous, some might say, too numerous, and the Professors are numerous, and the chief support of the Society must come from that quarter, as Italy has as yet no intimate relations with or a single colony or dependency in Asia. The names of some Italian scholars have a wide repute, Amári, Ascoli, Gorresio, Teza, and Di Gubernatis, all of whom have published noteworthy works. It might have been wiser to have established the Society at Rome, as the rivalry of illustrious cities is one of the causes of weakness of Italy.

PROGRESS OF WORK OF TRANSLATION OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES IN LANGUAGES OF ASIA, AFRICA AND OCEANIA.

Japan.—Ainu.—The Committee have published at Tokyo a tentative edition of 250 copies of nine chapters of the Gospel of St. Matthew. The remainder of the Gospel has now been translated, and a complete edition will be published for circulation. The translation was made by the Rev. J. Batchelor (C.M.S.), of Hakodate, Japan. He is the only foreigner who understands the language, and there is no native Ainu, who can speak English. The translation has been made from the Greek by the aid of the English Revised Version, and the few Ainu, who have been taught to read have gone over the translations made by Mr. Batchelor, and thus contributed to the idiomatic accuracy of the version.

Oceania.—Api or Baki.—The Gospel of St. Mark, translated by the Rev. Rule Fraser, of the Presbyterian Church of Tasmania, and printed by the New South Wales Auxiliary, is now in the hands of the people. The Rev. Dr. Steel, of Sydney, Agent of the New Hebrides Mission, read the proofs and edited the version.

India.—Badaga.—At the request of the Rev. J. Knobloch, of the Basel Mission, of the Madras Auxiliary to this Society, has agreed to publish an edition of the Gospel of St. Luke for the tribe of Badaga, who inhabit the Nilgiri Hills, and number about 24,000. The version will be prepared by the Rev. W. Lutz, who will take as the basis of his revision a translation prepared and lithographed in 1852.

Oceania.—Duke of York Island—The Committee have authorized the Sydney Auxiliary to publish an edition of the Gospel of St. Matthew and of the Acts of the Apostles, prepared under the auspices of the Australasian Wesleyan Missionary Society.

Oceania.—Faté.—The Gospel of St. John, translated by the Rev. J. Cosh, and revised by the Rev. J. W. Mackenzie, is now in the hands of the people, who have refunded to the Society the cost of its production. The Rev. Dr. Macdonald, of Havannah Harbour, hopes that the New Testament, completed by Mr. Mackenzie and himself, will be ready for the press during this year. The translators have agreed to render the New Testament into the most

important dialect of Faté, trusting that the version will be sufficient for the whole island, and the surrounding islets.

Africa.—E'wé.—At the request of the North German Missionary Society, the Committee have agreed to publish an edition of 1500 copies of the Books of Isaiah and Jeremiah. The version was made by the Rev. T. Merz, formerly a Missionary on the Gold Coast. He has revised his translation by the help of an Éwé student now in Germany; and the Rev. Pastor Binder has also revised the version, assisted by two Éwé students, who are being educated by him in Germany.

Africa (Ashanti).—Fanti.—The printing of the Four Gospels progresses slowly, owing to the time lost in sending proofs to Cape Coast. Meanwhile a Bible Revision Committee has been formed at Cape Coast, consisting of ministers and laymen, who meet once a week. They are now engaged on the Book of Genesis, which they hope to complete in about a year.

China.—Fuh-chow Vernacular (Roman Character).—The reception given to his version of the Gospel of St. John has encouraged the Rev. R. W. Stewart, of the Church Missionary Society, to continue the translation of the New Testament, and the Committee have resolved to continue the publication of the version.

Africa.—Gogo.—The Committee have published an edition of 500 copies of the Rev. J. C. Price's version of the Gospel of St. Luke. The language is closely allied to the Kagúru, but sufficiently distinct to render Last's Kagúru version useless among the Wa-Gogo. Mr. Price's translation was made from the Greek, by the help of the English Revised Version, and Rebman's Swahili version. They number about 100,000. They inhabit the region between the U-Nyamwézi district on the West, and that of the U-Sagára on the East. They are bounded on the North by the Masai country. The rendering follows, with slight exceptions, Steere's system of orthography.

Gujaráti.—The Committee have completed the final revision of the last 19 chapters of the Gospel of St. Luke, the Gospel of St. John, the Acts of the Apostles, and eight chapters of the Epistle to the Romans.

