CORNELL UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

THIS BOOK IS ONE OF A COLLECTION MADE BY
BENNO LOEWY
1854-1919
AND BEQUEATHED TO
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
The original of this book is in the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in the United States on the use of the text.
JAINISM,

OR

THE EARLY FAITH OF AŚOKA;

WITH

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ANCIENT RELIGIONS OF THE EAST,

FROM

THE PANTHEON OF THE INDO-SCYTHIANS.

(Read at the Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, Feb. 26, 1877.)

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A NOTICE ON BACTRIAN COINS AND INDIAN DATES.

BY

EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S.,

CORRESPONDANT DE L’INSTITUT DE FRANCE; CORRESPONDING MEMBER GERMAN
ORIENTAL SOCIETY; HON. MEMBER ASIATIC SOCIETY BENGAL;
VICE-PRESIDENT NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

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

STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, PRINTERS.
PREFATORY NOTICE.

The publishers of the JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY—under the impression that there are many points of unusual interest in the articles named on the title-page—have resolved to issue a small edition, as a separate brochure, which may be available to Orientalists at large, who do not happen to be Members of the Society, to the pages of whose JOURNAL these essays would otherwise be confined.
## CONTENTS.

### ARTICLE I. (From J.R.A.S. Vol. IX. pp. 1-21.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Greek Monograms on Bactrian Coins, representing dates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>The rejection of the figure for hundreds by the Bactrian Greeks, in accordance with the conceptions of the Indian system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-6</td>
<td>Illustrative coin of the Bactrian King Plato, dated in Seleucid figures 147 = B.C. 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Spread of the Seleucid method of computation in India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-11</td>
<td>Indo-Scythian Inscriptions in Indian-Pali and Bactrian-Pali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Historical traces of the leading Indo-Scythian Kings Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>General recapitulation of the various schemes of dates, and their apparent relative importance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Contrast of optional data available under the three systems of Seleucidae, Vikramaditya, and Saka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-16</td>
<td>Difficulties attendant upon the irregular omission of hundreds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Coin of the Saka-Scythian King Heraüs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-20</td>
<td>Identification of the Saka-Scythian capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>The relative employment of the terms Τυραννόντος and Βασιλεύοντος</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Practical application of the latter term, under the Suzerainties of Antiochus, Diodotus, and Euthydemus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Obverse dies of old Mint-issues, lettered anew, to meet the changed political positions of the Kings who furnished the original portraits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Τυραννόντος, its appearance and acceptance in Western India</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ARTICLE II. (J.R.A.S. Vol. IX. pp. 155-234.)

The theoretic differences of Jainism and Buddhism .......................... 3
Jaina discoveries at Mathurá ......................................................... 3
General spread of Jaina edifices and precedence in the selection of sites .......................... 4
Colebrooke's opinions regarding the priority of the Jainas .......................... 5
Additional evidence to the same effect ........................................... 6
Documentary evidence from the Maháwanso ....................................... 7
The testimony of Fuh-Hian, the Chinese pilgrim .................................. 8
Indications furnished by the Lalita-vistara ....................................... 8
List of the Jaina Tirthankaras, with their several cognizances, etc. ................. 9
Opinions of Colonel Low on the associate symbols of Jainism and Buddhism .......... 11
Dr. Stevenson's researches,—the Kalpa Sútra, etc. ................................ 12
His inferences identical with those of Colebrooke ................................ 13
The Ante-Brahmanical worship of the Hindus ..................................... 13
The original claim of the Jainas to the shrine of Jagganáth ........................ 15
The Jaina Mahávira and his disciple Gautama, Sakya Muni, from the Bhagavati 16
Further notices from Chinese writers and the travels of Hiouen Thsang ................. 18
Mr. Brian Hodgson's denial of the claims of the literature of Buddhism to any antiquity 19
Colonel Tod's information regarding the Jainas .................................. 20
General Malcolm's personal observations on the sect ............................ 21
M. Rousselet's contributions to the general subject ................................ 21
Data regarding Jainism to be gathered from Brahmanical sources ................. 22
The FAITH of Chandra Gupta .......................................................... 23
The succession of the Maurya Kings ................................................. 24
Brahmans and Sramans ................................................................. 25
Caste .............................................................................................. 26
Aryan influence on Indian Caste ........................................................ 27
The FAITH of Vindusára ................................................................. 29
# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Early FAITH of Aśoka</th>
<th>30</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The testimony of Abúl Fazl</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aśoka introduces JAINISM into Kashmír</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirmation of the fact from the Rája Tarangini</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Résumé of the Edicts of Aśoka</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Kern’s new translations</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professor Wilson’s opinion as to the total absence of any reference to Buddhism in the Rock and Pillar edicts</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The gradations of belief to be detected between the periods of the Rock and Pillar edicts</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facsimile of the alphabetical characters of the Inscriptions</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The edicts dating from the tenth and twelfth years of Aśoka’s reign</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mention of Antiochus, the Greek king</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Plate I. to face p. 42.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Pillar Edicts of the twenty-seventh year</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference to the Five Greek Kings (Note)</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The aim and purpose of the Inscriptions</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSITIVE BUDDHISM (the Bhabra Edict)</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The disuse of the title of Devánampiya, “the beloved of the Gods,” as incompatible with Buddhism</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The later FAITH of the Maurya Dynasty</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saivism</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saivism under the Kanerki Kings</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saivism under Kadphises</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The newly-discovered hoard of gold coins at Pesháwar</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Legends on the Kanerki coins</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description of the Coins inserted in Plate II.</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Plate II. to face p. 61.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The large amount of Roman influence to be detected in the types of the Pesháwar find</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman coins found in a Tumulus at Manikyála</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The causes which may have led to the introduction of so much Roman Art and so many Roman Gods into the coinages of the Indo-Scythians</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTENTS.</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suggestion of the domestication of the prisoners of the army of Crassus at and around Merv-ul-rúd</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanical Mint-processes of adaptation</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction of Græco-Roman Science</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alphabetical influence of Latin upon later Zend</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative weight of standards</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Gods admitted into the Indo-Seythian Pantheon</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identification of some of the Zend and other names</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Vedic</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Iranian</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Persian</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Roman</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Brahmanical</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Buddhist</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Mathura Archaeological Remains</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dated Jaina Inscriptions incised during the reign of Vásudeva</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BACTRIAN COINS AND INDIAN DATES.

BY

EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S.

A short time ago, a casual reference to the complicated Greek monograms stamped on the earlier Bactrian coins suggested to me an explanation of some of their less involved combinations by the test of simple Greek letter dates, which was followed by the curious discovery that the Bactrian kings were in the habit of recognizing and employing curtained dates to the optional omission of the figure for hundreds, which seems to have been the immemorial custom in many parts of India. My chief authority for this conclusion was derived from a chance passage in Albirúni,¹ whose statement, however, has since been independently supported by the interpretation of an inscription of the ninth century A.D. from Kashmir,² which illustrates the provincial use of a cycle of one hundred years, and has now


² This second inscription ends with the words Saka Kálagatovdah 726—that is, “Saka Kála years elapsed 726,” equivalent to A.D. 804, which is therefore the date of the temple. This date also corresponds with the year 80 of the local cycle, which is the Loka-kála of Kashmir or cycle of 2,700 years, counted by centuries named after the twenty-seven nakshatras, or lunar mansions. The reckoning, therefore, never goes beyond 100 years, and as each century begins in the 25th year of the Christian century, the 80th year of the local cycle is equivalent to the 4th year of the Christian century.—General A. Cunningham, Archæological Report, 1876, vol. v. p. 181.
been definitively confirmed by information obtained by Dr. Bühler¹ as to the origin of the Kashmíri era and the corroboration of the practice of the omission of "the hundreds in stating dates" still prevailing in that conservative kingdom.²

Since Bayer’s premature attempt to interpret the mint-monogram ṣp, on a piece of Eucratides, as 108,³ Numismatists have not lost sight of the possible discrimination of dates as opposed to the preferential mint-marks so abundant on the surfaces of these issues, though the general impression has been adverse to the possibility of their fulfilling any such functions.⁴

¹ “Dr. Bühler has found out the key to the Kashmírean era: it begins in the year of the Kaliyug 25, or 3076 b.c., when the Septarshis are said to have gone to heaven. The Kashmir people often omit the hundreds in stating dates. Thus the year 24 (Kashmir era) in which Kalhâna wrote his Râjatarangâni, and which corresponded with Saka 1070, stands for 4,224.” — Athenæum, Nov. 20, 1875, p. 675.

² Since this was written, General Cunningham’s letter of the 30th March, 1876, has appeared in the Athenæum (April 29th, 1876), from the text of which I extract the following passages. These seem to establish the fact that the optional omission of the hundreds was a common and well-understood rule so early as about the age of Asoka. “The passage in which the figures occur runs as follows in the Sahassarâm text:

iyam cha savane vivuthena dutesa
pahanâiti sattâvivuthâti 252.

The corresponding passage in the Rûnpâth text is somewhat different:

ahâle sava vivastañvâya ati vyathena
svâne kañtesu 52 sattavivasâta.

The corresponding portion of the Bairât text is lost. My reason for looking upon these figures as expressing a date is that they are preceded in the Rûnpâth text by the word kañtesu, which I take to be the equivalent of the Sanskrit krânteshu=(so many years) ‘having elapsed.’”

I do not stop to follow General Cunningham’s arguments with regard to the value of the figures which he interprets as 252. The sign for 50, in its horizontal form, has hitherto been received as 80, but that the same symbol came, sooner or later, to represent 50, when placed perpendicularly, is sufficiently shown by Prof. Eggeling’s Plate, p. 52, in Vol. VIII. of our Journal. I should, however, take great exception to the rendering of the unit as 2, which, to judge by Mr. Bayley’s letter, in the same number of the Athenæum, Gen. Cunningham and Dr. Bühler had at first rightly concurred in reading as 6.


In 1858 I published, in my edition of "Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities," a notice of the detached letters $\Omega\Pi$ as occurring on a coin of Eucratides (No. 3, p. 184, vol. ii.), and $\Pi\Pi$ as found on the money of Heliocles (No. 1, p. 182), which letters, in their simple form, would severally represent the figures 73 and 83; but the difficulty obtruded itself that these numbers were too low to afford any satisfactory elucidation of the question involved in their application as dynastic dates.

Among the later acquisitions of Bactrian coins in the British Museum is a piece of Heliocles bearing the full triliteral date, after the manner of the Syrian mints, of $\Pi\Pi\Pi\Pi$ or 183, which, when tested by the Seleucidan era ($i.e.$ 311–183), brings his reign under the convenient date of B.C. 128, authorizing us to use the coincident abbreviated figures, under the same terms, as $\Omega\Pi = 73$ for 173 of the Seleucidan era= B.C. 138 for Eucratides, and the repeated $\Pi\Pi = 83$ for 183 Seleucidan=B.C. 128, for Heliocles,1 a date which is further supported by the appearance of the exceptionally combined open monogram $\text{I}A\text{I}$ ($\Pi\Pi\Pi$), or 81 for 181=B.C. 130 on his other pieces.

The last fully-dated piece, in the Bactrian series, is the unique example of the money of Plato (bearing the figured, letter date $PMZ = 147$ of the Seleucidæ, or B.C. 165). We have two doubtful dates $\Xi = 60$ and $\Xi E = 65$, on the coins of Apollodotus; but if these letters were intended for dates, they will scarcely fit-in with the Seleucidan scheme. Menander dates his coins in regnal years. I can trace extant examples from 1 to 8. But this practice by no means necessitates the disuse of the Seleucidan era in ordinary reckonings, still less its abandonment in State documents where more formal precision was

1 General Cunningham was cognizant of the date $\Pi\Pi = 83$ as found on the coins of Heliocles, which he associated with the year B.C. 164, under the assumption that he had detected the true initial date of the Bactrian era, which he had settled to his own satisfaction, "as beginning in B.C. 246."—Num. Chron. n.s. vol. viii. 1868, p. 266; n.s. vol. ix. 1869, pp. 35, 230. See also Mr. Vaux's note, N.C. 1875, vol. xv. p. 3.
required. Subjoined is a rough facsimile and technical description of the coin of Plato.¹

Silver. Size 1·2. Wt. 258 grains.

Obv. Head of king to the right, with helmet ornamented with the peculiar ear and horn of a bull, so marked on the coins of Eucratides.

Rev. Apollo driving the horses of the Sun. Monogram No. 46a, Prinsep’s Essays.

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΤΕ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Date at foot, PMZ=147 Selucidæ (or B.C. 165).

My first impression on noticing the near identity of the obverse head with the standard Numismatic portraits of Eucratides, and the coincidence of the date with that assumed, by our latest authority,² as the year of the decease of that monarch, was that Plato must have succeeded him; but the advanced interpretation of the dates, above given, puts any such assignment altogether out of court, and necessitates a critical reconstruction of all previous speculative epochal or serial lists of the Bactrian succession.

In the present instance the adoption of the helmet of the Chabylians³ by Eucratides and Plato may merely imply that

¹ The woodcut here given was prepared for Mr. Vaux's original article on this unique coin of Plato, in the Numismatic Chronicle, vol. xv. p. 1.
² Gen. Cunningham, N.C. vol. viii. o.s. 1843, p. 175, and vol. ix. N.s. 1869, p. 175.
³ "The Chabylians had small shields made of raw hides, and each had two javelins used for hunting wolves. Brazen helmets protected their heads, and above these they wore the ears and horns of an ox fashioned in brass. They had also crests on their helms."—Herodotus vii. 76; Rawlinson, vol. iv. p. 72; Xenophon Anab. v.
they both claimed kindred with that tribe, or at some time held command in their national contingent—and Plato may, with equal possibility, have introduced the device, in the first instance, as have copied the more abundant obverses of similar character from the coins of Eucratides. On the other hand, the identity of the helmet may indicate an absolute borrowing of a ready prepared device. The singular and eccentric combination of Bactrian Mint dies has from the first constituted a difficulty and a danger to modern interpreters. I have for long past looked suspiciously upon the too facile adaptations of otherwise conscientious mint masters, leading them to utilize, for reasons of their own, the available die-devices in stock for purposes foreign to the original intent under which they were executed. However, in the present instance, the imperfect preservation of the single coin of Plato available does not permit of our pronouncing with any certainty upon the identity of the features with those of the profile of Eucratides.

To revert to our leading subject. In addition to the value of the data quoted above as fixing definitively, though within fairly anticipated limits, the epochs of three prominent Bactrian kings, their conventional use of the system of abbreviated definitions points, directly, to the assimilation of local customs, to which the Greeks so readily lent themselves, in adopting the method of reckoning by the Indian Loka Kāla, which simplified the expression of dates, even as we do now, in the civilized year of our Lord, when we write 76 for 1876.

The extension of the Seleucidan era eastwards, and its amalgamation of Indian methods of definition within its own mechanism, leads further to the consideration of how long this exotic era maintained its ground in Upper India, and how much influence it exerted upon the chronological records of succeeding dynasties. I have always been under the impression that this influence was more wide-spread and abiding than my fellow-antiquaries have been ready to admit,¹ but

I am now prepared to carry my inferences into broader channels, and to suggest that the Indo-Scythian "Kanishka" group of kings continued to use the Seleucidan era, even as they retained the minor sub-divisions of the Greek months, which formed an essential part of its system: and under this view to propose that we should treat the entire circle of dates of the "Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka" family, mentioned in the Rāja Tarangini, which their inscriptions expand from ix. to xcvi., as pertaining to the fourth century of the Seleucidan era, an arrangement which will bring them into concert with our Christian reckoning from 2 B.C. to 87 A.D. A scheme which would, moreover, provide for their full possession of power up to the crucial "Saka" date of 78-79 A.D., and allow for the subsequent continuance of a considerable breadth of sway outside the limited geographical range of Indian cognizance.

There are further considerations which add weight to the conclusion that the Kanerki Scythians adopted, for public purposes, the Seleucidan era; they may be supposed, like the Parthians and other Nomads, to have achieved but scant culture till conquest made them masters of civilized sections of the earth.

In the present instance, these new invaders are seen to have ignored or rejected the Semitic-Bactrian writing employed by the Kadphises horde in parallel concert with the traditional monumental Greek, and to have relied exclusively on the Greek language in their official records till the later domestication of some of the members of the family, at Mathurā, led to an exceptional use of the Devanāgarī alphabet, in subordination to the dominant Greek, on the coins of Vásudeva. In no case do we find them recognizing the Semitic type of character, though the inscriptions quoted

1 Prof. Wilson's Plates, in his Ariana Antiqua, arranged 35 years ago, and altogether independently of the present argument, will suffice to place this contrast before the reader. The Kadphises group extend from figs. 5 to 21 of plate x. All these coins are bilingual, Greek and Semitic-Bactrian. The Kanerki series commence with No. 15, plate xi., having nothing but Greek legends, either on the obverse or on the reverse, and follow on continuously through plates xii. xiii. and xiv. down to fig. 11. After that, the Greek characters become more or less chaotic, till we reach No. 19.
below will show how largely that alphabet had spread in some portions of their dominion. But beyond this, their adherence, or perhaps that of their successors, to Greek, continues mechanically till its characters merge into utter incoherence on the later mintage. All of these indications lead to the inference that, as far as the Court influences were concerned, the tendency to rely upon Greek speech would have carried with it what remained in situ of the manners and customs of their Western instructors.

There are two groups or varieties of Indo-Scythian Inscriptions of the Kanishka family. The one in the Indian proper or Lāṭ alphabet, all of which are located at Mathurā. The published Mathurā inscriptions of this group (excluding the two quotations placed within brackets) number 20 in all; as a rule they are merely records of votive offerings on the part of "pious founders," and contain only casual references to the ruling powers. Twelve of these make no mention of any monarch, though they are clearly contemporaneous with the other dedicatory inscriptions. Throughout the whole

1 Ariana Antiqua, pl. xiv. Nos. 12, 13, 14, 16, 17.
2 The circumstances bearing upon the battle of Karör (or करौर) are of so much importance in the history of this epoch, that I reproduce Abirānī's account of that event: "On emploie ordinairement les éres de Sri-Harcha, de Vikramāditya, de Śaka, de Ballabha, et des Gouptas. . . . L'ére de Vikramāditya est employée dans les provinces méridionales et occidentales de l'Inde. . . . L'ére de Śaka, nommée par les Indiens Śāka-kālā, est postérieure à celle de Vikramāditya de 135 ans. Śaka est le nom d'un prince qui a régné sur les contrées situées entre l'Indus et la mer. Sa résidence était placée au centre de l'empire, dans la contrée nommée Aryavartha. Les Indiens le font naître dans une classe autre que celle des Śakya; quelques-uns prétendent qu'il était Soudra et originaire de la ville de Mansoura; il y en a même qui disent qu'il n'était pas de race indienne, et qu'il tirait son origine des régions occidentales. Les peuples eurent beaucoup à souffrir de son despoticisme, jusqu'à ce qu'il leur vint du secours de l'Orient. Vikramāditya marcha contre lui, mit son armée en déroute, et le tua sur le territoire de Korour, situé entre Moultan et le château de Louny. Cette époque devint célèbre, à cause de la joie que les peuples ressentirent de la mort de Śaka, et on la choisit pour être principalement chez les astronomes."—Reinäud's translation.

General Cunningham has attempted to identify the site of Karör with a position "50 miles S.E. of Mūltān and 20 miles N.E. of Bahāwalpur," making the "castle of Loni" into "Ludhan, an ancient town situated near the old bed of the Sutlej river, 44 miles E.N.E. of Kahor and 70 miles E.S.E. of Mūltān."—Ancient Geography of India (Trübner, 1871), p. 241. These assignments, are, however, seriously shaken by the fact that Abirānī himself invariably places these two sites far north of Mūltān, i.e. according to his latitudes and longitudes. Mūltān is 91°—29° 30' N., while Kadör, as he writes it, is 92°—31°
series of twenty records the dates are confined to numbers below one hundred: they approach and nearly touch the end of a given century, in the 90 and 98; but do not reach or surpass the crucial hundred discarded in the local cycle.

The two inscriptions, Nos. 22, 23, from the same locality, dated, severally, Samvat 135 with the Indian month of Paushya, and Samvat 281, clearly belong to a different age, and vary from their associates in dedicatory phraseology, forms of letters, and many minor characteristics, which General Cunningham readily discriminated.  

INDO-SCYTHIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

In the Indo-Pali Alphabet.

At Mathurā.  

KANISHKA.  
[Kanishka. Samvat 28.]  
[Huvishka. Samvat 33.]  

HUVIshKA.  
Mahārāja Rājatirāja Devaputra Huvishka. Grisha, S. 47.  

VĀSudeva.  
Mahārāja Rājatirāja Devaputra Vāsu(deva). Varsha, S. 44.  
Mahārāja Rājatirāja, S. 87.  
Rāja Vāsudeva. Varsha, S. 98.

2. These two dates are quoted from Gen. Cunningham’s letter to the Athenæum of 29 April, 1876, as having been lately discovered by Mr. Growse, B.C.S.  
3. The 47th year of the Monastery of Huvishka.  
4. I was at first disposed to infer that the use of the Indian months in their full development indicated a period subsequent to the employment of the primitive three seasons, but I find from the Western Inscriptions, lately published by Prof. Bhandarkar, that they were clearly in contemporaneous acceptance. While a passage in Hionen Thsaang suggests that the retention of the normal terms was in a measure typical of Buddhist belief, and so that, in another sense, the months had a confessed conventional significance.


"There are two summers in the year and two harvests, while the winter intervenes between them.”—Pliny vi. 21; Diod. Sic. I. c. i.
The parallel series are more scattered, and crop up in less
direct consecutive association, these are indorsed in the
Bactrian or Aryan adaptation of the Ancient Phœnician
alphabet.

INDO-SCYTHIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

In the Bactrian-Pâli Alphabet.

Bahawalpur. Maharaja Rajadhiraja Devaputra Kanishka.
Samvat 11, on the 28th of the (Greek) month of Dæsius.

Manikyâla Tope. Maharaja Kanishka, Gushana vasa samvardhaka.
"Increment of the dominion of the Gushans" (Kushans).
Samvat 18.


Besides these inscriptions, there is a record of the name of Kanishka
designated as Raja Gandharya, on "a rough block of quartz," from Zeda,
near Ohind, now in the Lahore Museum. This legend is embodied in very
small Bactrian letters, and is preceded by a single line in large characters, which
reads as follows: Sam 10+1 (=11) Ashadhasa masasa di 20, Udeyana gu. 1,
Isachhu nami." I do not quote or definitively adopt this date, as the two in-
scriptions appear to me to be of different periods, and vary in a marked degree
in the forms as well as in the size of their letters.—Lowenthal, J.A.S.B. 1863,

In addition to the above Bactrian Pâli Inscriptions, we have a record from
Taxila, by the "Satrap Liako Kusuluko," in "the 78th year of the great king,
the Great Mog, on the 5th day of the month Panemus" (J.R.A.S. xx. o.s.
p. 227; J.A.S.B. 1862, p. 40). And an inscription from Takht-i-Bahi of the Indo-
Parthian king Gondophares, well known to us from his coins (Ariana Antiqua,
p. 340, Prinsep's Essays, vol. ii. p. 214), and doubtfully associated with the
Gondefor of the Legenda Aurea, to the following tenor: "Maharayasa Gudup-
harasra Vasha 20+4+2 (=26) San . . . Satimae 100+3 (=103) Vesakhasa
masasa dîvase 4." (Cunningham, Arch. Rep. vol. v. p. 59.) And to complete
the series of regal quotations, I add the heading of the inscription from Fanjgar
of a king of the Kushans: "Sam 100+20+2 (=122) Sravanasasa masasa dî
prathame 1, Maha rayasa Gushanasa Ra . . ." (Professor Dowson, J.R.A.S.
Vol. XX. o.s. p. 223; Cunningham, Arch. Rep. vol. v. p. 61.)

This is an inscription which, in the exceptional character of its framework,
suggests and even necessitates reconstructive interpretations. The stone upon
which it is engrossed was obviously fissured and imperfectly prepared for its pur-
pose in the first instance; so that, in the opening line, Gondophares' name has to
be taken over a broken gap with space for two letters, which divides the d from
the pA. The surface of the stone has likewise suffered from abrasion of some
kind or other, so that material letters have in certain cases been reduced to mere
shadowy outlines. But enough remains intact to establish the name of the Indo-
Parthian King, and to exhibit a double record of dates, giving his regnal year
and the counterpart in an era the determination of which is of the highest
possible importance. The vasha or year of the king, expressed in figures alone,
as 26, is not contested. The figured date of the leading era presents no difficulty
whatever to those who are conversant with Phœnician notation, or who may
hereafter choose to consult the ancient coins of Aradus. The symbol for hundreds
The above collection of names and dates covers, in the latter sense, a period of from An. 9 to An. 98, or eighty-nine years in all. The names, as I interpret them, apply to two individuals, only, out of the triple brotherhood mentioned in the Rāja Tarangini. After enumerating the reigns of (1) Asoka, (2) Jaloka, and (3) Dāmodhara, Professor Wilson’s translation of that chronicle continues:

“Dāmodhara was succeeded by three princes who divided the country, and severally founded capital cities named after themselves. These princes were called Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka, of Turushka or Tatar extraction. . . . They are considered synchronous, but may possibly be all that are preserved of some series of Tatar princes who, it is very likely, at various periods, established themselves in Kashmir.”

The Western system, marks the simple number of hundreds; in India an additional prolongation duplicates the value of the normal symbol. Under these terms the adoptive Bactrian figures are positive as 103. Before the figured date there is to be found, in letters, the word satimae “in one hundred” or “hundredth,” in the reading of which all concur. It is possible that the exceptional use of the figure for 100, which has not previously been met with, may have led to its definition and repetition in writing in the body of the inscription, in order that future interpreters should feel no hesitation about the value of the exotic symbol. There was not the same necessity for repeating the 3, the three fingers of which must always have been obvious to the nearest capacity. I have no difficulty about the existence and free currency of the Vikramādiṭya era per se in its own proper time, which some archaeologists are inclined to regard as of later adaptation. But I am unable to concur in the reading of Samvatsara, or to admit, if such should prove the correct interpretation, that the word Samvatsara involved or necessitated a preferential association with the Vikramādiṭya era, any more than the Samvatsara (J.R.A.S., Vol. IV. p. 500) and Somvatuaraya (ibid. p. 223), or the abbreviated San or Sam, which is so constant in these Bactrian Pali Inscriptions, and so frequent on Indo-Parthian coins (Prinsep’s Essays, vol. ii. p. 205, Coins of Azas, Nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 12; Azilisas, Nos. 1, etc.; Gondophares, p. 215, No. 4.

