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WADDELL ON PHŒNICIAN ORIGINS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(Continued from page 125.)

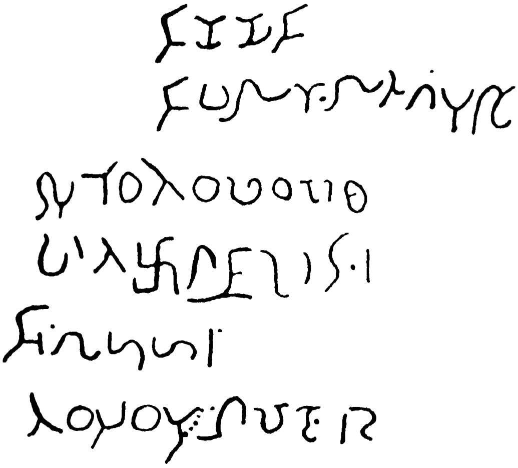
2. Phœnician Inscription in Britain.

The Newton Stone.

The enquiry commences with the examination of this Newton Stone, which is the foundation of the whole argument. "The monument stands at Newton House in the upper valley of the Don in Aberdeenshire," and its existence has been known to the world of scholars only since 1803. It has since that date been removed from a former site about a mile distant from its present one, and now stands near Mt. Bennachie, "within the angle of the old Moorland meadow (now part of the richly cultivated Garrioch vale of the old Pict-land) between the Shevack stream and the Gadie rivulet, which latter formerly, before the accumulation of silt, *may have* joined hereabouts with the Shevack and Urie tributaries of the Don." The monument actually stands close to the left bank of the Urie. The name Gadie leads Waddell to make one of his excursions into etymology, for he connects this river name of the Pict country with the Phœnician Gad, which was the usual spelling of "their tribal name of Khatti or Catti" and he says that "they were in the habit not infrequently of calling the rivers in their settlement Gad-i or Gad-es or Kad-esh." The name of the river Don, one knows from other sources, is spread in one form or another over Europe from Russia to the British Isles and is very ancient. The Newton Stone is not an isolated specimen, as Stuart has shown in his survey that 36 others are situated in the Don Valley.

The Newton Stone "bears inscriptions in two different kinds of script." The main inscription has a *swastika* in the centre, *i.e.*, half of it is inscribed before and half after it, and it is in a script which has often been attempted, but never read before Waddell tried his hand at it. The other inscription is "in the old Ogam linear characters. The scholars, who formerly attempted to decipher the main inscription assumed that it was either Pictish or Celtic, though Stuart suggested that it might be in an Eastern Alphabet. Then Waddell came on the scene and read it, right to left, as Aryan (not Semitic) Phœnician. He found it to be "true Phœnician and its language Aryan Phœnician of the early Briton or early Gothic type." He further "recognised that various ancient scripts found at or near the old settlements of the Phœnicians" were "all really local variations of the standard Aryan Hitto-Sumerian writing of ancient Phœnician mariners, those ancient pioneers spreaders of the Hittite civilisation along the shores of the Mediterranean and out beyond the Pillars of Hercules to the British Isles." Armed with this knowledge he made "an eye-copy" of the Inscriptions. "In his decipherment" he "derived special assistance from the Cilician, Cyprian and Iberian scripts, and the Indian Pali of the third and fourth centuries B.C., and Gothic runes, which were closely allied in several respects. Canon Taylor's and Prof. Petrie's classic works on the Alphabet also proved helpful."

In view of the fact that Waddell's theory is built on this "uniquely important central inscription" I give here his "eye-copy of it."



INSCRIPTION ON THE NEWTON STONE.

These characters Waddell transcribes as follows, the Roman vowels being treated as inherent in the preceding letter :—

KaZZi Ka
KĀST S(i)LUỴRi
GYĀOLONONIE
BĪL卐 PoENĪG I
Kar SŚŚI
LOKOYr PrWT R :

These words Waddell translates, word for word, thus :—

(This Cross the) Kazzi of
Kāst (of the) Siluyr-.
the Khilani (or Hittite palace-dweller)
to Bīl (this) cross, the Phœnician I-
khar (the) Ci-
lician, the Brit, raised (*ṛishti*).

On the Newton Stone is also inscribed an Ogam inscription, which has proved hitherto unreadable, because, for want of room, the strokes have been cut too close together, and therefore the spaces between the letters essential for reading are mostly absent. But with the light thrown by the above reading of the lettered inscription, Waddell makes the Ogam to read as follows :—

+ICAR QASS (or QaSB(i)L) Kh'A
S(i)LWOR GIOLN B(i)L
IKhaR SIOLLaGGA R(ishti)

And he translates as follows :—

(This Cross) Icar Qass of (the)
Silur (the) Khilani (to) Bil
Ikhar (of) Cilicia raised.

And finally he writes :—"then this bilingual inscription records that : 'this Sun-cross (Swastika) was raised to Bil (or Bel, the God of Sun-fire) by the Kassi (or Cass-bel [an]) of Kast of the Siluyr (sub-clan) of the Khilani (or Hittite Palace dwellers), the Phœnician (named) Ikar of Cilicia, the Prwt (or Prat[3] that is, Barat or Brihat or Brit-on) raised."

Here then we have the fundamental facts that Waddell claims to have discovered for his theory, which clearly rest on *his* reading of the Newton Stone. It is the importance of this consideration for the present purpose that has induced me to examine his book so closely here. The first point of criticism is what brought Phœnicians into Scotland ? Waddell's answer is that they were all over the British Isles and kindred regions, and not only in the South of England and Cornwall after tin. It will also be observed that we are obliged to take his reading on trust, because we are not given the actual analogies of the script with Phœnician scripts on which his reading rests.

Having thus read the inscriptions Waddell proceeds to find the date thereof, which "is fixed with relative certainty at about B.C. 400 by palæographical evidence," which of course is not available to us. "The author of the inscription," says Waddell, "Prat-Gioln, was the sea-king Part-olon, king of the Scots, of the early British *Chronicles*, who in voyaging off the Orkney Islands about B.C. 400, met his kinsman Gurgiunt, the then king of Britain whose uncle Brennus was . . . . the traditional Briton original of the historical Brennus I, who led the Gauls in the sack of Rome in B.C. 390."

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[3] Because, as Waddell remarks, the letter *w* in the last line of the main text may also be read *ā*.

The rareness of exactly similar cursive Aryan Phœnician writing is due, Waddell thinks, to the fact that " as Herodotus tells us, the usual Medium for writing in ancient Asia Minor was by pen and ink on parchments," and these parchments have perished. Lastly " the language of this Aryan Phœnician inscription is essentially Aryan in its roots, structure and syntax, with Sumerian and Gothic affinities " but this statement is not accompanied, so far as I can judge, by proof.

As regards the Ogam inscription Waddell writes :—" the Ogam version is clearly contemporary with, and by the same author, as, the central Phœnician inscription, as it is now disclosed to be a contracted version of the latter. This discovery thus puts back the date of the Ogam script far beyond the period hitherto supposed by modern writers." Then he connects it with Sumerian and Hittite scripts, devoted to the Sun-cult, and containing Sun-cross, " and the title Ogam he connects with the script of the Sun-worshippers. He passes on " to examine the rich crop of important historical, personal, ethnic and geographical names and titles preserved in the Brito-Phœnician inscription of about B.C. 400."

3. The Royal Titles on the Newton Stone.

In examining these inscriptions Waddell goes largely into etymology and into philological comparisons. His results " disclose . . . . not only the Phœnician origin of the British race properly so called and their civilisation, but also the Phœnician origin of the names Brit-on, Brit-ain and Brit-ish, and of the tutelary name Brit-annia. Details, alas !, are in the *Aryan Origin of the Phœnicians*, not here. Waddell connects these titles with " the Eastern branch of the Barats " in the *Mahâ-Bhârata*, after the Vedic custom of naming an Aryan clan after its forbear's name, and then he says :—" King Barat . . . . was the most famous fore-father of the founder of the first Phœnician Dynasty, which event " Waddell finds " by new evidence occurred about B.C. 3000." Going on, he says :—" whilst calling himself Phœnician and giving his personal name, the author of the Newton Stone inscription also calls himself " Briton, Scot, Hittite, Silurian and Cilician " by early forms of these names." He then proceeds to identify these titles.

Phœnician.

The inscription has " the spelling Poenîg[4], which Waddell identifies with Greek, Phoinik-es; Latin, Phœnic-es; Egyptian, Panag, Panasa, Fenkha; Hebrew, Panag; Sanskrit, Panch-āla; English, Punic, Phœnician. And then he says :—" Pœnig or Phœnician possibly survives in the neighbouring mountain Bennachie, on which there *may have been* a Sun-altar to the 'Phœnix, Sun-bird emblem of Bil or Bel.' " And then " in this regard," says Waddell, "the name of Bleezes for the old inn at the foot of Mt. Bennachie (now a farm house) is suggestive of former Bel Fire-worship there." Bleezes he identifies with Blaze, Blayse or Blaise, " the name of a canonical saint introduced into the early Christian Church in the fourth century from Cappadocia, like St. George, the traditional place of whose massacre is at the old Hittite city of Savast." Blaise was the patron saint of Candlemas Day (2nd Feb.), so Bleezes " *may* preserve the tradition of an ancient Phœnician altar blazing with perpetual fire-offering to Bel."

Cilician.

This name is spelt in the main Newton Stone inscription as Sśśīlokoy and in the Ogam as Siollaggâ, and according to Waddell, equals Greek, Kilikia; Latin, Cilicia; Babylonian, Xilakku, Xilakki. Its seaport was Tarsus (Hebrew, Tarshish), whose actual harbour was Parthenia, " or Land of the Partho . . . a dialectic variation of the Phœnician eponym Barat, in series with the Prât on the Newton monument.[5] Tarsus was " a special centre of Bel-worship . . . . under the special protection of the maritime tutelary goddess Barati . . . . the Phœnician prototype of our modern British tutelary Britannia."

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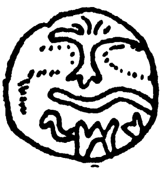
[4] It will be observed, however, that Waddell's actual reading is Penîg. If the accent should be on the second syllable, it will seriously affect the identification with Phœnix, Phœnician.

[5] This name is read by Waddell as Prwt or Prât; the actual letters inscribed being said to be PWT or PÂT.

The Cilicians are identified with the Phœnicians thus: "Phœnix and King Cadmus the Phœnician are called the sons of Agenor, the first traditional king of the Phœnicians, and their brother was Kilix." Then says Waddell, "the ancient Phœnician colonists from Cilicia proudly recorded their ancestry . . . . were in the habit of not returning to their native land [Ikar of Cilicia and of the inscription must have found Scotland a change from Palestine] . . . . and transplanted their homeland name of Cilicia to their new colonies."

E.g., near Bognor on the South coast of England lies "Sels-ey or the Island of the Sels . . . . where a hoard of pre-Roman coins of ancient Briton were found." *Ey* is a well-known British term for 'island' in place names and Waddell remarks, by the way, that "significantly the Phœnician word for 'island' or 'sea-shore' was *ay*." But his point here is that these coins bore "solar symbols . . . . hitherto undeciphered," though Evans thought them "something like Hebrew characters." Going on the Newton Stone Waddell reads those characters as SiL, "which *seems to be* a contraction for the fuller Sśśilokoy or Cilicia."


Ancient British Coin from Selsey.

Not far off Selsey, on the ancient high-road, lies Sil-chester, "the pre-Roman capital of the Segonti clan of the Britons, said to have been also called Briten-den or Fort of the Britons" and is very Phœnician. "This discovery of the ancient Phœnician origin of the name Sels-ey, or Island of the Sels or Cilicians," suggests a similar origin for "Sles-wick or Abode of the Sles, for the Angles in Denmark," while "the Silik form of Cilicia . . . . *seems also to be probably*, the source of the Selg-ovœ tribal title which was applied by the Romans to the people of Galloway coast of the Solway [Scotland]." This last "seems to have been the same warlike tribe elsewhere called by the Romans Atte-Catti . . . . =Catti or Atti or Hitt-ite."