India.—Hindi.—The Revision Committee have completed the four Gospels, and revised a part of the Acts of the Apostles.

Hindustani (Dakhani).—The Rev. M. G. Goldsmith, of the Church Missionary Society, completed his revision of the Gospel of St. Matthew in 1885. When the portion was revised by the Delegates, it was sent to the lithographer to be photographed. The Gospels of St. Luke and St. John have also been revised, and that of St. Matthew is now being proceeded with. An edition of Genesis and Exodus was passed through the press in December, 1885. The brethren are aiming at a thoroughly idiomatic South Indian, which differs considerably from North Indian Urdu.

Japan.—Japanese.—The version of the Old Testament is now approaching completion. The work has been carried out by the



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spent four years in Mongolia, and is acquainted with the literary language of the Mongols, and Professor Pozdnejeff considers his services of special value.

Russia.—Kazán-Turki.—The Gospel of St. Mark, translated and edited by M. Saleman, is now completed, and will be immediately circulated among the people for whom it is intended in Kazán and elsewhere. M. Saleman will proceed with the translation of the remaining two Gospels, St. Luke and St. John.

Central Asia.—Kirghiz-Turki.—The printing of the third edition of the New Testament, revised by Dr. Gottwald, at the Kazán University Press, under the care of M. Saleman, proceeds slowly. The Rev. W. Nicolson reports that thirty sheets out of forty-two have been printed.

India.—Konkani.—The Madras Auxiliary are taking steps for the formation of a Committee to revise the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, already printed, and to prepare other portions of the New Testament for the press.

Caucasus.—Kumuk (Turki).—The publication of the Gospel of St. Matthew has been delayed owing to the discovery of a few typographical mistakes. The version is being re-examined by Dr. Sauerwein and M. Amirkhaniantz, and will be issued immediately.

Oceania.—Lifu.—The revision of the Bible has been brought to a close, and at the request of the Mission, the Committee have agreed to publish an edition of 4000 copies, the type and general style to be similar to that of the Samoan Bible.

U-Ganda.—The Rev. R. P. Ashe, on his return from U-Ganda, brought with him the first thirteen chapters of the Gospel of St. Matthew, translated by himself and the Rev. Mr. Mackay, and printed by their Mission press at U-Ganda. The version has been tested by the natives and re-revised, and the Committee agreed to print a tentative edition of 250 copies. Later news from U-Ganda reports that Mr. Mackay is completing the translation, and the Committee have resolved to await the arrival of the remaining chapters of the Gospel with a view to printing (500 copies) of the complete Gospel.

Madagascar.—Malagási.—The revision of the Bible begun thirteen and a half years ago is now completed, and the Revision Committee has been dissolved. The first meeting was held in the house of Mr. William Johnson, of the Friends' Mission, on July 21, 1873. The last meeting was held in the Committee-room of the London Missionary Society, Madagascar, on April 30, 1887. Owing to the absence on furlough of the chief reviser for two and a half years, the time actually spent in revision was a little over eleven years. On May 2, two days after the completion of the revision, a thanksgiving service was held in the Memorial Church, attended by Missionaries, Native Pastors, and a large number of Christians. The Prime Minister was present with a special message of thanks from Queen Kanavalona III., and this he delivered with his own

of the Bible in the year 1870, three thirty-eight years before the present version was published under the sanction of the Board of Commissioners for the Work of God.

India.—Madras.—The Revision Committee met last September, and at that time they resolved to publish corrected copies of the Acts and the New Testament. The revisions which have been made in the Acts, according to K. K. K. is the work of the Board, and printed and distributed among the churches in the year 1870. The revisions in the Gospel of St. John and the Acts were made in the year 1870, and arrangements have been made for the publication of the Acts, Gospels and the Acts.

New Zealand.—Melbourne.—The printing of the revised Bible has been completed the end of the year. First proofs are read by Mr. J. H. M. in New Zealand, and Mr. G. G. of Upper Melbourne, read the second proofs, so that the Archbishop's corrections are carried into the text.

India.—Madras.—The revised Book of Genesis has been examined and approved by the Madras Translation Committee, and an edition of 1000 copies, 1870, has been printed under the joint supervision of the Rev. B. P. P. and the Rev. J. E. M.