1 Ahulfiázl says “brothers.” Gladwin’s Translation, vol. ii. p. 171; Calcutta Text, p. 574

General Cunningham considers that he has succeeded in identifying all the three capitals, the sites of which are placed within the limits of the valley of Kashmir, i.e.,

“Kanishka-pura (Kanikhpur) Hod, Kampur, is ten miles south of Srinagar, known as Kampur Saral.”

“Hushka-pura, the Hu-se-kia-lo of Hiuen Thsang—the Uskar of Albirúni—now surviving in the village of Uskara, two miles south-east of Barāhmula.

“Jushka-pura is identified by the Brahmanas with Zukru or Zukor, a considerable village four miles north of the capital, the Sehercoh of Troyer and Wilson.”


assume Vāsu Deva (Krishṇa's title) to have been the titular designation of Kanishka,⁴ while Devarṣitṛ̱ was common to both brothers, and the Śāhi² was perhaps optional, or devoted to the senior in the joint brotherhood³ or head of the more extensive tribal community of the Kanerki.

The Mathurā inscriptions, as we have seen, distinguish the subdivisions of the year by the old triple seasons of Grīṣhma, Varṣa, and Hemanta, while the Bactrian Pāli inscriptions ordinarily define the months by their Macedonian designations;⁴ the question thus arises as to whether this latter

---


Obverse.—Scythian figure, standing to the front, casting incense into the typical small Mithraic altar. To the right, a trident with flowing pennons: to the left, a standard with streamers.

Legend, around the main device, in obscure Greek, the vague reproduction of the conventional titles of PAO NANO PAO KOPANO.

Below the left arm \( \mathbf{\sqrt{V}} \ \mathbf{V} \) = \( \sqrt{V} \) in the exact style of character found in his Mathurā Inscriptions.

Reverse.—The Indian Goddess Pārvatī seated on an open chair or imitation of a Greek throne, extending in her right hand the classic regal fillet; Mithraic monogram to the left.

Legend, APAOXXPO, Ard-Ugra = "half Śiva," i.e. Pārvatī.

Those who wish to examine nearly exact counterparts of these types in English publications may consult the coins engraved in plate xiv., Ariana Antiqua, figs. 19, 20. The latter seems to have an imperfect rendering of the \( \sqrt{V} \) on the obverse, with \( \mathbf{\sqrt{s}} \) (formed like \( \sqrt{p} \)) on the reverse. [For corresponding types see also Journ. As. Soc. Beng. vol. v. pl. 36, and Prinsep's Essays, pl. 4. General Cunningham, Numismatic Chronicle, vol. vi. o.s. pl. i. fig. 2.] The \( \sqrt{w} \) is not curved, but formed by a mere elongation of the downstroke of the \( \mathbf{s} \), which in itself constitutes the vowel. The omission of the consecutive Deen on the coins is of no more import than the parallel rejection of the Gupṭa, where the king's name is written downwards, Chinese fashion, in the confined space below the arm. See also General Cunningham's remarks on Vāsudeva, J.R.A.S. Vol. V. pp. 193, 195. Gen. Cunningham proposes to amend Prof. Wilson's tentative reading of Baranao on the two gold coins, Ariana Antiqua, pl. xiv. figs. 14, 18 (p. 378), into PAO NANO PAO BAZOANO KOPANO. The engraving of No. 14 certainly suggests an initial B in the name, and the AZ and O are sufficiently clear. We have only to angularize the succeeding O into A to complete the identification. These coins have a reverse of Śiva and the Bull.—Arch. Rep. vol. iii. p. 42. Dr. Kern does not seem to have been aware of these identifications when he proposed, in 1873 (Révue Critique, 1874, p. 291), to associate the Mathurā Vāsudeva with the Indo-Sassanian Pehlevi coin figured in Prinsep, pl. vii. fig. 6. Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc. Vol. XII. pl. 3; Ariana Antiqua, pl. xvii. fig. 9.

² The full Devaputra Shahān Shāhi occurs in the Samudra Gupta inscription on the Allahābād Lāt. It may possibly refer to some of the extra Indian successors of these Indo-Scythians.

³ Troyer translates paragraph 171, "Pendant le long règne de ces rois," vol. i. p. 19.

⁴ "The Macedonian months, which were adopted by the Syro-Macedonian
practice does not imply a continued use of the Seleucidan era, in association with which the names of these months must first have reached India.1 and which must have been altogether out of place in any indigenous scheme of reckoning. Tested by this system, the years 9–98 of the fourth century of the Seleucidan era (B.C. 311–12) produce, as I have elsewhere remarked, the singularly suitable return of B.C. 2 to A.D. 87. And a similar process applied to the third century of the newly-discovered Parthian era (B.C. 248)2 would represent B.C. 39 and A.D. 50. But this last method of computation seems to have secured a mere local and exceptional currency, and the probabilities of its extension to India are as zero compared with the wide-spread and enduring date3 of the Seleucidæ, which the Parthians themselves continued to use on their coinage in conjunction with the old cities, and generally by the Greek cities of Asia, after the time of Alexander, were *lunar* till the reformation of the Roman calendar of Caesar (by inserting 67 + 23 = 90 days in this year). After that reformation the Greek cities of Asia, which had then become subject to the Roman Empire, gradually adopted the Julian year. But although they followed the Romans in computing by the solar Julian year of 365 d. 6 h. instead of the lunar, yet they made no alteration in the season at which their year began (Δίος = Oct. Nov.), or in the order of the months."—Clinton, Fast. Hall. vol. iii. pp. 202, 347.

1 Some importance will be seen to have attached to the use of the contrasted terms for national months in olden time, as we find Letronne observing: "Dans tous les exemples de doubles ou triples dates que nous offrent les inscriptions rédigées en Grèce, le mois qui est énoncé le premier est toujours celui dont fait usage la nation à laquelle appartient celui qui parle."—Letronne, Inscriptions de l'Égypte (Paris, 1852), p. 263.

2 Assyrian Discoveries, by George Smith, London, 1875, p. 389. From the time of the Parthian conquest it appears that the tablets were dated according to the Parthian style. There has always been a doubt as to the date of this revolt, and consequently of the Parthian monarchy, as the classical authorities have left no evidence as to the exact date of the rise of the Parthian power. I, however, obtained three Parthian tablets from Babylon; two of them contained double dates, one of which, being found perfect, supplied the required evidence, as it was dated according to the Seleucidan era, and according also to the Parthian era, the 144th year of the Parthians being equal to the 208th year of the Seleucidæ, thus making the Parthian era to have commenced B.C. 248. This date is written: "Month . . . . 23rd day 144th year, which is called the 208th year, Arsaces, King of kings."—Clinton, following Justin and Eusebius, etc., 250 b.c., Fasti Romani, vol. ii. p. 243, and Fasti Halienici, vol. iii. p. 311; Moses Chorenensis, 251 or 252 b.c.; Suidas, 246 b.c.

3 "Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the king, reigned in the 137th year of the kingdom of the Greeks."—Maccabees I. i. 10—ii. 70, et seq. "In the 143rd year of the kingdom of the Seleucide."—Josephus, Ant. xii. 3. "It came to pass . . . in the 146th year on the 28th of that month which is by us called Chasleu, and by the Macedonians Apollius,
Macedonian months, whose importance in their bearing upon the leading era I have enlarged upon in the parallel Indo-Scythic instance immediately under review. So that, as at present advised, I hold to a preference for the Seleucidan test, which places the Indo-Scythians in so satisfactory a position both relatively to their predecessors and successors. I have at the same time no reserve in acknowledging the many difficulties surrounding the leading question; but if we can but get a second "pied à terre," a fixed date-point, after the classical testimony to the epoch of the great Chandra Gupta, we may check the doubts and difficulties surrounding many generations both before and after any established date that we may chance to elicit from the present and more mature inquiries.

The comparative estimates by the three methods of computation immediately available stand roughly as follows:

- Seleucidan . [1st Sept., 312 B.C.] B.C. 2 to A.D. 87
- Vikramâditya . . [57 B.C.]
- Saka . . [14th March, 78 A.D.] A.D. 88 to A.D. 177

Before taking leave of the general subject of Indian methods of defining dates, I wish to point out how much the conventional practice of the suppression of the hundreds must have impaired the ordinary continuity of record and

in the 153rd Olympiad, etc."—xii. 4. "Seleucus cognominatus Nicator regnum Babelis, totiusque Eraki, et Chorasanæ, Indian usque, Ab initio imperii ipsius orditur era, quæ Alexandri audit, ea nempa qua tempora computant Syri et Hebræis."—Bar-Hebraeus, Pococke, p. 63.

"The Jews still style it the Astra of Contracts, because they were obliged, when subject to the Syro-Macedonian princes, to express it in all their contracts and civil writings."—Gough's Seleucidæ, p. 3.

The Syriac text of the inscription at Singanfu is dated "in 1093d year of the Greeks" (A.D. 782).—A. Kircher, La Chine, p. 43; Yule, Marco Polo, vol. ii. p. 22; see also Mure's History of Greece, vol. iv. pp. 74-79.


The Parthian coin dates commence with A.S. ΠΣ = 280 (B.C. 31), APTE, Artemius, and continue to A.S. 539, Trés. de Num. Rois Grecs, pp. 143-147; Lindsay, Coinage of the Parthians (Cork, 1852), pp. 175-179.

2 Luni-solar year. 8 Solar or Sidereal year. Prinsep, Useful Tables, pp. 153-7.
affected the resulting value of many of the fragmentary data that have been preserved to our time.

The existence of such a system of disregarding or blotting-out of centuries—persevered in for ages—must naturally have led to endless uncertainties among subsequent home or foreign inquirers, whose errors and misunderstandings were occasionally superadded to the normal imperfections of their leading authorities. Something of this kind may be detected in the illustrative works both of Hiuen Thsang and Albiruni, wherever the quotation refers to hundreds in the gross. Apart from the improbabilities of events adapting themselves to even numbers in hundreds, it is clear that, where hundreds alone are given, the date itself must be looked upon as more or less vague and conjectural, elicited, in short, out of uncertain and undefined numbers, and alike incapable of correction from minor totals; such a test must now be applied to Hiuen Thsang's oft-quoted open number of 400 as marking the interval between Buddha and Kanishka.¹

So also one of Albiruni's less-consistently worked-out dates is liable to parallel objection, such, for instance, as the even "400 before Vikramáditya," which constitutes his era of "Śrī Harsha," and which he is frank enough to confess may perchance pertain to the other Śrī Harsha of 664 after Vikramáditya (or 57 + 664 = 607-8 A.D.). His clear 400 of the era of Yezdegird is, however, a veritable conjuncture, a singular and unforced combination of independent epochs,²


² Reinhard, loc. cit, pp. 137, 139. Albiruni here rejoices, that "cette époque s'exprime par un nombre rond et n'est embarrassée ni de dizaines ni d'unités," which seems to show how rarely, in his large experience, such a phenomenon had been met with.
approximately marked by the date of the death of Mahmúd of Ghazni,¹ in an era that had not yet been superseded in the East by the Muhammadan Hijrah.

I conclude this paper with a reproduction of the unique coin of the Śaka King Heraús, which, on more mature examination, has been found to throw unexpected light on the chief seat of Śaka-Scythian power,² and to supply incidentally an approximate date, which may prove of considerable value in elucidating the contemporaneous history of the border lands of India.

I have recently had occasion to investigate the probable age of this piece by a comparison of its reverse device with the leading types of the Imperial Parthian mintages, with which it has much in common, and the deduction I arrived at, from the purely Numismatic aspect of the evidence, was

¹ The era of Yesdegird commenced 16th June, 632 A.D. The date on Mahmúd’s tomb is 23rd Rabí’ the second, A.H. 421 (30th April, A.D. 1030).
² Alhírání was naturally perplexed with the identities of Vikramáditya and Sálivahana, and unable to reconcile the similarity of the acts attributed alike to one and the other. He concludes the passage quoted in note 2, p. 9, in the following terms:—“D’un autre côté, Vikramáditya, reçut le titre de Śrī (grand) à cause de l’honneur qu’il s’était acquis. Du reste, l’intervalle qui s’est écoulé entre l’ère de Vikramáditya et la mort de Saka, prouve que le vainqueur n’était pas le célèbre Vikramáditya, mais un autre prince du même nom.”—Reinaud, p. 142.

Major Wilford, in like manner, while discussing the individualities of his “8 or 9 Vikramádityas,” admitted that “the two periods of Vikramáditya and Sálivahana are intimately connected, and the accounts we have of these two extraordinary personages are much confused, teeming with contradictions and absurdities to a surprising degree.”—As. Res., vol. ix. p. 117; see also vol. x. p. 93.

A passage lately brought to notice by Dr. Bühler throws new light upon this question, for, in addition to supplying chronological data of much importance in regard to the interval of 470 years which is said to have elapsed between the great Jaina Mahávira (the 24th Tirthankara) and the first Vikramáditya of B.C. 57, it teaches us that there were Saka kings holding sway in India in B.C. 61–57, which indirectly confirms the epoch of the family of Heraús, and explains how both Vikramádityas, at intervals of 135 years, came to have Saka enemies to encounter, and consequently equal claims to titular Sakdri honours.

“1. Pálaka, the lord of Avánti, was anointed in that night in which the Arhat and Tirthankára Mahávira entered Nirvána. 2. 60 are (the years of King Pálaka, but 158 are (the years of the Nándas; 108 those of the Mauyras, and 30 those of Páśamítta (Pusyamítta). 3. 60 (years) ruled Bálamítta and Bhánunímitta, 40 Nabhovahana. 13 years likewise (lasted) the rule of Gardabhilla, and 4 are (the years) of Saka.”—From the Prakrit Gáthás of Merutunga, etc.

“These verses, which are quoted in a very large number of Jaina commentaries and chronological works, but the origin of which is not clear, give the adjustment between the eras of Víra and Vikrama, and form the basis of the earlier Jaina chronology.”—Dr. Bühler, Indian Antiquary, vol. ii. p. 363.
that, recognizing the imitative adoption of certain details of the main devices of the suzerain rulers, and supposing such adoption to have been immediate and contemporaneous, the dates B.C. 37 to A.D. 4 would "mark the age of Heraüs."¹

This epoch singularly accords with the date of Isidore of Charax,² from whose text of the 'Stathmi Parthici' we likewise gather that the recognized seat of the Saka-Scythians, then feudatories of the Parthian Empire, was located in the valley of the Helmund,³ and was known by the optional


² It is in regard to the typical details, however, that the contrast between the pieces of Manas and Heraüs is most apparent. Manas has no coins with his own bust among the infinite variety of his mint devices, nor has Azas, who imitates many of his emblems. But, in the Gondophares group, we meet again with busts and uncovered heads, the hair being simply bound by a fillet, in which arrangement of the head-dress Pakores, with his bushy curls, follows suit. But the crucial typical test is furnished by the small figure of Victory crowning the horseman on the reverse, which is so special a characteristic of the Parthian die illustration.

³ We have frequent examples of Angels or types of victory extending regal fillets in the Bactrian series, but these figures constitute as a rule the main device of the reverse, and are not subordinated into a corner, as in the Parthian system. The first appearance of the fillet in direct connexion with the king's head in the Imperial series, occurs on the coins of Arsaces XIV., Orodès (n.c. 54–37), where the crown is borne by an eagle (Lindsay, History of the Parthians, Cork, 1852, pl. iii. fig. 2, pp. 146–170; Trésor de Numismatique, pl. lxviii. fig. 17); but on the reverses of the copper coinage this duty is already confided to the winged figure of Victory (Lindsay, pl. v. fig. 2, p. 181). Arsaces XV., Phraates IV. (37 B.C.–4 A.D.), continues the eagles for a time, but progresses into single (Ibid., pl. iii. fig. 60; v. fig. 4, pp. 148, 170; Trésor de Numismatique, pl. lxviii. fig. 18; lxix. fig. 5), and finally into double figures of Victory eager to crown him (Ibid., pl. iii. figs. 61–63), as indicating his successes against Antony and the annexation of the kingdom of Media (Lindsay, p. 46; Rawlinson, The Sixth Monarchy, p. 182).

Henceforth these winged adjuncts are discontinued, so that, if we are to seek for the prototype of the Heraüs coin amid Imperial Arsacidan models, we are closely limited in point of antiquity, though the possibly deferred adoption may be less susceptible of proof.

² The period of Isidore of Charax has been the subject of much controversy. The writer of the notice in Smith's Dictionary contents himself with saying, "He seems to have lived under the early Roman Emperors." C. Müller, the special authority for all Greek geographical questions, sums up his critical examination of the evidence to the point: 'Probant scriptorem nostrum Augusti temporibus debere fuisset proximam.'—Geoec. Grec. Min. vol. i. p. lxxv.

³ 17. 'Ἐνετθέθεν Ζαραγγνανή, σχούοι κα. 'Ἐνθά πόλις Πάριν καὶ Κορδή πόλις.

18. 'Ἐνετθέθεν Ζακαστάνη Ζακόν Σκυθῶν, ἵ καὶ Παραστάνη, σχούοι είς. 'Ἐνθά Βαρδά πόλις καὶ Μίν πόλις καὶ Παλαστινί πόλις καὶ Σιγάι πόλις. 'Ἐνθά Βασίλεια Ζακόν καὶ Πλαστόν Ἀλεξάνδρεια πόλις καὶ Πλαστόν Ἀλεξάνδρειας πόλεις καὶ Πλαστόν Ἀλεξάνδρειας Πόλεις.'—Isidore of Charax, "Stathmi Parthici," ed. C. Müller, Paris, pp. 255, lxxxv. and xciii., map No. x. The text goes on to enumerate the stages up to Αλεξανδρόπολις μνημόνις Ἀραχωρας, and concludes: "Ἀχρί τοῦτον ἐστιν ἡ τῶν Πάρθων ἑπικράτεια. I annex for the sake of comparison Ptolemy's list of the cities of Drangia, after the century and a half which is roughly estimated as the interval between the two geographers. Sigal and Sakastané seem
names of Sakastanë or Paraitakenë with a capital city entitled Sigal.

The ancient Sigal may perhaps be identified with the modern site of Sekooha, the metropolis of a district of that name, which, in virtue of its position, its walls, and its wells, still claims pre-eminence among the cities of Seistán.¹

And to complete the data, I now find on the surface of the

¹ This fortress is the strongest and most important in Seistán, because, being at 5 parasangs from the lake, water is to be obtained only in wells which have been dug within its environs. The intermediate and surrounding country being an arid parched waste, devoid not only of water, but of everything else, the besiegers could not subsist themselves, and would, even if provisioned, inevitably die of thirst. It contains about 1200 houses . . . I have called it the capital of Seistán, but it is impossible to say how long it may enjoy that title."—Caravan Journeys of J. P. Ferrier, edited by H. D. Seymour, Esq., Murray, 1857, p. 419.

Sekoka—See also Sir H. Rawlinson's elaborate notes on Seistán, p. 282, "Si,koheh" [three hills], in the same volume. I may add in support of this reading of the name of the capital, that it very nearly reproduces the synonym of the obscure Greek Zeryda, in the counterpart Pehlvi سیکر=شدیا, in the counterpart Pehlvi.

Sí gar or gal, which stands equally for "three hills." Tahari tells us that in the old language, "guer a le scene de montagne" (Zotenberg, vol. i. p. 5), and Hamza Isfahání equally recognizes the gar as "colles et montes" (p. 37). The interchange of the rs and ls did not disturb the Iranian mind any more than the indeterminate use of gs and ks. See Journ. R. A. S. Vol. XII. pp. 265, 268, and Vol. XIII. p. 377. We need not discuss these comparisons further, but those who wish to trace identities more completely may consult Pictet, vol. i. p. 122, and follow out the Sanskrit gíri, Slave gora, etc. Since the body of this note was set up in type, Sir F. Goldsmid's official report upon "Eastern Persia" has been published, and supplies the following additional
original coin, after the final Α in ζακα, the Greek monogram Β, which apparently represents the ancient province, or provincial capital, of Drangia.¹

Heraüs, Σaka King.


Obv. "Bust of a king, right, diademed and draped; border of reeds and beads.

Rev. ΤΤΙΑΝΝΟΤΝΤΟΣ ΗΙΑΩΤ ΖΑΚΑ ΚΟΙΑΝΟΤ.
(ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΤΕΝΤΟΣ ΗΡΔΟΥ ΖΑΚΑ ΚΟΙΑΝΟΤΟΥ.)

A king, right, on horseback; behind, Nike, crowning him.²"

details as to the characteristics of Sikoha:—"The town, . . . which derives its name from three clay or mud hills in its midst, is built in an irregular circular form around the base of the two principal hills. The southernmost of these hills is surmounted by the ark or citadel, an ancient structure known as the citadel of Mir Kuchak Khan. . . . Adjoining this, and connected with it, is the second hill, called the Bûrj-i-Falaksar, on which stands the present Governor's house; and about 150 yards to the west is the third hill, not so high as the other two, undefended. . . . The two principal hills thus completely command the town lying at their base, and are connected with one another by a covered way." "Sekua is quite independent of an extra-mural water supply, as water is always obtainable by digging a few feet below the surface anywhere inside the walls, which are twenty-five feet in height, strongly built."—Major E. Smith, vol. i. p. 258.

¹ The progressive stages of this Monogram are curious. We have the normal Α.—Mionnet, pl. i. No. 12; Lindsay, Coins of the Parthians, pl. xi. No. 7. Next we have the Bactrian varieties ΒΑ, ΒΒ, and Β, entered in Prinsep's Essays, pl. xi. c. No. 53; Num. Chron. vol. xix. o.s. Nos. 48, 52, and vol. viii. n.s. pl. vii. Nos. 71, 72, and 76; and likewise Mionnet's varieties, Nos. 156, 299: Ariana Antiqua, pl. xxii. No. 118.

² I am indebted to Mr. P. Gardner for this woodcut. I retain his description of the coin as it appeared in the Numismatic Chronicle, 1874, vol. xiv. n.s. p. 161. It will be seen that Mr. Gardner failed to detect the worn outline of the Monogram.
Colonel Pearse, R.A., retains a single example of an exceptionally common class of small silver coins displaying the obverse head in identical form with the outline in the woodcut. The reverse type discloses an ill-defined, erect figure, to the left, similar in disjointed treatment to some of the reverses in the Antiochus-Kodes class, accompanied by two parallel legends in obscure Greek. The leading line, giving the title, is altogether unintelligible; but its central letters range ΧΙΑΙΝΧ or ΧΙΑΙΝΧ. The second line gives a nearer approach to "Moas" in a possible initial Μ, followed by the letters ΘΙΑΗΔ = μουδῆς, μοτρῆς, μουαῖς, etc. All these specimens, in addition to other Kodes associations, give outward signs of debased metal, or the Nickel, which was perchance, in those days, estimated as of equal value with silver.

The interest in this remarkable coin is not confined to the approximate identifications of time and place, but extends itself to the tenor of the legend, which presents us with the unusual titular prefix of Τυραννοῦντος, which, as a synonym of Βασιλείουντος, and here employed by an obvious subordinate, may be held to set at rest the disputed purport of the latter term, in opposition to the simple Βασιλεύς, which has such an important bearing upon the relative positions of the earlier Bactrian Kings. The examples of the use of the term Βασιλείουντος in the preliminary Bactrian series are as follows:

1. Agathocles in subordination to Diódotus
   Obv. ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΞΩΘΡΟΣ. Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΤ.

2. Agathocles in subordination to Euphrates
   Obv. ΕΥΦΡΑΙΝΟΝ ΘΕΟΤ. Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΤ.

3. Agathocles in subordination to Antiochus
   Obv. ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ. Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΤ.

4. Antimachus Theus in subordination to Diódotus
   Obv. ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΞΩΘΡΟΣ. Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΤ.

Num. Chron. vol. iv. n.s. p. 209, pl. viii. fig. 7.
The whole question as to the relative rank of the princes, whose names figure conjointly in the above legends, reduces itself concisely to this contrast, that the sub-king invariably calls himself βασιλεύς on his own proper coins, but on these exceptional tributary pieces, where he prefixes the image and superscription of a superior, he describes himself as βασιλεύωντος. These alien Satraps were effective kings within their own domains, but clearly bowed to some acknowledged head of the Bactro-Greek confederation, after the manner of their Indian neighbours, or perchance included subjects, who so especially regarded the gradational import of the supreme Mahārajadhīrāja, in contradistinction to the lesser degrees of regal state implied in the various stages of rāja, mahārāja, rājādhirāja, etc. These binomial pieces are rare, and, numismatically speaking, "occasional," i.e. coined expressly to mark some public event or political incident, like our modern medals; coincident facts, which led me long ago to suggest that they might have been struck as nominal tribute money or fealty pieces, in limited numbers, for submission with the annual nazarānā, or presentation at high State receptions, to the most powerful chief or general of the Græco-Bactrian oligarchy for the time being.