Kâst or Kwâst.

"This title is geographical and refers the founder of the Newton Stone inscription to Kasta-bala (Budrum)," the ancient capital of Cilicia about B.C. 400. It had a great shrine to Perathea (Diana), who "was Britannia." The country on the same river, the Pyramus, was the Græco-Roman Kata-onia, Cata-onia, "the Land of Kat or Cat=Catti= the ancient Britons, and a title of the Phœnician Barat rulers."

The identification of Kast with Kasta-bala "gives us the clue to the Cilician sources of the Sun-cult imported into North Britain by the Phœnician Barat princes" of the inscription, from the bas-reliefs of Antiochus I of Commagene already mentioned. These refer to the old Sumerian ceremony of coronation, which "*seems* to be referred to in a Vedic hymn to the Sun-god Mitra :—'When will ye [Mitra] take us by both hands, as a dear sire his son ?'" And "even more significantly in the *Volu-Spa Edda*" of the Goths in ancient Britain.

Kazzi or Qass.

"This title is clearly and unequivocally a variant dialectic spelling of Kāśi, an alternative clan title of the Phœnician Khatti Barats," deriving from "Kaś or Kāś, the name of the famous grandson of King Barat." It appears in the Vedic kings of the First Panch(-āla) Dynasty and in "the Epic king-lists" with the "capital at Kāśī, the modern Benares, bordering on the Panch(-āla) province of ancient India."

Kassi or Cassi is the title of the First Phœnician Dynasty, about B.C. 3000, of the Babylonian Dynasty, admittedly "Aryan" in B.C. 1800—1200 in Phœnician Inscriptions in Egypt. It is "now disclosed as the Phœnician source of the Cassi title borne by the Briton Catti kings . . . . down to Cassivellaunus, who minted the Cas coins."

Waddell then goes on :—The early Aryan Kāśī are referred to in Vedic literature as officers of the Sacred Fire and the special *protégés* of Indra. And in Babylonia the Kassi were ardent Sun-worshippers with its Fire-offering, and were devotees of the Sun-cross . . . . in various forms of St. George's Cross, the Maltese Cross, etc." Waddell here gives a figure showing "the pious Aryan Cassis of Babylonia about B.C. 1350 ploughing and sowing under the sign of the Cross," which "explains for the first time the hitherto unaccountable fact of the prehistoric existence of the Cross." It further explains "the Cassi title used by the pre-Roman Briton kings,—a title in series with Ecossais for Scots, as well as the Kazzi or Qass" of the inscription. Assyriologists, however, apparently do not agree to this.

Icar.

This title, as Ikhar, Ixar and Icār is a personal name of Kassi royalties, and occurs under many forms, including Agar, in Hittite. Its meaning "*may possibly* be found in "Akharri or Axarri or Western Land," *i.e.*, "Phœnicia and the Land of the Amorites."

Siluyri or Silwor.

These names "suggest the ethnic name of Silures, applied by Roman writers to the people of South Wales bordering on the Severn," but that people were non-Aryans, and also "it *may possibly* designate a Silurus district in Spain," whence the author of the inscription is "traditionally reported to have come . . . . immediately on his way to Britain."

Having thus seen how Waddell's works on his investigation and its results, we can next examine the further titles of Prat or Prwt and Gyaolownie or Gioln.

Prat or Prwt.

Waddell commences here with a quotation from the *Mahâ-Bhârata* :—"and king Bharat gave his name to the Dynastic Race of which he was the founder ; and so it is from him that the fame of that dynastic people hath spread so wide." Also from the *Ṛig-Veda* :—"like a father's name men love to call their names." The Phœnician Prāt or Prwt, he says, has been shown to be identical with the Sanskrit Bharat or Brihat[*], and is now "disclosed as the source of our modern titles Brit-on, Brit-ain and Brit-ish." Bharat, he says, is also spelt Pritu, Prithu, Brihat and Brihad, which last "equates with Cymric Welsh Pryd-ain for Brit-on," and he gives a number of variants used by the Cassi Britons from Barata to Piritum. Later Phœnicians used Parat, Prat (the actual spelling being PRT), Prydi and Prudi on tombstones, calling the graves *khabr*=Gothic *kubl* : while the geographer Pytheas, (4th century B.C.) copied by Ptolemy and other Greeks, used Pret-anikai and Pret-anoi for the Brit-ons. In the 3rd century A.D., the inhabitants of Parth-enia (Tarsus) called themselves Barats, as seen on their coins.

Such is Waddell's philological argument in brief for philologists to judge, and then he adverts, upon the evidence of certain coins, to the origin of the name Britannia.

Britannia.

The first four coins show prototypes of the figure (reversed) of Britannia on the modern British penny and half-penny. No. 1 has an inscription "Koinon Lukao Barateōn, the Commonwealth of the Lycaon Baratas," *i.e.*, the Barats of Lycaonia in Cilicia about Iconium, Konia, which contained "the ancient city of Barata." No. 2 is a coin of Iconium ; No. 3 of Hadrian ; No. 4 of Antonine. On these Waddell remarks :—"these coins, with others of the same type elsewhere, are of immense historical importance for recovering the lost history of the Britons in Britain and in their early homeland, as they now disclose the hitherto unknown origin of the modern British main tutelary Britannia, and prove her to be of Hitto-Phœnician origin." The criticism here is obvious : it is quite possible that they show nothing more than that successive artists copied old coins without reference to racial history. One would like to have a history of the Britannia coins, showing how the modern forms actually arose, point by point, before drawing such an inference as that above made.

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[*] **Waddell here is adopting a process of his own. First he says that a thing *may be* so and so, and later argues that is so and so, basing further argument on a supposition taken as a fact.**

"This benevolent marine and earth tutelary goddess of Good Fortune . . . . has been *surmised* by modern numismatists to be the late Greek goddess of Fortune (Tychê) the Fortune of the Romans . . . . about B.C. 490." And then Waddell has a remarkable excursion into Vedic etymology :—her proper name is now disclosed by the Vedic hymns of the Eastern branch of the Aryan Barats to have been Bhāratī, meaning 'belonging to the Bharats.' She is also called therein Brihad the divine (Brihad-divā)[7] : and she seems to be identical with Prit-vi or Mother Earth. Her special abode was on the Saras-vatī River, which I [Waddell] find was the modern 'Sarus River' in Cilicia which entered the sea at Tarsus, the Tarz of its own coins . . . . In these Vedic hymns all the attributes of Britannia are accounted for . . . . She is hailed as the First-made mother in a hymn to her son Napat the Son of the Waters . . . . (thus disclosing the remote Aryan origin of the name and personality of the old Sea-god, Neptune and his horses and accounting for Neptune's trident in his hand)," and so on at length to much similar purpose. I cannot follow Waddell here. There is no word or name *bṛihad,* the *t* of *bṛihat* becoming *d* when combined with *diva* by a well-known grammatical rule in Sânskrit, and neither *bṛihat* nor *bṛihad-diva* are proper names. If Bhāratī is called *bṛihad-divâ* it merely denotes that she was held to be "heavenly, celestial." There is also, so far as I understand, no Sanskrit term Pritvî meaning the Earth, the terms being Pṛithivī, Pṛithvī, Prathivī, Prithvī, which all have the root sense of 'breadth,' and are not at all the same thing as Pritvī. And why go to Cilicia for the original of Sarasvatī ? Unless, of course, we agree with Waddell that the ancient Sanskrit works, the *Vedas,* the *Epics,* the *Purânas,* do not refer to India at all historically. And these are not all the difficulties here.

Waddell, however, goes even further in his etymological excursions by deriving the name "Fortuna, by which the Romans called this Barat tutelary goddess,"[8] from Barati, through her name was apparently really Bhāratī, or Fort-una, "Una . . . . derived from the Hitto-Sumerian *ana,* one. So Fortuna is a title of 'one of the Barats' (or Fortune)."

He next goes to "the records of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, both of which lands are now disclosed in these pages to have derived their civilisation from the Aryan Phœnicians," who must thus have been ancient indeed. In ancient Egypt he finds "Bāīrthy, goddess of the Water, whose name and functions are thus seen to be precisely those of the Aryan tutelary Bāratī (or Britannia). Here he gives an Egyptian figure similar to that on the Britannia coins as "Brit-annia tutelary of the Phœnicians in ancient Egypt as Bāīrthya," who is "the Lady Protector of Zapuna" or of the "Sailings of the Panags," *i.e.,* of the Phœnicians. Waddell's own reading of the hieroglyphs is "Zapunaq."

We are next launched into Greek etymology. "Besides being the original of Britannia, the Phœnician tutelary Barati or Brihad the divine, is now seen to be *presumably* the Brito-Martis, tutelary goddess of Crete . . . . civilised by the Phœnicians, who are now disclosed as the authors of the so-called Minoan civilisation there. This goddess, Brito-Martis, was a Phœnician goddess." She was identified with Diana, "like the tutelary goddess Parthanos." Here remarks Waddell : "Parthenos, as a title for Diana or Athene appears to have been coined by the Greeks from that of Baratī."[9] And then he says :—"the British bearing of this identity of Barati and Brito-Martis with Diana is . . . . that the first king of the

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[7] *Bṛihat* (*vṛihat*) is an adjectival expression in Sanskrit meaning great, wide, lofty, expansive. It is not a proper name. *Bṛihad-diva, vṛihad-diva,* is also an adjectival expression : 'belonging to the lofty sky, heavenly, celestial.'

[8] He began, however, by saying that this was only a *surmise* of modern numismatists.

[9] Might it not have merely meant that these goddesses were regarded by the Greeks as virgins ?

Britons had Diana (who bore also the title of Perathen or Britannia) as his tutelary." Brito-Martis is the origin of the provincial expression ' O my eye and Betty Martin ' arising out of " the dog-Latin form in the Romish Church liturgies ' O Mihi Brito-Martis '." This leads to a delicious observation :—" if the first part of the sentence does not actually preserve an invocation to her under her old title of Mahī, or the great Earth-Mother, the Maia of the Greeks and Romans and the goddess May of the British May-pole spring festival."[10]

Briton, Britain, British.

Here we have some truly wonderful philology. Briton, Britain and British are all " derived from this early Phœnician Barat title," for " the original form of the name Brit-on is now disclosed to have been Bharat-ana or Brihad-ana, as the affix *ana* is the Hitto-Sumerian for ' one.' " So the English ' one,' the Scottish ' ane,' the Greek and Roman 'an, ene,' Latin una, Greek oin-os, Gothic einn, ains, Swedish en, Sanskrit anu (an atom) are all of Hitto-Sumerian origin. Similarly Brit-ain, "the Land of the Brit, presumes an original Barat-una (or Brihat-ana) . . . . like Rajput-ana, Gond-wana in India."

The above quotations show sufficiently Waddell's philological method, and we now pass on to the title Gy-āolownie or Gi-oln, which is important as it " discloses the identity of the traditional Part-olon, king of the Scots."

(*To be continued.*)

THE ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

THIRD SESSION (1924), MADRAS.

THE All-India Oriental Conference held its third session at the Senate House, Madras, on the 22nd of December and on the two following days. The success of this session of the Conference was largely due to the untiring zeal of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, University Professor of History and Archæology, who was the Secretary, and the hearty co-operation of a strong and influential Committee, formed in May last to make the necessary arrangements.

At 11-30 A.M., on Monday the 22nd of December the spacious hall of the Senate House was full to overflowing with scholars and several distinguished *savants* from all parts of India. The company included a few ladies. The proceedings began in true Oriental fashion with Indian music, and Vedic, Tamil and Arabic chants.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee, the Rev. Dr. E. M. Macphail, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, welcomed the members on behalf not only of the University, but also of the people of Madras. In his speech he pointed out that it was but proper that one of the earliest meetings of the Conference should be held in Madras, the centre of Dravidian culture, one of the most potent elements in the Hindu culture of to-day. He deplored the untimely death of Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee, who took a very keen interest in the Conference and was to have presided over its deliberations. He referred to the value of such a conference of scholars, engaged in different branches of study. The interchange of thought, the comparison of experience, and the contact of mind with mind have more lasting influences than papers, however learned and scholarly. The most effective influences are the spoken word and personal intercourse. He was gratified to note that the sympathetic study of the past was not unaccompanied in the Indian Renaissance by the study of the languages of the present-day, unlike the European Renaissance, which in its enthusiasm for the classics ignored the modern languages. His concluding suggestion was that the whole country should be divided on a linguistic basis, and that each division should work out the details of its own languages and dialects, and he hoped that the Madras Conference might institute a linguistic society of India with this end in view.