India.—Madras.—Benares.—The Calcutta Auxiliary have resolved to revise and publish a small edition of the Gospel of St. Matthew.

Oceania.—Nagasaki.—The Rev. P. M. of the New Hebrides Mission has translated the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, and expects to go to New Zealand by the end of the year to carry it off to the press.

Canada.—Nagasaki.—The Revision Committee continue their revision of the New Testament.

Alaska.—Nagasaki.—The Committee have resolved to publish an edition of 500 copies each of the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John in the new orthography. The version was made by Archbishop Johnson, and it has been re-learned into the new orthography by the Rev. Dr. S. M.

Turkey.—Constantinople.—The Revised Bible has been published.

Afghanistan.—Peshawar.—The translation and revision of the Scripture for the Afghans are proceeding under the superintendence of the Bishop of Lahore as chairman.

Persia.—The Rev. Dr. Bruce has been engaged on the revision of his New Testament during the last six years. He has also translated and revised the Books of Genesis, Exodus, and Psalms. He has returned to England with his MS., and the Committee are taking steps to have the whole finally revised with a view to publication.

Africa.—Popo (Dahomé).—In addition to the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, which are now passing through the press, the Popo Translation Committee at Lagos have completed the translation of the Book of Psalms, the Gospels of St. Luke and

St. John, and the Acts, and these portions are now being revised and copied with a view to immediate publication.

India.—*Rajmaháli*, alias *Pahári* (*Maler* or *Malto*).—The Rev. Ernest Droese has translated the Psalms, the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, and the Acts of the Apostles.

Oceania.—*Rarotonga*.—The Rev. W. Wyatt Gill has returned to England with the MS. of the revised Bible, and is now editing for the Committee an 8vo. edition of 4000 copies. As the text is now considered to be settled, stereotype plates of the edition are being prepared.

Morocco.—*Riff* (dialect of Shilha).—Mr. William Mackintosh, the Society's agent at Tangiers, has completed his version of the Gospel of St. Matthew, and the Committee have published an edition of 500 copies.

Oceania.—*Samoa*.—The Rev. Dr. Turner has carried through the press for the Committee an edition of the Bible in small size. He has made a few corrections in the text while passing through the press.

India.—*Santal* (Roman Character).—The Calcutta Auxiliary to the Bible Society have agreed to publish an interim edition consisting of 1000 copies of the New Testament. The edition will be made up of the portion of the New Testament completed by the Revision Committee and Mr. Cole's translation of the rest unrevised by the Committee. It is intended to meet the demand for the Book, until the version now being prepared by the Rev. F. T. Cole and the Santali Revision Committee is ready.

Santal (Bengáli Character).—The Calcutta Auxiliary published an edition of 1000 copies of the Gospel of St. Luke, prepared and edited by Mr. Cole.

Africa.—*Suto*.—A few corrections are being made by the Rev. A. Mabile in the Pocket New Testament with a view to the printing of an interim edition of 2000 copies. A further revision in the light of the Revised Bible is contemplated.

Swahili (Arabic Character).—The Gospel of St. John, transliterated and edited by Miss Allen, of the Universities' Mission, has been published.

Swahili (Roman Character).—The version of Exodus revised by the Venerable Archdeacon Hodgson, and edited by the Rev. F. A. Wallis, of the Universities' Mission, has been completed.

India.—*Telugu*.—The translation of the remaining books of the Old Testament has been retarded by the serious illness of Dr. Hay. During the year the Book of Isaiah has been translated, the Book of Psalms has been revised, and the Books of Judges, Joshua and Ruth have been printed. Dr. Hay is now translating the Book of Jeremiah. The work has sustained a loss in the sudden death of the Rev. M. Ratnam, one of the oldest members of the Revision Committee.

Caucasus.—*Transcaucasian-Turki*.—The printing of the Bible has been begun at Leipzig. Proofs are being read by the Rev. A. Amirkhaniantz.