There is a curious feature in these binominal coins, which, as far as I am aware of, has not hitherto been noticed. It is, that the obverse head, representing the portrait of the superior king, seems to have been adopted directly from his own ordinary mint-dies, which in their normal form presented

2 I have long imagined that I could trace the likeness of Antiochus Theos on the obverse of the early gold coins of Diodotus (Prinsep's Essays, pl. xlii. 1; Num. Chron. vol. ii. n.s. pl. iv. figs. 1–3). I suppose, however, that in this case the latter monarch used his suzerain's ready-prepared die for the one face of his precipitate and perhaps hesitating coinage, conjoined with a new reverse device bearing his own name, which might have afforded him a loophole of escape on his "right to coin" being challenged. Apart from the similarity of the profile, the contrast between the high Greek art and perfect execution of the obverse head, and the coarse design and superficial tooling of the imitative reverse device, greatly favours the conclusion of an adaptation, though the motive may have been merely to utilize the obverses of existing mint appliances of such high merit.
the profile of the monarch without any surrounding legend, his name and titles being properly reserved for their conventional position on the *reverse* surface of his current coins. In the novel application of the head of the suzerain to a place on the *obverse* of a coin bearing the device and designations of his confessed subordinate on the *reverse*, it became necessary to add to the established obverse-device a specification of the name and titles of the superior, whose identification would otherwise have remained dependent upon the fidelity and the public recognition of the likeness itself. Hence, under the new adaptation, it likewise became requisite to engrave on the old die, around the standard Mint head, the suzerain's superscription in the odd corners and spaces in the field, no provision having been made, in the first instance, for any legend at all, and no room being left for the ordinary circular or perpendicular arrangement of the words, such as would have been spaced out under ordinary circumstances. In the majority of the instances we are able to cite, the Greek letters on the *adapted obverse* vary materially in their forms and outlines from those of the associated legends on the *reverse*, which still further proves the independent manipulation applied to the obverses of the compound pieces.

In addition to these indications as bearing upon the Bactrian proper coinage, the title of Τυτανανταρος is highly suggestive in its partial reappearance on the coins of the leading Sāh Kings Nahapana and Chastana, connecting the Scythic element geographically to the southward with the province of Guzerát, for a full résumé of which I must refer my readers to the Archaeological Report of Western India, for 1875.

1 See also the short copies of my Essay on the Records of the Gupta Dynasty, London, 1876, p. 31.
In most of the modern discussions on the ancient religions of India, the point at issue has been confined to the relative claims to priority of Buddhism and Brahmanism, a limitation which has led to a comparative ignoring of the existence of the exceptionally archaic creed of the Jainas.

This third competitor for the honours of precedence has lately been restored to a very prominent position, in its archaeological status, by the discovery of numerous specimens of the sculptures and inscriptions of its votaries on the sacred site of Mathurā, the Μοδουρά ἡ τῶν Θεῶν of the Greeks,¹ that admit of no controversy, either as to the normal date or the typical import of the exhumed remains.

This said Mathurā on the Jumna constituted, from the earliest period, a “high place” of the Jainas, and its memory² is preserved in the southern capital of the same name, the Μοδουρα, βασιλευον Πανδιωνος of Ptolemy, whence the sect, in after-times, disseminated their treasured knowledge, under the peaceful shelter of their Matams (colleges)³ in aid of

---

¹ Ptolemy, Méōra, Arrian (quoting Megasthenes), Indica viii. Mēthora, Pliny, vi. 22.
² F. Buchanan, Mysore, iii. 81, “Uttara Madura, on the Jumna.”
³ The modern version of the name of the city on the Jumna is मधुरा Mathurā. Babu Rajendralálá has pointed out that the old Sanskrit form was मधुरा Madhurā (J.A.S. Bengal, 1874, p. 259), but both transcriptions seem to have missed the true derivative meaning of मठ Mathā (hodie मठ), “a monastery, a convent or college, a temple,” etc., from the root मठ “to dwell,”
local learning and the reviving literature of the Peninsula.¹

The extended geographical spread of Jaina edifices has lately been contrasted, and compactly exhibited, in Mr. Fergusson's Map of the architectural creeds of India;² but a more important question regarding the primary origin of their buildings is involved in the sites chosen by their founders: whence it would appear that the Jainas must have exercised the first right of selection, for the purposes of their primitive worship, of the most striking and appropriate positions, on hill-tops and imperishable rocks,³ whose lower sections were honey-combed with their excavated shrines—from which vantage-ground and dependent caves they were readily displaced, in after-days, by appropriating Buddhists on the

as a hermit might abide in his cave. The southern revenue terms have preserved many of the subordinate forms, in the shape of taxes for "Maths." Rajputana and the N.W. Provinces exhibit extant examples in abundance of the still conventional term, while the distant Himalayas retain the word in Joshi-Math, Bairava-Math, etc. The Vishnu Purana pretends to derive the name from Madhu, a local demon (i. 164), while the later votaries of Krishna associate it with the Gopī's "churn" math.—Growse, Mathura Settlement Report, 1874, vol. i. p. 50.

¹ "The period of the predominance of the Jainas (a predominance in intellect and learning—rarely a predominance in political power) was the Augustan age of Tamil literature, the period when the Madura College, a celebrated literary association, appears to have flourished, and when the Kural, the Chintamani, and the classical vocabularies and grammars were written."—Caldwell, p. 86. See also p. 122. "The Jaina cycle. I might perhaps have called this instead the cycle of the Madura Sangam or College."—p. 128. Dr. Caldwell, Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, London, 1876.

² History of Indian and Eastern Architecture; Murray, London, 1876, Map, p. 47.

³ The late Mr. G. W. Traill has preserved an illustration of the innate tendency of the aboriginal mind to revert to primitive forms of worship, which almost reminds us of the party-coloured Pigeons of Norfolk Island, which, when left to their own devices, reverted to the normal type of Blue Rock. He observes: "The sanctity of the Himalaya in Hindu mythology by no means necessarily implies the pre-existence of the Hindu religion in this province (Kumaon), as the enormous height and grandeur of that range, visible from the plains, would have been sufficient to recommend it as a scene for the penances of gods and heroes. . . . . The great bulk of the population are now Hindus in prejudices and customs, rather than in religion. Every remarkable mountain, peak, cave, forest, fountain and rock has its presiding demon or spirit, to which frequent sacrifices are offered, and religious ceremonies continually performed by the surrounding inhabitants at small temples erected on the spot. These temples are extremely numerous throughout the country, and new ones are daily being erected; while the temples dedicated to Hindu deities, in the interior, are, with few exceptions, deserted and decayed."—G. W. Traill, As. Res., xvi. p. 161. See also J.R.A.S. Vol. VIII. p. 397; Vol. XIII. "Khond Gods," pp. 233–6; "Aboriginal Gods," p. 285. Hunter's Rural Bengal, pp. 130, 182, etc.
one part, or ousted and excluded by the more arrogant and combative Brahmans on the other.

The introductory phase in the consecutive order of the present inquiry involves the consideration of the conflicting claims to priority of the Jainas and the Buddhists. Some half a century ago, Colebrooke, echoing the opinions of previous commentators, seems to have been fully prepared to admit that Buddhism was virtually an emanation from anterior Jainism. We have now to examine how far subsequent evidence confirms this once bold deduction. Unquestionably, by all the laws of religious development, of which we have lately heard so much, the more simple faith, *per se,* must be primarily accepted as the precursor of the more complicated and philosophical system, confessing a common origin.

Colebrooke summarized his conclusions to the following effect:

"It is certainly probable," as remarked by Dr. Hamilton and Major Delamaine, that the Gautama of the Jainas and of the Baudhhas is the same personage: and this leads to the further surmise, that both sects are branches of one stock. According to the Jainas, only one of Mahavira's eleven disciples left spiritual successors: that is, the entire succession of Jaina priests is derived

1 "The ritual of the Jainas is as simple as their moral code. The *Yati,* or devotess, dispenses with acts of worship at his pleasure, and the lay votary is only bound to visit daily a temple where some of the images of the *Tirthankaras* are erected, walk round it three times, and make an obeisance to the images, with an offering of some trifle, usually fruit or flowers, and pronounce some such *Mantra* or prayer as the following: 'Namo *Arahantdnam,* Namo *Siddhanam,* ... 'Salutation to the *Arhats,*' etc. A morning prayer is also repeated: 'I beg forgiveness, O Lord, for your slave, whatever evil thoughts the night may have produced—I bow with my head.' ... The reader in a Jaina temple is a *Yati,* or religious character; but the ministrant priest, the attendant on the images, the receiver of offerings, and conductor of all usual ceremonies, is a *Brahmdd.'—Wilson's "Essays, vol. i. p. 319. "I may remark, parenthetically, with a view to what is still to be established—that the Khandagiri Inscription opens with the self-same invocation, 'Namo *Arahantdnam, Namo Sava Siddhanam,' "Salutation to the *arhantas,* glory to all the saints' (or those who have attained final emancipation!)."—Prinsep, *J.A.S.B.* vol. vi. p. 1080.

2 "Buddhism (to hazard a character in a few words) is monastic asceticism in morals, philosophical asceticism in religion; and whilst ecclesiastical history all over the world affords abundant instances of such a state of things resulting from gross abuse of the religious sanction, that ample chronicle gives us no one instance of it as an original system of belief. Here is a legitimate inference from sound premises; but that Buddhism was, in very truth, a reform or heresy, and not an original system, can be proved by the most abundant direct testimony of friends and enemies."—B. H. Hodgson, *J.R.A.S.* (1835), Vol. II. p. 290.

from one individual, Sudharma-swámi. Two only out of eleven survived Mahávíra, viz. Indrabhúti and Sudharma: the first, identified with Gautama-swámi, has no spiritual successors in the Jaina sect. The proper inference seems to be, that the followers of this surviving disciple are not of the sect of Jina, rather than that there have been none.

"I take Párśwanátha to have been the founder of the sect of Jainas, which was confirmed and thoroughly established by Mahávíra and his disciple Sudharma. . . . A schism, however, seems to have taken place, after Mahávíra, whose elder disciple, Indrabhúti, also named Gautama-swámi, was by some of his followers raised to the rank of a deified saint, under the synonymous designation of Buddha (for Jina and Buddha bear the same meaning, according to both Buddhists and Jainas)."—Transactions of the R.A.S. (1826), Vol. I. p. 520; and Prof. Cowell's edition of Colebrooke's collected Essays, vol. ii. p. 278.¹

At the time when Colebrooke wrote, the knowledge of the inner history of Buddhism was limited to the extreme. Our later authorities contribute many curious items and suggestive coincidences, tending more fully to establish the fact that Buddhism was substantially an offshoot of Jainism. For example, Ananda is found, in some passages of recognized authority, directly addressing Gotama himself in his own

¹ Professor Wilson, writing in 1832 on the "Religious Sects of the Hindus," objected to this inference of Colebrooke's, on the ground of the supposed contrast of the castes of the two families. It is, however, a question, now that we know more of the gradual developments of caste in India, whether the divisions and subdivisions, relied upon by Prof. Wilson, had assumed anything like so definite a form, as his argument would imply, at so early a period as the date of the birth of Sákya Muni. Professor Wilson's observations are as follows:—

"When Mahávíra's fame began to be widely diffused, it attracted the notice of the Brahmans of Magáha, and several of their most eminent teachers undertook to refute his doctrines. Instead of effecting their purpose, however, they became converts, and constituted his Ganañaharas, heads of schools, the disciples of Mahávíra and teachers of his doctrines, both orally and scripturally. It is of some interest to notice them in detail, as the epithets given to them are liable to be misunderstood, and to lead to erroneous notions respecting their character and history. This is particularly the case with the first Indrabhúti, or Gautama, who has been considered as the same with the Gautama of the Baudhas, the son of Máyásvä, and author of the Indian metaphysics. That any connexion exists between the Jain and the Bráhmana Sage is, at least, very doubtful; but the Gautama of the Baudhis, the son of Suddhodana and Máyā, was a Khatriya, a prince of the royal or warrior caste. All the Jain traditions make their Gautama a Brahman originally of the gotra, or tribe of Gotama Rishi, a division of the Bráhmans well known and still existing in the South of India. These two persons therefore cannot be identified, whether they be historical or fictitious personages."—H. H. Wilson's Essays, vol. i. p. 298; Asiatic Res. vol. xvii.
proper person, and speaking of the "twenty-four Buddhas, who had immediately preceded him."1 On other occasions the twenty-four Jaina Tirthankaras are reduced in the sacred texts of their supplacers to the six authorized antecedent Buddhas, or expanded at will into 120 Tathágatas or Buddhas, with their more deliberately fabulous multiplications.2

The Maháwanso, in like manner, has not only allowed the reference to the "twenty-four supreme Buddhas" to remain in its text,3 but has given their conventional names—which however have little in common with the Jaina list—in the order of succession. Mahánámo's Tíká 4 has preserved the catalogue, in its more complete form, specifying the parentage, place of birth and distinctive "Bo-trees"5 of each of the "twenty-four Buddhas," and concluding, after a reference to Kassapo (born at Benares), with Gotamo (a Brahman named Jotipálo at Wappula), "the Buddha of the present system, and Mettëya [who] is still to appear." This amplification and elaborate discrimination of sacred trees has also a suspicious air of imitation about it, as we know that Ward was only able to discover six varieties of Indian trees nominally sacred to the gods,6 and Mr. Fergusson's exami-

1 Spence Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, pp. 38, 94, 311.
2 B. Hodgson, Asiatic Researches, vol. xvi. p. 444, "Sarvárthasiddha observes, he has given so many [120] names exampi gràtia, but his instructors were really no less in number than 80 crores." In other places Mr. Hodgson expresses his doubts "as to the historical existence of Sákya's six predecessors."—Works, p. 135, and J.R.A.S. Vol. II. p. 289. See also Csoma de Körös, J.A.S.B. vol. vii. p. 143. "Immense is the number of such Buddhas that have appeared in former ages in several parts of the universe."
3 Cap. i. p. 1.
4 Maháwanso, Turnour's Introduction, Ceylon, 1837, p. xxxii.
5 The "Bo-trees of the twenty-four Buddhas" are given in the following order (Maháwanso, p. xxxii):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Tree</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Tree</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Tree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pippala</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sonaka</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Assana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sálakalyāna</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Salala</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Amalaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Nága</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Nípa</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Pátali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Welu</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Pundaríko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Kakudha</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Sála</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Champá</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Sirísa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ajjuna</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Bimbajála</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Udumbhara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sonaka</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Kamiháni</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Nigrodha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As this list is quoted merely to contrast the numbers 24 against 7, it would be futile to follow out the botanical names of the various Bo-trees; but it may be remarked en passant, that No. 3 is a tree of the wet forests of Assam, Concan, Malabar, and Ceylon, while No. 11 is a palm-like plant which is entirely maritime, and abounds in the Sundarbands, whereas we have no record of Buddhist "sittings."
6 Vol. i. p. 283.
nation of all the extant Buddhist representations of their Bo-trees does not carry the extreme total beyond the legitimate "six or seven species altogether."

Another indication which may prove of some import in this inquiry is to be gleaned from the Chinese text of the Travels of the Buddhist Pilgrim Fah-Hian (400—415 A.D.), which, in describing the town of Sravasti, proceeds to advert to "the ninety-six heretical sects of mid-India," who "build hospices" (Punyasālās) etc., concluding with the remark, "Devadatta also has a body of disciples still existing; they pay religious reverence to the three past Buddhas, but not to Śākyamuni."  

Again, an instructive passage is preserved in the Tibetan text of the Lalita-vistara, where, under the French version, "Le jeune Sarvārthasiddha," the baby Buddha, is represented as wearing in his hair the Śrīvatsa, the Swastika, the Nandavarta and the Vardhamāna, the three symbols severally of the 10th, 7th and 18th Jaina Tirthankarās, and the fourth constituting the alternative designation of Mahāvīra, and indicating his mystic device, which differed from his ordinary cognizance in the form of a lion.  

1 Tree and Serpent Worship, p. 116. Among the sculptures lately discovered at Barahat, are to be found 4 representations of five separate Bodhi-trees of as many different Buddhas, which are distinctly labelled as follows:

1. Bhāgavata Vipasino Bodhi, that is, the Tree of Vipasīya or Vipasvi, the first of the seven Buddhās.
2. Bhāgavato Kakusadhasa Bodhi.
3. Bhāgavato Konagamana Bodhi.
4. Bhāgavato Kasapasa Bodhi.
5. Bhāgavato Sakamumin Bodhi.

These last are the four well-known Buddhists named KrāHANDA, Konāgamani, Kasapa, and Śākyamuni."  It is scarcely necessary for me to add, that I hy no means concur in the early date attributed by General Cunningham to these sculptures.

2 Rev. S. Beal, Travels of Fah-Hian, p. 82. Poe koua bi, cap. xx. Remusat's Note 35. Laidlay, pp. 158, 179. Spence Hardy, alluding to these sectaries, says, "they are called in general Tirthakaras."—Manual of Buddhism, p. 290.

3 "Grand roi, le jeune Sarvārthasiddha a au milieu de la chevelure un Črīvatsa, un Swastika, un Nandavarta et un Varhamāna. Grand roi, ce sont là les quatre-vingts marques secondaires du jeune Sarvārthasiddha." . . . Foucaux, p. 110. "Pendant qu'elle le préparait ces signes prélèvéurs apparaissent: Au milieu de ce lait, un Črīvatsa, un Swastika, un Nandavarta, un lotus, un Varhamāna (Diagramme particulier dont la forme n'est pas indiquée), et d'autres signes de bénédiction se montrèrent."—Cap. viii. p. 258 (see also pp. 306, 390).

of the young Buddha are adverted to as, "qui est apparu par l'effet de la racine de la vertu des précédents Djinas."

The importance of these indications will be better appreciated, when it is understood that the twenty-four statues of the Jaina saints were all formed upon a single model, being indistinguishable, the one from the other, except by the chinas or subordinate marks on the pedestals, which constituted the discriminating lakshanas or mudrás of each individual Tirthankara. These crypto-devices were, in other cases, exhibited as frontal marks, or delegated to convenient positions on the breast and other parts of the nude statue. In this sense, Jainism may be said to have been a religion of signs and symbols, comprehending many simple objects furnished by nature and further associated with enigmatical and Tantric devices, the import of which is a mystery to modern intelligence.  

The following is a list of the twenty-four

**JAINA TIRTHANKARAS, WITH THEIR PARENTAGE AND DISCRIMINATING SYMBOLS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Rishabha, of the race of Ikshwáku, Prathama Jina, “the first Jina”</td>
<td>a Bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ajita, son of Jitasatru</td>
<td>an Elephant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sambhava, son of Jitári</td>
<td>a Horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Abhinandana, son of Sambara</td>
<td>an Ape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Sumati, son of Megha</td>
<td>a Curlew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Padmaprabha, son of Sridhara</td>
<td>a Lotus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Supárswa, son of Pratishtha</td>
<td>a Swastika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Chandraprabha, son of Mahásena</td>
<td>the Moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Pushpadanta, or Suvidhi, son of Supriya</td>
<td>an Alligator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Śitala, son of Drídharatha</td>
<td>a Śrīvatasa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 In modern times, Mr. Hodgson tells us, he was able to discriminate statues, which passed with the vulgar for any god their priests chose to name, by the crucial test of their "minute accompaniments" and "frontal appendages."— J.R.A.S. Vol. XVIII. p. 396. See, also, the Chinese-Buddhist inscription from Kou-Yung Kwan, with its mudrás, and Mr. Wylie’s remarks upon dhärana.— J.R.A.S. Vol. V. n.s. p. 22.

Names.
11. Śreyán (or Śriyánsa), son of Viṣṇu
12. Vāsupújya, son of Vaśupújya
13. Vimala, son of Kītavármán
14. Ananta (Anántajit), son of Sinhasena
15. Dharma, son of Bhánti
16. Sánti, son of Viśvasena
17. Kunthu, son of Śura
18. Ara, son of Sudársana
19. Malli, son of Kumbha
20. Munisuvrata (Suvrata), son of Sumitra
21. Nimi, son of Vižaya
22. Nemi (or Aríshiánemi), s. of Samućrájaya
23. Páรšwa (Párswanátha), son of Áśvasena
24. Vardhamána, also named Víra, Mahá-víra, etc., surnamed Chárama-tírthakrít, or "last of the Jinas," "emphatically called Sramána or the saint," son of Siddhártha

Symbols.
a Rhinoceros
a Buffalo
a Boar
a Falcon
a Thunderbolt
an Antelope
a Goat
a Nandyávarta
a Jar
a Tortoise
blue Water-lily
a Conch
a hooded Snake
a Lion

In addition to these discriminating symbols, the different Tirthankaras are distinguished by the tint of their complexions. No. 1 is described as of a yellow or golden complexion, which seems to have been the favourite colour,

---

1 Dr. Stevenson has tabulated some further details of the Jaina symbolic devices in "Trisala's Dreams":

|-----------|------|-------------|----------|-------------|

Lucky figures, 1 Sripatsa, 2 Satvika, 3 Throne, 4 Flower-pot, 5 couple of Fishes, 6 Mirror, 7 Nandyávarta, 8 Vardhamána.—Kalpa Sutra, page 1.

Dr. Stevenson has an instructive note upon Jaina emblems, which I append to his Table:—"In the prefixed scheme of the emblems of the different Tirthankaras, it may strike the reader that there is no vestige of anything like this Buddhist Cháitya in any of them. This arises from one remarkable feature of dissimilarity between the Jains and Buddhists. The Dagoba, or Buddhist
Nos. 6 and 12 rejoice in a "red" complexion, Nos. 8 and 9 are designated as "fair," No. 19 is described as "blue," and No. 20 as "black." Párvanátha is likewise "blue," while Mahávíra reverts to the typical "golden" hue, the सुचविष्णुि Suvarna chhāvi; "the golden form" claimed alike for Sákya Muni.¹

In illustration of this tendency to faith in emblems among the Jainas, I quote the independent opinion of Captain J. Low regarding the origin of the celebrated Phrabát, or ornamental impress of the feet of Buddha,² and his demonstration of the inconsistent and inappropriate assimilation of the worship of symbols with the higher pretensions of the creed of Sákya Muni:—

"As the Phrabát is an object claiming from the Indo-Chinese nations a degree of veneration scarcely yielding to that which they pay to Buddha himself, we are naturally led to inquire why the emblems it exhibits are not all adored individually as well as in the aggregate. It seems to be one of those inconsistencies which mark the character of Buddhist schismatics; and it may enable us more readily to reach the real source of their religion, from which so many superstitions have ramified to cross our path in eastern research. To whatever country or people we may choose to assign

Chaitya, was a place originally appropriated to the preservation of relics, a practice as abhorrent to the feelings of the Jainas as it is to those of the Brahmans. The word Chaitya, when used by the Jainas, means any image or temple dedicated to the memory of a Tirthankara."—Kalpa Sutra, p. xxvi.

From quasi-Buddhist sources we derive independent Symbols of the Four Divisions of the Vaibháshika School.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FOUR CLASSES.</th>
<th>SUBDIVISIONS.</th>
<th>DISTINCTIVE MARKS.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rahul.........</td>
<td>4 sects, using the Sanskrit</td>
<td>Utpala padma (water-lily) jewel,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sákyā's.</td>
<td>tongue ..........</td>
<td>and tree-leaf put together in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>the form of a nosegay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kásyapa ......</td>
<td>6 sects, entitled &quot;the great</td>
<td>Shell or conch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahman's</td>
<td>community,&quot; using a corrupt dialect.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upalii .......</td>
<td>3 sects, styled &quot;the class which</td>
<td>A sortsika flower.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Súdra's.</td>
<td>is honored by many,&quot; using the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>language of the Páśchikas.</td>
<td>The figure of a wheel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kátyáyaná .....</td>
<td>3 sects, entitled &quot;the class that</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Váiséyá's.</td>
<td>have a fixed habitation,&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>using the vulgar dialect.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Asiatic Researches, vol. xv, p. 84.
² Examples of Jaina-Buddhist Foot-prints may be seen in Vol. III. n.s. of our Journal, p. 159.
the original invention of the Phrabât, it exhibits too many un
doubted Hindu symbols to admit of our fixing its fabrication upon
the worshippers of the latter Buddha; of whose positive dogmas it
is rather subversive than otherwise, by encouraging polytheism. And
further, the intent with which it was originally framed—namely, to
embody in one grand symbol a complete system of theology and
theogony—should seem to have been gradually forgotten, or per-
verted by succeeding ages to the purposes of a ridiculous superstition.”

—Capt. J. Low, “The Phrabât, or Divine Foot of Buddha from
Bali and Siamese Books,” Transactions R.A.S. Vol. II. p. 64.¹

The existing traditions of the Jainas, on the other hand,
consistently adhere to the reverence of nature’s forms or the
more elaborated diagrams and curious devices of their ancient
creed,² which is here shown to have been incompatible with
the advanced tenets of Buddhism. The Vaishnavâs, equally
in their turn, had their Vishnu-pad; but when we meet with
the symbolical impression of the feet under their adaptative
treatment, we find it decorated and adorned with a totally
different series of minor emblems to those affected by the
early Jainas.³

Dr. Stevenson, in editing the text of the leading Jaina
authority, the Kalpa Sûtra, in 1848,⁴ arrived independently at

¹ A pertinent inquiry is made by R. Friederich in the last Number of our
Journal (Vol. IX. n.s. p. 65): “Were the Buddhists of Java Jainas?”

² Col. W. Franklin, in his account of the Temple of Parswanâtha at Samet-
Sikhar, describes the statues as having the “head fashioned like a turban, with
seven expanded heads of serpents, Cûliber Naga, or hooded snake, the invariable
symbol of Parswanâtha.” “The summit of the hill, emphatically termed by
the Jainas Samet Sikhar, comprises a table-land flanked by “twenty small Jainas
temples. In them are to be found the Vasu-Pâdikas or ‘sacred feet,’ similar to
what are to be seen in the Jaina Temple at Châmpânagar. On the south side
of the mountain is a very large and handsome flat-roofed temple, containing several
figures of this deity, which exhibit the-never-failing attributes of Parswanâtha
and the Jaina religion, viz. the crowned serpent and cross-legged figures of
Jîneswara or Jina, the ruler and guardian of mankind.”—Asiatic Researches,
vol. IX. pp. 528, 530. “In their temples, the Swetâmbaras have images of all
these persons (the twenty-four Jinas), which they worship; but their devo-
tions are more usually addressed to what are called representations of their
feet.”—Dr. B. Hamilton, Mysore, p. 538.

³ General Cunningham has published a fac-simile of the Gaya Vishnu-pad,
which, however, he designates in the Plate, “Buddha-pad,” executed in A.D. 1308:
in this, although many symbols of Indian origin and local currency are displayed,
we miss the leading Swastika, and the other mystic diagrams more immediately
associated with the Jaina and secondary Buddhist systems.—Arch. Rep., 1871,
vol. i. p. 9, pl. vii.