In opening the proceedings, His Excellency Viscount Goschen, Governor of Madras and Chancellor of the University, made a scholarly speech befitting the occasion. His Excellency who described himself as " an enthusiastic amateur " in the field of research which is the object of the Conference, surveyed rapidly all the important contributions to our knowledge of the history of civilisation. His Excellency emphasized the need, in these days of hurry and bustle, "to turn from the present day world, and in imagination to throw our minds back to a world of generations long ago, and to cogitate on ancient writings and ancient inscriptions, ancient architecture and ancient schools of thought" and referred to the connection of India with other countries in the past and to the ample scope offered for research. His Excellency pointed out how the recent excavations of Mohenjo Daro have opened a new vista, and referred to the great names in historical and archæological researche. In conclusion, His Excellency said, "one could roam at length down these fascinating bypaths, each leading on into another and affording glimpses of romantic and historical views which urge one on; but you are all far better acquainted than I am with the journey and I must ask your indulgence for having as an amateur, though may I say, an enthusiastic amateur, attached myself to so distinguished a band of travellers. May the result of your labours be an addition to that sum of knowledge, to which your distinguished predecessors to whom I have alluded to-day so greatly contributed."

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[10] All no doubt connected with the Mâyâ of the Buddhist and the old Sanskrit philosophies !

Then Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar proposed Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, to the chair with Shamsu'l-Ulema Dr. Modi seconding. The learned Doctor took the chair amidst applause and delivered his address and made many practical suggestions. He deplored the fact that Oriental research has not received the attention it deserved in this country and emphasised the need for a central organisation, a little public sympathy, and University patriotism. For the proper interpretation of India's past history, we in India have certain facilities, which foreign Indologists with the best of motives and the greatest sympathy have not. It is not true that Indians, by nature, lack critical faculty, as is sometimes urged. The President alluded to various examples of high critical acumen exhibited by the great Indian thinkers, like Patañjali of old and the modern Vaiyakâranikas and Naiyâyikas. He urged "it is high time that our universities and institutes shook themselves free from the notion that they could not carry on Oriental research."

Turning to the question of Manuscripts he said it was criminal to neglect them any longer. The ancient history of our land, political, religious, and military, has to be reconstructed on more logical lines than hitherto by a judicious use of Manuscripts, many of which are crumbling to pieces and are being lost every day, never to be recovered again. Incalculable good would result to Oriental scholarship, if only the various provincial governments could make up their minds to spend the paltry sum of a lakh of rupees among them. He emphasized not only the need for acquiring Manuscripts by purchase or by transcription, but also the need for their preservation. Mere cataloguing, good in its own way, does not go far. What is true of Sanskrit literature, in this direction, is true of Arabic, Persian and Vernacular literature. The scope for research is unlimited, as the President pointed out. "The exploration of the single site of Pataliputra has shown what treasure may come to light by such exploration, and the sites of most of our ancient capitals have still to be investigated. Has not the mere digging of a site in Sindh provided information, which bids fair to revolutionise all modern conceptions regarding the antiquity of Indian civilization. Then again, meteorology has not even been attempted, and astronomy has been barely touched. Similarly, medicine, and chemistry have been worked just enough to become inviting subjects of research. In law very little has been done. Dramaturgy and poetics in general have just begun to be studied. In philosophy much has been done. But very much more remains. In *Nyâya-Vaiseśika* and in *Pûrva Mîmâmsa* all that we have done has been pure spade work; in the domain of the Kashmirian Saiva Philosophy, even spade work has not been done on the inter-relations of the several philosophical systems: there are many inviting problems still unsolved. In fact, the field is so vast that one feels staggered when one finds the handful of men that there are who could do the work."

Next he took up the question of the publication of manuscripts, and paid a glowing tribute to the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Trivandrum, Baroda, Kashmir, Vanivilâsa and Chaukhamba series for their admirable work. In this connection he referred to the need for greater co-ordination and more advertisement.

In laying stress on the need for research and modern methods of style, the learned President himself, versed in the old learning, did not forget the value of the old type of scholars. "If outsiders," said he, "look upon this country with deep respect, it is by virtue of our Śâstris and Maulvîs. Let us cherish them in their purity." He denounced the introduction of examinations for Paṇḍits and Maulvîs, and pointed out how in this country examinations, instead of being slaves, have arrogated to themselves the position of masters. The passing of examinations has become a *parama-purushartha*. Under this system, according to which no depth of scholarship is necessary to pass an examination, the scholarship for which the Paṇḍits of Benares were famous has almost disappeared. In the indigenous system a man continued his studies as long as he found any one able to teach him. There was no examination to put an end to one's studies. "No modern scholar can claim to have that knowledge of his subject, which these Paṇḍits had, and that was due to thorough specialization. Paṇḍits sometimes worked at a single sentence of an important text for hours together. He appealed to those in power not to try to modernise the Paṇḍit or the Maulvî. These latter may not possess the wide outlook of the modern scholar, but they more than compensated for that by their depth of learning.

The Mahâmahopâdhyâya then dwelt at some length on the need for a revision of the canons of research in fixing the dates of men and events in the interpretation of ancient documents and texts, and the need for unbiassed study of our old texts. "From the oldest Bhâshyakâras up to our own day, we find that a writer before he takes up a text for study or annotation has made up his mind as to what the text contains; and it is only after this that he begins to study it." This, though pardonable in older writers, who were avowed propagandists like the great Śankarâchârya, cannot be tolerated in the present generation of writers, who set themselves up as unbiassed researchers after truth. "The *Brahma-sûtras*, in fact all the more important philosophical *sûtras*, have still got to be studied in this spirit." He exhorted those present to develop a passion for veracity.

Lastly, the learned President disillusioned the audience in regard to the impression abroad that this Conference is intended for only antiquated fossils who spend their time in lifeless, dry and dull subjects, which have and should have no interest for the modern Indian. "It is equally our aim to endeavour to promote and encourage higher work in the modern languages of India. The classical languages must inevitably be for the learned few; the people at large can be raised and elevated, and can feel the live influence of literature and learning only through the vernaculars. The history of these (vernacular) literatures has to be written, and the origin and development of these languages have yet to be traced."

His Excellency the Governor and the President of the Conference were then garlanded by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. The Rev. Dr. Macphail proposed a hearty vote of thanks to His Excellency for opening the Conference, and for delivering his scholarly address. The opening session terminated with a group photograph.

The delegates were invited in the afternoon to a Vidwat Parishad at the Sanskrit College, Mylapore. The orthodox recital of texts and disputations in the styles of the Gûrukula days of yore were conducted in the *Śâstras*, His Highness the Ex-Râja of Cochin, a Sanskrit scholar of reputation, and a student of *Tarka*, presiding. The proceedings were conducted entirely in Sanskrit, which is often supposed mistakenly to be altogether a dead language. This over, the members and delegates were entertained by Mr. Alladi Krishnasami Aiyar, a member of the College Committee.

This was followed by a lantern lecture by Dr. K. N. Sitaraman on Indian Architecture.

The 2nd day. The Reading of Papers.—The number of papers submitted to the Conference was very nearly 200. It was, therefore, resolved to divide the Conference into three sections; Language, Literature and Philosophy going into one section, and History, Geography, and Anthropology into another, while Dravidian and other Languages constituted a third. These were presided over respectively by Dr. Jha, Dr. R. C. Majumdar of Dacca, and Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. For the Uruda group of papers Principal Muhammad Shafi of Lahore presided. The first section had as many as 75 papers to deal with, the second about 60, and the third about 35. The cutting of the time allowed for discussion, and the enforcing of the time limit, alone rendered it possible to get through so large a number. The subjects were varied, and the amount of information brought to bear on them was really amazing. On the second day there were two sessions, during which a large number of these papers were read. In the evening, the Andhra Sahitya Parishad were at home to the delegates, and exhibited various manuscripts. There was a distribution of shawls with gold borders to the learned Paṇḍits and Maulvîs, specially invited to the Conference. This was closely followed by the Presidency College Sanskrit Association's a performance of the *Mṛicchakatika* (the Little Clay Cart). The performance was a splendid exhibition of literary and histrionic talent by the students, and was much appreciated.

3rd day.—On the third day there was a Literary Session from 8 to 11 A.M.

The business Meeting was held between 1-30 and 2-30 P.M., when the report of the Calcutta Session was presented by the Honorary Secretary and adopted. An All-India Committee was appointed to draft a constitution. To this Committee was referred the question of a *Journal* for the Conference, and other kindred questions. The invitation of the Allahabad University to the Conference to hold its next session there, was also accepted.

The President was then thanked and garlanded, and was presented with a gold shawl. Mr. V. P. Vaidya proposed thanks to all those who rendered this session a success.

Later there was an exhibition of Hindu Music in various forms, vocal and instrumental. This consisted of a long, varied, and interesting programme.

The success of this session of the Conference was largely due to Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, the Secretary, and Mr. P. P. S. Sastri, the Joint Secretary, both of whom spared no pains to arrange every detail and to look after the delegates from the various parts of India.

THE TATTVA PRAKASA.

(Of King Śrî Bhojadeva.)

TRANSLATED BY THE REV. E. P. JANVIER, M.A., FATEHGARH,
WITH A FOREWORD BY DR. J. N. FARQUHAR.

Foreword.

THE early history of the great Śaiva sects is far from clear. The two chapters in the *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, called respectively *Nakulîśa Pâśupata* and *Śaiva Darśana*, give us sketches of the teaching of two contrasted schools.

In the later books belonging to the type of the *Śaiva Darśana* there are statements to the effect that the former type was revealed by Rudra, the latter by Śiva : (see Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism, Śaivism, etc.*, 126-7 ; 16) and it is quite clear that the two groups of sects differ largely from each other both in teaching and practice. In my *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, I have ventured to distinguish the groups as *Pâśupata Śaivas* and *Âgamic Śaivas*, because the teaching of the latter group rests finally on the *Âgamas*, while the former goes back, as Mâdhava shews us, at least to the time of the formation of the Lakulîśa Pâśupata sect, which appeared long before the *Âgamas* were written.

In Mâdhava's essay, *Śaiva Darśana*, a good many of the ancient books are mentioned, especially the following *Âgamas*, *Mṛigendra*, *Paushkara*, *Karaṇa*, *Kâlottara*, *Kiraṇa* and *Saurabheya*, and two works of which I know nothing, the *Bahudaivatya* and the *Tattva Saṅgraha*. Several ancient scholars are also mentioned, the Siddha Guru, Aghora Śiva Âchârya, Râma Kaṇṭha, Soma Śambhu and Nârâyaṇa Kaṇṭha ; but they also seem to be otherwise unknown. But there are three quotations from a treatise called *Tattva Prakâśa* and one from Bhojarâjâ ; and it now turns out that Bhojarâjâ, king of Mâlwâ, who reigned at Dhârâ, 1018—1060 A.D., is the author of the *Tattva Prakâśa*. The text has been found, and is published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series ; and all four quotations occur in it, I. 6, 7, 13, 17, and also a fifth passage which is referred to, I. 8-10.

It is clear that several sects come under the general category of Âgamic Śaivas, notably the Vîra Śaivas and the Tamil Śaiva Siddhânta. Cowell and Gough, in their translation of the *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, take it for granted that the system described as the Śaiva Darśana is identical with the system of the Tamil Śaiva school ; but whether the system is identical or not, it is clear there were two distinct groups, one scattered all over India whose literature was in Sanskrit, the other found only in the South, its literature all in Tamil. It also seems probable that the earliest books of the Sanskrit literature were written several centuries before the earliest books of the Tamil dogmatic began to appear.