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entail modification. But such reference having been shown to involve amplification only, without retractation, there appears no further reason to withhold publication of the first approved draft:

Report of Committee¹ appointed under the Resolutions of Council, dated 1st March and 10th May, 1886.—The Committee appointed to consider the best means for the promotion of Oriental Studies in England, and rendering the work of the Society more popular, beg to report as follows on the several heads of inquiry indicated to them:

I. In reference to the first head—"Preparation of a list of appointments in England, in Government Establishments, Universities and Colleges, and other Institutions for which a scholarly acquaintance with Oriental Languages is a necessary or important qualification, with the emoluments of each and the mode of appointment"—the Committee have prepared from the best information at their command a list of such appointments, together with a statement of the emoluments attached and mode of appointment; and a column has been added giving, where known, the name and designation of the present holder; they have also given a list of similar appointments in India open to Europeans.²

It will be seen from these lists that, excluding those for which a knowledge of Hebrew only is required, the number of permanent salaried appointments in the United Kingdom is about twenty-nine, the salaries ranging from £50 to £1000 per annum. In India there are ninety-eight Government appointments open to Europeans, with salaries ranging from 250 to 2450 rupees per mensem, for which a knowledge of Oriental languages and literature is either essential or a very important qualification. These appointments include 14 Professorships of Oriental Languages, 45 Headships of Colleges and Schools, 32 Educational Inspectorships, and 7 Directorships of Public Instruction, and all—with the exception of 8 Professorships and 2 Inspectorships—are at present held by Europeans.

Besides the appointments referred to above, there are, in the United Kingdom, Professorships at King's and University College, London, minor College Tutorships at Oxford and Cambridge, Examinerships in connection with Indian Civil Service competitions,

¹ The Committee consisted of the following Members of the Council R.A.S.: Gen. R. Maclagan, R.E. (Chairman); Messrs. Bendall, Dickins, Kay, Thornton, the Hon. Secretary, and Secretary. Sir Monier Monier-Williams afterwards joined.

² See Appendix, page 348, J.R.A.S. for April, 1887.

and temporary appointments in the British Museum, offering more or less remunerative employment to Orientalists. Again, in India, the Government offers to its Civil and Military servants handsome rewards for proficiency in Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, and the languages of India, and success in the examinations for them not unfrequently leads to special advancement in the Service. Lastly, both in England and India, important work is being done, and much more remains to be done, in the editing and translation of Oriental texts, and in the preparation of dictionaries and grammars and other works relating to the history, antiquities, and languages of the East, while, judging from the periodical lists of Messrs. Trübner and other Oriental publishers, the public interest in this class of literature is on the increase.

Thus the prospect of remunerative employment open to English Orientalists, at any rate in the case of Indian languages, appears less discouraging than is usually supposed. The field is vast, the labourers—of British birth—are few, and the demand is greater than the supply. Of the appointments contained in the lists *twenty*, including some of the most important, are at present held by foreign scholars, and to foreign scholars we are indebted for many English versions of Oriental texts, and some of the most important articles on Eastern subjects contained in the Encyclopædia Britannica. Of twenty-nine English Translations of the “Sacred Books of the East,” issued from the Clarendon Press, *fourteen* are by German scholars, and that of Al Berúni’s great work on India is being made (partly at the expense of the Indian Government), not by an Englishman, but by Professor Sachau of Berlin.

The Committee believe that these facts—that is, the opening for Orientalists and the extent to which England has to resort in Oriental subjects to foreign scholars—are very little known, and that their publication may do something towards stimulating Oriental studies in this country. They recommend accordingly that the appended lists of appointments with names of present holders (after careful correction), be published in the Journal, together with these remarks (so far as they are approved of by the Council), and that all new appointments of like character created and all vacancies in appointments and changes of incumbency be notified from time to time in like manner.

II. With regard to the second head—“The possibility of approaching the Government, the Universities, the City Companies, etc., for support in the promotion of Oriental studies”—

the Committee do not see their way to recommend an appeal to the Government either of the United Kingdom or of India for direct support in the shape of University or School Endowments, but they presume the Government of India will be ready in the future, as in the past, to aid and assist in the production of Oriental works of public interest and importance. To that Government we owe, *inter alia*, the publication of the text of the *Rig Veda*, the translation of the *Adi Granth*, and Jaeschke's Tibetan Dictionary; and it has liberally contributed to the cost of Professor Max Müller's series of "Sacred Books of the East," of Dr. Badger's English-Arabic Dictionary, of Professor Geldner's *Zend-Avesta*, the text and translation of Al Berúni's "India," the new Persian-English Dictionary by Professor Steingass, the English-Persian Dictionary by Wollaston, and the new edition of Professor Sir Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary.