⁴ The extant MS. text of the Kalpa Sûtra contains a record that “900 years
after Mahâvîra, and in the 80th year of the currency of the tenth hundred,
a similar conclusion with Colebrooke as to the relative positions of Jainism and Buddhism, in reference to their common source and the more recent innovations and arrogant assumptions of the latter creed. He sums up his remarks in the subjoined passage:

"There are, however, yet one or two other points in the accounts the Jains give us, which seem to have a historic bearing. The first is the relation said to have subsisted between the last Buddha and the last Tirthankara, the Jains making Mahávira Gautama's preceptor, and him the favourite pupil of his master.

. . . . In favour of the Jain theory (of priority), however, it may be noticed, that Buddha is said to have seen 24 of his predecessors (Mahavanso, I. c. i.), while in the present Kappo he had but four. The Jains, consistently with their theory, make Mahávira to have seen 23 of his predecessors, all that existed before him in the present age. This part of Buddhism evidently implies the knowledge of the 24 Tirthankaras of the Jains. Gautama, however, by the force of natural genius, threw their system entirely into the shade, till the waning light of Buddhism permitted its fainter radiance to re-appear on the western horizon."—Kalpa Sútra, London, 1848, p. xii.

Dr. Stevenson was peculiarly competent to express an opinion on this and collateral questions, as he had made the "ante-Brahmanical worship of the Hindus" a subject of his especial study, during his lengthened career, as a missionary in the Dekhan, in direct association with the people of the land. Among other matters bearing upon Jainism, he gives an instructive account of the process of making a god, as traced in the instance of Vițal or Vithoba, commencing with the "rough unhewn stone of a pyramidal or triangular shape," which formed the centre of the druidical

this Book was written and publicly read in the currency of the 93rd year." Hence, taking Mahávira's period at 503 B.C., its date is fixed at "454 A.D. and its publication at 466 A.D."—Stevenson's Kalpa Sutra, p. 95. Colebrooke's Essays, vol. ii. p. 193.

1 "After writing the above I found my conclusion anticipated by Mr. Colebrooke, and I am happy that it now goes abroad with the suffrage of so learned an Orientalist—Trans. R.A.S. Vol. I. p. 522."


3 J.R.A.S. (1839), Vol. V. p. 193 et seq. Among other questions adverted to, Dr. Stevenson remarks:—"Vețal is generally, in the Dekhan, said to be an Avatār of
circle of similarly-shaped blocks—proceeding, in the second stage, to their adornment with red-ochre tipped with white, to imitate fire, the further development of the central block into "a human figure," "with two arms," and its coincident promotion to the shelter of a temple with more complicated rites and ceremonies; and, finally, in other cases, to the transformation of "the form of a man, but without arms or legs," into "a fierce and gigantic man, perfect in all his parts."  

Dr. Stevenson, in a subsequent article, followed up his comparison of the later images of Vithoba with the normal ideals of the Jaina nude statues. One of his grounds for these identifications is stated in the following terms: "The want of suitable costume in the images (of Vithoba and Rakhami), as originally carved, in this agreeing exactly with the images the Jainas at present worship, and disagreeing with all others adored by the Hindus"—who, "with all their faults, had always sense of propriety enough to carve their images so as to represent the gods to the eye arrayed in a way not to give offence to modesty."

The author then goes on to relate how the Brahmanists of Śiva, and wonderful exploits performed by him are related in a book called the Veṭṭal Pachisi; but which composition has not had the good fortune to gain the voice of the Brahmans and be placed among the Māhātmāyas. On the contrary, they look upon it merely as a parcel of fables, and dispute the claims of Veṭṭal to any divine honours whatever."—Dr. Stevenson, J.R.A.S. Vol. V, p. 192.


3 The legend of the creation of Jagannātha, accepted by his votaries, points to an equally simple origin, which, in this instance, took the form of a drift log of Nīm-wood. This qūra or "branch" having been pronounced on examination to be adorned with the emblems of the Sanka, Gaddi, Padma and Chakra, was afterwards, by divine intervention, split "into the four-fold image of Chatur Murti. A little colouring was necessary to complete them, and they then became recognized as Śrī Krishna or Jagannāth, distinguished by its black hue, Bāldeo, a form of Śiva, of a white colour, Subhadrā, the sister, ... of the colour of saffron."

In this case the Brahmins seem to have surpassed themselves in their theatrical adaptations, for they are said to have adopted a practice of dressing-up the figure of Śrī Jīrū, in a costume appropriate to the occasion, to represent the principal deities of the ruling creeds. "Thus at the Rām Navamī, the great image assumes the dress and character of Rāma; at the Janam Ashtami, that of Krishna; at the Kālī Pājā, that of Kālī," with two other alternative green-room transformations, which we need not reproduce.—Stirling’s Orissa, Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. p. 318.
later days appropriated the sacred sites and adapted the very images of the local gods to their own purposes. His description is most graphic of the way in which the **nude** statues of Vithoba and Rakhami, at Pandarpur, were clothed in appropriate Hindu garments and made to do duty for the Brahmanical Krishna and Rukmini. Not less caustic is the completion of the tale in the account of the “image-dresser’s” appearance over night at feasts, in the borrowed habiliments of his patron god, to be restored for the benefit of the adoring multitude on the following morning.¹

Among other suggestive inquiries, Dr. Stevenson has instituted a comparison between the equality of all men before their god—indicative of **pre-caste** periods—at the several shrines of Vithoba and Jaggannátha,² and the inferential claims of the Jainas to the origination of the ever-popular pilgrimage to the latter sanctuary. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the title of “Jaggannátha is an appellation given by the modern Jainas to their Tirthankara Párvanátha in particular.”³ General Cunningham, in his work on the Bhílsa Topes,⁴ long ago pointed out the absolute identity of the outline of the modern figures of Jagganátha with the **trisúl** or curved-trident ornament so frequent in the early Buddhist sculptures,⁵ and, in like manner, Burnouf had detected the coincidence of the form of the Várdhamánakya, or mystic symbol of Mahávira above adverted to, with the outline of the Bactro-Greek Monogram so common on the

¹ No less acute is Dr. Stevenson’s analysis, in another volume of our Journal (Vol. VIII. p. 330), of the position traditionally held by Śiva in India—his absence “from the original Brahmanical theogony,” his imperfect assimilation with the later forms of their ritual—and the conclusion “that the worship of Śiva is nothing more than a superstition of the aboriginal Indians, modified by the Brahmins, and adopted into their system,” for their own ends. An opinion which has been fully confirmed by later investigations.


⁴ “The triple emblem, represented in fig. 22, pl. xxxii., is one of the most valuable of the Sánchí sculptures, as it shows in the clearest and most unequivocal manner the absolute identity of the holy Brahmanical Jaggannáth with the ancient Buddhist triad.”—Bhílsa Topes (London, 1864), p. 356. Fac-similes of these figures may be seen at p. 450, Journ. R.A.S., Vol. VI. o.s. See also Laidlay’s translation of Fo-k'un-ki, pp. 21-26, 261.

⁵ The symbol forms a distinct object of worship at Amravati.—Fergusson’s “Tree and Serpent Worship,” pl. lxx. etc.
local coins. 1 This last identification opens out a very wide
field of speculation, inasmuch as this particular mark has
now been found in all its integrity, on the person of a Jaina
statue in the Indian Museum. Another coincidence which may
prove to have some bearing upon the relative claims of Jainas
and Buddhists to the Lion pillars, 2 and the frequent repre-
sentations of that animal upon the sculptures on the Topses,
etc., is that the Lion proves to have been a special emblem
of Mahâvîra, as the mystic trident in its turn answered to his
second title of Vardhamâna.

Before taking leave of the question of the relations once
existing between Mahâvîra and Buddha, it remains for me
to cite a most curious passage, furnishing a vivid outline
of the intercourse between Guru and Chela, and forewarning
the nascent doubts of the disciple—which occurs in
the Bhagavati, 2 a work recently published by Prof. Weber,
of the existence of which neither Colebrooke nor Wilson
were cognizant. I may add in further support of the
identity of Gautama and Sâkya Muni—so freely admitted

1 Burnouf, in noticing the 65 names of the figures traced on the supposed
Dharmaprajñâpâ or imprint of the foot of Buddha in Ceylon, remarks under
the sixth or Vardhamânakya head: "C'est là encore une sorte de diagramme
mystique également familier aux Brâhmans et au Buddhistes; son nom signifie
"le prospère."

"Quant à la figure suivante, on trouvera peut-être qu'elle doit être le Vardha-
mâna; je remarquerais seulement sur la seconde, C, qu'elle est ancienne;
et on la remarque fréquemment au revers des médailles de Kaphisées et de quel-
ques autres médailles indo-scythiques au type du roi cavalier et vainqueur (A.A.
pl. x. 5, 9 a), et sur la troisième, qu'elle paraît n'être qu'une variante de la
c. xi. p. 70. Col. Sykes, J.R.A.S. VI. o.a. p. 456, No. 34, etc.

2 The Kubasan pillar is manifestly Jaina, though there is this to be said, that it
is more fully wrought than the ordinary round monoliths, some of which Asoka
may have found ready to his hand. It bears the inscription of Skanda Gupta
(219 A.D.), but this need no more detract from its true age than the modern
inscription of Visala deva of A.D. 1164 would disturb the prior record of
Asoka on the Dehli (Khizrâbâd) láç. "The bell (of the capital) itself is
reeded, after the fashion of the Asoka pillars. Above this the capital is square,
with a small niche on each side holding a naked standing figure, surmounted
by a low circular band, in which is fixed the metal spikes already described,
as supporting a statue of a lion, or some other animal rampant. . . .
On the western face of the square base there is a niche holding a naked standing
figure, with very long arms reaching to his knees. Behind, there is a large snake
folded in horizontal coils, one above the other, and with its seven heads forming
a canopy over the idol."—General Cunningham, Arch. Rep. I. p. 93.

3 Fragment der Bhagavati. Ein beitrâg zur kenntniss der heiligen litaratur
Jaina writer named Malayagiri, flourished in the thirteenth century A.D.
in previous quotations—that the Iranian texts equally designate him by the former epithet. And it is to be remembered that Buddhism very early made its way in force over parts of Bactria—as the construction of the *Nau Bihār* at Balkh, lately identified by Sir H. Rawlinson, suffices to prove. An edifice which Hiouen Thsang commemorates as "qui a été construit par le premier roi de ce royaume." 

"At that time, then, at that juncture, the holy Mahāvira's eldest pupil, Indrabhūti,—houseless, of Gautama's Gotra, seven (cubits) high, of even and regular proportions, with joints as of diamond, bull and arrow, fair like the streak on a touchstone or like lotus pollen, of mighty, shining, burning, powerful penance, pre-eminent, mighty, of mighty qualities, a mighty ascetic, of mighty abstinence, of dried-up body, of compact mighty resplendency, possessed of the fourteen preliminary steps, endowed with the four kinds of knowledge, acquainted with all the ways of joining syllables, in moderate proximity to the holy Čramaṇa Mahāvira, with knees erect and lowered head, endowed with a treasury of meditation,—lived edifying himself by asceticism and the bridling of his senses.

"Thereupon that holy Gautama, in whom faith, doubt, and curiosity arose, grew and increased, rose up. Having arisen he went to the place where the sacred Čramaṇa Mahāvira was. After going there, he honours him by three pradakśinā circumambulations. After performing these, he praises him and bows to him. After so doing, not too close, not too distant, listening to him, bowing to him, with his face towards him, humbly waiting on him with folded hands, he thus spoke." . . .

I have already adverted to Fah-Hian's mention of a sect, in India, who declined to accept Śākya Muni as their

---

1 This has not, however, always been conceded. Prof. Wilson, in his remarks upon "Two Tracts from Nipāl," says Dr. Buchanan "has only specified two names, Gautama and Śākya, of which the first does not occur in the Nipāl list, whilst, in another place, he observes that Śākya is considered by the Burmese Buddhists as an impostor... The omission of the name of Gautama proves that he is not acknowledged as a distinct Buddha by the Nipālese, and he can be identified with no other in the list than Śākya Simha."—Essays, vol. ii. p. 9. At p. 10 Prof. Wilson contests Buchanan's assertion, and adds that in the Pāli version of the Amara Kosha Gautama and Śākya Simha and Adityabandhu are given as synonyms of the son of Sudhodana."

2 Fravardin Yasht (circa "350–450 B.C.") quoted by Dr. Haug, Essay on the Sacred Language of the Parsees, Bombay, 1862, p. 188.

3 Quarterly Review, 1866, and his "Central Asia," Murray, 1875, p. 246.

prophet, but who avowedly confessed their faith in one or more of his predecessors.

Some very instructive passages in this direction have been collected by the Rev. S. Beal, in his revised edition of the Travels of Fah-Hian. Among the rest, referring to the Chinese aspects of Buddhism, shortly after A.D. 458, he goes on to say:

"The rapid progress of Buddhism excited much opposition from the Literati and followers of Lao-tseu. The latter affirmed that Sakya Buddha was but an incarnation of their own master, who had died 517 B.C., shortly after which date (it was said) Buddha was born. This slander was resented by the Buddhists, and they put back the date of their founder's birth in consequence—first, to 687 B.C., and afterwards to still earlier periods."—p. xxvi.

A coincident assertion of priority of evolution seems to have been claimed, in situ, at the period of the visit to India of the second representative Chinese pilgrim, Hiouen Thsang (A.D. 629-645).

His references to the Jainas, their practices, and their supposed appropriation of the leading theory, and consequent modification of portions of the Buddhist creed, are set forth, at length, in the following quotation:

In describing the town of Siṃhapīra, Hiouen Thsang proceeds:

"A côté et à une petite distance du Stoupa, on voit l'endroit où le fondateur de la secte hérétique qui porte des vêtements blancs (Cvêtâvāsa?), complit les principes sublimes qu'il cherchait, et commença à expliquer la loi. Aujourd'hui, on y voit une inscription. A côté de cet endroit, on a construit un temple des dieux. Les sectaires qui le fréquentent se livrent à des dures austérités. . . La loi qu'a exposée le fondateur de cette secte, a été pillée en grande partie dans les livres du Buddha, sur lesquels il s'est guidé pour établir ses préceptes et ses règles. . . Dans leurs observances et leurs exercices religieux, ils suivent presque entièrement la règle des Čramānas, seulement, ils conservent un peu de cheveux sur leur tête, et, de plus, ils vont nus. Si par hazard, ils portent des vêtements, ils se distinguent par la couleur blanche. Voila les différences, d'ailleurs fort légères, qui les séparent des autres. La statue de leur maitre divin ressemble, par une sorte d'usurpation, à celle

1 London, Trübner, 1869.
de Jou-lai (du Tathâgata); elle n'en diffère que par le costume; ses signes de beauté (mahápouroucha lakchañâni) sont absolument les mêmes."

In this conflict of periods, the pretensions of the Northern Buddhists may be reduced, by the internal testimony of their own books, to severely approximate proportions; and here Mr. Brian Hodgson's preliminary researches present themselves, with an authority hitherto denied them; perchance, because they were so definitively in advance of the ordinary knowledge of Buddhism, as derived from extra-national sources. In this case Mr. Hodgson was able to appeal to data, contributed from the very nidus of Buddhism in Magadhâ—whose passage, into the ready refuge of the Valley of Nipál, would prima facie have secured an unadulterated version of the ancient formulae, and have supplied a crucial test for the comparison of the southern developments, as contrasted with the northern expansions and assimilations of the Faith. Mr. Hodgson observes:

"I can trace something very like Buddhism into far ages and realms: but I am sure that that Buddhism which has come down to us, in the Sanskrit, Pâli, and Tibetan books of the sect, and which only we do or can know, is neither old nor exotic."—J.A.S.B. 1837, p. 685.  

1 One of Hiouen Thsang's contributions to the place and position of the Jainas in reference to the Buddhists proper, upon whom he has been supposed exclusively to rely, is exhibited in his faith in a native magician of the former creed, the truth of whose predictions he frankly acknowledges in the following terms:—"Avant l'arrivée du messager du roi Kamâra, il y eut un hérétique nu (Ni-kien-Nîrgrantha), nommé Fa-che-lo (Vâdîra), qui entra tout à coup dans sa chambre. Le Maître de la loi, qui avait entendu dire, depuis longtemps, que les Ni-kien excellaient à tirer l'horoscope, le pria aussitôt de s'asseoir et l'interrogea ainsi, afin d'éclaircir ses doutes: 'Moi Hiouen-Thsang, religieux du royaume de Tchî-na, je suis venu dans ce pays, il y a bien des années, pour me livrer à l'étude et à de pieuses recherches. Maintenant, je désire m'en retourner dans ma patrie; j'ignore si j'y parviendrai ou non.' He then goes on to relate: 'Le Ni-kien prit un morceau de craie, traça des lignes sur la terre, tira les sorts et lui répondit en ces termes.'—Hiouen-Thsang, vol. i. (Voyages), p. 228. See also vol. i. p. 224; and (Memoires) vol. i. (ii.), pp. 42, 98, 354; vol. ii. (iii.), p. 406.

2 In the same sense, another distinguished writer on Buddhism remarks: "There is no life of Gotama Buddha, by any native author, yet discovered, that is free from the extravagant pretensions with which his history has been so largely invested; from which we may infer that the records now in existence were all prepared long after his appearance in the world."—Spence Hardy, J.R.A.S. Vol. XX. p. 136.
Col. Tod's observations were not designed to extend to the question of the relative age of the Jaina and Buddhist creeds, but they serve to show the permanence and immutability of the former faith in a portion of the continent of India, where the people, beyond all other sectional nationalities, have preserved their individuality and reverence for local traditions. They explain, moreover, how the leading tenet of Jainism—which was shared in a subdued form by Buddhism—came under its exaggerated aspect to leave their best kings at the mercy of less humane adversaries.

Col. Tod proceeds to speak of the Jainas in the following terms:

"The Vedâvân (the man of secrets or knowledge, magician), or Magi of Bâjâshân. The numbers and power of these sectarians are little known to Europeans, who take it for granted they

1 "The practical part of the Jain religion consists in the performance of five duties and the avoidance of five sins.

"The duties are—1. Mercy to all animated beings; 2. Almsgiving; 3. Venerating the sages while living, and worshipping their images when deceased; 4. Confession of faults; 5. Religious fasting.


The Jainas "believe that not to kill any sentient being is the greatest virtue."

The leading contrast between the simple duties of the Jainas and the later developments introduced by the various schools of Buddhists may be traced in the following extracts:

"1. From the meanest insect up to man, thou shalt kill no animal whatever; 2. Thou shalt not steal; 3. Thou shalt not violate the wife or concubine of another."—Güztlafl, "China Opened," London, 1838, p. 216.

"There are three sins of the body: 1. The taking of life, Murder (1); 2. The taking that which is not given, Theft (2); 3. The holding of carnal intercourse with the female that belongs to another, Adultery (3)."—Spence Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, p. 461.

"The ten obligations" commence with "1. Not to kill; 2. Not to steal; 3. Not to marry; 4. Not to lie, etc."—The Rev. S. Beal, Fah-hian, p. 59. Mr. Beal goes on to expound the four principles involved in the existence of Buddhism, which are defined as these:—"1. That man may become superior to the Gods; 2. That Nirvâna is the Supreme good; 3. That religion consists in a right preparation of heart (suppression of evil desire, practice of self-denial, active benevolence); 4. That men of all castes, and women, may enjoy the benefits of a religious life."—p. i.

2 "To this leading feature in their religion (the prohibition of the shedding of blood) they owe their political debasement: for Komarpal, the last King of Anhulwars, of the Jain faith, would not march his armies in the rains, from the unavoidable sacrifice of animal life that must have ensued. The strict Jain does not even maintain a lamp during that season, lest it should attract moths to their destruction."—i. p. 519. The oil-mill and the potter's wheel are stopped for four months in the year, when insects most abound."—i. p. 521. At p. 620 Col. Tod enlarges upon the mines of knowledge (of the Jaina) books by the thousand, etc.
are few and dispersed. To prove the extent of their religious and political power, it will suffice to remark, that the pontiff of the Khartra-gatoha (true branch), one of the many branches of this faith, has 11,000 clerical disciples scattered over India; that a single community, the Ossi or Oswal (Ossa in Marwar), numbers 100,000 families; and that more than half the mercantile wealth of India passes through the hands of the Jain laity."—Tod, under Mewar, vol. i. p. 518.

Col. Tod's contemporary, and superior officer, Gen. Malcolm, gives us an equally striking insight into the active aggressiveness of the Brahmins and the helpless submissiveness of the Jainas in his current narrative:

"Six years ago, the Jains built a handsome temple at Ujjain; a Jutteé, or priest of high character, arrived from Guzerat to consecrate it, and to place within the shrine the image of their favourite deity (Parswanáth); but on the morning of the day fixed for this purpose, after the ceremony had commenced and the Jains had filled the temple expecting the arrival of their idol, a Brahman appeared conveying an oval stone from the river Seepra, which he proclaimed as the emblem of Mahádeva, (and his following) soon drove the unarmed bankers and shopkeepers from their temple, and proclaimed 'Mahádeva as the overthrower of Jains.'"—Malcolm, Central India, vol. ii. p. 160. See also Edward Conolly, in J.A.S.B., 1837, p. 834.

In addition to the personal experiences and graphic narratives of Col. Tod, as detailed in his "Rájasthán," a new class of testimony, from indigenous sources, has lately reached us, in the contributions of an independent visitor to the courts of the Chiefs of the Rájpút states, whose careful examination and reproduction of the monuments existing in situ has been associated with the acquisition of an amount of ancient lore, as preserved among the people themselves, which has not always been accessible under the necessarily reserved attitude of English officials.

I cite M. Rousselet's own words regarding the nature of the documents in the possession of the Jainas, and the reiterated charges they advance against the heretical Buddhists:

"Les livres religieux des Jaïnas, dont la traduction jetterait un grand jour sur les âges reculés de l'histoire de l'Inde, ont été dé-
THE EARLY FAITH OF AŚOKA.

laissés jusqu'à présent par nos savants orientalistes. Si l'on en croit les traditions conservées par les prêtres de cette secte, l'origine du jaïnisme remonterait à des centaines de siècles avant Jésus-Christ; il paraît, en tout cas, établi qu'il existait bien avant l'apparition de Çakya Mouni, et il est même possible que les doctrines de ce dernier ne soient qu'une transformation des doctrines jaïnas. Les Bouddhistes reconnaissent du reste Mahavira, le dernier Tirthankar jaïna, comme le prêcepteur de Çakya. Les Jaïnas considèrent, de leur côté, les Bouddhistes comme des hérétiques, et les ont poursuivis de tout temps de leur haine."—p. 373.

We could scarcely have expected any contributory evidence towards the antiquity of the Jaina creed from Brahmanical sources, and, yet, an undesigned item of testimony to that end is found to be embalmed in the "Padma Purāṇa," where, in adverts to the deeds of Vrihaspati and his antagonism to Indra, Jainism is freely admitted to a contemporaneous existence with the great Gods of the Brahmans, and though duly designated as "heretic," is confessed, in the terms of the text, to have been a potent competitor for royal and other converts, in very early times.1 I am by no means desirous of claiming either high antiquity or undue authority for the Hindu Purāṇas, but their minor admissions are at times instructive, and this may chance to prove so.2

1 "The Asuras are described as enjoying the ascendency over the Devatas, when Vrihaspati, taking advantage of their leader Sukra's being enamoured of a nymph of heaven, sent by Indra to interrupt his peneance, comes among the former as Sukra, and misleads them into irreligion by preaching heretical doctrines; the doctrines and practices he teaches are Jain, and in a preceding passage it is said that the sons of Rāji embraced the Jina Dharma."—Padma Purāṇa, Wilson, J.R.A.S. Vol. V. p. 282. See also pp. 287, 310-11.

2 Professor Wilson, arguing upon the supposed priority of the Buddhists, attempted to account for the frequent allusions to the Jainas in the Brahmanical writings by concluding that "since the Buddhas disappeared from India, and the Jainas only have been known, it will be found that the Hindu writers, whenever they speak of Buddhas, show, by the phraseology and practices ascribed to them, that they really mean Jainas. The older writers do not make the same mistake, and the usages and expressions they give to Buddha personages are not Jainas, but Buddhas."—Essays, vol. I. p. 329.

It is to be added, however, that Prof. Wilson, when he put this opinion on record in 1832, had to rely upon the limited knowledge of the day, which presupposed that the Jainas had nothing definite to show prior to the ninth century (p. 333). He was not then aware of the very early indications of their unobtrusive power in Southern India in Saka 411 (A.D. 489), if not earlier, as proved by Sir W. Elliot's Inscriptions (J.R.A.S. 1837, Vol. IV. pp. 8, 9, 10, 17, 19); and still less could he have foreseen the new revelations from Mathurā, which, of course, would have materially modified his conclusions.
The *Pancha Tantra*—the Indian original of *Æsop's Fables*—which has preserved intact so many of the ancient traditions of the land—also retains among the network of its ordinary homespun tales and local stories, a very significant admission of the position once held by the Jaina sect amid the social relations of the people. The fable, in question, appears in the authorized Sanskrit text, which, under some circumstances, might have caught the eye of Brahmanical revisors; nevertheless we find in its context "the chief of the (Jaina) convent" expressing himself, "How now, son; what is it you say? Are we Brahmans, think you, to be at any one's beck and call? No, no; at the hour we go forth to gather alms, we enter the mansions of those votaries only who, we know, are of approved faith."1

That Chandra Gupta was a member of the Jaina community is taken by their writers as a matter of course, and treated as a known fact, which needed neither argument nor demonstration.2 The documentary evidence to this effect is

1 This is Prof. Wilson's own rendering of the text. As we have seen, his leading tendencies were altogether against the notion of the antiquity or ante-Buddhistical development of the Jaina creed (Essays, vol. iii. p. 227); and yet he was forced on many occasions, like the present, to admit that the terms were Buddhist, but the tenor was Jaina. In a note on the *Pancha Tantra* (p. 20, vol. ii.) he remarks, "From subsequent passages, however, it appears that the usual confusion of Baudhda and Jaina occurs in the *Pancha Tantra*; and that the latter alone is intended, whichever be named." And with regard to the quotation given above he goes on to say: "The chief peculiarity, however, of this story is its correct delineation of Jain customs; a thing very unusual in Brahmanical books. The address of the barber, and the benediction of the Superior of the *Vihara*, are conformable to Jain usages. The whole is indeed a faithful picture. . . . The accuracy of the description is an argument for some antiquity; as the more modern any work is, the more incorrect the description of the Jainas and Baudhhas, and the confounding of one with the other."—1840, vol. ii. p. 76.


