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# CONTENTS OF VOL. XVII.

## PART I.

ART.	(No. XLVI.)	PAGE
I.—Wilson Lectureship. The Prakrits and the Apabhramśa. By Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., Hon. M.R.A.S. ....		1
II.—On Coins of Kutch and Kathiawar. By O. Codrington, M.D., M.R.A.S., Hon. Memb., B.B.R.A.S. ....		49
III.—On the Suktimuktâvali of Jalhana, a new Sanskrit Anthology. By Professor Peterson, M.A., D.Sc. ....		57
IV.—My Visit to the Vienna Congress. By Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., Hon. M.R.A.S. ....		72
V.—On the Alleged Practice of Next-of-Kin Marriages in Old Iran. By Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana ....		97
VI.—On the Marriage of Infanta D. Catharina of Portugal with Charles II. of Great Britain, her Medals and Portraits. By Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha .....		137

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NO. XLVI. VOL. XVII.

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ART. I.—*The Prâkrits and the Apabhraṃśa.*<sup>1</sup> By RAMKRISHNA  
GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph.D., HON. M.R.A.S.

ॐ नमः परमात्मने ।

On the last occasion we examined the language of the sacred books of the Southern Buddhists, and found that a large portion of the words it contains are pure Sanskrit and the rest are Sanskrit words corrupted or transformed according to certain laws of phonetic decay. Then by the law of false analogies the less used and less known declensional and conjugational form have been in many cases brought over to the type of those more used in Sanskrit and consequently better known. So that in the vocabulary and the grammar the laws of growth I traced in the opening lecture are in operation, but their range is limited, and the dialect is in what may be called the first stage of departure from Sanskrit. We then examined the language of the

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<sup>1</sup> Continuation of Bombay Wilson Philological Lectures. See No. XLIII. Vol. XVI. of 1885.

Inscriptions of Aśoka and found that it is either the same as Pāli or in the same stage of development, and that there existed in those times two or three varieties of speech slightly differing from each other. To-day I propose to examine certain other dialects which exhibit a much greater departure from the parent tongue. These are the so-called Prâkrîts. For a knowledge of these languages we have not to go beyond India, as in the case of the one we have examined. Prâkrît dialects possessed a literature and a portion of it has come down to us.

There exist about six treatises on Prâkrît grammar, the most ancient of which is Vararuchi's Prâkrîtaprakâśa. Next comes Hemachandra, a Jaina scholar of Gujarat, who lived in the twelfth century. His work on grammar is known by the name of *Haimavyākaraṇa*, the eighth chapter of which he devotes to the grammar of the Prâkrîts. Hemachandra's treatment of these dialects is fuller than Vararuchi's; and his observation was wider. He shows a very intimate knowledge of the existing literature of these languages, both sacred and profane, Jaina or Brahmanical. His work and especially the last portion is full of quotations. He must have availed himself of the labours of former scholars, since he often mentions *Pūrvāchāryas*. Hemachandra also wrote a *Kośa* or the saurus of the Deśi words existing in these languages. Vararuchi gives the grammar of four dialects, which he calls Mahârâshṭrî, Śaurasenî, Māgadhî, and Paîśāclî. The names of the first three themselves would show that they were the languages spoken or used in the provinces from the names of which they are derived, but doubts have been raised as to their genuineness, which will be hereafter considered. The Mahârâshṭrî is called the principal Prâkrît. For instance, Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyaḍarśa* says—

“ The language prevalent in Mahârâshṭra they regard as the Prâkrît pre-eminent; it is the ocean of jewels in the shape of good literary works, and the Setubandha and others are written in it.”

Vararuchi devotes the first nine chapters of his work to the Mahârâshṭrî, and then a chapter each to the rest. The peculiarities only of the latter dialects and their differences from the Mahârâshṭrî are given, and in other respects they are to be considered similar to the first. Hemachandra follows the same method; but he does not mention the name Mahârâshṭrî and speaks of the dialect only as the Prâkrît.

१ महाराष्ट्रभाषां भाषां प्रकृतं प्राकृतं विदुः ।  
सागरः सूक्तिरत्नानां सेतुबन्धादि यन्मयम् ॥

These grammarians and all others who have written on the subject treat of the grammar of the language etymologically. They take Sanskrit as the original language or *Prākṛiti* and give rules about the various phonetical and grammatical changes which have reduced Sanskrit to the Prākṛit form. The Pāli grammarian Kachchāyana treats the dialect not as one derived from Sanskrit as these writers do, but as an independent language, though it is very probable he knew Sanskrit, since he uses Sanskrit grammatical terms, and his Sūtras greatly resemble those in the Kātantra and even Pāṇini. Vararuchi and Hemachandra derive Śaurasenī also from the Sanskrit as they do the Mahārāshṭrī or the principal Prākṛit, but make the Śaurasenī the *Prākṛiti* or basis of the Māgadhī and the Paisāchī. This appears to be the tradition; whence it would seem that the older and more developed language or the language of respectable people was the Śaurasenī, and the other two were the dialects of border countries used by persons in a lower scale of society. They have some of the peculiarities of the Śaurasenī, and come nearer to it than to the Mahārāshṭrī. Hemachandra gives the grammar of two more dialects, the Chūlikā Paisāchī and the Apabhraṃśā, the latter of which was, according to Daṇḍin, the language of Ābhīras (cowherds) and others. Another grammarian of the name of Trivikrama gives in his Prākṛitasūtravṛitti the grammar of these six dialects. He lived after Hemachandra, since he mentions him in the introduction to his work, and his book resembles Hemachandra's a good deal. There is another work by Chandra called Shaḍbhāshāchandrikā which is a meagre production. Another still of the same nature, the author of which is Lakshmīdhara, mentions the same six dialects; so that the expression Shaḍbhāshā seems to have become proverbial.

The Mahārāshṭrī derived its importance from its literature. From the manner in which Daṇḍin speaks of that literature it appears to have been very extensive and valuable. He himself mentions one work, the Setubandha, a poem attributed to Kālidāsa but written by one Pravarasena, whose "fame," Bana says in his Harshacharita, "reached the other side of the ocean by means of the Setu." I find in a Ms. in the colophon at the end of each āśvāsa or canto, sometimes इअ सिरीपवरसेणविरइए रहमुहवहे (thus in the Daśamukhavadhā composed by the prosperous Pravarasena), and sometimes, इअ पवरसेणविरइए कालिदासकए रहमुहवहे (thus in the Daśamukhavadhā, the work of Kālidāsa, composed by Pravarasena).

Some kings of Kaśmîr bore the name of Pravarasena, but there is nothing to show that any one of them was the poet who wrote this work. There is a collection of seven hundred songs, chiefly of an amorous nature, by a poet of the name of Hâla, which is called the Saptasâti. We have an edition of this in Roman characters by Prof. Weber. Another long poem entitled the Gauḍavadhakâvya by a poet named Vâkpatirâja, who lived at the court of Yaśovarman, king of Kanoj, in the early part of the eighth century, was discovered by Dr. Bühler about three years ago. And several other works may turn up if diligent search is made for them. The Kâvya prakâśa contains about 75 Prâkrit verses quoted to illustrate the rules laid down by the author, and Śârîngadhara also gives a good many in his Paddhati.

The religious books of the Jainas form another very extensive branch of Prâkrit literature. Prof. Weber thinks the language of these to be later than the Pâli and earlier than the Prâkrits, so as to occupy a middle position, and calls it Jaina-Mâgadhî. But Hemachandra himself, who must have known his religious books well, and was, as I have observed, a great Prâkrit scholar, treats it as the principal Prâkrit or Mahârâshṭrî, and in his grammar of this he in several places gives forms of words peculiar to his sacred language, which after the example of his Brahmanic brothers he calls Ârsha Prakrit<sup>3</sup>. In giving his first rule about the Mâgadhî dialect, *viz.*, that the nom. sing. of Masc. nouns takes the termination र्, he says:—"As to what the fathers have said about the Ârsha (works) being composed in the Ardha-Mâgadhî dialect in such words as these: 'the ancient Sûtra is composed in the Ardha-Mâgadhî dialect,' they have said so in consequence of the observance of this rule and not of those that follow.\* Thus if one chooses to call the sacred language of the Jainas Ardha-Mâgadhî on account of this Mâgadhî peculiarity and a few other archaisms, he may do so; and I shall presently have to observe that the great many dialects which writers on poetics give differed from each other in such insignificant particulars only. But it is clear that Hemachandra considers the distinction to be slight, and identifies the dialect with the principal

<sup>3</sup> आर्षम् । ३ । ऋषीणांमिदमार्षम् । आर्षे प्राकृतं बहुलं भवति । तदपि यथास्थानं दर्शयिष्यामः । आर्षे हि सर्वे विधयो विकल्प्यन्ते । He has also said before, that the rules he is going to give even with regard to the ordinary Prâkrit should not be considered universal.

\* यदपि पौराणमद्भुतमागहभासानिययं हवद् मुत्तमित्यादिनार्षस्यार्षमागधभाषानियत-  
त्वमात्रायि वृद्धैस्तदपि प्रायोस्यैव विधानात्त वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणस्य ।

Prākṛit; and both he and the Jaina fathers refer it to the class of the Prakṛits of the grammarians<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> The only specific grounds one can find in Prof. Weber's book in support of the assertion that the Jaina dialect occupies a middle position are these:—1. That uninitial क्, ग्, ञ्, ज्, त्, द् and other consonants are dropped in the Mahārāshṭrī leaving only the vowel, and preserved or softened in the Pāli, while in the Jaina books य् is substituted for them; i.e., the different stages of phonetic corruption in this case are, the consonants in their original or softened forms, then य् for them, and lastly their elision. 2. That न् is preserved in the Pāli, and changed everywhere to ण् in the Mahārāshṭrī; while in the Jaina dialect initial न् remains unchanged except in enclytics. 3. That the loc. sing. of nouns in अ ends in सि or सि which we find in the language of the column inscriptions; while it is सिम and सिह् in the Pāli and सिम in the Prākṛit. Now as to the first, the य् is not prior to the elision, but contemporaneous or subsequent to it, being found even in the modern vernaculars. It was introduced simply to facilitate pronunciation; i.e., it is a strengthened form of the vowel. Thus the Prākṛit of पाद foot is पाअ, but in Marāṭhī we have पाय; so राजन् Skr., राज Pr., राय H.; सोदर Skr., सोअर Pr. सोयरा M., &c. &c. The य् occurs not only in Jaina books, but everywhere in the Gaudavadhakāvya; and Hemachandra does tell us in his sūtra अवर्णो य्युतिः that the अ that remains after the elision of a consonant is pronounced like a soft य्. With regard to the second, initial न् is found unchanged in the Gaudavādha in a great many places. Thus in stanza 242 we have the negative particle न्, in 241 निवड्ढ for निपतति, in 245 नाह for नाथ, and in 251 नह for नख. These instances I have found on simply opening the Ms. at random; and no great search was necessary. Hemachandra also in his sūtra वादौ following another नो ण्: says that the initial न् is sometimes changed to ण्, sometimes not. As to the third, the termination सिं may constitute a peculiarity of the language, but it is by no means an index to its higher antiquity, since it occurs in the pronominal locative of the principal Prākṛit. There are several peculiarities in the Jaina books, and a good many of them are noticed by our Grammarian, but they do not show an earlier stage of development.

This continues still to be my view, notwithstanding all that has since been published on the subject. Dr. Hoernle, in the introduction to his edition of Chaṇḍa's Prākṛitalakṣhaṇa makes an elaborate attempt to prove that the dialect the grammar of which is given in that book is more ancient than the Prākṛit of Vararuchi and Hemachandra. But it is not at all difficult to see that he is altogether on a wrong tack. He says there is nothing in Hemachandra corresponding to the rule given by Chaṇḍa about dropping the final vowel of the first member of a compound when the initial vowel of the second is followed by a conjunct consonant, in such words as dhana + dhya,



But it is in the dramatic plays that we find these dialects principally used. Writers on Poetics prescribe that a particular dramatic person should speak a particular dialect. Sanskrit is assigned to respectable men of education, and women in holy orders; Śaurasenī, to respectable ladies in their prose speeches, and the Mahārāshṭrī or the principal Prākṛit, in the songs or verses put into their mouths. Śaurasenī is also assigned to inferior characters; and the Māgadhī and Paisāchī to very low persons. The general rule is that a dramatic person should speak the language of the country to which he or she is supposed to belong.

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*deva + indra, &c.*, which in that Prākṛit have the forms *dhanaḍḍha, devinda, &c.* This change, however, does come under Hemachandra's rule I. 84, which provides for the shortening of a long vowel when followed by a conjunct consonant. The short vowels corresponding to ए and ऐ are इ and उ; and among the instances given by Hemachandra, we have *narindo* for *narendra*, *aharuṭṭha* for *aḍharoṣṭha*, *Niluppala* for *Nilotpala, &c.* Dr. Hoernle thinks the changes of *i* to short *e* and of *u* to short *o* are later Prākṛit changes. But he will find many instances of them in the Pāli, which certainly is an older dialect than any Jaina Prākṛit. They are, he says, unknown to Chanḍa. Chanḍa's work is a very meagre production, in which very little endeavour is made to classify facts; and thus he must be supposed to include these changes under his very general rule that *one vowel takes the place of another vowel* (II. 4). The instance *gṇhātī* incidently given by him in connection with another rule does not show that in his Prākṛit the form *gṇha* did not exist, much less that the change of *i* to *e* was unknown. Then with regard to consonants, Dr. Hoernle says there are five points in which the "older Prākṛit" of Chanḍa, as he calls it, differs from the Prākṛit of Vararuchi and Hemachandra. One of these is "the preservation of the dental *n* in every case." For this statement the Doctor quotes the authority of a sūtra in which we are told by Chanḍa that इ and उ do not exist in the Prākṛit, as compared with another version of that sūtra which says that इ, उ, and ऋ do not exist (II. 14). This last version no doubt provides for the change of न् in all cases; but the other which denies the non-existence or affirms the existence of न् cannot mean that it exists or is unchanged in all cases. The denial of non-existence or affirmation of existence only proves its existence or remaining unchanged in some cases. Besides we have a specific rule where we are told that a letter of the ऋ class takes the place of the corresponding letter of the न् class (III. 16), thus providing for the change of न् to ऋ; and the instance given is षण् for षण्=यम्. But this rule the Doctor thinks holds good in exceptional cases, for which however there is no authority whatever, and he gives none. Again, he says that his statement is proved by the uniform spelling of the Prākṛit examples with *n* in Mss. A and B which according to him, contain the older version of the work. I however,

Later writers give more minute rules. For instance, the author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* assigns *Māgadhī* to the attendants in the royal seraglio, *Ardhamāgadhī* to footmen, royal children, and merchants, *Prāchyā* to the *Vidūshaka* and others, *Āvantikī* to sharpers, warriors, and clever men of the world, *Dākshinātyā* to gamblers, *Śākārī* to *Śākāras*, *Śakas*, and others, *Bāhlikā* to celestial persons, *Drāvidī* to *Draviḍas* and others, *Ābhīrī* to cowherds, *Chāṇḍālīkī* to outcastes, *Ābhīrī* and *Śābarī*, also to those who live by selling wood and leaves, and *Paiśāchī* to dealers in charcoal. Handmaids, if they do not belong to a very low class, should speak *Śaurasenī*. Some of the modern

find that the spelling in his edition, which is the spelling of A and B, follows uniformly, with one or two exceptions, in which we must suppose a mistake, the rule laid down by Hemachandra, viz., that initial *n* is optionally changed to *ṇ*, while medial *n* is necessarily so changed. The instances are:—all the case-terminations which are to be traced to the Sanskrit terminations having *n* in them, such as णो, णि, and णं; मुणियों for मुनीन् (I. 1), गयणओ for गगनतः (I. 16), मणिस्सा A. (I. 21), नाणी (I. 24) for ज्ञानी, सक्तीसाणा for शक्तीज्ञानौ (II. 1.), काणं (II. 15), गयणं for गगनम् (II. 21), पीलणं for पीडनम् (II. 24), नाणं for ज्ञानम् (III. 6), जूवणं for यौवनम् (III. 15), and रअणं for रत्नं (III. 30). The second point is "the preservation of the medial single surd unaspirate consonants with the only exception of *k*." This simply means the preservation of *ch*, *t*, and *p* which according to the other grammarians are generally dropped. Chāṇḍa agrees with these in dropping not only *k*, but *g*, *j*, and *d*. Whether therefore the preservation of *ch*, *t*, and *p*, supposing that Chāṇḍa really allows it, marks off his *Prākṛit* as older than that of Hemachandra or Vararuchi is more than questionable. But, as a matter of fact in III. 12, he does provide for their change to *j*, *d*, and *b*; and the change of *t* to *d* is a *Śaurasenī*, i.e., a local change, and does not indicate priority of time. Besides, even the dropping of these consonants must have been contemplated by him. For in the instances given in the book, they are dropped in all the manuscripts used by Dr. Hoernle, even in A and B, which according to him contain the older version. Thus we have एइ for एति (I. 12), गयणओ-उ or गयणाओ-उ for गगनतः (I, 16), कयं for कृतम् (I. 23 and everywhere else), इहागओ-उ for इहागतः (II. 1.), इच्छिअं for इच्छितम् (II. 3.), कायव्व-ब्बं for कर्तव्यम्, मुइणं for मूर्च्छनाम् (II. 4), नेउरं for नूपुरम् (II. 4), घयं for घृतम्, काउण for कृत्वा, दीसइ for दृश्यते (II. 5), गच्छइ for गच्छति, वइ for वतिः (II. 10), सरिआणं or सरियाणं for सरिताम् (II. 11), गइ-ई for गतिः, मइ-ई for मतिः (II. 17), &c. &c. It is very much to be regretted that the Doctor should in all these cases have set aside the readings of his manuscripts and invented his own with the *त्*, *च्*, and *प्* standing in the words, instead of being dropped. This invention or restoration, as he calls it, is based on a singular inference that he deduces from a single word,

grammarians also mention as large a number of dialects. But whether these were actually used by writers of dramatic plays in accordance with the rules of the Rhetoricians, or if they did, what constituted the exact difference between these various languages, it is impossible to determine so long as we have not got satisfactory editions of the plays. Still in those cases in which we have the assistance of the older Prâkṛit grammarians, the characteristics of each can be made out with fulness and certainty. To illustrate his rules about the Mâgadhi, Hemachandra quotes from the speeches of the fisherman and the two policemen in Śakuntalâ, of the Kshapaṇaka from the Mudrârâkshasa, and Rudhirapriyâ from the Venîsambâra. The points in which the Mâgadhi chiefly differs from the principal Prâkṛit and Śaurasenî are these :—*र* and *स्* of these are changed to *रु* and *शु*; *स्थ* and *र्थ* of Sanskrit to *स्त*, and *ष्ट* to *स्ट*; and *स्* is not assimilated as in *पस्वलदि* from *पस्वलति*; the nom. sing. of masc. nouns ends in *ए* instead of *ओ*, which is the Prâkṛit ending; the gen.

*कृत्* given as a Prâkṛit word in the book. He says it must originally have been *कृत्*, but the copyist, not knowing of such a word being in the later Prâkṛit which he knew, took it as the Sanskrit *कृत्*, and wrote accordingly. If, therefore, *कृत्* was the Prâkṛit word in this case, it must have been so in all those cases in which *कृत्* occurs in the book, and so Dr. Hoernle makes it *कृत्* throughout. But it did not strike him that if the copyist knew Prâkṛit enough to see that *कृत्* was not a Prâkṛit word, he must have seen that *कृत्* also was not a Prâkṛit word; and could not have given it as such. Now the reason why these consonants were not admitted by Chaṇḍa according to the manuscripts A and B, among those that are dropped, but only among those that are softened must be that all these rules are only general and not universal, and there were as many instances of softening as of dropping. Besides, I have already said that Chaṇḍa's work is perfunctory, and does not show accuracy of observation and statement. The third point is the preservation of the medial single surd aspirate consonants with the only exception of *kh*; i.e., *ख*, *ख्*, *क्*, are preserved. But III. 11 provides for the change of these to *ह*, *भ*, and *भ्*, if we look to the sense of the sūtra and also to some of the instances that are given. The change of *ख्* to *भ्*, is a Śaurasenî peculiarity. Of the two remaining points one is the insertion of *य्* to avoid the hiatus caused by the dropping of a consonant, about which I have already spoken, and the other is unimportant.

There is, therefore, no question that the Prâkṛit, a mongre grammar of which is given in the work edited by Dr. Hoernle, is not older than Hemachandra's.—(1887).

sing. of masc. and neut. nouns optionally in अह as कम्माह; and the form of the nom. sing. of the first personal pronoun is हगे. If we apply the test furnished by these rules to the several dialects used by the characters in the Mṛicchhakaṭika as it is in the existing editions, which play contains a large variety of characters, and consequently of speech, we shall find that the language of the Chāṇḍālas, the Śākāra, his servant Sthāvaraka, and even Kumbhīraka and Vardhamānaka, is Māgadhī, though the rules about स्थ, थै, and छ are scarcely observed. There is hardly any dialectic difference in their speeches. But the Sāhityadarpaṇa would lead us to expect his Chāṇḍālikā and Śākārī respectively, in the first two cases, and Ardhamāgadhī in the last three. As before observed, some admixture of Māgadhī characteristics constitutes this last dialect. Under this view there are instances of the use of the Ardhamāgadhī, as Lassen remarks, in the Prabodhachandrodaya. The dialect used by Māthura, the keeper of the gambling-house in the Mṛicchhakaṭika, is somewhat different. In his speeches, we sometimes find ल् and र् used for र and ल, and sometimes not. The nom. sing. ends in ओ, as in the Mahārāshṭrī or Śauraseni, in some cases in others it ends in ए as in the Māgadhī, and sometimes in उ as in the Apabhraṃśā; and the gen. sing. sometimes ends in अह as in the Māgadhī. If the text is to be depended on, the Dākṣiṇātyā which Viśvanātha\* attributes to gamblers may be such a mixed language.

It would thus appear that if all these inferior dialects did exist and were used by dramatic writers, they differed from each other in unimportant particulars, and that most of them belonged to the Māgadhī species, since the Mss. have confounded them with the Māgadhī of the grammarians. Hence we are justified in taking the real number of Prākṛit dialects used for literary purposes to be six, viz., those mentioned by Hemachandra, Trivikrama, and Lakṣmīdhara.

\* Another gambler without a name is introduced in the same scene, whose language Prof. Lassen thinks is Dākṣiṇātyā and Māthura's, Āvantikī. Very few speeches, however, are given to the former, and it is not possible to come to any definite conclusion from them; but so far as they go there is hardly any difference between his dialect and that of Māthura. The Professor is led to attribute two languages to gamblers by the annotator on the Sāhityadarpaṇa whom he quotes, and who explains धूर्ते by अक्षदेविन्. But if the word is to be so understood, दीव्यताम् in the next line is not wanted, and neither योध nor नागरिक. For, supposing the warriors and clever worldly men were gamblers, gambling was not confined to them; whence there is no reason to mention them in particular.

Daṇḍin mentions a work of the name of Bṛihatkathā written in the language of the ghosts, i.e., in the Paisāchi. Dr. Bühler has recently obtained a trace of the work, and arrangements have been made for getting it copied.<sup>7</sup> It is traditionally ascribed to a poet of the name of Guṇāḍhya.

Let us now examine cursorily the principal Prākṛit and the Śaurasenī which ranks next to it in literary importance, but as the model of the inferior dialects and as the language used by the higher class of Prākṛit-speaking dramatic persons in their prose-speeches is more important than the other, here, as before, I will place a specimen of each before you :—

61. निय[अ]आए चिय[अ] वायाइ अत्तणो गारवं निवेसेन्ता ।  
जे यन्ति पसंसं चिय[अ] जयन्ति इह ते महाकइणो ॥
63. शौगच्छमि वि सौख्याइं ताण विहवे वि होन्ति बुक्खाइं ।  
कव्वपरमत्परसिया[आ]इं जाण जायन्ति हियया[अआ]इं ॥
67. सोहेइ सुहावेइ य[अ] उवहुज्जन्तो लवो वि लच्छीए ।  
देवी सरस्सइं उण असमग्गा किपि विणडेइ ॥
99. अत्थि निय[अ]त्तिय[अ]नीसेसभुवणदुरिया[आ]हिनन्दिय[अ]महिन्वो ।  
सिरि जसवम्भो त्ति हिसापडिलग्गुणो महीनाहो ॥

Sanskrit :—

61. निजयैव वाचयात्मनो गौरवं निवेशयन्तः ।  
ये यान्ति प्रशंसामेव जयन्तीह ते महाकवयः ॥
63. शौर्गद्येपि सौख्यानि तेषां विभवेपि भवन्ति बुःखानि ।  
काव्यपरमार्थरसिकानि तेषां जायन्ते हृदयानि ॥
67. शोभयति सुखयति चोपभुज्यमानो लवोपि लक्ष्म्याः ।  
देवी सरस्वती पुनरसमग्ना किमपि विडम्बयति ॥
99. अस्ति निवर्तितनिःशेषभुवनदुरिताभिनन्दितमहेन्द्रः ।  
श्रीयशोवर्षेति दिशाप्रतिलम्नगुणो महीनाथः ॥

61. "Victorious are the great poets who, establishing their greatness by their own words, do obtain praise only."

63. "Those whose hearts appreciate the true beauty of poetry experience joys even in poverty and sorrows even in prosperity."

67. "Even a small degree of Lakshmi when enjoyed adorns and delights, but the divine Sarasvatī if imperfect is an unspeakable mockery."

<sup>7</sup> So Dr. Bühler told me at the time; and on a subsequent occasion I myself thought I had found a trace of the work. But up to this time all our search has proved fruitless. (1887).

99. "There lives a king named Yaśovarman who delights Indra by removing all the distresses of the world and whose virtues have reached the ends of the quarters."

Śaurasenī :

कथं अपुगहीदग्निह । इयमालिङ्गामि । दंसणं उण पिअसहीए बाहुप्पीडेण निरु-  
ख्खं ण लम्भीअदि । सदि कठोरकमलपम्हलो अण्णारिसो ज्जेच्च हे अज्ज णिव्वावेदि  
सरीरफंसो । किं अ मउलिविणिवेसिदञ्जली मह वअणेण विण्णवेहि तं जणं ण मए  
मन्दभाइणीए विअसन्तपुण्डरीअलच्छीविलासहारिणो मुहचन्द्रमण्डलस्स हे स-  
च्छन्दंसणेण संभाविदो च्चिरं महूसवो लोअणाणं ।

Sanskrit :

कथमनुगृहीतास्मि । इयमालिङ्गामि । दर्शनं पुनः प्रियसख्या बाष्पोत्पीडेन निरु-  
ख्खं न लभ्यते । सखि कठोरकमलपद्मलोन्त्यावृक्ष एव तेद्य निर्वापयति शरीरस्पर्शः ।  
किं च मौलिविनिवेशिताञ्जलिर्मम वचनेन विज्ञापय तं जनं न मया मन्दभाग्यया वि-  
कसत्पुण्डरीकलक्ष्मीविलासहारिणो मुखचन्द्रमण्डलस्य ते स्वच्छन्ददर्शनेन संभावि-  
तश्चिरं महीत्सवो लोचनानाम् ।

"What! thou has obliged me. Here I embrace. But I do not catch a glimpse of my dear friend, my sight being obstructed by the flow of tears. Friend, the contact of thy body, hairy like a ripened lotus, cools my body in a peculiar manner to-day. Moreover, with thy hands clasped and placed over thy head, do at my request, humbly say to that person, 'Unfortunate as I am, I have not feasted my eyes long, by looking freely at the moon of thy face which rivals the blown lotus in beauty.'"

In the Ms. of the Gaudavadhā, from which the first extract is given, अ and आ preceded by अ and इ are marked as य and या. In Mss. of other works the य does not appear; but there can be no question that it represents the later pronunciation correctly, since as already remarked in a note this य is observed in some of the modern vernaculars. But it is to be pronounced like a strengthened अ or आ and not like the heavy semi-vowel that I mentioned in my observations on the Pāli.

From these extracts you will observe that phonetic decay has made greater progress in these dialects than in the one we have examined. The changes in the Pāli are, with a few exceptions, such as may be attributed to the circumstances and vocal peculiarities of a foreign race. But in the Prākṛits the usual processes of corruption have a wider range of operation; though even here we shall, as we proceed, find it necessary to ascribe a good deal to an ethnological cause. And first as regards the phonetic transformations which we have

noticed in the Pāli, I have to observe that the Prākṛits also exhibit the same with but slight differences. The vowel ऋ is changed to अ as in घअ, तण, मअ, &c. for घृत, तृण, मृग, &c.; to इ as in किवा, हिअअ, किस, &c., for कृपा, इत्य, कृषा, &c.; to उ as in पुरई, पाउस, उडु, &c., for पृथिवी, प्रावृष्, वृद्ध, &c. When standing alone it is more often changed to रि than in Pāli; as in रिखी and रिच्छ for ऋखि and ऋक्ष; रिण or अण, रिजु or उजु, &c., for ऋण, ऋजु, &c., while the Pāli forms of these words are इखि, अच्छ, अण and उजु. The diphthongs ऐ and औ are as in Pāli changed to ए and ओ, as in कैलास, वेज्ज, केदव, &c., for कैलास, वैय, कैदभ, &c.; and in जोव्वण, कोमुई, कोत्थुह, &c., for यौवन, कौमुदी, कौस्तुभ, &c.; but in a good many instances they are dissolved into their elements अइ and अउ, as in वइच्च, भइरव, वइवअ, संहर, &c., for वैत्य, भैरव, वैवत्, स्वैर, &c., and पउर, कउसल, सउह, मउली, &c., for पौर, कौशल, सौध, मौलि, &c. This change resembles the dissolution of conjunct consonants into the different members, and like it is due to a weak or languid way of pronunciation. In ऐ and औ the first element or अ is rapidly pronounced, and the temporal value assigned to it by the authors of the Prātisākhya is, you will remember, half a mātrā, while in the Prākṛit transformations it is one mātrā. The long vowels are as in Pāli shortened when followed by double consonants; and there is the same or even stronger evidence of the existence of short ए and ओ. In Pāli short इ and उ followed by a conjunct are in certain cases changed to ए and ओ, and from that fact we inferred that they were short. Here in a great many more cases when so followed, short इ is optionally interchangeable with ए, and short उ is necessarily replaced by ओ, as in पिण्ड or पेण्ड, पिह or पेह निहा or नेहा, &c., and तोण्ड, मोण्ड, पोक्खर, &c., for पिण्ड, पिष्ट, निष्ठा, तुण्ड, मुण्ड, पुक्कर, &c. In several cases ए not followed by a conjunct is optionally changed to इ, as in विअणा or वेअणा for वेदना, विअर or वेअर for देवर, &c. The ए in these words must for some reason that we will hereafter consider have been pronounced short and hence interchangeable with इ. Sometimes the consonant following an ए or ओ is doubled, as in तेह्ण, पेम्म, सोत्त, जोव्वन, &c., for तैल, प्रेमन्, श्लोत्स्, यौवन, &c., which could only be because those vowels were pronounced short, and the loss of quantity thus occasioned made up for by rendering the pronunciation heavy and forcible. In other cases the ए was so pronounced by some and not by others; and so we have एक्क or एअ for एक, सेव्वा or सेवा for सेवा, &c. The syllables अय and अव are changed to ए and ओ oftener than in Pāli, the अव् of the causative and the

tenth class becoming ए necessarily throughout, as in कारेह, हासेह, कहेह for कारयति, हासयति, कथयति &c.

All the sibilants are reduced to स् as in the Pāli, but in the Magādhā dialect to श्; as शालश, पुलिश for सारस, पुरुष, &c. These dialects do not possess the cerebral ङ्, and therefore we have ल् in the place of the Pāli ङ्, and in some cases the original Sanskrit ङ्; as in तलाभ, गरुल, कीलह for the Pāli तळाग, गरुळ, कीळति and Sanskrit तडाग, गरुड, कीडति, &c., गुल or गुड, पाली or पाडी for the Pāli गुळ, नाळी, &c. and पीडेह, नीड for the Pāli पीळेति, नीळ, &c. There are a good many more examples of the change of dentals to cerebrals than in the Pāli, both through the influence of a neighbouring र् or without it. The द् and ढ् which correspond to त् and थ् are in most cases softened to ड् and ढ्. Thus we have पडि for the Pāli पटि, as in पडिमा, पडिहार, for प्रतिमा, प्रतिहार, &c., and पडुडि, पडण, बहेडभ, for प्रभृति, पतन, विभीतक; डोला or ढोला, डम्भ or दम्भ, डब्भ or दब्भ for ढोला, दम्भ, दर्भ, &c.; पडम (Pāli पडम), सिडिल, मेडी, ओसड for प्रथम, सिथिल, मेधि, औषध, &c. In Pāli the dental nasal न् is changed to ण् in but a few instances; but here it is so changed throughout, necessarily when uninitial, and optionally when at the beginning of a word; as कणभ, मभण, वभण, for कनक, मदन, वदन, &c., and णर or नर, णई or नई, णेइ or नेइ, for नर, नदी, नयति, &c. The opposite process is however observable in the Pāisāchī dialect, where not only have we no instances of this change but even the original Sanskrit ण् is changed to न् as in गुन, गन, for गुण, गण, &c. The conjunct consonants are transformed in the Prākṛits in the same way as in the Pāli. In the former however, ज् and न्य् are changed to ञ् and not to ङ् as in the latter, as in णण, सण्णा, अण्ण, सुण्ण, for ज्ञान, संज्ञा, भन्य, शून्य, &c. To be thus corrupted, ज् must in the original Sanskrit have been pronounced as if it were composed of ज् and न्; and sometimes the latter must have been so weakly pronounced that the sound of ज् prevailed over it and the whole became ज्, as in जाण or णाण, सव्वज्ज or सव्वण्ण, मणोज्ज or मणोण्ण, for ज्ञान, सर्वज्ञ, मनोज्ञ, &c. In the Pāisāchī and the Magadhī however, the Pāli transformation is retained; as in सज्जा, सवज्ज, कज्जका, अभिमज्जू, for संज्ञा, सर्वज्ञ, कन्यका, अभिमन्यु, &c. The conjunct र्ण् is sometimes changed to ज्ज corresponding to the द्य् of the older dialect, and ह्ण् to ह्ण् in which case the heavy *nāda* of ह् is transferred to the ज् which takes the place of र्ण् as in the change of ध्य् to द्ध्. In Pāli the consonants of ह्ण् only interchange places; i.e. it becomes द्ह्. From this and from the change of the initial uncombined र्ण् to ज्, it appears that very often the Sanskrit र्ण् was pronounced heavily when the



Prākṛits arose. The Śauraseni and the dialects allied with it have, however, both the Pāli and the Prākṛit corruptions of र्.

A dental forming a conjunct with a following र् is in a few cases changed to the corresponding palatal; as in भोषा for भुक्त्वा, चक्षर for चत्वर, पिच्छी for पृथ्वी, विज्जं for विद्वान्, बुज्जा for बुद्धा, झभ for ध्वज, झुणी for ध्वनि, सज्जस for साध्वस, &c. This seems to arise from the fact that र् was pronounced so lightly that it lost its distinctive character, and the conjuncts came to be confused with those containing a dental and र् which, you will remember, are changed to a double palatal. In Pāli the र् is retained in these instances, and the ह् and ध् are changed to ह् and ढ् according to the general rules, and the र् of पृथ्वी becomes थ्व. Besides the conjuncts disjoined in Pāli by the interposition of a vowel, we have र् and र् also so treated in the Prākṛit, sometimes optionally and sometimes necessarily. Thus आदर्श becomes आभरिस or आअंस, (P. आदास); सुदर्शन, सुवरिसण or सुदंसण, (P. सुदस्सन); वर्ष, वरिस or वास, (P. वस्स); परामर्श, परामरिस (P. परामास); अमर्श, अमरिस, (P. अमस्स).

Having noticed the changes common to the Prākṛits with the Pāli, we will proceed to consider others distinctive of the former. Most of these were due to the continuous operation of processes which come into play in a living language. The Pāli exhibits but few instances of these processes. The changes observable in it are mostly to be traced to one or two vocal peculiarities of the men who spoke it. At the time when the language received the form in which we now find it, the tradition of the original Sanskrit was still distinct; the Pāli had not lived an independent life detached from its mother for a long time. But with the Prākṛits the case is different. They show a great many more instances of the usual processes, and consequently a much greater departure from the parent tongue. We will begin by noticing what may be called the softening process.

The vowels इ and उ are softened, as we have seen, to short ए and ओ before conjuncts. These latter sounds are, as indicated in the last lecture, more open than the former; that is, do not require the tongue to be raised so high as in the case of इ and उ. They are therefore softer. But since the change principally takes place before doubles, it may, I believe, be traced to their influence, as I have already observed. In that case this would be an instance of assimilation. But the change of long ई and ऊ to long ए and ओ is due to softening alone; as in पेज्जस for पीयूष, आमेल for आपीड, बहेडभ for बिभीतक, केरिस for कीवृष, and

एरिस for ईदृषा, नेड for नीड, पेड for पीड, तम्बोल for साम्बूल, तोपीर for तूपीर, थोर for स्थूल, and गलीई for गुडूची. In the same way, इ and उ are in rare cases softened to अ, as in हलद्वा for हरिद्रा, पडंसुअ for प्रतिभुन्, and जहिडिल for युधिष्ठिर. अ requires no movement of the tongue or lips, while इ and उ do. It is therefore softer than those two vowels. Both these changes contradict another principle to be hereafter noticed, the operation of which is wide, and they must therefore be considered special or peculiar changes. The manner in which ऋ is softened has been already detailed.

The semivowel य् is often softened to इ, as in विअण for व्यजन, विलिअ for व्यलीक, यीण for स्थान, उव्वीड for उद्बुड, जीआ or ज्या, &c. Here the effort necessary to bring the middle of the tongue closer to the palate is economized, while the position of the organs in other respects is the same. The य् of the conjunct र्य् is sometimes softened in this way to इ and sometimes to इअ. In the former case the resulting इ is transferred to the previous syllable and forms ए with the अ contained in it; as in वेरन्त for पर्यन्त, अच्छेर for आश्चर्य, बम्भचेर for ब्रह्मचर्य, सुन्नेर for सौन्दर्य, &c. Similarly व् is changed to उ as in हुणी for धानि, वीसुं for विश्वक्, गउओ for गवय, सुवइ for स्वपिति, वु for वृ, &c.

The surds are softened into sonants. The pronunciation of these requires, as you will remember, less exertion than that of the former. For sonants such as ग्, घ्, ङ्, ध्, &c., are pronounced by means of *nāda*, or vocal sound which is produced when the glottis is in its natural condition and the chords vibrate, and the surds क्, ख्, त्, थ्, &c. are uttered by sending forth simple breath or *svāsa*, to produce which it is necessary to stretch the glottis. This effort is saved by changing the surds to sonants. Thus क् is changed to ग् as in मरगअ for मरकत and गेन्वुअ for कन्दुक; द् to ड् as in नड, भड, and षड, for नट, भट, and षट, and in पडि for प्रति and the other instances given above; द् to द् as in मड, सड, कमड, कुडार, and पड, for मड, षड, कमड, कुडार, and पड; and त् and थ् to द् and ध् as in एद् for एत, नाध for नाथ &c. (in Saur.) The cerebral द् and दृ resulting from the original dentals त् and थ् are also similarly softened to ड् and ढ् as in पडि for प्रति (पडि in Pāli), पडुडि for प्रभृति, बहेडअ for बिभीतक, हरडई for हरीतकी, मडअ for मृतक, &c., and सिडिल for सिधिल, पुडवी for पृथिवी, पडम for प्रथम, &c. The sonant answering to ए् is व् but this is further softened to व्, as in कूव, कवाल, कुणव, तवइ, &c., for कूप, कपाल, कुणप, तपति, &c.

An original ङ् is softened to ल्, in which case there is a saving of two efforts. The complete contact necessary for the pronunciation of

इ being avoided we have कृ. This sound is similar to कृ in the fact that the breath before the break of the contact or close approach is allowed to pass out by the sides of the tongue, but is more difficult or harder because its position being higher up, the tongue has to be raised higher than in pronouncing कृ the position of which is near the root of the upper teeth. This additional exertion is saved by proceeding from इ, at once to कृ. We have thus गरुड, तलाअ, कीलइ, हालिम, गुल, नाली, for गरुड, तडाअ, कीडति, हाडिम, गुड, नाडी, &c. In the Pāli, however, you will remember and probably in some unwritten Prākṛits also, the cerebral character of the letter was preserved and we have कृ instead of कृ. Sometimes इ is softened to इ only. The position of this is lower than that of इ and the contact is incomplete. It is therefore softer than इ but harder than कृ. This last sound is produced lower still, but a light close approach is formed, and the breath is allowed to escape by the sides of the tongue; while in uttering इ the tongue is kept in its position with greater force, and the breath is allowed to vibrate. This change is principally to be met with in the case of the इ resulting from an original इ in such words as एआरह, बारह, तेरह, &c., for एकादश, द्वादश, त्रयोदश, &c., the इ of which must first have become इ. In कलम्ब, दोहल, and पलित्त, for कलम्ब, दोहइ, and प्रदीप्त, we have instances of an original इ passing into कृ. An original इ is changed to कृ which, as just observed, is softer than इ, as in हलदी, वलिइ, मुहल, इङ्गाल, &c., for हरिद्रा, हरिद्र, मुखर, अङ्गार, &c. When the इ forming the first member of a conjunct is softened in this way, and the following member is weak, or is itself capable of becoming कृ the whole conjunct becomes कृ; as पर्यस्त becomes पल्लइ-स्य; पर्वाण, पलाण; आर्द्र, अल्ल or ओल्ल; मर्द, मल, &c. The sibilant कृ which is the only one we have in the Mahārāshṭrī and Śaurasēnī, is sometimes softened to हृ that is, the simple heavy breath somewhat compressed at the dental position is made uncompressed heavy vocal sound; as in दिवइ, पाहाण, रह, एआरह, बारह, &c., for दिवस, पाषाण, दश, एकादश, द्वादश, &c.

Another phenomenon characteristic of the Prākṛits is the dropping away of single uninitial consonants. Thus कृ is dropped, as in सअद, कुम्भआर, for शकट, कुम्भकार, &c.; ग् as in नअ, नअर, साभर for नग, नगर, सागर, &c.; च् as in वअण, सूई, for वचन, सूचि, &c.; ज् as in रअभ, राभा, गअ, for रजत, राजा, गज, &c.; त् as in विआण, पआवई, गअ, for वितान, प्रजापति, गत, &c.; द् as in, मअण, पाअ, कअल, for मदन, पाद, कवल, &c.; प् followed by any vowel except अ, as in रिऊ, कई, विडल, for

रिपु, कपि, विपुल, &c., व् as in वाउणा, पञ्चण, for वायुना, नयन, &c., व् as in जीभ, विभह, for जीव, विवस, &c. The vowel अ or आ that remains after the elision is when preceded by अ or आ pronounced like a light व्. We find it written in Mss. also, as in सचड, तित्यबरो, नयर, &c. In the same way, the mute element of the aspirates is dropped, except in the case of the palatals and of फ्, the ह् or the heavy *nāda* or vocal sound being alone preserved. Thus we have मुह, लिह, सही, for मुख, लिख, सखी, &c., मेह, माह, पाहुण, for मेघ, माघ, प्राघुण, &c.; नाह, मिहुण, कहा, for नाय, मियुन, कथा, &c.; बहिर, वधू, साध, for बधिर, वधू, साधु, &c.; लाह, सोहग्ग, सोहा, for लाभ, सौभाग्य, शोभा, &c. The range of the operation of these processes is very wide; and the number of words transformed in accordance with them is very large. Now, the principle which is at the bottom of this elision of consonants is the same as that which brings about softening, viz., economy of exertion. But in a growing language which knows of no accidents in the course of its history, there is another principle which counteracts this, viz., the necessity of pronouncing words in a manner to be understood by others. Hence a wholesale elision is impossible; and the natural course is to soften sounds away, until finally they are elided. This of course must be a very slow process. But in the Prākṛit, and especially the Mahārāshṭrī, we do not find it to be slow. Elision seems to be a distinguishing characteristic which strikes one very forcibly on reading a Prākṛit passage. It is too regular, systematic, and far-reaching, to have been the product of a long course of softening. In fact, because it is so systematic and general, some writers have doubted whether the Prākṛits were genuine dialects, and have expressed their belief that they are the creation of Pandits. But we shall find that the modern vernaculars retain the words shorn of their elements by the Prākṛits in this way; and that these latter dialects were the immediate parents of those we now speak in Northern India. If this general mutilation of words was brought about by a natural decay, we must suppose the process to have gone on for a great many centuries. The Prākṛit vocables that have descended to the modern vernaculars have not, since the period when the Prākṛits arose, about fourteen centuries ago, suffered at all so much as Sanskrit words in passing into the Prākṛits. We have not dropped away any of the elements of Prākṛit vocables, though we may have re-arranged them in some cases. If, then, fourteen centuries have not been sufficient to make words lose any of their elements by the action of natural causes, the process by which Sanskrit words were muti-

lated and became Prākṛit must, if it was natural and ordinary, have been in operation for a considerably longer period, a supposition which appears extremely improbable. And it is questionable whether a language which has not been exposed to accidents in the course of its history suffers so much, even after the lapse of any conceivable time. The Teutonic languages, though they have been going through an independent course of development since the period when the ancestors of the modern English and Germans separated from the ancestors of the Hindus in pre-historic ages, have preserved the elements of old Aryan vocables which the Prākṛits lost. They may have transformed the words, but have not mutilated them to any great extent. The English words *father*, *mother*, *brother*, *foot*, and others, have all the elements of the old पितृ, मातृ, भ्रातृ, पद् (पाद्), and others; while the Prākṛit पिआ or पिउ, माआ, माइ or माउ, भाआ or भाउ, and पाअ, and the modern vernacular पिउ, माउ, मा, माई, भाई, भाऊ, and पा or पाय have lost all except the first consonantal sound. The elision of consonants on a large scale in the Prākṛits is therefore to be accounted for in another way than by attributing it to a natural process of decay. The Prākṛit words must be taken to represent the pronunciation of the corresponding Sanskrit words by an alien race. The vocal organs of the people of that race were unused to the utterance of Sanskrit sounds, and in this respect they were in the condition of children making their first attempts at articulate speech, and elided uninitial consonantal sounds and assimilated conjunct consonants as these do. When a child or a barbarous foreigner listens to an elderly or more civilized person, he has not the patience to attend to all the sounds composing a word and to reproduce them carefully, or has not acquired the habit of doing so. The first letter only makes a strong impression on his ear, and this he faithfully reproduces; and as to the rest, he realizes their quantity by pronouncing the vowels, but his tongue being untrained, the peculiar movements necessary for uttering the consonantal sounds he cannot go through, and avoids. In going over the Pāli we had to attribute the assimilation of conjuncts and other peculiarities observable in that dialect to such a cause; and now the elision in the Prākṛits that we have been considering must, I believe, be accounted for in the same way.