But while they see no hopes of success in an appeal to Government for direct support, the Committee feel strongly that an attempt should be made to awaken a more active interest in the subject on the part of the governing bodies of Educational Institutions, and also on the part of the great London Companies, many of whom are already distinguished by the liberal aid they render to Science and Education. The Committee therefore recommend (i) that letters be addressed to the governing bodies of the principal Universities, Colleges, and Schools of the United Kingdom, inviting their assistance; suggesting, in the case of the University of Oxford, the carrying out of the measures proposed by the Hebdomadal Council in 1877 for advancing the study of Arabic, Syriac, Persian, and Ethiopic, and of the languages and antiquities of Assyria and Ancient Egypt; and, in the case of Colleges, the setting apart of one or more of their existing *Fellowships* for bestowal on Oriental scholars, and of *Scholarships* and *Exhibitions* for promising students of Eastern languages; and urging, in the case of Schools, the formation of classes for the elementary teaching of such languages and the offer of prizes for proficiency in them.

They recommend (ii.) that similar letters be addressed to certain of the City Companies asking their aid and support by the grant of funds for the establishment of new *Fellowships*, *Scholarships* and prizes in Colleges and Schools, or for the publication of Oriental texts and translations and other works of importance not likely to be immediately remunerative.

The grounds of the recommendations are more fully set forth in



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languages a specially competent editorial staff, and that in London there is more than one enterprising firm of Oriental publishers, the Committee are not prepared to advise, for the present, at all events, the assumption of such work by the Society. Works likely to be soon remunerative may, in their opinion, well be left to the enterprise of existing agencies, while for the publication of important works less likely to be remunerative, we should, the Committee think, look, in the first instance, at any rate, to our Universities. Our Universities—Oxford especially—have already done good work in this respect, and aided, it may be, by the liberality of individuals and corporations, and, in special cases, from the revenues of India, may be willing to extend and systematize the Oriental department of their Presses. In doing so they would doubtless receive the hearty sympathy and co-operation of this Society, and would do much to realize the hope which underlies the recommendations under the second head—that our Universities may become ere long centres of Oriental as well as of Western learning and research.

V. In considering the last of the five subjects indicated to them—that is to say, “the best means of rendering the Society more popular,”—the Committee have had the advantage of a valuable paper of suggestions by Dr. R. N. Cust, the Hon. Secretary. After considering those suggestions, the Committee submit the following recommendations:—

(i) One important means of rendering the Society more popular is doubtless the improvement of the Journal. In this matter, the Committee are glad to state, action has already been taken, and most of Dr. Cust’s suggestions have been carried out or anticipated by the Secretary of the Society, Sir Frederic Goldsmid. These improvements are all, more or less, embodied in a paper contained in the October number, and intended to form part of every succeeding issue, under the title of “Notes of the Quarter,” an introduction which, while it partakes of the character of Proceedings, will also aim at supplying such information gathered during the preceding three months as is likely to interest Oriental scholars and students. It should be remarked that arrangements are in contemplation, or in progress, by which the “Notes” may be rendered more complete and comprehensive than can be the case at present, owing to the deficiency of data and want of co-operation from without.

The Committee believe that the alterations and additions made

will add greatly to the interest and value of the **Journal**, and they recommend that they be approved by the Council.

(ii) Another effectual means for attaining the object aimed at will be, they believe, the institution by the Society of occasional meetings or conversazioni at which Orientalists of eminence should be invited to deliver lectures describing in a popular style the position, progress or results of some branch of Oriental research.

(iii) With the view of encouraging discussion at the ordinary meetings, and thus increasing their attractiveness, it is recommended that proofs of every paper about to be read be available at the time of the meeting, and for three days previously, at the rooms of the Society, and that the time allowed for reading the paper or extracts from it be ordinarily limited to half an hour.

(iv) They recommend that members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and of the branch Societies of Bombay, Madras, Ceylon, North China, Japan and Singapore, who may be temporarily in England, be not only admissible to meetings (as already provided by the rules), but have the use of the library and reading room.

(v) Lastly, it is recommended that a Gold Medal be annually awarded by the Society in recognition of recent services in Oriental research or scholarship.

POSTSCRIPT.

The readers of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal will be glad to learn that Professor Sayce has forwarded a supplement to his valuable Memoir on the Vannic Inscriptions published some five years ago. This will appear in the January number.