"In the 4th age a mixture of names, one or two of them being Jaina; Chandra Gupta is termed a Jaina. Chola rājas. Himasila a Jaina king."

The reporter, the Rev. William Taylor, adds the remark, "These lists, though imperfect, may have some use for occasional reference."

4 "The extinction of the Brahman and Ėkshatriya classes was predicted by Bhadra-Bahu Muni, in his interpretation of the 14 dreams of Chandra Gupta, whom they, the Srāvak Yatis, make out in the *Buddha-vītāda*, a Digambar work, to have been the monarch of Ujjayani."—Trans. R.A.S. Vol. I. p. 413.

"And Chandra Gupta, the king of Pataliputra, on the night of the full moon
of comparatively early date, and, apparently, absolved from all suspicion, by the omission from their lists of the name of Asoka, a far more powerful monarch than his grandfather, and one whom they would reasonably have claimed as a potent upholder of their faith, had he not become a pervert.

The testimony of Megasthenes would likewise seem to imply that Chandra Gupta submitted to the devotional teaching of the *sermanas*, as opposed to the doctrines of the Brahmans. The passage in Strabo runs as follows:—

Τοῖς δὲ βασιλείσιν συνείναι δι’ ἀγγέλων πυθανομένων περὶ τῶν αἰτίων, καὶ δι’ ἐκείνων ἑραπεύονσι, καὶ λιτανεύουσι τὸ θείον.

—Strabo, xv. i. 60.

We must now turn to the authoritative account of the succession of the Mauryas, as presented by the Brahmanical texts, which had so many chances of revision, both in time and substance, in their antagonism to all ancient creeds, and less-freely elaborated delusions, than their own more modern system professed to teach the Indian world.

The most approved of their Puránas, under the chronological and genealogical aspects—the *Vishnu Purána*—introduces the succession of the Mauryas in the following terms:

"Upon the cessation of the race of Nanda, the Mauryas will possess the earth; for Kauṭilya will place Chandragupta on the throne. His son will be Bindusára; his son will be Asokavardhana; his son will be Suyásas; his son will be Dāśarathā; his son will be Sangata; his son will be Sāliṣūka; his son will be Somaśarman; in the month of Kārtika, bad 16 dreams. . . . ."—Mr. Lewis Rice, Indian Antiquary, 1874, p. 155.

Mr. Rice adds the "Chronology of the Rājávali Kathē," as given by Deva Chandrá, to the following effect: “After the death of Víra Vardhamána Gautama and other Kevalis, 62 years. Then Nandi Mitra and other Sruta Kevalis, 100 years. Then Víśākha and other Daśa purvies, 183. Then Nakshatra and other Ekadasángadharas, 233. Then was born Viṣramáditya in Ujjayini; . . . . and he established his own era from the year of Rúdirodgári, the 605th year after the death of Vardhamána."

"Interpretation of the 16 dreams of Chandra Gupta.
1. All knowledge will be darkened.
2. The Jaina religion will decline, and your successors to the throne take dikṣa.
3. The heavenly beings will not henceforth visit the Bharata Kshetra.
4. The Jinas will be split into sects.
5. The clouds will not give seasonable rain, and the crops will be poor.
6. True knowledge being lost, a few sparks will glimmer with a feeble light.
7. Aryanbha will be destitute of Jaina doctrine.
8. The evil will prevail and goodness be hidden.
16. Twelve years of dearth and famine will come upon this land."
his son will be Satadhanwan; and his successor will be Brihadratha. These are the ten Mauryas, who will reign over the earth for 137 years."—Vishnu Puran, book iv. cap. xxiv.

The full list of the Kings of Magadha, obtained from these sources, runs as follows:

i. Pradyotana.
ii. Pālaka.
iii. Viśākhayūpa.
v. Nandivardhana.¹
vi. Śisunāga.
viii. Kshemadharman.
ix. Kshattrajas.
x. Vindisāra (Bimbisāra).
xi. Ajātaśatru.
xii. Dārbhaka.
xiii. Udāyāśwa.
xiv. Nandivardhana.¹

xv. Mahānandin.²
xvi. Nanda, Mahāpadma.³
xvii. Sumālya & 7 Brothers ("the Brahman Kautilya will root out the 9 Nandas").
xviii. Chandra Gupta.
xix. Bindusara.
xx. Aśokavadhana.
xxi. Suyasas.
xxii. Dāsaratha.
xxiii. Sangata.
xxiv. Śalīsūka.
xxv. Śomasarman.
xxvi. Satadhanwan.
xxvii. Brihadratha.

The inquiry might here be reasonably raised, as to how a Brahman, like Kautilya, came to select, for sovereignty, a man of a supposedly adverse faith. But though our Kingmaker was a Brahman, he was not necessarily, in the modern acceptation of the term, a "Brahmanist." The fact of the Brahmanas being bracketed in equal gradation with the Sramanas of the Jainas and Buddhists, in the formal versions of Aśoka's edicts, clearly demonstrates that the first-named class had not, as yet, succeeded to the exclusive charge of kings' consciences, or attained the leading place in the hierarchy of the land which they subsequently claimed. Moreover, in the full development of their power, the Brahmanas, as a rule, recognized their proper métier of guiding and governing from within the palace, and but seldom sought to become ostensibly reigning kings. Thus, supposing Kautilya to have been, as is affirmed in some passages, an hereditary minister,⁴ he might well have sought to secure a submissive

¹ "5 Pradyota kings, 138 years."
² "10 Śiṣunāga kings, 362 years."
³ "He will be the annihilator of the Kshatriya race; for, after him, the kings of the earth will be Śudras."
prince, without regard to his crude ideas of faith, and one unlikely to trench upon the growing pretensions of the Brāhmaṇical class. But, among other things, it is to be kept in view that, hitherto, there had been no overt antagonism of creeds, regarding which, as will be seen hereafter, Aśoka so wisely counsels sufferance and consideration.

The leading question of caste, also, has a very important, though seemingly indirect, bearing upon the subject under discussion. It is clear that the whole theory of Indian castes originated in a simple natural division of labour associated with heredity of occupations, constituting, as civilization advanced, ipso facto, a system of social class discrimination; each section of the community having its defined rights and being subject to its corresponding responsibilities.¹ In the initiatory stage this simple distribution of duties clearly had no concern with creeds or forms of religious belief.

But beyond this, we have already seen (p. 3) that it was not incompatible with their obligations to their own faith, that Brahmans should officiate in Jaina temples—and, as almost a case in point, we find very early instances of Jaina Kings entertaining Brahman Purohitis,² but it need not for a moment be supposed that these “spiritual guides” taught their sovereigns either the Vedic or Brahmanical system of religion.³

The conception of caste itself was obviously indigenous, and clearly an institution of home growth, which flourished and

¹ In the South and Central India the term caste seems still to represent class. “The Hindus, as in all parts of India, are divided into four great castes; but it will be preferable to speak of the inhabitants of this country as nations and classes; for it is in this manner they divide themselves and keep alive those attachments and prejudices which distinguish them from each other.—Malcolm’s “Central India,” vol. ii. p. 114.

² “While Padmapara was reigning in the city of Kotikapura... His Queen being Padmasri, and his purohita Soma Somarsi, a Brahma.”—Rajavali Kathe, Ind. Antiquary, 1874, p. 154.


It has elsewhere been remarked by other commentators:—“We see from the history of the Buddhist patriarchs, that the distinction of castes in no way interfered with the selection of the chiefs of religion. Sākya Muni was a Kshatriya; Maha Kasaya, his successor, was a Brāhmaṇ; Shang na ho sico, the third patriarch, was a Vaisya; and his successor, Yeou pho Khesuota, was a Sudra.”—Remusat, note, cap xx. Foe koi ki, Laidlay’s Translation, p. 178.

⁴ Sangata books treating on the subject of caste never call in question the antique fact of a fourfold division of the Hindu people, but only give a more
engrafted itself more deeply as the nation progressed in its own independent self-development. In this sense we need not seek to discover any reference to its machinery in the authentic texts of the Vedas.  

1 The Aryan pastoral races, who reached India from distant geographical centres, however intellectually endowed, were, in their very tribal communities and migratory habits, unfitted and unprepared for such matured social conditions.

The intrusion of a foreign race, in considerable numbers, would tend to fix the local distribution, and add a new division of its own to those already existing among people of the land. It might be suggested that the Vedic Aryans thus constituted, in their new home, the fifth of the "five classes of men" to whom they so frequently refer in the text of the Rig Veda.  

But there are decided objections to any such conclusion, as in one instance the five classes are distinctly alluded to as within the Aryan pale, in opposition to the local Dasyus.

liberal interpretation to it than the current Brāhmanical one of their day."—B. H. Hodgson, J.R.A.S. Vol. II. p. 289.

And to conclude these references, I may point to the fact that Sākya Muni, in one instance, is represented as having promised a "young Brāhman that he shall become a perfect Budāha."—Ksoma de Körös, Asiatic Researches, vol. xx. p. 453.


2 "Over the five men, or classes of men" (pañeha kṣhitiva).—Rig Veda, Wilson's translation, vol. i. pp. 20, 230, 314; ii. p. xv., "The five classes of beings," p. 170; iii. p. xxii., "The five races of men" (pañcokṣhāyupā dhru keśṭāya) 87; "The five classes of men," pp. 468, 506, etc. "The commentator explains this term to denote the four castes, Bṛahman, Kṣatriya, Vaiṣya, and Śūdra, and the barbarian or Nishāda; but Śūrya, of course, expresses the received opinions of his own age."—Wilson, Rig Veda, vol. i. p. xliii; also vol. ii. p. xv. See also Muir, vol. i. p. 176, et seq.

Pliny's detail of the castes or classes of India differs slightly from that of Megasthenes', and, like the Vedic tradition, estimates the number of divisions at five, excluding the lowest servile class. "The people of the more civilized nations of India are divided into several classes. One of these classes tills the earth, another attends to military affairs, others, again, are occupied in mercantile pursuits, while the wisest and most wealthy among them have the management of the affairs of State, act as judges, and give counsel to the King. The fifth class entirely devoting themselves to the pursuit of wisdom, which, in these countries, is almost held in the same veneration as religion." . . . "In addition to these, there is a class in a half-savage state, and doomed to endless labour; by means of their exertions, all the classes previously mentioned are supported."—Pliny, vi. 22. 19, Bohn's edition, 1855.

3 The sage Arā, who was venerated by the five classes of men, . . . and baffling, showerers (of benefits), the devices of the malignant Dasyus."—Wilson, vol. i. p. 314 (R.V. i. viii.).
So that these references must be supposed either to apply to the Aryan tribes, as once distinguished from each other in their previous dwelling-places, or to refer to the independent waves of immigration of the clans across the Indus, which would establish a sufficiently marked subdivision of the parent race.

On the other hand, it is clear that if they had no birth-caste, they had very arrogant notions of Varna “colour,” which, under modern interpretation, has come to have the primary meaning of caste. We find them speaking of the Aryan varṇam, “the Aryan-colour;”\(^1\) and our “white-complexioned friends” are contrasted with the black skins and imperfect language of the indigenous races.\(^2\)

These utterances appear to belong to the period of the Aryan progress through the Punjāb. Whether after their prolonged wanderings, the surviving members of the community reached the sacred sites on the Saraswati in diminished force, we have no means of determining; but they would, as far as we can judge, have here found themselves in more densely inhabited districts, in disproportionate numbers to the home population, and cut off from fresh accessions from the parent stock.

But, however few in numbers, they were able to place their mark upon the future of the land, to introduce the worship of their own gods, to make their hymns the ritual, and finally, as expositors of the new religion, to elevate themselves into a sanctity but little removed from that of the deity.\(^3\)

We have now to inquire, what bearing this view of caste

---

\(^1\) “He gave horses, he gave the Sun, and Indra gave also the many-nourishing cow; he gave golden treasure, and having destroyed the Dasyus, he protected the Aryan tribe.”—Wilson, R.V. vol. iii. p. 56. Aryan varṇam “the Aryan colour.”—Muir, vol. v. p. 114; and ii. 282, 360, 374. “Indra . . . divided the fields with his white-complexioned friends.”—Wilson, R.V. vol. i. p. 259.


\(^3\) “viii. 381. No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Brāhman; and the King, therefore, must not even form in his mind an idea of killing a priest.” “ix. 317. A Brāhman, whether learned or ignorant, is a powerful divinity.” “ix. Thus, although Brāhmans employ themselves in all sorts of mean occupation, they must invariably be honoured; for they are something transcendentally divine.”—G. C. Haughton, “The Institutes of Manu” (1825).
has upon the pretensions of the Jainas to high antiquity. It is clear that the elaboration and gradual development of the subdivisions of caste must have been the work of ages; in early times limited to four classes of men, it has so grown that, in our day, in a single district in Upper India, the official statistical return gives no less than ninety-five classes of the population, as ranged under the heading of “Caste,” and the full total for the entire government of the North-Western Provinces mounts up “to no less than 560 castes among the Hindus” alone.

If this be taken as the rate of increase, to what primitive times must we assign the pre-caste period, and with it the indigenous population represented by those, who, with the simplest form of worship, avowedly lived a life of equality before their Maker; and so long resisted any recognition of caste, till the force of example and surrounding custom led them exceptionally, and in a clumsy way, to subject the free worship of each independent votary to the control of a ministering priesthood.

We may conclude, for all present purposes, that Vindusára followed the faith of his father, and that, in the same belief—whatever it may prove to have been—his childhood’s lessons were first learnt by Ašoka.

The Ceylon authorities assert that Vindusára’s creed was “Brahmanical,” but, under any circumstances, their testimony would not carry much weight in the argument about other lands and other times, and it is, moreover, a critical question as to how much they knew about Brahmanism itself, and whether the use of the word Brahman does not merely imply, in their sense, a non-Buddhistic or any religion opposed to their own.

3 “Vrishabhanátha was incarnate in this world... at the city of Ayodhyd, He also arranged the various duties of mankind, and allotted to men the means of subsistence, viz. Así, ‘the sword;’ Masi, ‘letters’ (lit. ink); Kríshi, ‘agriculture;’ Váníjya, ‘commerce;’ Paśupála, ‘attendance on cattle.’... Thus Vrishabhanátha established the religion of the Jainas, in its four classes or castes, of Bráhmans, Kshatriás, Vaisyas, and Sudrás.”—C. Mackenzie, Asiatic Researches, vol. ix. p. 259.
4 “The father (of Ašoka) being of the Brahmanical faith, maintained (bestowing daily alms) 60,000 Brahmans. He himself in like manner bestowed them for 3 years.”—Mahawanso, p. 23.
I now arrive at the primary object, which, in nominal terms, heads this paper, regarding the relative precedence of Jainism and Buddhism, as tried and tested by the ultimate determination of "the early faith of Aśoka."

In the preliminary inquiry, I have often had to rely upon casual and inconsecutive evidence, which my readers may estimate after their own ideas and predilections. I have at length to face what might previously have been regarded as the crucial difficulty of my argument; but all doubts and obscurities in that direction may now be dissipated before Aśoka's own words, which he or his advisers took such infinite pains to perpetuate—under the triple phases of his tardy religious progress—on rocks and big stones, and more elaborately-prepared Indian Lāṣās or monoliths.

It is fully ascertained, that the knowledge of the characters of this Lāṣā alphabet, together with the power of interpreting the meaning of these edicts, had been altogether lost and obscured in the land, where these very monuments stood undeciphered, up to the fourteenth century A.D.; when Fīrūz Shāh, on the occasion of the removal of two of the northern monoliths to his new city on the Jumna, ineffectually summoned the learned of all and every class and creed, from far and near, to explain the writing on their surfaces.¹ It is therefore satisfactory to find that, so to say, Jaina records had preserved intact a tradition of what the once again legible purport of the inscriptions reveals, as coincident with the subdued and elsewhere disregarded pretensions of the sect.

Abūl Fazl, the accomplished minister of Akbar, is known to have been largely indebted to the Jaina priests and their carefully preserved chronicles, for much of his knowledge of the past, or Hindū, period of the empire he had to describe statistically, under the various aspects of its soils, its revenues, its ancient legends, its conflicting creeds, etc. In his Ḍīn-i-Akbārī he has retained, in his notice of the kingdom of Kashmir, three very important entries, exhibited in the

original Persian version quoted below,\(^1\) which establish: (1) that Aśoka himself first introduced "Jainism," *eo nomine*, into the kingdom of Kashmir; (2) that "Buddhism" was dominant there during the reign of Jaloka; and (3) that Brahmanism superseded Buddhism under Rāja Sāchīnara.\(^2\)

\(^1\) Dr. Blochmann's revised text, p. 580. During the reign of Jaloka Buddhism is stated to have been prevalent. Under Rāja Sāchīnara the Brahmans again asserted their supremacy.

\(^2\) Kings of Kashmir after 35 Princes: "Whose Names are Forgotten."

**Persian Names**  
Sanskrit Names (As. Ras. xv.),

- **Lava**
  - Kusezaya.
- **Khagendra.**
  - (variant) Kīkgendred Pūrā.
- **Surendra.**
- **Gōdhera Az Qum Dīgkar.**
- **Suvarna.**
- **Janaka.**
- **Sāchīnara.**
- Ashok Pūrām Jānaka (Aṣoka, descended from the paternal great-uncle of Khagendra.)
- **Jaloka.**
- **Dāmodara.**
- Hushka, Jushka, Kānisha-ka.
- Abhimanyu.

In brief, this extraneous evidence, from possibly secondary Jaina sources, is fully consistent with what Aśoka has still to disclose in the texts of his own inscriptions; but it conveys, indirectly, even more than those formal and largely-distributed official documents—which merely allow us to infer that Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism occurred late in his life or reign. But the annals of Kashmir, on the other hand, more emphatically imply that either he did not seek to spread, or had not the chance or opportunity of propagating his new faith in the outlying sections of his dominions; and that, in this valley of Kashmir, at least, Buddhism came after him, as a consequence of his southern surrender rather than as a deliberate promulgation of a well-matured belief on his part.

The leading fact of Aśoka's introduction or recognition of the Jaina creed in Kashmir, above stated, does not, however, rest upon the sole testimony of the Muhammadan author, but is freely acknowledged in the Brahmanical pages of the Rāja Taranāgini—a work which, though finally compiled and put together only in 1148 A.D., relies, in this section of its history, upon the more archaic writings of Padma Mihira and Śrī Chhavīlākāra. Professor Wilson's recapitulation of the context of this passage is somewhat obscure, as, while hesitating to admit that Aśoka "introduced" into Kashmir "the Jina Sāsana," he, inconsistently, affirms that "he invented or originated" it. If so, we must suppose that Jainism had its germ and infantile birth in an outlying valley of the Himalaya in 250 B.C.—a conclusion which is beyond measure improbable.¹

¹ Professor Wilson's paraphrase runs: "The last of these princes being childless, the crown of Kashmir reverted to the family of its former rulers, and devolved on Aśoka, who was descended from the paternal great uncle of Khaṅḍendra. This prince, it is said in the Alīn-i-Akhbāri, abolished the Brahmanical rites, and substituted those of Jina; from the original (text of the Raja Taranāgini), however, it appears that he by no means attempted the former of these heinous acts, and that, on the contrary, he was a pious worshipper of Śiva, an ancient temple of whom in the character of Viṣṇu he repaired. With respect to the second charge, there is better foundation for it, although it appears that this prince did not introduce, but invented or originated the Jina Sāsana."—As. Res. vol. xv. p. 19.

The text and purport of the original are subjoined; the latter runs: "Then the prince Aśoka, the lover of truth, obtained the earth; who sinning in subdued affections produced the Jina Sāsana. Jaloka, the son and successor of Aśoka,
I had outlined and transcribed the subjoined sketch of the contrasted stages of Aśoka's edicts, before the Indian Antiquary containing Dr. Kern's revision of the translations of his predecessors came under my notice.

As I understand the position of the inquiry at this moment, Dr. Kern is aided by no novel data or materials beyond the reach of those who came to the front before him, and it may chance to prove that he has been precipitate in closing his case, while a new and very perfect version of the same series of inscriptions, at Khalsi, is still awaiting General Cunningham's final *imprimatur*—a counterpart engrossed in more fully-defined characters, which Dr. Kern does not appear to have heard of. Dr. Kern's method of dealing with his materials might not commend itself to some interpreters. He confesses that the original, or Palace copy, forming the basis of all other variants, was cast in the dialect of Magadhd, and he then goes through the curious process of reducing the Girnár text—which he takes as his representative test—into classical or Brahmanic Sanskrit, on which he relies for his competitive translation. At the same time he admits, without reserve, that the geographically distributed versions of the guiding scripture were systematically adapted to the various dialects of "Gujarátí

was a prince of great prowess; he overcame the asserter of the Bauddha heresies, and quickly expelled the Mlecchas from the country.

"The conquest of Kanauj by this prince is connected with an event not improbable in itself, and which possibly marks the introduction of the Brahmanical creed, in its more perfect form, into this kingdom, and Jaloka is said to have adopted thence the distinction of castes, and the practices which were at that time established in the neighbouring kingdoms. He forbore in the latter part of his reign from molesting the followers of the Bauddha schism, and even bestowed on them some endowments."—As. Res. vol. xv. p. 21.

Troyer's translation of 102 runs:

Cé monarque (Aśoka) ayant éteint en lui tout penchant vicieux, embrassa la religion de Dijna, et étendit sa domination par des enclos d'élévations sacrées de terre dans le pays de Čuchkala, où est située la montagne de Vitastá.

103. La Vitastá passait dans la ville au milieu des bois sacrés et des Viháras; c'était là où s'élevait, bâti par lui, un sanctuaire de Bauddha, d'une hauteur dont l'ceil ne pouvait atteindre les limites."—vol. ii. p. 12.

A notice which may have some bearing upon these events is to be found in the Dulva. It purports to declare: "100 years after the disappearance of Sakya, his religion is carried into Kashmír. 110 years after the same event, in the reign of Aśoka, King of Pátaliputra, a new compilation of the laws . . . was prepared at Alláhábad."—J.A.S. Bengál, vol. i. p. 6.
or Maráthí—Mágadhí, and Gándhári” [the Semitic version of Kapurdiri].

I should have had more confidence in this rectification of the translations of all previous masters of the craft, if the modern critic had proceeded upon diametrically opposite principles, and had recognized the confessed necessity of the variation and distribution of dialects, site by site, as a fact making against the pretended supremacy of classical Sanskrit at this early date.¹

Singular to say, with all these reservations, I am fully prepared to accept so much of Dr. Kern’s general conclusions as, without concert, chances opportunely to support and confirm my leading argument, with regard to the predominance of Jainism in the first and second series of Asoka’s Inscriptions. Dr. Kern, elsewhere, relies on a short indorsement of, or supplementary addition to, the framework of the Girnár Inscription, as satisfactorily proving, to his perception, the Buddhistical import of the whole set of Edicts which precede it on the same rock.²

I am under the impression that this incised scroll is of later date than the body of the epigraph. It is larger in size, does not range with the rest of the writing, and does not, in terms, fit-in with the previous context. Of course should it prove to be authentic and synchronous in execution with the other chiselled letters, and, at the same time, of exclusively Buddhist tendency, I might regard its tenor as

¹ The pretence of the universality of the Sanskrit language in India at this period has often been contested in respect to the method of reconstruction of these ancient monuments. Mr. Turnour was the first to protest against James Prinsep’s submission to the Sanskritic tendencies of his Pandits. Mr. B. Hodgson, in like manner, consistently upheld the local claims and prior currency of the various forms of the vernaculars, and, most unquestionably, Professor Wilson’s own perception and faculty of interpreting this class of inter-provincial records was damaged and obscured by his obstinate demands for good dictionary Sanskrit.

² “In one place only—I mean the signature of the Girnár inscription—the following words have reference to Buddha. Of this signature there remains, . . . va sveto hasti savalokasukkhāhara nāma.

What has to be supplied at the beginning I leave to the ingenuity of others to determine, but what is left means ‘the white elephant’ whose name is ‘Bringer of
of more importance; but, even accepting all Dr. Kern's arguments in favour of "White Elephants," which I distrust altogether, how are we to reconcile the repeated arrays of elephants, (the special symbol of the second Jīna), upon acknowledged Jaina sculptures, with anything but the general identity of symbols of both sects, and a possible derivation on the part of the Buddhists?

Dr. Kern thus concludes his final résumé:—

"The Edicts give an idea of what the King did for his subjects in his wide empire, which extended from Behār to Gāndhāra, from the Himalāya to the coast of Coromandel and Pāṇḍya. They are not unimportant for the criticism of the Buddhistic traditions, though they give us exceedingly little concerning the condition of the doctrine and its adherents. . . .

"At fitting time and place, [Āsoka] makes mention, in a modest and becoming manner, of the doctrine he had embraced; but nothing of a Buddhist spirit can be discovered in his State policy. From the very beginning of his reign he was a good prince. His ordinances concerning the sparing of animal life agree much more closely with the ideas of the heretical Jainas than those of the Buddhists." (p. 275.)

THE EDICTS OF ĀSOKA.

Prof. Wilson, when revising the scattered texts of Āsoka's Edicts within the reach of the commentators of 1849, declared, and, as we may now see, rightly maintained, that there was nothing demonstrably "Buddhist" in any of the preliminary or Rock Inscriptions of that monarch, though, then and since, he has been so prominently put happiness to the whole world.' That by this term Śākya is implied, there can be no doubt (he entered his mother's womb as a white elephant,—Lalita Vistara, p. 63). . . . Even if the signature is not to be attributed to the scribe, the custom evidently even then prevalent, and still in use at the present day, of naming at the end of the inscription the divinity worshipped by the writer or scribe, can offer no serious difficulty."—I. A. p. 258. [If Śākya Muni was the seed of the white elephant, how came he to be so disrespectful to his deceased relatives as to speak of his dead friend "the white elephant" Devadatta killed, as "ce être qui a un grand corps, en se décomposant, remplirait toute la ville d'une mauvaise odeur"?]
forward as the special patron and promoter of the Creed of Sakya Muni.¹

In the single-handed contest between Buddhism and Brahmanism, Prof. Wilson made no pretence to discover any status—throughout the whole range of these formal records—for the latter religion; except in the vague way of a notice of the Brahmans and Sramans mentioned in the corresponding palæographic texts, which were, in a measure, associated with the coeval references of the Greek authors to these identical designations. But no suggestion seems to have presented itself to him, as an alternative, of old-world Jainism progressing into a facile introduction to philosophic Buddhism.