I should therefore be inclined to conjecture that the earliest books of the *Śaiva Darśana* were written by the Siddha Guru and other leaders at early dates, say between 500 and 1000 A.D., and that the *Tattva-prakâśa*, written probably between 1030 and 1050 A.D., proved one of the simplest and clearest manuals of the sect, so that it was well fitted for quotation in a brief essay such as Mâdhava's is ; and that the later books, including Śrîkaṇṭha Śivâchârya's *Bhâshya*, which are discussed by Bhandarkar, are the continuation of the same movement. It is probable that the people who professed the system were mainly Smârtas : that is clearly true of Bhojadeva ; and the few families which, to my knowledge, still profess the system in the South are Smârtas resident in the Tanjore and Tinnevelly districts. It is possible that careful inquiry might discover others in North India who still cherish the old literature.

The Tamil Śaiva Siddhânta rests primarily on the Tamil hymns of the great early singers, and the sect is a popular one, with many adherents among the common people all over the South. It is probable that the Tamil dogmatic was produced partly under the stimulus of the Sanskrit books. Yet it is also probable that the two systems differ in a number of details : the Vedantic standpoint of the Sanskrit system is certainly Viśishṭâdvaita, while the Tamil Śaiva standpoint is called Śivâdvaita;

The *Tattva Prakâśa* has been translated into English by the Rev. E. P. Janvier, M. A., of Fatehgarh, and is here published in the hope that it may help in the study of the teaching and the history of both schools.—J.N.F.

Chapter I.

1. May He, whose essence is intellect, the one, the eternal, the pervasive, the ever-risen, the Lord, the tranquil, the world's primal cause, the all-favouring,—may He be supreme !

2. The glory of Śiva, which neither rises nor sets, nor is destroyed, gives final release, and which is by nature both knower and doer,—may that glory be supreme !

3. To her, by whom this Śiva is energized to give experience and release to his circle of animate beings,—to her, the one who is, in essence, thought, the first, with all my soul I make obeisence.

4. For the sake of benefiting the world, we have, with a heart full of pity, succinctly composed this "Illumination of the Principles."

5. In the Śaivâgamas the most important thing is the series of three, namely the Master, the animate being, and the fetter, *i.e.*, *pati*, *paśu*, *pâśa*. In this series the Master is called Siva, Animate Beings atoms, the Fetter the five objects.

6. Those whose souls are freed are themselves Śivas, but they are freed by His favour. He, it should be borne in mind, is the eternally freed, the one, having a body consisting of the five *mantras*.

7. The following five-fold action is predicated of the ever-risen one : creation, preservation, destruction, embodiment, and likewise the work of grace.

8. Souls are to be known as of three kinds : molecules of discernment, molecules of destruction, and whole molecules. Of these the first are under the influence of corruption, and the second under that of corruption and action.

9. The whole molecules are under the influence of corruption, matter and action. Of these the first is of two kinds : first, those whose impurity is destroyed, and, second, those whose impurity is not destroyed.

10. Showing favour to the first eight, Śiva gives to them the rank of Lords of Knowledge. The others he makes Mantras. These are said to be seventy million.

11, 12, 13. Among the molecules of destruction, whose corruption and action are done away, showing favour to some, the Highest grants them the rank of King of the Worlds. Others he, of his own will, makes Lords of the Mantras. Of these there are one hundred and eighteen. At the time of the opening of the day the whole molecules exist as a residuum because of their connection with art and the rest. *These* others, being united by the force of previous action to the eight-doored bodies, enter all wombs. The eight-doored consists of the internal organ and the instruments of the action of intellect.

14. Eight of these are called "Mandalins," and an equal number are Krodh, etc., Vireś and Śrîkaṇṭha and the hundred Rudras. These together are one hundred and eighteen.

15. In order by an act of power to deliver those whose corruption is matured, He, assuming the form of a teacher, unites them by initiation to the highest principle.

16. All the souls that are bound He appoints to the experience of sense-objects, according to their previous actions. This is the reason that they are called "beasts."

17. The fetters of the soul are of four kinds : the first two are called "corruption" and "action," and the other two arise from the material and obscuring energy of Śiva.

18. Corruption is to be regarded as single, but showing many powers ; and, as the husk covers the rice, or the stain of the copper covers the gold, so corruption covers the knowledge and action of souls.

19. Action is said to be beginningless, good and bad, and various. Matter, being in the form of substance, is the root of the universe, and it is eternal.

20. Because it is favourable to the fetters, the soul-obscuring power of the Creator is called a fetter. Thus the fetters are four-fold.

Chapter II.

1. In all *the books*, from first to last, they call the five pure principles the Śiva principle. There is always energy in the Śiva principle, and in the principle called the "Science of God."

2. In order that the soul may be cognizant and efficient, there arise from matter five principles,—time and destiny, and likewise art, and science and passion.

3. From matter arise, one from another, the unmanifest, the quality principle, intellect, egoism, mind, the organs of intellect, and action, their objects, also, and the physical elements.

4. Primarily for the experience of the soul there arise the twenty. There are, also, the three, between which and the qualities of matter there is fundamentally no difference.

5. The teachers describe the Śiva principle as pervasive, single, eternal, the cause of the whole universe, characterized by knowledge and activity.

6. It is in reliance on this that desire and all the other energies perform their individual functions. Hence they call this the "all-favouring" one.

7. The first slightest movement of this one, who desired to create for the benefit of the intelligent and unintelligent, that is called the Power principle, and is not distinguished from himself.

8. The outreach that exists in the absence of increase or decrease, in the powers of knowledge and action,—that the enlightened call the "Sadāśiva" Principle.

9. When the energy called knowledge is in abeyance, and action is in the ascendant, that is called the "Īśvara" Principle. It is always the performer of the functions of all.

10. Where the functioning power is in abeyance, and the one called knowledge obtains the ascendancy, the principle is called "Science." It is enlightening because of being in the form of knowledge.

11. The whole molecules, tone and syllable, are said to be ever dependent on the Sadāśiva principle; again, the lords of the sciences on the Lord, and the mantras and sciences on Science.

12. There is in this world really no series of all these five, because of the absence of time; but for practical purposes, an arrangement of them has indeed been made in the text-book.

13. There is in reality one principle, called Śiva, sketched as having a hundred various powers. Because of the difference in operation of the powers, these differences have been set in order as belonging to it.

14. For the sake of favouring the intelligent and unintelligent, the Lord, assuming these forms, performs an act of kindness to the intelligent beings whose powers are held in check by beginningless corruption.

15. To the atoms the all-favouring Śiva grants experience and liberation in their own functions, and to the brutish breed, strength to perform its proper task.

16. This surely is an act of grace for the intelligent, that liberation should have the form of Śiva—lkeness. He, because of the beginninglessness of action, does not reach perfection without experience in this world.

17. Hence, in order to provide for his gaining experience, the Creator creates the body, the instruments and the universe. For there is no result without an actor, nor yet without material and instrumental causes.

Chapter III.

1. The energies are known to be his instruments, matter his material. The latter is described as subtle, single, eternal, pervasive, without beginning or end, kindly.

2. Common to all beings; this is the cause, also, of all worlds, for it is involved in the actions of every person; by its own nature it is productive of infatuation.

3. Having consideration for actions, Śiva, by his own powers, causes change in matter, and to every soul gives bodies and their instruments to have experience withal.

4. Matter, being possessed of various powers, creates in the beginning the time principle only, binding the world into the forms of past, present and future : hence it is time.

5. Destiny is in the form of destining force ; it, also, arises next from matter. Because it destines everything, therefore it is called destiny.

6. Afterwards art arises from matter. Gathering the corruption of the souls, it reveals active power ; hence in this world it is called " art."

7. With the help of time and destiny, matter is constantly doing its work of creation on everything, from the smallest particle to the earth.

8. For the purpose of revealing sense-objects to the soul, whose active power has been awakened, this art brings forth the science principle, which is in the form of light.

9. This, by its own action, breaking through the obstruction to the power called knowledge, reveals the mass of sense-objects. It is in this world the highest instrument of the self.

10. When intelligence becomes capable of being experienced by the soul, and has the form of pleasure, etc., then science becomes the instrument. But intelligence is the instrument in the perception of sense-objects.

11. Passion is enthralment without distinction between the objects of sense. It is the ordinary cause of the attachment of the soul, and is different from the characteristics of intellect.

12. Bound by these principles, when the animate being reaches the state of having conscious experience, then it is called " soul " and is given a place among the principles.

Chapter IV.

1. For the experience, assuredly, of this very soul, the unrevealed is born of this *matter*. This unrevealed is undefined because of its unmanifested qualities.

2. From the unrevealed springs the quality principle, too, in the form of enlightenment, operation and restraint, called " sattva, rajas, tamas " and *producing* pleasure, pain and infatuation.

3. From the three elements arises intellect. It is said, also, to have the characteristic of distinguishing between sense-objects. This, too, is of three kinds by quality in accordance with actions of previous births.

4. Egoism is three-fold, being in the form of life, action and pride of power. By union with it an existant sense-object comes into experience.

5. Egoism is, further, divided three-fold according to the difference between the qualities " sattva, rajas and tamas ; " and it is called by the names " modifying, passionate, elemental."

6. From the passionate arises mind, from the modifying arise the senses, and from the elemental the regions. This is the order of their emanation from that.

7. Mind is in the form of desire, and its business is consideration ; the instruments of the intellect are the ear, skin, eye, tongue and nose.

8. The percepts of these are sound, touch, form, taste and smell. These are, respectively, their sense-objects, even five of five.

9. The perception of sound, etc., respectively, is said to be the function of these. The voice, hands, feet, and the organs of excretion are the organs of action.

10. Speaking, grasping, walking, excretion and satisfaction, are the action of these. The internal organ is three-fold and is called egoism, intellect and mind.

11. Because of the distinction between organs of intellect and organs of action, they, again are ten. With respect to their regions, they are ether, air, fire, water, earth : these are the five physical elements.

12. The subtle forms of sound, etc., are called their regions. The five physical elements arise from these five by the addition of one quality after another.

13. Giving space, blowing, cooking, collecting and bearing, are described as the respective functions of the physical elements, ether, etc.

Chapter V.

1. That which is the ten-fold activity is performed when undertaken by the instrumental causes. The instrumental causes, because of their innate weakness, act in dependence upon result.

2. The first five belong to one class, because they are of the form of thought ; but the remaining seven, beginning with matter, are said in the Śaiva to be of two kinds.

3. In this world the connection of all, from the unrevealed on, is with the qualities, because of their being in the form of pleasure, pain and infatuation. There is this peculiarity in the last ten.

4. Despite a similarity in quality between sound, etc., and the unrevealed, because they are not equivalent, the one to the other, a separate class is to be recognized here. Also, there is a special case of some through the connection caused by the latency of the effect in the cause.

5. The standing of all the principles has been related in order of creation. In the end, when the process is reversed, they sink back into matter.

6. Apart from matter every pure species sinks back into energy ; and this stands at one with Śiva the soul of all.

7. Matter, Soul, Śiva,—this triad survives at the destruction of the world. Again, this becomes active, as before, in creation.

8. Through mercy to all the wearied creatures in the world, the Lord causes the destruction of the universe, that these very beings may have rest.

Chapter VI.

1. Through pity for the animate beings, the highest Lord grants yet again, creation to those tormented by the fact that their action is not matured. Thus he matures the action of the embodied.

2. Having granted maturity of action through experience, and so, having performed the initiatory ceremonies, the one fount of mercy, the ever-gracious Siva, by an act of power, releases all animate beings.

3. That among all existences causing experience, which remains to the end of the age, is called a principle. Hence a body, a jar, or the like, is not a principle.

4. The source of each principle and its primary and secondary causes, also the arrangement of all the principles, have been related.

5. Moreover, the principle of principles, on which this whole universe rests, has been told easily. The glorious King Bhojadeva has arranged " The Illumination of the principles."

A few Notes on Tattva Prakâśâ.