Another process which transforms the words of a language is assimilation. We have already discussed the assimilation of the members of a conjunct and of the diphthongal sounds ऐ and औ, and will

now consider the application of the process to the different syllables composing a word. The अ of the second syllable of ईषत्, वेत्स, and कूपण, is changed to इ, because the vowel in the first is इ or ए, the क् of कूपण being changed to इ; and we have ईसि, वेत्सि, and किविण. Similarly, the अ of मरिच and वल्ली, and the इ of इक्षु are changed to इ, ए, and उ through the influence of the following इ, ई, and उ; and the forms are मिरिअ, वेल्ली, and उच्छु. Sometimes, when य् as a member of a conjunct is changed to a palatal, it influences the preceding vowel and brings it over to its own position, as in सेज्जा for स्यच्चा, मञ्जिम for मध्यम, गेज्ज for ग्राह्य, &c. An original palatal also produces similar effect, as in जिमइ or जेमइ for जमति. In the words पुडम for प्रयम, पोम्म for पम, and ओप्पेइ for अर्पयति, the adjoining vowel is changed to उ to make it go easily with the labial प. You will observe that it is अ that yields so readily to the influence of an adjoining letter, because in pronouncing it no movement of the tongue is necessary. It is sounded by letting off *nāda* or intonated breath, without offering any obstruction to it; and this current gives rise to the different vowels when it is obstructed in various degrees by various movements of the tongue and the lips; so that if the organic position of the previous consonant remains a little longer, or if the following is begun a little earlier, the अ current assumes the form that that position gives it. An aspirate or an aspirated mute existing in a word influences an adjoining vowel or a consonant; that is the heavy breath that is necessary for the utterance of the aspirate mingles itself with the other sounds also. Thus कासित becomes खासिअ; परुष, फरुस; परिष, फलिह; परिष्या, फलिहा; पनस, फणस; and विसिनी, निसिणी, in which instances क्, प् and ब् are changed to ख्, फ्, and भ्. In other cases the heavy breath is transferred to an adjoining vowel which becomes इ; as in फलिह for स्फटिक, निहस for निकष, विहत्थी for वितस्ति, वसही for वसति, भरह for भरत, in which cases by the dropping of the mute we should have, but for this heavy breath, फलिअ, निअस, विअत्थी, वसई, and भरअ. The words सटा and शकट become सटा and सअट, the ट resulting from the transference of the heavy breath being softened to ह्.

Another kind of assimilation must be noticed here. The vowels are open sounds and the consonants close. These being used together, the openness of the former has a tendency to diminish to assimilate them to the latter, and the closeness of the latter has a similar tendency to yield to the openness of the former. This latter change involves economy and is the same as softening; त् and प् for instance become more and more like

vowels when they are changed to इ and ए, and thence to लृ and वृ; while the latter ultimately does become the vowel उ. But the former does not involve softening in itself but rather hardening, since ए or इ, and ओ or उ, to which अ is sometimes changed, occasion motions of the tongue and the lips which the latter does not. But in this change there is an ease of pronunciation such as is involved in assimilation. Immediately after one closing of the passage of the breath, it is easier to make a shorter opening for it such as इ and उ require before another closing, than a longer one such as the pronunciation of ए and ओ requires, or a complete one such as is necessary for अ. This last vowel therefore has a tendency to pass off into ए and इ, or ओ and उ. But whether the shorter opening is to be made at the middle of the palate or at the lips, that is, whether अ is to be changed to ए and इ, or ओ and उ depends on the vocal habits of a people. Some are accustomed to open their lips and round them, others not. Similarly, whether the opening shall be the least possible or a little more, that is, whether अ is to be changed to ए and ओ first, and then to इ, or उ, or at once to इ or उ depends upon habit. And the ease of pronunciation involved in this kind of assimilation is also relative. Some people may feel the muscular effort required for इ and उ to be more intolerable than the wider or complete opening, and prefer ए and ओ or even अ, as in the instances given under vowel softening, and in others occurring in some of the modern vernaculars. The Prakrits change अ to इ in virtue of this law of assimilation, as in पिक for पक, इङ्गल for अङ्गल, मुहङ्ग for मृहङ्ग, सिविण for स्वम, and पिडाल for ललाल; and to ए in गेन्दुअ for कन्दुक, एस्थ for अत्र, देक्ख for ब्रह्म, &c.

Opposed to this process of assimilation is dissimilation. When the same vowel occurs in two successive syllables, it is felt to be burdensome, and hence a dissimilar vowel is substituted for it in one of the two. We have thus बहेडअ for विभीतक, सडिल for शिथिल, पुहवी for पृथिवी, मडल, मउड and मउर, for मुकुल, मुकुट and मुकुर, भिउडी for भृकुटी, पुरिस for पुरुष, निउर or नेउर for नूपुर, वुअल्ल for वुकूल, सोअमल्ल for सोकुमार्य, अगह for अगुरु, गलोई for गुडूची, and गरुअ for गुरुक. The words अङ्गुवी and हरडई for इङ्गुवी and हरीतकी must also be considered as instances of the same law, though another syllable intervenes between the two containing the same vowel. Instances of this process must necessarily be few, since there are not many words containing the same vowel in successive syllables. But we have got so many here, that the substitution of a dissimilar vowel in such cases may be considered a

general characteristic of the Prākṛits. It will also be seen that in these instances, अ is substituted for इ throughout, and for उ mostly; so that these may also be considered as instances in which the most open sound अ was preferred by the Prākṛit speakers to इ or उ, as involving less exertion.

The first अ of संमृद्धि, प्रसिद्धि, प्रकट, प्रतिपद्, सर्वज्ञ, &c., is lengthened optionally; and we have सामिद्धि or समिद्धि, पासिद्धि or पसिद्धि, प-पाअड प-पाडिव, स-सारिच्छ, &c. On the other hand, the आ of यथा, तथा, उख्यात संस्थापित, प्राकृत, हालिक, कुमार &c. is optionally shortened; and these words become जह-हा, तह-हा, उखअ-खाअ, संठाविअ-ठाविअ, पअड-पाअड, हलिअ-हलिअ, कुमर-मार &c. The ई of पानीय, अलीक, जीवति, गभीर, द्वितीय, तृतीय, &c., is necessarily shortened, and we have पाणिअ, अलिअ, जिवह, गहिर, दुहअ, तहअ &c. Changes of this nature seem to be due to some kind of accent with which the words must have been pronounced. When one of the syllables of a word is accented, the whole vocal weight of that word gravitates towards that syllable. It is sounded with greater force and pitch and with a jerk which are apt to cause a wider opening between the organs of speech than is necessary. Hence the less open vowels अ, इ, and उ have a tendency to become more open, i.e., आ, ए, and ओ. Similarly the force and the jerk tend to prolong the time occupied by the utterance of the vowel, that is, to lengthen it. And long vowels occurring, in the unaccented syllables often become short, since they are uttered hurriedly or carelessly. Supposing प्रतिपद् was pronounced with the accent on प्र, that would be a reason why the प्र should become प्रा in the course of time; and if द्वितीय was pronounced with the accent on य, we can understand why the ती should become short. But the real nature of the old Sanskrit accents, notwithstanding the labours of the grammarians, is little understood. How words were actually pronounced in this respect it is difficult to say. If the *udatta* was really the acute accent, it falls in some of the above words on syllables by being on which it could not have operated in the manner indicated above. The supposition that the *svarita* was the acute accent fails equally. But perhaps the old accents went out of use very early, and others took up their place. Whatever may have been the case, the changes we have been considering seem to have risen from an accent of some sort. The ए of वेदना, चपेटा, देवर, and क़ेसर is optionally changed to इ; for supposing that the accent fell on the second or third syllable, the force necessary to pronounce it could not be successfully exerted if the mouth had to be previously opened wide for sounding ए. It is



thus reduced to the close vowel इ; and so we have विअण, चविडा, विअर and किसर. The dropping of initial vowels as in रण्ण for अरण्य and लाबू for अलाबू must also be traced to those vowels being unaccented.

There are several instances in these dialects of the interchange of consonants. The word सुषा becomes सुण्हा, while regularly it ought to be णुसा; ण् and स् thus interchange places. Similarly, करेणू is transformed to कणेरू, वाराणसी to वाणारसी, अचलपुर to अलचपुर, आलान to आपाल, लघु to हलु (लह् also being used), महाराष्ट्र to मरहट्ट, &c. In the case of विच्छुअ for वृश्चिक we have an interchange of vowels, for the उ resulting from च् is transferred to अ and its इ to व. In ordinary life we often find that a man speaking hastily makes the sounds of a word thus interchange places. When several people happen to do so in the case of particular words, the new transformations come in the course of time to be regarded as the true words and acquire a recognized position.

The Prākritis sometimes change a labial to the nasal of its class, as in नीम for नीप, आमेल for आपीड, कमन्ध for कबन्ध, नीमी for नीवि, समर for सडर, and सिमिण for स्वम. These are optional changes; the forms of the words with व or ब instead of म also existing. Though the change involves softening, since a portion of the breath is sent through the nose and the force of the contact weakened, it must be attributed to a tendency to speak through the nose. Similarly, they introduced an *anusvāra* into words which did not originally contain it; where also the breath was discharged through the mouth as well as the nose. In this manner, वक्र became वंक्र; अश्रु, अंसु; इमश्रु, मंसु; स्पर्श, फंस; पुच्छ, पुंछ; मूर्धा, मुंदा; कुन्, कुंध; दर्शन, वंसण; वृश्चिक, विच्छुअ; मार्जार, मंजार; प्रतिश्रुत्, पडंसु-आ &c. The last syllable of the absolute termination ऊण and of the case endings एण and एणु is also sometimes nasalized, as in काऊणं or काऊण for कृत्वा, and वच्छेणं or ण and वच्छेणुं or सु for वृक्षेण and वृक्षेणु. On the other hand, the existing *anusvāra* of a few words is dropped probably from a feeling that its existence in those words was due to a mistake and from a desire to correct it. Thus we have मास or मंस for मांस, कास or कंस for कांस्य, पासु or पंसु for पांसु, शणि or शण्णि for इवानी, and णं or ण as the termination of the gen. pl. The letter ल् is in a few cases optionally, sometimes necessarily, transformed into ण्, as in णाहल or लाहल, णज्जल or लज्जल, णज्जल or लज्जल, and णडाल or णिडाल, for लाहल, लाज्जल, लाज्जल, and ललाट. In the last instance ट् is softened and made to exchange its place with the second ल्, and the अ of ण

becomes **ḥ** optionally. This also points to the Prākṛit characteristic of speaking through the nose.

The remarks I have hitherto made apply to the Mahārāshṭrī or the principal Prākṛit. The Śaurasenī differs from it in but a few particulars. It does not drop **त्** and **श्** but softens them into **ḥ** and **ḥ**, as in **पूरिद्, मारुदि, तथा, नाथ, &c.**, for **पूरित, मारुति, तथा, नाथ, &c.** The conjunct **न्त्** is often changed to **न्**, as in **निश्चिन्वो, अन्देउर** for **निश्चिन्त, अन्तःपुर, &c.** In addition to these peculiarities, in the Magadhī the **र्** and **श्** of the principal Prākṛit are represented by **ल्** and **श्**, as in **नल, कल, शालश्, पुलिश्, for नर्, कर, सारस, पुरुष, &c.** The **श्** of a conjunct is not assimilated but preserved, and the **ष्** changed to **स्**, as in **पस्खलदि हस्ती** for **प्रस्खलति हस्ती, शुष्क बालु** for **शुष्क बरु, कस्ट** for **कष्ट, &c.** The double **द्** and the conjunct **ष्ठ** are changed to **स्द्**, and **स्थ** and **र्थ** to **स्त**; **द्** and **थ** being thus softened to **द्** and **त्**. Thus we have **भस्दालिका** for **भहारिका, सुस्द्** for **सुद्, उवस्तिद्** for **उपस्थित, शस्त्वह** for **सार्थवाह, &c.** The consonant **ञ** whether original or derived, as in the Prākṛit corruptions of **द्य** or **र्थ**, was pronounced lightly, that is softened to **य्**, as in **यापादि** for **जानाति, अय्य** for **अद्य, &c.** The conjuncts **ञ्, न्य्,** and **ण्य्** are, as before mentioned, changed to **ञ्**, as in Pāli; and **च्छ्** to **श्च**, as in **गश्च, पुश्च** for **गच्छ, पृच्छ, &c.** The **क्ष** of **प्रेक्ष्** and **चक्ष्** is changed to **स्क**, as in **पेस्कदि** for **प्रेक्षते** and **आचस्कदि** for **आचक्षते**. In the Paisāchī, the changes of single consonants that we have noticed in the case of the Mahārāshṭrī and Śaurasenī do not take place; that is, the consonants are not dropped or softened, nor are they transformed by the process of assimilation. The dentals are not changed to cerebrals, but the original Sanskrit cerebrals are optionally changed to dentals, as in **कुतुम्बक** or **कुदुम्बक** for **कुटुम्बक**; and an original **ण्** to **न्** throughout, as in **गुनगन** for **गुणगण**. The sonant **ह्** is hardened to **त्**, as in **तामोत्तर** for **दामोत्तर, पतेस** for **प्रवेश, &c.** The sibilants are changed to **स्** as in Pāli and the principal Prākṛit, and **ञ्** and **न्य्** to **ञ्** as in the former. In the Chūlikā Paisāchī, the sonants are throughout changed to surds, as in **नकर, मक्कन, मेख, वक्ख, राखा, चीमूत्, &c.**, for **नगर, मार्गण, मेघ, व्याघ्र, राजा, जीमूत्, &c.** Phonetically the Paisāchī appears to be in nearly the same condition as the Pāli, but the hardening of sonants is peculiar, and may be compared to the change of Sanskrit sonants to surds in the Teutonic languages, as in *foot* for **फूत्**, *tooth* for **दूत्**, *know* for **ज्ञा**, &c. Such changes involve no economy whatever; and like the change of dentals to cerebrals they must be attributed to certain peculiarities of the vocal organs. Even in the operation of the usual processes we have, as you

will have seen, found very wide scope for the play of similar special aptitudes. The characteristic of the dialect we have been considering of not changing dentals to cerebrals as the Pâli and the Prâkrîts do, and even the dentalizing of cerebrals, would appear to be truly Âryan. Perhaps then this was the language of an Âryan tribe that had remained longer in the original seat of the race, and was connected with the ancestors of the Teutons, so as to develop a phonetic peculiarity resembling theirs, and emigrated to India at a very late period and settled on the borders. Or it might be that the tribe came to India along with the others, but living in the mountainous countries on the border in a sort of rude independence, it developed this peculiarity of pronunciation which to my mind betokens a rude and uncontrollable force of breath. Since under this supposition they could not have come in very close contact with their more civilized brethren of the plains, their language did not undergo some of those phonetic modifications which Sanskrit underwent in the mouths of the aboriginal races. And in a Sanskrit verse quoted by Mr. Ellis in his preface to Campbell's Grammar of the Telugu language, the countries where the Paisâchî is said to have prevailed are such border countries as Gândhâra or Afghanistan, Nepal, Bâhlika or Balk, &c.<sup>8</sup>

We will now proceed to examine the Grammar of the Prâkrîts.

As in the Pâli the dual and the dat. case are wanting. The termination of the instr. pl. is हि, the other Pâli भि having disappeared. The ablative pl. which was lost in the older dialect is made up by adding तो, Skr. तस्, to the हि of the instr. pl., which was used in Pâli for the abl., and to सु, the termination of the locative, and using हिन्तो and सुन्तो as the terminations for all nouns. This तो in the form of दो and दू is also used to form the abl. sing. of all nouns. This is according to Vararuchi. But Hemachandra gives दो and दू as the Śaurasenî terminations, and ओ and उ as those in the principal Prâkrît, which is according to the usual phonetic rules. This grammarian gives तो as an additional termination for both numbers, and extends ओ and उ to the plural also, and हिन्तो to the singular.<sup>9</sup> In Prâkrît, sometimes consonants are doubled even when there is no conjunct in the original Skr.

<sup>8</sup> Names of other countries in Central or Southern India also occur; but the reading of the verse is evidently corrupt.

<sup>9</sup> I shall in all my observations on the Prâkrîts follow Hemachandra, since he is full and explicit. Vararuchi is indistinct in several cases, and his rules on that account have been misunderstood by all writers who have followed him; and he is incomplete.

Hence we have *सो*; and the reason why this and *दो* and *दु* or *ओ* and *उ* are extended to the plural is that in Skr. the expression made up of a noun and this termination has both senses; as *ग्रामतः* may mean *from a village or villages*. The gen. sing. *स्व* from the *स्व* of Sanskrit nouns in *अ* is generalized as in Pāli and applied to all masc. and neut. nouns; and the pl. is formed by the old Skr. term. *नाम्* Prākṛitized to *ण्*, as in the elder dialect. The Pāli pronominal abl. *स्मा* or *म्हा*, has disappeared, and the loc. *स्मि* or *म्हि* has assumed the form of *स्मि* and is used for all nouns of the masc. and neut. genders as in the other language. The voc. pl. is as in Skr. and Pāli the same as the Nom. pl.

*Masculine Nouns in अ*. The nom., acc., and instr. cases of nouns in *अ* are the same as in Pāli; but here the nom. pl. form *वच्छा* is optionally transferred to the acc. pl. also, thus giving another instance of the strong tendency to confuse the nom. and acc. that I have spoken of. The dat. sing. in *आद्* like that in Pāli, is preserved in solitary instances in which it has the sense of "for the sake of." The abl. sing. besides the general forms mentioned above has the old one ending in *आ*, as in Pāli, and a new one in *आहि* which is used in the plural also. This *आहि* is used in Sāṅskṛit in the words *दक्षिणाहि* and *उत्तराहि*,\* which have an ablative signification. It must in its origin be considered the same as the instr. termination *त्रिस्*. The loc. sing. besides the general form has, as in Pāli, the old one in *ए*. The voc. sing. has also the two Pāli forms *देव*, *देवा*, and another *देवो* the same as the nom. sing.

—*Nouns in इ and उ*. The nom. pl. has a form made up according to the analogy of neuter nouns or nouns ending in *इन्*; as *अग्निणो* and *साहुणो*. This does not exist in the Pāli, the analogy being there extended to the gen. and loc. sing. only. The Prākṛit has also the two Pāli forms *अग्गी* and *अग्ग्यो* which latter is transformed into *अग्गओ* and *अग्गउ*, and *साहु* and *साह्यो*, the latter appearing also in the form of *साहओ* and *साहउ*. The acc. pl. has also the neuter form *अग्निणो* or *साहुणो* in addition to the Pāli *अग्गी* or *साहु*. Besides the general forms mentioned above, the abl. has in the sing. the neuter form *अग्निणो* or *साहुणो* also. The Pāli loc. sing. *अग्निणि* does not appear. The other forms of these nouns are like those in the older dialect. The voc. sing. is *अग्नि* or *साहु* as in Pāli, and *अग्गी* or *साहु*. We here see the analogy of neuter nouns or nouns ending in *इन्* extended to all vowel cases except the loc. sing.

—*Nouns in ऋ*. Two bases, one ending in *आर* as in *भत्तार* from *भृत्*,

\* Prof. Lassen derives them differently.

and the other in उ as भुञ्जु, are used, the former throughout all the cases and the latter in all except the sing. of the nom. and acc. The first is declined like nouns in अ, and the second like those in उ as साहु. The nom. sing. has also the old form भक्ता. In the Pāli, you will remember, the first base is used in the plural of four cases, and the second in the gen. sing. only; while the singulars of three cases have the old Sanskrit forms. Here the two bases have been extended much further and one old form only that of the nom. sing. remains. Nouns expressive of relationship such as पितृ, भ्रातृ and जाभातृ are declined similarly, the final syllable आर being shortened to अर as it is in Sanskrit and Pāli in those cases where the base is used. The voc. sing. is भक्त, and of the latter class of nouns it ends in अ or अरं, as पिअ or पिअरं.

—Nouns in अन् अत् (present participle), वत्, मत् &c. राजन् has four bases. The old one राजन् with the old Sanskrit forms only phonetically corrupted (ञ् becoming ण्) is used in all the singulars except that of the loc. and in the nom. pl.; as राआ, राआणो, राआणं, रण्णा, रण्णो and रण्णो. In Pāli it is used in the loc. sing. and gen. pl. also. The second राज्, Prākṛitised into राअ, is used in both numbers of all cases except the nom. sing., and in Pāli in all except the nom. sing. and pl. and the acc. pl. It is declined like a noun in अ; as राआ nom. pl., राअं acc. sing., राआ-राए acc. pl., राएण instr. sing., &c. The third राजिन् is employed in the gen. sing. in the older dialect; but here, as राइन्, in all cases and numbers except the nom. sing. It is declined like an ordinary Sanskrit noun in इन्; as राइणो nom. and acc. pl., राइणं acc. sing., राइणा instr. sing., &c. The fourth is राजान, Pr. राआण, used in all cases and both numbers. Vararuchi, however, does not give this, and omits the others in some of the cases. This base is unknown to Pāli, but occurs in the word आत्मन् in the form of अत्ताण, and is used in the plurals of the instr. and loc., while here it is extended to all cases. This noun and such others ending in अन् are in the Prākṛit declined like राजन्; the base in आण is general to all and used throughout, but the others occur in certain cases only. The voc. sing. of राजन् is राअं or राअ in the Śaurasenī, the former of which does not occur in the Mahārāshṭrī. The base of the present participles ends in अन्त and they are declined like nouns in अ. The Pāli you will remember uses the old base in some of the cases and has the old forms; but here they have disappeared. Similarly वत् and मत् become वन्त and मन्त throughout, i.e., end in अ. Other final consonants are dropped and in feminine nouns sometimes आ is added.

*Feminine and Neuter Nouns.*—The Prākṛit feminine declension differs from the Pāli in little more than a phonetic corruption of the terminations. The य् of the instr. abl. gen. and loc. of nouns in आ, and the या of those in इ or ई, are weakened into ए or इ or dropped, leaving only अ and आ. In the latter class of nouns this आ is further optionally shortened to अ. Thus we have मालाए-इ-अ- and नईए-इ-आ-अ, &c. The optional loc. forms in यं are lost; and the यो of the nom. plurals मालायो and नदियो leaves only the vowel ओ which is again shortened to उ. The abl. forms in दो-दु or ओ-उ are of course new. Fem. nouns in ऋ substitute आ for the final and are declined like nouns in आ; as नणन्वा, नणन्वाओ, &c. मातृ however has another base मातरा when it signifies a “goddess.” In the Pāli four bases are used, the old one, मातर, declined like masc. nouns in अ मानु, and माता. This last is used in the gen. pl. only along with मातराणं, and मानूनं. The nom. and acc. of neuter nouns in अ are in the Prākṛit the same as in Skr. only phonetically corrupted, as वणं sing., वणा-ई-इ-णि pl.; while the sing. of those in इ and उ have an anusvāra optionally attached to them, as दहि or दहिं sing., दहीई-इ-णि, pl. The optional Pāli plurals in आ and ए are lost. Sanskrit neuter nouns in अन् and अस् become nouns in अ, and are masculine.

*Pronouns.*—The nom. pl. in ए is preserved, as in सव्वे, जे &c. The gen. pl. has सिं for its termination formed by adding a light इ to the साञ् of Sanskrit, which according to the usual rules should be corrupted to सं, and is also formed upon the model of the corresponding nouns; as सव्वेसिं or सव्वाण-णं, जेसिं or जाण-णं, &c. The Pāli has सं, and its double gen. सानं is wanting. The loc. sing. has the termination सिंसि, a form not existing in the older dialect, in addition to the ष्मि used for nouns, both of which are to be traced to the Śkr. स्मिन्, as in सव्वासिंसि or सव्वम्मि, जसिंसि or जम्मि, &c. This सिंसि is further changed to हिं as in सव्वहिं, जहिं, &c., or better, this latter may be traced to the Pāli म्हि. Another loc. sing. term. is त्य which represents च, as सव्वत्य, जत्य, &c. The abl. sing. स्मान् is optionally used after क्किसु, यद्, and तद् only, in the form of म्हा, as क्कम्हा, जम्हा, and तम्हा; in Pāli it is necessarily used after all pronouns. In other respects pronouns are declined like the corresponding nouns; as सव्वं, सव्वे acc., सव्वेण, सव्वेहिं instr., सव्वत्तो दो-दु, सव्वाहित्तो-सुन्तो abl. The instr. sing. is optionally formed like that of nouns in इ in the case of some; as इमिणा, जिणा &c. You will thus observe, that except in the nom. pl., there is no distinction between the two declensions; the peculiar pronominal forms I have mentioned being

only optional. Of the fem. of तद्, यद्, and किम्, the gen. sing. is optionally तिस्सा or तीसे &c., where the base is ती &c. The other forms are like those of nouns in ई, as तीआ-ई-ए &c. This base is used throughout along with the other in आ. In Pāli it is used in the gen. and loc. sing. only along with the other, and the gen. forms are तिस्सा and तिस्साय, the latter of which is as I have said a double genitive. This the Prākṛit has preserved in the form of तीसे, originally तिस्से, where the ए represents the य of the older dialect, as it does in the feminine nouns. The other base of किम् and तद् has also its genitive singular in स, as तास, formed by transferring the masc. termination; or it is to be traced to तस्सा. The genitive plural forms of the masc. such as तेसि and ताण are also sometimes used in a feminine sense. The loc. sing. of किम्, यद्, and तद् is optionally formed by extending the masc. termination हि to the base in आ, as ताहिं &c. These peculiarities are only optional; so that the feminine pronouns are declined like nouns in आ or ई. Thus we have जा, जाओ-उ, जीओ-उ nom., जं, जाओ-उ, जीओ-उ acc., जिणा, जाहिं, जीहिं instr., जाओ-दु, जीओ-दु, जाहिन्तो-सुन्तो, जीहिन्तो-सुन्तो &c. abl. जस्सा, जिस्सा, जीसे, जासं, जासि, जेसि, जाण, जीसि, जीणं gen., जाहिं, जासु, जीसु loc. The optional instr., abl., gen., and loc. singulars are जाए-इ-अ and जीए-इ-आ-अ.

The pronoun न in the form of ण exists as in the Pāli; इवम् has two bases, इम which is used throughout, as इमो, इमे nom., इमं, इमे acc., इमेण-मिणा, इमेहि, instr. &c., and अ from which we have optionally अअं nom. sing., अस्स and अस्सि, gen. and loc. sing., and एहिं and एसु instr. and loc. plural, and ओहिं instr. pl. of the feminine. इमो, इमस्स, इमस्सि &c. are also in use. The base अ is used in the Pāli in the instr. sing., gen. pl., and abl. sing. also. The demonstrative अद्स् has one base only अमु, which is declined like nouns in उ; as अमू, अमुणो nom., अमु अमुणो acc., अमुणा, अमुहिं instr., &c. The pronoun of the second person has, according to Vararuchi, five bases त, तुम् or तुम, तुज्झ, तुम्ह, तुम्म, वो and भे. The first is derived from the स्व of स्वम्; तुम् or तुम from the same with the व softened to उ; तुज्झ from तुभ्यम् through the intermediate Pāli form तुज्हे, the last conjunct of which is changed to ज्झ, by a rule formerly given; तुम्ह is made up by putting together the तु of the singular and the ह्म of the plural, as explained in going over the Pāli; तुम्म is another form of तुम्ह; वो is the old Sanskrit वस्; and भे seems to be derived from the भे of तुम्हे as बभण is from ब्राह्मण. Hemachandra adds तुब्भ, to be derived from the Sanskrit तुभ्यम् or from तुम्ह, म्ह being changed to ब्भ; उज्झ from तुज्झ by the dropping of त्;

तुह् and उह् other forms of तुभ्यम्; तुव् from त्व by the insertion of उ; तुह् from तुहं; उम्ह by the dropping of the त् of तुम्ह; and उब्भ by treating तुब्भ in the same way. The Pāli has only त्, तु, and तुम्ह; and the several old forms it had are lost in the Prākṛit. Nominal terminations are used in a good many cases. Thus we have तं, तुं, तुवं, तुह्, and तुमं for the nom. sing., these and तुए and तुमे for the acc. sing., तद्, तए, तुमद्, तुमए, तुमै, तुमाद्, and also तुमं, भे, ते, दे, and रि for the instr. sing. The form तुमं properly belongs to the nom. and acc. cases and ते to the gen., दे and रि being only ते softened; but the several cases are here confounded. The abl. sing. has तद्दत्तो-ओ-उ-दो-दु-हि-हिन्तो, तुवत्तो-ओ &c., तुमत्तो-ओ &c., तुहत्तो-ओ &c., तुब्भत्तो-ओ &c., तुम्हत्तो-ओ &c., तुज्जत्तो-ओ &c., also तुह्, तुब्भ, तुम्ह, and तुज्ज. The gen. sing. has twenty-one for म्, viz. तद्दुं, ते, तुह्, तुहं, तुव्, तुम, तुमे, तुमो, तुमा, इ, रि, दे, इ, ए, तुब्भ, उब्भ, उह्, तुम्ह, तुज्ज, उम्ह, and उज्ज. The loc. sing. has तुमे, तुमए, तुमाद्, तद्, तए, तुम्मि, तुवम्मि, तुमम्मि, तुहम्मि, तुब्भम्मि, तुम्हम्मि, and तुज्जम्मि. The plurals are as follows:—भे, तुब्भे, उज्जे, तुम्हे, तुह्ये, उह्ये, तुम्हे, तुज्जे nom.; वो, तुब्भे, उज्जे, तुम्हे, तुज्जे, तुह्ये, उह्ये, भे acc.; भे, तुब्भेहिं, तुज्जेहिं, तुम्हेहिं, उज्जेहिं, उम्हेहिं, तुह्येहिं and उह्येहिं instr.; तुब्भत्तो-दो-दु-हिन्तो-दन्तो, तुहत्तो-दो &c., उहत्तो-दो &c., उम्हत्तो-दो &c., तुम्हत्तो-दो &c., and तुज्जत्तो-दो &c. abl., भे, तुह्, तुब्भ, उब्भ, तुब्भाण-णं; तुवाण-णं, तुमाण-णं तुहाण-णं, तुम्हाण-णं, तुम्ह, तुज्ज, उम्ह, उज्ज, तुज्जाण-ण, gen., तुह्, तुव-वेह्, तुम-मेह्, तुह-हेह्, तुब्भ-ब्भा-ब्भेह्, तुम्ह-म्हा-म्हेह्, तुज्ज-ज्जा-ज्जेह् loc. The points to be observed in these forms are these. The nom. sing. has mostly the same forms as the acc. sing. This is due to the fact that the Sanskrit स्वाम् of the acc. becomes, when the आ is shortened by a Prākṛit phonetic rule, त्वं i. e., the same as the nom. sing. Hence its Prākṛit representatives तं, तुं, तुवं and तुमं are the same for both the cases. But a more probable reason, which explains a similar fact in the case of the first personal pronoun also, is that the plurals of the nom. and acc. having by natural processes already explained become exactly alike, the two cases came to be confounded; and the sing. forms also of the one were used for the other. The forms तद्, तए, तुमद्, तुमए, तुमे, and तुमाद् are common to the instr. and loc. sing. This probably arises from the fact that the Sanskrit स्वया, when the य is softened to ए or इ, becomes तए or तद्, and so does the स्वयि of the loc.; and when the base त् is seen to be interchangeable with तुम् in the nom., the terminations ए and इ which are common to the two cases are applied to तुम् also. ते and its softened forms दे and रि, and तद् are common to



the instr. and gen. sing.; तुद्ह, तुब्भ, तुम्ह, तुज्झ are common to the abl. sing and the gen. sing. and pl.; and भे to the instr. sing. and pl. and the gen. sing. Such a confusion of the case-relations must be expected in course of time. Even in Sanskrit the gen. and ins. &c., are used alike in connection with some participles; and the identification of the abl. and the instr. we have already noticed in the Prâkrîts. The gen. forms तुद्ह, तुब्भ, तुम्ह, तुज्झ, उब्भ, उम्ह, and उज्झ, all derived from the Sanskrit dat. तु-यम् and referred to the gen. when that case was lost, are taken as bases, and the terminations ए of the nom. and acc. pl. हि of the instr. pl., तो, वो, वु, ओ, and उ of the abl., ण or णं of the gen. pl., and म्मि and सु of the loc. sing. and pl. are tacked on to them to form these cases. Here the tendency to use the genitive form as a base for the formation of the other cases a trace of which only we observed in the Pâli is seen more developed.

The pronoun of the first person has, according to Vararuchi, the following bases:—हं or अहं and म from the Sanskrit singulars, मम the gen. sing., अम्ह from अस्म and णो from नस्, of which अम्ह is used in the plural. Hemachandra adds मह and मज्झ from मह्यम्, and भे from म्हे or स्मे. He also gives अम्हि, अम्मि, and म्मि for the nom. sing. and अम्मि for the acc. sing. The first is clearly from अस्मि 1st pers. sing. present of अस्, often used in Sanskrit as an indeclinable particle; and the others are also corruptions of the same just as the termination म्मि of the loc. is a corruption of स्मिन्. The singular forms, therefore, are:—अम्मि, म्मि, अम्हि, हं, अहं, अहयं nom.; ण, णं, मि, अम्मि, अम्ह, मम्ह, मं, ममं, मिमं, अहं acc.; मि, मे, ममं, ममए, ममाइ, मइ, मए, मयाइ, णे instr.; मइत्तो-वो-वु-ओ-उ-हि-हिन्तो, ममत्तो &c., महत्तो &c., मज्झत्तो &c., abl., मे, मइ, मम, मह, महं, मज्झ, मज्झं, अम्ह, अम्हं gen.; मि, मइ, ममाइ, मए, मे, अम्हम्मि, ममम्मि, महम्मि, loc. The plurals are:—अम्ह, अम्हे, अम्हो, मो, वयं, मे, nom., अम्हे, अम्हो, अम्ह, णे, acc.; अम्हेहि, अम्हाहि, अम्ह, अम्हे, णे instr.; ममत्तो, अम्हत्तो, ममाहिन्तो-सुन्तो, अम्हाहिन्तो-सुन्तो, ममेसुन्तो, अम्हेसुन्तो abl., णे, णो, मज्झ, अम्ह, अम्हं, अम्हे, अम्हो, अम्हाण, ममाण, महाण, मज्झाण gen., अम्ह-म्हा-म्हेसु-मम-मेसु, मह-हेसु, मज्झ-ज्जेसु loc. Here also the same observations as those made in the case of the last pronoun are applicable.

In the Mâgadhi the ओ of the nom. sing. of nouns ending in अ is replaced by ए; as एओ पुलिओ for एष पुरुषः. The स्त of the gen. sing. is sometimes changed to ह and the preceding अ is lengthened; as शोणिसाह कुम्भे for शोणितस्य कुम्भः. The plural of this case is formed by adding आहं, as कम्माहं for कर्मणाम्. The anusvâra represents the ण of the original termination आण, and ह is introduced from the analogy of the

sing. The regular forms **द्योपिबस्स** and **कम्माण** are also admissible. Such forms as these we shall meet with hereafter; and they belong to a later stage in the decay of our grammar.

*Conjugations.*—All the Skr. conjugations, with the exception of the second in the case of a few roots ending in a vowel, have been brought over to the अ type, i. e., to the first, sixth, and the tenth. Some of the others have left a few traces; as, the fifth and the ninth their ञ in such instances as **सृण**, **किण**, **जाण**, **लुण**, **पुण**, **धुण**, both conjugations being, as you may remember, confounded in the Pāli, the third the root **बीह**—pres. tense **बीहदि**—, the ह standing for ञ, the fourth its य assimilated in a good many roots such as **पच**, **बुज्झ**, **जुज्झ**, **जुह**, **नस्स**, &c., and the seventh its न् in **रुन्ध** and others. But you will see that to these forms अ is added and they are made roots ending in अ; while a great many have lost even such traces. In the Pāli, you will remember, the conjugational signs added to some of the roots are entire, as the ना of the sixth and the नो of the fifth, and अ is appended to roots of the seventh conjugation only, न् being inserted before the last consonant. But here the अ takes the place of the ending vowel of the signs of the fifth and other conjugations also, and so we have **सृण**, **कीण**, and **बीह**. Thus in the Prākṛits most roots end in अ. There are some ending in other vowels, such as हो and ठा; but the rule of conjugation is the same for all, viz., to add the terminations to the root directly. There can be no consonantal root. Some forms, such as those of अस्, have come down from the parent language only phonetically changed; but these are not formed in the Prākṛit. They are really Sanskrit forms in what I have ventured to call a petrified condition. The roots ending in अ change it to ए optionally, i. e., they are conjugated according to the model of the first and of the tenth, as is the case to a great extent in the Pāli also. The distinction between the special and the general tenses is of course forgotten.

The Prākṛits have retained the Present and Future tenses and the Imperative mood entire; while the Potential and the Aorist have left the third person singular only. An isolated form of the Imperfect such as आसि from the root अस् remains.

The terminations of the Present Tense are—3rd pers. sing. दि and दे in Śaur. and इ and ए in the principal Prākṛit, pl. न्ति and न्ते; 2nd pers. sing. सि and से, pl. इत्या and ह् for which last the Śaur. has ध; 1st pers. sing. मि, pl. मो, मु, and म. Of these दे or ए, से and न्ते, of which the last is not given by Vararuchi, are remnants of the old Ātmanepada,

and the first two are used after roots ending in अ only. With the exception of the first pers. pl. न and the 2nd pers. pl. इत्या, the terminations can readily be traced to the corresponding Skr. Parasm. The Sanskrit 2nd pers. pl. य becomes ध in the Śaurasenī and ह in the Mahārāshtrī by the phonetic rules already noticed, and मो or its shortened form मु is the Skr. मस्. In these points the primitive and derived languages perfectly agree; but न and इत्या are new terminations and were first used in Pāli, the latter however in the form of स्य. The first is, as I have observed, transferred from the Imperative, Imperfect and other tenses, and स्य is the Skr. स्य 2nd pers. pl. of the root अस्. To this is prefixed in the Prākṛit the usual augment इ, which मो and मु also take optionally. The terminations मो and मु are unknown to the Pāli. Other forms of the first pers. sing. and pl. made up by adding म्हि and म्ह or म्ही, as in करेम्हि, करेम्ह, गच्छम्ह, &c., occur in the plays, though the grammarians have not noticed them. These terminations are evidently the Skr. स्मि 1st pers. sing. and स्मः or स्म pl. of अस्.\* You will remember that a good many verbs are made up in the Pāli by adding forms of this root. Hemachandra notices also another termination of the 3rd pers. pl., viz., इरे, which is transferred from the Perfect. The Imperative forms are made up by adding दु Śaur. उ Pr. 3rd pers. sing. and न्नु pl.; सु and हि 2nd pers. sing. and घ Śaur. ह Pr. pl.; and मु 1st pers. sing. and मो pl. The original form of the root ending in अ is also used as the second pers. sing. Of these दु, न्नु, हि or अ, and सु from स्व Ātm. are both Skr. and Pāli; ह (Skr. य) transferred from the Present is used in Pāli; but मु and मो are peculiar to the Prākṛit, the Pāli using only the terminations of its present. Of these मो is transferred from the Prākṛit Present, and मु is made up by adding the उ which is peculiar to the Imperative and distinguishes it from the present. The first pers. pl. takes न also sometimes as in the Pāli, but it is not noticed by the grammarians. The consciousness that the future is made up by prefixing स्व=स्स Pr. & Pāli to the terminations of the present has never been lost, and whatever changes these terminations undergo are transferred to the future; so that the Śaurasenī and Māgadhi future differs from

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\* Prof. Lassen traces these to the root अस्, but इत्या to the Skr. थ to which त् is, he says, prefixed because the previous vowel must have been pronounced with some accent. But considering that many forms of अस् are used as terminations it is more natural to take this also as such a form.

the Pāli in those respects only in which the Present tenses of the two differ. The *णि* of the first person sing. however, is optionally changed to an anusvāra; or the anusvāra may be a remnant of the conditional terminations; as *हसिस्सं*. In the principal Prākṛit the *स्व* is still further corrupted to *हि*, *य* being dissolved into *इ* and *स* changed to *ह*, as in *होहिइ* for *भविष्यति*, *होहिन्ति* for *भविष्यन्ति*, &c. In the first pers. we have, in addition to this *हि*, *स्स* which is lengthened as in Skr. and also its other form *हा* as well as *स्सं* for the whole as in the Śauraseni, e. g., *होहि-स्सा-हानि* or *होहिस्सं*, &c. A beginning in the direction of the *हि* was, you will remember, made in Pāli. We have also a few petrified Skr. forms such as *इच्छं* for *द्रक्ष्यानि*, *नोच्छं* for *नोक्ष्यानि* which are more conditional than future in their origin; and to these as bases are added the terminations of the present and also of the future to form new futures; as *इच्छिइ*, *इच्छिहिइ*, &c. We have also *काहं* and *दाहं* from *कृ* and *दा*. The only Potential form left is that of the 3rd pers. sing.; as *हसेज्ज* or *हसेज्जा*, *होज्ज* or *होज्जा*. The termination is the same as in Pāli, the *द्य* of the 3rd pers. sing. being altered to *ज्ज*, and the general form of the termination *द्या* to *ज्जा*. After bases ending in *अ*, *ज्ज* or *ज्जा* becomes *एज्ज* or *एज्जा*, as in Skr. and Pāli.<sup>12</sup> This being an isolated form and derived from the Potential, which does not signify any particular time, it is used in the sense of the Present, Future, or Imperative in all numbers and persons; and after roots in *अ* the terminations *सु* and *हि* of the second pers. sing. of the Imperative are added to *ज्ज* to make up new forms of that mood, as *हसेज्जसु*, *हसेज्जहि*; and another form *हसेज्जे* is also mentioned.<sup>13</sup> This Potential form of roots ending in vowels other than *अ* is used as a base, and the terminations of the two tenses and one mood are attached to it to make up new forms for them; as *होज्जइ*, *होज्जाइ*; *होइज्जउ*, *होज्जाउ*, &c. The Aorist also has left its 3rd pers. sing. only; the termination to be added to roots in a vowel, is *सी*, *ही*, or *हीअ*, and *इंअ*

<sup>12</sup> This fact strongly supports my derivation of the forms. Prof. Lassen derives them from the Precative. But the Precative was lost at an early stage, since it does not exist even in the Pāli. The *ए* is not the *अय* of the 10th conj. as the Prof. thinks, but the *ए* which bases ending in *अ* taken in the Pot. in Skr.

<sup>13</sup> Prof. Lassen derives these also from the Precative, and against the argument that that mood is rarely used in Skr. itself and was lost in the Pāli states that the Precative, is founded in the Vernaculars. But I have not found it. The forms *करजे*, *करजो* G. *करिये*, *करियो* H. I trace to the Prākṛit Potential forms spoken of above.

to those ending in a consonant or अ, *i.e.*, such as take the augment इ or change the अ to इ. Of these सी and ही are derived from the Parasm. सीत् of the fourth form; the first is found in Pâli, and ही is only another form of it. The Pâli has ई also for the 3rd pers. sing. corresponding to the ईत् affixed to Sanskrit roots that take the augment इ. This is very likely the origin of ईअ also since we have it after the roots which necessarily admit the augment; but the अ of this and of हीअ is difficult to explain. हीअ must correspond to some such form as सीय or सीत which, the स being dropped after the augment इ, is reduced to ईअ. These सीय and सीत are forms of the Potential Âtm. of अस्, and they may have been added as terminations to form the Aorist as other forms of अस् are in this and other tenses in the Pâli. Or the सी of the Aorist may have been confounded with सीत the pot. of अस् from its resemblance to it.