We have now to compare the divergencies exhibited between the incidental records of the tenth, twelfth, and possibly following years, with the advanced declarations of the twenty-seventh year of Asoka’s reign. We find the earlier proclamations advocating Dharma,² which certainly does not come up to our ideal of “religion,” represented in its simplest phase of duty to others, which, among these untutored peoples,

¹ “In the first place, then, with respect to the supposed main purport of the inscription, proselytism to the Buddhist religion, it may not unreasonably be doubted if they were made public with any such design, and whether they have any connexion with Buddhism at all.”—J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. p. 236. “There is nothing in the injunctions promulgated or sentiments expressed in the inscriptions, in the sense in which I have suggested their interpretation, that is decidedly and exclusively characteristic of Buddhism. The main object of the first appears, it is true, to be a prohibition of destroying animal life, but it is a mistake to ascribe the doctrine to the Buddhists alone.” p. 238. “From these considerations, I have been compelled to withhold my unqualified assent to the confident opinions that have been entertained respecting the object and origin of the inscriptions. Without denying the possibility of their being intended to disseminate Buddhism, . . . there are difficulties in the way, . . . which, to say the least, render any such an attribution extremely uncertain.” p. 250.

² The four Dharmas, in their simplicity, are defined by the Northern Jainas as “merits,” as consequent upon the five Mahivrata or “great duties.”—Wilson’s Essays, vol. i. p. 317. This idea progressed, in aftertimes, into a classification of the separate duties of each rank in life, or the “prescribed course of duty.” Thus “giving alms,” etc., is the dharma of the householder, “administering justice” of a king, “piety” of a Brahman, “courage” of a Kshatriya.—M. Williams, sub voc. “Later Jain interpretations of the term Dharma in Southern India extend to ‘virtue, duty, justice, righteousness, rectitude, religion.’ It is said to be the quality of the individual self which arises from action, and leads to happiness and final beatitude. It also means Law, and has for its object Dharma, things to be done, and Adharma, things to be avoided.” This Dharma is said by the Jainas to be eternal. Dharma, as well as Veda, if they are true Virtue and Law, are attributes or perfections of the Divine Being, and as such are eternal.”—Chintamani, Rev. H. Bower, p. x1. See also Max Müller’s “Sanskrit Literature,” p. 101: “In our Sutra Dharma means Law,” etc. The intuitive
assumed the leading form of futile mercy to the lower animals, extending into the devices of "Hospitals" for the suffering members of the brute creation, and ultimately, in after-times, progressing into the absurdity of the wearing of respirators and the perpetual waving of fans, to avoid the destruction of minute insect life. An infatuation, which eventually led to the surrendering thrones and kingdoms, to avoid a chance step which should crush a worm, or anything that crept upon the face of the earth; and more detrimental still, a regal interference with the every-day life of the people at large, and the subjecting of human labour to an enforced three months' cessation in the year, in order that a moth should not approach a lighted lamp, and the revolving wheel should not crush a living atom in the mill.

I have arranged, in the subjoined full résumé of the three phases or gradations "of Aśoka's faith," as much of a contrast as the original texts, under their modern reproductions, admit of; exhibiting, in the first period, his feelings and inspirations from the tenth to the twelfth year after his inauguration; following on to the second, or advanced phase of thought, which pervades the manifestos of his twenty-seventh year; and exhibiting, as a climax of the whole series of utterances, his free and outspoken profession of faith in the hitherto unrecognized "Buddha."

The difference between the first and second series of declarations or definitions of Dharma is not so striking as the interval in point of time, and the opportunities of fifteen years of quasi-religious meditation, might have led us to expect; but still, there is palpable change in the scope of thought—"a marked advance in faith"; only the faith is indefinite, and the morals still continue supreme. Happily, for the present inquiry, there is nothing in these authentic documents which has any pretence to be either Vedic or feeling that "laborare est orare" seems to have prevailed largely in the land, and would undoubtedly have been fostered and encouraged under the gradual development of caste. The great Akbar appears to have participated in the impressions of his Hindu subjects; for we find him, in the words of his modern biographer, described as one "who looks upon the performance of his duties as an act of divine worship."—Dr. Blochmann's translation of the Ain-i-Akbari, p. iii.
Brahmanical, and therefore we can pass by, for the moment, all needless comparisons between the terms "Brahmans and Sramans"—the latter of whom equally represented Jainas and Buddhists—a controversy to which undue emphasis and importance has been hitherto assigned, and confine ourselves to Aśoka's aims in departing from the silence of the past, and covering the continent of India with his written proclamations. His ideas and aspirations, as exhibited in his early declarations, are tentative and modest in the extreme: in fact, he confesses, in his later summaries, that these inscribed edicts represent occasional thoughts and suggestive inspirations; indeed, that they were put forth, from time to time, and often, we must conclude, ostentatiously dated, without reference to their period of acceptance or their ultimate place on the very stones on which we find them.

When closely examined, the two sets of edicts, contrasted by their positions as Rock and Pillar Inscriptions, covering, more or less, a national movement of fifteen years, resolve themselves into a change in the Dharma or religious law advocated by the ruling power of very limited and natural extent. The second series of manifestos are marked, on the one hand, by a deliberate rejection of some of the minor delusions of the earlier documents, and show an advance to a distinction and discrimination between good and evil animals, a more definite scale of apportionment of crimes and their appropriate punishments, completed by an outline of the ruling moral polity, reading like a passage from Megasthenes,¹ in regard to the duties of inspectors, and forming a consistent advance upon Chandra Gupta's moral code.

¹ Arrian xii.; Strabo xv. 48; Diod. Sic. ii. 3. There are several points in the Greek accounts of Indian creeds which have hitherto been misunderstood, and which have tended to complicate and involve the true state of things existing in the land at the periods referred to. Among the rest is the grand question, in the present inquiry, of Jaina versus Buddhist, of which the following is an illustration:—Fah Hian, chap. xxx. "The honorable of the age (Buddha) has established a law that no one should destroy his own life."

Mr. Laidlay adds, as a commentary upon this passage:—"The law here alluded to is mentioned in the Dulva (p. 162 to 239); where, in consequence of several instances of suicide among the monks, . . . Sīkṣāya prohibits discourses upon that subject. So that the practice of self-immolation ascribed by the Greek historians to the Buddhists was, like that of going naked, a departure from orthodox principles."—p. 278.

The Rev. S. Beal, in his revised translation of Fah Hian, in confirming this
All these indications, and many more significant items, may, perchance, be traced by those, who care to follow the divergencies presented in the subjoined extracts; but no ingenuity can shake the import of the fact, that, up to the twenty-seventh year of his reign, Asoka had no definite idea of or leaning towards Buddhism, as represented in its after-development. His final confession and free and frank recognition of the name and teaching of Buddha in the Babhra proclamation, form a crucial contrast to all he had so elaborately advocated and indorsed upon stone, throughout his dominions, during the nearly full generation of his fellow-men, amid whom he had occupied the supreme throne of India.

As my readers may be curious to see the absolute form in which this remarkable series of Palæographic monuments were presented to the intelligent public of India, or to their authorized interpreters, in the third century B.C., I have, at the last moment,\(^1\) taken advantage of Mr. Burgess's very successful paper-impressions, or squeezes, of the counterpart inscription on the Gîrnâr rock, to secure an autotype reproduction of the opening tablets of that version of the closely parallel texts of Asoka's Edicts. Those who are not conversant with ancient palæographies may also be glad of conclusion of Mr. Laidlay, emphatically declares, "I doubt very much whether there is any reference to Buddhists in the Greek accounts."—pp. xlii, 119. See also J.R.A.S. Vol. XIX. p. 420, and Vol. VIII. n.s. p. 100.

"A long series of the rock inscriptions at Sravâna Belgoûla, in the same old characters, consist of what may be termed epitaphs to Jaina saints and ascetics, both male and female, or memorials of their emancipation from the body. . . . It is painful to imagine the pangs of slow starvation, by which these pitiable beings gave themselves up to death and put an end to their own existence, that by virtue of such extreme penance they might acquire merit for the life to come. . . . The irony is complete when we remember that avoidance of the destruction of life in whatever form is a fundamental doctrine of the sect." . . . The inscriptions before us are in the oldest dialect of the Kanarese. The expression mudippidar, with which most of them terminate, is one which seems peculiar to the Jainas."

—Mr. Lewis Rice, Indian Antiquary, 1873, p. 322.

The passages regarding suicidal philosophers will be found in Megasthenes (Strabo xvi. i. 64, 73); Q. Curtius viii. ix. sec. 33; Pliny, vi. c. 22, sec. 19; Arrian xi.

The naked saints figure in Megasthenes (Strabo xvi. 60), Cleitarchus (Strabo xvi. 70), Q. Curtius, vii. ix. 33.

\(^1\) Mr. Burgess's Report for 1874–5 reached me on the 16th February, 1877, a few days only before the Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society at which this paper was read. These paper-impressions are now deposited in the Library of the India Office.
the opportunity of examining the nature of the alphabetical system here in force—which constituted, in effect, the Alphabet Mère of India at large. These inscriptions, of about 250 B.C., contribute the earliest specimens of indigenous writing we are able to cite, their preservation and multiplication being apparently due to a newly-awakened royal inspiration of engraving edicts and moral admonitions on stone. This alphabetical system must clearly have passed through long ages of minority before it could have attained the full maturity in which it, so to say, suddenly presents itself over the whole face of the land. And which from that moment, unimproved to this day, asserts its claim to the title of the most perfect alphabet extant.

The Sanskrit-speaking Aryans discarded, in its favour, the old Phoenician character they had learnt, laboriously transformed, and finally adapted to the requirements of their own tongue, during their passage through the narrow valleys of the Himalaya, and their subsequent residence on the southern slopes of the range, in the Sapta Sindhu or Punjab, which scheme of writing would appear to have answered to the term of the Yavanâni tipi of Pâṇini and the earlier Indian grammarians.

In this second process of adaptation, the Aryans had to repudiate the normal ethnographic sequence of the short and long vowels, to add two consonants of their own (म, र) utterly foreign to the local alphabet, and to accept from that alphabet a class of letters, unneeded for the definition of Aryan tongues; an inference which is tested and proved by the fact that accomplished linguists of our age and nationality are seldom competent to pronounce or orally define the current Indian cerebrals.¹

Plate I. exhibits a facsimile of Tablets 1, 2, of the Girnar rock. Of the former I have merely transliterated the first sentence. But as I have had occasion to extract the full translation of Tablet 2, I have now added the type-text, in the old character, together with an interlineation in Roman letters,¹ which will admit alike of preliminary readings, and suggest further crucial comparisons by more advanced students.

**The contrasted tenor of the three periods of Asoka's edicts.—Period I., 10th and 12th years after his abhisheka or anointment.**

The first sentence of the Rock-cut Edicts, of the twelfth year of Asoka's reign, commences textually:²

\[\text{Iyam dammalipt Devdnám piyena piyasind ráñd lepít.}\]

"This is the edict of the beloved of the gods, Raja Priyadasí—the putting to death of animals is to be entirely discontinued." . . . .

The second tablet, after referring to the subject races of India and to "Antiochus by name, the Yona (or Yavana) Raja," goes on to say: "(two designs have been cherished


¹ This type was originally cut under James Prinsep's own supervision. I am indebted to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the font now employed, which is in the possession of Messrs. Austin. Some slight modifications of the original will be noticed, especially in regard to the attachment of the vowels; but otherwise the type reproduces the normal letters in close facsimile. The most marked departure from the old model is to be seen in the vowel ë, which in the original scheme was formed out of the a and e, thus Î; whereas, in the type, for simplicity of junction, the e and the ë have been ranged on one level, in this form Î. It will be seen that the Sanskrit श has not yet put in an appearance, the local श having to do duty for its coming associate. A full table of the alphabet itself will be found in Vol. V. n.s. of our Journal, p. 422.

² I quote as my leading authority Professor Wilson's revised translation of the combined texts embodied in the Journ. R.A.S. Vol. XII. p. 164, et seq., as his materials were necessarily more ample and exact than Prinsep's original transcripts, which were unaided by the highly important counterpart and most efficient corrective in Semitic letters from Kapurdigiri, the decipherment of which was only achieved by Mr. Norris in 1845.
by Priyadasi: one design) regarding men, and one relating to animals."

I give Dr. Kern's later translation of this passage entire, on account of its historical interest; there does not seem to be any material conflict in his rendering of the religious sense:

"In the whole dominion of King Devánámpiya Priyadārṣin, as also in the adjacent countries, as Chola, Paṇḍya, Satyaputra, Keralaputra, as far as Támraparni, the kingdom of Antiochus the Grecian king and of his neighbour kings, the system of caring for the sick, both of men and of cattle, followed by King Devánámpiya Priyadārṣin, has been everywhere brought into practice; and at all places where useful healing herbs for men and cattle were wanting he has caused them to be brought and planted; and at all
ASOKA'S INSCRIPTION AT GERNÁR.
places where roots and fruits were wanting he has caused them to be brought and planted; also he has caused wells to be dug and trees to be planted, on the roads for the benefit of cattle."—Indian Antiquary, p. 272; Arch. Rep. 1874–5, p. 99.

The 3rd section adverts to "expiation," and the 4th continues: "During a past period of many centuries, there have prevailed, destruction of life, injury to living beings, disrespect towards kindred, and irreverence towards Sramans and Brahmans."1

The 5th edict, after a suitable preamble, proceeds:

"Therefore in the tenth year of the inauguration have ministers of morality been made,2 who are appointed for the purpose of presiding over morals among persons of all the religions, for the sake of the augmentation of virtue and for the happiness of the virtuous among the people of Kamboja, Gandhara, Naristaka and Pitenika. They shall also be spread among the warriors, the Brahmans, the mendicants, the destitute and others." . . .

The 6th edict declares:—"An unprecedently long time has passed since it has been the custom at all times and in all affairs, to submit representations. Now it is established by me that . . . the officers appointed to make reports shall convey to me the objects of the people"—and goes on to define the duties of supervisors of morals, and explain their duties as "informers," etc., continuing:—

"There is nothing more essential to the good of the world, for which I am always labouring. On the many beings over whom

1 Dr. Kern's elaborate criticism of Burnouf's revision of Prof. Wilson's translation of this passage (Lotus de la Bonne Loi, p. 731) scarcely alters the material since quoted above. His version runs:

In past times, during many centuries, attacking animal life and inflicting suffering on the creatures, want of respect for Brähmans and monks."

Dr. Kern, in the course of his remarks upon his new rendering, observes, "Apart from the style, there is so little exclusively Buddhistic in this document, that we might equally well conclude from it that the King, satiated with war, had become the president of a peace society and an association for the protection of the lower animals, as that he had embraced the doctrine of Śākya Muni."—I. A., p. 262.

2 The Cuttack version of the Edicts differs from the associate texts, saying, "who shall be intermingled with all the hundred grades of unbelievers for the establishment among them of the faith, for the increase of religion . . . in Kambocha and Gandhāra, in Surāṣṭrika and Pitenika, . . . and even to the furthest (limits) of the barbarian (countries). Who shall mix with the Brāhmans and Bhikshus, with the poor and with the rich."—p. 190; Prinsep, J.A.S. Bengal.
I rule I confer happiness in this world,—in the next they may obtain Swarga (heaven)."  

Tablet 7 does not seem to call for any remark. Tablet 8 refers to some change that came over the royal mind in the tenth year of his reign. "Piyadasi, the beloved of the gods, having been ten years inaugurated, by him easily awakened, that moral festival is adopted (which consists) in seeing and bestowing gifts on Brahmanas and Sramanas: . . . overseeing the country and the people; the institution of moral laws," etc.

Burnouf's amended translation differs from this materially. He writes:

"[Mais] Piyadasi, le roi chéri des Dêvas, parvenu à la dixième année depuis son sacre, obtient la science parfaite que donne la Buddha. C'est pourquoi la promenade de la roi est cette qu'il faut faire, ce sont la visite et l'aumône faites aux Brâhmanes et aux Samañas. . . ."

I see that Dr. Kern now proposes to interpret this contested passage as,

"But King Devánámprîya Priyadarśin, ten years after his inauguration, came to the true insight. Therefore he began a walk of righteousness, which consists in this, that he sees at his house and bestows gifts upon Brâhmanas and monks. . . . Since then this is the greatest pleasure of King Devánámprîya Priyadarśin in the period after his conversion" [to what?].—I. A. p. 263.

In his remarks upon the tenor of this brief tablet Dr. Kern continues,

"It is distinguished by a certain simplicity and sentiment of tone, which makes it touch a chord in the human breast. There is a tenderness in it, so vividly different from the insensibility of the later monkish literature of Buddhism, of which Th. Pavie observes, with so much justice, 'Tout reste donc glacé dans ce monde bouddhique.'"

Tablet 9, speaking of festivities in general, declares:

"Such festivities are fruitless and vain, but the festivity that bears great fruit is the festival of duty, such as the respect of the servant to his master; reverence for holy teachers is good, tender-

1 Lassen renders this, "my whole endeavour is to be blameless towards all creatures, to make them happy here below and enable them hereafter to obtain Swarga."—Indian Antiquary, p. 270.
ness for living creatures is good, liberality to Brahmans and Sramanas is good. These and other such acts constitute verily the festival of duty. . . With these means let a man seek Swarga.”

Tablet 10 contrasts the emptiness of earthly fame as compared with the “observance of moral duty,” and section 11 equally discourses on “virtue,” which is defined as “the cherishing of slaves and dependents, pious devotion to mother and father, generous gifts to friends and kinsmen, Brahmans and Sramanas, and the non-injury of living beings.”

Tablet 12 commences: “The beloved of the gods, King Priyadasi, honours all forms of religious faith,” and enjoins “reverence for one’s own faith, and no reviling nor injury of that of others. Let the reverence be shown in such and such a manner, as is suited to the difference of belief,” “for he who in some way honours his own religion and reviles that of others, saying, having extended to all our own belief, let us make it famous, he who does this, throws difficulties in the way of his own religion: this, his conduct cannot be right.” . . . The Edict goes on to say, “And as this is the object of all religions, with a view to its dissemination, superintendents of moral duty, as well as over women, and officers of compassion, as well as other officers” (are appointed).

The 13th Tablet, which Professor Wilson declined to translate, as the Kapur di Giri text afforded no trustworthy corrective, seems, from Mr. Prinsep’s version, to recapitulate much that has been said before, with a reiterated “injunction for the non-injury of animals and content of living creatures,” sentiments in which he appears to seek the sympathy of the “Greek King Antiochus,” together (as we now know) with that of the “four kings Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas and

1 Dr. Kern’s conclusion of Tablet 9 runs as follows, “By doing all this, a man can merit heaven; therefore let him who wishes to gain heaven for himself fulfil, above all things, these his duties.”—I. A., p. 271.

2 Dr. Kern’s rendering says “honour all sects and orders of monks.”

3 “so that no man may praise his own sect or contemn another sect.”

4 “For this end, sheriffs over legal proceedings, magistrates entrusted with the superintendence of the women, hospice-masters (?) and other bodies have been appointed.”—I. A., p. 268.

5 Gen. Cunningham, Arch. Report, vol. i. p. 247, and vol. v. p. 20. See also my “Dynasty of the Guptas in India,” p. 34. I append the tentative trans-
Alexander." The postscript in larger letters outside the square of this tablet adds, according to Prinsep, "And this place is named the WHITE ELEPHANT, conferring pleasure on all the world."

Prof. Wilson, in conclusion of his review of the purport of these palæographic documents, adverts to the Tablet numbered 14 in the original list, but he does not seem to have had sufficient confidence in his materials to have ventured upon a continuous translation.¹

**PERIOD II. THE ADVANCED STAGE.**

The contrasted Lāṭ or Monolithic Inscriptions,² as opposed

literation of the several versions of this tablet, which I had prepared for the latter work.

My learned friends are unwilling as yet to compromise themselves by a translation of the still imperfect text.

**TRANSLITERATIONS OF TABLET XIII. OF THE ASOKA INSCRIPTIONS AT (1) KAIPUR-DI-GIRI, (2) KHALSI, AND (3) GIRR.**

1. **Ka.** Antiyoka damā Yona raja paran cha tenan Antiyokena cha tatura |||| rajano
2. **Kh.** Antiyoga nāma Yona . . . lan cha tena Antiyō . nā chatali rajane
3. **Gir.** . . . . . Yona raja paran cha tena . . . chaptene rajano

1. **Ka.** Traramaye namā Antikina namā Makā namā Alikasandaro namā
2. **Kh.** Tulamaye nāma Alikasandaro nāma Makā nāma Alikvyasadale nāma
3. **Gir.** Turamaya cha Antakancha Maga cha . . .

1. **Ka.** nicham Choja, Pandā, Avam Tambupanniyā hevamvevamhena raja
2. **Kh.** nicham Choja, Pandiya, Avam Tambapaniyā hevamvevamavā . . . .
3. **Gir.**

1. **Ka.** Vishatidi Yonam Kamboyeshu Bibha Kanabhatina Bhojam Piti
2. **Kh.** Vishmavasi Yona Kambojasu Nabha Kānabha Pantisa Bhoja Piti
3. **Gir.**

1. **Ka.** Nikeshu, Andrapulideshu savatam
2. **Kh.** Nikesha Adhapiladesa savata
3. **Gir.** ndheapirandesu savata

Under the Elephant at Khalsi, Gajatmen? At Girnār, Sveto hasti, as above, p. 34.

¹ The 14th Edict at Girnār is more curious, in respect to the preparation of the Edicts, than instructive in the religious sense. Dr. Kern's revision produces, "King Devanampriya Priyadarsin has caused this righteousness edict to be written, here concisely, there in a moderate compass, and in a third place again at full length, so that it is not found altogether everywhere worked out; (p) for the kingdom is great, and what I have caused to be written much. Repetitions occur also, in a certain measure, on account of the sweetness of certain points, in order that the people should in that way (the more willingly) receive it. If sometimes the one or other is written incompletely or not in order, it is because care has not been taken to make a good transcript (Chhadya) or by the fault of the copyist (i.e. the stone-cutter.)."—I. A., p. 275.

² J. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. vi. 1837, p. 666. The text on the Dehli lāṭ has been taken as the standard; these edicts are repeated verbatim on the three other lāṭs of Allahābād, Betiaah and Radhia.
to the Rock edicts already examined, open, in the text of the Tablet on the northern face of the Dehli pillar, with these words:

A

"In the 27th year of my anointment, I have caused this religious edict to be published in writing. I acknowledge and confess the faults that have been cherished in my heart. From the love of virtue, by the side of which all other things are as sins—from the strict scrutiny of sin, etc., . . . by these may my eyes be strengthened and confirmed (in rectitude)."

In the 10th line the King continues:

"In religion (dhamma) is the chief excellence: but religion consists in good works:—in the non-omission of many acts: mercy and charity, purity and chastity;—(these are) to me the anointment of consecration. Towards the poor and the afflicted, towards bipeds and quadrupeds, towards the fowls of the air and things that move on the waters, manifold have been the benevolent acts performed by me." . . .

The concluding section of this tablet is devoted to a definition of the "nine minor transgressions," of which the following five alone are specified: "mischief, hard-heartedness, anger, pride, envy."

B

The text of the western compartment of the Dehli lát begins:

"In the 27th year of my anointment, I have caused to be promulgated the following religious edict. My devotees in very many hundred thousand souls, having (now) attained unto knowledge; I have ordained (the following) fines and punishments for their transgressions.

Prinsep's half-admitted impression, that these inscriptions

1 Burnouf renders this opening, "La 26ème année depuis mon sacre j'ai fait écrire cet édit de la loi. Le bonheur dans ce monde et dans l'autre est difficile à obtenir sans un amour extrême pour la loi, sans une extrême attention, sans une extrême obéissance," etc.—Lotus, p. 655.

2 Dr. Kern's translation departs from this meaning in a striking manner, and substitutes: "I have appointed sheriffs over many hundred thousands of souls in the land, I have granted them free power of instituting legal prosecution and inflicting punishment."
were necessarily of a Buddhist tendency, led him into the awkward mistake of interpreting धात्री dhātri as “the myrobalan tree,” instead of “a nurse,” and the associate asvatha as “the holy fig-tree,” in which he was followed by Lassen (Ind. Alt. vol. ii. p. 256), instead of the asvatha abhita "consolés et sans crainte" of Burnouf, who corrected the translation in the following words: “De même qu’un homme, ayant confié son enfant à une nourrice expérimentée, est sans inquiétude [et se dit:] une nourrice expérimentée garde mon enfant, ainsi ai-je institué des officiers royaux pour le bien et le bonheur du pays.”—Lotus de la bonne Loi, p. 741.

Prinsep’s text here resumes the subject of transgressions, and “according to the measure of the offence shall be the measure of punishment, but (the offender) shall not be put to death by me.” 1 “Banishment (shall be) the punishment of those malefactors deserving of imprisonment and execution.”

The text proceeds with a very remarkable passage: “Of those who commit murder on the high road, even none, whether of the poor or of the rich, shall be injured on my three especial days.” 2

If we could rely upon the finality of this translation, we might cite, in favour of the Jaina tendency of the edict, the curious parallel of the Jainas under Akbar, who obtained a Firmán to a somewhat similar tenor in favour of the life

1 It is curious to trace the extent to which these Jaina ideas developed themselves in after-times, and to learn from official sources how the simple tenets of mercy, in the abstract, progressed into the demands and rights of sanctuary claimed by and conceded to the sect.

"Maharana Sīrī Raj Sing, commanding. To the Nobles, Ministers, Patels, etc., of Mewar. From remote times, the temples and dwellings of the Jainas have been authorized; let none therefore within their boundaries carry animals to slaughter. This is their ancient privilege.