I, 8. The originals of "molecules of discernment," "molecules of destruction," and "whole molecules" are, respectively,—*vijñânakalâ*, *pralayakalâ* and *sakalâ*. It is a question in my mind whether it is better to retain the Sanskrit terminology even in the translation, explaining it in the notes, or to translate this terminology as nearly as possible.

I, 9. "The first," *viz.*, molecules of discernment.

I, 11, 12, 13. The translation of these verses is very difficult, owing to the fact that, as they stand in the Sanskrit they mean next to nothing. By a manipulation of the verses, which is indicated in the notes, the translation given here is educed. Is it better to try to make sense from the verses as they stand, or to commingle them as the notes indicate, fitting parts of different verses into each other, so as to make the perhaps better sense of the present translation ?

I, 16. "Beasts"—This word I have consistently translated by the term "animate being," as in I, 5, but here I have departed from that translation because the context seemed to demand it.

II, 1. "Science of God"—The original is *Îśvaravidyâ*. Should it be translated ?

II, 4. "The twenty" have been named in the immediately preceding verses. "The three" are those of I, 5.

II, 8. *Sadâśiv*—Should this term be translated ? If so, how ?

II, 9. *Îśvara*—Of course, this can be translated "lord" or "lordly"; but the question is whether it would make the matter clearer to do so. What policy should one pursue in such matters ?

II, 10. "Science"—*Vidya*. The same question here.

II, 15. "Brutish breed"—*viz.*, the fetters.

II, 16. "He"—*viz.*, the intelligent.

III, 6. There is a play here in the original on *kalâ* and *kalayitva*. It seems almost impossible to reproduce this in translation, though it is important to do so.

VI, 5. "The Illumination of the Principles"—This is the way I have translated *Tattva Prakâśa*. Would it be acceptable as the title of the whole, in place of the Sanskrit name ?

BOOK-NOTICES.

The Home of an Eastern Clan : A Study of the Palaungs of the Shan States. By Mrs. Leslie Milne. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1924.

We have in this volume another of the excellent books that Mrs. Milne gives us from time to time. In this case the tribes inhabiting part of British Burma, with which she deals, are brought before us in a manner that leaves little to be desired. Mrs. Milne is indeed an experienced and honest observer of human beings, and anthropologists have reason to be once more grateful for her energy, courage and capacity for telling her story.

She starts in her characteristic way by saying that "this book is concerned for the most part with the Katur [Samlong] tribe of the Palaungs, living in or near Namhsan, the capital of Tawngpeng [Taungbaing], which is nominally a Shan State, but is governed by a Palaung Chief and inhabited almost entirely by Palaungs." Mrs. Milne chose her place of observation well, and she next tells us how she came to know a people seldom seen outside their own States, and what is far more important, in detail how she learnt a language of which she knew nothing at all from a people who in their turn knew nothing of any language but their own. I know what this means, as many years ago I set to work to learn the language of savages in the same circumstances. I found that the savage was quite as bent on learning my language as I was on learning his, and entirely unable to explain his little peculiarities of grammar, which by the way included grammatical changes at the beginning of his words—African fashion—a habit that caused much thought and delay in ascertaining why apparently different words were invariably used for the same object each time he was questioned. Mrs. Milne in her entertaining way tells us how she learnt Palaung, and I would advise all searchers into the speech of wild tribes and the like to study her remarks seriously. She found willing, even devoted, helpers, largely I take it, though she never hints it, owing to her own personality—brave, kindly, energetic, humourous, sympathetic. She also gives us a bright and informing narrative of the journey into the wild hills occupied by the Palaungs, and though her narrative is always lively, it is quite easy to see that her journeys could only have been accomplished by a woman prepared to face all difficulties with an intrepid heart.

Passing on to the main contents of the book, it will be found to be most systematically put together, so as to tell the whole story point by point. Beginning with History and a short excursion into Ethnology, we shall find that the Palaungs are a Mon-Khmer people fixed in a land chiefly occupied by Shans and dominated by them : only one State, that of Tawngpeng, being, as already said, under a Palaung chief, whose capital Namhsan is, from an illustration, a typical Far Eastern village on the top of one of the many hills in the Shan States.

After this Mrs. Milne takes us through the Palaung's life from birth to death. Beginning with the baby, she writes : "The life of a Palaung, like that of a Shan, is hedged about with racial and family traditions, and much that I wrote in my book on the Shans [*Shans at Home*] applies to the Palaungs, in so far as their early childhood is concerned, but there the resemblance ends." Every detail, and they are all valuable, is then given of the baby's life and upbringing, together with the superstitious practices in connection therewith; even the songs sung to it and its games are recorded. The naming custom by the week-day seem to be typically Far-Eastern, it may be remarked in passing, and it is also pleasant to see that "a little child has a happy life in the villages of the Palaung and Palê [a clan of the Palaungs]."

"Little children between the ages of four and nine or ten enjoy a good deal of freedom," and soon learn to make themselves useful. They certainly live in beautiful situations, are carefully taught the ways of life, sing many songs (recorded by Mrs. Milne), have counting-out games, indulge in a secret language and unfortunately learn too much about the Spirits. "The boys and girls and all unmarried folk of a Palaung village are looked after, as to their conduct, by certain elderly men and women," the *Pakk'edang*, who are wealthy and respectable, and appointed for the purpose to teach them manners and to watch over propriety of behaviour. There is a certain amount of initiation to life by ordeal, all regulated. It will be seen that it is not a bad thing to be born a Palaung child. When boys have been tattooed and girls have passed the ordeal of the *pruh*, they cease to be children and become young men and maidens, and love-making begins. This is an elaborate affair, much regulated and controlled by custom, and magic is resorted to, to settle the right suitor to marry as the courtship proceeds. This sometime, ends in illegitimate children, generally, however legitimised by subsequent marriage. But the Palaungs make good husbands and wives and are faithful to each other.

As in Europe, so among the Palaungs, there are favourite months for marriage, which takes place usually between 16 and 25 or more, as regards the girls, the men being older. The marriage is generally an elopement under very strict regulations by custom, there being a great deal of make-believe about it. It ends with a formal recognition by the village elders and is really quite a proper proceeding.

When married, a man must have a house to live in, and as the building of a new house, just as in Burma generally, requires great care and preparation, there is much resort to magic and "wise men" in all the proceedings from the choice of a site. The Palaungs, however, show no great love for their houses, though they are very much attached to their villages, and Mrs. Milne has an interesting little chapter on Home Life. She has much more to say about the Village Life, the village being always in a picturesque situation "on the top of a hill, on a ridge connecting two hills, or on a spur of a hill." Mrs. Milne explains how the people live in it, their habits, manners and customs, their festivities and their fears, and on the whole there are worse places in the world than Palaung villages for natives to live in. The people have no manufactures and make the money to purchase their wants "almost entirely by growing and curing tea and by trading." In this they resemble an allied people, the Nicobarese, who live on the cocoanut palm and its produce, which they sell. With this proviso, Mrs. Mlilne explains the Palaung method of agriculture, such as it is. Under native, that is Shan or Palaung rule, disputes were settled, "when there was a lack of evidence, by ordeal, in order that the assistance of Spirits might be obtained." Trial by ordeal still takes place *sub rosâ* under British rule. It is not easy to break down immemorial custom. Mrs. Milne, however, has not much to say on this important subject, as she has never personally witnessed such a trial.

"Palaungs believe that nearly all the ills of life are the work of evil spirits." In such circumstances their beliefs in charms and omens are obviously important, and Mrs. Milne goes into them at some length. Speaking generally, their beliefs are those of the secondary Far Eastern peoples. Every Palaung woman desires children, though the customs regarding child-birth give her a bad time—a very bad time. Child-birth, too, is an occasion when primitive superstitions are allowed to run riot more or less. The same may be said of death. Mrs. Milne gives the death customs at large, and some of them are of great interest.

The modern Palaung is a professed Buddhist, but his Buddhism is only skin deep, as, according to their own statement, it was introduced among them by the Burmese king Bodawpayâ, who came to the throne as late as 1781. Mrs. Milne explains that it is accordingly of the purer Southern type—the Hinayana, and she gives a brief account of it in some very interesting pages, as it affects the Palaungs. But the people are Animists at heart, *i.e.*, they are Spirit-worshippers, and in this they seem to differ among themselves greatly, but obviously in this respect they are Far-Eastern in feeling. We have it all here, the wandering soul, the metempsychosis, and the rest of it, and on such points Mrs. Milne is most informing. Palaung cosmogony is indefinite, but the people "attach great significance to dreams" and their interpretation. Mrs. Milne winds up her text with the proverbs, riddles and folktales of this little known folk.

She has an Appendix showing differences in custom, which is of exceeding value. For instance, 'elopement' is not the form of marriage among *all* Palaung classes. With these remarks I part company with one of the best field books on ethnology it has been my fortune to come across.

R. C. Temple.

The Folklore of Bombay. By R. E. Enthoven, C.I.E. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1924.

This well-arranged book, which is likely to command much attention from writers on primitive belief and custom, comprises information collected by the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson from schoolmasters in Gujarat and the Konkan, which was subsequently published in the form of Notes under Mr. Enthoven's supervision, and also information on the same lines secured by the author himself from the Deccan and Karnatak, or Kanarese-speaking, districts of the Bombay Presidency. Mr. Enthoven has thus made available to students of Folklore a large mass of authentic fact, which, so far as Bombay is concerned, has never previously been published, and which, when studied in conjunction with the late Dr. Crooke's two volumes on the popular religion and folklore of Northern India, should oblige experts and scholars to pay more attention than they hitherto have to ancient Indian customs and superstitions. In his Introduction Mr. Enthoven refers more than once to Sir James Campbell's valuable notes on "The Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom," which originally appeared in this *Journal*, but rightly points out that spirit possession and spirit-scaring do not suffice, as Sir James Campbell was disposed to believe, to account for all the ideas and habits disclosed by the enquiry initiated by Mr. Jackson and carried to completion by himself, and, in fact, that the origin of the beliefs and practices in vogue among the people of Western India must be sought in various directions.

The author deals fully in his first chapter with the worship of the Sun and other natural objects. In reference to Sun-worship one may add that some people make use of a brass or copper device, *Surya yantra*, in the form of a square inscribed with the names of the regents of the eight quarters, surmounted by two concentric circles bearing the various titles of the Sun-god, the whole surmounted by the well-known device of the triangle within a circle. The device is included in one of the plates in the original edition of Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, and specimens have occasionally been obtained of recent years by collectors of brass and copper images. I am glad to find that the author supports my contention that *mrigañka*, an epithet of the Moon, signifies "deer-marked." In the first volume of *The Ocean of Story*, edited by Mr. Penzer, *mrigañka* is declared to mean "hare-marked," "because Hindus see a hare in the Moon", and in reviewing that work for another journal, I pointed out that *sasânka* or *sasidhara* is the epithet used in this sense, while *mrigañka* refers solely to the alternative belief that there is an antelope in the Moon. The practices incumbent upon Hindus during an eclipse are universal throughout India, and students of Maratha history will remember that it was during an eclipse on the night of November 22nd, 1751, that Bussy attacked the Peshwa's army and won an easy victory, owing to the fact that the Marathas were fully engaged in the ceremonies described in Mr. Enthoven's pages. The belief connected with the appearance of a comet is also illustrated historically by the popular view that Sivaji's death was marked by the simultaneous appearance of a comet and a lunar rainbow.

On page 92 it is stated that some people believe in the existence upon mountain-tops of a class of recluses, called Aghori-bavas, who devour human beings. The belief is based upon solid fact. Though the Aghori sect has practically been supressed, there are cases on record for the years 1862, 1878, 1882, 1884 and 1885, in which members of this monstrous confraternity were convicted by British magistrates of anthropophagy. Tod in his *Travels in Western India* mentions Mt. Abu and the Girnar hills as being the headquarters of the sect. The records of the Anthropological Society of Bombay contain all the information available about them in 1892. In his chapter on Spirit Possession and Scaring, in which he deals exhaustively with the Godlings, Mothers and Demons who form the real pantheon of the mass of the people, Mr. Enthoven gives an interesting table showing the caste of the priests who attend on these minor deities. The list by itself is almost sufficient to prove the aboriginal character of these local gods and goddesses, who, though in several cases they may have been adopted into Brahmanic Hinduism as manifestations of the higher gods, have really nothing in common with Aryan ideas. Among the most valuable features of the author's work is his discovery of survivals of a totemistic organization among the lower classes of the Presidency. The facts in respect of various social divisions have been given in the author's *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*; and he confines himself, therefore, in the present work to enumerating some of the *devaks* and *balis*, which now represent the totem, and explaining the mode of worshipping them.