These are rare and isolated forms, and past time is mostly expressed by the past participle passive which in the case of intransitive and some transitive verbs has also an active sense. The Sanskrit termination त्त is only phonetically changed to इ in the Śauraseni and to अ in the Prâkrit. Roots ending in अ change it to इ before the past participial termination. The past participles of some roots are not newly formed, but the old Skr. forms have come down only phonetically altered. This fact should always be remembered, that there are in all these derived dialects new formations called by Hemachandra साध्यावस्य, as well as old formations, सिद्धावस्य. This arises from the fact of the analogies not being made applicable throughout, as they would have been if the languages had been artificial. Contingency or condition is expressed by the present participle, as we do in our modern vernaculars. The infinitive is formed as in Skr. by the addition of तुम् changed to उ, the Pâli तवे being lost, and the absolutive by affixing the termination ऊण, (दूण Śauraseni) from the Pâli नून and the Vedic त्वान or त्वीन. But the termination that is most used in the Śauraseni is इअ from the Sanskrit य of roots with prepositions prefixed. Hemachandra also gives for the principal Prâkrit नूण and तुभाण the origin of which is the same as that of ऊण, ता from त्वा, तु by the dissolution of the semivowel of त्वा, तुम् by a confusion with the infinitive, and इअ which is used in the Śauraseni. Of these, however, ऊण is the one that prevails; the others are rare. The passive is formed by adding ईअ and इङ्ग, both of which come from the Sanskrit य with the augment इ prefixed as in

Pāli, the य being transformed to डङ्ग in one case and leaving its अ only in the other or being dissolved into इअ. Hemachandra gives a good many roots which preserve the Skr. forms, only phonetically changed, as शीसद् from वृश्यते, बुषद् from उच्यते, गम्मद् from गम्यते, लब्धद् from लभ्यते, बड्गद् from बध्यते, &c. The causal terminations are ए from अव, and आवे from आपय. These two are the same as in the Pāli, the Sanskrit forms also existing in the latter being lost. Hemachandra adds अ and आव, i. e., the ए answering to अव is lost. But the Sanskrit vowel changes are preserved even when the अव gives place to अ; as हरिसद्. The terminations of the absolutive, the infinitive, the potential participle (अन्व from Skr. तन्व), and of the Future take the augment इ which also is transformed into a short ए of the same nature as that which is found before conjunct consonants, as in पेण्ड or पिण्ड. We have thus हसिऊण or हसेऊण, हसिउं or हसेउं, &c.

You will thus have observed a much greater progress in the operation of those principles which we found at work in the construction of the Pāli. Here as before we find that the less known forms are made up on the model of the more known. The number of old forms which still remained in some of the Pāli declensions and conjugations has been greatly reduced in the Prākṛits, and a further advance been made in the introduction of uniformity and simplicity in the grammar of the language. It is also worthy of remark, that in a great measure the same false analogies which are used in the Pāli have come down to the Prākṛit, and their range extended. Thus the analogy of nouns in इन् or neuter nouns in इ or उ has been carried much further in the declension of masculine nouns ending in इ or उ. Nouns in ऋ, अन् and ऋन् have adapted themselves more closely to the model of those ending in अ, their Sanskrit nom. case supplying the new अ base; and the अ conjugations have more generally prevailed over the rest. The device of using such case-forms as मम and मह्यम् as bases, and making up the cases by appending the proper terminations has also been more largely availed of. Some of these phenomena may be attributed to the operation of the same invariable laws in the development of either without being an index to a more intimate connection between the two dialects. But there are individual forms in the two languages which, though they might be different, are yet the same in both. Such, for instance, are वच्छे acc. pl., the loc. sing. ending in the pronominal म्हि or म्मि, the double gen. तिस्साय, the 2nd pers. pl. ending in इत्था of the present

tense, and a good many others. The consonantal and vowel changes also, so far as they go in the older language, are the same. We may therefore safely conclude that the Pâli represents generally an earlier stage of the same language which afterwards became the Prâkr̥it or Prâkr̥its. But there are again in the Prâkr̥its such forms as those of the ablative in **हो** and **आहि** instead of the old pronominal **म्हा**, the first pers. pl. of the Pres. in **मो** or **मुं** instead of the Pâli **म**, the 1st pers. sing. of the Imperative in **मु** instead of the Pâli **मि**, the Sauraseni absolutive in **इअ** corresponding to the Sanskrit **त्**, which does not exist in the older dialect, and others. These Prâkr̥it forms cannot have been developed out of the Pâli forms, but must have grown independently from the Sanskrit originals. In the same way, though the Prâkr̥it sounds are generally the same as or further developments of the Pâli sounds, there are a good many which could not have grown out of the latter. Thus the **रि** in the Prâkr̥it words **रिद्धि**, **रिच्छ**, **रिण**, **रिजू**, &c cannot have been developed out of the **इ** or **अ** of the Pâli **इद्धि**, **अच्छ**, **अण**, **उजू**, &c., or the **अइ** and **अउ** of such words as **इइव**, **अइव**, **पउर कउसल**, &c., from the **ए** and **ओ** of the corresponding Pâli words, or the **ण्** for Sanskrit **न्** from the Pâli **उण्**, though this latter exists in some of the Prâkr̥it dialects, or the **रिस** for **हो** or **वे** in such words as **आभरिस**, **सुवरिसण**, **वरिस**, and **परामरिस** from the **स्स** or **स** of the Pâli **आवास**, **सुवस्सन**, **वस्स**, and **परामास**. The Prâkr̥it sounds must in these cases be traced directly to the corresponding Sanskrit sounds. It therefore appears that the Prâkr̥its had also an independent development, which may be accounted for on the supposition that they sprang not from the Pâli but a sister dialect or dialects; or that though originally they were the same as the Pâli, their subsequent development was influenced by the parent language, and thus other sounds and forms not existing in the earlier dialect came in fresh from Sanskrit. But the first supposition is discounted by the fact that the resemblance between the Pâli and the Prâkr̥its extends even to isolated cases; and the second is supported by the circumstance that in one important particular the Prâkr̥its resemble the Sanskrit in the last stage of its development, while the Pâli differs in that particular from both and agrees with an earlier form of the parent language. We have seen that in later Sanskrit verbal forms especially of the past tenses were rarely used, and participles were employed instead; and we find that the Prâkr̥its have mostly lost all the Sanskrit tenses and moods except three, and past time is generally expressed

by the past participle and contingency by the present; while the Pāli has, as we have seen, preserved eight, including all the past tenses and the conditional. Middle Sanskrit bears to later or classical Sanskrit the same relation, in this respect, that the Pāli bears to the Prākṛits. The change that came over Sanskrit between the two periods left its impress on what may be called the Vernacular speech. This could not have been the case unless Sanskrit had continued to influence that form of speech represented first by the Pāli and afterwards by the Prākṛits. And it was because it continued so to influence it, that the Prākṛits came to have sounds and grammatical forms also derived direct from Sanskrit and not through the Pāli.

Sanskrit writers distinguish three elements in the Prākṛit vocabulary which they call Tadbhava, Tatsama, and Deśya. Such words as are derived from Sanskrit are called Tadbhava, such as इत्थं, फल, मग्ग, कप्प, &c. Tatsamas are those that are the same in Sanskrit and Prākṛit as कमल, मण्डल, &c., the phonetic laws of the Prākṛits not necessitating a change in them, and Deśyas are such as cannot be derived from Sanskrit and must be referred to another source. A good many words of this nature we find used in Prākṛit literature; and there exists a *kosha* or thesaurus of Deśya words by Hemachandra. A large number of these Deśya words exist in the modern vernaculars, such as :—

अक्का a sister, M.<sup>14</sup> आका, a term of honour used for an elder sister.

अग्घाडो an herb; आघाडा M.

अवडो a well; आड M.

उडिद a kind of pulse; the same M. H.

उड्ढइ sleeps; उंघना H. उंघवुं G.

कुडं, कुडुं, कोडुं, wonder; कोड old M.

कोई a town; कोट a fort M.

कोडिम्बो a basin of wood for water; कोडेबा M.

कोलिन्न a firebrand; कोलीत M.

कल्लविअं to mix a liquid with a solid substance and stir it up; कालवर्णे M.

गोहो a man, a warrior; घोव husband, M.

चोप्पडइ rubs, anoints; चोपडणे M.

छिण्णो

छिण्णी

छिण्णालो

छिण्णाली

} an adulterer or adulteress; चिदळ M.

<sup>14</sup> M. = Marāṭhī; G. = Gujarātī; H. = Hindi.



पोभाली an ox ; पोळ M.

पडच्छी a cow that has no milk ; पाडछी M.

पासळं, slanting ; पासळें lying down with the face upwards, M.

पोहं belly ; पोट M. वेट H. G.

फंसइ deceives ; फंसविणें M.

फुळा false, vain ; फुका M.

बाडळी a doll ; बाडली M.

बाप्यो father, a brave man ; बाप M. G. H ; बाप्या an able-bodied man, M.

There are a great many words set down as Deśyas, which on close examination will be found to be Tadbhavas. They differ from ordinary Tadbhavas in having undergone great corruption. The following are instances. Some of the words in the above list may also be considered to be of the same nature. Thus फंसइ 'deceives' is a denominative or nominal verb from the word पाद्य 'a snare,' which in our modern dialects has the form of फंस; whence फंसइ is 'to ensnare' or 'entrap.'

उध्वडुधो thrown upwards ; उध्वतितः Skr.

कन्वोड a lotus ; from कन्वोत्थ Skr.

कुडडो humpbacked. This may be traced to Skr. कुब्ज-कुम्भ-कुह ; and ड is a termination which is used in a great many nouns.

कुरुचं disliked, evidently from कुरु and रोच्य.

कोपो black ; Skr. कृष्ण-कण्ह-कोण्ह-कोप.

उडडड desolate ; from Skr. उडडडवल bright, pure, cleared of every thing, desolate.

बडड a bullock, from Skr. बलीवर्द.

छळी rind, bark ; may be from Skr. शल्य, शल्यक.

छासी whey ; may be from Skr. तक्र.

छिवइ touches ; from Skr. छुप् by a change of vowel.

छिप्य a tail ; from पुच्छ, by the consonants interchanging places, and the palatal छ having its vowel इ.

पडोहर the hind part of a house ; from Skr. पृष्ठगृह.

पेवाल, पेज्जल, a measure, a certain quantity, occurs in the Pāli and is traced to Skr. प्राच. It may also be connected with प्राड्य.

बोल्लइ speaks ; from ब्रू by the change of र् to लृ, and the transference of the vowel,—a thing often observable ; ब्रू—ब्रुल्ल—बोल्ल.

The Sanskrit etymology of some of the words given by the lexicographers is evident ; and one does not know how they came to be regarded as Deśyas. Other words changed their sense in the course of time and so were referred to this class.

पम्हसद् forgets; from प्रमुष् to steal,—a thing forgotten is as it were stolen.

बहुमुखो a wicked person; from बहुमुख, because a wicked person puts on many faces or appearances.

कामकिसोरो an ass;—a son of Kâma or love, devoted to pleasure, is often a donkey.

कुञ्चिम्हई pregnant, कुञ्चि originally 'side,' came to signify 'womb'; and that womb is worthy of the name which bears a child, hence कुञ्चिमती *lit.* 'having a womb' came to have the signification given. A good many of the words given by Hemachandra do not occur in the modern Vernaculars, and we have regular Tadbhavas instead; as, इली a tiger, ईस a nail, &c.

The number of Deśya words, if properly examined, would be greatly reduced. Still a Deśi element in the Prākṛits and the Vernaculars must be admitted. These words must have come into the dialects from the language of the aborigines whom the Āryas conquered; and some are found in Sanskrit also.

#### THE APABHRAṂŚA.

The dialect called the Apabhraṁśa by the grammarians presents Indian speech in a further stage of decay and occupies a middle position between these Prākṛits and the modern vernaculars to some of which, especially to the old Hindī, the Brajabhāshā, and the Gujarātī it bears striking resemblances, as I shall hereafter show.

As mentioned before, we have the grammar of this dialect from Hemachandra, Trivikrama, and Kramadīśvara; but Vararuchi does not mention it. The Apabhraṁśa had a literature of its own. Hemachandra illustrates each of his rules about this dialect by quoting a verse. In the fourth Act of the Vikramorvaśī the Prākṛit speeches of the king in his madness are in this dialect. But it is a question whether they existed there originally, since in several manuscripts on this side of India they do not appear. The metres employed in these and in Hemachandra's quotations are the same as those popularly used in old and modern Hindī or Braj, *viz.*, *dohū* or *chopai*. Pandit Vrajālal mentions a work of the name of Muñjarāsa, written in the Apabhraṁśa, from which he gives a short extract, and another the hero of which is a king of the name of Prasenajita. He also quotes from another work; but the language of all these appears to be more modern than Hemachandra's Apabhraṁśa, and that of some of the

verses makes a very near approach to the Gujarâti. As before, I will introduce my remarks on this dialect by a specimen :—

एत्तहे तेत्तहे बारि घरि लच्छि विसंठुल धाइ ।  
 पिअ पकभहव गोरडी निच्चल कहिवि न ठाइ ॥  
 जे महु दिण्णा दिअहडा इइएं पवसन्तेण ।  
 ताण गणन्तिअ अङ्गुलिउ जङ्गरिआउ नहेण ॥  
 जीविउ कासु न वल्लहउं धणु पुणु कासु न इहु ।  
 षोण्णि वि अवसरि निवडिअई तिणसम गणइ विसिहु ॥  
 जो गुण गोवइ अप्पणा पयडा करइ परस्सु ।  
 तसु हउं कलिजुगि बुल्लहहो बलि किङ्गउं सुअणस्सु ॥  
 गङ्गु गमेप्पिण जो मुअओ जो सिवतित्थ गमेप्पि ।  
 कीलहि तिवसावासगउ सो जमलोउ जिणेप्पि ॥

Sanskrit :

अत्र तत्र द्वारे गृहे लक्ष्मीर्विसंभ्रुला धावति ।  
 प्रियप्रभ्रष्टेव गौरी निश्चला कापि न तिष्ठति ॥  
 ये मह्यं दत्ता दिवसा द्यितेन प्रवसता ।  
 तेषां (तान्) गणयन्त्या अङ्गुलयो जर्जरिता नखेन ॥  
 जीवितं कस्य न वल्लभं धनं पुनः कस्य न इष्टम् ।  
 हे अप्यवसरे निपतिते त्णसमे गणयति विशिष्टः ॥  
 यो गुणान्गोपायस्यास्मीवान्प्रकटाङ्करोति परस्व ।  
 तस्याहं कलियुगे दुर्लभस्य बलिं करोमि सुजनस्य ॥  
 गङ्गां गत्वा यो मृतो यः शिवतीर्थं गत्वा ।  
 क्रीडति त्रिविधावासगतः स यमलोकं जिप्सा ॥

“The unsteady goddess of wealth runs to this door and that, this house and that; like a fair one separated from her lover she does not remain firm anywhere.”

“My fingers have worn away rubbed against by my nails, while counting, again and again, the days named by my lover [as the period of his absence], when he set out on his journey.”

“To whom is life not dear and to whom is wealth not an object of desire? But when the occasion comes, a worthy man regards them as straw.”

“I worship that good man so rarely to be met with in this Kali age, who conceals his own merits and gives publicity to those of others.”

“He who dies after having gone to the Gaṅgâ and to Śivatīrtha triumphs over the power (world) of death and sports in the habitation of the gods.”

The vowel अ of the derivatives of the pronouns यद्, तद्, किम्,

and इहम् is changed to इ or ए. In the principal Prākṛit, we have noticed a tendency to such a change, and one of our instances was एत्थ for अत्र. From the same tendency we have in the Apabhraṁśa जेत्यु for यत्र, तेत्यु for तत्र, and केत्यु for कुत्र, the उ of the latter being replaced by ए in virtue of the analogy of the other pronouns. In the same way तहत् “in that manner,” which after dropping the final consonant becomes तह, is changed to तेम, यहत् to जेम, and किम्बत् to केम. This ए is also rendered a more close vowel and changed to इ, and thus we have तिम, जिम, and किम. Thus the bases of these pronouns came to be considered as ते or ति, जे or जि, and के or कि, and so we have तिध for तथा, जिध for यथा, and किध for कथम्. The mute element being dropped these forms become तिह, जिह, and किह, and further तेह, जेह, and केह. For similar reasons we have तेत्तिभ or तित्तिभ for तावत्क, जेत्तिभ or जित्तिभ for यावत्क, केत्तिभ or कित्तिभ for कियत्क, &c., even in the Prākṛits. The nom. sing. termination of nouns in अ is shortened to उ, and since a great many nouns were pronounced with this final उ and its original sense was forgotten, it was transferred by way of analogy to other words or grammatical forms that did not possess it before; and thus we have पुणु and विणु for पुनः and विना, and जेत्यु, तेत्यु, जेह, &c., in the above. The long vowels are sometimes shortened as in the word गज्जन in the last of the above verses. The consonants क् and ख् are sometimes softened to ग् and घ्, instead of being dropped, स् and थ् to इ and ध्, as in the Śauraseni, and प् and फ् to ब् and भ्. In the principal Prākṛit also this is sometimes the case. The labial व् is changed to म् in a few more instances than in the Prākṛits, as in जाम and ताम for यावत् and तावत्, and जेम or जिम, तेम or तिम, &c., in the above for यहत्, तहत्, &c. The complete contact of the lips necessary for the pronunciation of म् is avoided in a great many cases, and thus we have व् for म् as in भर्वह for भ्रमर, कर्वलु for कमल, &c. This is the prevailing rule in most of the vernaculars, as we shall hereafter find. The conjunct म् is changed to म्; that is, the aspirate ह् has been labialized and assimilated to the preceding म्, as in विम्भ for Prākṛit विम्ह and Sanskrit वीष्म. A few instances of this change we did find in the Prākṛits and we shall find more in the vernaculars. The Sanskrit conjunct ख् is changed to प्; for as व् was often pronounced as ब्, this ब् instead of merging into the preceding mute, as semi-vowels often do, acquired prominence as ख् does when preceded by a dental; and the न् being assimilated to it, the whole become प्, as ख् becomes ब्, as in पइ for खया, प्पण or पण for the abstract termination खन, and प्पिण for खीन

the suffix of the absolutive. In the Prākṛits the स् of आत्मन् similarly becomes व्य, and so we have अप्या for आत्मा. The letter र् when the latter member of a conjunct is sometimes not assimilated, as in भ्रोपि, प्राड for प्रायः, &c., and sometimes it is introduced even when it does not exist in the original, as in ध्रु for तद्, प्रस्स for पस्स, &c. With these few exceptions, the rules about the assimilation of conjuncts, the elision of consonants, and others hold good generally as in the Prākṛits, as you will see from the above extract.

DECLENSIONS—*Nouns in अ.*—The decay of the case terminations is, however, a distinguishing feature of this dialect. The distinction between the nom. and acc. case forms which we observed lessening at each stage in the growth of our languages is here altogether lost. The ओ of the nom. sing. of masculine nouns in अ is shortened to उ, and used in both the cases, as मुअउ nom. for मृतकः, गउ for गतः जमलउ for यमलोकम्; and applied to neuter nouns as well as कमलु. The nasal of the neuter is preserved only in nouns which are augmented by the addition of क changed to अ; as कमलउं for कमलकम्. The nom. and acc. pl. of the masculine ends in आ; as दिअहडा, पयडा &c., in the above. The neuter nouns preserve the Prākṛit इ of the plural, as in कमलइ. Sometimes words are used in these two cases without any terminations; as विसंदुल nom. sing. निचल nom. sing. गुण acc. pl., गज्ज acc. sing., तित्य acc. sing., in the above extract. The principle observable in the other cases is the same as we have noticed in the older dialects, viz., a gradual reduction of all the declensions to an uniformity. The instrumental singular of nouns in अ has two forms, one in ए as देवे, and the other the old one देवेण. The former is derived from this old form, the final अ being dropped, and the nasal assuming the form of an anusvāra. This new termination is transferred to nouns in इ or उ also, as अग्गिए. The instrumental pl. is the old one in हि, but the change of the ending vowel to ए is only optionally made; as गुणेहि or गुणहि. One ablative termination is हे which is appended to all nouns, and the other ह, as in वच्छहे गुणहइ फलइ or वच्छह गुणहइ, “gathers fruits from trees.” Of course we may trace the first to हिनतो by first supposing it to be changed to हेन्तो by the usual Prākṛit rule, and afterwards to have dropped its second syllable; and ह to something else. But it appears to me that a good many of the terminations having been reduced to ह by natural phonetic changes, the others also had this inserted in them by analogy, just as the nominative termination उ is intro-

duced in words and forms in which it did not exist. This process we shall necessarily have to suppose when we examine the forms of the present tense. Or the ह् may have been introduced simply to prevent a hiatus and connect the vowel-termination with the base. And this is rendered probable by Hemachandra's rule that the ending syllables उं, हुं, ङिं, and हं, are to be lightly pronounced, as the ख् that is introduced in the place of a dropped consonant is. The real syllables in these cases are therefore अं, उं, इं, and अं; and this is confirmed by the fact that the remnants of these Apabhraṁśa terminations existing in some of the modern vernaculars are destitute of this ह् and are mere vowel-terminations, as will be seen in a subsequent lecture. Thus, then, हे may be considered the aspirated form of the ए of the Prākṛit feminine ablative, and हु of the उ of the masculine ablative.\* The operation of the law of false analogies is very wide. The abl. pl. हुं, as in गिरिसिङ्ग-हं, may with Lassen be traced to सुन्तो, the स् being changed to ह्, and the syllable तो dropped as ति is in the case of the 3rd pers. pl. of the present, as we shall see. The genitive singular सु, and स्सु as in सुभणस्सु and परस्सु in verse 4 above, I trace to the स्स of the Prākṛits the उ being added by analogy as observed before. Lassen traces it to स्व which he says must have been added to these nouns to form the genitive; and the व being softened to उ, it is reduced to सु. But this does not account for the double स्स of the other form; and the addition of such a word as स्व to make up a case-form is altogether unexampled. The suffix हो, as in बुद्धहो in the same verse, is but another form of सु. The genitive plural हं, as in मानुसहं for मनुष्याणाम्, may with Lassen be derived from the साम् of the Sanskrit pronominal declension. But the transference of this termination to nouns is nowhere seen in the Prākṛits; हं is optionally appended to nouns in इ or उ also; and the characteristic ञ् of the gen. is wanting in this dialect. The more probable explanation, therefore, is that the ञ् lost its cerebral element and was reduced merely to a nasal अ, or अ with an anusvāra, as is the case in the instrumental singular, and the ह् is added, as observed before, simply to facilitate the pronunciation. The loc. sing. ends in ए, as in तले, which we see is the old termination, or in इ, as in तलि, which is a shortened form of ए. Kramadīśvara gives also हिं which might be traced to the Pāli ङ्हि, the Sanskrit ङ्हि, or the ङ्हि of the Prākṛit pronominal declension. The language of Jaina works has this ङ्हि

\* Kramadīśvara in Lassen's extract gives ह् instead of हु; but this is an evident misreading.

in the case of nouns also. But even here the Prâkrît स्मि, may, with reason, be supposed to have changed to इ, and the ह् to be as before, a mere *spiritus lenis*. We have this locative इ in the Marâṭhī. The हि is extended to the plural also of these nouns. The vocative is formed by using हे which is evidently an interjection; as तरुण हे "O young men."

*Nouns in इ or उ.*—There is no distinction between the nom. and acc. sing. and pl., the original base being used without any modification or addition. The instrumental singular is formed by adding ए or ण as in the last class of nouns or simple anusvâra; as अग्निए, अग्निण, अग्निं. As एण becomes ए by dropping the final vowel, so does the इणा of the Prâkrît instrumental here become इ. The abl. sing. ends in हे as in गिरिहे and तरुहे; and the gen. sing. also according to Kramadîśvara, Hemachandra being silent. These have been transferred from the feminine. Kramadîśvara also gives हो and हं as the terminations of the sing. of these two cases; but there must be some misreading here in Lassen's extract from the author, since हं is a distinctive plural termination. The gen. pl. termination is हुं or हं, as in तरुहुं, सउपिहं (शकुनीनाम्). The latter has been traced to the old gen. ण, and the former appears to be only another form of it with the addition of the usual उ. The loc. sing. has हि, as in कलिहि; and the pl. has हिं and हुं, as in तरुहिं, and उवुहुं. The first must be considered to be the same as हिं derived from हिस् or स्मि with the anusvâra dropped; or as the इ of Prâkrît feminine nouns with the *spiritus lenis* ह्. This explanation seems to be probable, since we have seen other feminine terminations also used for the cases of these nouns. The third is to be traced to the Prâkrît छु. Kramadîśvara in Lassen's extract gives हं for the हुं of the abl. pl., and हं for that of the gen. pl.; but I have to make the same remark here as before. The instr. and abl. plurals are the same as those of nouns in अ; as तरुहिं and तरुहुं. Thus the plural of three cases ends in हुं, derived separately of course, and the plurals of two in हिं.

*Feminine nouns.*—The plurals of the nom. and acc. of feminine nouns preserve the old ओ, or its shortened form उ, as in अङ्गुलिउ अञ्जरीआउ in the second verse, and सुन्दरसव्वङ्गाओ विलासिणीओ. The sing. is the original base, as अञ्जरीआ, विलासिणी, &c., The instr. sing. termination is ए, the old one, as in ससिमण्डलचन्दिमए, कन्तिए, &c.; the abl. is हे, as in बालाहे for बालायाः, which is an aspirated ए; and the gen. हे as in मुद्धडेहे for मुग्धायाः (उ being a nominal suffix) may be similarly

explained or traced to the से of the gen. sing. fem. of the pronoun. किम्, यद्, and तद् in the Prākṛit. I prefer the former explanation. This हे has been transferred to masculine nouns in इउ or, as we have seen. The abl. and gen. pl. ends in ह्, as in वयंसिअह् for वयस्वाभ्यः or वयस्यानाम्. The anusvāra of the ह् of the other classes of nouns is here omitted; and if correctly so, the ह् of the abl. may be considered an aspirated form of the उ which is the ablative termination in the Prākṛit; and that of the genitive may be traced to the सु of the singular of masculine nouns. The instr. pl. and the loc. sing. and pl. take the same terminations as masculine nouns in इ or उ; as महिहिं, महिहि, and महिहि-इं. Lassen gives other terminations; but he appears to me not to have interpreted Kramadīvara correctly. Those I have given are all that I have been able to find.

You will thus see how by the various influences at work, the natural transformation of स् to ह्, the elision of some of the elements, and the aspirated pronunciation of the vowels, most of the old terminations have been reduced to syllables composed of ह् and a vowel with or without an anusvāra. Terminations with such weak sounds are not adapted to serve the purposes of ordinary intercourse, since they require on the part of the speakers such care in pronunciation to render themselves intelligible to each other as we have not seen displayed in the course of our lingual history. The nominative and accusative throughout, and in certain classes of nouns the other cases also, have come to have the same forms. So that the purpose of expressing the different relations can be no longer performed by these poor remnants of the old declensional system; and a process of reconstruction must take place. It has already begun in the Apabhraṁśa; but we shall find it carried on much further in the vernaculars, which may now be said to have completed their new declensional system.

*Pronouns.*—The abl. sing. of pronouns ends in हां, as जहां, &c., which is to be traced to the Sanskrit स्मान् and the Prākṛit म्हा, and the loc. sing. in हिं which has been explained. The gen. sing. of यद्, तद्, and किम् are optionally जासु, तासु, and कासु, made up by adding the usual उं to जास, तास, and कास, which again are other forms of जस्स, तस्स, and कस्स, with one of the consonants dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened as a compensation, a phenomenon to be noticed in going over the vernaculars. In the feminine these pronouns have जहे, तहे, and कहे optionally for the gen. sing. which are derived from the Prākṛit जिसे, तिसे, and किसे and the Pāli जिस्साव, तिस्साव, and किस्साव; The base, however,



in the Apabhramśa ends in अ and not ई or, the more probable explanation is that this हे is the aspirated form of the ए of feminine nouns. इवम् has आव् for its base; the instr. and gen. singulars, for instance, are आवेण and आवहो. This seems to be taken from the nom. sing. अंअ, or अय by the rule of the substitution of अ for अं. The neuter nom. and acc. sing. is इमु. एहो is nom. and acc. sing. masc. of एतद्, corresponding to एसो, एह fem. to एसा, and by the application of उं to these we have the neuter एहु. एह is the nom. and acc. pl. answering to एए Prâkrit, with the latter ए shortened; and ओइ of अवस् which corresponds to the form अमुके, the अमु being changed to अवु by a rule before mentioned, and afterwards to ओ; and के to ए shortened to इ. In other respects all these pronouns are declined like the corresponding nouns. The pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons are thus declined :—

1st pers.		2nd pers.	
<i>sing.</i>	<i>pl.</i>	<i>sing.</i>	<i>pl.</i>
Nom. हउं	अम्हे, अम्हइं	तुहं	तुम्हे-तुम्हइं
Acc. मइं	— —	तइं	— —
Instr.—	अम्होहिं	पइं, तइं	तुम्होहिं
Abl. मइ-मइमु,	अम्हहं	तउ, तुज्जइ, तुभ	तुम्हहं
Gen. — —	— —	— — —	— —
Loc. मइं	अम्हासु	पइं, तइं	तुम्हासु

Here we have not the wilderness of forms which we observed in the principal Prâkrit. The nom. sing. of the 1st per. is हउं corresponding to अहकम्, the initial अ and the क being elided and the usual Apabhramśa उ added. In the Prâkrit अहकम् is represented by अहअं or अहवं. मइं is to be traced to the Sanskrit instr. मया and the loc. मयि both of which are reduced to the form of मइं in the Prâkrit. Here it extended to the acc. also. The pl. base is अम्ह which has been explained. The nom. pl. अम्हइं corresponds to such a form as अस्मके nom. pl., not loc. as Lassen says, through अम्हए; and the gen. pl. has the Apabhramśa termination हं. The rest are old. तुह is a base derived, as I said in going over the Prâkrits, from तुयहं and is used in the Prâkrit also. पइं and तइं of the acc. instr. and loc. are from स्वया and स्वयि. The second is found in the older dialects, the first is peculiar to this. Of the corruption of स्व to व्य I have already spoken. The abl. and gen. तउ corresponds to a form स्वक which with the Apabhramśic उ is तउ, the क being dropped. Or it may be traced to तव with the व

dissolved into उ. तुङ्ग is a form found in the Prākṛits also and explained by me as a corruption of the dat. तुङ्ग in the Pāli and Prākṛits, derived from the Skr. तुङ्गम्. The dative forms, you will remember, are put under the gen. in the older dialects. The ष of तुङ्ग is a peculiar Apabhraṁśic conjunct formed from उङ्. The neuter of त्व् is similarly त्वं and त्वं. The base of the plural is तुम्ह, the same as in the Prākṛit; and the nom. pl. तुम्हं is to be traced to तुम्हके for तुम्हके nom. pl. All the forms are similar to those of the first personal pronoun.

The Present tense of the Apabhraṁśa verb admits besides those of the corresponding Prākṛit or Saurasenitense, the following forms:—1st pers. sing. लहउं, pl. लहइ; 2nd pers. sing. लहहि, pl. लहइ; 3rd pers. sing. लहइ, pl. लहहि. It appears that some of these forms have arisen from a confusion of the Present Indicative with the Imperative. The prevailing and distinguishing final of the latter is the vowel उ; and here we see it is appended to the forms of the 1st pers. sing. and 2nd pers. pl., though it does not occur in those forms in any of the older dialects. The इ is another characteristic of these paradigms. That of the second pers. sing. we get from the old स्ति, and that of the pl. exists in the Prākṛit, being derived from the Skr. च. But the 3rd pers. pl. and the 1st pers. pl. get it simply by an extension of the analogy; or it may have been introduced to prevent a hiatus and thus may, like those of the cases, have been simply a *spiritus lenis*. The हुं of the latter, however, may be traced to म्हो, ओ being shortened to उ, just as म्हा and म्हि of the declensions become हं and हि. Instead of the 3rd pers. pl. न्ति we have हिं, in which, though the इ is due to analogy, the characteristic इ and the nasal are preserved. You will thus see that in the declensions as well as conjugations the इ prevails in this dialect. The Imperative second pers. sing. ends in इ, ए or उ. The first two may be traced to the Prākṛit and Sanskrit हि, इ being dropped as in the Vernaculars; and the last seems to be substituted for the अ of one of the forms in the original dialects by analogy; or it may be the remnant of सु changed first to इ, and then to उ. But a better and I may say the true explanation of these forms will be given in going over the Vernaculars. Hemachandra does not give any more forms for the Imperative; but Kramadīśvara gives ऊ for the second person plural which must very likely be हु, the same as in the present, and हुं for the first pers. pl. which we have in the Present also. In one of the verses quoted by Hemachandra occurs पिअहुं which seems to correspond to पिबन्तु, if the reading is correct. The truth seems to be that the forms of the Imperative were lost, and the sense confounded

with that of the Present, but the distinctive forms were those of the second pers. sing.; and in this respect there is an analogy with the Hindi and the Gujarâtî which resemble the Apabhraṁśa the most. The Future has the Prâkrit and Śaurasenî forms in हि and इस्स; but one स् of this latter is dropped, and then the terminations of the Apabhraṁśa Present are added. The terminations of the absolutive are इ, इउ, अवि, इवि, एवि, एविणु, एप्पि, एप्पिणु. इ is the same as the Śaurasenî इअ from the Skr. अ, इउ is the same, with the usual उ added to it, or is to be traced to the तुम् or इतुम् which is, as we have seen, confounded in the Prâkrit with the absolutive, and the rest are various forms of the Vedic स्वीन with the Prâkrit augment इ or ए. This स्वीन is, by a rule before mentioned, changed to प्पिण which with उ becomes प्पिणु; and by dropping the final न we have प्पि. This, however, may be derived also from such a form as स्वी found in the Vedas. This प्पि or प्पिणु is then softened to वि or विणु, as ष् is so softened in many cases. When the augment इ or ए is not prefixed, we have वि in the form of अवि, the अ being the final vowel of the root. Some of the terminations of the absolutive are also used to form the infinitive, on account of the prevailing confusion between the two. In consequence of this very confusion, recourse is had to other ways of forming the latter which are similar to those existing in the Prâkrits; but these will be noticed hereafter.

The termination त्व्य of the potential participle assumes the forms of इएव्वउं, एम्बउं, and एव. The first two represent the form with the addition of क; and the इ of इएव्वउं is the usual augment. The अ of the त of त्व्य which remains after the consonantal portion is dropped, is by the influence of the preceding इ, changed to ए. In those points which are not noticed here, the Apabhraṁśa follows chiefly the Śaurasenî, and the principal Prâkrit also to some extent. Thus in a great measure it represents those dialects in a further stage of decay but it must be considered to have derived some words or forms independently also. Thus the पइ of the second personal pronoun cannot be derived from the Prâkrit तइ, nor प्पिण of the absolutive from तूण or ऊण, or पण of abstract nouns from त्तण, but directly from the Sanskrit त्वया, स्वीन, and त्वन. This corruption of त्व must have existed in some of the older dialects too since, as observed before, we have it in Aśoka's inscriptions; and the Apabhraṁśa derived it as well as a few such peculiarities from them.

ART.—II. *On Coins of Kutch and Kathiawar.* By O. CODRINGTON,  
M.D., M.R.A.S., Hon. Memb. B.B.R.A.S.

THE coins of Kutch described in this paper are those of the Jádeja dynasty, from the reign of Bháráji or Bhármal, A.D. 1585 to the present time, and known in the bazar as Rá Sai Kori; they are interesting in being different in size and weight and names from other contemporary coinage in India.

The following is a list of the kings, with the dates of their reigns :—

Bhármal, or Bhármalji, or Bháráji .....	A.D. 1585 to 1595
Bhójráj, or Bhójarájaji .....	„ 1631 to 1645
Khengár, or Khengárji.....	„ 1645 to 1654
Hamirji reigned a few months in.....	„ 1655
Tamáchi, or Tamácherji .....	„ 1655
Ráyadhan, or Roydhan, or Ráyadhanji I. ...	„ 1666(?) to 1697
Prágmál, or Prágji, or Prágmálji I. ....	„ 1697 to 1715
Gódji, or Ghórji, or Góhódaji I. ....	„ 1715 to 1718
Désal, or Désalji.....	„ 1718 to 1741
Lakha, or Lakhapatji, deposed his father 1741, reigned till 1760	
Gódji, or Góhódaji II. ....	A.D. 1760 to 1778
Ráyadhan, or Ráyadhanji II. ....	„ 1778 to 1813
(Prithiráj, or Bháiji Báva, his brother, was twice on the throne and deposed twice during the lifetime of Ráyadhanji, who was mad for many years.)	
Bhármal, or Bháramálji II. ....	„ 1814 to 1819
Désal, or Désalji II. ....	„ 1819 to 1860
Prágmál, or Prágmálji II. ....	„ 1860 to 1875
Khenjárji III.....	„ 1876

We know of no special coinage in Kutch before the time of Bháráji, and it is reasonable, considering the history of the times and place, to conclude that there was none, but that the currencies

\* The name of Hamirji is not found in the list of Raos of Kutch given in books, but is inserted on the authority of Pandit Bhagvánlál Indrají.

of the kings of Guzerat and Delhi were in use immediately before then.

Khengárji, Bháráji's father, was, we know, settled in his Raj by the help of the king of Ahmedabad, Muhammad bin Latif, and Bháráji was himself bound to serve the Ahmedabad king with 5,000 horse; and from the then reigning king in Guzerat, either Muhammad bin Latif or his successor, Muzaffer Shah, Rao Bháráji, in the usual manner of those times, obtained permission to coin copper money, when he struck a coin similar to the Ahmedabad one, but bearing his name in Nagari character in addition.

During this Rao's reign the government of Guzerat passed from the king of Ahmedabad to the Mogul Emperor. Bháráji then tried to make himself independent, and struck silver coins similar to his copper ones. But he too was defeated by, and obliged to transfer his allegiance to Akbar; the issue of his silver coinage was stopped but subsequently again permitted.

The silver coin of Bháráji (Fig. 1) is in general appearance like that of Muzaffer Shah, but smaller in size; on the obverse is the name Muzaffer Shah in Persian character and the Hijra date 978 with a trident, and below in Nagari character राउश्री भाराजी.

On the reverse is the Persian inscription of the Guzerat coin and the Rajput dagger.\*

The coin of his successor Bhójráj, or Bhójarájaji (A.D. 1631—1645) is similar (Fig. 2). The same date 978 is on it. The trident of the goddess Áśapura, whose devotees the rulers of Kutch were, is more distinct, and the name is given राउश्री भोज.

The reverse is as the previous coin, but the letters more debased.

The next Rao's coin, Khengár, or Khengárji, or as written on the coin Shengárji (A.D. 1645—1654) is quite the same, date and all, except the name on obverse, राउश्री शंगारजी. (Fig. 3.)

His successor Hamirji reigned but a few months, and his name is not given in ordinary lists of Raos. I have no specimen of his coins.

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\* Pandit Bhagvánlál Indrají has given me a rubbing of another coin of Bháráji, which he once saw but is now unable to trace, nor have I been able to find one. It is of about the same size as the ordinary Kutch Kori, but bears the legend of coins of Jehangir bin Akbar, with the Rao's name in Nagari beneath that of the Emperor.

The coins of Tamácherji or Tamáchi (A.D. 1655) show no change except in the name राउभी तमाचीजी. (Fig. 4.)

The same may be said of those of his successor, Ráyadhan, Roydhan, or Ráyadhanji (A.D. 1666 [?] to 1697), on which the date 978 is still plain, and the name राउभी रायधनजी. (Fig. 5.)

On the coins of Prágmál, Prágji or Prágmálji (A.D. 1697—1715) is written राउभी प्रागजी with the same date. (Fig. 6.)

The next Rao's name, Gódji, Ghórji or Góhódaji (A.D. 1715—1718) is given on another similar coin राउभी गोहोड. (Fig. 7.)

The coins of the next Rao, Désalji (A.D. 1718—1741) show more debasement of the Persian legend, and the 9 of the date is upside down. The name is given राउभी देसाल. (Fig. 8.)

A decided change may be noticed in the next coin (Fig. 9), that of Lakha or Lakhapatji (A.D. 1741—1760). It has more the appearance of a Delhi coin, and probably was so made out of compliment to the Emperor Ahmed Shah, from whom the Rao obtained, we are told, the title of Maháráo, which is found before his name on the coins महाराउभी लखप.

With Fig. 10 we come back to the pattern of the 978 Muzaffer one. On it is written राउभी गोहा.

Rao Gódji, or Góhódaji II., reigned from A.D. 1760 to 1778.

Then follows the coin of Ráyadhanji II. (A.D. 1778 to 1813). The date is again indistinct. The name given is (राउ)भी रायध. (Fig. 11.)

The next Rao was Bhármálji II. (A.D. 1814 to 1819). The legend is much debased, but the name is plain (राउ)भी भारमलज (Fig. 12.)

With Rao Désalji II. (A.D. 1819 to 1860) we come to another pattern; here we find the Delhi legend—

On the obverse : بهادرشاه بادشاه غازي ضرب بهوج.

And on the reverse : राउभी देसालजी १९२९.

Dagger and trident.

Other coins bear the Persian legend—

بادشاه غازي محمد اکبر شاه ضرب بهوج

On one side with the Hijra era date ۱۲۴۱ (Fig. 16), and the Nagari legend on the other side with Samvat date.

The early coins of the late Rao Prágmalji II. were very like those of his predecessors, but instead of the name of the Delhi Emperor he put the name of our Queen in the Persian legend.

*Obv.*—Crescent between trident and dagger at the top. महाराज श्रीप्रगमलजी १९१९.

*Rev.*—ملک معظم کون وکٹوریا ضرب بهوج نگر (Fig. 13, or in copper as in Fig. 15.)

Afterwards the value of the coin was given in the area thus :—

*Obv.*—Area. चन होकडा with dagger beneath.

*Margin*—शरव कछमूज संवत १९२५.

دو کد ماہ طہ ۳ سنہ ۱۸۶۸

*Margin*—ضرب کچھ بهوج نگر

Later still the coins of European pattern and of sizes corresponding more to the English rupee and its half were introduced, and are still the currency, such as Fig. 14.

*Obv.*—Area. Trident, moon, dagger.

कोरीअडी शरवकछमूज १९१९.

*Margin*—महाराजाधिराज विरजा महाराओ श्रीप्रगमलजी बहादुर

*Rev.*—Area.

ملک معظم کون وکٹوریا ضرب بهوج نگر کوری دو ونم ۱۸۷۵

The standard silver coin of Kutch is called a *Kori*; how long it has been so called I cannot ascertain, nor is the origin of the name satisfactorily explained. There is a story that the name was given in this way. Bháráji was, as I have said, forbidden by the Emperor to issue silver coin, and being anxious to get permission to do so, resorted to this artifice. It was customary among the Rajputs of the time to gain the favour of their monarchs by giving their daughters in marriage to them, so Bháráji struck a small silver coin and sent it to the Emperor, no doubt with a handsome consideration, and requested that he would accept this *kumvari* (daughter) for marriage with his *rupee*. The Badsha was pleased at the witty request, and gave permission to the Rao to coin his *kumvaris*. The name thus given to the coin was then adopted as the name of the currency, and soon became corrupted into *kori*, by which it has been known ever since.

*Kori* cannot be, I think, a corruption of *kauri*, because that word when not restricted to mean the shell *Cypræa moneta*, is used only to denote a copper coin of the smallest value, whereas the *kori* was a silver one of the value of many small copper pieces. The pattern of the coin was an imitation of the Guzerat one, but the size and weight were different, and probably were intended to correspond with Kshatrap and Gupta coins, and perhaps the Gadhia, which were current in Kutch and Guzerat before the Mogul conquest.

Prinsep, in *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. I., page 427, speaking of the Sáh or Kshatrap coins, says: "Their average weight is about 30 grains, agreeing in this respect with the *koris* mentioned by Hamilton (*Hindustan*, Vol. I., page 653), as struck 'in Cutch, four to a rupee, by the Raos and Jáms of Navanagar, with Hindu characters,' but that appears to be a mistake, as a *kori* weighed about 73 grains, and was of the value of about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to the rupee."

The only other silver coin struck until the reign of Prágmáljí II. was the half *kori* (Fig. 10), but in that Rao's time, when the demand for a larger coin, and one more nearly like the rupee current in the country all around the State, became greater, a coin of the value of 5 *koris*, called a *pánchio*, was struck, and another of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *koris*, called *ardhpanchio* (Fig. 14).

The copper coins were originally of three sizes, all of the same pattern as the *kori*, called *támbio* or *trámbyo*, *dokdo* or *dokra* and *dhinglo* or *dhingalo*, of which Pañdit Bhagvánlál Indrají gives me the following account:—

*Támbio* or *trámbyo* is derived from the Sanskrit *Támrikah* (Prákrit *tímbio*). Though its root meaning is "of copper," in practice it is used to mean a half pice. Originally, I believe, it meant a pice.

*Dokdo* is Prákrit *Dukkado*, or Sanskrit *Dvikritah*, "twice done," that is, twice a *Támrika*. Though now used to mean one pice, it must originally have been used to mean two pice.

*Dhinglo*. *Dhingo* is a Kutchi provincial term for fat, and *lo* is a masculine suffix. Thus *Dhingo* or *Dhinglo* means something (masculine) fat, hence the fattest coin; and *Dhinglo* is the fattest



coin in Kutch. Though at present it is used for a pice and a half, I think, originally it meant three pice (*támrikas*).

4 Adhadas	=	1 Dokdo.
2 Támbias	=	1 Dokdo.
24 Dokdas	=	1 Kori.
16 Dhingalas	=	1 Kori.

Lieutenant Leech, R.E., gives another account of the currency in 1837 (*Bombay Government Records*, No. XV., New Series), page 212, viz. :—

2 Trambyas = 1 Dokra; 3 Trambyas = 1 Dhingla; 21 and 21½ Dokras = 1 Kori; 8 Koris = 1 Silver Rial; 19 Silver Rials = 1 Gold Rial; 3 Koris = 1 Hyderabad Rupee; 4 Koris = 1 Tatta Rupee; 6½ Koris and 1 Dokra = 1 Surat Rupee; 18 Koris = 1 Itramee.

Again, in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. V., page III., the following is given :— “The Rao has a mint at which gold, silver and copper coins are manufactured. The gold coins are the *rávsáí mohor*, equal to 100 silver *koris*, the half *mohor* equal to 50 silver *koris*, and the golden *kori* equal to 26½ silver *koris*. The silver coins are the *panchio* equal to five silver *koris*, *ardhpanchio* equal to 2½ *koris*, the *kori* worth about one-fourth of the Imperial rupee (379 *koris* are equal to 100 Imperial rupees), and the half *kori*. The copper coins are the *dhabu*, equal to one-eighth of a *kori*, the *dhingla* equal to 1/16th of a *kori*, the *dokda* equal to 1/16th of a *kori*, and the *trámbia* equal to 1/16th of a *kori*.” The gold coins mentioned here are handsome ones, of the same pattern as the later *koris* of Prágmálji II. It is said that there are also old gold Kutch coins, but I have not seen any.