"2. Whatever life, whether man or animal, passes their abode for the purpose of being killed, is saved (śvara).

"3. Traitors to the state, robbers, felons escaped confinement, who may fly for sanctuary (śirra) to the dwellings (upasra) of the Yatis, shall not be seized by the servants of the court. . . By command, Sāh Dyal, Minister. Samvat 1749 (A.D. 1698).”—Tod. vol. i. p. 553.

2 Singular to say, with all this excellent mercy to animals, there is a reference to injuring (torturing ?), and later even to “mutilation” of the human offender! —J.A.S.B. vol. vi. p. 588. See also Foe-kous-ki, cap. xvi.
of animals, and their exemption from slaughter on certain days peculiarly sacred in their Rubric.  

C

The tablet, on the southern compartment, gives a list of the "animals which shall not be put to death," enumerating many species of birds, the specific object of whose immunity it is difficult to comprehend—and especially exempting the females of the goat, sheep, and pig, ... concluding with the declaration that "animals that prey on life shall not be cherished."

The Edict goes on to specify the days of fasts and ceremonies, closing with the words, "Furthermore, in the twenty-seventh year of my reign, at this present time, twenty-five prisoners are set at liberty."

D

The Monolithic Inscriptions are continued in the eastern compartment, the text of which Prinsep translated in the following terms:

"Thus spake King DEVANAMIYA PITYADASI: In the twelfth year of my anointment, a religious edict (was) published for the pleasure and profit of the world; having destroyed that (document) and regarding my former religion as sin, I now for the benefit of the world proclaim the fact. And this . . . I therefore cause to be destroyed; and I proclaim the same in all the congregations; while I pray with every variety of prayer for those who differ from me in creed, that they following after my proper example may with me attain unto eternal salvation: wherefore the present

1 Firmdān of Akbar. "Be it known to the Muttasuddies of Malwa, that the whole of our desires consists in the performance of good actions, and our virtuous intentions are constantly directed to one object, that of delighting and gaining the hearts of our subjects.

"We, on hearing mention made of persons of any religious faith whatever, who pass their lives in sanctity, etc., . . . shut our eyes on the external forms of their worship, and considering only the intention of their hearts, we feel a powerful inclination to admit them to our association, from a wish to do what may be acceptable to the Deity."

The prayer of the petitioners was: "That the Padishah should issue orders that during the twelve days of the month of Bhadra called Putchoossur (which are held by the Jains to be particularly holy), no cattle should be slaughtered in the cities where their tribe reside."—Ordered accordingly, 7th Jumād-us-Sāni, 992 Hij. Era.—Malcolm, Central India.
edict of religion is promulgated in this twenty-seventh year of my anointment."

"Thus spake King Devánampiya Piyadasi. Kings of the olden time have gone to heaven under these very desires. How then among mankind may religion (or growth in grace) be increased, yea through the conversion of the humbly-born shall religion increase, . . . Through the conversion of the lowly-born if religion thus increaseth, by how much (more) through the conviction of the high-born and their conversion shall religion increase."

Prinsep concludes his version of this division of the Inscription:—

"Thus spake King Devánampiya Piyadasi:—Wherefore from this very hour I have caused religious discourses to be preached, I have appointed religious observances—that mankind having listened thereto shall be brought to follow in the right path and give glory unto God."

If Dr Kern’s amended reading of the opening paragraphs of this tablet is to be accepted as final, we must abandon any arguments based upon a supposed cancelment of previous manifestos.1 But the reconstruction in question—whether right or wrong—will not in the least degree affect my main argument of the pervading Jaina tendencies of the Monolithic edicts.

Dr. Kern’s translation runs as follows:

"King Devánampiya Priyadārsin speaks thus:—12 years after my coronation, I caused a righteousness-edict to be written for the benefit and happiness of the public. Every one who leaves that unassailed shall obtain increase of merit in more than one respect. I direct attention to what is useful and pleasant for the public, and take such measures as I think will further happiness, while I provide satisfaction to my nearest relatives and to (my subjects) who are near as well as to them who dwell far off."

1 Prof. Wilson, while criticizing and correcting much of Prinsep’s work upon these documents, remarked, "If the translation (of the text of the eastern compartment) is correct, and in substance it seems to be so, there are two sets of opposing doctrines in the inscriptions, and of course both cannot be Buddhist. Mr. Prinsep comes to the conclusion that the Buddhist account of the date of Asoka’s conversion, the fourth year of his reign, is erroneous, and that he could not have changed his creed until after his twelfth year. Then it follows that most, if not all the Rock inscriptions are not Buddhist, for the only dates specified are the tenth and twelfth years. Those on the Lāś appear to be all of the twenty-seventh year. If, however, those of the earlier dates are not Buddhist, neither are those of the later, for there is no essential difference in their purport. They all enforce the preference of moral to ceremonial observances" (J.R.A.S. vol. xii. p. 250).
II. a. The Aim and Purpose of the Inscriptions.

The Dehli pillar, in addition to the four edicts inclosed within square tablets, has a supplementary inscription encircling the base of the column. In this proclamation Asoka, after enumerating his own efforts for the good of his people after the truly Indian ideal of planting trees and excavating wells along the high roads, goes on to arrange for the missionary spread of his religion, in these terms:

"Let the priests deeply versed in the faith (or let my doctrines?) penetrate among the multitudes of the rich capable of granting favours, and let them penetrate alike among all the unbelievers whether of ascetics or of householders. . . . Moreover let them for my sake find their way among the brâhmans (bâbhâneshu) and the most destitute." . . .

The text proceeds:

"Let these (priests) and others most skilful in the sacred offices penetrate among" . . . "my Queens, and among all my secluded women," . . . "acting on the heart and on the eyes of the children, . . . for the purpose (of imparting) religious enthusiasm and thorough religious instruction."

After much more of similar import, the Edict concludes:

"Let stone pillars be prepared, and let this edict of religion be engraven thereon, that it may endure unto the remotest ages."

The separate Edicts of the Aswastama Inscription at Dhauli continue these exhortations in the subjoined terms:

"My desire is that in this very manner, these (ordinances) shall be pronounced aloud by the person appointed to the stûpa; and advertising to nothing else but precisely according to the commandment of Devanâmpiya, let him (further) declare and explain them." 1 . . . "And this edict is to be read at (the time of) the

---

1 "The Aswastama is situated on a rocky eminence forming one of a cluster of hills, three in number, on the south bank of the Dyah river near to the village of Dhauli. The hills alluded to rise abruptly from the plains, . . . and have a singular appearance, no other hills being nearer than eight or ten miles."


2 Burnouf revised this translation, with his usual critical acumen, in 1852. The following quotation gives his varied version:—"Aussi est-ce là ce qui doit être proclamé par le gardien du stûpa qui ne regardera rien autre chose, (ou bien, aussi cet édit a dû être exprimé au moyen du Prâkrit et non dans un autre idiom). Et ainsi veut ici le commandement du roi Chéri des Devas. J'en confie l'exécution au grand ministre. . . .

"Et cet édit doit être entendu au Nakhata Tisa (Nakchatra Tichya) et à la fin
lunar mansion Tisa, at the end of the month of Bhadra: it is to be made heard (even if) by a single listener. And thus (has been founded) the Kālanta stupa for the spiritual instruction of the congregation.¹ For this reason is this edict here inscribed, whereby the inhabitants of the town may be guided in their devotions for ages to come.”—J.A.S. Bengal, May, 1837, pp. 444–5.

Period III. Positive Buddhism.

The Bhabra Edict.²

Professor Wilson’s translation of the Bhabra Edict—unlike his previous renderings of Asoka’s rock inscriptions, where he was at the mercy of succeeding commentators—was undertaken at a time when he, in his turn, had the advantage of the revised interpretations of Lassen and Burnouf. It may be taken, therefore, as a crucial trial of strength on his part.

But the most curious coincidence in connexion with the present inquiry is that, in default of critical Sanskrit aids, he was obliged to have recourse to the vulgar tongue of the Jaina Scriptures for an explanation of the obscure opening terms, in the word bhante “I declare, confess,” etc., etc., which proved, to his surprise, to constitute the ordinary Jaina preliminary form of prayer or conventional declaration of faith.³

I prefix Burnouf’s translation, as exhibiting the inevitable divergences in the individual treatment of these obscure writings:

du mois Tisa (4 lettres) au Nakhata, même par un seule personne il doit être entendu. Et c’est ainsi que ce stupa doit être honoré jusqu’à la fin des temps, pour le bien de l’assemblée.”—Burnouf, B. L. 673.

See also my article in the J.R.A.S. Vol. I. n.s. p. 466; and the Kalpa Sūtra, pp. 16, 17.

¹ As a possible commentary upon this, the avowedly Buddhist Lelita-Vistara says: “The rehearsal of religious discourse satiateth not the godly.”—Preface, p. 24, Sanskrit Version, Rajendralalā. ² At Bairath, three marches N.E. of Jaipur. ³ “But in turning over the leaves of a Jaina work (the Parikramanavidhi), which, according to Dr. Stevenson, means the Rules of Confession to a Guru, I found the word Bhante . . . repeated fourteen times, and in every instance with the pronoun aham—aham bhante—preceding apparently some promise or admission; ‘I declare, I promise, or acknowledge.’ The book is written in the Magadhi of the Jainas, mixed with provincial Hindi, and is full of technicalities, which it would require a learned Yati to expound.”—J.R.A.S., Vol. XVI. p. 361.
"Le roi Piyadasa, à l'Assemblée du Magadha qu'il fait saluer, a souhaité et peu de peines et une existence agréable. Il est bien connu, seigneurs, jusqu' où vont et mon respect et ma foi pour le Buddha, pour la Loi, pour l'Assemblée. Tout ce qui, seigneurs, a été dit par le bienheureux Buddha, tout cela seulement est bien dit.

Il faut donc montrer, seigneurs, quelles [en] sont les autorités; de cette manière, la bonne loi sera de longue durée: voilà ce que moi je crois nécessaire. En attendant, voici, seigneurs, les sujets qu'embrasse la loi: les bornes marquées par la Vinaya (ou la discipline), les facultés surnaturelles des Ariyas, les dangers de l'avenir, les stances du solitaire, le Sūta (sutra) du solitaire, la spéculation d'Upatīsa (Cariputtra) seulement, l'instruction de Lāgula (Rāhula), en rejetant les doctrines fausses: [voilà] ce qui a été dit par le bienheureux (Buddha). Ces sujets qu'embrasse la loi, seigneurs, je désire, et c'est la gloire à laquelle je tiens le plus, que les Religieux et les Religieuses les écoutent et les méditent constamment, aussi bien que les fidèles des deux sexes. C'est pour cela, seigneurs, que je [vous] fais écrire ceci; telle est ma volonté et ma déclaration."—Lotus, p. 725.

Prof. Wilson's translation is as follows:

"Piyadasi, the King, to the general Assembly of Māgadha, commands the infliction of little pain and indulgence to animals.

"It is verily known, I proclaim, to what extent my respect and favour (are placed) in Buddha, and in the Law, and in the Assembly. "Whatsoever (words) have been spoken by the divine Buddha, they have all been well said, and in them, verily I declare that capability of proof is to be discerned: so that the pure law (which they teach) will be of long duration, as far as I am worthy (of being obeyed). For these, I declare, are the principal discipline (Vinaya), having overcome the oppressions of the Ariyas, and future perils, (and refuted) the songs of the Munis, the sutras of the Munis, (the practices) of inferior ascetics, the censure of a light world, and (all) false doctrines. These things, as declared by the divine Buddha, I proclaim, and I desire them to be regarded as the precepts of the Law... These things I affirm, and have caused to be written (to make known to you) that such will be my intention."—Journ. R.A.S. Vol. XVI. (1851), p. 357. See also Translation, Journ. A.S. Bengal, vol. ix.

I subjoin Dr. Kern's newly-published translation, for the double purpose of comparison with the redactions of his predecessors, and to satisfy the modern world, that whatever
diversities may have existed in the spirit or method of interpretation of the difficult passages of the 1st and 2nd series of Aśoka’s Edicts, our international savants are fully in accord as to the first appearance in monumental writing of the name of Buddha, that is, some time in or after the 27th year of Aśoka.

"King Priyadarśin (that is, the Humane) of Magadha greets the Assembly (of Clerics) and wishes them welfare and happiness. Ye know, sirs, how great is our reverence and affection for the triad which is called Buddha (the master), Faith, and Assembly. All that our Lord Buddha has spoken, my Lords, is well spoken: therefore, Sirs, it must indeed be regarded as having indisputable authority; so the true Faith shall last long. Thus, my Lords, I honour (?) in the first place these religious works . . . [seven in number] uttered by our Lord Buddha . . . For this end, my Lords, I cause this to be written, and have made my wish evident."—Indian Antiquary, Sept. 1876, p. 257.

In concluding this section of the inquiry, I am anxious to advert to a point of considerable importance, the true bearing of which has, hitherto, scarcely been recognized. Under the old view of the necessary Buddhistic aim and tendency of both the Rock and Pillar Edicts, a subdued anomaly might have been detected in Aśoka’s designating himself as Devānampiya, "the beloved of the gods." We have seen at page 41 in what terms the rock inscriptions are phrased; the pillar edicts, in like manner, commence with the same title of Devānampiya Piyadasa laja,¹ while the Bhabra Inscription unconditionally rejects the Devānampiya, which we may infer would have been inconsistent with Aśoka’s sudden profession of Buddhism, and opens with the restricted entry of ज्ञेयमयायिनीमयायिनीमयायिनीमयायिनीमयायिनीमयायिनीमयायिनीमयायिनीमयायिनी Piyadasa laja.

Now, it involves a more than remarkable coincidence, that this same term of Devānampiya, or “Beloved of the gods,” should prove to have been an established and conventional title among the Jainas,² equally, as, in a less important sense, was

² In Stevenson’s translation of the Kalpa Sūtra Rīshabha datta is thus addressed by Devanandi, the mother of Mahāvīra (pp. 26, 30), and he, in return, salutes her as “O beloved of the gods” (pp. 27, 29, etc.). At p. 54 King Sidd-
the associate *Piyadasane,* “lovely to behold.” “Siddhártha” is represented in the text of the Kalpa Sútra, as “issued forth the king and lord of men, the bull and lion among men, lovely to behold,” etc. Dr. Stevenson adds, in a note: “This is the famous epithet पियदस्ये Piyadasáne that occurs so frequently in the ancient inscriptions, and which we have met with several times before.” Piyadassi is further given as the name of one of the 24 (Jaina?) Buddhos in the opening passage of the Mahávanso. Mr. Turnour contributes the following additional quotation from the Páli annals: “Hereafter the prince Piyadáso, having raised the chhatta, will assume the title of Aśoka the Dhanma Rája, or righteous monarch.”

Thus, while we can comprehend that the retention of the simple title of “Piyadasi,” by an avowed Buddhist, was harmless enough, the rejection of the designation of “Beloved of the gods” became a clear necessity for any convert to a religion which *ipsa facto* repudiated all gods.

The title of Devánampiya does not seem to have been admitted into the scriptures of the Northern Buddhists, who were deferred converts; but it was carried down with the earliest spread of the faith to Ceylon, in B.C. 246, by “Devánampiya Tissa,” together with, as we have seen, many of the other elements and symbols of the Jaina creed.

Amid the varied indirect sources of information bearing upon the “faith of the Mauryas,” now available, we should scarcely have looked for any contributions from the formal

hártha, in explaining Trisalá’s dream, commences, “O beloved of the gods.” At pp. 56, 61, speaking to the royal messengers, he addresses them as “O beloved of the gods,” and at p. 64 the “interpreters of dreams” are received with the same complimentary greeting.

1 Mahávanso, vol. i. p. 75.
3 The objection to the term Devánampiya of course does not extend to the inevitable Devasutra of the Lalita-vistara—the “heaven-born” need not have been compromised by his later apostacy.—See Rajendra Lála’s (Sanskrit text), *Preface,* pp. 14, 15, 21, etc.
pages of dictionaries or grammars. Nevertheless, amid the odd words cited, for other purposes, we discover, in Patanjali’s commentary on the Sūtras of Pāṇini, a most suggestive record by the annotator, who is supposed to date somewhere about B.C. 160–60,¹ regarding the gods of the Mauryas. Prof. Goldstücker’s translation of Pāṇini’s leading text, with the illustration added by Patanjali, is subjoined:

“‘If a thing,’ says Pāṇini, ‘serves for a livelihood, but is not for sale’ (it has the affix ka). This rule Patanjali illustrates with the words ‘Ṣiva, Skanda, Viśākha,’ meaning the idols that represent these divinities, and at the same time give a living to the men who possess them—while they are not for sale. And ‘why?’ he asks. ‘The Mauryas wanted gold, and therefore established religious festivities.’ Good; (Pāṇini’s rule) may apply to such (idols as they sold); but as to idols, which are hawked about (by common people) for the sake of such worship as brings an immediate profit, their names will have the affix ka.”²

That there are many difficulties in the translation, and still more in the practical interpretation of this passage, need not be reiterated.³ The first impression the context conveys

¹ This is Prof. Weber’s date; Prof. Goldstücker assigned Patanjali to 140–120 B.C.; and Prof. Bhandarkar fixes the date of his chapter iii. at 144–142 B.C.—Ind. Ant. 1872, p. 302.
² Goldstücker’s Pāṇini, p. 228. Prof. Goldstücker goes on to add: “Whether or not this interesting bit of history was given by Patanjali ironically, to show that even affixes are the obedient servants of kings, and must vanish before the idols which they sell, because they do not take the money at the same time that the bargain is made—as poor people do—I know not. . . . I believe, too, if we are to give a natural interpretation to his (Patanjali’s) words, . . . that he lived after the last king of this (Maurya) dynasty.”—p. 229.
³ Prof. Weber’s critical commentary upon Goldstücker’s rendering of this passage, amid other argumentative questions as to the period of Pāṇini himself, proceeds:

“Patanjali, in commenting on rule v. 3, 99, of Pāṇini, . . . in the case of a life sustenance-serving (object, which is an image, the affix ka is not used), except when the object is valuable. . . . In the case of a saleable, e.g. Śiva, Skanda, Viṣākha, the rule does not apply.” . . .

“The gold-coveting Maurya had caused images of the gods to be prepared. To these the rule does not apply, but only to such as serve for immediate worship (i.e. with which their possessors go about from house to house) [in order to exhibit them for immediate worship, and thereby to earn money].”—Indian Antiquary, 1873, p. 61.
seems to refer to the multitudinous images of the Jaina Mauryas, which were so easily reproduced in their absolute repetitive identity, and so largely distributed as part and parcel of the creed itself, of which we have had so many practical exemplifications in the preceding pages.\(^1\) But Patanjali’s direct reference to the Maurya gods of his day—that is to say, during the reign of that staunch adherent of the Brahmans, the Sv\(\text{\textit{ings}}\)a Pushpamitra\(^2\)—under the definite names of Śiva, Skanda, Viśākha, opens out a new line of inquiry as to the concurrent state and progress of Brahmanism, and his evidence undoubtedly indicates that their branch of the local religion was in a very crude and inchoate stage at the period referred to—an inference which is more fully confirmed by the testimony of numismatic remains.\(^3\)

Among the extant examples of the mintages of Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka, we meet with the self-same designations of the three Brahmanical gods, under the counterpart Greek transcription of \(\text{\textit{okpo}}, \text{\textit{ikanao}}, \text{\textit{bizaro}}.\) The only opinion;’ 1 ‘Be this as it may, the notice is in itself an exceedingly curious one.’ Now with regard to this very curious and odd statement itself, I venture to throw it out as a mere suggestion, whether it may not perhaps refer to a first attempt at gold coinage made by the Mauryas (in imitation of the Greek coins). It is true no Maurya coin has been discovered as yet, so far as I know, but this may be mere chance: the real difficulty is how to bring Patanjali’s words into harmony with such an interpretation, the more so as in his time no doubt gold coins were already rather common.’—Indian Antiquary, July, 1873, pp. 208, 209.

\(^1\) ‘As these twenty-four Tirthankaras are incarnations of wisdom, and are divine personages who appeared in the world and attained the enjoyment of heavenly bliss, the Jainas consider them to be Swādhis, equal to the divine-natured Arugan . . . And accordingly they build temples in honour of these Tirthankaras, and make images like them, of stone, wood, gold, and precious gems, and considering these idols as the god Arugan himself, they perform daily and special puja, and observe fasts and celebrate festivals in their honour.’—p. xix. Notice on Jainism, by Sāstram Aiyar, from ‘The Chintāmaṇī,’ edited by the Rev. H. Bower, Madras, 1868.

\(^2\) Pushpamitra is the king who offered 100 dina\(\text{\textit{rs}}\) for the head of every Śramaṇa, and hence obtained the title of Muni-kUler.”—Burnouf, vol. i. p. 431.

\(^3\) I must add that in other portions of the ‘Mahābhāṣya’ reference is made to the Brahmanical deities of the Epic period, Śiva, Vishnu, etc.; to Vasudeva or Krishna as a god or demi-god, and to his having slain Kansa and hound Bali.” Mr. Muir, from whose analysis of Prof. Weber’s Indische Studien (1873) I take this information, adds: ‘The genuineness of the whole of Patanjali’s work itself, as we now have it, is not, Prof. Weber considers, beyond the reach of doubt, as some grounds exist for supposing that the work, after having been mutilated or corrupted, was subsequently reconstructed, and at the same time perhaps received various additions from the pen of the compiler.’ See also Academy, 8th August, 1874, p. 156.
other Brahmanical gods that apparently attained any prominence, at the epoch of these three Indo-Scythian kings, which, for the moment, we may accept as at or about the commencement of our era, would seem to have been Śiva's supposed consort, Aṅgusipta, and Mahāsenā, which latter embodiment is elsewhere understood as a mere counterpart of Śiva.1

In the same manner, Skanda constitutes the title of a "son of Śiva," and Viṣākha is the conventional name of Kārttikeya or Śkanda, "the god of war," and finally, Kumāra is simply a synonym of Skanda. In fact we have here nothing but the multiform Śiva personally, or the various members of his family. So that the combined testimony of the grammarian and the material proofs exhibited by the coins would almost necessitate the conclusion that, at the commencement of our era, Brahmanism had not yet emerged from Saivism, whose Indian origin is now freely admitted by the leading authorities.

In testing the position of Saivism, at approximate periods, we are able to appeal to the independent testimony of the coins of a collateral division of the Indo-Scythian race, whose leading designation follows the term of oonmo kädphics.

It has hitherto been usual to place this branch of the Scythian intruders considerably earlier, in point of time, than their fellow and more permanently-domiciled brotherhood; but the question as it is presented, under later lights, seems to resolve itself into a geographical rather than an epochal severance. The Kadphises horde settled themselves in lands where the Bactrian Pāli alphabet and quasi-Aryan speech were still current. The Kanerki group, wherever their first Indian location may have been, clearly followed Íranian traditions in the classification and designations of their adopted gods, in the regions of their abundant mintages.

The Kadphises forms of Saivism may be followed in detail in Plate X. of Prof. Wilson's Ariana Antiqua. The

1 Mahā-seṇḍa, "a great army," an epithet of Kārttikeya or Skanda; of Śiva. So also Sendpattī, "army chief," name of Kārttikeya; of Śiva, etc.—M. Williams, in vocibus.
conjoint legends appertaining to which are couched in the following terms:

\[ \text{Latin-Greek—BACIΛΕΥΤΟΟΜΟ ΚΑΔΙΚΙΟ.} \]

\[ \text{Bactrian-Pali—} \]

Maharajasa Rajadhiraqasa Sarva-loqa-iśvarasa Mahiśvarasa Kapīṣasa.

Of the Great King, King of Kings, ruler of the whole world, the Great Lord (of) Kapīṣa.\(^1\)

We have here, again, Śiva very much under the guise of a God of War (Nos. 9, 13), though the trident is suggestive of Neptune and the ill-defined drooping garment, in the left hand, is reminiscent of the lion’s skin of Hercules. But the Saivism is complete in No. 5, even to the spiral shell-shaped hair\(^2\) (less apparent in No. 13), with the conventional Vāhana or Bull, which now becomes constant and immutable; following on in Nos. 12-21 the leading type exhibits various gradations of the gross hermaphrodite outline of half man, half woman, with “the necklace of skulls,” possibly disclosing the first definite introduction to caste threads, out of which so many religious conflicts grew in later days.

Under any circumstances, the present coincidences must be accepted as beyond measure, critical, when we find Patanjali, a native of Oudh, speaking of things on the banks of the Soane, at Patna, and Scythian intruders on the Kābul river, responding in practical terms, as to the ruling Saivism which covered, with so little change, a range of country represented in the divergent paths of a continuous highway, starting from the extreme geographical points here named.

For the purposes of the illustration of the international associations, and the accepted religions of the period, we are beyond measure indebted to the recent numismatic contributions of the Peshāwar find. These coins, comprising the large total of 360 gold pieces, all belong to the combined Kanishka brotherhood, or tribal communities, to which reference has been made in my previous article in the Journal,\(^3\) and in

---


2 Rudra and Pushan are said to wear their hair wound or braided spirally upwards into the form of a shell called “Kapardin.”—Muir, vol. v. p. 462.

3 Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. IX. p. 8 et seq.
the earlier pages of this paper. The triple series of obverse legends are restricted to the following repetitive Greek transcriptions:

**Greek Legends on the Kanerki Coins.**

1. PAO NANO PAO KANHPKI KOPANO.
2. PAO NANO PAO OOHPKI KOPANO.
3. PAO NANO PAO BAZOAHO KOPANO.

These titles seem to have been more or less sectional and eventually to have become hereditary, like Arsaces, Caesar, etc., and though probably applicable in the first instance severally to the three brothers, they appear, in process of time, to have become dynastic as the conventional titular designation of the head of the family or tribe, for the time being, and to have continued in imitative use, especially in the instance of Bazoaho,¹ for many centuries. Until, indeed, as I have previously remarked, the Greek characters become altogether unintelligible,² though the mint types are still mechanically reproduced.

I have now to describe, as briefly as the subject will admit of, the coins I have selected for insertion in the accompanying Plate II., which were primarily arranged to illustrate the objects of worship admitted into the Indo-Scythian Pantheon; but, which, under subsequent discoveries, have assumed a more important mission in the general range of inquiry.