In connexion with the passionate feeling respecting the sanctity of the Cow, which is briefly dealt with on page 213, it would be interesting to know exactly when this feeling developed; for it seems clear from the known facts of history that this vehement belief did not exist to a marked degree at the date of Alexander's invasion or under the rule of the Mauryas. Regarding the objection of high-class Hindus to touch or be touched by a dog, it is curious to reflect that the very last scene in the long panorama of the *Mahâbhârata* is that of Yudishthira climbing a mountain in company with his dog, and finally translated, with his dog, to Heaven. The sentiment underlying the hero's insistence upon the entry into Heaven of his faithful hound, is apparently quite foreign to the ideas about the dog now possessed by the Hindu upper-classes. In the seventh chapter the author deals with the evil eye, magic and witchcraft, and mentions various methods adopted for counteracting the influence of witches. No mention, however, is made of the most potent method of all, viz., witch-murder. Perhaps in this respect the Bombay Presidency is more advanced than Behar and Orissa, where in 1920 the people murdered eleven supposed witches. A similar comment may be made on the subject of the cure of barrenness, which is included in the tenth chapter on women's rites. The murder of children, especially male children, followed by a bath in the blood of the murdered child, is well known in other parts of India as a remedy for sterility. Three cases from the Panjab and United Provinces, which occurred at the close of last century, have been recorded in this *Journal*. Three more cases occurred in the Panjab as recently as 1921. The absence of all reference to this type of ritual murder perhaps justifies the assumption that these savage methods of procuring offspring are no longer countenanced by the people of Western India.

Much more might be written about this pioneer work. The chapter on Village, Field and Other Rites is both important and interesting and should be read by those concerned with the rural economy of Bombay, while the chapter on Disease Deities should equally be known to those who deal with the sanitation of the small towns and villages and with the public health. Mr. Enthoven's work is not merely of value to the expert student of folklore and primitive belief, but possesses a practical value for all who play a part in the administration of the Bombay Presidency.

S. M. EDWARDES.

BULLETIN DE L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME-ORIENT, Tome XXIII. 1923. Hanoi, 1924.

In a previous issue of the *Indian Antiquary* I dealt at some length with the history and achievements of the French Far-Eastern School, particularly in regard to its antiquarian researches in Indo-China. The volume that now lies before me affords additional evidence, if this were needed, of the value of the work performed by French orientalists. The first hundred pages and more are occupied by an essay on the relations between Japan and Indo-China in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, contributed by M. N. Peri, to which are added separate papers concerning boat-building and shipping in Japan, loans at interest advanced to shippers by the Japanese at that period, and thirdly a Japanese plan of Ankor-Vat. These papers are followed by a remarkable historical reconstruction of the first Chinese conquest of the Annamite country in the third century B.C.,—the work of M. L. Aurousseau. His conclusions, which are worth perusal, are epitomised in the fourth chapter of the essay, and are followed by a long note on the origin of the people of Annam. E. Chavannes, in his masterly translation of the Memoirs of Seu-ma Ts'ien, advanced the opinion that the Annamite race must have had affinity with that of the pre-Chinese kingdom of Yue, which occupied the western portion of the province of Tchö-kiang and was destroyed in the fourth century B.C. M. Aurousseau in his note develops this theory and shows that it accords with certain well-established historical facts.

M. Parmentier contributes some interesting remarks on Indo-Chinese archæology, dealing with recently discovered Cham antiquities, the statue of Vishnu found in 1912 at Vong-thê, which now graces a small Buddhist pagoda, and various Indo-Chinese sculptures, the origin of which has not yet been clearly ascertained. Another important paper is that of "The Vidyârâja" by Mr. Jean Przyluski, described as a contribution to the history of magic among the Mahâyânist sects of Buddhism. He calls pointed attention to the fact that the doctrine of the *Vidyârâja*, or emanations from the *Tathâgata*, finds its exact counterpart in one of the Gnostic scriptures, viz., the Eighth book of Moses, which was unquestionably composed between the second and fourth centuries A.D. Like most Gnostic literature, it is a confused medley of religious beliefs in vogue at that date in the Eastern regions bordering on Greece. It is quite possible that Gnosticism borrowed largely from Indian philosophy, and it is equally possible that India in return felt the influence of various Eastern sects about the fourth century A.D., that is to say, at the time when the idea of *mantrarâja* appears in the Buddhist texts, and when ideas of magic commenced to pervade Mahâyânist literature.

M. F. Goré contributes an interesting collection of notes on the Tibetan regions of Seu-Tch'ouan and Yunnan, which adds considerably to our geographical knowledge of those little-known lands; while ethnologists will find plenty of interesting matter in the miscellaneous papers which complete the literary portion of this volume. They deal with such subjects as "a method of fixing dates in vogue among the Laos", "Magic drums in Mongolia," and "The refuse of a neolithic kitchen-midden at Tam-toa in Annam." A bibliography and official record of the proceedings of the French School occupy the last two hundred pages of a work, which amply illustrates the capacity for painstaking and logical research possessed by the French archæologist and antiquarian.

S. M. EDWARDES.

La Légende de L'Empereur Açoka (Açoka-Avadâna) Dans les Textes Indiens et Chinois; par J. Przyluski. Annales du Musée Guimet. Tome XXXII: Paul Gouthner, 13, Rue Jacob, Paris. 1923.

This work which is characterized by deep knowledge of Buddhist literature and much analytical capacity, seeks to establish the approximate date, the origin, and the character of the *Aśokâvadâna*, which, while enshrining traditions identical with those appearing in the *Vinaya*, is probably far older than the latter work. At the outset of his thesis the author is able to show that the story of Buddha's journey in the *Aśokâvadâna* is older than the corresponding passage in the *Vinaya*, and secondly that, whereas the author of the former shows an obvious preference for the country round Mathurâ, the compiler of the latter glorifies the more westerly part of the land in which early Buddhism was established. There can be no doubt that Mathurâ exercised much influence on the development and expansion of the Buddhistic doctrine, owing to the fact that it was situated on one of the great Indian trade routes, and also that its monastic scribes had inherited from the Brâhmans of antiquity a knowledge of Sanskrit, as well as literary and philosophical traditions. The earliest Buddhist communities had developed more to the east, principally at Magadha, where the texts embodying the teaching of Buddha were probably recited in the Magadhi dialect and were usually rhythmic, to allow of easy memorising. When Buddhism penetrated the western portion of the Gangetic valley, the monks of Mathurâ, who were conversant with Sanskrit and in general were more intellectual and highly trained than the ancient communities of the eastern region, developed an entirely new literature, of which the *Aśokâvadâna* is one of the most characteristic specimens.

In brief, the author distinguishes three phases in the gradual extension of the faith of Gautama Buddha from the Gangetic valley to the plateaux of Upper Asia, each of which corresponds to a distinct period in the history of Buddhist literature. Originally confined to Magadha and the neighbouring areas, the disciples of Sâkya Muni were content with the production of short compositions in Magadhi, usually in verse. Later, in the plain watered by the Ganges and Jamna, new converts lent to the service of the faith the highly polished prose and dialectics of the old Sanskrit philosophers. This was the period of Mathurâ, during which longer and more perfect works, like the *Aśokâvadâna*, were published in Sanskrit. Finally, on reaching Kashmir, Buddhism became more eclectic, lost its character of a local sect, and became a universal religion. This led to the foundation of a third school of writers and compilers, who recast, commented upon, collated, and developed the ancient texts.

In the course of his argument, the author points out that there are three classes of Buddhist works which refer to the Buddhist Councils. The first class speaks of one Council only, the second mentions two, and the third refers to a third Council. The *Aśokâvadâna* falls in the first of these three classes. He also shows that the story of Aśoka's pilgrimage is fairly clear evidence that, at the date of composition of the *Aśokâvadâna*, the cult of Ananda was an essential feature of Buddhism. Thence he proceeds to discuss the question of Upagupta's appearance in the sixth and last episode of the Deeds of Aśoka, as embodied in the *Aśokâvadâna*, and comes to the conclusion that the *Aśokâvadâna* is a composite work, made up of an original *sutra* describing the exploits of the Buddhist emperor, amalgamated by a scribe of Mathurâ with the story of the first Council and the lives of the Patriarchs. He gives his reasons for holding that this *sutra* or *Aśokasutra* was compiled between 150 and 50 B.C.

The reign of Pushyamitra seems to have marked, for Buddhism, the commencement of an epoch of decentralization. With his rise to power the Magadha era closes; and the propagation of the Law in a northwesterly and south-westerly direction receives a new impulse. For Pushyamitra was a champion of Brâhmanic Hinduism, and persecuted the Buddhists, who were thus forced to leave Pâtaliputra and fled probably towards Nepal and Kashmir, and also to the regions of the valley of the Jumna, over which the more tolerant Agnimitra was then ruling.

The author, in the course of his work, makes a reasoned enquiry into the origin and significance of the Buddhist legend of Pindola, and analyses the tales composing the Cycle of Aśoka, which are one and all derivable from an ancient and primitive legend, first elaborated among the Buddhist communities settled in the proximity of Pâtaliputra. An examination of "Aśoka's Hell" (*L'Enfer d'Açoka*) leads to some very suggestive remarks on the influence upon Buddhism of Iranian ideas, notably in reference to the Buddhist eschatology and the figure of the Saviour Maitreya, who shows a striking affinity to the Iranian Saosyant. The author's well-reasoned theme will form a valuable addition to the literature which has grown up round the figures of "the Perfect one" and the compassionate emperor, who combined in himself the rôles of monk and monarch, and carved on rocks, cave-walls, and sandstone pillars in various parts of India the Buddhist gospel of truth, reverence and charity.

S. M. Edwardes.

57. The Power of Fate.

(*Told by Hasan Khân Pathan of Sahâranpur.*)

There was once an astrologer who said to the King of Shâm (Syria), "Thou shalt meet thy death at the hand of the King of Rûm." Hearing this, the king stayed at home through fear. One day he went into the bath chamber, and lo! a golden bird appeared with a chain which hung to the ground. The king grasped the chain to seize the bird, when it flew away with him and landed him on the parade-ground, where the King of Rûm was exercising his troops. The King of Rûm recognised him and showed him due hospitality, asking him what food he needed. "I like no food as much as the cucumber," he answered. The King of Rûm then called for a cucumber and began cutting it in pieces and feeding his guest. But all of a sudden the King of Shâm sneezed, and the knife by mischance pierced his nose and entered his brain. Such is the power of Fate.

58. The Thakur and the Koli.

(*Told by Makkhan Jat of Halkauli, Mathura District, and recorded by Bhala Bania of that village.*)

A Koli once took service with a Thâkur. One day the Koli said to his wife :—" I am going to my master. Do you need aught ? " She replied, " Ask your master to give me a petticoat and a sheet." Her husband promised to do so. He found the Thâkur just ready to set forth to the house of his father-in-law and was bidden by him to go with him and mind the horse. As they went along, the Thâkur said to the Koli, " Take my sword and be careful of it, as it is of great value. " On arriving at a river, the Thâkur asked how they were to cross. " You ride on," said the Koli, " and I will hold on to the tail." When they reached mid stream, the scabbard dropped into the water, and the Koli cried :— " Something black has fallen from the sword. " " Where did it fall, " shouted the Thâkur. " Just about there," said the Koli and flung the sword after it. Then he said, " I just remember that my wife asked you to give her a petticoat and a sheet." Said the Thâkur, " Be gone, accursed one! What a fool I was to take such a stupid lout as my servant."