In Káthiáwâr, there are three States, viz. *Jámanagar* or *Nawánagar*, *Jundgar*, and *Porebunder*, having their own coinage. The king of Nawánagar, whose title is *Jám*, struck his coins of the same pattern as those of Kutch, and called them by the same names, being imitations of the Guzerát coins, and bearing a short Devanágari legend श्रीजामजी. It is not known when these coins were first issued, but the earliest current were called *Juni koris* throughout Káthiáwâr, and that as lately as thirty years ago. Later coins issued have been mixed with alloy, and are called

*Jamsâi koris.* There are two sorts of these *koris*. *Tukdfera* or small sized, and *Chakaradd* or disc-like, the former being a little older than the latter. 'No. 18 is a *Chakaradd*. This type was current and issued until Jâm Vibhâji changed it for the following a few years ago. (Fig. 19.)

*Obv.* :—Within circles and with Rajput dagger on either side of it.

श्री  
जाम  
विभाजी

*Rev.* :—Area within circle कौरी. Margin within double circle, नवानगर १९३६. The present king also changed his copper coinage which is called by the same name as in Kutch—*Trâmbio*, *Dokdo*, *Dhîngalo*, and added a new one called *Trana Dokadd*, or three *Dokadd*s. No. 20 is a *Trana-Dokadd*.

*Obv.* :—Area within a circle a Rajput dagger.

margin जामश्री १ विभाजी महाराजाधिराज.

*Rev.* :—Area within circle अन शोकडा. Margin संस्थान नवानगर. संवत् १९२८.

The coin of the Navâb of Junâgarh is called by the same name of *koree*, but its type is different from that of the Kutch ones. The design of the first coin of the Navâb Bahadur Khan's Minister Ranchhodji, the Dewân, was on the *Obv.* श्रीहाटकेश्वराय नमः Salutation to the Divine Hâtakeswara (the name of the god of his race); and on the *Rev.* श्रीरुघनयजी नमः Salutation to Rughanâthji, his father. But this coin was not allowed by the Navâb to be circulated; it is called *Hâtakeshwar Sâi kori*, and is rare now-a-days. Some say that it was not meant to be current, but was for the daily gift to Brâhmins.

Dewân Ranchhodji struck his first coinage in Samvat 1886 or Hijra 1230. This was followed by that commonly called *Dewân Sâi kori*, which is as follows :—

*Obv.*—In corrupt Persian character بادشاہ غازی محمد اکبری سنہ beneath in Nâgari श्रीदीवान.

*Rev.*—In corrupt Persian—سرب جلوس سنہ ۱۲۷۹

In Nāgari वा in centre, गर on left. On right Guzerati numerals १९१९ [Samvat era.]

The letters वा stand for वाधि the family name of the Naváb. It is said that the Dewán Ranchhodji persuaded the Naváb that शीवान was His Highness' title bestowed on him by the Emperor of Dehli, but really it was his own, and put on the coin for his own glorification. Except the changing of the dates, this type continued until 1932 Samvat (A.D. 1875), when in the reign of Mahábat Khán the Emperor's name was taken out and Mahábat Khán's own name inserted.

The Ránás of Porebunder did not issue coins until the reign of Sultánji (A.D. 1757), as they were dependents of the Naváb of Junágar. Sultánji became in course of time independent, and he or his son Prathiráj struck coins imitating the type of Kutch *koris* with a short Nagari inscription श्रीराणा (Fig. 21.) They are known as Ráná Sái.

ART. III.—*On the Sūktimuktāvali of Jalhaṇa, a new Sanskrit Anthology.*—By Prof. PETER PETERSON.

[Read January 28th, 1886.]

The copy of a Sūktimuktāvali, or necklace of sweet sayings, compiled by one Jalhaṇa, which I lay on the table, is unfortunately defective, containing, as will be seen, neither beginning nor end. Since obtaining it for the Bombay Government's Collection I have heard of a complete copy, which I hope to have in my hands shortly. The complete book contains, I am told, a praśasti in which Jalhaṇa gives information of the usual kind with regard to himself and his lineage. I propose accordingly to reserve any remarks on the scholar to whom we owe this book : and to offer in the present paper some verses from the book itself, which appear to bear on one or two moot points in the history of Sanskrit literature.

Fitz-Edward Hall was the first to quote from one of these anthologies certain verses, dealing with famous poets, and attributed to one Rājaśekhara, whom Hall took to be the same as the author of the well-known dramas. Additions have from time to time been made to the list of verses of this kind attributed to a Rājaśekhara. I published several from the Hārūvali in my Second Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle. The present book contains many more. It may be convenient if I give from it, and from the other anthologies, as complete a list as I can of the verses in question.

1. Akālaḥjalada.

अकालजलवेन्दीः सा हृद्या वचनचन्द्रिका ।  
नित्यं कविचक्रोर्यो पीयते न च हीयते ॥

2. Ānandavardhana.

ध्वनिनासिगभीरेण काव्यतत्त्वनिवेशिना ।  
आनन्दवर्धनः कस्य नासीदानन्दवर्धनः ॥

3. Kādambarīrama.

अकालजलदधोकैश्वित्वात्मकृतैरिव ।  
जातः कादम्बरीरामो नाटके प्रवरः कविः ॥

## 4. Kārṇāṭi.

सरस्वतीव कार्णाटी विजयाङ्गा जयत्यसौ ।  
या वैदर्भगिरां वासः कालिदासादनन्तरम् ॥

## 5. Kālidāsa.

एकोपि जीयते हन्त कालिदासो न केनचित् ।  
शृङ्गारे ललितोद्गारे कालिदासत्रयी किमु ॥

## 6. Kumāradāsa.

जानकीहरणं कर्तुं रघुवंशे स्थिते सति ।  
कविः कुमारदासश्च रावणश्च यद्वि क्षमः ॥

## 7. Gaṇapati.

अथो गणपतिं वन्दे महामोरविधायिनं ।  
विद्याधरगर्णैर्यस्य पूज्यते कण्ठगर्जितम् ॥

## 8. Gaṇādhyā.

इता शिखिनि गौणाढ्या स्तोत्रशेषापि सा कथा ।  
सुरलीढेन्दुलेखेव लोके पूज्यतमाभवत् ॥

## 9. Tarala.

यायावरकुलभ्रैर्णैर्हारयष्टेश्च मण्डनं ।  
सुवर्णबन्धरुचिरस्तरलस्तरलो यथा ॥

## 10. Trilochana.

कर्तुं त्रिलोचनावन्यः कः पार्थविजयं क्षमः ।  
तदर्थः शक्यते द्रष्टुं लोचनद्वयिभिः कथम् ॥

## 11. Daṇḍin.

त्रयोमयस्त्रयो वेदास्त्रयो वेदास्त्रयो गुणाः ।  
त्रयो दण्डप्रबन्धाश्च त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुताः ॥

## 12. Droṇa.

सरस्वतीपवित्राणां जातिस्तत्र न रेहिनां ।  
व्यासस्पर्धी कुलालोभूयद्गोणो भारते कविः ॥

## 13. Dhanamjaya.

द्विसंधाने निपुणतां स तां चक्रे धनंजयः ।  
यथा जातं फलं तत्र सतां चक्रे धनं जयः ॥

## 14. Pāṇini.

स्वस्ति पाणिनये तस्मै यस्य रुद्रप्रसादतः ।  
आदौ व्याकरणं काव्यमनु जाम्बवतीजयम् ॥

15. Pradyumna.  
 प्रद्युम्नाज्ञापरस्येह नाटके पटवो गिरः ।  
 प्रद्युम्नाज्ञापरस्येह पौष्पा अपि क्षराः खराः ॥
16. Prabhudevī.  
 सूक्तीनां स्मरकेलीनां कलानां च विलासभूः ।  
 प्रभुदेवी कविर्लाट्टी गतापि हृदि तिष्ठति ॥
17. Bana.  
 सहर्षचरितारब्धाद्भुतकादम्बरीकया ।  
 बाणस्य बाण्यनार्यैव स्वच्छन्दा भ्रमति क्षितौ ॥  
 बाणेन हृदि लग्नेन बन्मन्दोपि पदक्रमः ।  
 प्रायः कविकुरङ्गाणां चापलं तत्र कारणम् ॥
18. Bhāsa.  
 भासनाटकचक्रेपि च्छेकैः क्षिप्ते परीक्षितुं ।  
 स्वमवासवरत्तस्य राहकोभूज पावकः ॥
19. Bhīmata.  
 कलिञ्जरपतिश्चक्रे भीमटः पञ्चनाटकीं ।  
 प्राप प्रबन्धराजत्वं तेषु स्वमदशाननम् ॥
20. Mayūra.  
 हर्षं कविभुजंगानां गता श्रवणगोचरं ।  
 विषविद्येव मायूरी मायूरी वाङ्मिकृन्तति ॥
21. Mātaṅgaḍivakara.  
 अहो प्रभावो वाग्देव्या यन्मातङ्गदिवकरः ।  
 श्रीहर्षस्याभवत्सभ्यः समो बाणमयूरयोः ॥
22. Māyurāja.  
 मायूराजसमो जज्ञे नान्यः कुलितुरिः कविः ।  
 उदन्वतः समुत्तस्युः कति वा लुहिनांशवः ॥
23. Ratnākara.  
 मा स्म सन्तु हि चत्वारः प्रायो रत्नाकरा इमे ।  
 इतीव स कृतो धान्ना कविरत्नाकरोपरः ॥
24. Rāmilasomila.  
 तौ भूद्रककथाकारौ रम्यौ रामिलसोमिलौ ।  
 काव्यं ययोर्द्वयोरासीर्धनारीश्वरोपमम् ॥
25. Vararuchi.  
 यथार्थता कथं नास्ति मा भूद्वररुचेरिह ।  
 व्यधत्त कण्ठाभरणं यः स शरोहणप्रियः ॥

## 26. Vikatānitambā.

के वैकटनितम्बेन गिरां गुम्फेन रञ्जिताः ।  
निन्दन्ति निञ्जकान्तानां न भौग्यमधुरं वचः ॥

## 27. Ślābhātṭarikā.

श्लब्धार्थयोः समो गुम्फः पाञ्चाली रीतिरिष्यते ।  
शीलाभट्टारिकावाचि बाणोक्तिषु च सा यति ॥

## 28. Sātavāhana.

जगत्यां मथिता गाथा सातवाहनभूभुजा ।  
व्यधुर्धृतेस्तु विस्तारमहो चित्रपरंपरा ॥

## 29. Subhadra.

पार्थस्य मनसि स्थानं लेभे खलु सुभद्रया ।  
कवीनां च वचोवृत्तिचातुर्येण सुभद्रया ॥

## 30. Bhāsa and others.

भासो रामिलसोमिलौ वररुचिः श्रीसाहसाङ्कः कवि-  
मैण्डो भारविकालिदासतरलाः स्कन्धः सुबन्धुश्च यः ।  
दण्डी बाणदिवाकरौ गणपतिः कान्तश्च रत्नाकरः  
सिद्धा यस्य सरस्वती भगवती के तस्य सर्वेपि ते ॥

The verse here which refers to Pāṇini (14) has been published already from the Harihārāvali,\* where it is ascribed to Śrī Rājasekhara. It is of course conclusive of the writer's belief in the identity of the poet with the grammarian. The poem referred to is possibly the same as the Pātālavijaya by Pāṇini, from which Namisādhu quotes in his commentary on Rudraṭa.

There is nothing new to say about the poet Pāṇini yet. But it would be discourteous not to refer, in connection with that still mysterious shape, to the notice which the veteran scholar Böhtlingk has recently taken of a controversy between Bhandarkar and myself, carried on chiefly before this Society, as to the meaning of a passage in Patañjali which is thought to have a bearing on that writer's date, and through him on that of the grammarian Pāṇini. I shall try in doing so to avoid further controversy: and I begin by putting before you Böhtlingk's paper, omitting all that can be supplied by a reference to the last number of our Journal.†

\* My Second Report, p. 61.

† No. XLIII. pp. 180 and 199.

## “AN ATTEMPT TO LAY A LITERARY CONTROVERSY,

by

O. BÖHTLINGK.

“A violent controversy has burst out in India between Professors R. G. Bhandarkar and Peterson as to the meaning of a passage in the Mahābhāshya, which Goldstücker used to determine Patañjali's date. Both scholars reject Goldstücker's translation of the passage: and in so far I fully agree with them. I think however that their way of taking it also fails to hit the nail on the head: and I will suggest another rendering in the hope that I may divert their attention for the moment to myself, and to some extent perhaps damp their mutual fire. Before however I give the passage in question, and my translation, it will be convenient if I set out the rules of Pāṇini to which Patañjali's words refer.”

(I omit what immediately follows, in which Böhlingk does this, and gives the translations, by Bhandarkar and myself, which will be found in our papers. It need only be noted that Böhlingk agrees with us, as against Kielhorn, that संप्रति पूजार्थाः are to be taken as two words, not one. Böhlingk's own translation, and the rest of his paper is as follows:—The passage, as he reads it, is prefixed.)

अपण्य इत्युच्यते । तत्रेदं न सिध्यति शिवः स्कन्दो विशाख इति । किं कार-  
णम् । मौर्वीहिरण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः । भवेत्तासु न स्यात् । वास्वेताः संप्रति  
पूजार्थास्तासु भविष्यति ।

“In order to be intelligible I translate exactly, though not word for word—‘Since अपण्ये is said, Śiva, Skanda, and Viśākha (as names of images) would seem not to be correct forms. Why not? Because the Mauryas out of desire for gold imported idols. It may be that the rule does not apply to those idols: yet if they serve now as objects of worship the rule will be applicable to them.’

“If I am not mistaken we have here simply a piece of hair-splitting on Patañjali's part, of which this is not the only instance known to us. He willingly admits that those idols, at the time when they first appeared, were improperly spoken of by the shorter names, while now that they serve a higher end they are rightly called Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha.

“Bhandarkar understands by the Mauryas the dynasty of that



name: and here I entirely agree with him.\* It is in the hope of winning over that acute scholar to my way of taking the passage that I draw his attention to the superfluous एता: in his translation. यास्मि संप्रति पूजार्थः would have been quite sufficient to convey to us the triviality which Bhandarkar puts in Patañjali's mouth. If Bhandarkar ranges himself with me he will get in our passage a stronger support than heretofore for the views he has, founding on the other well-known examples in the Mahābhāshya, expressed with regard to the date of the great grammarian. Patañjali's whole animosity, which at first sight must surprise us, becomes quite intelligible if we suppose that the Mauryas had only recently been driven out, and that Patañjali wishes to throw yet another stone at the hated dynasty. The idols introduced by them were still familiar to all, so that Patañjali's spiteful wit would be understood.

"The three idols that are named deserve notice. Skanda is a son of Śiva: and Viśākha is a manifestation of Skanda, sometimes also represented as his son. That Skanda and Viśākha in Patañjali's time were generally recognised as two closely connected deities is clear from Patañjali's own words on Pāṇini VIII. 1, 15. Bhandarkar has already pointed this out. My friend Weber reminds me that Skanda, Kumāra and Viśākha appear on the coins of the Turushka kings (Cf. Ind. St. XVII. 180). This perhaps justifies us in taking शिवः in our passage as an interpolation, and in supposing that the Mauryas introduced the general worship of the God of War and his son. In what way the Mauryas made a profit out of idols we cannot certainly say. If they had made them regular objects of trade Patañjali would probably have used some other expression than प्रकल्पित. Perhaps they set the idols up in various places, and levied toll on the pilgrims."

So far Böhlingk. The fire he refers to already burns low, and I may hope to examine the version he offers without saying anything that shall fan the embers into a blaze. I find very little to object to in it. Böhlingk doubts with me the correctness of the reading शिवः, but on other grounds. I may add that Kielhorn, in a note to the preface of the last number of his Mahābhāshya has gone carefully into the matter, and pronounces in favour of शिवः. Böhlingk rejects the

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\* Patañjali speaks of Chandragupta and Pushpamitra when he is under no necessity to cite any kings by name. He must therefore have known of the Maurya dynasty: and it follows that it is not very probable that he would use the word here in another meaning, wholly unknown to us.—Böhlingk's note.

suggestion I hazarded as to the meaning of स्कन्दो विशाखः. A reference to my paper will show that I considered that point to be immaterial to the argument, though I do not complain of the attention which has been bestowed upon it. The suggestion lost much of its probability in my own mind, from the moment Bhandarkar pointed out that in another place Patañjali clearly distinguishes between the gods Skanda and Viśākha. Böhtlingk's explanation of the word प्रकल्पिताः is as doubtful as any of the others that have been put forward. Indeed I do not clearly understand how he does take it. For my own part I still think it simply means "made, fashioned." And I am still obstinately incredulous about the subtle and spiteful reference to recent history which first Goldstücker, on grounds shown, as I hold, by me to be entirely wrong, and now Bhandarkar and Böhtlingk discover in words of Patañjali that are capable of being taken in a much simpler way. The objector says that Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha must be wrong forms. "Why?" says Patañjali. "Images made by the mauryas for money," is the more or less elliptical answer. "Good," rejoins Patañjali, "if you are talking of images made by the mauryas as such, you *must* say Śivaka, &c. But if you are talking of images which are now in worship, the forms Śiva &c. are right." I see no reason to believe that Nāgajibhaṭṭa invented his explanation of the word maurya here; and that the meaning is "otherwise wholly unknown to us" perhaps only illustrates our ignorance. Böhtlingk seems to agree with me in taking the reference to the mauryas as having no specific reference to the three names, but as pointing to a circumstance which throws a general doubt on the correctness of all short names for idols, of which Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha were in the beginning put forward as the first examples that came to hand. Lastly, Böhtlingk agrees with me, and differs from Bhandarkar as to the antecedent or antecedents to which the pronouns ताम् and एताः are to be referred. This is a grammatical crux pure and simple: and I hope that Bhandarkar, whose absence from our meetings is a mutual loss,\* may be willing to add to the present paper in its published form a note on that and other points raised by Böhtlingk's version.

[\* If Bhandarkar had been present when my paper was read he would not have laboured, as he has done, to prove that my joining the later Pushpamitra and Chandragupta was an after-thought suggested by his criticism. I did that in the first instance in the discussion which followed the reading of my paper. Cf. No. XLIII. p. 355. Bhandarkar has replied to Böhtlingk in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1887.]

I trust I need not apologise for the length of this digression. It is one of the aims of our Society to be a means of communication between Western and Eastern thought: and I have given Böhlingk's remarks in full only because that scholar does not, as I could wish he and his colleagues would do, follow Prof. Jacobi's excellent example, and write on things Sanskrit in the English language, even at the risk of a few slips. They would find ample recompense for the trouble this would give them in the wider circle of critics and fellow-workers to which it would introduce them, and they would do a notable service to our younger scholars, who at present remain ignorant of much that seems to European scholars to have been completely established, being, let me add, by no means over ready to confound here the *ignotum* with the *magnificum*.\*

To return now to our book. Kumâradâsa (6) is the poet to whom Kshemendra refers a verse that is quoted in the Mahâbhâshya of Patañjali.† Râjasekhara tell us here that he was the author of a Jânakîharana, the date of which is later than that of Kâlidâsa's Raghuvânâsa. There is a quotation from the Jânakîharana in Ujjvaladatta's commentary on the Uṇâd, Sûtras III. 73. धूसर ईषरकृष्णः महिषधूसरितः सरितस्तद इति जानकीहरणे वमकम्. I owe the reference to Aufrecht's preface. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the Jânakîharana of Kumâradâsa was in the time of Ujjvaladatta (between A.D. 1111 and A.D. 1431) as well known as the Raghuvânâsa of Kâlidâsa, and that every scholar knew which of the two writers preceded the other.

The discovery that Kumâradâsa is quoted in Patañjali's Mahâbhâshya has attracted considerable attention, though I am bound to add that the view I put forward as to the bearing the fact has on literary chronology has not, so far, received much support. My theory put briefly, was that Kumâradâsa's verses, of which we have about half a dozen, are all so modern in character that a writer who quotes Kumâradâsa cannot have lived in the middle of the second century before Christ, which is the date generally accepted for Patañjali. In the preface to

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[\* Our native scholars ought to give a hearty welcome to the New Vienna Oriental Journal in the prospectus of which Dr. Bühler undertakes that so far as possible articles referring to India, or likely to interest Indian students will be published in English, "the *Lingua franca* of the Aryans in the East," 1887].

† Journal XLIII. 170.

the separate publication of my paper of Kshemendra's Auchiyaḷamkāra I have said that Mr. Telang referred to this part of my paper as, in the light of accepted facts, pointing rather to the conclusion that Kumāradāsa must be put prior to the accepted date for the author of the Mahābhāshya than to the conclusion I had myself suggested. I wish to correct this. What Mr. Telang really said, he has reminded me, was that he considered it so absolutely established that Patañjali lived in the middle of the second century before Christ, that he would rather accept any other possible theory with regard to the Varatanu sampravādanti kukkuṭāḥ quotation than one which would disturb Patañjali's date. I presume Mr. Telang had in his mind such theories as *e.g.*, that Kshemendra was mistaken in ascribing this verse to Kumāradāsa, or that Kumāradāsa, if the verse be his, is in it only filling up the fragment of an older verse which he, like us, found in the Bhāshya, besides the theory to which I wrongly fixed him. But others, who have noticed the matter, appear to have little difficulty in accepting it as probable that Patañjali is really quoting from Kumāradāsa, though they refuse to admit that it, in any way, follows that Patañjali is a later writer than he has been supposed to be. Kielhorn, who calls the discovery "at least a very interesting one," and has been led by it to publish a complete list of such quotations as he has met with in his study of the great commentary, indicates that in his view the proper conclusion is that Kumāradāsa with the rest of the classical school of poetry must be put back. So too Bühler in a private communication with which he has favoured me disputes the tacit assumption he sees in my argument that "because Kumāradāsa's verses resemble those of the sixth and later centuries they must belong to the same period." He holds that there is absolutely nothing to show that the taste and principles of composition characteristic of the classical poets was developed about 400 or 500 A. D., but that there is, on the contrary, a great deal to show that the poets of the earlier centuries wrote exactly in the same manner. I do not refer to this for the purpose of attempting to rebut it. I wish only to direct attention to the consideration that, assuming Patañjali's date to be fixed at about 150 B. C., then, in so far as the Kumāradāsa verse is worthy of credit, in so far as cause shown for putting *Kālidāsa* back, with the rest of the lyric poetry, to a date prior to that assumed for Patañjali.

I add some brief notes on the remaining verses. Akājalada (1) and Tarala (9) are the names of poets mentioned by the dramatist

Rājasekhara among his own ancestors. The verse *bhekaiḥ koṭarasāyibhiḥ*, which is given by Aufrecht from the Śārṅgadharapaddhati under Akālalalada stands anonymously in Vallabhadeva's Subhāshitāvali. Aufrecht has suggested that the verse\* contains the hidden (paroksha) sense that the sea of poetry lay dried up until Akālalalada appeared. If that is right the verse is probably not by Akālalalada himself. If it is his, he may have got the name from the verse. I will hazard the suggestion that his real name may have been Indu, and that the title Akālalaladendu of Rājasekhara's verse corresponds to names like Ghaṇṭāmāgha, Dīpasikhākālidāsa, Ātapatrabhāravi and Tālaratnākara.† Of Tarala we know nothing besides. He is praised here as shining in the Yāyāvara tribe like the largest and central pearl in a necklace. Does the verse probably contain an allusion to the title of one of his works.

From the reference to Kādāmarirāma (3) it would seem that the writer known under that name was what we now call an adapter. He took Akālalalada's verses, and wove them into dramas, to which he gave his own name. Rājasekhara appears to imply disapproval of the proceeding. Of the poet Gaṇapati (7) we have one verse in the Subhāshitāvali.‡ Mahāmōda may be the name of his poem. The legend of the destruction of the greater part of Gunādhyā's Bṛihatkāthā (8) is well known. Trilochana, (10) we learn, wrote a Pārthavijaya. Aufrecht cites three verses from the Śārṅgadharapaddhati under Trilochana; one of them is the Bāṇa verse *bānena hridi lagnena*, which in our book is ascribed to Rājasekhara. What third work of Daṇḍin's Rājasekhara (11) here puts alongside of the Kāvya-darśa and the Daśakumāracharita must be matter of conjecture. The Droṇa verse (12) has already been given by Aufrecht Z. D. M. G. xxvii. 78. We are to understand from it, I think, that a low-caste writer Droṇa was the author of a Bhārata poem. Dhanamjaya (13) is the main author of a

\* "The frogs lay like dead things in the clefts of the trees, the tortoises were under ground; the fish now writhed in the broad deep mud banks, now lay bereft of sense: then came to that dry lake a cloud born out of due time (akālalalada), and so wrought that herds of wild elephants plunged up to their necks there, and drank its waters."

† Names of honour given to the respective poets from their verses Śīsup. iv. 20, Raghuvansā vi. 67, Kirāt., v. 39 and Harav. xix. 5.

‡ भ्राम्य=महागिरिनिघर्षणलब्धवृष्ट-

कण्डूयनक्षणसुखायितगाढनिद्रः ।

सुष्वाप दीर्घतरघर्घरघोरघोषः

भासाभिभूतजलधिः कमठः स बोध्यात् ॥

Rāghavapāṇḍavīya or Dviṣaṃdhana poem.\* There is one verse by Pradyumna (15) in Vallabhadeva's Subhāshitāvali.† Of the poetess Prabhudevī (16) nothing is known. The Bāṇa verses (17) do not add to our knowledge of that writer. Bhāsa's play the Svapnavāsavadattā (18) is quoted by Abhinavagupta in his Dhvaṇyālochana. We are perhaps to gather from the verse that no other play of Bhāsa's was extant in Rājasekhara's time. Bhāmata (19) is an unknown dramatist of whom we are told here that he wrote five plays, the best being his Svapna-dāśānana. The aho prabhāvo vāgdevyaḥ verse (21) is well known. It shows that Bāṇa, Māyūra (20) and Mātāṅgadvākara were, as Rājasekhara believed, contemporaries at Harsha's court. But there is no warrant for identifying Mātāṅgadvākara with the Jain writer Mānatuṅga, as Hall and Max Müller have done. The fact is that Divākara is the real name of our poet, not Mātāṅga. There is a reference to him under the name Divākara in our verse 20, where he is put in one compound with Bāṇa. In the Suktimuktāvali the reading in the present verse is chandāla Divākara for mātāṅga Divākara. The Māyūra verse (22) was given by me in my Second Report p. 59, from the Harihārāvali, with the wrong reading मयूरावसो जज्ञे मान्यः correct the reference to the verse at p. 61 of the Report. The poet's name is Māyūrāja, and this book contains several of his verses. The Kulichuris are a race of Kshatriyas who are mentioned by the commentators among the feudatories of the Maukharis, Bāṇa's Kādambarī, Introductory verses, 4. See Cunningham, Archæol. Rep. ix. 77 and Fleet's Canarese Dynasties, 11. The Ratnākara (23) and Rāmila and Somila verses I have already noticed. Second Report, p. 61. The Vararuchi verse (25) helps to add the great Vārttikakara to the list of those who found Poetry and Grammar to be sister muses and Kaṇṭhābhararaṇa gives us the name of one of his poems, possibly that Vārarucham kāvya which is referred to in the Mahābhāshya (Goldstücker's Pāṇini, p. 146, note). Vikaṇṭhitāmbā (26) and Śīlābhaṭṭārikā (27) are two poetesses who are often quoted in the anthologies. In the Sātavāhana verse (28) there is a play on the words jagatyām and dhṛiteḥ. That the gāthās which Sātavāhana strung together should have given contentment (Dhṛiti) to the world (jagatyām) is, says the poet, as if Sātavāhana

\* My Second report, p. 61 note.

\* दारियानलसंतापः शान्तः संतोषवारिणा ।  
याचकाशाविघातान्तर्दोहं को नाम पश्यतु ॥

had composed in the Jagatī metre and, by so doing, given currency to the Dhṛiti metre. Of the poetess Subhadrā (29) there is one example in the Subhāshitāvali.\* The Bhāsa verse (30) has often been quoted. Aufrecht, from the Śārṅgadharapaddhati, Z. D. M. G. xxvii. 77, reads सौमिली. I have noted that the verse is given in the Hārāvali anonymously. As to the poets mentioned in it I will here only say that Aufrecht has recently, Z. D. M. G. xxxvi. 511, given a verse by Sāhasānka from Śrīdharadāsa's Saduktikarpāmrita. †

It remains to consider briefly how far these memorial verses are worthy of credit. [We find them in anthologies which carry back the traditions they embody the respectable distance of at least four or five centuries. In these anthologies they are ascribed to Rājaśekhara, and the Harihārāvali professes to quote them from a Bhojaprabandha of that author. Rājaśekhara is mentioned by Somadeva in his Yaśastilaka, a book written in A.D. 959 or the middle of the century, and he mentions Ratnākara a writer who flourished in the middle of the tenth century. His own date lies between these two extremes, and it is a fair inference from the nature of the references that of the three writers Ratnākara, Rājaśekhara and Somadeva, the first two stand nearer in time to each other than the second two do. But for our purpose it is enough to say that Rājaśekhara flourished about the beginning of the 10th century. ‡] He stands then somewhat higher than

\* दुग्धं च यत्तदनु यत्कथितं ततो नु  
माधुर्यमस्य हृतमुन्मथितं च वेगात् ।  
जातं पुनर्धृतकृते नवर्नातवृत्ति  
स्नेहोनिबन्धनमर्थपरंपराणाम् ॥

† पक्षावुत्क्षिपति क्षितौ निपतति क्रोडं नखैरुल्लिख-  
त्युद्वाप्येण च चक्षुषा सहचरं ध्यान्वा मुहुरीक्षते ।  
चक्राद्गुः दिवसावसानसमये तत्तत्करोत्याकुला  
येनालोहितमण्डलेऽपि कृपया यान्येष नास्तं रविः ॥

I would read सहचरो and वीक्षते in β, and चक्राद्गुः and तत्तत्करोत्याकुली in γ.

[‡ The bracketed passage here has been substituted at the moment of publication for an attempt made in the paper as it was read to distinguish between the dramatist Rājaśekhara and a later writer of the same name. The reasons were given briefly some months later (March 1896) in the introduction to the edition of Vallabhadeva's Subhāshitāvali put out by Durgāprasāda and myself, and reference was made to this paper for a fuller statement. It seems useless now to call attention to arguments in which we have ourselves lost faith. We were wrong in identifying Kshītrasvāmin, the

Kshemendra (circ. 1050 A.D.) and statements as to the history of the literature which are fairly traceable to either of these two learned writers have undoubtedly, it seems to me, a great *primâ facie* importance for us. They are certainly not to be dismissed as on a par with the legend which represents the author of the *Nalodaya* to be the same as the author of *Śakuntalâ*, as Bhandarkar would have us do.\* I am not insensible to the considerations which impose a certain reserve and caution on us in using the statements found in these verses.† But we need not go into the other extreme: and cast them aside as worthless. To say nothing of the fact, as I believe it to be, that no single statement of Râjâśekhara which we are in a position to test, has been shown to be wrong, I think it may be laid down as a general principle in these inquiries, that where the writer is not evidently merely romancing, and where there is any presumption at all that he is speak-

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commentator Amarakosha, who quotes the dramatist, with the Kshîra who flourished at the court of Jayâpîḍa (not Jayasiṅha). We should have followed Aufrecht's guidance in that matter, Z. D. M. G. xxviii, 164. Kshîrasvâmin belongs to the eleventh century. It would be inconvenient to notice here all that was been written recently as to the dramatist's date. Durgâprasâda has given in No. 13 of his *Kâvyamâlâ* a full statement of the case as it now appears to us. I welcome V. S. Apte's paper on Râjâśekhara as a first attempt on the part of that diligent scholar in a field where Native scholarship is for the moment, I think, too lethargic. I hope Apte will go on. Mr. Fleet (*Indian Antiquary*, June 1887) has rightly disclaimed all responsibility for the mistake which led Durgâprasâda and myself to assign the dramatist to the eighth century. He kindly told me that he knew of a Mahendrapâla who was reigning in A.D. 761; and we too precipitately accepted this as a confirmation of our original mistake. See his paper for the grounds on which he holds that Râjâśekhara lived about the first quarter of the tenth century A.D. Bhandarkar tells me that he too withdraws the identification of Kshîrasvâmin with Jayâpîḍa's teacher (*Introduction to Mâlatimâdhava*), and accepts generally the views put forward by Durgâprasâda in his *Kâvyamâlâ* 13. 1887.]

\* *Journal* XLIII., 204. The *Nalodaya* was written in Samvat 1664, and its ascription to Kâlîdâsa was one of the idlest mistakes made by pandits who have little in common with writers like Râjâśekhara and Râtnâkara.

† Compare for example, Aufrecht, Z. D. M. G. XXXII., 307, "Wiederholentlich habe Ich mich darüber ausgesprochen, dass die Angaben über die Verfasserschaft von miscellanen verses mit Vorsicht aufzunehmen sind—I have repeatedly pointed out that the statements as to the authorship of miscellaneous verses must be accepted with caution."



ing of that he knows, a rash incredulity with regard to all he says is quite as likely to be obstructive to progress as the rash credulity against which we are sometimes warned. That this has been so in the past I am confident. I will close this paper with a striking instance of the act which has recently come under my own observation.

In constructing the text of their edition of the Hitopadeśa in 1829 the illustrious scholar Wilhelm von Schlegel and C. Lassen found at the end of one of their MSS. a verse which they rejected as an interpolation: and in the volume of notes put out two years afterwards it is thus disposed of by Lassen:—"I should not have had to add more to this little work of mine had the copyist of one of my manuscripts not been pleased to shove into the text a verse by no means worthy of the place he gives it, but which I suppose must be written out:

अन्यच्चास्तु ।

प्रालेयाद्रेः सुतायाः प्रणयिनि वसतिश्चन्द्रमौलिः स याव-  
द्यावत्क्षमीर्गुरारौ जलद इव तडिन्मानसेविस्फुरन्ती ।  
यावत्स्वर्णाचलोसौ इवदहनसमो यस्य सूर्यस्फुलिङ्ग-  
स्तावन्नारायणेन प्रचरतु चरितः संग्रहोयं कथानाम् ॥

The couplet requires correction, but I do not care to waste paper on verses so worthless."

It is hardly credible, but it is the fact, that the verse treated in this contemptuous fashion contains, and has very naturally for sixty years concealed from us, the name of the author of the Hitopadeśa, as furnished by that writer himself. I have been lately engaged in preparing an edition of the Hitopadeśa for our Bombay Sanskrit series: and have been able to use a very old MS. in the Collection of the Government. What the copyist of Schlegel's MS. did, if justice has been done to him was, not to shove a verse into his text, but to leave one out, a much more intelligible act on his part it may be remarked in passing. For in my manuscript the book closes with two verses as follows:—

प्रालेयाद्रेः सुतायाः प्रणयनिवसतिश्चन्द्रमौलिः स याव-  
द्यावत्क्षमीर्गुरारेर्जलद इव तडिन्मानसे विस्फुरन्ती ।  
यावत्स्वर्णाचलोयसौ इवदहनसमो यस्य सूर्यः स्फुलिङ्ग-  
स्तावन्नारायणेन प्रचरतु रचितः संग्रहोयं कथानाम् ॥  
श्रीमान्धवलचन्द्रोसौ जीयान्माण्डलिको रिपून् ।  
येनायं संग्रहो यस्नाह्नेखयित्वा प्रचारितः ॥

Nârāyaṇa therefore was the author of the book and in the lines which his German editor would have none of, he is really making a modest, but very nearly unsuccessful attempt, to secure the credit for it to all coming time, while in the second of the two verses he does not forget to sing the praise of his generous patron, Prince Dhavalachandra, who stood to him for a publisher.

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ART. IV.—*My Visit to the Vienna Congress.* BY RAMKRISHNA  
GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph.D., HON. M.R.A.S.

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[Read February 11th 1887.]

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When my college friend and classfellow, Mr. Javirilal Umiashankar Yajnik, saw me a few hours after my return to Bombay from Europe, and proposed that I should give an account of my visit at a meeting of this Society, I had no hesitation in saying that that was the last place I should myself think of for such a purpose. My visit to Europe was of a very short duration, and though I could say something that might interest an ordinary native audience, I had very little to communicate that was worthy of being listened to by such a learned body as the Bombay Asiatic Society. Besides, even as regards a mixed native audience, so many natives of the country had visited Europe before me, and lived there for a number of years, and communicated their experiences to their countrymen after their return by publishing books and pamphlets and delivering lectures, that short as my visit was, I could have nothing new to tell even to such an audience. My scruples, it appears, were communicated to the respected President of the Society, who, thereupon suggested that I should give principally an account of the Congress of Orientalists held at Vienna to which I had been deputed, and in connection with that some of the impressions which what I saw in Europe had produced on my mind. To this I assented, and I thus appear before you to-day.

I arrived in London on Saturday, the 28th of August, and stayed there till Thursday, the 9th of September. On the afternoon of this day I left for Oxford, where I spent the next three days. On Monday I went thence to Birmingham, and returned to London on the following Wednesday. The next four days I spent in London, and left England for France on Monday, the 20th. In London I saw St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, the House of Commons, India Office, the National Gallery, the Guildhall, the British Museum, the Tower of

London, the Kew Gardens, Hampton Court, the Royal Exchange, the Bank of England, the Hyde Park, the Albert Memorial, the Albert Hall, and the Indian and Colonial Exhibition. I had unfortunately none to guide me in London, as I had in Oxford and Birmingham, and therefore I did not see as much or as well as I might have. I met our late Secretary, Dr. Codrington, in Vienna, and on my informing him that I had been to London, he told me he was in London during the time I was there, and had he known of my being there he would have been glad to take me with him and show me all the sights. I was very sorry that I did not know Dr. Codrington was in London; but as it was, everybody was very busy and nobody could make it convenient to go with me. I cannot stop here to give the impression that each of the buildings and institutions I saw produced on my mind, and my general impression I will give further on.

I wore in Europe my usual Maratha costume, the turban, the long coat, and the white *uparñem* or scarf. In the streets of London and in the places I visited, therefore, I often met persons who stopped me with the words *bahut garami hoti hai, salam, &c.* The conversation thus begun in Hindustani was continued in English, and I was asked to what part of India I belonged, and where I was going. These were Anglo-Indians; and they told me how long they were in India and in what part, and spoke of the days they spent in the country with agreeable feelings. I was once accosted in Marathi near the Royal Exchange with the words तुम्ही कोठून आलां, "Whence do you come?" I said I was from Bombay, and asked the gentleman whether he was in the Maratha country, to which he replied in Gujarati, अने काठेवाडमां हता, "I was in Kattia-war." आपणुं काम सुं हतुं "What office did you hold there?" I asked. अने पोलिटिकल एजंट हता "I was Political Agent," was the reply. Then I asked in Marathi आपण आंडरसन साहेब काय, "Are you Anderson Saheb?" to which he replied, "Yes." Then we went on speaking in English together, and he was kind enough to go with me and show me the Office of the Oriental Bank to which I wanted to go.

The first person I saw in London was Dr. Rost, Librarian, India Office, who received me very kindly. I visited him several times, and on one occasion he remarked that my lectures on the Sanskrit and the derived languages, three of which the Society did me the honour of publishing in their journal last year, were very important, and wished me to complete them as soon as I could. The second time that I saw him in the India Office library, Dr. Eggeling, Professor of Sanskrit in the

University of Edinburgh, happened to be there, and I was introduced to him by Dr. Rost. Professor Eggeling has been compiling a descriptive catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the India Office library, on the model of Professor Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue, and he had come that day to London to examine some of the manuscripts carefully. I had an interesting conversation with him, and in his congenial company, and in that of Dr. Rhys Davids, the Pāli scholar, to whom I was introduced by Professor Eggeling three or four days afterwards, I felt myself at home. I passed a very agreeable evening with them at the National Liberal Club, of which Dr. Rhys Davids is a member. We had a long conversation on a variety of topics, ranging from Buddhistic metaphysics to English and Indian politics, including the annexation of Burma. Dr. Rhys Davids seemed to be full of admiration for the freedom, boldness, and truth of the religious and philosophic thought of ancient India about the time of Buddha, to which the modern world according to him presents no parallel. Professor Eggeling did not quite agree with him, taking into consideration the development of philosophic speculation since the time of Kant, and I was disposed to sympathize with him, though as regards religious ideas and theories I perfectly agreed with Dr. Rhys Davids. According to Dr. Rhys Davids, the Buddhistic ideal is the condition of an Arhat who enjoys profound internal peace undisturbed by passion. It is a condition of holiness, goodness, and wisdom. This seems in his opinion to be at the bottom of the religious aspirations of man, or probably the only thing that is valuable in those aspirations, and this alone Buddhism set up as an ideal to be striven for by the religious man, to the exclusion of the ideas of God, the human soul as one unchangeable substance, and eternal existence. Dr. Rhys Davids is an enthusiastic Pāli scholar, and has succeeded in organizing the Pāli Text Society, in connection with which, with the aid of other scholars, he has been publishing in annual instalments the sacred books of the Southern Buddhists. The service he has thus been rendering to the cause of scholarship and research is invaluable. But it is very much to be regretted that he cannot devote his whole time to his studies, and has to work for his bread at the bar. If he had been a German he would have got a Professorship somewhere. He is, however, Professor of Pāli in the London University, but without pay and without pupils. He is a candidate for the vacant Secretaryship of the Royal Asiatic Society, which is a paid appointment; and I have no doubt, if elected,

he will be of very great service to the Society ; but it is by no means certain that he will get the appointment. I saw him on one occasion in his rooms in Brick Court, when he showed me some splendid Pāli manuscripts which had been presented to him, if I remember right, by the king of Siam.

Another gentleman with whom I came in contact in London and who was very kind to me was Colonel Henry Yule, Member of the India Council and President of the Royal Asiatic Society. Mr. Edward Thomas, a Bengal Civilian, who, after his retirement devoted himself to the study of Indian antiquities, and Dr. J. Fergusson, a zealous student of ancient Indian architecture and archæology, both of whom were active members of the Royal Asiatic Society, are dead. The Society's Secretary, Mr. Vaux, has also rather suddenly been removed by death at an early age and another not yet appointed ; so that the Society is not in a very flourishing condition at present ; and Colonel Yule observed to me how difficult it was for them to get enough matter for the Society's journal. I also came in contact with Mr. J. S. Cotton, Editor of the Academy, who was once employed by the Secretary of State to examine the materials in the India Office, and digest them into a report on the advancement or condition of India ; and he seemed to be very familiar with Indian matters.

At Oxford I was received with cordiality and almost enthusiastic kindness by my old master, Mr. Sidney Owen, who was Professor of History and Political Economy in the Elphinstone College, from January 1857 to April 1858, and his family. Here I had before me the charming and edifying spectacle of a well-regulated, high-toned, and happy English family. The one object of father, mother, sons, and daughters seemed to be to please me ; and I felt I was in the midst of persons who had, as it were, found in me a long-lost son or brother. Oxford was at this time empty, the Colleges having vacation, and all I could see was the buildings. Mr. Owen showed me Magdalen, Christ Church, Worcester, Baliol, and others. The quadrangles with the green grass nicely trimmed, the gardens and walks, and the canals give a rural, quiet, and pleasing appearance to the scene calculated to compose the mind and dispose it to contemplation, thought, and study. Within the premises of the same college there are often buildings in three different styles of architecture, the mediæval, that of the seventeenth century, and the modern. It was a curious sight of a nature to awaken

historical associations rather than produce a sensation of harmony, the stone of the mediæval buildings in particular being in a crumbling condition. But even this characteristic is calculated, I suppose, to confirm the reflective mood. I also saw the Sheldonian Theatre where the commemoration is held, the Bodleian Library, the Martyr's Memorial, and others. I paid a visit to Professor Max Müller, who unfortunately was not in good spirits on account of the recent loss of a favourite daughter. He regretted very much that he should have been in that condition at the time of my visit. He wished to see more of me than he could under the circumstances. Still I had a pleasant and interesting conversation with him for an hour and a half. He told me he had quoted my lectures in a paper that he had been publishing in a German periodical, and read a passage from that paper in which he interprets the expression *bhāshārthāh* occurring in connection with certain roots in the Dhātupāṭha as meaning "roots the sense of which is to be known from the spoken language." Though of course I am a strong advocate of the view that Sanskrit was the Vernacular of the Indian Aryans, and think I have proved the point in my last lecture, still I did not believe that the expression *bhāshārthāh* meant what the Professor said, and was sorry not to be able to agree with him. Then he spoke to me about a letter he had received from the late Divan of Bhaunagar, Mr. Gaurisāmkar, which was written on the occasion of his assuming the order of Saṁnyāsa, and about a copy of the new Saṁnyāsin's work on the Vedānta presented to him by the author. Professor Max Müller spoke approvingly of the doctrine of the Vedānta that the contemptibility and misery of life come to an end when an individual soul knows himself to be the same with Brahma or the Supreme soul. As I am not an admirer of the doctrine in the form in which it is taught by Śaṁkarāchārya and which alone is now the prevalent form in India, I observed that though according to his system a man must rise to the knowledge, "I am Brahma," previous to his entering on the state of deliverance or of eternal bliss, still it is essential that the feeling of *me* or *egoism* should be destroyed as a necessary condition of entrance into that state. The *me* is the first fruit of ignorance, and it must be destroyed in the liberated condition. A soul has no individual consciousness when he is delivered, and in that state he cannot have the knowledge, "I am Brahma." The illustration often given of a liberated soul that becomes one with Brahma is that of the space or ether that is

enclosed in an earthen jar becoming one with the infinite outer space or ether when the jar is broken to pieces. In such an absorption into or identification with Brahma when there is no individual consciousness and no knowledge that "I am the Brahma," what happiness can there be? Besides, the proposition, "I am Brahma," does not according to Śaṅkarāchārya's system mean I am one with the Supreme soul, who is the author of the Universe and who dwells in the Universe so full of beauty and grandeur. This, I believe, is the idea of the author of the Vedāntasūtra and of some of the Upanishads; but with Śaṅkarāchārya the Universe or Creation is an illusion like that perceived by a man who sees a rope in darkness and mistakes it for a serpent, and flies away from it through fear. Misery, worldly happiness, sinfulness, littleness, and indeed all finite thought and feeling, are illusions. When these are dispelled the soul is free and happy and without finiteness or limitations, so that the proposition, "I am Brahma," means "I am not the miserable, sinful, little soul, tied down to this or that mode of thought or feeling, that I appear to myself to be; but a free, blissful, unchanging, and unconditioned soul." This is the real nature of the soul, and anything at variance with it that is felt is an illusion; so that Śaṅkarāchārya's ideal is not to become one with another being who is the Supreme Ruler of all but to see that oneself *is* really a blissful and unconditioned being. Though I might admire the doctrine about the first ideal, I do not think the latter to be very charming. This discussion we carried on for some time, and then turned to other matters. Professor Max Müller made me a present of a copy of the four parts of the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* as a memento of our short meeting, and with a few complimentary remarks on my work in the field of scholarship, for which I feel very thankful to him, brought the conversation to a close.