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SIXTY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,

Held on the 16th of May, 1887,

SIR THOMAS F. WADE, K.C.B., VICE-PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

OPENING ADDRESS, FROM THE PRESIDENT.

(Read by the Honorary Secretary.)

GENTLEMEN,

In unavoidable absence and under much bodily weakness, I write these few remarks as a meagre substitute for a Presidential Address, which I beg the Secretary to be kind enough to read to the Society.

It is a matter of deep regret to me that I am prevented by serious illness from doing for the last time my duties as President. That you should have placed me in this Chair two years ago may, as I am apt to think, not have been altogether judicious; but be that as it may, you then conferred on me the greatest honour that I have attained in life. And I shall, whilst I live, so regard the choice which placed me in the succession between Sir William Muir and Sir Thomas Wade, to say nothing of earlier illustrious predecessors; and glad I should have been to preside once more at this Annual

Meeting, and at our Dinner, and to introduce to you formally my distinguished successor, Sir Thomas Wade.

There is much in the recent history of the Society that we can look upon with satisfaction. It has been to me a piece of good fortune that my Presidency has synchronized with the tenure of the Secretaryship by our esteemed friend, Sir Frederic Goldsmid; to his excellent service we are deeply indebted. Under his conduct both the *Finances of the Society*, by which we must in the present measure its prosperity, and the *Journal of the Society*, by which its value will be measured in future years, have made important advances.

As regards the financial position, our nett increase of Membership during the year now expiring amounts to 4 Resident and 19 Non-Resident; whilst our invested fund has once more reached the water-mark of £1200, from which it began to sink 19 years ago.¹

The *Journal* again, in mass of matter, and in excellence of form, has continued to improve; whilst in regularity of issue it has made a great advance, though difficulties have still beset the attainment of perfection. If we cannot claim for its contents the high value which distinguished the *Journal* in its early years, yet there has been steady growth in that respect, and such papers as those by the officers of the Frontier Survey, illustrating the remains at Bámíán, by Mr. Colborne Baber, on documents in a language of Formosa, and by Professor Terrien de Lacouperie in the prosecution of his learned researches on ancient and obscure developments of Oriental writing, will always be turned to as valuable.

That our matter on the whole does not come up to the standard of earlier days is due, I conceive, in a measure to the great multiplication of learned and scientific societies of

¹ It is but right, however, to state that if we compare our list with that of May, 1885—two anniversaries ago—while a present gain of 15 is shown in our Non-Residents, there is a decrease of 11 apparent in Resident Members. This is owing notably to the heavy death-roll of that year, and many retirements during the period succeeding the decease of the late Secretary, and prior to the instalment of his successor.

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REPORT.

The Council of the Royal Asiatic Society have to report that, since the last Anniversary Meeting held on Monday, May 17, 1886, there have been the following decrease in, and addition to, the numbers of the Society's Members.

They announce with regret the loss by *death* of seven *Resident* Members, viz. :—

Sir William Andrew, C.I.E.
 James Gibb, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E.
 Arthur Grote, Esq.
 The Venerable Archdeacon Harrison, M.A.
 The Right Hon. the Earl of Iddesleigh, K.C.B.
 The Rev. James Long.
 Mrs. M. A. Smith.

and of one *Non-Resident* Member,

Dr. José de Fonseca.

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and three *Non-Resident* Members,

Lieut.-Col. H. H. Godwin-Austen, F.R.S.
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On the other hand, they have great pleasure in announcing that they have elected fourteen *Resident* Members, viz. :—

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The difference showing a nett gain to the Society of twenty-three Members.

Under the last year's arrangements providing for a quarterly record of occurrences likely to interest the readers of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, obituary notices no longer appear in the Annual Report, and the retrospect of the more recent progress in Oriental research will be found elsewhere. The next subject, therefore, for submission is the account of the Receipts and Expenditure for 1886, as certified by the Auditors:—



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6. "Nine Formosa MSS.," a paper by Mr. Colborne Baber, M.R.A.S., followed by "Formosa Notes on MSS., Races and Languages," by M. Terrien de Lacouperie, M.R.A.S. Read in part 21st March, 1887.

7. "Memoir of the Life and Writings of Alexander Wylie," by Prof. Henri Cordier (introduced by Prof. R. K. Douglas). Read 18th April, 1887.

8. "Notes on the Names borne by some of the Tribes of Afghanistan," by Surgeon-Major H. W. Bellew, M.R.A.S. Read 2nd May, 1887.