59. The Sadhu and the Rat.

(*Told by Shiba Sinh, Brahman, of Sahâranpur.*)

A rat, who lived in the jungle, was one day chased by a cat. He took shelter in the hut of a Sadhu and begged his protection. The Sadhu blessed him and said, " Go, my son, and become a cat." So he was turned into a cat and lived by hunting the rats in the jungle. One day, being chased by a dog, he again ran to the Sadhu, who blessed him and said, " Go, my son, and become a dog." So he became a dog and used to hunt cats in the forest. One day he was attacked by a tiger and again sought the Sadhu's help. The Sadhu blessed him, and he became a tiger, spending his time in chasing and killing deer. At length the deer got to know him and left the jungle, so that he had nothing to eat and suffered from hunger. By chance the Sadhu passed that way, and the tiger sprang upon him. Then the Sadhu cursed him, saying " Go, my son, and become a rat again. " He implored the Sadhu to allow him to remain a tiger. But the Sadhu left him saying, " Thou art an ungrateful beast. If I bless thee again, perchance thou mayest work me evil."

60. The Prince and Pân Shâhzâdi.

(*Told by Jhuman Lâl of Dîdârganj, Azamgarh District, and recorded by Jadunandan Rae of Baswân.*)

There was once a Prince, whose parents died after they had betrothed him to a princess in another land. One day, while hunting, he felt thirsty, and went to a river, on the surface of which he found a *pân* leaf floating. When he touched it, he lost his senses : and bringing the leaf home, he placed it on a shelf.

The Prince's food was prepared daily and placed near his couch ; but every night some one came and ate it. At last he determined to watch, and he cut his finger and rubbed it with salt and pepper. At night when Pân Shâzâdi came out of the leaf on the shelf and began eating his food, he seized her and made her live with him as his wife. After many days the parents of his betrothed summoned him to come and marry his bride, whereat he was very sad and asked Pân Shâhzâdi what to do. She said, "Go and marry her. But when will you return;" "I will come," said he, "when the dove that sits on the banyan tree has eggs, and the tree flowers."

So he departed; and the dove had eggs and the tree flowered, but he never returned. At last Pân Shâhzâdi had a flying elephant made, which could also speak. In this she concealed herself and was borne to the Prince's palace. The Prince was delighted and had the elephant placed on the roof of the palace. There his wife found it, and while he was out hunting, she had it burnt. The Prince was sore grieved at the loss of the elephant; but a Sadhu took the ashes and prayed to Bhagwân, and lo! a lovely girl rose from the ashes. This was the Pân Shâhzâdi.

She went to the palace, and hearing that the Prince was sick unto death at the burning of the elephant, she disguised herself as a beggar, boiled some oil, and threw it over him, whereupon he at once recovered. He asked her to enter and see his queen, and when he himself came in a little later he found two lovely princesses together. So he knew that this was Pân Shâhzâdi; and he killed his other queen, and they lived happily ever after.

61. The Lion and the Jackal.

(*Told by Ramdayâl, Khairagarh, Agra District.*)

A lion, who lived with his wife in a cave, used to leave her daily and go forth to look for prey. One day up came a jackal, mounted on a fox and carrying a bow and arrow of reed. Finding the lion away from home, he said to the lioness, "Where is that wretched husband of yours?" "What do you want with him?" she asked. "Do you not know that I am the lord of this jungle, and that your husband owes me his house-tax. I am looking everywhere for him, and when I find him, I will kill him." The lioness was much afraid at these words, and to pacify the jackal she gave him some of the meat stored for the use of her family.

After this the jackal used to come every day and get meat, and used all kinds of threats and abuse against the lion. Through anxiety and annoyance the lioness grew quite lean, and at last the lion noticed it and asked her, "Why are you so lean, when I bring abundance of meat daily?" Then she told him of the visits of the jackal and what he used to say; and when he heard it, the lion was very wroth; and next morning, instead of going out to hunt as usual, he lay down in ambush close to the cave. Up came the jackal as usual and began to abuse and threaten the lioness. Then the lion rushed at him, and the jackal ran before him under the pillar shoots of a banyan tree. He managed to push his way through them, but the lion stuck between two branches and could not escape. In a few days he died there of hunger and thirst.

Some time after, the jackal went back to the place, and when he saw the lion dead he was delighted, and, going to the lioness, said, "It is not good for any female to remain a widow. You must come and live with me as my wife." So he took the lioness to his den. Now the lioness, when the lion died, was about to have cubs, and soon after she went to live with the jackal, they were born. She was so much afraid of the jackal that she said nothing; but when her cubs were six months old, one day they asked her who their father was. She told them the jackal was their father.

Then the cubs went to him and said, "Father, teach us the language you speak." He answered, "I cannot teach you my language, because, if you learnt it, you would be the masters of the three worlds." But at last they persuaded him to teach them, and when he gave one howl, they knew that he was only a jackal after all. So they fell upon him and tore him to pieces.

May Parameśwar so deal with all rogues like him!

62. The Magic Fish.

(*Told by Lakshman Prasâd, Brahman, Jalesar, Etah District.*)

Famine broke out in the land and grain sold at the price of pearls. All the people began to die of starvation, when one day in the river beneath the city there appeared an enormous fish. Many thousand maunds in weight was he, and so large that he could not be covered by the water, and his body stretched from bank to bank. When the people saw the fish, they all ran to the river and began to cut off pieces of his flesh, which they cooked and ate. Now there were in the city an old Brahman and his wife, and they too were sore afflicted by the famine. The old woman said to her husband—" Why should we die of hunger, when all the people of the city feed on the flesh of this fish ? Go you and get a share." The old Brahman went at the order of his wife, and he took with him a basket and a knife. When he came to the place where the fish lay, he saw that much of his flesh had been cut off and there were great holes in his body ; but he was still alive. When the Brahman saw his state he was moved to pity, and the fish said—" Why do not you, like all the other men of the city, cut off some of my flesh ? " The Brahman answered—" I fear the Lord Nârâyan, who has ordered me to eat no flesh and to touch naught save the fruits of the earth." The fish answered—" Thou art a man of piety I will now give thee two rubies, one of which sell and buy food ; the other keep for me, until I demand it from thee."

The Brahman took the rubies and went to another city. One of them he sold and gave food to his family, until the famine had passed. Then he came back to his own city ; and meanwhile the fish had been reborn and become the Râja of the city. He, remembering how the people had treated him, began to treat them with the most extreme cruelty. When the Brahman returned, he was going to salute the Râja ; but the people said—" Why do you approach this tyrant ? He will surely do thee mischief." But he went and stood before the Râja who said—" Where is that which I entrusted to thee ? " The Brahman knew not what he meant. At last the Râja said—" Where is the ruby, which I gave thee by the river bank ? " The Brahman knew that the fish had become a Râja and gave him the ruby. The Râja said—" Thou alone of all my subjects didst treat me with mercy in the days of my affliction. Now I will make you my chief Pandit. As for my people, I will revenge my wrongs upon them all the days of my life." But the Brahman besought him in the name of Nârâyan, and he forgave their offence.

63. The Fate of the Slattern Wife.

(*Told by Dharm Dâs, Schoolmaster, Lalitpur*).

The wife of a certain Bania was a wretched slattern, and did not know how to cook anything. One day, as he was setting out for his shop, he said, " Cook some curry for dinner." So she procured all the materials and put them in a pot to boil. By and by the stuff began to boil over, and as she did not know what to do, she ran to a neighbour and asked her advice. " Put a little pebble in the pot," said she. But the slattern wife put in a big stone which smashed the pot, and all the curry was spilt on the floor.

On her husband's return, she scraped up as much as she could and placed it before him; but it was so full of mud that he could not touch it. Being a good-natured man, he said, " You must do better next time. I will take away the pieces of the broken pot." She would not let him do this, but put the broken pieces on her head and tried to go out. Now the door was so low that she had to bend her head, and so the pot slipped and a lot of curry ran over her clothes. " Wait," cried her husband, " I will call a washerman, and he will clean it for you."

But she paid no heed, and walked down to the river-bank, where she took off all her clothes, intending to wash them. But a dog smelt the curry on her sheet, and when she took it off and laid it down, he promptly ran off with it, and she was left naked and ashamed on the bank. Her husband heard her lamentations, and brought her another covering, and then took her home.

64. The Cunning of the Bania.

(*Told by Lâla Mukund Lâl of Mirzapur.*)

There was once a Bania who was about to go on a pilgrimage, and he did not know what to do with his money. So he went to a Mahâjan and asked him to keep it. The Mahâjan said—"You must give it to me in private." So they went into the jungle, and the Mahâjan said—"If any one sees me take this money, perchance he may rob me. Are you quite certain that nobody is watching us ?" "I am sure no one is watching us save Parameswar and the trees and the animals of the jungle." "That will not do for me," said the Mahâjan, and refused to have anything to do with the money.

Then the Bania went to his Guru and asked him to keep the money, but the Guruji refused. The Bania said to his wife—"No course remains but that we take the money with us." Just then a thief was behind the house and watched the Bania tie up the money in his bundle. When every one was asleep, he broke in and was just laying his hands on the bundle, when the Bania woke and saw him. But he was afraid to try and catch him, lest the thief might do him an injury. So he called out to his wife, "After all I won't go on pilgrimage to-day." "What a fool you are," she answered, "just when you paid the Pandit and he fixed the lucky moment for your departure." "Is this the proper language to use to your husband ?" and with that he caught up the bundle and threw it at her, and shouted—"Help brethren ! my wife is killing me !" Immediately all the neighbours rushed in and said, "What are you fools fighting about ?" Said the Bania—"I only wanted to show you that thief in the corner." When the thief was caught, even the Bania's own wife admitted that he was a very crafty fellow.

65. The Cunning of the Paddy Bird.

(*Told by Râmnâth, Student, Musanagar, Cawnpore District.*)

There was once a paddybird, which lived on the bank of a tank ; and so cunning was he that he never tried to catch the fish in the tank, but lived on the worms and grubs he found on the bank. One day the fish came near him in the water, and one of them said—"We see that, unlike your kind, you make no attempt to kill us. Why is this so ?" The paddybird answered—"You must know that I have made the pilgrimage to Jagganâth, where no one takes life ; and now I have become pious, and in this way I rule my life." The fish answered—"We approve of your pious life. May none but you inhabit the banks of our tank." The summer came on and the water in the tank began to dry up. The paddybird went away for a couple of days, and the fish were very anxious about their friend. When he came back, he said—"As the summer is coming, I have been very anxious about your safety, and I have been thinking that perchance when the water dries, some evil-minded bird may attack you. Now just at the other side of yonder mound I have found another tank, in which the water is deep, and I will, if you approve, take you there one by one. The fish agreed to the proposal and the paddybird began taking them out one by one. But when he took them to the other side of the mound he ate them. This went on, until in the tank there remained but a single crab. The paddybird took him in his beak and was just about to eat him, when the crab thrust his claws into the bird's mouth and choked him ; and that was the end of the hypocrite.

66. The Frog's Cunning.

(*Told by Ganesa Lâl, Schoolmaster, Digh, Fatehpur District.*)

In a certain well there lived the frog Ganga Datta, who was the wisest of all the frogs in the land. And in the same well lived the serpent Priya Darsan and the biscobra Bhadre, Now Priya Darsan used to prey on the small frogs of the well until they were all consumed, and there remained only the master frog Ganga Datta, who began to reflect that one day Priya Darsan would devour him. So he planned how he could avoid calamity and save his life. One day he went to Priya Darsan and said with folded hands—" Mahârâj, I have been considering the case of this well, and I am full of fear lest thou shouldst one day starve, as all the small frogs have now been devoured." " Thy words are true," replied Priya Darsan, " I too am anxious about the future. Hast thou any plan whereby this danger may be removed ? " " My plan is this," answered Ganga Datta, " Close to this well is a tank, in which there are many frogs. If I could only get out of this well, I would go there and on some pretence induce them to come into this well, and thus Your Highness would have a store of food for many years." Priya Darsan replied—" This device of thine is wise. But how can you ascend the wall of this well ? " He said—" Thou hast only to order thy servant Bhadre the biscobra, who flieth, to take me on his back and fly to the top of the well It is then my part to complete the business."