On Sunday, the 12th, I was introduced by Mr. Owen to Professor Jowett. He received me very kindly, but nothing of importance was said in the short conversation that followed.

I went to Birmingham to have a glimpse of Industrial England. Fortunately I found an obliging friend in Colonel A. Phelps, late Commissary-General, Bombay. The British Association for the Advancement of Science recently held its meetings at the place, and an exhibition of the arts and industries of Birmingham had been got up for the occasion. Colonel Phelps took me twice to see the exhibition, and there I saw the products of an immense variety of industries with the latest



improvements, from a new apparatus for electric lighting without the high tension so dangerous to life that is a drawback in the present mode, to a machine for washing clothes by means of steam, and school furniture so manufactured as to avoid the evils such as shortsightedness, which result from the use of the present kind of furniture. The kind Colonel also showed me the engine factory of Tangyes, Gillott's pen factory, and a pin factory. He then took me to the Birmingham Municipal Offices and Town Hall, both of which are splendid buildings, and in the afternoon to the Liberal Club, where I saw a great many members in the dining and the smoking-rooms. Mr. Chamberlain came in a short while after we entered, and I was introduced to him by the Colonel. A short but interesting conversation followed. Mr. Chamberlain endeavoured to excuse himself from attending to the affairs of India, while I strove hard to fix the ultimate responsibility of governing the country on the British Parliament and through it on each member, and especially on the leaders of parties.

After having seen so much of England I started from London for Vienna on the 20th. I went by way of Paris where I could spend only two days, during which, however, I saw so much as to make my head giddy. I saw the artificial lakes, the grand cascade, the race-course, the dismantled palace of St. Cloud, the palace, galleries, and park of Versailles, the Louvre, Luxembourg, Pantheon, the porcelain and tapestry manufactories which, I was told, are maintained at the expense of Government, and other places. Paris appeared to me to be a beautiful town, the palace at Versailles with the parks and avenue in front is superb, and the pictures at that palace and in the Louvre are innumerable and beautiful. The French appeared to me to be a nation of lovers of beauty and spared no expense, since the Government maintained even factories for painting pictures on porcelain and weaving them by means of coloured thread. But when certain places in the town called to my memory the frightful deeds of the people during the first revolution and of the Commune in 1871, the melancholy reflection forced itself on me that even an intense love of beauty, which I consider to be heavenly, is not necessarily associated in the human heart with a heavenly or angelic character, and that it is a mere passion in the human breast like rage and resentment. I was sorry not to have met any of the French Oriental scholars in Paris. I had very little time, and besides I was told that one of them, Monsieur Senart, was not in town, and I subsequently learned that even Monsieur Barth was absent. From

Paris I went to Munich, where I stopped for a day. I found it to be a charming little town. There is an excellent museum, and a building in an elevated position called the Maximilian College, which commands a very fine view. I saw these and also a bronze colossus representing Bavaria, behind which there is a corridor in the shape of three sides of a rectangle with marble busts of the great men of the country placed in niches in the walls. The view from this point also is commanding, and in the light of the morning sun the place looked very charming and well suited for contemplation. From Munich I went on Saturday, the 25th, to Vienna, the place of my destination, which I reached at about 9 P. M.

The next morning Dr. Rost and Dr. Kielhorn came to see me at the Hotel de France, which is situated close to the University. We walked together for about an hour and returned by a tramcar to the University. The meetings of the Congress were held in this building, and the office of the managing committee was also located there. We stepped into the office and signed our names in the Register of members. In the evening a *conversazione* was held at one of the hotels in order that the members of the Congress might make each other's acquaintance. The attendance was very large, and I was introduced to and exchanged cards with a great many scholars. There were two Egyptians with an ivory complexion and Turkish caps, a Chinaman, the Secretary of the Chinese legation in his national costume with the long pigtail, a Japanese in European costume, an Indian Mussulman, native of Aligarh and educated at Cambridge, similarly dressed, and myself with my turban and *uparneh*. The Chinaman's knowledge of French was greatly admired, and they said he spoke the language perfectly as well as a Parisian.

The next morning at ten o'clock the members of the Congress gathered together in the large hall of the University. Opposite to them on the other side of a large table sat the members of the Committee of Organization with the minister of Public Instruction and Archduke Rainer, who is a great patron of learning in Austria. The Archduke in a short speech declared the Congress open, after which the Minister of Public Instruction rose and welcomed the members of the Congress in the name of the Government. He was followed by the President, Baron Kremer, who delivered a long address in French. Then the leaders of the different deputations rose one after another and made a few observations, and those who had brought

presents for the Congress laid them on the table. In the afternoon the different sections met in the rooms assigned to them, and after the election of the President and Vice-President, papers were read and discussed. As I belonged to the *Âryan* Section I witnessed the proceedings of its meetings only. I will therefore confine myself to an account of them. Our President was Prof. Roth of Tübingen and Vice-President, Prof. Weber. Among the members who attended were Dr. Rost of the India Office; Professors Bühler of Vienna, Kielhorn of Göttingen, Ludwig of Prague, Jacobi of Kiel, Leumann of Strasburg Kühn of Munich, Jolly of Wurzburg, and Windisch of Leipsic; Drs. Hoernle of Calcutta, Cartellieri of Vienna, Macdonell of Oxford, and Stein of Buda-Pest; and Messrs. Bendall of the British Museum, Grierson, a Bengal Civilian, and McAuliffe, a Panjab Civilian, and Capt. Temple. Dr. Cust of the Royal Asiatic Society of London attended some of the meetings, and we had an American gentleman of the name of Leland, who has made the language of the Gipsies his special study. There were two French scholars of the names of Millouë and Guimet, and an Italian scholar named Lignana. There were other members whose names I do not remember. Our average attendance was about 45. Prof. Max Müller did not come on account of the unfortunate occurrence I have already mentioned, and the other scholars conspicuous by their absence to me, at least, were Professors Oldenberg of Vienna, Aufrecht of Bonn, Kern of Leyden, Eggeling of Edinburgh, and Dr. Böhtlingk of Jena. The *Âryan* section met also on the following days, the last sitting being held on Saturday. Englishmen and myself read papers in English, and the German scholars in German with the exception of Dr. Stein, the Hungarian and Dr. Hoernle, who used English. One of the French scholars only read a paper, and this was in French; and the Italian read in the language of his country. These four languages only were recognised by the Congress. Mr. Bendall read a paper on the discovery in Nepal of a new alphabet with arrow-head characters. Specimens were exhibited on the occasion, but I felt convinced that the alphabet was only one of the many varieties of the *Nāgarī*, and what looked like arrow-heads were only the short horizontal strokes which occur at the top of each *Nāgarī* letter. They were thicker in this manuscript than usual and written in a manner to make one end narrower than the other. Mr. Grierson appeared before the section twice, once to read a paper on some of the dialects of the *Hindī*, and at another time with observations

on Tulasidâsa and other Hindî poets. This gentleman has been doing very useful work by studying the peculiarities of the Hindî, as spoken in the provinces of Behar and Mithilâ, and publishing grammars of the dialects prevalent there. The Aryan section adopted a resolution recommending to the Government of India the institution of a regular survey of the spoken dialects of India. I read at the first day's meeting extracts from my Report on the search for manuscripts which is now in the Press, and placed before the section an old Palm-leaf manuscript of a Jaina work hitherto unknown that had been discovered in the course of the search now conducted by Dr. Peterson and myself, and which would have been placed before the section by Dr. Peterson himself if he had been present. This excited a good deal of curiosity, and one of the scholars gave it as his opinion that the work belonged to that branch of the Jaina sacred literature which is known by the name of Pûrvas, and which is by some believed to be more ancient than the other branches, without, in my opinion, sufficient reason. At another meeting Prof. Roth made a few observations on the peculiarities of Vedic grammar, dwelling principally on the fact that when a noun and an adjective are used together the case termination is often found affixed to one of them only, as in the instances परमे व्योमन्, महिना जनूषि, &c. Prof. Jacobi read a paper in which he endeavoured to show that the Brahmanic hero-god, Krishna, was admitted by the Jainas very early, more than a century before the beginning of the Christian era, into the list of their holy personages. Prof. Kuhn appeared with a paper on the dialects of Kaśmîr and the Hindu Kush. One of Dr. Bühler's pupils, a young man of the name of Dr. Cartellieri showed, by comparing passages in Subandhu's Vâsavadattâ with similar ones occurring in Bâṇa's Kâdambarî, that Bâṇa adopted, in a good many cases, Subandhu's images, and often his very words and expressions, so that the doubts thrown on Subandhu's priority to Bâṇa were groundless. Dr. Hoernle read a paper on an old manuscript of a work on Arithmetic found at Bakkhâli in the north of Panjab in a ruined enclosure. It is written in a character which is a variety of the Kaśmîr character known by the name of Śâradâ; and Dr. Hoernle thought it was transcribed in the 8th or 9th century. The character appeared to me not very different from or very much more ancient than that in which Kaśmîr manuscripts about 100 or 150 years old are written. Dr. Hoernle had read a paper on the same manuscript about three years before at a meeting of the

Bengal Asiatic Society. Mr. Leland read a paper on the Gipsy language, in which he traced the origin of the Gipsies to India; Captain Temple gave some account of the Dictionary of Hindustani Proverbs that he has been compiling; the Italian scholar read a few remarks on the words Navagva and Daśagva occurring in the R̥gveda; and the French, an essay on the myth of Vṛishabha, the first Tīrthamkara of the Jainas. A few other papers were also read.

At one of its meetings the Section adopted a resolution asking the Government of India to restore the appointment of epigraphical surveyor, as the arrangements proposed by Dr. Burgess for getting translations of inscriptions done by different scholars willing and qualified to do them were considered unsatisfactory, and to re-appoint Mr. Fleet to it. I must here observe that I did not quite approve of such a personal question being brought before that learned body.

One thing in connection with the work of the Semitic section that came to my notice must here be mentioned. Prof. Karabacek read a report on the paleographical results furnished by some of the papyri or documents written on pieces of the papyrus which were found in Egypt. These were purchased by the Archduke Rainer, who paid more than 25,000 florins for them. I went to the place where they are kept and exhibited, and was told that some of them were more than two thousand years old. There is among them an original order issued by the Caliph Amru, which bears his own signature. The papyri were found rolled up, and it is a very difficult thing to unroll them in a manner not to break them into pieces. This however is done very carefully by Prof. Karabacek and his coadjutors; and there is a large photographic apparatus in the building by means of which the papyri are photographed, and copies of the size of the original printed off from the negative in the colour of the original.

On Monday, or the first day, an evening party was given by the minister of Public Instruction. Besides the members of the Congress there were other distinguished guests, among whom was the British Ambassador, Sir Augustus Paget. On Wednesday, a sumptuous entertainment was given in the afternoon by the Burgomaster in the large banqueting hall of the Rathhaus. The Rathhaus or Townhall is an extensive and noble building round which the learned guests were taken, previous to their being led into the banqueting hall. Refreshments were laid on the table, and the best available music provided for the occasion. In the evening of the same day, there was a

reception at the residence of Archduke Rainer. There was an unlimited supply of the best Viennese sweetmeats, and tea, coffee, and ices. A good many persons, including myself, were introduced to the Archduke and the Duchess, who spoke a few words to them in German, French, or English. On Thursday, a grand dinner was given in the evening by the Committee of organization, and there were toasts and post-prandial speeches as usual. In the afternoon of Friday, the members of the Congress were taken in river-steamboats by the Danube canal and by a special train up a hill in the vicinity called Kahlenburg, the view from which is splendid. The whole city of Vienna lay at our feet at a short distance, and with hills on the sides, the scene was charming. We spent about an hour at the place and returned home a little after sunset.

Dr. Bühler had told me a day or two before the dinner on Thursday to compose a few verses in Sanskrit and sing them in reply to one of the toasts. I said I would rather sing them at a meeting of the Âryan section, where I should have a select audience that would understand me. Accordingly I composed eight verses in different metres and sung them in the manner we usually do in India, at the final meeting of the Âryan section on Saturday morning. After that was over, I read some of the hymns in the Rigveda Saṁhitâ in the manner in which they are recited by Vaidika Brahmans here, as some of the German scholars were anxious to hear how the accents are indicated in pronunciation.

The sight of so many men from different parts of Germany and Europe who had chosen a life of study and thought, and who applied themselves with such devotion and zeal to the study of the sacred language of my country and its varied literature, was very gratifying to me. The spirit that actuated them appeared to be that of the old Rishis of India, who cared little for worldly possessions and devoted themselves to a life of study and meditation. In the ancient times in India whenever any grand sacrifice was performed by a great king, Brahmans from all parts of the country assembled at the place and held debates and discussed abstruse points. One such congress of Rishis is reported in the Bṛihadâraṇyaka Upanishad and the Vâyu Purâna. Janaka, the king of Mithilâ, performed a horse-sacrifice, and a great many learned Brahmans from the Kurupañchâlas or the country about Thanesar, Mathurâ, Delhi, and Agra flocked to the place. Janaka wished to find out who among these was the most learned and knew the

Brahma or the highest truth the best, and therefore brought forth a thousand cows and tied pieces of gold of the weight of ten tolas to the horns of each. Then he said to the Brahmans: "That one among you who knows the Brahma the best should take away these cows." None of the Brahmans dared to take them, when Yājñavalkya said to a pupil of his, "Young man, drive these cows home." The pupil began to do so, when all the other Brahmans got angry, saying, "What, does he think himself to be the one among us who knows the Brahma the best?" Janaka had a priest of the name of Aśvala, who said to him: "Well, Yājñavalkya, are you the one of us all who knows the Brahma the best." Yājñavalkya replied, "I am but an humble servant of one who knows the Brahma the best; I only want the cows." Then the priest Aśvala put a question to Yājñavalkya, and he was followed by a great many others who put similar questions, requiring him to explain a large variety of points concerning the ritual, the gods, the soul, the supreme cause of the world and the soul of all, good deeds, bad deeds, &c. Among his interlocutors was a lady of the name of Gārgī Vāchaknavī who, in her own words, "attacked him with two questions as a warrior of Kāśī or Videhas attacks an enemy with two arrows on his strung bow." Yājñavalkya answered satisfactorily the questions of all. This is a celebrated chapter in that Upanishad, and is very important for the history of ancient Indian thought. The idea I endeavoured to bring out in the verses sung by me at the Congress was that this body of holy and learned Ṛishis, adored by gods and men, that had assembled at Mithilā, the capital of the king of Videhas, on the occasion of the horse-sacrifice, had risen up again at Vienna, the capital of the Emperor of Austria, to dispel the darkness that had overspread the earth in this sinful age of Kali, out of pity for man. Aśvala, the priest of Janaka, had assumed the form of Bühler, Yājñavalkya appeared as Weber and Roth, and Śākala as Kielhorn. Kahoḍa manifested himself as Jolly; and the remaining Ṛishis as Ludwig, Rost, Jacobi, and the rest. There was a Viennese lady who attended the meetings of our section, and who takes very great interest in Indian literature and has read nearly all that has been written about it, as well as translations of Sanskrit works. She was our Gārgī Vāchaknavī.

Such a compliment, I thought, these European scholars, and especially the Germans, deserved. Ever since the discovery of Sanskrit, the Europeans have devoted themselves with their usual energy to the study of the language and its literature, and to the solution of the

various problems suggested by it. They have successfully traced the affinity of the Sanskrit with the ancient languages of Europe, classified the languages of the civilized world on a scientific principle, and the races that speak them, shown that the Âryans of India composed of the three castes, Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaiśya, belong to the same race as the ancient Greeks and Romans and the nations of modern Europe, except the Turks, the Hungarians, and the Fins, penetrated into the secret of the formation of human speech and the growth of myths, and constituted the science of language and comparative mythology. They have collected manuscripts from all parts of India, and from Nepal, Ceylon, Burma, and Siam; and the Government of India has been assisting their efforts by instituting an archæological survey and search for manuscripts. They have examined the Vedas carefully, and traced out a great many facts concerning the original history and condition of the Indian Âryas, and compiled dictionaries, concordances, and grammars. The Mahâbhârata, Râmâyana some of the Purâṇas, and the law books, as well as the dramatical literature, have been subjected to a similar examination. Buddhism, the memory of which has faded away in India, has again been brought to our notice; and its sacred texts, manuscripts of which are nowhere now found in India, have been rendered available to us.

In this work of study and research the Germans, of all the nations of Europe, have been the foremost. Most of the great achievements I have briefly indicated above are due to their patient industry and critical acumen. We have had one great French scholar, and there are now two or three. Englishmen first of all discovered Sanskrit, as was of course to be expected from the fact of India's having fallen into their hands, and we have had first-class English scholars, such as Colebrooke and Wilson. But somehow Sanskrit and philological studies have not found a congenial soil in the British isles. While there are at present twenty-five German scholars at least who have been working in the different branches of Sanskrit literature and have published something, we have not more than five among Englishmen. England employs Germans in connection with her philological work. The best Sanskrit scholar in the country is a German, and the Professor of Sanskrit at Edinburgh and the Librarian of the India office are Germans. There is a German in charge of manuscripts in the British Museum and the Assistant Librarian at the Bodleian is a Hungarian. The Germans are the Brahmans of Europe, the French



the Kshatriyas, and the English the Vaiśyas ; though as was the case in India, the Brahmans of Europe have now taken to a military occupation. The great excellence of German scholarship consists in the spirit of criticism and comparison that is brought to bear on the facts that come under observation, and in the endeavour made to trace the gradual development of thought and language and to determine the chronological relations of events.

So much for the bright side of the picture. But it has also a dark side, to shut our eyes to which will do no good to the cause or to anybody. The proper and fruitful exercise of the critical and comparative, or what might be called the historical spirit, depends upon innate ability and a naturally sound judgment. These are not to be found everywhere, and often we meet with instances in which very comprehensive conclusions are based upon the most slender evidence. Though it is true that a native does not easily look at the language, thought, and institutions of his country from the critical standpoint, while the first impulse of an intelligent foreigner is to do so, still there are some disadvantages under which the foreigner must labour. He has no full and familiar knowledge of what he subjects to a critical examination. In the case of European Sanskrit scholars there is besides always a very strong disinclination to admit the high antiquity of any book, thought, or institution, and a tendency to trace Greek influence everywhere in our literature ; while not seldom the major premise in the reasoning is that the Indians cannot have any good in them, since several times in the course of their history, they allowed themselves to be conquered by foreigners. Oftentimes the belief that the Brahmans are a crafty race prevents a full perception of the truth. Of course, scholars of ability and sound judgment shake off such tendencies and prejudices ; and among these I may mention, since I do not wish to make invidious comparisons between living scholars, Dr. Muir of Edinburgh and Prof. Goldstücker.

But independently of such defects in the exercise of the critical faculty, there are very important branches of Sanskrit literature which are not understood in Germany and Europe. I had a conversation with Dr. Kielhorn on this subject the day after I reached Vienna. I said it appeared to me that works in the narrative or Purānic style and the dramatic plays were alone properly understood in Europe, while those written in the style of discourse or works on philosophy and exegesis were not. He replied that even several of the dramatic plays

and works on Poetics were not understood. Mistakes are constantly made when a scholar endeavours to interpret and criticise a work or passages in a work belonging to any of the Śāstras, as we call them ; and often the sense of passages containing idiomatic expressions in other works also is not perceived. A scholar reads such a work or interprets such expressions and passages with the aid of a grammar and a dictionary ; but a clear understanding of them requires an amount of previous knowledge which cannot be derived from either. As to positive command over Sanskrit, I had an illustration in the shape of a card which was given to me by a Professor at the Congress on which two verses in the easiest of Sanskrit metres, the Anuṣṭubh, composed by him, are printed. In three of the four lines the metre is violated, and there is a bad compound in the second verse. If the study of Greek was not successfully carried on in Western Europe before the fall of Constantinople drove many learned Greeks into that part of the continent, it is of course not reasonable to expect that Sanskrit literature should be properly understood in Europe without instruction from the old Pandits of India. This defect was first of all clearly perceived by those German scholars who spent a good many years in India ; and now it has been acknowledged by others also, though there are still some whose reliance on a grammar and a dictionary continues unbounded. And the Germans have already begun to remedy the defect. Dr. Garbe was sent more than a year ago to this country at the expense of the Prussian Government to study Indian philosophy. He lived at Benares for a year and read one or two works with some of the Pandits there, and has recently returned to his country. Dr. Kielhorn has undertaken to publish an edition of the Kāśikā, an old commentary on Pāṇini's Sūtras containing copious notes and explanations of a nature to enable the European scholar to understand the intricacies of the style of grammatical exegesis. And on the last day of my stay at Vienna, Dr. Bühler told me that he had on that day called on the Minister of Public Instruction to represent to him the necessity of having an Assistant Professorship of Sanskrit in connection with the University of Vienna. This he means for Dr. Hultzsch ; but his ultimate idea is that large Universities such as those of Berlin and Vienna should have an Assistant Professorship to be held by a Sanskrit Master of Arts of the Bombay University, and on Dr. Hultzsch being raised to the Professorship or provided for elsewhere, he will have an Indian in his place. This I believe is a good

idea, in the interests of both European and Indian Sanskrit scholarship; but the principle involved in it, viz., a close intercourse between the scholars of the two countries, deserves to be carried out in other ways. This also has not escaped the attention of Dr. Bühler; for though he is not now in his bodily form present in India, he carries on an active correspondence with many persons here, and has recently issued a prospectus about a Vienna Oriental Journal which will contain several articles in English intended to be read by us here. I have no doubt that such a close intercourse will be productive of benefit to us here. New ideas and views about matters in Sanskrit literary history are constantly started in Germany, and these will stimulate thought and inquiry among us, and we shall be able to make use of our knowledge either to confirm or refute them, and put forth new ideas and views of our own. It is very much to be wished that more of us devoted ourselves to learning and research. Every year our University turns out a good many Sanskrit scholars, and but few have hitherto made scholarship the occupation or pleasure of their lives. But physical wants claim attention first, and unless somebody in his liberality makes provision for them, there is little hope that we shall have many scholars among us. The necessity of endowing Professorships for the advancement of learning and science among us was recently urged with characteristic ability on the attention of his audience by the Vice-Chancellor of the University and our President; and I gave expression in my humble way to the same idea in my first Wilson Lecture and in my evidence before the Education Commission; but there is no hope of Government being able to do anything in the matter in the present state of circumstances, while as regards ourselves there is little public spirit among us, and the liberality of Khojas, Parsis, and Hindus flows in other channels, and no one has the power of diverting it into this.

Another feeling which the sittings of the Congress evoked in me and to which I gave expression in my verses, was that of admiration for the respect for human nature and brotherly sympathy for mankind which, I thought, were evinced by the interest which so many people took in the condition, the thought, and languages of the people of Asia, Africa and Polynesia, so inferior to Europeans in all that constitutes civilization. I also thought that international congresses such as this were calculated to promote good feeling between the different nations of Europe, so as to render war impossible in the course of time. And from what

I saw during my hasty visit it appeared to me that Europe was approaching towards a realization of this ideal. There is hardly so much difference as regards external appearance and manners between the different nations of Europe as there is between the different races of India, though their languages are more widely different than those of Northern India. Their dress, their modes of eating, their social manners, and their institutions are a good deal more alike than ours. Any invention or discovery made in one country finds its way easily into another. The railway trains of one country run in continuation of those of another, and the postal and telegraphic arrangements are such as one might expect only in a country under one and the same Government. Travellers are always going from one country to another, and everywhere there are hotels where their comfort and convenience are carefully attended to. So that, to an external observer, Europe appears in times of peace to be one country. And I saw a pantomimic show in one of the theatres in Vienna which intensified my general impression. At first girls in European costume appeared dancing on the stage. Then was shown the digging of the Suez Canal and the plying of steam-boats in it. This was followed by a representation of the cutting of the Mount Cenis tunnel; and afterwards appeared men and women in the costumes of all countries, with some in our Indian costume, and a number of negro boys. And they all danced together in joy, the negro boys beating time. This idea of a universal brotherhood was, I thought, the most precious product of European civilization, more valuable by far than railways and electric telegraphs. And it was in such a mood of thought that I opened my versified Sanskrit address with the words, "Supreme over all is that brotherly feeling for mankind which prompts the constant endeavours of these men to study the languages, the sciences, and arts of Eastern races so utterly different from themselves;" and ended it by saying, "May Congresses such as this conduce to knit different countries together in friendship, to the cessation of war, and to the prosperity of mankind."

I was however not free from disturbing thoughts. Though all this Oriental learning had probably its origin in a respect for human nature, still a mere love of reputation and a desire to conform with the fashion of the day, are the motive causes in most individual cases. Though the whole external look of Europe makes for peace, still ever since the idea expressed in the lines

Till the war-drum throbbed no longer and the battle-flags were furled,  
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world,

was distinctly formulated, there have been many wars in Europe, and many more times have the Europeans fought Asiatics and Africans and crushed them. And I remember that the advancement of oriental learning was looked forward to in some quarters as one of the happy results of one of these latter wars; so that, love of oriental learning is not necessarily associated with good-will for the oriental races. A German Sanskrit Professor once said to me that he liked social equality being given to the natives of India, but not political equality, and that he considered the Ilbert Bill to be mischievous. I told him that in Ceylon and the presidency towns the native magistrates did actually exercise the power of trying European offenders. He did not know that, he said, but still proceeded to defend his position, and bringing his oriental learning to his aid, observed, "Oh, Buddhism has softened the Ceylonese, so that they might exercise that power; but the case is different in India." I listened quietly, thanking my country's stars that she had not fallen into the hands of Germans. And two of the most civilized nations in Europe have for the last fifteen years been making preparations with their usual energy for a grand human sacrifice, in which the blood of about eight million human victims is to be poured on the altar of the goddess of nationality. Even the Oriental professors of those two nations are full of warlike sentiments; and there is a firm determination to destroy the hated enemy or die. So that, the spirit of humanity, though evolved in the course of European history, has been entirely driven out of the field of action by the spirit of nationality. The very physical energy of the European races and the importance attached to mere material greatness, are unfavorable to the further growth of that spirit. And in this matter, at least the prophecy of the old Locksley Hall has not been fulfilled, and there is ground for the despondency expressed in the new. After the Congress was over I stayed for a week more in Vienna, and saw the museums, the picture galleries, and other sights. I left the place on Sunday, the 10th of October, for Venice, where I spent three days.

I have already taken up so much of your time, that I have little left for conveying to you some of my general impressions. I will, however, do so hastily. Everywhere the energy of the European races and the orderly shape that they give to everything made a deep impression on my mind. On my way from Brindisi to Calais, I observed

on the sides of the railway in Italy vines and trees planted in straight lines at equal distances, and in Southern France, happy looking villages with nice roads laid out, and grass so well trimmed as to give the fields and even the slopes of hills a smooth appearance. Everywhere the hand of man was to be seen. In London I was impressed with the immense wealth of the people, and their devotion to business. In private dwellings and in shops all things are nicely arranged. The shops are generally in substantial buildings, and the shopkeeper is always seen standing or sitting on a high stool, ready to attend to his customers. The affairs of every large establishment where a number of men are employed are conducted with the regularity of a machine. Wherever I went I could not avoid making comparisons between what I saw and what exists in India. I felt that with our fields neglected except for getting a harvest or two, our things lying about in a disorderly condition in our houses and our shops, and our shops constructed of wooden planks and our shopkeepers often dozing in their seats, we are considerably inferior in point of energy to the European races, and especially to the English. When I saw the exhibition at Birmingham and observed how some improvement or other is always made in machines, implements, and arts, and how new arts and industries spring up, I could not avoid remarking to my kind friend Colonel Phelps, "Your intellects are always awake, ours are dormant." Indian implements and arts are now in that condition in which they were in the time of Manu. The English people possess a vast power of organization. Those of them who hold the same view on any matter easily combine together to advance that view, and thus form clubs and associations. I was struck when I heard that the National Liberal Club in London had 5,000 members. In India hardly so many as five persons can be found to lay aside their jealousies and combine for the advancement of a cause. In every one of the towns I visited there are one or more museums, and in most of them picture galleries. Both the Government and the people take pride in them and in other institutions of the kind, and are ready with their contributions of money for their improvement. We have no museum anywhere in India worthy of the name, and picture galleries are never dreamt of. I saw a splendid free library at Birmingham maintained by the municipality, and in the Guildhall in London, and was told that all the municipalities in England had such free libraries. We never heard of anything of the kind in India. Even such a rich municipality as that of Bombay with its surplus of

five lacs does not maintain an institution of the kind, and it is a matter of no little wonder that the idea should not have been put into the heads of the members of our Corporation by any European gentlemen or a native who has been to England. The means of communication throughout Europe are, as I have already stated, perfect, though the Customs Officers on the frontiers of a country give some trouble, and there are establishments in all places for the accommodation of travellers. Travelling, therefore, is so easy, that a timid Hindu like myself, who cannot speak French or German, could go from London to Vienna, and thence to Venice, alone, without the least difficulty. All that I saw in Europe deepened the impression that, as we are, we are an inferior race in point of energy. We are far behind Europe, and especially England, in all those matters that I have just noticed, and ours is what Principal Wordsworth calls a feeble civilization; though I believe the vigorous civilization of Europe is now on its trial, and the war between the French and the Germans which must come some day, and the socialistic and nihilistic movements, if they make further progress, will determine whether it is not one-sided, and its ideals have not been chiefly, if not exclusively, material. And in this respect we should by no means be very anxious to realize it among ourselves.

One point more, and I have done. When I set my foot on the soil of Italy and saw the Italian Custom-house officers, policemen and others, exercising their authority, the thought entered my mind, "But a few years ago this country was cut up into a number of little states, most of them despotically governed, and now these people have become one nation and got representative institutions"; and I cast a wistful eye at their newly-acquired independence. While in London I once went to see the Tower with my friend Dr. Rhys Davids, and when I was shown the place where Anne Boleyn, Catherine Howard, and Lady Jane Grey were executed, and also the dungeon into which those persons who were obnoxious to the reigning prince or his courtiers were cast quietly and in a manner unknown to anybody, I observed to my friend, "You are a wonderful people; three centuries ago you were governed by monarchs nearly as absolute and despotic as any that reigned in India, and you have now gradually worked out your freedom without shedding much blood; while we have not succeeded in emancipating ourselves during the last twenty-five centuries." Notions such as these were

present in my mind during the time I was in Europe; but after a while I asked myself, what it was that I wished? Should I like that the English had never conquered the country? I at once said, "No." For, as I had already observed to my friend, we really were not free under the old native monarchs. Under them there was no possibility of our having any idea of that European civilization which I so much admire, there was hardly much security of life and property, and there was little possibility of a man travelling from one province to another without being looted. And we should in that case have had no post-office or roads or railways or electric telegraphs or printing presses; and above all, that education which has now opened our eyes to our own defects, and given birth to new aspirations. And how was it possible that they should not subjugate the country when it was in the lowest state of political degradation, with selfishness reigning supreme, rival competitors for thrones or for power intriguing against each other and asking their aid, and the people at large maintaining their traditional indifference? Would I then wish that the English voluntarily retired from the country—for driving them away was out of the question—and left us to govern ourselves? Even here I had no hesitation in saying "No." If they should retire, we should immediately return to the old state of things. For though we talk about public spirit, public duty, nationality, and things of that sort, these ideas have not deeply sunk into our nature. Self-interest is as strong a motive with us as it ever was before. There is a lamentable want of serious thought amongst us. Childishness is rampant everywhere. We are divided into castes and communities that have not yet learnt to make common cause with each other. We still want that energy and those orderly modes of action, and that power of organization, which are necessary in order that we may progress in civilization; and we shall only lose the ground which we have gained under the British, and shall be unable to form a strong Government; and all the benefits of a higher civilization that we at present enjoy will be lost to us. I believe it to be an act of Divine Providence that the English alone of all the candidates who appeared about the same time for the empire of India should have succeeded. The Marathas, the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French were all weighed in the balance and found wanting, and the empire was given to the English. For the Marathas possessed the usual vices of Indian rulers, the Portuguese were intolerant and forced their religion on the people, the Dutch have made the natives of the



countries they conquered hewers of wood and drawers of water, and the French are volatile and have no settled principles. Of the other nations of Europe, the Germans and Austrians do not themselves enjoy that freedom that we do under the British, and Russia is the most despotic of all European states, and is perhaps as barbarous as ourselves without our mildness. But England is a nation that has worked out its freedom. She gave liberty to the Negro slaves at a vast sacrifice of money; and it is the only country in Europe where the sentiment of humanity has made progress. It is impossible that such a country should treat us as slaves; or like the Dutch reduce us to the condition of mere artisans and labourers. Reflections such as these quieted me, and I was content that the English should rule over us, notwithstanding that there are very few Sanskrit scholars among them. In this frame of mind I got on board the steamer "Siam." The next morning, a fellow-passenger of the name of Colonel Noble, Commissioner of Sahet Mahet in Oudh, came and sat near me. He asked me a variety of questions, one of which was, "How will you manage about caste after your return to your country." I said: "When I go back I shall live with my family as a Hindu that I am, as if nothing extraordinary had happened, and will not invite caste opposition. If notwithstanding, I find myself in difficulties these must be put up with; for it is of the highest importance that we should visit Europe, if we would march on, side by side with our rulers, towards a higher goal." "That word 'rulers,'" says Col. Noble, "that you have used, I do not like. For it is the feeling of a great many Englishmen that we are but your brothers to direct and guide you towards a brighter future." I was highly delighted, and thought that if all the statesmen and officers in whose hands the destinies of India were placed were actuated in all that they did by such a feeling as this, we should be the happiest people on earth; we should forget that we were governed by foreigners, and look upon the British Government as our own national government. There were a good many other passengers on board who were very courteous and kind to me, and with whom I had pleasant conversations. Among them were Mr. Sheppard, Revenue Commissioner, Northern Division, and a good many other civilians belonging to Bombay, Madras, and the North Western Provinces. The charge of *hauteur* usually brought against Anglo-Indians I found to be false on board the steamer. The Siam dragged its slow length along the Mediterranean, the Suez Canal, the

Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean, and at last we found ourselves in the harbour of Bombay. In the bustle and commotion which followed in consequence of everybody's desire to go on shore at once, I made my way to the place where Colonel Noble was, and took his leave with the words, "Your sentiments with regard to my people are, no less than your name, NOBLE," and came away.

# VERSES

DEDICATED TO

THE ARYAN SECTION

OF

*The Vienna Oriental Congress.*

By Dr. R. G. BHANDARKAR.

पौरस्त्यानां जनानां निरतिशयमपि स्वात्मतो भेदभाजां  
भाषाविद्याकलानामधिगमविषये संततं सप्रयत्नाः ।  
येनान्योन्यं समेताः समुचितवचनैर्बोधयन्त्येवमेते  
सोयं सोदर्यभावो जगति विजयते मानुषत्वानुबन्धी ॥ १ ॥

नानादिदेशसंस्थान्प्रथितबुधजनान्संगतान्वीनिपुर्था-  
मास्त्रेयाभूभूतोस्यां नृपसुकुटमणे राजधान्यां समीक्ष्य ।  
वैद्वैहस्याश्वमेधे पुरवरमिथिलामाश्रितं पुण्यसंघं  
ब्रह्मज्ञानामृषीणां सकलसुरनरैर्विन्शितानां स्मरामि ॥ २ ॥

अश्वलो भवति बूलरूपः  
याज्ञवल्क्य इव वेबररोटी ।  
शाकलः किल भवेत्किलहानो  
यः कहोड इति सोत्र च योलिः ॥ ३ ॥

गार्गी वाचक्रवीवेडा पुरंभ्री प्रतिभाति मे ।  
मन्धावलोकनं यस्या जीवस्यालम्बनं महत् ॥ ४ ॥

अन्यान्लुद्विगरोस्तथाकुबिमुखान्मन्येच तांस्तानृषीन्  
सर्वे तस्वरताः श्रुतिस्मृतिपरा ज्ञानैकबद्धस्पृहाः ।  
शङ्कुः तिष्ययुगप्रभावजनितं गाढं तमः सर्वतो  
वृरीकश्लेमुपस्थितः सकरुणः सोयं मुनीनां गणः ॥ ५ ॥

समतीत्य वराकोहं गिरिवनवार्धीन्सभामिमां प्राप्तः ।  
प्रेम्णः पाशैर्बद्धा वयं च देशाश्च नो भवेत्श्रुति ॥ ६ ॥

आर्यावर्तेनिवासिषु तद्विद्यादर्शितादरान्भवतः ।  
सौहार्दे याचेहं विशुद्धरूपं तथा च मयि ॥ ७ ॥

राष्ट्राणां स्नेहभावाय विप्रहस्य क्षमाय च ॥  
कल्पतामीदृशी संसन्मनुजानां च भूतये ॥ ८ ॥

ART. V.—*On the Alleged Practice of Next-of-Kin Marriages in Old Irân,\** By DASTUR DÂRÂB PESHOTAN SANJANA.

In the history of primitive marriage there are few subjects which exceed in gravity and interest the much-discussed question of the existence of next-of-kin marriages in ancient Irân, of marriages between blood-relations of a near or remote degree among the early Zoroastrians. Although the attention of Parsi students of Zoroastrianism has often been drawn to this delicate question by the labours of esteemed European Oriental scholars, still it is strange to find how few of us have endeavoured to throw any light upon it, merely contenting ourselves with a bare denial of the existence of any trace of such marriage practices in our Sacred Writings. The causes of this remarkable omission may be easily discovered in the manifold difficulties attending an examination of the evidence on the subject, which is met with in Western classical history and in Irânian archives. These difficulties are attributable partly to want of acquaintance with the languages of the original works; partly to the obscurities of those Avestâ and Pahlavi passages which are supposed by foreigners to refer to marriages between nearest kinsfolk; and partly to the discouragement arising from the uniformity of judgment of some of the best European authorities confirming the accounts given by Greek historians.

In all the inquiries which have long engaged the attention of European Orientalists, their efforts have been directed almost exclusively to verifying the testimony of classical reports to the effect that marriage between the nearest blood-relations was not an uncommon practice among the old Irânians in the times of the Achæmenidæ, the Arsacidæ and the Sâsânidæ. Nay, it has even come to pass that several European *savants* have claimed to have discovered positive evidence of such marriages in the Sacred Writings and in the later Pahlavi works of the Irânians themselves. Guided solely by their opinions, the Rev. J. van den Gheyn, S.J., in his well-known French Essay on "Comparative Mythology and Philology," has been led to remark with reference to the moral tenets of the Avesta<sup>1</sup> :—

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<sup>1</sup> Vide 'Essais de Mythologie et de Philologie Comparée,' par J. van den Gheyn, S.J.; *Études Éraniennes*, II., *Les Études Avestiques de M. Geldner*, § 4—*Morale*, pp. 231-234 :—

“If the Mazdian writers delighted in psychological analysis, they were still more fond of discussions relating to morals. The Mazdian religion can boast of having the soundest, the sublimest and the most rational system of morals among all the non-Christian religions. The basis of these morals rests on the free volition of man .....

“But side by side with these doctrines, so perfect and so rational, one may well be astonished to see that Mazdism approved of a doctrine which strangely contrasts with our ideas of morality. We mean to refer to the well-known *Khrétúk-das*, exalted as one of the most meritorious and sacred acts. This term, however, designates the incestuous marriage between near relations, even between father and daughter, son and mother, brother and sister. What could be more repulsive? How could a religion of so sublime a nature as Mazdism have inculcated such a practice? That is an historical question relating to the Avestá. We ought, therefore, to put it aside.

“The modern Parsis, it is true, have not preserved such immoral customs. They even protest with energy against the accusation of having ever taught any such doctrine. Unfortunately, they cannot burn their ancient books, the unimpeachable testimony borne against them.”

Such is the observation of the Rev. Mr. Gheyn. It is not, however, the outcome of personal investigations in the field of Iránian literature, but is almost exclusively founded on the latest sources of Oriental

“Si les écrivains mazdéens aimaient les distinctions psychologiques, ils étaient bien plus épris des discussions de morale. La religion mazdéenne peut se vanter d'avoir, parmi tous les cultes non chrétiens, la morale la plus saine, la plus haute et la plus raisonnable. Les bases de la morale s'appuient sur la libre volonté de l'homme.....

“Mais à côté de ces doctrines si saines et si raisonnables, on peut s'étonner de voir approuver une doctrine qui contraste étrangement avec nos idées de moralité. Nous voulons parler du fameux *Khrétúk-das*, exacté comme une des œuvres les plus méritoires et les plus saintes. Et cependant, ce terme désigne le mariage incestueux entre proches parents, voire même entre père et fille, fils et mère, frère et sœur! Quoi de plus rebutant? Comment une religion d'une nature si élevée que le mazdeïsme a-t-elle pu inculquer une telle pratique? C'est là une question historique qui se rattache à l'Avesta. Nous devons donc la laisser de côté.”

“Les Parsis modernes, on le comprend, n'ont pas gardé ces habitudes immorales. Même ils protestent énergiquement contre l'accusation d'avoir jamais enseigné pareille doctrine. Malheureusement, ils ne peuvent anéantir leurs anciens livres, implacables témoins qui déposent contre eux.”

knowledge in the series of the "Sacred Books of the East" planned by Prof. Max Müller. But far more important observations on the subject, which claim our earnest attention, have been put forth by some of those European *literati* who have delved deep in the mines of Oriental learning, and brought to light some of the most precious gems which will ever remain as monuments marking an important epoch in the history of Oriental literature. I beg to draw attention to the opinion of Dr. F. von Spiegel, a veteran Avestâ scholar, which I have translated from the 3rd Vol. of his German work on "Irânian Antiquities." (*Erânische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. III. pp. 678-679). He says :—"Much offence has always been caused in Europe by the marriages between near relations, namely, between brothers and sisters, between fathers and daughters, between sons and mothers. They have their origin in the tribal relationship amongst the Irânians. They married in their own tribe, since no *mésalliance* could be contracted, and everybody regarded his own tribe and his own family as the most preferable one. So early as in the Avestâ the marriage of near relations is recommended (Ys. XIII. 28, Vsp. III. 8) ; and it is also to the present day a custom among the nomads, whose daughters very often decline the most favourable offers of marriage out of their family circle, because they think that such marriages might convey them into a town, and likewise into a different tribe. The extreme case of such marriages between relations is the marriage of brothers and sisters. According to Herodotus, Cambyses first introduced the custom of marriage between brothers and sisters ; but this is probably an error. The custom certainly existed already before him. That the kings were accustomed to take in marriage only the spouses of their rank from the family of the Achæmenidæ is witnessed in two passages by Herodotus. For this reason the marriages between brothers and sisters were much in favour with the royal family. Cambyses married his sisters (Her. III. 31) ; Artaxerxes his two daughters (Plutarch Art. C. 27) ; Terituchmes his sister Roxana (Ktes. Pers. C. 54) ; the satrap Sysimithres even his mother (Curtius 8, 2, 19) ; Kôbâd I. his daughter Sambyke. Agathias tells us that this custom also continued to later times."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Compare Dr. Geiger, *Ostirânische Kultur*, p. 246 :—"Auch den Westiraniern war die Heirat von Blutsverwandten nicht fremd. Schon die klassischen Autoren wissen davon zu berichten. Herodot ist der irrigen Ansicht, dass Kambyses sie eingeführt habe, als er seine Schwester Atossa zum Weibe nahm."