All the papers above mentioned have been published in the *Journal*, with the exception of three now to be noticed:—No. 4, which was not written at all; No. 5 suddenly substituted for another paper advertised for reading, but not read, and No. 8, limited in publication to some 50 copies.

Journal.—Since the last Anniversary, Parts III. and IV. of Vol. XVIII., and Parts I. and II. of Vol. XIX., have been published. They contain the following papers:

Vol. XVIII. Part III.

14. The Rock-Cut Caves and Statues of Bamián. By Capt. the Hon. M. G. Talbot, R.E. With Notes hereon, and on Sketches of Capt. P. J. Maitland, Intelligence Branch, Q.-M.-Gen. Department, by W. Simpson, Hon. Assoc. R.I.B.A.; and an additional Note of Capt. Maitland's own.

15. The Sumerian Language and its Affinities. By Prof. Dr. Fritz Hommel, of Munich. Introduced by Dr. Rost, Hon. Memb. R.A.S.

16. Early Buddhist Symbolism. By Robert Sewell, Madras Civil Service, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S. With a Note by Sir G. Birdwood.

17. The Pre-Akkadian Semites. By G. Bertin, M.R.A.S.

18. The Arrangement of the Hymns of the Adi Granth. By Frederic Pincott, M.R.A.S.

Vol. XVIII. Part IV.

19. Ancient Sculptures in China. By R. K. Douglas, M.R.A.S., Professor of Chinese at King's College, London.

20. The Mosque of Sultan Nasir Mohammed ebn Kalaoun, in the Citadel of Cairo. By Major C. M. Watson, R.E. Communicated by H. C. Kay, Esq., M.R.A.S.

21. The Languages of Melanesia. By Professor Georg von der Gabelentz, of the University of Leipzig. Communicated by the Hon. Secretary.

22. Notes on the History of the Banu 'Okayl. By Henry C. Kay, M.R.A.S.

23. Foreign Words in the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament. By the Rev. Stanley Leathes, D.D. Communicated by the Hon. Secretary.

Vol. XIX. Part I.

1. The Story of the Old Bamboo-Hewer. (Takatori no Okina no Monogatari.) A Japanese Romance of the Tenth Century. Translated, with Notes, etc., by F. Victor Dickins, M.R.A.S.

2. An Essay on the Brāhūi Grammar, after the German of the late Dr. Trumpp, of Munich University. By Dr. Theodore Duka, M.R.A.S., Surg.-Major Bengal Army.

3. Art. A Version in Chinese, by the Marquis Tseng, of a Poem written in English and Italian by H. W. Freeland, M.A., M.R.A.S., late M.P., Commander of the Order of the Crown of Siam.

4. Some Useful Hindī Books. By G. A. Grierson, M.R.A.S., Bengal Civil Service.

5. Original Vocabularies of Five West Caucasian Languages. Compiled on the spot by Mr. Peacock, Vice-Consul at Batúm, Trans-Caucasia, South Russia, at the request of and communicated by Dr. R. N. Cust, Hon. Sec. R.A.S., with a Note.

Vol. XIX. Part II.

6. Some Remarks on the Narrative of Fâ-hien. By the Rev. S. Beal., M.R.A.S.

7. Priority of Labial Letters illustrated in Chinese Phonetics. By the Rev. J. Edkins, D.D., Peking, Hon. Member R.A.S.

8. The Present State of Education in Egypt. By H. H. Cunynghame, Esq. Communicated by Habib Anthony Salmoné, M.R.A.S.

9. The Tri-Ratna. By Frederic Pincott, M.R.A.S.

10. Description of the Noble Sanctuary at Jerusalem in 1470 A.D., by Kamâl (or Shams) ad Dîn as Suyûtî. Extracts re-translated by Guy le Strange, M.R.A.S.

The "Notes of the Quarter" have been added since July, 1886, and, it is hoped, will be found, in point of form, a not inapt substitute for the Annual Review of Oriental Literature and Research, which has hitherto been connected with the Council's Report submitted to Members at the close of the Session. Time will, however, be required to give full effect to the significance and intent of this division of the Journal.