Priya Darsan agreed and called the biscobra Bhadre and ordered him to carry the frog Ganga Datta to the top of the well. When Ganga Datta reached the upper ground, he was overwhelmed with joy at his escape. So he hastened to the tank and sat on a log and loudly croaked to his brethren, and when they came before him, he told them of the wickedness of the serpent, Priya Darsan. They blessed him for the subtlety of his wit, and just then Bhadre called out—" Ganga Datta, our lord Priya Darsan waits for thy return and the fulfilment of thy promise." But Ganga Datta laughed and answered—" What sin is there which a hungry man will not commit for the sake of food, and what chance have the poor in the presence of the great ? Tell him that now I have escaped, I will never return to the well again."

Bhadre took this message to the serpent Priya Darsan, who lamented that he had been beguiled by the device of the frog Ganga Datta.

67. The Three Wishes.

There was once a very poor man who made his living by cutting wood in the forest. One day, as he was working hard in the utmost misery, Mahâdeva and Pârvati passed by, and Pârvati said to her spouse—" You are always blessing some one. Now give a blessing to this poor creature." Mahâdeva said—" In this life every one gets his due, and it is useless conferring favours on a boor like this." But Pârvati insisted ; and at last Mahâdeva said to the wood-cutter—" Ask any boon you please." The man said—' My wife is a shrew, and I dare not ask a boon without consulting her." Mahâdeva answered—" You can consult her ; and when you want to ask a boon, plaster a piece of ground, wash, and sit within the enclosure and make your request. But you can only ask once, and your wife and son may ask too."

The wood-cutter went home and told his wife what had happened. She said—" I must have my wish first." So she did as the god had ordered, and she prayed—" O Lord, may my body be turned into gold." And it was as she prayed.

Just then the Râja was passing by on his elephant, and looking into the house of the wood-cutter, he saw this woman of gold and he loved her. So he sent his servants and they seized her, placed her in a litter, and carried her off to the palace.

When the wood-cutter saw that he had lost his wife, he too did as the god had ordered and prayed—" O Lord, may my wife be turned into a sow ; " and so it was. When they opened the litter to take her to the Râja, they found within it only a foul sow ; and when the door was opened, she ran away and returned to her own house. When the son of the wood-cutter saw this loathsome animal enter the house, he rushed at her with a bludgeon.

But his father stopped him and said—"This is your mother, who has been turned into a sow by my prayers, to save her from the Râja. Now you can make your prayer."

Then the boy prayed—"O Lord, turn my mother into her original shape." And so it was.

Then Mahâdeva said to Pârvati—"Now you see that it is useless trying to help boors like these."

68. Mir Kusro and the Kachhi.

(*Told by Shankar Sinh Thakur of Ravi, Fatehpur District.*)

One day the Emperor Akbar went out hunting, and in the chase he was separated from his companions and became very hungry. He came on a field where a Kachhi was watching his crop of melons and said to the man, "Give me one." "I can give to none," said the Kachhi, "until I offer the first-fruits to the Emperor." This he said, not knowing that it was the Emperor who stood before him. The Emperor offered him money, but the Kachhi would not part with one of the melons.

Akbar was pleased with his honesty, and on returning to the palace he said to Mir Khusro :—"When a Kachhi comes with a present of melons, see that he is at once conducted into my presence." Mir Khusro knew that the Emperor was pleased with the Kachhi and proposed to reward him handsomely. So a day or two later, when the Kachhi came with his melons, he said to him :—"I will take you to the Presence ; but you must promise to give me half the reward which the Emperor confers on you." Mir Khusro was then summoned by the Emperor. Meanwhile Bîrbal passed by and asked the Kachhi what his case was. When he heard of the covetousness of Mir Khusro, he said to the Kachhi :—"Get him to give you a written undertaking that he is to take half of what the Emperor awards you." This being done, Bîrbal advised the Kachhi what to do when the Emperor summoned him. Accordingly when he appeared before Akbar and was asked what boon he desired, the Kachhi said :—"Swear thrice that you will give me what I ask." Akbar swore thrice and the Kachhi then said :—"Give me a hundred blows of a shoe." Akbar was amazed and tried to make him withdraw his request. But he would not ; and when he had duly received fifty strokes, he said :—"Stop ! I have a partner who is to share with me," and he pointed to Mir Khusro. When Akbar heard the tale, he was amazed at the rude strength of the man, and said to Mir Khusro :—"Now you have the reward of your covetousness. Fifty strokes with the shoe will end your life. Better will it be for you to settle with your partner." So Mir Khusro had to pay an enormous sum to escape, and the Emperor gave the Kachhi a village, which is still known as Kachhpurwa in the neighbourhood of Agra.

69. The Evil of Covetousness.

(*Told by Ram Singh, Constable of Kuthaund, Jalaun District.*)

One day Akbar and Bîrbal were out hunting on an elephant, when Akbar noticed something sparkling on the ground, which looked like a pearl. So he made some excuse and got down. But on touching it, he found that it was only a drop of spittle glistening in the sunshine. Being ashamed, he said nothing ; but on returning to the palace, he asked Bîrbal what was the meanest thing in the world. Bîrbal asked for a month's grace to find out, and went and stayed in a village in the hope of learning the answer from the people.

He asked the women what was the meanest thing in the world, and they said :—"Ask our husbands ; " and when he asked the husbands, they said, "Ask our women." Then an old Ahir woman invited Bîrbal to stay with her. So he went and found food ready cooked for the household. When she asked Bîrbal to share their meal, he said :—"How can I, a Brahman, eat with an Ahir ? " "What does it matter," said she, "no one will know." But as he still refused, she brought a purse of two hundred rupees and gave it to him. Then he put out his hand to take the food. But she drew the food away from him, saying :—"How evil a thing is covetousness, when a man like you will lose his caste for such a petty sum." Bîrbal was ashamed, and returning to the Emperor, said :—"Covetousness is the vilest thing in the world."

70. The greatest leaf in the world.

(Recorded by Hazâri Lâl of Agra.)

One day Akbar asked his courtiers which was the greatest leaf in the world. They named various kinds of leaves ; but Bîrbal said :—" The leaf of the *Nâgar Bel* is the greatest in the world, because it reaches as high as Your Majesty's lips." Now the betel leaf is called *Nâgar Bel* or *Indra Bel*, because it is believed to grow in Nandana, the garden of Râja Indra.

71. The fruit of good wishes.

(Recorded by Hazâri Lâl of Agra.)

Akbar once asked Bîrbal, " How much do you love me ? " Bîrbal replied :—" *Dil ko dil pahchânta hai*," or in other words " I love you as much as you love me."

They went forth and met a milkmaid tripping along in the pride of her beauty. " Look at this silly girl," said the Emperor, " she can hardly walk straight, she thinks so much of herself." When she came up to them, Bîrbal said to her, " The Emperor is dead." She began to laugh and said, " What matters it to me ? He that buys my milk is Emperor."

By and by they met an old woman staggering under a load of wood. " How miserable a thing is poverty," said Akbar. Then said Bîrbal to her, "The Emperor is dead," on hearing which she began to wail and fell down on the road. " Now," said Bîrbal, " Your Majesty will see that people think of you as you think of them."

72. Akbar's questions.

(Recorded by Hazâri Lâl of Agra.)

Akbar said once to Bîrbal, " I will ask two questions, to each of which you must give the same answer." The questions were :—

" Why is the Brahman thirsty ? "
" Why is an ass disconsolate ? "

To both Bîrbal replied, " *Lota nahîn*," meaning in the case of the Brahman " He has no water-vessel," and in the case of the ass, " He has not had a roll."

73. Bîrbal's wit.

(Recorded by Hazâri Lâl of Agra.)

Bîrbal once quarrelled with Akbar and went and hid himself in the city. Akbar could not discover his whereabouts. So at length he issued an order that two or three men should appear before him at noon, and stand half in the sun and half in the shade. No one understood how to comply with this order ; so they went and consulted Bîrbal, who said :—" Put a bed on your heads and go to court, and you will be half in the shade and half in the sun." Akbar knew that they must have done this by Bîrbal's advice, and in this way discovered where he was and recalled him to court.

On another occasion Akbar asked Bîrbal, " Was there anyone born at exactly the same moment that I was ? " " Thousands," replied Bîrbal. " Then why am I an emperor," said Akbar, " and they poverty-stricken ? " Bîrbal took a number of betel-leaves and asked Akbar to thread them on a string. Then he told him to unthread them and see if there was the same sized hole in each leaf. When Akbar found that every hole differed in size, Bîrbal, said, " Even so are there all sorts and conditions of men."

74. The result of Good Intentions.

(Recorded by Hazâri Lâl of Agra.)

One day, when Akbar was talking with his courtiers, Bîrbal said, " Intention (*niyat*) is everything." " Prove it," said Akbar. Soon after Akbar went hunting, and losing his way, was attacked by thirst. He saw an old woman watching a field of sugar-cane and asked her for a drink. She broke one of the canes and filled a cup for the Emperor.

Next day, when Akbar and Bîrbal were conversing, the former asked what was the revenue rate on sugar cane, and when he was told it was only one rupee per acre, he thought what profits the old woman must be making out of her field. So he sent for the Revenue Minister and ordered the rate to be doubled.

Again Akbar went to the field and asked the old woman for a drink. This time she had to cut half a dozen canes before she could fill a pot with the juice. He asked her the reason, and she said, "This is the result of the evil thoughts of the Emperor, who has doubled our assessment." The Emperor took her words to heart and had the assessment reduced to the former rate.

[For another version, see Burton, *Arabian Nights*, IV, 51—W. CROOKE.]

75. Birbal and tobacco.

(*Told by Bânsgopâl Lâl of Bansi, Basti District.*)

Akbar and Bîrbal were once on the roof of the palace, when Akbar saw an ass grazing near a field of tobacco, but not touching the plants. Now Bîrbal used to chew tobacco. Akbar then remarked, "Even an ass does not touch tobacco." "No, Your Majesty," replied Bîrbal, "no one who is an ass touches tobacco."

76. Akbar and Birbal's daughter.

(*Recorded by Hazâri Lâl of Agra.*)

Akbar once told Bîrbal that he wished to become a Hindu. Bîrbal remonstrated, and said that the religious duties of a Hindu were very onerous. But Akbar paid no heed and said, "I give you a fortnight to make me a Hindu." Bîrbal went home very sorrowful and confided in his daughter. Said she, "Do not be anxious. I will give him a fitting answer." So next day she went to Court and came in tears before the Emperor, who enquired the reason of her grief. "Pardon me," she said, "I have committed a gross error. I am Your Majesty's washerwoman, and yesterday when I put the clothes of Your Majesty and the Empress into water, the water caught fire, and the clothes were burned." "Are you mad ? " said Akbar, "Who ever heard of water catching fire ? " "And who ever heard," she replied, "of a Musalman becoming a Hindu ? " Akbar was pleased and dismissed her with a present.

77. How Birbal sowed Pearls.

(*Recorded by Hazâri Lâl of Agra.*)

One day the Emperor and Bîrbal were in Darbar, when the latter spat. The courtiers informed Akbar, who was much offended at this breach of good manners, and had the Vazîr turned out of the palace. As he was leaving, Bîrbal said to his enemies : "If I am Bîrbal, before long I shall see your houses overthrown."

He departed to an outlying village and commenced working in the fields. One day the Emperor met him, and the old affection for Bîrbal revived. Said he, "What have you learnt, since you took to farming ? " "I have learnt to grow pearls." "Then you must grow them for me," quoth Akbar. "It is only in special places that they can be grown," replied Bîrbal.

So Bîrbal returned to Court and Akbar gave him seed-pearls from the royal treasury ; and Bîrbal selected as the site for his sowing the place where the houses of his rivals stood. The Emperor had them straightway razed to the ground. There Bîrbal sowed some *dûb* grass and the Arwi yam. When they had grown, he took Akbar there one morning and showed him the dew-drops on the plants, which looked like pearls in the sunlight. Akbar was delighted and said, "Go and pick some for me." Bîrbal replied, "None can pick these pearls save him who in all his life has never spat." Akbar understood the moral and restored him to favour.

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