Such, gentlemen, is the position of the European view fortified by fragmentary references to ancient history, and frowning against the most glorious edifice of the old Irânian ethology, universally acknowledged to be the sublimest among the oldest religions of the world. This position it is the solemn duty of every Zoroastrian student of Irânian antiquities to inspect with the light of evidence furnished abundantly by history, both Occidental as well as Oriental. It is as undesirable as it is unphilosophic to dwell with idle complacency on the high praise which European scholars have almost invariably bestowed on Zoroastrianism for its sublime ethical conceptions, and to ignore allegations as to the practices in question of the early followers of Zoroaster. One of the true criteria of the morality of a nation is its marriage institution. The moral life of society begins and is nurtured in the family. It is, therefore, scarcely possible to conceive how a nation, much less a religion, which has been generally extolled for its pure system of morals, and proverbial for its strictly moral habits, should have sanctioned or tolerated a custom which must naturally have demoralized the highly valued precept of "*pious mind, pious words, pious actions.*"\*

But, here, I may be allowed to observe that the Greeks who charged the Persians with the crime of next-of-kin marriages, and who were distinguished among the Western nations before the Christian era for the high stage of civilization they had reached, were not unfamiliar with incestuous enormities. (1) In the *Præfatio* of Cornelius Nepos, the con-

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Gerade in der königlichen Familie kam sie häufig vor. Man hatte hier besonderes Interesse daran, den Stammbaum rein zu bewahren und das eigene Geschlecht möglichst von anderen Familien zu separieren. Ausser Kambyse wäre Artaxerxes anzuführen, der seine beide Töchter heiratete, sowie Terituchmes, der mit seiner Schwester Roxane, [und Kôbâd I, der mit seiner Schwester Sambyke sich vermählte."—Also cf. L' *Muséon* (1885), *Les Noms Propres Perso-Avestiques*, par Th. Keiper, pp. 212 *seq.*

\* Comp. my ed. of C. E. Irânians, vol. I. pp. 162-163 :—" It affords indeed proof of a great ethical tendency and of a very sober and profound way of thinking, that the Avestâ people, or at least the priests of their religion, arrived at the truth that sins by thought must be ranked with sins by deed, and that, therefore, the actual root and source of everything good or bad must be sought in the mind. It would not be easy to find a people that attained under equal or similar historical conditions to such a height of ethical knowledge." Also cf. "Christ and Other Masters," by the Rev. Mr. Hardwick, p. 541 :—" In the measure of her moral sensibility Persia may be fairly ranked among the brightest spots of ancient heathendom."

temporary of Cicero, it is said that "Cimon, the greatest of the Athenians, was not dishonoured for having espoused his sister on the father's side." (2) The celebrated comic poet Aristophanes, who flourished in the 5th century B. C., relates in verse 1371 of his comedy of *The Frogs*:—"He began reciting some of the verses from Euripides, where one perceives a brother miserable, having married his uterine sister." (3) Demosthenes in his Appeal against Eubulides of Miletus, asserts: "My grandfather had espoused his sister not uterine."<sup>4</sup> According to the *Scholiast* the marriage with a half-sister was permitted by law among the ancient Greeks. The details which M'Lennan has gathered on this subject, go to prove that the old Spartans were also accustomed to marry even their uterine sisters. Again, Mr. Robertson Smith remarks in his "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia" (p. 162):—"At Athens we find marriage with a half-sister not uterine occurring in late times, and side by side with this we find an ancient tradition that before Cecrops there was a general practice of polyandry, and consequently kinship only through mothers." Mr. Wm. Adam points out that Xenophon's memoirs of Socrates refer to the intercourse of parents with children among the Greeks (*vide* his dissertation on "Consanguinity in Marriage," contributed to the *Fortnightly Review*, vol. II. p. 719).

These are some of the facts which plainly indicate that the custom of consanguineous marriages did actually exist in ancient Greece at a very remote period. These facts are preserved in its native archives, which it is difficult to controvert. But, hence, it is allowable to infer that the Greek historians of old Irân were not unfamiliar with next-of-kin marriages before they wrote a word upon any Oriental history or religion, and that their sweeping assertion of the incestuous practices of the civilized Arians was to a certain extent due to their knowledge of the existence of such practices amongst Semitic nations<sup>5</sup> as well as amongst themselves.

In reference to the reports of Greek historians on Oriental customs,

<sup>4</sup> For these references to Greek incest I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Justice West, President of the B. B. E. A. S., and of Prof. J. Darmesteter.

<sup>5</sup> In some of the sacred documents of the Jews, particularly in the books of Genesis and Exodus, it is recorded that Abraham was married to his half sister Sarai, Nahor to his niece Milcah, Amram to his aunt Jochebed, and Lot to his two daughters. Genesis XIX. 36-38 says:—"Thus were both the daughters of Lot with child by their father; and the first-born bare a son, and called his



what assertion could be more sweeping and loose than that of Ptolemy who (relying upon the authority of the *Paraphrasis* of Proclus, who flourished in the 5th century B. C.), when treating of India, Ariana, Gedrosia, Parthia, Media, Persia, Babylonia, Mesopotamia and Assyria, relates that "very many or most of the inhabitants of those countries intermarry with their own mothers" (*vide* Adam F. R. "Cons. in Mar.," p. 713). But can this vague statement support so grave a charge? In the absence of something definite to go upon, some well attested instances, must we not pause before believing that the Indo-Irânians even as individual peoples, could ever be guilty of the heinousness they are charged with?

With these preliminary remarks I address myself to my task and lay before you what I purpose to demonstrate in the following propositions:—

I. That the *slight authority of some isolated passages* gleaned from the pages of Greek and Roman literature, is wholly insufficient to support the odious charge made against the old Irânians of practising consanguineous marriages in their most objectionable forms.

II. That no trace, hint or suggestion of such a custom, can be pointed out in the Avestâ or in its Pahlavi Version.

III. That the Pahlavi passages translated by a distinguished English Pahlavi *savant*, and supposed to have references to such a custom, cannot be interpreted as upholding the view that next-of-kin marriages were expressly recommended therein. That a few of the

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name Moab; . . . and the younger, she also bare a son and called his name Benammi."—At a much later period, the granddaughter of king Herod the Great is said to have married her uncle Philip. Again, the Assyrians are charged by Lucian (*Lucian de Sacrificiis*, p. 183) with the guilt of close consanguineous marriages.—Also Orosius, a Spanish Presbyter who flourished in the 5th century after Christ, relates in his *Historiarum adversus Paganos Libri VII.*, that Semiramis, the widow of Ninus, married her own son, and authorized such marriages among her people in order to wipe out the stain of her own abominable action (*cf.* Adam, *F. R.*). The old Egyptians seem to have legalized the marriage between brothers and sisters (*vide* Rawlinson's *History of Herodotus*, vol. II., p. 429, note 1); and, according to Philo the Alexandrian Jew, there was no restriction even as to marrying one's whole sister (*Philo de Specialibus Legibus*, p. 778). The recently published work of Mr. Smith illustrates the existence of the practice of marriage between nearest blood-relations among the early Arabs.—But how far all these statements as regards those Oriental nations may be reliable, I leave it to the students of their histories and religions to prove with positive evidence.

Pahlavi passages which are alleged to contain actual references to such marriages, do not allude to social realities but to supernatural conceptions relating to the creation of the first progenitors of mankind.

IV. That the words of the Prophet Zarathushtra himself, which are preserved in one of the strophes of the *Gâthâ*, Chap. LIII., express a highly moral ideal of the marriage relation.<sup>6</sup>

Without presuming to attack any particular European theory, I beg to put forward my humble impressions in confirmation of the first statement. Among the Western classical writers, who are concerned with Persian history or religion, there are about fifteen who have touched upon the subject of next-of-kin marriages in old Irân, and who belong to different periods, from the 7th century B. C. to the 6th century A. D. They are Xanthus (l. about B. C. 650); Herodotus (B. C. 480-409); Ctesias (l. about B. C. 440); Strabo (B. C. 54 to A. D. 24); Plutarch (b. A. D. 66); Curtius (b. A. D. 70); Tertullian (A. D. 160-240); Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Diogenes Laertius and Tatian (f. in the 2nd century A. D.); Minutius Felix and Athenæus (f. in the 3rd century A. D.); and Agathias (f. about A. D. 536-538). Of these, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Diogenes Laertius, Athenæus, Curtius, and Minutius Felix ascribe incestuous marriages to the Persians generally, according to Mr. Adam, 'without any distinction or qualification.' The spurious works of Xanthus, as well as the genuine books of Strabo and Tatian, impute such practices to the Magians alone, without drawing any line of separation between the different Magian orders among the Chaldæans or the Persians. Herodotus, Ctesias, Plutarch and Agathias make special mention of names of persons of rank, whom they charge with the guilt of such incest. Now, if we were to inquire to what dif-

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<sup>6</sup> Here let me draw attention to the opinion of Dr. L. H. Mills on the Contents of the *Gâthâs*. In S. B. E., Vol. XXXI., p. 1, the translator observes: "So far as a claim to a high position among the curiosities of ancient moral lore is concerned, the reader may trust himself freely to the impression that he has before him an anthology which was probably composed with as fervent a desire to benefit the spiritual and moral natures of those to whom it was addressed as any which the world has yet seen. Nay, he may provisionally accept the opinion that nowhere else are such traces of intelligent religious earnestness to be found as existing at the period of the *Gâthâs* or before them, save in the Semitic Scriptures." Elsewhere he also remarks: "Nowhere, at their period, had there been a human voice, so far as we have any evidence, which uttered thoughts like these. They are now, some of them, the great commonplaces of philosophical religion; but till then they were unheard of (*Agushtâ*)."

ferent sources these reports owe their origin, we should find that Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus and his pupil Origen, as well as the true Plutarch, based their statements with regard to this question on the authority of Ctesias (Adam, p. 715; Rawlinson, Herodotus Vol. I., p. 78). Diogenes Laertius, Strabo, and Curtius seem to rely upon the spurious works of Xanthus (*vide* Dr. Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 269 *seq.*; Adam, p. 717). The works of Athenæus and Curtius are supposed to be collections of extracts from the writings of historians, dramatists, and philosophers, who preceded them (comp. Smith's 'Classical Dictionary', *s. v.*). In the absence of any available information it is difficult to trace the isolated reports of Tatian and Minutius Felix to either Xanthus or Ctesias or Herodotus. Consequently, the only independent sources of information, more or less authentic, seem to issue from only four of the classical writers above-named:—Xanthus, Herodotus, Ctesias, and Agathias. Their reports may be considered to have modelled the tone of classical history relating to ancient Irân.

However, in an inquiry with regard to their evidence, the questions most important and most natural are: What is their authenticity? How far may their testimony be relied upon? Are there any conflicting statements in these historians which should deter us from trusting implicitly to their guidance?

It is admitted that no two nations have ever succeeded in thoroughly understanding the manners and customs of each other. If this is so in our own day, when the means of information are numerous and ready to hand, what can we expect in those remote ages when the sources of information were very few and very uncertain. Again, it is necessary to be on our guard against putting absolute faith in any particular Greek writer.—Regarding Xanthus, Dr. Windischmann, in his German essay on classical testimony relating to Zoroaster, published in his posthumous work *Zoroastrische Studien*, states (p. 268):—"As to the authenticity of the works of Xanthus (B. C. 529), a later writer, Artemon of Cassandra, advanced some doubts, and believed that they were substituted five centuries after by one Dionysius Skytobrachion (*f.* about B. C. 120), a native of Alexandria." This view is strongly supported, as the writer says, by his tutor Prof. Welcker. Also it is the opinion of Dr. Smith, expressed in his 'Classical Dictionary', that "The genuineness of the Four Books of Lydian History, which the ancients

possessed under the name of Xanthus, and of which some considerable fragments have come down to us, was questioned by some of the ancient grammarians themselves. There has been considerable controversy respecting the genuineness of this work among modern scholars. It is certain that much of the matter in the extant fragments, is spurious."

"The Persian informants of Herodotus," says Mr. G. Rawlinson in his Introduction to the 'History of Herodotus' (pp. 67, 69), "seem to have consisted of *the soldiers and officials of various ranks*, with whom he necessarily came in contact at Sardis and other places, where strong bodies of the dominant people were maintained constantly. He was born and bred up a Persian subject; and though in his own city Persians might be rare visitants, everywhere beyond the limits of the Grecian states they formed the official class, and in the great towns they were even a considerable section of the population. There is no reason to believe that *Herodotus ever set foot in Persia Proper, or was in a country where the Arian element preponderated*. Hence his mistakes with regard to the Persian religion which he confounded with the Scythic worship of Susiania, Armenia and Cappadocia..... Herodotus, too, was by natural temperament inclined to look with favour on the poetical and the marvellous, and where he had to choose between a number of conflicting stories, would be disposed to reject the prosaic and commonplace for the romantic and extraordinary..... Thus his narrative, where it can be compared with the Persian monumental records, presents the curious contrast of minute and exact agreement in some parts with broad and striking diversity in others, Unfortunately, a direct comparison of this kind can but rarely be made, owing to the scantiness of the Persian records at present discovered; but we are justified in assuming from the coincidences actually observable, that at least some of his authorities drew their histories from the monuments; and it even seems as if Herodotus had himself had access to certain of the most important of those documents which were preserved in the archives of the empire."—Whatever might be the opinion of Mr. Rawlinson, one thing is clear on its face, that the truthfulness of the Persian informants upon whom Herodotus had depended was not quite beyond suspicion, viz., the utter silence of Herodotus upon the founder of the Persian religion. While Xanthus is believed to have made mention of Zoroaster and his laws, while Plato who flourished 55 years after Herodotus, and must have drawn

his materials consequently from sources as old as those of the latter, freely alludes to Zoroaster, it is impossible to conceive how Herodotus who has described Persian life and Persian religion so elaborately, should have been unfamiliar with the name of the Prophet of the land and the founder of the religion. Should we not assume that Herodotus became acquainted with the Magian belief merely through oral tradition recounted by persons who were ill-disposed towards the Magi, and who, therefore, were loth to divulge the name of their renowned Prophet.

Mr. G. Rawlinson remarks further on (pp. 77 *seq.*):—"Several ancient writers, among them two of considerable repute, Ctesias, the court-physician to Artaxerxes Mnemon, and Plutarch, or rather an author who has made free with his name, have impeached the truthfulness of the historian Herodotus, and maintained that his narrative is entitled to little credit. Ctesias seems to have introduced his own work to the favourable notice of his countrymen by a formal attack on the veracity of his great predecessor, upon the ruins of whose reputation he hoped to establish his own. He designed his history to supersede that of Herodotus, and feeling it in vain to endeavour to cope with him in the charms of composition, he set himself to invalidate his authority, presuming upon his own claims to attention as a resident for seventeen years at the court of the great king. Professing to draw his relation of Oriental affairs from a laborious examination of the Persian archives, he proceeded to contradict, wherever he could do so without fear of detection, the assertions of his rival; and he thus acquired to himself a degree of fame and of consideration to which his literary merits would certainly never have entitled him, and which the course of detraction he pursued could alone have enabled him to gain. By the most unblushing effrontery he succeeded in palming off his narrative upon the ancient world as the true and genuine account of the transactions, and his authority was commonly followed in preference to that of Herodotus, at least upon all points of purely Oriental history."

Now regarding Ctesias, the same writer observes:—"There were not wanting indeed in ancient times some more critical spirits, *e.g.* Aristotle and the true Plutarch, who refused to accept as indisputable the statements of the Cnidian physician, and retorted upon him the charge of untruthfulness which he had preferred against Herodotus. It was difficult, however, to convict Ctesias of systematic falsehood,

until Oriental materials of an authentic character were obtained by which to test the conflicting accounts of the two writers. A comparison with the Jewish Scriptures, and with the native history of Berosus, first raised a general suspicion of the bad faith of Ctesias, whose credit few moderns have been bold enough to maintain against the continually increasing evidence against him. At last the *coup de grâce* has been given to his small remaining reputation by the recent Cuneiform discoveries, which convict him of having striven to rise into notice by a system of 'enormous lying' to which the history of literature scarcely presents a parallel."

Hence it will be seen that the historian Grote is justified in remarking:—"This is a proof of the prevalence of discordant, yet equally accredited, stories. So rare and late a plant is historical authenticity."

As for Agathias, the Byzantine writer who flourished in the middle of the sixth century after Christ, his works ought to be consulted with greater caution. Besides, Diogenes Laertius is very often called 'an inaccurate and unphilosophical writer.' Even the true Plutarch's testimony is frequently questioned by modern critics. The reference to consanguineous marriages amongst the Magi: *τοῦτοις δὲ καὶ μητρόσ-συνερχεσθαι πατριῶν νενομιστάι*, in Strabo's Geography, Bk. XV., is a very short and isolated sentence, which has not the least connection with the main subject of the long passage wherein it occurs, *viz.*, the mode of disposing of the dead among the early Persians'. It might, therefore, be justly regarded as an interpolation by some unknown reader, similar to the interpolations noticed in the work of Xenophon, Bk. VIII., Ch. v., p. 26, and condemned as such by all his critics of authority, *viz.*, Bornemann, Schneider and Dindorf.

It must also be remembered that the works of some of those Greek philosophers, who were well-known for their somewhat authentic description of the Zoroastrian religion and customs, *viz.*, Democritus (f. B. C. 460), Deinon the contemporary of Ctesias, Plato, Eudoxus, Hermippos, Theopompos, and Aristotle, do not contain the slightest trace or hint as to the alleged practice of next-of-kin marriages in ancient Irân.

Thus a majority of opinions may be cited to prove that the reports of classical writers on the subject of consanguineous marriages in old Irân are not at all beyond question. Moreover, I do not mean to

<sup>1</sup> 'Géographie de Strabon,' traduit du Grec en Français, tome cinquième, à Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale, 1819, pp. 140-141.

deny that some of those Greek writers who have ascribed the marriage practices in question in the case of individuals to the old Irânians, may have had some grounds for their averments; but who can reconcile their conflicting evidence? Who can decide between the two inconsistent statements upon this subject by Xanthus and Agathias, where the former charges the Magi with the crime of marrying their parents, while the latter puts into the mouth of King Artaxerxes II. words which plainly denounce such practices as being inconsistent not only with the laws of the land, but with the commandments of Zoroastrianism (*vide* Agathias, Lib. II., C. 24). The Achæmenian monuments do not allude to such practices, nor have we any indigenious historical record of the Achæmenidæ or the Arsacidæ upon which we could place any reliance for comparison.—Alas! for the dispersion and destruction of our ancient literature, which, had it been preserved, would not only have assisted us to know the exact history of the old Irânian civilization, but also to controvert with ease all such discreditable allegations.

Nevertheless, the question arises: Granted that the classical statements are to some extent doubtful; still are we not justified in believing that such marriages were customary or regarded as lawful during the rule of the Achæmenian kings, since the Greek reports refer to certain Persian monarchs or men of authority who contracted marriages with their nearest blood-relations? It is true, Herodotus and Plutarch ascribe them to Cambyses III. and Artaxerxes II. Herodotus states in his accounts respecting Cambyses (*vide* Bk. III. 31 *seq.*):—

“The second (outrage which Cambyses committed) was the slaying of his sister, who had accompanied him into Egypt, and lived with him as his wife, though she was his full sister, the daughter both of his father and his mother. The way wherein he had made her his wife was the following:—It was not the custom of the Persians, before his time, to marry their sisters—but Cambyses, happening to fall in love with one of his, and wishing to take her to wife, as he knew that it was an *uncommon thing*, called together the royal judges, and put it to them, ‘whether there was any law which allowed a brother, if he wished, to marry his sister?’ Now the royal judges are certain picked men among the Persians, who hold their office for life, or until they are found guilty of some misconduct. By them justice is administered in Persia, and they are the interpreters of the old laws, all disputes

being referred to their decision. When Cambyses, therefore, put his question to these judges, they gave him an answer which was at once true and *safe*—‘They did not find any law,’ they said, ‘allowing a brother to take his sister to wife, but they found a law, that the king of the Persians might do whatever he pleased.’ And so they neither warped the law through fear of Cambyses, nor ruined themselves by over stiffly maintaining the law; but they brought another quite distinct law to the king’s help, which allowed him to have his wish. Cambyses, therefore, married the object of his love, and no longer time afterwards he took to wife another sister. It was the younger of these who went with him into Egypt, and there suffered death at his hands.’ . . . . “The story” concerning the manner of her death, “which the Greeks tell, is, that Cambyses had set a young dog to fight the cub of a lioness—his wife looking on at the time. Now the dog was getting the worse, when a pup of the same litter broke his chain and came to his brother’s aid; then the two dogs together fought the lion, and conquered him. The thing greatly pleased Cambyses, but his sister who was sitting by shed tears. When Cambyses saw this, he asked her why she wept, whereon she told him that seeing the young dog come to his brother’s aid made her think of Smerdis (her brother), whom there was none to help. For this speech, the Greeks say, Cambyses put her to death.”

But, from these statements of the historian of Halicarnassus, is it not plain enough that the marriage of Cambyses with his sister—if we may rely upon the Greek evidence alone—was nothing more than the individual act of one of the wickedest tyrants that ever reigned in Persia, and that it was owing to the cruel and ferocious character of their ruler that this most irreligious marriage, from the stand-point of the Magi, was acquiesced in by the priests as well as the people? And is this action of a vicious and wicked king sufficient to justify us in affixing the stigma of such a custom to the whole Irânian nation, or in tracing it to their religious writings? Further, it should be remembered that Cambyses utterly disregarded his priesthood, defied the old sanitary ordinances of his people, and set small store by his religion.<sup>3</sup> He gave proof of this by attempting to encourage in his

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<sup>3</sup> Compare S. B. E., Vol. IV., ‘The Zend-Avestâ’ by Prof. Darmesteter, Part I. p. XLV. :—“If we pass now from dogma to practice, we find that the most important practice of the Avestâ law was either disregarded by the



kingdom the practice of interring the dead amongst a people by whom it was detested. It is not, therefore, unreasonable to assume that the alleged marriage of Cambyses with his sister was suggested by his familiarity with such marriages among the Egyptians and the Greeks conquered by the Persians, and that it was carried into effect by a man of such violent passions as would brook no contradiction, and would not be balked of their gratification.

Here I may be allowed to observe in passing, that it is difficult to agree with those European scholars<sup>o</sup> who doubt the accuracy of the assertion of Herodotus, that Cambyses was the first Persian to intermarry with his sister. I believe that their hypothesis, that the institution of such marriages had existed long before Cambyses reigned, is much more open to question than the statement of the Greek historian; and this will be demonstrated further on when I come to prove my second statement.

There is another Achæmenian monarch who is alluded to by Plutarch, on the authority of Ctesias and his followers, as having married his sisters. According to Langhorne's translation of Plutarch's *Life of Artaxerxes II.*, the Greek biographer relates:—"Artaxerxes in some measure atoned for the causes of sorrow he gave the Greeks by doing one thing that afforded them great pleasure: he put Tissaphernes, their most implacable enemy, to death. This he did, partly at the instigation of Parysatis, who added other charges to those alleged against him ..... From this time Parysatis made it a rule to please the king in all her measures, and not to oppose any of his

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Achæmenian kings, or unknown to them. According to the Avestâ burying corpses in the earth is one of the most heinous sins that can be committed; we know that under the Sâsânians a prime minister, Seoses, paid with his life for an infraction of that law. Corpses were to be laid down on the summits of mountains, there to be devoured by birds and dogs; the exposure of corpses was the most striking practice of Mazdean profession, and its adoption was the sign of conversion. Now under the Achæmenian rule, not only the burial of the dead was not forbidden, but it was the general practice."

<sup>o</sup> Cf. Keiper, *L'Muséon*, 1885, pp. 212-213:—"Hérodote tâchait d'expliquer le mieux possible cette habitude qu'il savait être de la plus hante antiquité, parce qu'elle semblait étrange aux Grecs. Il rattacha donc cette innovation prétendue au nom de Cambyse, parce qu'un fait de ce genre lui parut être conforme au caractère despotique et capricieux de ce prince. Peut-être

inclinations, by which she gained an absolute ascendant over him. She perceived that he had a strong passion for one of his own daughters named Atossa. He endeavoured, indeed, to conceal it on his mother's account, and restrained it in public. Parysatis no sooner suspected the intrigue, than she caressed her granddaughter more than ever, and was continually praising, to Artaxerxes, both her beauty and her behaviour, in which she assured him there was something great and worthy of a crown. At last she persuaded him to make her his wife without regarding the laws and opinions of the Greeks: 'God, said she, 'has made you law to the Persians, and a rule of right and wrong.' "

Now, what do we gather from this passage? Nothing more than that Artaxerxes regarded his passion for his daughter as being in every way hurtful to his reputation, in every way unacceptable to his people or unjustified by law, and, therefore, endeavoured to hide it from his mother as well as the public. Hence we may, likewise, infer that the statements of Herodotus as well as Plutarch harmonize with each other, in showing that the marriage of an absolute monarch with a sister or a daughter was an act in which neither the Persian law nor people was acquiescent. If, according to a few scholars, it was a deed not unauthorized by the Avestâ—if it was a practice quite familiar to the Persian people of by-gone ages—what earthly reasons could have persuaded Cambyses, the most passionate of monarchs, to ask for the decision of the judges on the question, or Artaxerxes to conceal his love for his daughter from the knowledge of his people? Besides, we have the evidence of Agathia that Artaxerxes contemptuously declined every offer to contract marriage with his nearest-of-kin relation, on the ground that it was quite inconsonant with the faith of a true Irânian. If we believe this, it is impossible to conceive that such a king could ever have taken his own daughter to wife. On the basis of this very evidence from Agathias, Mr. Wm. Adam observes (p. 718): "But if this could be alleged by Artaxerxes belonging to the royal race, what

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aussi a-t-il tiré cette information de ceux à qui il devait ses autres renseignements sur Cambyse. Nous reconnaissons ici un procédé pareil à celui dont Xénophon use régulièrement dans la *Cyropédis*, quand il veut expliquer l'origine d'une habitude ou d'une institution des Perses qui était réellement ancienne ou qu'il croyait ancienne."

becomes of the worst charges brought against not only the Persian people, but even against the Magians or the ruling class?"<sup>10</sup>

Although Ctesias' books were generally acknowledged by his own countrymen to be teeming with incredible and extravagant fables and fictions—according to Plutarch, with great absurdities and palpable

<sup>10</sup> The question regarding the alleged marriage of Artaxerxes Mnemon with his daughter, reminds me of a statement of Ferdôsi, in his well-known Persian Epic, the *Shâh-nâmeh*, that Behman (Pahl. *Vôhuman*), son of Isfandyâr (Av. *Spentô-dâta*, Pahl. *Spend-dâd*), who is also called the Artakhshtar of the Kayâniâns—hence his identification with Artaxerxes Longimanus and his successors down to Artaxerxes Mnemon—was married to Humâi, his daughter. This is a statement which is unique in the *Shâh-nâmeh*, nevertheless it is based, however erroneously, on a reference contained in the *Bundehesh* Chap. XXXIV. 8, which admits of two different ideas on account of the occurrence therein of a word سپ, which is employed in Pahlavi in two different meanings. The passage upon which Ferdôsi must have relied runs:—سپ سپ سپ سپ. Here the word سپ may mean (1) a daughter, (2) one who is coupled or joined in wedlock with another. Thus the passage may be rendered (1) Humâi, the daughter of Vôhuman, (reigned) thirty years; (2) Humâi, who was coupled with Vôhuman, (reigned) thirty years. The latter rendering is the more correct interpretation, and also in harmony with the elaborate biography of Behman, written in the reign of سلطان محمود ملکشاہ سلجوق (Hijra 537-551), and known as the *Behman-nâmeh*, which relates that the Humâi whom Vôhuman married, was not his own daughter, but the daughter of an Egyptian king named نصرجارث Naşrjârth. Here it is, likewise, said that Behman

وزین در فراوان سخنها برانند  
همی پشت من کرد خواهد تباہ  
نیامد کس از گهر من پدید  
که آرام گیرد جهان بر همای  
جز آن کی کند کس تو بیند سپاه

.....

فرازش مکن بند آن ره نمای  
از او شهریاری نباید برید  
بهر بر زمان بر سرش تلج زر  
بدندان آن از دهاکش بخت

فرستاد برزین یل را بخواند  
که پیری بنزدیک من یافت راه  
چنین روزگارم بپایان رسید  
دل من چنان کرد یکباره رای  
چه گوی سپارم بدو تخت گاه

.....

نگهدار تلج کیان بر همای  
زمن بار دارد چو آید پدید  
اگر دختر آرد گر آرد پسر  
زمانه سخن در دهانش شگفت

falsity —still we must admit that for the Greek writers who flourished after him no other historian would have been more reliable as regards the family life of Artaxerxes Mnemon than one who lived at the Court of Persia for seventeen years in the quality of physician to that king. Hence it is that most of the Greek historians who followed him, seem to generalize the practice of consanguineous marriage in ancient Irân, probably from Ctesias' coloured narrative of the alleged marriage of Artaxerxes with his daughter. Whatever may be the degree of truthfulness and honesty so far as Ctesias is concerned, it is not impossible to argue from the character and intrigues of Parysatis, the mother of Artaxerxes, that a slanderous story of the nature described by Ctesias might have been set afloat in the king's harem to gratify the rancour and most wicked vengeance of the queen-mother against the children of Statira, the innocent victim of her revenge, for the murder of her own daughter Amistris, the wife of Terituchmes and sister of Artaxerxes. It is also not improbable that Ctesias' narrative of the marriage of Atossa with her father, owed its origin to the vindictive Parysatis alone, and was adopted by a writer who preferred to relate astounding inventions instead of sober truths. Oriental history is not unfamiliar with the malignant accusations of the crime of incest by step-mothers or even by mothers-in-law against their daughters or daughters-in-law. It might, therefore, be inferred that if the Greek writer did not invent any fiction as to the domestic life of the Persian ruler, there was another and a more powerful cause which would have given rise to such an abominable story and established it as sober truth in the mind of the original biographer of Artaxerxes.

Besides this, a few European scholars seem to point to another such instance in the history of Artaxerxes Mnemon. They discover in Ctesias, that Terituchmes, the brother-in-law of the king and husband of Amestris, was married to his sister Roxana. However, with all deference to their scholarship, I may be permitted to draw attention to the original words of the Greek writer, wherein, as far as I am able to comprehend, the notion of marriage is by no means involved. According to a passage occurring in the English translation of Plutarch's Lives, by Langhorne (III., p. 451), Ctesias relates:— "Terituchmes, the brother of Statira (the wife of king Artaxerxes II.), who had been guilty of the complicated crimes of adultery, incest, and murder, ... ..married Hamestris, one of the daughters of Darius and sister to Arsaces; by reason of which marriage he had interest enough,

on his father's demise to get himself appointed to his Government. But in the meantime, he conceived a passion for his own sister Roxana, and resolved to despatch his wife Hamestris." It is said further on, that "Darius, being apprised of this design, engaged Udiastes, an intimate friend of Terituchmes, to kill him, and was rewarded by the king with the Government of his province." Such is the plain evidence of Ctesias; but it does not assert that Terituchmes was ever married to Roxana. Here is evidently the case of a passion conceived by a licentious brother for his sister. It must, however, be remembered, we have again to deal with a story of Ctesias, a story which may naturally be regarded as the outcome of a general hatred at court against Terituchmes, and also as the invention of a motive for his most cruel murder of his wife, the daughter of Parysatis—a queen who had contrived the most wicked means of gratifying her vengeance against her son-in-law and all other unfortunate victims who were suspected of abetting him. Whatever may be the source to which we may trace this story, it is still difficult to determine whether Terituchmes married again at all after having murdered his wife Amestris.

As regards Sysimithres, an unknown character, a single isolated reference in a writer like Curtius, is hardly sufficient to claim our attention.

Next we turn to the name that belongs to the period of the Sāsānidæ, a single positive illustration, indeed, of incestuous marriage, according to the Greeks, during the long period of more than 450 years. That name is Kôbâd I., father of the famous King Noshirwân. He is reported by Agathias to have married his daughter Sambyke. However, it is remarkable that neither Professor Rawlinson nor Ferdôsi seem to notice this occurrence. Nevertheless, trusting implicitly to the account of Agathias, a writer who was contemporaneous with Kôbâd's son, we must here consider the influences under which the king might have been persuaded to yield to such an act. Let us refer to the history of that part of his reign, which describes the imposture of Mazdak and the effect which the latter produced upon that weak-minded king by preaching his abominable creed. "All men," Mazdak said, "were by God's providence born equal—none brought into the world any property, or any natural right to possess more than another. Property and marriage were mere human inventions, contrary to

the will of God, which required an equal division of the good things of this world among all, and forbade the appropriation of particular women by individual men. In communities based upon property and marriage, men might lawfully vindicate their natural rights by taking their fair share of the good things wrongfully appropriated by their fellows. Adultery, incest, theft were not really crimes, but necessary steps towards re-establishing the laws of nature in such societies" (*vide* Rawlinson, "The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy," pp. 342, *seq.*).

Such being the teaching of Mazdak it is easy to see what attractions it would have for a licentious prince who would willingly substitute it for the moral restraints of his purer faith. Be this as it may, Kôbâd's apostacy was followed by a civil commotion which ended in the deposition of the king, and his imprisonment in the "Castle of Oblivion." Now does not this successful popular resistance to royal incest and adultery, prove that the minds of the Irânians were averse to any violation of the moral law as to the relation between the sexes? There is one important point to be observed in the accounts of Agathias, bearing on the doctrines which the Mazdakian heretics professed, *viz.*, his assertion that consanguineous marriages were enormities recently introduced in Irân. If we accept this remark of a contemporary writer, does it not give a death-blow to all preceding authorities? Mr. Adam justly remarks (p. 716):—"But if 'those enormities were recent', this contradicts all the preceding more ancient authorities which affirm their earlier prevalence from Ctesias downwards."

Now, discarding all the fanciful hypotheses indulged in by speculative thinkers upon early human ideas and practices, I shall make a few assumptions that naturally strike me, while examining the evidences abovementioned. The first point to be remarked upon is that great care is required to avoid the confusion arising from the indiscriminate use of the words: 'sister,' 'daughter,' 'mother.' Among some Oriental peoples the designation 'sister' is not merely applied to a sister proper or daughter of one's own parents, but, as an affectionate term, also to cousins, near or distant, to sisters-in-law, to female-friends, &c. Likewise, the word for daughter is used to denote not only one's own daughter, but also the daughter of one's own brother or sister, and generally the daughter of a relative, &c. Similarly, the term 'mother' does not signify the female parent alone, but is employed as a respectful form of address to an elderly lady who enjoys the honour of being

the materfamilias of a household. It is also necessary to observe that in Old-Persian or Pahlavi there are rarely any distinct expressions to distinguish sisters from sisters-in-law or female-cousins. It is not, therefore, too strained an interpretation to believe that what Herodotus, Ctesias, and others supposed to be sisters and daughters, should have been perhaps next-cousins or relations. In the same manner, it might be surmised that a mistake would be made owing to the same name being borne by several female members of a family. Thus wife and daughter, or wife and sister, or wife and mother, having the same name, what was asserted of one might be wrongly applied to the other. Innumerable instances may be found in Parsi families where the name of the mistress of the house coincides with that of one of her daughters-in-law, nieces, &c.

But, one can scarcely infer from the particular illustrations of classical testimony on the subject, which are met with in Herodotus, Ctesias and Agathias, and are open to many objections, that incestuous marriages were common and legal among the old Irânians, as a people, and especially among the Magi. The very statement of the Greeks, that the Achæmenian monarch was supposed to be above the law of the land and of religion, indicates that his adultery or incest was not in accordance with the established institutions of his realm. Nor did the people in the time of Kôbâd I. allow such incest to pass without vehement opposition. Even if we accept the evidence of the Western historians who charge Cambyses, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Kôbâd and Terituchmes with incest, it must be noted that these few are the only instances, they have been able to gather in the long period of upwards of a thousand years, and that they are insufficient to support so sweeping a generalization as that incestuous marriages were recognized by law, and commonly practised among the old Irânians. It is just as unreasonable as to ascribe the custom of marriage between brother and sister to the civilized Grecians, because we discover references to it in Cornelius Nepos, Demosthenes and Aristophanes. If the *Mahâbhârata* tells us that the five Pandava princes who had received a strictly Brâhmanic education, were married to one wife, should we, therefore, ignore the existence of the Brâhmânîc law<sup>11</sup> which

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<sup>11</sup> Compare "Tagore Law Lectures," (1883), by Dr. J. Jolly, p. 155 :—"But I have been led recently to consider my views," remarks Dr. Jolly, "by the investigations of Professor Bühler, who has pointed out to me that a certain

clearly lays down (Max Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 53; M'Lennan, p. 215) "they are many wives of one man, not many husbands of one wife," and charge with the custom of polyandry all the ancient Brâhmanic Indians who constituted one of the most eminent and highly intellectual nations of the early Oriental world.

From what I have said above, it is not difficult to see that the doubtful evidences of the Greeks neutralize themselves, and that it is absurd to form, with any reliance upon them, definite opinion as regards the marriage customs of the old Irânians. I, therefore, repeat my conviction which I have set forth in my first statement—*That the slight authority of some isolated passages gleaned from the pages of Greek and Roman literature, is wholly insufficient to support the odious charge made against the old Irânians of practising consanguineous marriages in their most objectionable forms!*

II. In proof of the Second Statement—*That no trace, hint or suggestion of such a custom can be pointed out in the Avestâ or in its Pahlavi Version*—it is first of all necessary to inquire, what is the opinion of the Avestâ on the subject; whether we are able to trace to any Avestâ precept the alleged custom of next-of-kin marriage in old Irân. According to European scholars, the term that expresses such a marriage is  $\text{𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀}$  *Qaétvadatha* in the Avestâ, and  $\text{𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀}$

*Khvétúk-dât*,  $\text{𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀}$  *Khvétúk-dasîh* in Pahlavi. It has, therefore, been our object to examine the evidence put forward in favour of the European stand-point, of Ys. XII. 9, (Spiegel's edition, Ys. XIII. 28), which, it is assumed, contain under the word *Qaétvadatha* an allusion to next-of-kin marriages in question.

In the Avesta the term *Qaétvadatha* occurs in five passages only, each of which belongs to five different parts of the text, excepting the *Gáthás*, namely, *Yasna* XII. 9; *Vísperad* III. 3; *Vendidad* VIII. 13; *Yasht*. XXIV. 17; and *Gáh* IV. 8 (Westergaard's edition). Of these the idea expressed in *Gáh* IV., is repeated or almost quoted in *Vísperad* III. 3, and in *Yasht* XXIV. So we have only to consider

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sort of Polyandry is referred to in two different Smritis. Apastamba (II. 10, 27, 2-4) speaks of the forbidden practice of delivering a bride to a whole family (*kula*). Brihaspati refers to the same custom in the same terms.' Further on he says: The text of Apastamba refers to the custom as to an ancient one, which was enjoined by the early sages, but is now obsolete.



three references in the *Yasna*, the *Gâh* and the *Vendidâd* respectively, and to see to what extent they can be used to throw light on the meaning of *Qaëtvadatha*. The word as it stands in the Avestâ, is employed as an epithet or a qualifying word. In one place it forms an epithet of the Avestâ religion, in the second an attribute of a pious youth, in the third a designation of a pious male or female.

Etymologically *Qaëtvadatha* may be regarded as a compound word composed of *qaëtu* and *datha*, of which the first part may be compared with Skr. *svay-am*, Lat. *suus*, Pahl. *khvesh* and Mod. Pers. *khvish*, derived from Av. *qa* = Skr. *sva* = Lat. *sibi* = Eng. *self*. Hence it may originally mean 'self,' 'one's self,' 'one's own,' 'relation' or 'allied.' The second part *datha*, which is transliterated into Pahl.*das*, comes from the Av. root *dath* = "to give," "to make," "to create." *Dath* is properly a reduplication peculiar to the Irânian dialect, from the Indo-Irânian root *dâ*, "to give," &c. Thus the derivation of the word itself might suggest for it a number of definitions. It may mean "a gift of one's self, to one's self, from one's self"; "a gift of one's own, to one's own"; a gift of relation or alliance; "a making of one's self"; "self-association"; "self-dedication"; self-devotion, "self-sacrifice"; &c.<sup>12</sup> These are some of the significations which may be indicated on the ground of etymology; however, it is hazardous to choose from them any particular notion without the authority of the native meaning. On applying to the Pahlavi translation of the Avestâ to discover what meaning was attached to the word by early commentators, I am sorely disappointed to find that it affords no

<sup>12</sup> Compare Prof. Darmesteter's remarks on the derivation of the word, suggested by Dr. Geldner in his *Ueber die Metrik des jüngeren Avestâ (Etudes Irâniennes, Vol. II., p. 37)*:—"Parfois les étymologies de l'auteur sont si ingénieuses qu'on est peiné d'être forcé de les repousser ou du moins de les ajourner: le *hvaëtvadathō*, le mariage entre parents, devient par la simple application d'une loi d'écriture, *hvaëtu-vadatha*, c'est-à-dire que le mot signifierait étymologiquement la chose qu'il désigne en fait: mais, si tentante que soit l'étymologie pour un sancrististe, comme *vad* existe en zend, et que par suite, s'il était là, la tradition qui connaissait le sens du mot entier n'avait aucune raison de le méconnaître, la forme pehlvie du mot *hvaëtuk-dasih*

𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬀, nous prouvera que le mot doit se diviser comme le divisent les manuscrits, en *hvaëtu-datha*: ceci rend très douteuse l'étymologie de M. Geldner, qui a d'ailleurs l'inconvénient d'être trop logique et trop conforme au sens: les mots sont rarement des définitions."

more light than can be obtained from a mere Pahlavi transliteration *Khvétúk-dút* or *Khvétúk-dasih*, of the original Avestâ expression *Qatêvadatha*. The reason for this striking omission of any definite interpretation in the Pahlavi Version may, perhaps, be that the technical meaning of the word was, even centuries after the compilation of the Avestâ, a thing too familiar to the native Zoroastrians to require any interpretation; or that the nature of the good work implied by *Qatêvadatha* was too doubtful in the minds of the old Irânian priests to be definitely and lucidly explained.

Consequently, very little help can be obtained from the indigenous authority of the Pahlavi translation of those Avestâ passages wherein the term *Qatêvadatha* occurs. Fortunately, however, there is no lack of passages in the Pahlavi which, though sometimes very obscure and difficult, give us a meaning for the first member of the compound, *viz.*, *Qaétu*, and which is *khvish* or *khvishih* meaning "self" "himself", "one's own or allied," "relation," "individuality," &c. The Pahlavi meaning of self or relation is still preserved in the Mod. Pers. word *Khâsh*, and accords best with the etymology and the context. Dr. Spiegel translates *Qaétu* by '*der Verwandte*' (Ys. XXXII. 1, &c.) "the allied or relation," and remarks in note 7, page 125, of his German translation of the Avestâ, that it denotes 'the spiritual relation to Ahura Mazda, as though one feels himself almost in communion with Him,'<sup>13</sup> It is characteristic that in the Gâthâs *Qaétu* very often stands in connection with the terms *Verezenya*<sup>14</sup> and *Airyamna*, signifying "an active labourer" fulfilling the desires of Mazda, and "joyful devotion" towards Him (XXXII. 1; XXXIII. 3, 4; XLIX. 7; XLVI. 1; LIII. 4). The Gâthâ XXXII. 1, says:—"Unto Him may the allied<sup>15</sup> aspire, his deeds coupled with devotion." In XXXIII. 3 and 4 Zarathushtra speaks:

(3) "He is the best for the Righteous Lord, O Ahura, who having knowledge, becomes Thy ally, active labourer and true devotee, and who arduously fosters the cow; it is he who thinks himself to be in the service field of *Asha* (Righteousness) and *Vôhu Manô* (Good Mind)."

(4) "O Mazda! I hate whosoever is disobedient and evil-minded

<sup>13</sup> Comp. also *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XVII. (1863), "Bemerkungen über einige Stellen des Avestâ," by Dr. F. von Spiegel, pp. 58-69.

<sup>14</sup> According to Pahlavi, *verezenya* may mean "an active neighbour" of the Almighty.

<sup>15</sup> Rev. Mr. Mills, S. B. E., XXXI:—"lordly-kinsman."

towards Thee, disregarding of Thy ally, a demon in close conflict with Thy active labourer, and the scorner of Thy devoted one, the most evil-minded against the nourishment of Thy cow?"

These and several other like passages enable us to understand that *Qaētu* denotes one of the three spiritual qualifications, which are requisite for human sanctity, viz., a communion with the Almighty, the practical fulfilment of His will, and the free mental devotion. Likewise, *Khishih-t-Yazdân*, 'relationship or communion with the Deity,' is the frequent desire and motive of the pious *Mazdayasna* while discharging his moral or religious duties. It is a gift to which he aspires every moment.

Relying upon this meaning of *Qaētu*, it is not difficult to assign an idea to *Qaétvadatha*, which will harmonize with the context, and be reconciled with the results of comparative philology. It can only be "the gift of communion" with the Deity; also etymologically "self-association" or "self-dedication."<sup>16</sup> In Gâh. IV. the term is used as an appellation of piety, where the passage runs:—"I commend the youth of good thoughts, of good words, of good deeds, of good faith, who is pious and a preceptor of piety; I praise the youth truth-speaking, virtuous and a preceptor of virtue; I praise the *Qaétvadatha* youth, who is righteous and a teacher of righteousness." Here *Qaétvadatha* can very appropriately bear the idea of a most desirable attribute with which a pious youth might be gifted in the moments of devotion, viz., a communion with Ahura Mazda, or self-dedication.—Of the two remaining passages in the Avestâ, that in Vendidad VIII. is so difficult and obscure, that almost all the European translators have failed to discern any definite sense in it. Even the Pahlavi does not help us here, because of the mere transliteration of the Avestâ words. What is most important to be considered is Yasna XII. 9, (Sp. *Ys.* XIII. 28), a passage in which Dr. Spiegel and several German savants who follow his opinion, seem to discover traces of the precept of consanguineous marriage (*vide* Geiger, *Ostirânische Kultur*, p. 246; Justi, *Altbaktrisch*, s.v.; Noeldeke, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XVIII. s.v. Persia; Geldner *Metrick*, s.v.). I have

<sup>16</sup> Should we attach importance to the meaning in which the word is sometimes found employed in the later Irânian writings, still 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 could hardly denote "next-of-kin-marriage." Only marriages between relations, whether near or distant, are therein referred to.

already remarked upon this passage in the first volume of my English translation of Dr. Geiger's *Ostiránische Kultur* (p. 66, note), and I beg to repeat that there is not the slightest indication that the passage in question has any reference to conjugal union of any kind; but on the contrary the term *Qaétvadatha* agreeing with the noun *Duêna* 'religion', in case, number and gender, is evidently one of the epithets applied to the *Mazdayasnún* religion, and implies the virtue of that religion to offer the sacred means of alliance with the God Ahura Mazda, or of self-devotion towards Him. The Pahlavi Commentary plainly tells us that the manifestations of this gift of communion with the Deity on earth was due to Zoroastrism, while every stanza of the Gâthâs extols this highest and noblest ideal of the human spirit in the pious sentiments of Zarathushtra himself (*cf. Ys. XXVIII. 3, 4, 6, 7, &c.*).