Special Sub-Committee.—In the President's Address of May last, mention was made of a Special Committee appointed to investigate the causes of decline in the prosecution of Oriental studies which had become apparent in England. The Proceedings of this Committee have, after many sittings, been recently brought to a close, and the character of the record is such as to certify that something has been done, not only in the investigation of an actual state of things, but also towards the revival of a languishing department of knowledge. The Statement and Appendices published at the close of the Quarterly Notes in the last number of the Journal show much of the nature and extent of the enquiries carried out, but it may be interesting to readers of these papers to learn that the appeal made by the Council to particular individuals and



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The Society receives

The Athenæum. The Academy. Allen's Indian Mail. Homeward Mail.
 London and China Telegraph. Reports of the British Association. Indian
 Journal. Seismological Society of Japan. Mittheilungen der Deutschen
 Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Yokohama. China
 Review. Excursions Chinoises.

Presented during the year :

From the Secretary of State for India in Council.—Archæological Survey of
 Western India. Bombay, 1885.—Ditto Southern India: Tamil and
 Sanskrit Inscriptions. Madras, 1886. By James Burgess, C.I.E., LL.D.,
 M.R.A.S.—The History of Káshgharia, by Dr. H. W. Bellew.—Calcutta

Review.—Flora of British India, part xiii. 1886.—Selections from the Records of the Government of India, 1885-6.—Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia, edited by E. Delmar Morgan and C. H. Coote (Hakluyt Society).—Sacred Books of the East, vols. xxv. and xxix.

From the Government of Bengal.—Report of Administration, 1885-6.—Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India.—Meteorological Memoirs.—Records of the Geological Survey of India.—Report on the Administration of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts for the year 1885-6.—Catalogue of the remains of Siwalik Vertebrata in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1885-6, by Richard Lydekker, B.A.

From the Government of Madras.—Report on the Administration of Madras during the year 1885-6.—Annual Report on the Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries, 1885.—Madras Medical College; Annual Report 1885-6.—Annual Report on the Lunatic Asylums, 1885.

From the Government of Bombay.—Report of Administration 1885-6.—Ditto Public Instruction, 1886.—Bombay Gazetteers, vols. xxiv.-v.—“Kolhapur” and “Botany.”—Howell, Arabic Grammar; introduction and part i. fasciculus ii.

From the Government of the Panjaub.—Report of the Administration of Panjaub.

From the French Government.—Nouveaux Mélanges Orientaux, 1886.—Revue de l'histoire des Religions, 1886.—Dictionnaire Turc-Français. 2nd vol. Première Livraison, Paris, 1886.—Annales du Musée Guimet, 1886.

From the Government of the Netherlands.—Nederlandsch-Chineesch Woordenboek, Dr. G. Schlegel, Deel ii. Aflevering 1.—Le Hadhramout et les Colonies Arabes dans L'Archipel Indien, par L. W. C. Den Berg. Batavia, 1886.

From the Turkish Ambassador.—

تاریخ عمومی—مراد بک, Tārīkh ‘Umúmi, General History, by Murad Bey, 6 volumes.

تلماخ ترجمہ—یوسف کامل پاشا, Talmák Tarjumasi, Translation of Telemachus, by Yusuf Kamil Pasha, 1 volume.

مطایبات ترکیہ—عبدالعلیم غایب, Muṭáyabát Turkíya, Turkish Pleasanteries, by Abdul Halim Gháib.

تکملة العصر—صبحی پاشا, Takmilatu'l ‘Abr, by Subḥi Pasha.

معلومات کافیہ—احمد جواد, M‘alumát Káfíyah, Abundant Knowledge, by Ahmad Juwád.

مجموعۃ الطرب—نادر, Majmu‘atu’t-Ṭarab, Collection of Cheerfulness, by Nádír.

مفتاح العلوم—لاوری, Miftaḥu'l ‘Alúm, Key to Sciences.

مبادی ادب—ابرهیم حالت بک, Mubádi Adab, Beginning of Knowledge, by Ibrahim Hálat Bey.

تعلیم ادبیات—اکرم بک, T‘alím adabíyát, Lessons in Politeness, by Akram Bey.

مدخل انشاء—احمد حمادی, Mudakhal Insha, Elements of Composition, by Ahmad Hamadi.

نمونه انشاء—احمد عاصم, Namúna-i-Insha, Specimens of Composition, by Ahmad ‘Aásim.

اصول کتابت—سید محمد سیرت, Aşúl kitábat, Principles of Writing, by Saiyid Muhammad Sairat.



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