I translate the passage (*Yasna XII. 9*) literally:—

"I extol the Mazda-worshipping religion, that is far from all doubt that levels all disputes,<sup>17</sup> the sacred one, the *gift of communion* (with God) the greatest, the best and the purest of all religions, that have existed and will exist, which is (a manifestation) of Ahura and of Zarathushtra."

Here it is impossible to conceive the idea of marriage between nearest relations in a passage which glorifies the virtues of a religion. Happily, my own humble conviction has been supported with reference to the Avestâ by Dr. E. W. West, of Munich, a scholar whose high and unrivalled attainments in Pahlavi in the European world of letters, will ever be a matter of pride to every English Orientalist. In his essay on the "Meaning of Khvêôtúk-das," appended to Vol. XVIII. of Prof. M. Müller's "Sacred Books of the East" (pp. 389-430), the learned writer summarizes the result of his examination of all the passages referring to *Qaétvadatha* in the Avestâ, in the following manner (p. 427):—

"The term does not occur at all in the oldest part of the Avestâ, and when it is mentioned in the later portion, it is noticed merely as a good work which is highly meritorious, without any allusion to its nature; only one passage (*Vend. VIII. 13*) indicating that both men and women can participate in it. So far, therefore, as can be ascertained

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<sup>17</sup> S. B. P. Vol. XXXI., Dr. Mill's translation: "the Faith which has no faltering utterance, the Faith that wields the felling halbert" (p. 250).

from the extant fragments of the Avestâ—the only internal authority regarding the ancient practices of Mazda-worship—the Parsis are perfectly justified in believing that their religion did not originally sanction marriages between those who are next-of-kin.”

III. In reference to the Third Proposition :— *That the Pahlavi passages translated by a distinguished English Pahl. savant, and supposed to refer to such a custom, cannot be interpreted as upholding the view that next-of-kin marriages were expressly recommended therein; and that a few of the Pahlavi passages, which are alleged to contain actual references to such marriages, do not allude to social realities, but only to supernatural conceptions relating to the creation of the first progenitors of mankind*—I beg to call your attention again to the exhaustive essay on this subject by the English Iranist, Dr. West, who seems to have raked the extensive field of Pahlavi literature and collected with laborious industry all the Pahlavi passages bearing on the term *Khvêtúk-das*. This learned scholar couches the result of his patient useful research in the following words :—

“ Unless the Parsis determine to reject the evidence of such Pahlavi works as the *Pahlavi Yasna*, the book of *Ardú-Viráf*, the *Dinkard*, and the *Dáristán-í-Díník*, or to attribute those books to heretical writers, they must admit that their priests in the later years of the Sâsânian dynasty, and for some centuries subsequently strongly advocated such next-of-kin marriages, though probably with little success.” (*Vide* S. B. P., Vol. XIII., p. 428.)

Thus, while Dr. West serves us as a useful champion to guard from any adverse stigma the sublime tenets of the Avestâ regarding marriage, while he seems to doubt the authenticity of Greek historians as regards Persian matters (p. 389), we are deprived of his powerful support the moment we enter the field to defend ourselves against the obscure and detached evidences brought from Pahlavi *tomes*. Here I refer to the proofs which are put forward by the Pahlavi *savant* for his personal view that next-of-kin marriages were advocated by Persian priests in the later years of the Sâsânian monarchy.

It must be noticed here that this later opinion of Dr. West differs completely as regards the age in which the alleged custom might have prevailed, from what was previously asserted in the first part of his “Pahlavi Texts” (S. B. E., Vol. V., p. 389, note 3), where the learned author observes :—“ But it is quite conceivable that the Parsi priesthood about the time of the Mahomedan conquest were anxious to prevent

marriages with strangers, in order to hinder conversions to the foreign faith, and that they may, therefore, have extended the range of marriage among near relations beyond the limits now approved by their descendants."—Again in a note to Chapter IV. of his English translation of the "Dinâ-i-Mâinogi-Khirâd," Pahlavi Text, Parts III. (S. B. E., Vol. XXIV., p. 26), he says that some centuries before the composition of that book, *i. e.* long before the reign of Noshirwân, the term *Khvêtûk-dasih* was only confined to marriages between first cousins.

But all these remarks, gentlemen, go to show that Dr. West does not agree with other scholars in tracing in the Sacred Writings of the Irânians, the existence of such a custom in the times of the Avestâ, the Achæmenidæ, the Arsacidæ, or the Sâsânidæ generally; but gives as his opinion, that it may perhaps have been advocated by some priests in Irân in the sixth century A.D. or later. Thus the speculation of several European savants from Kleuker downwards, that the custom in question prevailed among the Avestâ people has been dissipated by the inquiry of one of their own learned body.

However, in his essay on the "Meaning of Khvêtûk-das," Dr. West attempts to translate about thirty Pahlavi passages to show how far *Khvêtûk-dasih* may denote next-of-kin marriage in Pahlavi. Five of these references are contained in the Pahlavi translation of the Avestâ, and two in the Pahlavi Commentary, (P. T. *Ys.* XII. 9; *Vsp.* III. 3; *Gáh* IV., *Vishtâsp* Yt. 17; *Vend.* VIII. 13; P. C. *Ys.* XLIV. 4; *Behman* Yt. Chap. II. 57, 61); eight of them belong to the *Dinkard* (*Dk.* Bk. III., Ch. 80, Ch. 193, Ch. 285; Bk. VI., Bk. VII.; *Varstmânsar Nask*, *Fargard* XVIII.; *Bagân Nask* XIV., XXI.); eight to the *Dâdistâni-Dînîk* (Ch. XXXVII. 82; LXIV. 6; LXV. 2; LXXVI. 4, 5; LXXVII. 6, 7; LXXVIII. 19); three to the *Mînókherad* (Ch. IV. 4; XXXVII. 12; XXXVI. 7); and one to the later *Pahlavi Ravâyat*.

It is needless to point out that of these thirty citations more than twenty-two may be excluded from our inquiry, since, according to the result of Dr. West's own survey of them, it is admitted that "there is nothing in those passages to indicate the nature of the good work" meant by the word *Khvêtûk-dasih* (*Ys.* XII. 9; *Vsp.* III. 3; *Gáh.* IV.; *Vend.* VIII. 13; *Yasht.* Yt. 17; *Dk.* Bk. III., Ch. 193, Ch. 283; *Dk.* Bk. VI.; *Mînókherad*, Ch. IV. 4, XXXVI. 7, XXXVII. 12; *Behman Yasht.* II. 57, 61). Besides, the first five passages above-mentioned of the *Dâdis-tân-i-Dînîk*, contain, according to him, mere "allusions to the brother and sister," who were the first

progenitors of mankind; as for the last three he says it is not certain that "the term is applied in them to the marriages between the nearest relatives" Consequently, we have to examine a few passages only, *viz.*, two of the *Bagún Nisk*, one from *Varshtmánsar Nisk*, three of the *Dinkard*, one of Ys. XLIV. 4, one of the book of *Ardá-Viráf*, and one from the later *Pahlavi Raváyat*, which, in the opinion of Dr. West, contain direct or indirect traces of the practice of marriage between the next-of-kin.

Before we set out to consider those references, it will be useful to know the extent to which the work of *Khvétúk-dasih*—whatever may be its nature or meaning—is extolled or regarded as a righteous or meritorious action in the Pahlavi writings:—

In Chap. IV. of the Pahlavi '*Dinú-i-Mainógí-Kherad*' the reply to the query "Which particular meritorious action is great and good?" is: "The greatest meritorious action is liberality, the second is truth and *Khvétúk-dasih*, the third is the *Gahánbár*, the fourth all the religious ritual, the fifth is the worship of the sacred beings." Here *Khvétúk-dasih* might imply some moral habit almost equal to truth and liberality in degree of excellence.

The *Sháyast-lá-Sháyast*, Ch. VIII. 18, says: "*Khvétúk-dád* extirpates sins which deserve capital punishments."—Also it is said by Ahura Mazda elsewhere:—"O Zartosht! of all those thoughts, words and deeds, which I would proclaim, the practice of *Khvétúk-dasih* is the best to be thought, to be performed, and uttered."

The *Behman Yasht*, which may be regarded as one of the oldest Pahlavi works written on the *exegesis* of the Avestá, gives us an idea of the term which best harmonizes with our notion regarding the meaning of Ys. XII. 9. It says in Chap. II. 57:—"O Creator! in that time of confusion" (*i. e.* after the conquest of Persia by the Arabs), "will there remain any people righteous, will there be religious persons who will preserve the *Kústí* on their waist, and who will perform the *Izashné* rites by holding the *Barsams*, and will the religion, which is *Khvétúk-das*, continue in their family." A little further on it says: "The most perfectly righteous of the righteous will that person be who adheres or remains faithful to the good *Mazdayasnán* religion, whereby the religion which is *Kvétúk-dasih*, will continue in his family." These two passages are supposed by Dr. West to be translations from the original Avestá Text of the *Yasht* devoted to the archangel *Vóhu-Manó* (S. B. E., Vol. V., Part I., p. 212, note).

In a passage in the *Sháyast-lá-Sháyast* (Chap. XVIII. 4), it is again declared: "Whosoever approximates four times to the practice of *Khvétúk-dád*, will never be parted from Ahura Mazda and the Ameshaspande."

I leave it to you, gentlemen, to say what signification ought to be attached to the word *Khvétúk-dasih* from its connection with the moral and spiritual conceptions mentioned in the above citations. I need only say that the moral excellence of *Khvétúk-dasih* is parallel to truth and sanctity, that its attainment, according to the *Yasna* and *Behman Yasht*, is by the intermediary of the Zoroastrian religion of Ahura Mazda, and that the approximation to the condition of *Khvétúk-dasih* is well nigh a participation in spiritual conference with the Almighty and the archangels. Consequently, it is a gift or power that must be by far higher and nobler than any abominable idea of marriage between the next-of-kin.

Referring to the eight Pahlavi passages under inquiry, it is with some hesitation that I find myself differing from the English literal translations of two of them, viz., the 80th Chapter in the 3rd Book of the *Dinkard*, and the 21st *Fargard* of the *Bagún Nask*.

The difficulties of interpreting the often highly enigmatic and ambiguous Pahlavi are multifarious<sup>15</sup>; and one is often astonished at the totally

<sup>15</sup> Comp. S. B. E. Vol. V. Introduction pp. XVI-XVII.

"The alphabet used in Pahlavi books contains only fourteen distinct letters, so that some letters represent several different sounds; and this ambiguity is increased by the letters being joined together, when a compound of two letters is sometimes exactly like some other single letter. The complication arising from these ambiguities may be understood from the following list of the sounds, simple and compound, represented by each of the fourteen letters of the Pahlavi alphabet respectively:—

• a, ā, h, kh. ۞ b. ۞ p, f, v. ۞ t, d. ۞ ch, j, z, v. ۞ r, l. ۞ z. • s, yī, yad, yag, yaj, di, dad, dag, daj, gi, gad, gag, gaj, ji, jad, jag, jaj (17 sounds)  
 ۞ sh, sh, yā, yah, yakh, ih, ikh, dā, dah, dakh, gā, gah, gakh, jā jah jakh (16 sounds). ۞ gh. ۞ k, g, ī. ۞ m. ۞ n, v, w, ū, ō, n, l, ۞ y, ī, ē, d, g, j.

. . . . There are in fact some compounds of two letters which have from ten to fifteen sounds in common use, besides others which might possibly occur. If it be further considered that there are only three letters (which are also consonants, as in most Semitic languages) to represent five long vowels, and that there are probably five short vowels to be understood, the difficulty of reading Pahlavi correctly may be readily imagined."



different versions of one and the same obscure passage, suggested by scholars of known ability, so much so that they appear to be versions of two quite distinct passages having no connection whatever with each other. Accordingly, it is permissible to assume that the ambiguous passages adduced by Dr. West, as seeming to allude directly or indirectly to next-of-kin marriage, will bear quite another meaning from a still closer research than the first efforts of the learned translator seem to have benefited by. I think, therefore, it is as reasonable as appropriate, to defer for the present any attempt on my part to give a definite translation of any of these extensive passages which are acknowledged by Dr. West himself to be obscure and difficult (S. B. E., Vol. V., p. 389), contenting myself with giving briefly what remarks I have to make upon them.

One of these obscure passages constitutes the 80th Chapter in the 3rd Book of the *Dinkard*. It is very extensive, and contains a long controversy between a Zoroastrian and a Jew,<sup>19</sup> concerning the propriety or impropriety of the doctrine of the Avestâ as regards the creation of mankind, the different uses of the term *Khvéttúk-dasih*, &c., in which it is difficult, owing to the confusion of different ideas as well as to the obscurity of the text, to distinguish the words of the Jew from those of the Zoroastrian. Any sentence that would seem to be a point in favour of the European view, may naturally be ascribed to the Zoroastrian as well as to the Jew. It is not, therefore, easy to determine whether it is the Zoroastrian or the Jew, who advocates or condemns a particular position or custom. However, the portions wherein both the Translators (Dastur Dr. Peshôtanji and Dr. West) agree, show that the term *Khvéttúk-dasih* is technically applied in this passage to supernatural

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<sup>19</sup> The antagonism between the religious beliefs of the early Jews and those of the Mazdayasna is well known to the *Dinkard*, the *Minôkerad*, the *Shâyast-lâ-Shâyast* and the *Shikand-Gûmânîk Vazâr*. The *Minôkerad* records the destruction of Jerusalem by Kai Lohrasp and the predominance of the Zoroastrian faith therein. The *Shikand-Gûmânîk-Vazâr* points to some inconsistencies in the Jewish belief regarding the birth of Messiah. The Chapter XV. 31, says: "And there are some" (according to Dr. West's translation) "even who say that the Messiah is the sacred being himself. Now this is strange, when the mighty sacred being, the maintainer and cherisher of the two existences, became of human nature and went into the womb of a woman who was a Jew. To leave the lordly throne, the sky and earth, the celestial sphere and other similar objects of his management and protection, he fell for concealment into a polluted and straitened place."

unions, what are called the *Khvétúk-dasih* between the father and the daughter, the son and the mother, the brother and the sister.— We know that in the Avestâ, *Spentâ Ármaiti*, Pahl. *Spendârmat*, is the female archangel, and as Ahura Mazda is called the Creator and Father of all archangels, *Spendârmat* is, therefore, called his daughter. Now, *Spendârmat* is believed to be the angel of the earth, and since from the earth God has created the first human being, *Spendârmat* in the later Pahlavi writings is alleged to have been spiritually associated with the Creator for such a mighty procreation as that of Gayômar, the first man according to Irânian cosmogony. Thus this supposed supernatural union passed into an ideal conception, and technically denoted what is called ‘the *Khvétúk-dasih* between the father and the daughter.’ Again, it is said that the seed of Gayômar fell into the mother-earth by whom he was begotten. So Mashih and Mashyâni were called the offspring of that union between Gayômar and *Spendârmat*, or of ‘the *Khvétúk-dasih* between the son and the mother; and since the first human pair was formed of brother and sister, viz., Mashih and Mashyâni, their union, which was an act in consonance with the Divine Will, came to denote “the *Khvétúk-dasih* between the brother and the sister.” This idea of *Khvétúk-dasih*, it must be remembered, is a later development of the abstract and religious notion of a direct spiritual alliance with the Deity or self-devotion. The term was afterwards applied to the unions of the first progenitors of mankind, which were believed to have been brought about by the operation of the Creator Himself. In creating Man endowed with the knowledge of His Will, it was the Creator’s design to raise up an opposition against the morally evil influence of Ahriman on earth. Accordingly, wherever the *Khvétúk-dasih* between the father and the daughter, the son and the mother, the brother and the sister, are referred to in the later Pahlavi writings, they do not imply any commendation of such unions among ordinary men, but only among the first human beings to whom they were naturally confined, to produce an uniform and pure race of mankind without any promiscuous blending with irrational creatures or animals. What are called the *Khvétúk-dasih* between the father and the daughter, the son and the mother, the brother and the sister, are, therefore, expressly the supernatural association between *Ahura Mazda* and *Spendârmat*, between *Gayômar* and *Spendârmat*, and the union between *Masih* and *Mashyâni*.

Now, as to the signification of the word *Khvétúk-das*, the transition from meaning the gift of communion with the Almighty and with the supernatural powers, to meaning the gift of moral union between the human sexes or among mankind generally, is an easy and a natural step. Such an idea of a bond of union in a tribe, race or family, is suggested by the writer of this 80th Chapter in question. Notwithstanding, it is in the first passage and in the thirteenth, that the English translator seems to have discovered a definite reference to next-of-kin marriages. I may, therefore, be allowed to put forward in this place my own interpretation of these paras, to show that it is not next-of-kin marriages that they in any way recommend, but only moral or social union in a tribe, race, family, or near relations; and that the 13th passage explicitly condemns incestuous marriages as unlawful practices indulged in by lewd people. My version of the passages is as follows:—

“*Khvétúk-dasih* means a gift of communion. Thus honour is obtained and the union of power acquired by adherents, relatives or fellow-creatures through prayers to the Holy Self-existent One. In the treatise on human relationship it is the (moral) union between the sexes in preparation for and connection to the time of the resurrection. In order that this union might proceed more completely for ever, it should subsist between the innumerable kindred tribes, between adherents or co-religionists, between those who are nearly or closely connected.” What follows describes the application of the term to the three kinds of supernatural unions which were necessary for the procreation of a kindred human pair in this world. The passage says: “There were three kinds of *hampatvandih* “co-relation,” for example, between the father (the Deity) and the daughter (Spendârmât), between the son (Gayômar) and the mother (Spendârmât), between the brother (Mashih) and the sister (Mashyânih). These I regard as the most primitive on the basis of an obscure exposition by a high-priest of the good religion.” What follows is again a clear explanation regarding the propriety of such unions in the creation of mankind.

The thirteenth passage of the same Chapter says:—

“If a son be born of a son and a mother, he (the begetter) would be reckoned the brother as well as the father; that would be illegal and incestuous (𐬵𐬀 *jéh*). If so, such a person has no part in the prayers (of the Deity) and in the joys (of Paradise), he produces harm

and does thereby no benefit; he is extremely vicious and is not of a good aspect." (Cf. Dastur Peshotanji's Dinkard, vol. II., p. 97.)

It must also be observed that the allusion in this same passage to an Arumân or an inhabitant of Asia Minor somewhat strengthens the opinion of the translator of the Dinkard as to the advocacy of the Jew himself for the marriage with a daughter, sister, &c. Dr. West admits that, in the portion where anything like 'conjugal love' is meant, "marriages between first cousins appear to be referred to" (p. 410). The passage runs as follows:—"There are three kinds of affection between the offspring of brothers and sisters" (according to Dr. West, p. 404): "One is this, where it is the offspring of brother and brother; one is this, where the offspring is that of brothers and their sister; and one is this, where it is the offspring of sisters."

It is only to this passage or to the period when it may have been composed, that we can ascribe the development of the idea of marriage-relationship between cousins attached to the term *Khvêtûk-dasih* under the erroneous interpretation of its ambiguous paraphrase *Khvish-dehêshnih*, which occurs in it. Here the term implies the different degrees of union,—first, between supernatural powers and the Deity, next between supernatural powers and mankind, then between the first man and woman; hence the bond of moral or social union in a tribe, race or family; but it confines, as is expressly indicated in the Persian *Ravâyats*, love or marriage union among mankind only to such of the cousins as are described in the quotation above-mentioned. The idea of *Khvêtûk-dâd*, denoting an act of forming relationship between cousins, has rarely been expressed again in the subsequent Pahlavi writings, nevertheless it has been preserved in the later Persian *Ravâyats* by *Kâmah Behreh*, *Kâus Kâmah*, and *Narimân Hôshang*.


Now, regarding the passage in the earlier part of the 14th *Fargard* of the *Bayân Nask*, it may well be remarked that the *Khvêtûk-dasih* of *Spendârmat* and *Ahura Mazda* here referred to, according to Dr. West's translation, is again an allusion to the communion of two spiritual powers for the creation of man, and not an indication of marriage between a father and a daughter. Dr. West, likewise, observes (p. 196):—"This quotation merely shows that *Khvêtûk-das* referred to connection between near relations, but whether the subsequent allusions to the daughterhood of *Spendârmat* had reference to the *Khvêtûk-das* of father and daughter is less certain than in the case of *Pahl. Yasna*,

XLIV. 4." The same might also be said concerning the passage from the Seventh Book of the *Dinkard* mentioned at page 412,<sup>20</sup> where we are informed, according to Dr. West's translation, only about the *Khvêtlúk-dasih* of Mashih and Mashyânih.

Likewise, concerning the passage inserted irrelevantly in the Pahlavi Commentary to Stanza 4, Yasna, Chapter XLIV., which refers to the fatherhood of *Ahura Mazda* and to the daughterhood of *Spendârmât*. The passage is rendered by Dr. West (p. 393) thus:—

" Thus I proclaim in the world that [which he who is *Aûharmazd* made his own] best [*Khvêtlúk-das*]. By aid of righteousness, *Aûharmazd* is aware who created this one [to perform *Khvêtlúk-das*], And through fatherhood (of *Aûharmazd*) *Vôhuman* (referring to *Gayômar*d) was cultivated by him, [that is, for the sake of the proper nurture of the creatures, *Khvêtlúk-das* was performed by him.]. So she who is his (*Aûharmazd*'s) daughter is acting well, [who is the fully-minded] *Spendârmât*, [that is, she did not shrink from the act of *Khvêtlúk-das*.] She was not deceived, [that is, she did not shrink from the act of *Khvêtlúk-das*, because she is] an observer of everything [as regards that which is] *Aûharmazd*'s, [that is, through the religion of *Aûharmazd she* attains to all duty and law.]"

From this quotation it is easy to see that here the reference is plainly to the particular supernatural *Khvêtlúk-dasih* of *Ahura Mazda* and *Spendârmât*, and not to any practice of next-of-kin marriage among the old Irânians.

The passage in the latter part of the Eighteenth Fargard of the *Varashtmânsar Nask* evidently describes, as  the heading itself indicates, the nature of the resurrection of the first parents of mankind, *viz.*, Mashih and Mashyânih, their birth and union after the entire annihilation of evil, and the renovation and the reformation of the human world.

In reference to the passage in the *Rwâyat*, however, it may be suggested that the Pahlavi expression *Khvêtlúk-dasih levatman bordâr va bentman vâdûntan*, as used in a couple of sentences, might well denote the exercise of the gift of communion with the Almighty, or self-devotion, in association with one's mother, daughter or sister; in a word it must have been considered as highly commendable and

<sup>20</sup> Vide S. B. E., Vol. XVIII.

meritorious that a whole Zoroastrian household should be given to devotion or pious resignation to the Will of the Supreme Lord of the Zoroastrian religion.

There now remain two passages which claim our particular attention. One of these belongs to the book of the *Ardâ Virâf*, another to the *Dinkard* in the Twenty-first Fargard of the *Bagân Nask*. The passage in *Virâf* in which European scholars discover the alleged practice of marriage between brothers and sisters, runs as follows:—"Virâf had seven sisters, and all these seven sisters were like a wife unto Virâf"—They spoke thus: "Do not this thing, ye *Mazdayasna*, for we are seven sisters and he is an only brother, and we are all seven sisters like a wife unto that brother." Here arises an important question, whether it is possible to conclude hence that those seven sisters were actually married to Virâf, or that they were merely dependent upon him for their sustenance, just as a wife is dependent upon her husband. It is, indeed, characteristic that the sisters do not call Virâf their husband but their brother, and they further regret that the disappearance of their brother from this life should deprive them of their only support in this world. Again, the Pahlavi word *we chegân* "like," implies a condition similar to that of a wife and not the actual condition of a wife. Such an expression of similarity was quite unnecessary if those sisters were actually the wives of Virâf. On the other hand, there is a difference in the words of the two oldest texts from which all subsequent copies were transcribed. A copy which is preserved in the collection of Dr. Haugs' MSS., and date *Samvat* 1466, has quite a different word *zanân*, "wives," instead of *akhtman*, "sister." If we should accept the former word, the meaning would be "Virâf had seven wives, who were all sisters." By the bye it is difficult to conceive how Virâf, one of the most pious men of his day, should have been so luxurious or licentious as to take as his wives all his seven sisters, an instance altogether unparalleled in the whole history of Ancient Persia. The passage in question, I believe, expressly points to an instance of the dependent condition of women not unknown to the Zoroastrian community, of unmarried sisters or daughters being wholly supported in life by parents, a brother or even a brother-in-law, as well as to an extreme case of rigid seclusion on the part of Virâf, and of his austere exercise of acts of piety, devotion and self-denial.

The other passage which is assumed by the English translator to be a reference to the marriage of father and daughter, and "too clear," according to him, "to admit of mistake, though the term *Khōštūk-das* is not mentioned," is cited from the middle of the *Veheshtūk-Yasht* Fargard of the *Bagún Nask*. The contents of this Fargard are summarized in a Pahlavi version of it, and found about the end of the *Dinkard*. Regarding this ambiguous citation it may be observed that it admits of more than two significations, the choice between which is made to suit the particular construction and interpretation adopted by the translator. Generally speaking, this Twenty-first Fargard of the *Bagún Nask* seems to esteem, among other acts of religious credit, the exaltedness of a modest attitude of respect which a woman observes towards her father or husband. "*Tarskúsih dyen abitar va shôê*" is an expression which denotes literally "awful respect to one's father or husband," and is a special point of female morals frequently urged in the sayings of old Iránian sages or high priests. The same idea appears to have been inculcated by this passage of the *Bagún Nask*, which, if rendered accordingly, would put forward a meaning quite different from the one expressed by Dr. West, who gives his version of the Pahlavi text as follows (p. 397):—

"And this, too, that a daughter is given in marriage to a father, even so as a woman to another man, by him who teaches the daughter and the other woman the reverence due unto father and husband."

According to my humble interpretation the passage would convey quite a different idea. I translate the passage thus:—

*"And this, likewise, (is a virtuous act), that a woman pays respect to another man (or stranger), just as it is paid by a daughter to her father, in her womanhood or married condition, through him who teaches his own daughter or any other woman respect towards one's father or husband."*

Here we have a religious position ascribed to a person who inculcates on women a modest and respectful behaviour towards male strangers and nearest male relations. This passage does not expressly imply any notion of marriage; on the contrary it points to modest reverence which in every Oriental community is due from a woman to a male stranger, from a wife to her husband, or from a daughter to her father, &c.

Even if we should accept the interpretation of Dr. West—as one might be constrained to do by the ambiguity, obscurity, or erroneous

transcription of the original text—of all the Pahlavi passages under inquiry, still it would be difficult to prove that next-of-kin marriages were actually practised in Irân even ‘in the later years of the Sâsânian monarchy.’ His statement only indicates that incestuous marriages were merely advocated<sup>21</sup> by one or more Pahlavi writers on account of their misapprehension of the Avestâ tenets, and also “with very little success.”

Finally, in support of the view that even the genuine Pahlavi writings do not proclaim as meritorious a practice which in the eye of reason and culture is highly discreditable, I may be allowed to adduce a passage from the Seventh Book of the *Dinkard*, on the supernatural manifestations of Zoroaster’s spiritual powers. This passage expressly ascribes to the Mazdakian followers the vicious practice of promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, denouncing those who indulged in it as of the nature of wolves or obnoxious creatures. Among the different divine revelations communicated to Zarathushtra by Ahura Mazda, and recorded as such in the *Dinkard*, of the changes and events which were to happen during the millenniums that followed the age of Zoroaster, there is one which predicts as a calamity to befall the religious welfare of the early Sâsânian period, the birth of Mazdak in this world, the abominable influence of his creed and the consequent beastly condition of his imbecile adherents. The passage in question may be rendered as follows:—

(“Ahura Mazda spoke”): “And again of the adversaries of the *Mazdayasnân* religion, and of the disturbers of piety, the *Aharmôg* (Mazdak) and they who will be called also Mazdakians ....., will declare one’s offspring as fit for mutual intercourse, that is, they will announce intercourse with mothers, and they will be called wolves, since they will act like wolves, they will proceed according to their lustful desire, just as one born of the wolf does with its daughter or mother, and they will also practice intercourse with their mothers, their women will live like sheep or goats.”

This revelation plainly indicates how abhorrent the practice of promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, was to the idea of the early Zoroastrians, and that it was to be expressly the teaching of a heretic who was to rise for the annihilation of the social morality of the Sâsâ-

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<sup>21</sup> This may well be ascribed to the ignorance or erroneous notions of the subsequent Pahlavi copyists.



nian Irân, and to preach to the imbecile monarch Kôbâd I., what, according to *Ahuramazdian* revelation was the detestable doctrine of sexual intercourse between the next-of-kin. Such was not the creed of Zoroastrianism, but of its opponents and enemies, of Mazdak and his immoral beastly followers.

IV.—Finally, in support of the theory that the Avestâ comprehends a purer and nobler idea of the marriage-relationship, no better proof could be adduced than a stanza in the Gâthâs, wherein, according to Dr. Geiger, bond of marriage is regarded “as an intimate union founded on love and piety.” This stanza must have formed part of the *marriage formula* which seems to have been recited by Zoroaster on the occasion of the celebration of the marriage between the Prophet’s daughter *Pôurchishtë* and *Jâmâspâ*<sup>22</sup>:—

“Admonishing words I say unto the marrying maiden.

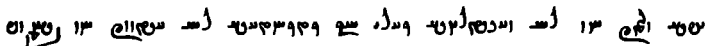
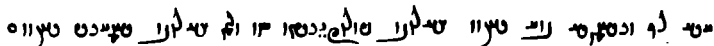
“And to you (the youth), I who know you; listen to them.

“Learn to know through the laws of religion the life of a good mind;

“In piety you shall both seek to win the love of each other, only thus will it lead you to joy!” (*Yasna* LIII. 5; <sup>23</sup> *comp.* “Civilization of the Eastern Irânians,” Vol. I., p. 62.)

Although the Avestâ text of which the larger portion is destroyed or lost, is a scanty collection of fragments in its present condition, still there is no lack of references which show us that the custom of contracting marriages amongst the Irânians in the age of the Avestâ, cannot at all be reconciled with any theory of incestuous wedlock. The expressions *moshu-jaidhyamna*, “courting or solicitation,” direct or indirect, for the hand of a maiden, and *vadh* or *vaz*, “to convey or take home the wife” (*ducere puellam in matrimonium*), presuppose that intermarriage between different families or citizens was not unknown to the Avestâ nation. The idea of conveying a bride to the house of the bridegroom, which is implied in the

<sup>22</sup> The Pahlavi Commentary to Stanza 4 of the *Yasna*, Chap. LIII., says:—

<sup>23</sup> The last verse is translated by Dr. Mills: “(And to you, bride and bridegroom), let each one the other in Righteousness cherish; thus alone unto each shall the home-life be happy.” (*vide* S. B. E., Vol. XXXI. p. 192).

root *vadh* (signifying in the Zend-Avestâ "to marry"), implicitly contradicts the notion of several European scholars that the Avestâ people were fond of marrying in their own family only, and with their nearest relations. Besides, the moral position of the wife in the Irânian house was in no way inferior to that of an English *materfamilias*. Similar as she was in rank to her husband, her chastity was an ornament to the house, and her piety and participation in private and public ceremonials a blessing. Moreover, the prayer of an Irânian maiden imploring the *yazata* Vayu for a husband, does not at all allude to any desire for marrying a next-of-kin relation, but simply an Irânian youth who may be valiant, wise and learned :—

"Grant us this grace, that we may obtain a husband, a youthful one, one of surpassing beauty, who may procure us sustenance as long as we have to live with each other; and who will beget of us offspring; a wise, learned, ready-tongued husband" (*vide* my C. E. Ir. p. 61; Yt. XV. 40)

Further, there is no trace to next-of-kinship in *Vendidad*, Chap. XIV., where one of the meritorious acts of a Zoroastrian priest or layman, is to give his daughter in marriage to any pious *Mazdayasna*. It is characteristic that wherever the subject of marriage is alluded to in the Avestâ, the word *Qaêtvadatha* is never mentioned. It is also to be remembered that Zarathushtra having six children born to him, three sons and three daughters, did not think of marrying his own son with his own daughter, nor did he ever take his own mother or one of his own daughters to wife. If it was actually the creed of the Prophet, Zoroaster ought to have realized it first of all in his own family and among his primitive supporters!

The question as regards the existence of the practice of next-of-kin marriages in old Irân, will not, I hope, create a difficulty for any longer time. Not only has the meagre testimony upon it of Greek and Roman historians shown to be unreliable and erroneous, but also the attempt to trace it to the Old Irânian Sacred Books, *viz.*, the Zend-Avestâ, has entirely failed.

So long as no cogent proofs are brought to bear on the question, sufficient to convince a student of Irânian antiquities or religion, I shall be content with the arguments or remarks I have been able to put forward on the other side, repeating at the conclusion of this paper the convictions with which I set out, *viz.*:—

I. That the *slight authority of some isolated passages* gleaned from

the pages of Greck and Roman literature, is wholly insufficient to support the odious charge made against the old Irânians of practising consanguineous marriages in their most objectionable forms.

II. That no trace, hint or suggestion of a custom of next-of-kin marriage can be pointed out in the Avestâ or in its Pahlavi Version.

III. That the Pahlavi passages translated by a distinguished English Pahlavi *savant*, and supposed to refer to such a custom, cannot be interpreted as upholding the view that next-of-kin marriages were expressly recommended therein. That a few of the Pahlavi passages, which are alleged to contain actual references to such marriages, do not allude to social realities but only to supernatural conceptions relating to the creation of the first progenitors of mankind.

IV. That the words of the Prophet himself, which are preserved in one of the stanzas of the Gâthâ, Chap. LIII., express a highly moral ideal of the marriage relation.

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ART. VI.—*On the Marriage of Infanta D. Catharina of Portugal with Charles II. of Great Britain, her Medals and Portraits.* BY DR. J. GERSON DA CUNHA.

Although the marriage of a Portuguese princess with a British king may not deserve to claim from an annalist or a general historian more than a passing notice, due to a domestic occurrence in a royal family, it merits, however, the special attention from, and has an abiding interest for, the citizens of Bombay, on account of this Island having formed part, as is well known, of the dowry of the Infanta.

The too circumscribed limits I have assigned to this paper prevent me from entering into details. We live in times when one has to economize time and space to the utmost. A cursory survey of the four European courts—Portugal, Spain, France, and England—whose influence was greatest in connection with this marriage, is all that is required. It would be superfluous to repeat historical events published two hundred years ago, and I shall confine myself, therefore, to less known facts, and refer to some salient points bearing on the matter in question.

D. Catharina was born at Villa Viçosa on the 25th November 1638. Her father was the Duke of Bragança, and her mother D. Luiza de Gusmão, daughter of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a Spanish grandee. The 25th of November has long been considered an auspicious date in the annals of the Portuguese kingdom. It is St. Catharin's Day. It was on this day in 1510 that Goa was recaptured from the Sultán of Bijápur, and St. Catharine declared to be its patron saint, her heraldic wheel constituting a leading emblem in the coat-of-arms of the Senate and the Metropolitan See of Goa. It was also on the same date in 1640 that her father was offered the Crown of Portugal, of which his family had been deprived by Spain for sixty years, whereupon he headed the revolt which ended in the independence of his country.

I have alluded to this date from the circumstance of the Duke having regarded it with superstitious veneration, and named after the saint of the day, his daughter, who was henceforward considered to be a pledge of good fortune for the new dynasty.

She was tenderly beloved, and, as a token of her father's affection, a grant was executed, just before his death in 1656, in which he gave her the island of Madeira, the city of Lamego and the town of Moura.

besides some other places and sources of income, provided that on her marriage out of the kingdom, she should relinquish them, receiving instead an equivalent from the Crown.

The widow of D. João IV.—for such was his title after the assumption of royalty—became regent during the minority of her son, Affonso VI. She was a woman of great ability, and at the end of her regency she retired to a cloister, where she died in 1666.

While her father was alive, it was proposed that the Infanta should marry D. João of Austria, a bastard son of Philip IV. of Spain, both of them becoming reigning sovereigns of Portugal, and her father either King of Brazil or of Sicily. Such a project would have gained the good-will of Spain and of the Holy See; it was, however, unpopular, and could not be realized.

The Infanta was then destined to be the royal bride of Louis XIV. of France. She was, in short, to be bestowed as a prize on the man who should best be enabled to assist her country against the Spanish aggression. Thus her marriage was to be both a matrimonial and a political alliance. The king of France being yet a minor, of the same age as the Infanta, the negotiations were carried on by a Portuguese envoy, who happened to be an Irish priest, and Cardinal Mazarin. The latter statesman, an Italian by birth, whose highest quality, according to Voltaire, who puts it in the mouth of the Spanish minister, D. Luis de Haro, was *finesse*, or, in other words, deceit, encouraged the project as long as it suited his purpose. France being then at war with Spain, Portugal was acting as a counterpoise, or operating a diversion to the advantage of France. But Mazarin, who apparently evinced at the beginning good faith in the matter, appointing the Count of Comminges French negotiator at the Court of Lisbon, suddenly put a stop to the negotiations by signing the Peace of the Pyrenees. By this treaty Louis XIV. was to marry the Spanish Infanta, Maria Thereza, daughter of Philip IV., who was to renounce her claims to the Spanish succession, if her dowry was paid, which Mazarin thought would never be done from the emptiness of the Spanish exchequer. The Portuguese negotiator, an Irish priest, as I have said before, was authorized to offer to the king of France the same dowry that was eventually accepted by Charles II. of Great Britain, with the exception of Bombay. The Irish priest, on returning to Portugal, became confessor of the Queen-Regent, and as a consolation for his disappointment at the French Court, where he had known Charles II. as an

exile, but on the point of being restored to the throne of his father, proposed a matrimonial and political alliance with Great Britain.

Now let us see who was this important personage, the Irish priest. All works relating to this period—and I believe I have read nearly all—are silent on this point, except two, one French and one Portuguese, and even these dismiss the subject of this excellent Irishman in a few lines. One is M. de la Clède, who in his *Histoire-Général de Portugal*, Paris, 1735, Vol. VIII., p. 463, refers to him as “Ce Père Dominique du Rosaire, Irlandois de nation,” and ends by saying “mais ce moine échoua dans toutes ses negotiations.” The other is Pinheiro Chagas, who, in his *Historia de Portugal*, Vol. VI., p. 195, alludes to him as Fr. Domingos do Rozario, an Irishman. Very little was then known about him until lately, when the recent publication of *Notas e documentos ineditos* by Viscount of Sanches de Baena brought to light the important part this Irish priest had played in the field of Portuguese politics. His name was Daniel O’Daly, who, after profession into the Dominican Order, assumed the name under which he is known in history. There were doubtless other emissaries of D. Luiza engaged in negotiating the marriage, including a Jew who, notwithstanding the penalties attached to his proscribed faith in Portugal, was from the circumstance of his being, not unlike all men of his race, the best political agent employed in this errand. But the most conspicuous among them all was incontestably the Irish monk.

Daniel O’Daly, born in 1595, at Killtarcon, in the county of Kerry in Munster, son of Cornelius O’Daly, an officer in the regiment under the command of Earl Desmond, left Ireland with his family on account of the persecutions of the Catholics in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. After spending some time in Louvain and Madrid, where he professed into the Dominican Order, he went to Lisbon, where he acquired considerable influence. Several Bishoprics and the post of the Primate of the East were offered him, but he accepted the Bishopric of Coimbra. The queen granted him land and money for building two colleges of the Dominicans, one called *Corpo Santo* for the monks and the other *Bom Successo* for the Nuns. Charles II., after his marriage, asked him to go to England as Confessor of the Infanta, but he declined. He published a work in Latin of a genealogical character, and died on the 30th June 1662. The Viscount of Juromenha of Lisbon is now the representative, as a collateral descendant, of this eminent Irish priest.

But one must not forget that there was already a feeling of mutual sympathy between the two royal houses. While in England, after twenty years of civil war and the protectorate, Charles Stuart was restored to the British throne, in Portugal after sixty years of Spanish usurpation the rightful heir to the sovereignty was found in the Duke of Bragança. Thus a bond of sympathy, or a link of mutual regard, not uncommon among those who have been brought up in the same school of adversity or been victims of the same misfortune, had united the two dynasties, which was in itself a powerful incentive for the matrimonial alliance, which took place in May 1661.

Of her marriage I need not say much. When the Earl of Sandwich arrived at the Tagus with the fleet to convey the royal bride to England, the Spanish army under the celebrated leader, João of Austria, had besieged some towns and was nearly knocking at the gate of the Capital. Somehow, on the arrival of the fleet the invader decamped. The British sailors did not fire a shot nor shed a drop of blood, but the noble and generous Portuguese people, who always cherished a deep affection for their Infanta, attributed their deliverance to her good luck.

Of her married life I need say still less.

The Infanta was known from her infancy for gentleness and sanctity of life, in spite of the profligacy of the Court in which she spent the best years of her life. Besides numerous contemporary memoirs and histories which testify to this fact, there are poems and novels, where her noble character is depicted in vivid colours in contrast with her unprincipled surroundings. Thus Sir Walter Scott in his *Peveril of the Peak*, and Dryden in his *Absalom and Achitophel*, delineate, the former her virtue and constancy, and the latter her piety, under the name of Michal, while a complimentary court poet, Waller, calls her an angel.

If she had a failing, if failing can be called what is otherwise a noble trait in one's character, and the more appreciable perhaps now from its rarity in this our utilitarian and unbelieving age, it was her unswerving fidelity to the creed and the country in which she was born. It is said that the companions of "the Merry Monarch" hated her for what they called her bigotry, but to change her into something else was as impossible as to change her blood, because she did not know how to dissemble.

Now with regard to her dowry, a subject of great interest to Bombay, and suggestive of deep reflexion, the Infanta got two millions of crusados

and the fortresses of Tangier and of Bombay. On this Pinheiro Chagas observes that the nation was adverse to the political system of territorial cessions, and although it is one's fate to lose a territory by the sort of arms, it is highly impolitic to make voluntary cessions even of a piece of land without first consulting the wish of its inhabitants. Dona Luiza knew this, and to facilitate their delivery removed the old governors of the two places and substituted them with new ones, on whose compliance she could depend.

This precaution with regard to Tangier proved successful, for although this African town was conquered by the Portuguese in the reign of Don Affonso V. and was thoroughly identified with the mother-country, its inhabitants could easily, from the proximity of the places, return to Portugal, whenever they chose to do so, as most of them did. The British held it for only twenty years and then abandoned it to the Moors, who were too glad of the opportunity of desecrating the Christian temples and graves. Both the Portuguese and the Spaniard with the aid of the Holy See strove hard to get it back on the payment of its value in money, but failed. This took place in 1684, and it was only 150 years after that the French vindicated the traditions of the Christian nations of Southern Europe thus ignominiously sullied by the Arabs.

With regard to Bombay the case was different. This chief port of Western India was coveted by the English long before the marriage treaty, in the early part of the 17th century. One or two ineffectual attempts were made in 1654, during the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, to get possession of it. (See Oliveira Martins, *Historia de Portugal*, Lisbon, 1879, p. 12.) It is therefore strange that Lord Clarendon, who was Chancellor and in fact king's Prime Minister, but whose geographical attainments do not seem to have been of high order, should write thus:—"And for ever annex to the crown of England, the island of Bombay, with the towns and castles therein, which are within a very little distance from Brazil." (Clayton's Personal Memoirs, Lond. 1859, Vol. 11, p. 189.)

In spite of the secret article of the treaty, of which I shall speak hereafter, which promised the aid of Great Britain against the Dutch, the opposition of the inhabitants to the cession is ascribed by Teixeira Pinto, (*Memorias*, Nova-Goa, 1859, p. 103), to the difference of religion. But this was not the only reason. The Luso-Indians of those days resented as an insult the suggestion of the English help against the



Dutch, a feeling akin to that experienced by the Anglo-Indians of our days at the suggestion of a friend of mine the other day to lend Italian help against the enemies of England in India. Then Pinhero Chagas says that foreign conquests, instead of being ceded to others had better be restored to their original owners, when possible ; but that in the case of his nation, it possesses, not unlike all nations of the Latin race, the power of assimilation, which moulds, notwithstanding the cruelties of the Inquisition, the rapacity of its proconsuls and other severities of its dominion, the conquered to the ways of the conqueror, winning thereby their attachment and affection and rendering them unwilling to go back to their former rulers. As an illustration in point the author cites the case of Alsace, once a German province, which, after 180 years of the French rule, became as much attached to France as any of its old provinces. This fact is adduced in support of the statement that the Indians, or the inhabitants of Bombay at its cession, were ardently attached to the Portuguese rule. It is true that the Catholic population, composed in the main of the descendants of the former converts of the Portuguese missionaries, have, as a rule, evinced a certain amount of attachment to the Portuguese nation, as evidenced by the recent agitation throughout the Indian peninsula and the island of Ceylon in favour of the ecclesiastical patronage of His Most Faithful Majesty. But the non-Christian or Hindu population does not seem to have been the least affected by this gift of assimilation possessed by the Latin race. On the contrary, hundreds, perhaps thousands of Hindu families, now settled in Bombay, were originally natives of Goa, who emigrated long ago to other countries to save themselves the rigours of the Inquisition. The only relic of their former subjection to Portugal, now apparent among them, is the use of many Portuguese words in their speech, several of which have found their way into dictionaries of the Maráthí language. But in treating of those times one must remember that the character of the epoch, moulded in the military despotism or feudalism and clerical supremacy of the middle ages, and which had already reduced into serfdom even European nations, made the Portuguese rule odious to the mild inhabitants of the Konkan. And their policy looks still darker in contrast with modern times, when the spirit of democracy pervades every political creed, and the French Revolution has taught nations their rights as well as their duties. It would be unfair, therefore, to judge by the modern code the morals of past ages.

Now a word about the so-called secret article of the Treaty. This article was indeed the corner-stone of the Treaty. It was forced on D. Luiza by the nation, who wanted an ally in the war against the Spaniards in Europe and the Dutch in India. This marriage was, in short, what I have all the while tried to prove both a matrimonial and a political alliance. Without this article, it seems, the nation would not have consented to the cession of the island of Bombay. This article was moreover, originally in Latin, as proved by its extracts in the letters from the Viceroy D. Antonio de Mello de Castro to His Majesty King Affonso VI., copies of which are preserved in the Archives of the Goa Secretariat. The whole article in Latin is not to be found anywhere, but only its translations in Portuguese and English. But while the translation in the record of the Goa Secretariat tallies with that among the papers of the Count da Ponte, the Portuguese Negotiator and Ambassador at the Court of St. James in the time of Charles II., the English version of the same in G. Chalmers' *Collection of Treaties* is a mere mutilation. All English histories, with the exception of Bruce's *Annals of the E. I. Co.*, are moreover wholly silent on the subject.

It is no wonder therefore that this article should have been a *questio vexata*, or the bone of contention between Lord Marlborough and the Viceroy. The latter at last, when advised to yield, wrote with the prophetic instinct to the king thus:—"I confess at the feet of your Majesty that only the obedience I owe, as a vassal, could have forced me to this deed, because I foresee the great troubles which from this neighbourhood will result to the Portuguese; and that India is finished the same day in which the English are seated in Bombay."

A careful study of this interesting letter cannot fail to reveal to the reader the two currents of thoughts that must have swayed the mind of the unfortunate Viceroy. There is first of all the feeling of regret on the loss of the island, and then the fear that their successors would eventually supplant them in India. That there was an element of precariousness in their rule in the East was felt from the earliest day of their navigation and discovery in India. The first Viceroy, D. Francisco d' Almeida, one of the wisest Governors of India, wrote to the king that they should content themselves with the Eastern trade without attempting any settlement or annexation. It was, however, the great and ambitious Albuquerque, the new Alexander as he is often called, who changed this policy and built an empire, the foundations of which were laid at three capital cities—

Ormus in the Persian Gulf at one end, Goa in the middle, and Malacca in the Straits at the other. But though its days were numbered the Viceroy, D. Antonio de Mello de Castro, was by any cession during his Government unwilling to hasten its fall. The transactions of this period represent a very interesting phase in the historical evolution of Bombay. Those desirous of learning more about it will find a detailed account, based on State papers and other valuable documents, in my Memoir in the *Atti Del IV. Congresso Internazionale Degli Orientalisti*, Florence, 1881, Vol. II., pp. 205 et seq.

Passing on now to treat of the medals and portraits of the Infanta, I beg to submit to your inspection the facsimiles of four medals of the Infanta.

No. 1. *Obv.*—Catharina D. G. Mag. Bri. Fran. et Hib. Regina. Bust of the Queen.

*Rev.*—Pietate Insignis. A statue of St. Catharine, with the instruments of her martyrdom and the palm of her triumph.

No. 2 *Obv.*—Carolus and Catharina Rex. et Reg. Busts of the king and the queen.

*Rev.*—Diffusus in Orbe Britannicus, 1670. A terrestrial globe.

No. 3. *Obv.*—Carolus II., D. G. Mag. Brit. Fran. et Hib. Rex. Bust of the king.

*Rev.*—Cather. D. G. Mag. Brit. Fran. et Hib. Regina. Bust of the queen.

No. 4. *Obv.*—Pietate Insignis. Statue of St. Catharine with the instruments of her martyrdom and the palm of her triumph.

*Rev.*—Provincia Conuach. Genius of the province blowing a trumpet, holding in the left hand a laurel branch.

It will be seen from the above that the obverse of the last medal was used as the reverse of the first. These two medals allusive to her religious disposition, as Samuel Pepys' remarks, must have been highly complimentary. (See *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. III., S. 1, p. 176.) I believe all these medals are the works of John Roetier, who was a native of Antwerp. Having been presented to the king abroad as an eminent artist, he went to England soon after the Restoration, and was by Charles II., appointed one of the gravers of the mint. (See Ruding's *Annals*, Lond. 1840, Vol. II., p. 8).

Lopes Fernandes in his *Memoria*, Lisbon, 1861, Eveling in his *Numismata*, 1697, and the *Historia Genealogica*. Vol. IV., describe these medals.

Of the portraits of the Infanta there are also four, works of distinguished painters of the XVIIth century.

Lely painted her, according to Miss Strickland, in the graceful costume which is preserved among the Hampton Court Gallery of beauties, her most becoming costume being black velvet. She also attributes to the same painter another picture in the Historical Gallery of Versailles. But this is her bridal portrait, sent to Louis XIV. when they were negotiating her marriage with "le Grand Monarche." But this picture is, according to Pinheiro Chagas, the work of a French artist, by name Noret.

There is another picture in the Strawberry Hill Collection, probably the work of a Dutch artist, Huysman, who is said to have painted her once in the character of St. Catherine, and once as a shepherdess. He also chose her for the model of his madonnas.

With regard to Sir Peter Lely's picture, the frontispiece of both Miss Strickland's "Lives of the Queens of England, Vol. VIII., and of Mr. Clayton's "Personal Memoirs of Charles II., Vol. I., greatly reduced in size, is taken from it. Then Lely's studio is described at length by Harrison Ainsworth in his novel, "Talbot Harland; a Tale of the Days of Charles II."

Returning now to the Infanta, after a life of great retirement since the death of Charles II. in 1685, during the reign of James II., and the early part of that of William, she returned to Portugal on 20th January 1693. Having twice acted in the capacity of Regent to her brother D. Pedro II., she died in the palace of Bemposta, on the 31st December 1705, aged 67, and was buried in the royal monastery of Belem. She was greatly lamented in Portugal, where her name is held to the present day in the highest veneration. She had no children. She was the means of introducing into England the two articles which are now, I believe, the commonest in use in every household—tea and fans; the former first brought into general use by the Portuguese from their commercial relations with China, and the latter of Moorish origin, and of ordinary use in the Spanish Peninsula.

Before I conclude these brief notes, for the many imperfections of which I crave your indulgence, let me consign here at the end of this unpretending sketch a sincere vote for the rise and prosperity of the greatest Empire a European nation ever acquired in the East, the foundations of which were laid by the Marriage Treaty of the Infanta D. Catharina of Bragança.

Although not a British subject, and perhaps from this circumstance the more disinterested, I avail myself of the opportunity afforded by the occasion of commemorating, at least academically for the first time in Bombay, the Marriage of the Infanta, to express my wish that the liberal principles, which guide the policy of this Empire, may grant it a long life and happier results than those achieved by the ephemeral career of the Old Portuguese Empire, which, though comparatively narrower in its sphere, was nevertheless replete with instructive teachings, and full of most stirring incidents, heroic deeds, noble actions and romantic episodes, a complete history of which remains yet to be written. I have for some time been contributing my humble share to this great work, and hope, if life and health be spared, to devote any leisure that my more urgent duties may leave to its prosecution in future.

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# PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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(JANUARY 1886 TO AUGUST 1887.)

A Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 28th January 1886, Mr. C. E. Fox, *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Professor Peterson read a paper on a new Sanskrit Anthology by one Jalhana, which has recently come into his hands.

A list of books, &c., presented to the Society was laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society:—  
Mr. John Warden, Mr. Rowji Bhowanrao Powghay, B.A., Mr. A. A. de S. C. Continho, and Mr. H. M. Batty, C. S.

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A Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 25th March 1886:—Mr. W. E. Hart, in the Chair; Messrs. J. Westlake, C. A. Stuart, Vandravandas Purshotumdass, G. A. Kittredge, Javerilal Uminshankar Yajnik, G. W. Forest, Yeshwant Wassudeva Athalé, Rowjee, Bhowanirow Panghay, Drs. K. R. Kirtikar, T. S. Weir, Moreshwar Gopal Deshmukh, J. Gerson da Cunha, Bhagwanlal Indrajai, and Dr. Peterson, Hon. Secretary.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. Kirtikar read a paper on Marathi poetry.

A list of books, pamphlets, &c., presented to the Society was laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

The following gentlemen have been elected members of the Society since the last meeting:—Mr. R. H. Macaulay, Mr. M. R. Wyer, Mr. Frank DeBovis, and Mr. S. Westlake, C.S.

A General Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 25th November 1886, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice West, *President*, in the Chair.

The following were proposed to be added to the list of Periodicals from the commencement of the next year :

Daily News.

Revue Critique.

Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society.

A Meeting of the Society was held on the 28th January 1887, when Professor J. Darmesteter read a paper on "A Hindoo Legend in the Shah Nama." The Hon'ble Mr. Justice West presided, and there were present the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Hart, Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Professor Peterson, the Hon'ble Mr. K. T. Telang, Messrs. G. W. Forrest, J. Burgess, J. Griffiths, Rev. Dr. R. W. Evans, Rev. B. Scott, Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, Messrs. Cursetjee Furdoonjee Parukh, K. B. Kama, Dorab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, J. H. Steel, W. R. Macdonell, and Byramjee Nusserwanjee Seervai, and Drs. Atmaram Pandurung, K. R. Kirtikar, and Bhagwanlal Indrajii.

Mr. Darmesteter said that he wanted to propose a problem to the Meeting the solution of which might interest the historian as to the literary relation between India and Persia. He drew attention to what he termed the striking similarity between the episode in the Mahabharata, known as the renunciation of Yudhisthira, king of Delhi, and the renunciation of Kaikhosroo in the Shah Namah. Yudhisthira after having reconquered his kingdom, which had been usurped by his cousins, the Kurus, became disgusted with the world, sought to leave it and go to heaven. He set out for heaven with his four brothers and their common wife Draupadi. They crossed the Himalayas and then saw Mount Meru, which was believed to be the seat of heaven beyond a sea of sand. In crossing this desert, Yudhisthira's brothers and wife fell one by one exhausted and died, and he entered heaven alone. In the Shah Namah Kaikhosroo, king of Persia, after avenging the murder of his parents on his grandfather, Afrasyab, king of Turan, left the earth disgusted, and also set out for heaven. His noblemen and several faithful followers accompanied him on his journey against his warnings. They crossed a mountain, and arrived at a desert of sand, but in passing through it they were killed, also buried, during the night in a snowstorm. After the storm was over the king was seen no more. He was supposed to have been translated to heaven during the storm. Mr. Darmesteter thought that the similarity

between the two legends was too particular to be accounted for, except by assuming that they were borrowed from one another, or from some common source. As there was evidence that the legend of Kaikhosroo was as old as Alexander's time, and on the other side as the style and the treatment of the Hindoo episode seemed to show it to have been a modern addition to the Mahabharata, the lecturer was inclined to think that it was borrowed from Persian either through literary connection or from oral tradition. The Professor attempted to show that the Persian legend was borrowed to the last detail by the Hebrew writers of the *Sepher Hayushar*, a legendary history of the Jewish people, written in the Middle Ages, and applied to Patriarch Enoch.

A discussion then followed, at the invitation of the President, on the point raised by the lecturer.

Mr. K. R. Cama said that Mr. Darmesteter had added another link to those already existing between the old literature of India and that of Persia. He thought that up to now the *Shah Namah* had been looked down upon because it was believed that it was not correct, as its legends did not agree with those contained in the Grecian authors. The Cuneiform Inscription, however, corroborated the Grecian authors, and the *Avesta* corroborated the *Shah Namah*. The new light thrown upon the study of the latter by the lecturer earned for him the thanks of the Parsee community for the stimulus given them in this, and other respects, to the study of Iranian antiquities.

Dr. Peterson thought that no Sanskritist would in the present state of knowledge commit himself to any positive statement as to the date of the Mahabharata. It was certain, however, that the considerations which had been of late years referring many Indian classical writers to a later date than that assigned to them by tradition, did not apply to the two Indian epics. They were written in a popular tongue. Members of the Society knew the story of the great Girnar Inscription of Asoka. Besides its general interest and importance to scholars, that Inscription had a peculiar interest to the Society, as the first transcript of it was made and given to the world by Dr. John Wilson, and was one of the many services of that kind rendered to science by that learned professor. The Inscription was also written in a popular tongue, and in a tongue which was known to be clearly derived from Vernacular Sanskrit. While not denying that the two streams of Vernacular Sanskrit and the language spoken by Asoka might have flowed for centuries concurrently there was nothing in the circumstances of the



cases he thought to prevent them referring the date of the Mahabharata to a date long anterior to the time of Alexander the Great.

Mr. Telang deprecated the drawing of historical conclusions from resemblances such as these pointed out by Mr. Darmesteter. The resemblances, of course, were striking, but the differences were, to his mind, even more striking, and he had long been of opinion that it was highly unsafe to build upon resemblances of that kind, and specially unsafe to allow arguments founded upon them to come in conflict with conclusions arrived at in other ways. As to the date of the Mahabharata he agreed with what had fallen from Mr. Peterson, but would add that the very expression the date of the Mahabharata was one to which it was difficult to attach any fixed meaning, as the Mahabharata was a compilation of works not written in a single day.

Mr. Justice Hart suggested that the internal evidence of the stories as presented by Professor Darmesteter to the meeting and members of the Society who knew no Sanskrit or Persian would to his mind suggest that the two stories had one common origin in some legend that belonged both to the Hindu and the Persian peoples. If there had been direct literary borrowing, he should have expected to see some similarity between the names. As regarded the legends themselves it seemed to him that the story in the Mahabharata, including the reference to Draupadi and the story of Yudhishtira's persistence in the matter of his dog, pointed to a later stage of society than its Persian analogue, from which these features were wanting.

Mr. Darmesteter having briefly replied to the points that had been raised by the various speakers, the President tendered to him the thanks of the Society for his paper, which he felt sure would be a stimulus to exertion on the part of the Sanskrit scholars present.

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A Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 11th February 1887.

*Present :*

The Honourable Mr. Justice West, President, in the Chair,  
H. E. Lord Reay, Patron.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. R. G. Bhaudarker read a paper entitled "The Congress of

Orientalists held at Vienna in September last, and the actual progress and future prospects of Sanskrit studies in Europe, together with general impressions received during a visit to England and the Continent."

II. E. made a few remarks thanking Dr. Bhandarkar for the interesting paper he had read.

On the motion of the President, further discussion on the paper was adjourned to Friday, the 25th.

An Ordinary Meeting of the Society was held after the business of the Annual Meeting on Friday, the 25th February 1887.

The Honourable Mr. Justice R. West, M.A., F.R.G.S., President, in the Chair.

Discussion was resumed on Dr. Bhandarkar's paper read at the last meeting, when Mr. Javerilal N. Yajnik and the Honourable Mr. Justice West made remarks on some of the points dwelt upon in the paper.

The Honourable the President then called for a vote of thanks to Dr. Bhandarkar, which was carried with acclamation.

Dr. G. W. Leitner then read a paper on the Hunza Language:—

Before reading his paper, Dr. Leitner exhibited some photos of the men belonging to the Hunza race, and the peculiar dress which they wear. In exhibiting a coat, Dr. Leitner said it was made from the feathers of the wild duck, and was very warm and light. It was a little the worse for wear, but it looked well enough when washed. Another article of dress which was passed round among those present was a cap which was the distinctive feature of the head-dress of all the Dard races. It was a felt cap made from the skin of the Markhor, the (snake-eating) wild goat. The highly-embroidered stockings were another article of Hunza industry in which the women of that country excelled. Dr. Leitner said he had a Hunza man with him, but he did not know that he might have taken the opportunity of bringing him to the meeting. Although he could do very little else, he could certainly embroider. The learned gentleman then showed a photograph of the three rival races—the Hunza, the Nagyr, and the Yasin. The Hunza and the Nagyr people speak the same language and wear the same dress; but they were, something like Cain and Abel, combining only against a common foe. Among other photos was one representing the poet and singers of Nizam-ul-Mulk and some typical heads from Kafiristan and Dardistan. Dr.

Leitner, who had received a warm welcome from the meeting, prefaced his lecture by saying that it came quite unexpected to him to be received so kindly. He was supposed not to have been idle since 1864; but, considering the vast treasures that had yet to be ascertained and arranged, he had done very little. It was gratifying to him to hear a few words of recognition from their learned President, and to find himself so well received by the Society. Dr. Leitner then said:—

It may not be suspected, even in this Society, that the distant and inaccessible Hunza possesses a certain interest for Bombay. You have in your midst H. H. Aga Khan, a mild and religious Mahomedan, whom the wild and impious people of Hunza revere as their spiritual chief. I doubt whether he knows how wicked they are or they how religious he is, but any message from him would be sure to be treated with the greatest veneration, not only in Hunza, but in Zebak, Shignan, Wakhan, and other districts lately touched or traversed by Colonel Lockhart's party. In 1866, when I first discovered the races and languages of Dardistan, I brought the fact of the Aga Saheb's influence to public notice, and I believe that much of the success that may have attended Colonel Lockhart's Mission is, to some extent, due to the recommendation given him by his Highness.

Hunza may also have an interest in the still more remote country of Hungary, for there are grounds for assuming that the name of Hunza may at one time have meant the country of the Hun, whilst analogies may be found between the primitive type of Hungarian and that of the interesting language of which I propose to give you a brief sketch.

Above all, the Hunza language is of great importance to the psychological and ethnographical study of philology. Its suggestiveness will, I hope, promote research, whether or no my own conclusions are adopted.

Is it a pre-historic linguistic remnant, throwing light on the first attempts to clothe human speech with primitive sounds, or is it merely a special development in the Turanian group of languages, among which, like many other unknown languages, it can so conveniently be classed, or does the reduction which is possible in it from monosyllables to simple sounds give us the key to many unsuspected relationships with an Aryan prototype?

I will not attempt to decide these questions, which must be left to

further investigation, but I will endeavour to treat my subject from the standpoint of a linguist. I must, however, premise that the time has long past when even the practical acquisition of a language can be considered independently from customs and from the historical, religious, climatic or other circumstances which have originated these customs. No Grammar should now be possible that does not portray in its so-called rules the past and present life of the language or of the people that it seeks to represent.

Vitality\* must be breathed into the dead-bones of declensions and conjugations. Every so-called exception must be elucidated by the custom or linguistic characteristic that can alone explain it. The study of language is no longer a mere matter of memory, but must become one of judgment and of human associations. Beginning with the most logical and complete language, the Arabic, I have endeavoured to show that the thirty-six broken plurals and the apparently innumerable meanings of Arabic words obey the laws of the Arab's daily life and of the history and literary development of that extraordinary people.

Ending with the Khajuna or Burishki of Hunza, I find the same law, minus a written literature, for which I have adapted the Persian character as a vehicle for its traditional songs, legends and other folklore.

The difficulty of learning the words or laws of speech from savages with whose language one is unacquainted, is proverbially great. Even the highly-cultured Pandit, Moulvi or Munshi fails to give satisfaction to the European student, but with barbarians the obstacles seem almost insurmountable.

As one of the simple elementary rules, I would suggest that the traveller among savages should first point to objects in order to learn their names, then bring them in connexion with such simple bodily wants as can be indicated by gestures. This causes one of the men, if there be two, to order the other to bring this, that or the other, to come, to go, &c., which elicits the imperative form. The reply ordinarily gives either an affirmative or the first person of an indicative present or future. Of course, the same sound or the inflection of the same word has to be closely followed. Then use yourself the first person, which starts conversation and brings out the second person, and so forth.

Applying now this rule to Khajuna, the result at first sight is

unsatisfactory. Say, for instance, that you point your finger to an object, and that your enquiry is mistaken to be for the native name for the finger instead of the object to which you point, you would get a sound or combination of sounds which, when referred to another bystander, would apparently be at once contradicted. You point to your heart and you at once obtain words which sound dissimilar. You point to a little girl or to a little boy and you obtain the same sound. What is the cause of this? The reply is that in Khajuna the pronoun and the noun in all matters affecting a person or that affect people in their daily lives are so inseparably connected that they have no meaning separately, *e.g.*, As = my heart, Gos = thy heart, Es = his heart, Mos = her heart, Mis = our heart, M<sup>as</sup> = your heart, Os = their heart, but take off the pronominal sign and the sound *s* which then alone remains means nothing. The same rule extends to the prepositions before, after, near, far, &c., which are of such assistance in finding out most other languages, but which in Khajuna still more perplex the inquirer. Again, this same feature is apparent in those verbs of action or condition which affect the human being, as most indeed do, and this is further complicated by the circumstance, whether or no the condition or action refers to one or more persons, to their relations amongst themselves, and other details into which it is impossible to enter within the time allotted to this communication. For instance, to bring one or more apples in a country where fruit is plentiful is very different from bringing bread (as wheat is scarce) or sheep. Again, the right position of the accent or rather the intonation which it represents is a matter of extreme importance, for, "ai" means "my daughter," "ai" "my son," "au" "my father," and so forth. "Gus" "thy wife" must be distinguished from gús "a woman," which word is possibly put in the second person for women generally, because I fear the people of Hunza have not obeyed the injunction "thou shalt not covet *thy* neighbour's wife," and talking of "wife" they say how is it possible that the word wife should exist without it is somebody's wife, or that a head, an arm, an eye could exist as such without belonging to a person, or would they say, do you mean "his (dead) bones" or "his eye that *was*?" A further interesting enquiry is afforded by the study of the genders, so far as inflections indicate them, for the plurals of many feminine nouns are masculine and vice versâ, whilst in the verb "to be" or "to become," as well as in other numerous verbs, there are different plurals,

say, for men, women, animals again subdivided according to sex, and for things again subdivided into male or female according to their fancied stronger or weaker uses; *e.g.*, the gun is used by the men whilst hunting, and is therefore masculine, but the metals are feminine, because plates and dishes are made of metal and are in charge of the women of the household, just as the clothes are which they sew or otherwise manufacture; therefore whenever any particular garment is masculine it gives rise to the presumption of its being an article imported from another valley, and whenever there is a word denoting a thing, condition, or action distinct from their own intramural relations, it must be one of comparative recent introduction from a foreign language, or brought in with the Mahomedan religion which sits so loosely on the inhabitants of Hunza. Twenty years ago, when I learned the elements of Khujana from a son of the Raja of Nagyr, the district which confronts Hunza across the same river, there were no indigenous words used apart from the pronoun. "The father's house" was then like "my father *his* house." Last year, when I continued the study under another son of the same Raja, I already found that a number of indigenous words were being used in the third person and yet distinct from the person, in consequence partly of an ordinary law, but chiefly owing to the comparative greater accessibility of Hunza and Nagyr to Gilgit and Badakshan travellers, and the consequent greater introduction of Persian and Shina words. (Shina is the language of Gilgit.)

As for the change of gender from the singular to the plural it is not to be wondered at, for elsewhere also we may find, that whereas one councillor may be a wise old man, a number of them may constitute a council of wise or unwise old women.

Again, what contains something else is feminine, but the thing contained is masculine, *e.g.*, arrow is masculine, but the bow on which it rests is feminine. You will see before you the proofs of the first portion of a work which I am preparing for the Government of India, and which might be extended far beyond its present great bulk, were the reason given for every grammatical feature. But I will confine myself to mentioning some of the most striking characteristics of this singular language, so far as it may subserve comparative purposes; *e.g.*, the sound "a" represents the ego or self, and in nouns is the sound used for the relationship implied in "my father," "my daughter," "my sister," "my brother," "my husband," "my son," "my mother,"

"my son-in-law," "my daughter-in-law," "my nephew," "my niece," "my wife," and above all "my aunt," which is indeed the same word, being really the sister of the mother, and therefore the "elder or younger mother" in a tribe in which at one time undoubtedly, if also not now, all the elder members of the tribe were the fathers and mothers of the younger generation. When, therefore, the "Tr" of the tribe or "taro" is added to "a" it becomes a plural for fathers, mothers, sisters, something like the German "Geschwister," therefore it is just as if we were to say that the "ter" or "ther" in father, brother, mother, sister showed the tribe, and this is further borne out by the fact that "mo," the first syllable in "mother," is the sign for the feminine throughout the Khajuna language, for it contains the "a" or self, in other words "mother," "mater," would mean "the female that contained me and belongs to my tribe."

"G" or "K" the guttural is the gurgling sound of the child to represent the not self, "non ego," or the one that is brought in relationship to it, and therefore stands for the second person or for every relation in which a person must be connected with another person, whether in being killed or kissed.

The contemptuous "i" or "e" is for third persons. "M" we have already said is the sign for the feminine out of which arises the "mi" of the plural, plurality being impossible without female aid.

"N" is the sign of the past participle, but in itself means "to go," and is very much like the vulgar English "he has been and gone and done it" (os—had; nos—having had); or, like the German "ge," which is also the sign of the past participle and also means to go, *e.g.* "getrunken," "gegessen," "gone and drunk," "gone and eaten"; "gethan," "gone and done"; in Khajuna nishi, neti, nimen. The simple inflection of the past participle of "to go" will show this:

*Past.*

I having gone = n â ?

Thou having gone = n o ko ? (compare "gu" pronominal prefix 2nd person).

He or it (*m*) having gone = n i ? (compare "i" pronominal prefix 3rd person).

She or it (*f*.) having gone = n o mo ? (compare "mo" or "mu" pronominal prefix 3rd person (*f*)).

We having gone = n i men ? (compare "mi" pronominal prefix 1st person plural).

You having gone = n a má ? (compare "ma" pronominal prefix, 2nd person plural).

They having gone = n u ? (compare "u" pronominal prefix 3rd person plural).

They (*object. f.*) having gone = n i ?

It seems to be clear that "n" represents to "go," and that the inflexions are pronominal affixes corresponding with the pronominal prefixes already mentioned, the letters "o," "i" and "a" in the first syllables of "noko," "nomo," "nimen," "nama," being essential both to make the transition from "n" to "m" possible, and to enable the two syllables to be pronounced by means of a homogeneous vowel, i.e., instead of "nko," "nmo," which would be difficult if not impossible to pronounce without the insertion of a vowel between the "n" and "m" a homogeneous vowel is inserted, and the vowels thus become "nomo," and "noko."

"Y" is the sound for "giving" and you can imagine the difficulty and peculiarity of Khajuna, when I inform you that "itshitshibai," "he is giving him," is derived by logical evolutions from the sound of "yu," "give." "D" stands generally for a condition in which one is seen, struck or otherwise subordinate or passive, without there being a passive voice, the language always requiring the agent being known, and having *special* forms for "they struck me," "she strikes them," "they are teaching us," "we will kill you," and so forth.

I will now proceed to quote some of the legends of Hunza, which as fairies are still supposed to preside over its destinies, may be called "Fairy-land." Indeed, Grimm's Fairy tales have many counterparts in Dardistan. The sacred drum is still struck by invisible hands when war is to be declared, and bells ring in the mountain when fairies wish to communicate with their favourites, for is not the King or "Tham" of Hunza "heaven-born" (his female ancestor having been visited by heaven)? Ecstatic women still sing the glories of the past, recite the events of neighbouring valleys and prophecy the future, being thus alike the historians, the newspapers and the oracles of Hunza. With one or two quotations from their proverbs and fables, I will now conclude my imperfect sketch of a language, the suggestiveness of which cannot be overrated, in the hope that I may have contributed a mite to the study of Oriental subjects, in which, I trust, that the Oriental Institute may not be found unworthy to assist.

Dr. da Cunha proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. Leitner for his valuable address. The speaker had an opportunity, years ago, of



admiring his deep scholarship and his marvellous facility in speaking a number of languages. He had also had occasion to appreciate his learned friend's benevolence and the cordial interest he took in the welfare of this country, and he had ever since followed with a friendly concern all his movements initiated in promoting researches in India and elsewhere by founding such institutions as the Oriental University in the Punjaub, and the Woking Institute near London. At that late hour he could not dilate upon the researches made by Dr. Leitner in various fields of knowledge, but reminded the meeting that a term which had now become a household word—Kaisar-i-Hind—owed its origin to him. In proposing a vote of thanks to such a man, Dr. da Cunha said he was simply paying a tribute of homage to his great learning.

Mr. Shankar Pandurang Pandit, in seconding the motion, said, he had the honour of meeting Dr. Leitner in the British Museum in the year 1874. He had lately visited the Punjaub, where he witnessed evidences of the benevolent work which, through the learned Doctor's exertions, was being carried on in that province; and he had heard many people speak in terms of gratitude for the services he had rendered in that part of the country. He need hardly say that the paper he had read was exceedingly interesting, and for it Dr. Leitner deserved the warmest thanks of the meeting. If Dr. Leitner's labours were to bring to light any remnants of the lost language of the Scythians or the Honas, a subject upon the study of which too much labour could not be spent, he would be doing a great service to the cause of antiquarian research. The Scythians and the Honas had left indelible marks, during their invasions of India, of their institutions, which were very different from the institutions of Vedic Aryans. Although some remains of these institutions were still extant, they were something for them to contemplate upon. There was one great thing which the student of ancient India wanted to know, and that was, what had become of the language of the Scythians and the Shakas, and if the labours of Dr. Leitner could supply any information on this subject, he would have added a great deal to the services which he has already rendered to the country.

The President, in putting the vote of thanks to the meeting, expressed a hope that Dr. Leitner would allow his valuable paper to be printed in the Proceedings of the Society and continue to aid it by further contributions.

The vote having been most cordially carried, the meeting dispersed.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 11th March 1887.  
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha read a paper on the marriage of Infanta D. Catharina of Portugal with Charles II of Great Britain; Her medals and portraits.

Mr. Forrest read an English copy of the Secret Treaty referred to by Dr. da Cunha, which he had unearthed in the archives of the Secretariat.

The President after a few remarks moved a vote thanks to Dr. da Cunha, which was carried with acclamation.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 15th April 1887.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Dastur Dorab Peshotan Sanjana read the first part of a paper on "The Alleged practice of next-of-kin or consanguineous marriages in ancient Iran."

Mr. Justice West, in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, said they would all agree with him that the paper that had been just read was a very important one, and that they were very much indebted to Mr. Sanjana for reading it and adding so much to the treasures of the Society. He hoped it would be ranked amongst the papers which deserved to be printed and enshrined in their records. There was a special appropriateness in a Parsee priest bringing forward the subject which affected the honour and credit of his race and religion, and he could have scarcely imagined that the work could have been done with better spirit, greater clearness, and better appreciation of the historical and scientific evidentiary method in which to go to work upon a task of that particular kind.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 22nd April 1887.  
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Dastur Dorab Peshotan Sanjana then read the 2nd part of his paper on "The alleged practice of next-of-kin marriages in ancient Iran" in proof of the fourth statement "that a few of the Pahlavi passages which are alleged to contain actual references to next-of-kin marriages

do not allude to social realities, but only to supernatural conceptions relating to the creation of the first progenitors of mankind."

The President said:

I cannot pretend to the knowledge of Zend and Pehlavi that would enable me to discuss with any profit the proper sense of the much debated expression on which Mr. Sanjana has expended such close and searching criticism. I will but offer a few remarks on the general aspects of the question which he has handled with so much learning and zeal. It is evident, on a reference to Herodotus, who is the only one of the Greek writers quoted to whom I have been able to make a direct reference, but equally evident from the no doubt correct quotations from the other Greek authors, that they wrote rather from loose popular stories, and with a view to satisfy their reader's taste for the marvellous than from a thorough and critical examination of the subject of consanguineous marriages as one of momentous importance.

Herodotus has been confirmed in so many instances in which it seemed most unlikely that he has gained and well deserves just confidence whenever he relates anything as within his personal knowledge, but of the subject of King Cambyses' marriage, he must needs have gathered his information at second-hand. The other Greek writers hardly profess to do more than retail their stories out of a stock gathered with industry no doubt, but entirely without the control of the critical spirit which in modern times we have learned to consider so indispensable. Ctesias, who must have known a great deal about Persia and its people, from original observation, has told so many undoubted falsehoods, that his evidence is unworthy of credit on any contested point. The first sources of European information on the subject before us are thus remarkably unsatisfactory, yet it is to be feared that it is with impressions derived from these sources that the Western scholars have approached the Parsee literature. So influenced they may very naturally have construed the mysterious and rare praises supposed to involve a sanction of incestuous unions in a frame of mind which has led to illusions such as the Dastur has insisted on and striven to dispel.

One would gather from the narrative in Herodotus that the marriage of Cambyses was of a kind to startle and shock the sensibilities of his people—else why recount it? That would indicate very probably the survival in the popular legends, drawn from a pre-historic time, of some ancient tale of wrong which the popular fancy was pleased to annex to a king who had played so great a part and had so

terrible a history as Cambyses. In almost every country one may observe a tendency, when some ruler or chief has taken a strong hold of the popular imagination, to tack on to his biography any floating legend that wants a personal centre that story-tellers and readers can clothe with a certain reality. In England the group of legends that gathers round the British hero King Arthur, affords an illustration of this. Some scholars have assigned a similar origin to the stories of Achilles and Odysseus in the two great poems commonly ascribed to Homer. At a later time many stray legends went to add to the glory of Robin Hood, and in Ireland still, unowned achievements of daring and ferocity are commonly assigned to Cromwell. In Eastern countries the sovereign and the royal family are looked on—and still more were looked on—as standing so entirely apart from the common people that any tale of wonder or horror would almost inevitably be connected with them. They really do so many things exceeding ordinary experience, that listeners of uncritical character, not knowing where to draw the line, would accept without question statements of other things quite incredible or even unnatural.

It must be admitted, too, that these Eastern monarchs and royal families might easily learn in ancient times, as they have in modern times, to think there was something sacred about their persons which made ordinary offences no sins in them. A course of adulation and superiority to legal coercion readily breed a contempt of moral restraints. It commonly produces an inordinate pride. We might thus have a Persian prince indulging in unions like the king of Egypt and the Incas of Peru, which would after all be only in them the practice, or the casual excesses, of tyrants besotted with despotic power. Germany in the last century was full of royal foulness, which yet stood quite apart from the general life of the people. Unbridled lust disturbs the reason almost more than any other passion. History abounds in instances of it, and if Persian despots and their children were sometimes incestuous in their moral delirium we should not be justified in reasoning from such instances to any custom of the people. The stories rather imply that these excesses were startling, and probably revolting, as were the tales at one time current about James the Sixth of Scotland and First of England.

If one applies to the narratives of the Greek writers the tests by which one would pronounce on the guilt or innocence of an accused, it may, I think, safely be said, the evidence is insufficient. It would

then surely be wrong to convict an otherwise highly moral nation, endowed with fine sensibilities, of a revolting practice, on testimony on which one would not condemn a pick-pocket.

It is very likely, indeed, that the ancient Persians, like other nations, before their emergence from the savage state, looked without disfavour on connexions that we now cannot think of without a shudder. The prevalence of family polyandry is as well authenticated as any fact in Anthropology. The ancient Britons had one or more wives for a group of brothers, so had the Spartans. A similar arrangement prevails among some of the Himalayan tribes, and traces of it are to be found in the Hindu law literature. The children in such cases are formally attributed to the eldest brother. A communal system under which all the females were common to the tribe seems in many cases to have preceded the family polyandry on the arrangements that we may see still amongst the Nairs. Where such a system prevailed it would very often be impossible to say whether a young woman about to be taken by a young man was or was not his sister. If she had been born of a different mother she could not be more than his half-sister, and as civilization advanced and the family was founded on the basis of single known paternity, the half-sister in Greece continued to be regarded as a proper spouse for her half-brothers. A marriage of such persons furthered the policy of the Greek statesmen by keeping the family estates together. Amongst the Jews also, who, as we know, recognized the levirate, which the Hindus first commanded and afterwards condemned, union with a half-sister by a different mother must have been recognized as allowable, at any rate by dispensation from the chief in David's time. This is evident from the story of Amnon and Tamar; and we may gather that the practice had once been common. In the Polynesian Islands there are tribes of which all the women are common to all the men of other particular tribes. When the children, as commonly, take their classification from the mother it is obvious that consanguineous unions must be frequent. They seem even to be regarded in some cases as connected with religious needs, since at certain festivals all restraints on licentiousness are cast aside even amongst males and females of the same family who do not ordinarily even speak to each other. There seems to be everywhere tendency to connect sexual anomalies with the mysteries of religion, and with persons of extraordinary national importance. The account given of the parentage of Moses, if taken literally, makes him the offspring of a

nephew and an aunt. Beings who are so highly exalted are supposed to be quite beyond the ordinary standards.

Both these sources of legends may have been in operation in ancient Persia, as it was known, and but superficially known, to the Greeks. There too, no doubt, as elsewhere, the transition from female to male gentileship was attended with a period of great confusion. A similar change took place, it seems, amongst the Hindus at a very early time; and in Greece Orestes is almost inclined to insist that he was not related to his own mother. As one set of relationships took the place of another, many apparently strange connections would be formed which yet would not really be incestuous when properly understood. Language would adapt itself, as we see in fact it did, but imperfectly, to the change of the family system. The Greeks probably knew Persian very imperfectly. In this country the young civilian is continually puzzled by finding words of relationship received in a much wider sense than their usual English equivalents, and the Greeks may well have found equal difficulty in catching the precise sense of Persian terms of relationship in the tales that were told to them. Their own system would make them take some narratives as quite rational, which to us are revolting: in other cases the strangeness of the story told of a king or prince would prevent a critical examination of the terms employed. It would be welcome just in proportion as it was outrageous.

It seems likely that such considerations as these may not have been allowed due weight by European scholars in their interpretation of the few passages in which an ambiguous phrase seems to countenance the notion that incest is recommended. I venture to suggest, as I have been able to do in my conversation with my learned friend, Mr. Sanjana, that a sense akin to that of *svayamdatha* in Sanskrit—an idea of self-devotion, varying according to the context in its precise intention,—would satisfy the exigencies of all or nearly all the doubtful passages. This, however, is no more than a speculation: I cannot judge its worth. I can only thank Mr. Sanjana on behalf of the Society, and most sincerely, for the very valuable addition he has contributed to our transactions. I trust it will form a new starting-point in history and criticism by the views it presents to European scholars.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 15th July, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. Gerson da Cunha read his paper, "Contributions to Oriental

Numismatics, Part I., Gold Coins of the Mongol Dynasty of Persia," which was illustrated with specimens from his cabinet. The following is an abstract of the paper:—In 1834, he said, the publication of two works, the *Histoire des Mongols*, by the Baron D'Olsson, and *De Chulagidarum Commentationes duae*, by von Fraehn, first revealed to Europe the history of that nation of conquerors, who, in the 13th century of our era, issuing from the steppes of Tartary, overran almost the whole of the continent of Asia, and, entering Moscow and Novgorod, penetrated to Hungary. Until then what little was known about them was made up of some marvellous legends and spurious documents. He then explained the various designations by which the line of these mediæval Asiatic despots is known. It was said that the tribes who owned the sovereignty of Yissugei numbered only 40,000 tents, yet "it was upon this foundation that Yissugei's son Jingis Khán—*patris fortis filius fortior*—built up in twenty years the widest empire the world has ever seen." This vast empire was, at the death of this Eastern Alexander, divided into four monarchies, one of which was the line of Tului, whose son Hulagu invaded Baghdád and murdered the Supreme Pontiff of the Muslim El-Mustaasim, the last of the Abbaside Khalifs. He then founded the Persian branch of the Mongol dynasty, which dated from 1256 A.D., and whose gold coinage he proposed to describe. The gold coins of the Mongols of Persia were very rare. Von Fraehn described four, and De Saulcy two, from the *Cabinet du Roi* in Paris. As it might not be generally known who these two great authors on numismatics were, extracts were quoted from Fraehn's *Leben* by Professor. Dorn of St. Petersburg, and from Froehner about De Saulcy in the *Annuaire de la Société Française de Numismatique et d'Archéologie*, and it was ascertained that, with all their researches and diplomatic criticism, after exploring all the private and national collections within their reach, they had not succeeded in bringing to light more than six gold coins of the Persian Mongols. With regard to De Saulcy, he particularly drew the attention of his audience to the following eulogy by Lane-Poole, dedicated to his memory. "Coins," he wrote, "have been used as helps by archæologists, but the great numismatist, who could master the richest provinces of the East or the West, or even both, and dignify his science as no longer servile but masterly, is of our contemporaries. Such was De Saulcy, who has but lately left us to lament how much remained untold by a mind signally fruitful in giving forth

its manifold treasures." De Saulcy died in 1880, and both he and von Fraehn, by their scientific discipline and critical method of investigation, were considered the masters and leaders "of Oriental numismatists, from the great value or imperishable character of the works they had left behind. He would also add the following about D. Saulcy from the pen of another accomplished numismatist, Froehner. "À l' a numismatique, à l' archéologie," he said, "il a rendu des services énormes. Son ambition était de frayer de routes nouvelles ; il laissait à d'autres le soin de les aplanir et de les tirer au cordeau. Partout où il voyait une lumière au loin, lumière ou feu follet, il y allait par le chemin le plus court pour allumer son flambeau." Pietraszeuski in his *Numi Mokamedani*, admirably illustrated by Sawaszkiewicz in his *Le Génie de l'Orient*, produced a single gold piece of this series, while the Catalogue of Oriental coins in the British Museum, the most complete work of its kind, both in copiousness of examples and in being later in date, published only six years ago, contains only thirteen coins. Thus there were altogether twenty gold coins of the Mongols, whose seventeen sovereigns reigned for nearly ninety years, from 1256 to 1344 A.D., hitherto catalogued and published. With regard to these seventeen princes, although the early Ilkhâns showed a praiseworthy desire to emulate the examples of the old rulers of Persia in the encouragement of science and letters, some of them, such as Ghâzân Khân, being themselves accomplished artists and men of letters, the later rulers were, however, reduced to the condition of *rois fainéants* or puppet sovereigns set up by rival Amirs. But to return to the coins, Dr. da Cunha said, it being evident that the gold coinage of the Persian Mongols hitherto known was confined to only twenty pieces, it might appear presumptuous on his part to choose this topic for his contributions to Oriental numismatics, a subject apparently so barren in results. But his cabinet contained forty of these coins, almost all of them inedited, and some perhaps unique. To allay the anxiety all collectors felt for the character of the examples, he could guarantee their genuineness or insure the authenticity of these metallic historical documents. This was the reason why he had taken the liberty to bring them before this learned Society and, through it, before the numismatic world. He would, in short, parody the words and sentiments of De Saulcy when addressing his letter on Mongol coins to Reinrud, and request them to grant a favourable reception to the humble tribute of these his gleanings in a field where the crop had already been so well har-



vested, or to use De Saulcy's words, "l' humble hommage des épis perdus qu'il m'a été permis de glaner après une moisson si bien faite." Dr. Da Cunha thought that collectors would, perhaps, wish to learn how he succeeded in securing such a large suite of rare and, perhaps, unique coins in this, as in other series to be subsequently described. He said his residence in Bombay, the modern emporium of trade for Asiatic countries,—Japan, China, Central Asia, Persia, Asia Minor, and even Egypt, the rise in the value of gold within the last decade from 35 to 40 per cent. causing its afflux here for the present, and his cosmopolitan profession bringing him into contact with Arabs and Jews, Persians and Afghans, bullion dealers and other traders,—secured him the chance of saving these precious relics, by paying sometimes a considerable premium above the market value of the metal, from the crucible; for it had always been the habit of these merchants to consign such valuable coins to the melting-pot, their final destination. He said that he might also be permitted to explain, what otherwise might appear literary egotism, that quotations from foreign languages instead of their renderings into English, evinces the international character of this essay; for although he had the honour to address a few English and Indian members of this learned Society, it was through them, as he said before, that he was actually addressing a much larger body of numismatists abroad, who would prefer to read the quotations in the original, and which formed an important element in the retrospective view of the subject. Before closing these prefatory remarks and entering on the description of coins, Dr. Da Cunha said that it was necessary to reiterate the fact, that while von Fraehn's four coins were issued by one prince, the two coins of De Saulcy by another prince, the single piece of Pietraszeuski by a third, and the thirteen coins in the British Museum were struck by only three princes, viz., Gházán, Uljaitu and Aboo Sa'eed, his forty pieces were issued by nine princes, beginning with the founder Hulagu and ending with the fourteenth prince of the line, Suleyman, which was as complete a series as has hitherto been possible for any one to collect. The coins were then described; their legends, both in Arabic and in Mongol languages and characters, deciphered, and their import discussed,—thus contributing many new facts to the historical elucidation of this renowned line of Asiatic rulers.\*

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\* Dr. DaCunha's paper will appear in the next number.—Ed.

After a few remarks the President tendered to Dr. Da Cunha the thanks of the Society for his very important paper.

The Honorary Secretary made a short statement with regard to a new cave at Elephanta which had been discovered and excavated "under the Society's auspices." The attention of the late Curator of the caves, Mr. Walsh, was attracted by fragments of sculpture found by him lying in different parts of the island and not having any apparent connection with the great cave. He saw reason to believe that, in addition to the two small chambers at the back of the hill, which were cleared out many years ago, there was a third completely filled up with rubbish and the falling earth. His representations to the Society were backed up by Mr. Fleet, Dr. Bhandarkar, the Honorary Secretary, and Professor Darmesteter.

This last distinguished *savant* visited the place along with the Honorary Secretary and Mr. Walsh, and was satisfied that Mr. Walsh had really made an important discovery. Government kindly put at the disposal of the Society a sum of Rs. 500 for purposes of excavations, and a third cave had been laid bare for the Society by Captain Dixon, of the Harbour Defences. The cave exactly resembled the two already opened, and nothing was discovered in it except an earthen pot. A low frieze over the entrance had been much damaged. While the new cave, therefore, might perhaps not add to the scanty information available with regard to the island and its caves, its discovery, the Honorary Secretary urged, furnished good reason why Government and the Society should not despair of eventually clearing up by fresh excavations the mystery which still surrounded the subject.

The following gentlemen have lately been elected members of the Society :—Surgeon-Major J. Arnott, Professor J. Oliver, Dr. D. A. DeMonte, Major-General J. H. White, Brigade-Surgeon P. S. Turnbull, Messrs. H. G. Gell and A. W. Crawley-Boevey.

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