**CONTENTS OF PLATE II.**

KANERKI.

No. 1. (Obverse. King standing to the front, in the conventional form represented in Ariana Antiqua, pl. xi. fig. 16, worn die. Legend. Constant. PAO NANO PAO KANHPKI KOPANO.)

Reverse. Figure as in the Plate. Legend NANA PAO, Nanaia.

¹ The identity of Bazdeo as one of the three brothers, and as the person alluded to in the Mathurā inscriptions under the title of Vāsudeva, in conjunction with Kanishka and Huwisok, seems to be now placed beyond doubt; but the new coins teach us to discriminate Bazdeo as the third king, in opposition to my suggestion (Vol. IX. p. 11, supra) that Vāsudeva might have been "the titular designation of Kanishka."

No. 2. (Obverse. King seated cross-legged, wearing a close-fitting helmet, with bossed cheek-plates and flowing fillets, ornamental coat fastened by two brooches or link-buttons in front, flames issue from both shoulders. He holds a small mace in the right hand, and a spear in the left.)

Reverse. Figure as in Plate. Legend. ḤPAKAIO, Hercules.

No. 3. (Bust of the King, as in the ordinary Kadphises types (A.A. xiv. 2). Quilted coat, flame issuing from the right shoulder, close cap, double feather frontlet, half moon, spiked mace, etc.)


No. 4. (Obverse. Ooerki, old form (A.A. xiv. 6), die much worn.)

Reverse. Figure as in Plate. Legend. PIAH (or πων or ρων), Pallas.

This type was first introduced at Rome by Domitian, A.D. 80, who affected to be the son of Pallas Capitolina.—Trésor de Numismatique, p. 42.

No. 5. (Obverse. OOHPKI, (A.A. xiv. 6), worn-out die.)

Reverse. Figure as in Plate. Legend. ΝΡΟΗ or ωρων. Varuna.

No. 6. (Obverse. Well-executed bust of King, with close-fitting cap, eagle feather frontlet, and flowing Sassanian fillets at the back; silken dress, with large necklace. He holds a small mace, and an ankus (elephant goad).

Reverse. Figure as in Plate. Legend. ΜΑΡΑΝΟ, Sarapis.

No. 7. (Obverse. King seated, the general outline of the device is similar to that of No. 2; but the crossed legs are merged in rising clouds. The helmet has a prominent frontlet in the form of the sun, no cheek-plates, the ear and beard are visible, flames on shoulders, spear and mace, the coat is more than usually open in front and displays an embroidered undergarment.)

Reverse. Figure as in the Plate. Legend. ΖΕΠΟ (Ceres), Diana.

Device imitated from a coin of Augustus, A.U.C. 744, B.C. 10.
—Trésor de Numismatique, vii. 12.

No. 8. (Bust of King, similar to No. 2; Sun frontlet, in this instance the helmet has a cheek bar only, and shows the ear, traces of Sassanian fillets, etc. Armlets, link-brooch, mace, spear, etc. In one example of the Mars reverse, the obverse head is similar to No. 16 infin, but the King wears a pallium.)

Reverse. Figure of a Roman warrior, as in the Plate. There are five varieties of this reverse. In one instance the figure
of Mars holds what is described, in the Trésor de Numismatique, as "un bouclier rond," a type which occurs on the money of Germanicus, A.U.C. 801, A.D. 47 (Pl. xix. 7, 8).

Legend. PAO PHOPO (Rao-rethro), Mars.

No. 9. (Obverse. Bust of King, as in No. 7.)

Reverse. Figure as in the Plate.

Legend. OANINDA (Oaninda), Anandates.

No. 10. (Obverse. Bust as in No. 3. No flame on shoulder, Sassanian fillets.)

Reverse. As in the Plate. Legend. MAASINO (Mahásena), an Indian form of Mars? Siva?

No. 11. (Obverse. Bust as in No. 3.)

Reverse. Device as in the Plate. Legend. ZKANDO, KOMAPO, BIZARO; SKANDA, KUMARA, VIŠĀKHA.

No. 12. (Obverse. Bust of King, with ornamental jacket, armlets, mace, spear, flames on shoulders, etc. Peaked cap as in A.A. xiv. 5, but with bossed cheek-plates.)

Reverse. Device as in the Plate. Legend. AOPO, Zend Atar (the Roman Vulcan).

No. 13. (Obverse. Bust of King as in No. 8.)

Reverse. Device as in the Plate; exhibiting a three-faced Indian form of Śiva wearing short drawers (jānghiyā), in front of which appears, for the first time, a marked definition of the Priapus, which however has nothing in common with the local Linga. The left hands hold the trident and an Indian thunderbolt. The one right hand grasps the wheel or chakra (the symbol of universal dominion), the other is extended to the small goat.

Legend. OKPO. Ugra the "fierce" (a title of Śiva).

No. 14. Obverse. As exhibited in the Plate. The King wears a Roman pallium; ornamental cap with cheek-plates and well-defined Sassanian fillets; in the right hand the small iron-bound mace, in the left a standard, surmounted by Śiva's Vāhana or the bull Nandi, in the conventional recumbent position.

1 General Cunningham was under the impression that this object was a Buddhist praying-wheel. I prefer to look upon it as an iron-bound mace, a counterpart of the modern club, so effective in strong hands, known by the name of lohd-band lithi. The gurs of Feridudd was an historical weapon. The use of which was affected by the great Mahmūd of Ghazni and his successors after him. The Kadphises Scythians also were demonstrative about maces, but theirs took the form of a bulky wooden club. See also Tabari (O.T.F.), vol. ii. p. 228.
THE EARLY FAITH OF AŚOKA.

Legend, legible. ρΑΟ ΝΑΝΟ ΡΑΟ ὁνρα. χοπαρό.
Reverse. Śiva, three-faced, four-armed, to the front, holding the trident, a club, a western form of the thunderbolt and a gourd, water-vessel?

Legend. OKPA, Zend ugra, अग्र Ugra, the “fierce,” “terrible.”

No. 15. (Obverse. King’s bust as in No. 8.)

Reverse. Roman figure, as in the plate, holding a brazier with ascending flames. Legend. ΦΑΠΠΟ, Pharos. There are several varieties of this type: in one instance the figure holds a simpulum, such as is seen on the coins of Antonia Augusta, A.D. 37.—Trésor de Numismatique, pl. x. fig. 14.

No. 16. Obverse. King’s bust as in the Plate. Ornamental jacket, armlets, mace and spear; with a curious peaked helmet having buffalo horns diverging upwards from below the frontlet, as is seen in certain Indo-Sassanian coins of a later age; 1 flowing fillets at the back, with Sassanian fillets distributed over each shoulder.

Reverse. A Roman type of abundance. Legend. ΑΡΑΟΧΡΟ. The cornucopias and the style of dress belong to the period of Julius Cæsar and the early days of Augustus, A.U.C. 711, 33 b.c.—Trésor de Numismatique, pl. iii. fig. 1.

No. 17. (Obverse. Kadphises type of King’s bust, with mace and ankus, Sassanian fillets.)

Reverse. Four-armed figure, as in the Plate. Legend. ΜΑΝΑΟ ΒΑΡΟ, the Moon-god.

No. 18. (Obverse. Kadphises bust; silken garment, mace, ankus, etc., flame on right shoulder, ordinary fillets.)

Reverse. Male figure, as in the Plate. Legend. ΜΑΟ, Mao, the Moon.

No. 19. (Obverse. King’s bust as in A.A. xiv. 3; highly ornamental robe and collar, Sassanian fillets, etc.)

Reverse. Figure as in the Plate, with sword and staff, holding out a chaplet. Legend. ΜΑΟ, the Moon.

No. 20. (Obverse. King’s bust, with Roman pallium, peaked cap, and Sassanian fillets.)

Reverse. Female figure with Caduceus, as in the Plate.

Legend. ΝΑΝΟ, Ναναία.

1 See Prinsep, Essays, vol. ii. p. 115; Ariana Antiqua, pl. xvii. 5, etc.; Herodotus, vii. c. lxxvi.
No. 21. (*Obverse.* Juvenile bust of the King, with silken garment, mace, ankus, with a close-fitting compact helmet and Sassanian fillets.)

*Reverse.* Rayed figure, with flowing garments, as in the Plate. *Legend.* miyō, Mithra.

No. 22. (*Obverse.* Old form of bust of the King, Kadphises style.)

*Reverse.* Figure as in the Plate. *Legend.* miyō, Mihira.

No. 23. (*Obverse.* Well-executed profile, but less-finished bust, of the King; wearing the Roman pallium, with mace, spear, peaked cap, prominent frontlet, bold halo, bossed cheek-plates, with flowing fillets of the ordinary character, associated with the Sassanian drooping falls on the back of the left shoulder, flame on the right shoulder.)

*Reverse.* Figure, also clothed in the pallium, as seen in the Plate. The type of the reverse follows, in a measure, the earlier examples of Ḡaioc (A. A. xi. 16) and miyō (A. A. xii. 15), and it has something in common with the beautiful reverse of No. 21 of our Plate II. *Legend* of "undetermined" import apaeiXpo.

BAZADOBO.

No. 24. (*Obverse.* King standing to the front, in full Scythian cap-a-pied armour, with sword, spear, high pointed cap, reduced halo, falling fillets, with large Mithraic altar, into which the right hand of the King seems to be casting votive incense, as in A.A. xiv. 18.

*Legend,* constant. Pao Nano Pao Bazadobo kopano.)

*Reverse.* Figure as exhibited in the Plate. Šiva trimukhi, to the front, with top-knot, holding trident and noose (paṣu), clad in the Indian dhoti, naked above the waist.

*Legend.* Reversed-Greek POKPO.

No. 25. (*Obverse.* Full-length figure of the King, in bossed and armour fished skirt (as in A.A. xiv. 14).

*Reverse.* Figure as shown in the Plate. Šiva, single-faced, with top-knot, and bushy hair, clothed in the Indian dhoti, bold muscular development of the chest, trident, noose (paṣu), well-defined Bráhmaní bull, monogram, etc. *Legend.* OKPO.

No. 26. (*Obverse.* Standing figure of the King, the bosses of the body-armour appear in full detail, the fish-scale skirt is also given, as are the greaves and the rings, or serpent-like protection of the arms. The spear is here a subdued trident, with a bold central point and reduced side spikes; but the
peculiarity of the whole device, in this instance, consists in the tall Kuzzalbásh-like cap, which is surmounted by the head of a bird.

Reverse. Śiva trîmukhi, as reproduced in the Plate, with his bull in a varied position. The god, in addition to ordinary trident and noose, reveals a subdued but fully defined priapus in front of the folds of the ḍhōṭi, together with the first determine representation of a Brahmanical or caste thread, which replaces the early necklace of skulls adverted to at p. 59.

One of the most important revelations of the Pesháwar find is the large amount of Roman influence to be detected amid the types of these Indo-Scythian coinages.

The earliest archaeological trace of commercial or other intercourse between India and Rome is represented by the celebrated deposit in a tumulus at Manikyála, discovered by M. A. Court in 1833.

M. Court’s description of the position and condition of the crypt is as follows:

“At ten feet from the level of the ground, we met with a cell in the form of a rectangular parallelogram, built in a solid manner, with well-dressed stones, firmly united with mortar. The four sides of the cell corresponded with the four cardinal points, and it was covered with a single massive stone. Having turned this over, I perceived that it was covered with inscriptions. In the centre of the cell stood a copper urn, encircling which were placed symmetrically eight medals of the same metal. . . . The urn itself was carefully enveloped in a wrapper of white linen tightly adhering to its surface. . . . The copper urn enclosed a smaller one of silver; the space between them being filled in with a paste of the colour of raw umber. . . Within the silver urn was found one much smaller of gold, immersed in the same brown paste, in which were also contained seven silver medals, with Latin characters.1 The gold vessel

enclosed four small coins of gold of the Græco-Scythic type; also two precious stones and four pearls."

With a view to determine the age of the monument itself from external evidence, M. Raoul Rochette critically examined the Roman coins found in the inner coating of the main deposit. The result of his exhaustive study is subjoined in his own words:

"Maintenant, ce qui résulte de la réunion de ces sept monnaies de familles romaines, six desquelles sont reconnues avec certitude, et qui furent toutes frappées dans le cours des années 680 à 720 de Rome; ce qui résulte, non-seulement de la présence de ces sept monnaies, appartenant toutes aux derniers temps de la république, et de l'absence de monnaies consulaires ou impériales, c'est que le monument où on les avait déposées à dessein, appartient lui-même à la période de temps qui est celle de l'émission et de la circulation de ces monnaies; car le fait qu'on n'y a trouvé mêlé parmi elles ni un seul denier consulaire, ni un seul denier impérial, est certainement très-significatif; et ce ne peut être, à mon avis, une circonstance purement fortuite ou accidentelle qui ait réuni ainsi, dans un monument considérable, sept monnaies choisies entre toutes celles que le commerce avait portées dans l'Inde, et toutes frappées dans la période républicaine des guerres civiles, qui eurent principalement l'Orient pour théâtre."—Journ. des Savants, 1836, p. 74.

At one time it was fondly hoped that this monument might prove to have been the last resting-place of the ashes of Kanishka himself, but the inscription on the inverted slab effectually disposed of any such notion. The covering stone of the crypt mentions Samvat 18, and the Mathurā inscriptions extend his reign to Samvat 33. The discovery, however, is of the highest importance under other aspects. It has been usual to associate Kanishka's name with Buddhism, and in

7. No. 25. Furia family. R. xxi. 8. R.R. A.U.C. 686. The latest authorities, therefore, limit the date of the most recent of these coins to B.C. 34. Prinsep's Essays, vol. i. p. 149.
1. "Four "gold coins found in the gold cylinder." Pl. xxxiv. vol. iii. J.A.S. Bengal.
2. Kanerki bust and peaked cap. Rev. Śiva, four-armed and OKPO.
3. Kanerki standing figure. Rev. Śiva, four-armed and OKPO.
4. Kanerki standing figure. Rev. Standing figure. AOPO.
his reign a new convocation of the Buddhists was convened, once again to revise and determine the authorized faith. If Kanishka ever was a Buddhist, he, like Aśoka, must have become so late in life. His coins, as we have seen, are eminently Saiva, and this monument, erected during his reign, contained, within the gold cylinder in the innermost recess of its undisturbed chamber, no less than three coins bearing the image of Śiva, out of the four, selected for inhumation with the ashes of the person, in whose honour it was built. Moreover, so distinctly was the ruling Saivism accepted in India, that we find the coins of Nānapāo conventionally denominated Nānakas (and elsewhere defined as bearing the mark of Śiva) in the authoritative text of Yajnavalkya's Hindu Law.1 On the other hand, Indo-Scythic Buddhism is undemonstrative in the extreme, and one of the coins most relied upon to prove devotion to that faith2 turns out, under the legends of the better specimens of the Peshāwar find, to bear the name of Apeirixo (No. 23, Pl. II.), whereas those coins which bear the unmistakable figure of Śākya Muni—as I shall show hereafter—clearly belong to a later period of the Kanerki series.

Under the system in vogue, in more advanced Buddhistic days, of the gradual enlargement of Topes and the concurrent exhibition of relics, which for convenience sake were placed near the summit of the mound, we find a later deposit three feet only from the top of this smaller Manikyāla tope, which consisted of three coins bearing the form and name of Śiva, and one coin only with the image and superscription of OaOa, the Wind.3

1 Yajnavalkya's date is uncertain. Some commentators place him before Viṇamādiya, others so late as the second century A.D. See my Ancient Indian Weights, p. 20. Prof. Wilson remarks that the name of शारद नापा occurs in the play of the Mṛichehakatī (act i. scene 1), and the commentary explains the nāpakā as सिंहाचक्र सिंधुक-ṭaṇka, or “coin with the mark of Śiva.”

2 General Cunningham, J.A.S. Bengal, 1845, p. 435, pl. ii. fig. 3.
3 The four copper coins found above the stone cover of the tumulus, pl. xxxiv. vol. iii. J.A.S. Beigal, are identified with—
1. Kadphises, the King, standing. Rev. Śiva and Nandi, with Bactrian-Pali legends similar to A.A. Plate x. figs. 15, etc.
2. Coin of Kanerki, with Rev. OaOa.
3 and 4. Coin of Kanerki, with Rev. Śiva four-armed, OKPO.
We have now to seek to discover, from the numismatic remains,—which constitute the only positive data left us,—how it came to pass, that so many of the elements of Western forms of worship and classic Roman devices found their way into such a specially-dissevered section of the earth, as that which bowed to Indo-Scythian sway at and shortly before the commencement of our era.

The first and most obvious suggestion would point to ordinary commercial intercourse, the superior value of Indian produce, and the consequent import of Roman gold for the requisite balance of trade, about which Pliny was so eloquent.

But in this case we are forced to admit some more direct and abiding influence. If the Roman gold had been suffered to remain intact in the shape it was received, as mere bullion, which sufficed for the traffic of the Western coast, we should have gained no aid or instruction in the explanation of the present difficulty.

But, fortunately, the recoinage of the original Roman aurei in situ, at whatever exact point it may ultimately be placed, must clearly be limited to a region, far removed from the inspiring centre, and separated by some natural belt of desert or hostile territory from free intercourse with old associations, or home relations.

In the Parthian dominions, which intervened between the extreme points indicated, there existed precisely such barriers: and excepting the perseverance with which their kings retained the eagles of Crassus, there was no notion of recognition or adoption of Roman devices by the Parthian monarchs till the Italian slave Mousa got her image placed on the Arsacidan mintage.

Whereas, among the distant communities in the far East, we discover consecutive imitations of Roman types, extending over a considerable space of time, and following irregularly the latest novelties and innovations of the Imperial mints; but always appearing in independent forms, as reproductions, with newly-engraved dies of inferior execution, but with Latin-Greek legends embodying Zend denominations; and, more distinctive still, uniformly accepting either
the already-prepared obverses of the Indo-Scythian kings, or reviving their semblance from time to time in apparent recognition of the suzerain power.

The enigma above outlined seems to me to be susceptible of but one solution, which singularly accords with the given circumstances of time and place—that is, that the 10,000 captives of the army of Crassus, who were transported to Merv-ul-rúd, on the extreme border of the Parthian dominions, a site intentionally most remote from their ancestral homes, finding even that fertile valley, that pleasant Siberia, unprepared to accommodate so large and so sudden an influx of population, spread and extended themselves into the proximate dominions of the Indo-Scythians, and freely ac-

1 Plutarch in Crassus xxxi.—Δέγανται δ′ ει πάντες δισμήριοι μὲν ἄποθανείν, μὲριοι δὲ ἀλανείς ὄντες. Repeated in Appian Parth., p. 66.
2 Pliny, N. H. vi. xvi. 18.—“Sequitur regio Margiane, apricitalis inclyta, sola in eo tracita vitifera, undique inclusa monibus amennis ... et ipsa contra Parthiae tractum sita: in qua Alexander Alexandriam condiderat.” Qua diruta a barbaris, Antiochus Seleucii filius, eodem loco restituit Syriam ; nam interfecto Margo, qui corrivatur in Zoatne, est maluerat illum Antiochium appellari. Urbis amplitudine circumuitur circitu studiis lxx; in hanc Orodès Romanos Crassiana clade captos deduxit.”

The references in Vell. Paterculus ii. 82, and Florus iv. 10, only go to show how mercifully the captives were treated, inasmuch as they were freely allowed to serve in the Parthian ranks. Justin, xiii. cap. v. affirms that the prisoners of both the armies of Crassus and Antony were collected and restored, with the standards, in n.c. 20, but this statement probably refers only to those who were within easy call; and the thirty-three years' residence in the distant valleys of the Indian Caucasus may well have reconciled the then surviving remnant of Crassus's force to their foreign home and new domestic ties. See also Suetonius, in Augusto, c. xxi., in Tiberio, c. ix.

3 'Antichaei ἡ καλομένη ἢ Ἑνυδρος, or Antiochia irrigá, was distant 357 schoeni, by the Parthian royal road, from Ctesiphon, or Madain, on the Tigris: in continuation of the same highway, it was 30 schoeni N.N.E. of ᾿Αλεξάντρεια ἢ ᾿Απελοις or ᾿Αλεξάνδρια Αρίσα, the modern “Herát,” from whence the route proceeded by Parrah and the Lake of Zaranj to Shkohah, the ᾿Ασάσταντι ᾿Ακαν ῾Χείδιαν or ᾿Ασάσταντι Σεκαριμ Σεθαρμ, and hence to Bust and ᾿Αλεξάντροποις, μνήμεσις ᾿Αραχασίας, or the modern Kandahári—C. Müller, Geographi Graeci Minores (Paris, pp. xci. 252, and Map No. x.)

Merv-ul-rúd α[lambda] was selected as the seat of government of Khorasan on the Arab conquest, in preference to the more northern Merv or Merv Sháhjáhán—both which names are to be found on the initial Arabico-Pahlavi coins of Selim bin Zlád and Abdullah Hazim, in 63 a.h. (J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. p. 292, and XIII. p. 404). The early Arabian geographers, who officially mapped-out every strategic and commercial highway, tell us that important routes conducted the merchant or traveller from Merv-ul-rúd eastwards, by Tálikán, Farayáb and Maimana, to Bakh, whence roads branched-off to the southward, to Bamián, and by other lines to Andarábah, Parwán, and Kábul.

While Herát once reached, by the direct main line to the south, offered endless
cepting their established supremacy, settled themselves down as good citizens, taking in marriage the women of the country,\(^1\) and forming new republies,\(^2\) without objecting to the recognition of a nominal Suzerain—a political supremacy their fellow-countrymen so soon submitted to in its closer and more direct form of Imperator—at the same time that they retained their old manners and customs, and with them the religion of the Roman pantheon, with the due allowance of Antistes and possibly a Pontifex Maximus, in partibus infidelium.

To judge from the changes and gradations in the onward course of these mintages, it would seem as if the new settlers had either directly copied the obverses of the Indo-Scythians with their normal Greek legends, or possibly they may have been supplied with official mint-dies, which they used to destruction, and when, in turn, they had to renew these obverse dies, they imparted to the ideal bust of the suzerain many of their own conventional details of dress, etc. But in the process of imitation, they appear to have adhered as far as possible to a mechanical reproduction of the old quasi-Greek letters of the Indo-Scythian legend, while on their new and independent reverses they took licence in the Latin forms of the Greek alphabet, frequently embodying the current Zend terms in their own hybrid characters, and in some cases becoming converts to, or at least accepting the symbols of the local creeds. Their influence, on the other hand, upon local thought and Indian science, may perchance be traced in the pages of the *Pauliṣa-Siddhānta* and *Romaka-Siddhānta*, wherein their adopted Greek astronomy was insured a shorter passage to the East than the hitherto-recognized devious routes from Alexandria to the Western coast and other points.

facilities for the dispersion of the new settlers in the six or seven roads which focussed in the centre formed by that ancient city. (See Sprenger's *Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, maps 4, 5; M. N. Khanikof, "Asie centrale," Paris, 1861, map; Ferrier's *Caravan Journeys*, London, 1857, map.)

\(^1\) Milesne Crassi conjuge barbaris, etc.—Horace, Od. iii. 5. 5.

\(^2\) A very suggestive indication has been preserved, in later authors, about the white-blood claimed by the ruling races of Badakhshān, Darwāz, Kulāb, Shighnān, Wakhān, Chitral, Gilgit, Swāt, and Bālī.—Burnes, *J.A.S.B.* vol. ii. p. 305; *J.R.A.S.* Vol. VI. p. 99; Marco Polo, cap. xxix. Yule's edit. i. p. 162. See also, for Kanishka's power in these parts, Hiouen Thsang, Mémoires, i. pp. 42, 104, 172, 199.
of contact could have afforded. And, in another direction, these new suggestions may lead us to re-examine, with more authority, the later amplifications of the Zend alphabet, and to expose the needless introduction of foreign vowels and diphthongs—the assimilation of the anomalous Latin $q$ and the reception of the $f$, which was only dubiously represented in the Sanskrit alphabet by $\text{ṛ} \phi$.

Prof. Max Müller has remarked that the mention of the word dinār is, in a measure, the test of the date of a Sanskrit MS., and so the use of the re-converted Roman aurei may serve to check and define the epoch of distant dynastic changes.

Pliny has told us of the "crime," as he calls it, of him who was the first to coin a denarius of gold, which took place sixty-two years after the first issue of silver money, or in B.C. 207. Under Julius Cæsar the weight of the aureus was revised and fixed at the rate of forty to the libra, after which period the rate gradually fell, till, under Nero, forty-five aurei were coined to the libra.

The average weight of extant specimens of Julius Cæsar's denarii of gold is stated to run at about 125·66 grains, while similar pieces of Nero fall to a rate of 115·39 grains.

The Persian Daric seems to have been fixed at 130 grains. The Greek gold pieces of Diodotus of Bactria weigh as much as 132·3 grains.

The Indo-Scythian gold coins reach as high as 125, but this is an exceptionally heavy return. The Kadphises' group of coins range up to 122·5, and support an average of 122·4; an average which is confirmed by the double piece, no. 5, pl. x. Ariana Antiqua, which weighs 245 grains.

3 Sanskrit Literature, p. 245.
4 xxxiii. 13.
8 Coin in British Museum.
Kanerki series present a slightly lower average, but sustain, in numerous instances, a full measure of 122 grains. So that, allowing for wear or depreciation in recoinage, the official imitative mint-rate would not be far removed from the fall following close upon Julius Cæsar's full average, which progressively reached the lower figures above quoted under Nero. While the coin weights, on the one hand, serve to determine the initial date of the serial issues, the devices above described will suffice, on their part, to indicate the periods of inter-communion with the Imperial history as seen in the periodical introduction of copies of the new Roman types of Mint reverses.

To enable my readers to judge of the state of the religious beliefs of Upper India and the adjoining countries to the northward and westward, I have taken advantage of the very important discovery of the gold coins of the Scythian period above described, to compile, or rather to enlarge a previous Table, exhibiting the names of the multitudinous gods recognized amid the various nationalities who, at this time, bowed to the Indo-Scythian sway.

1 Numismatic Chronicle, n.s. vol. xii. 1872, p. 113. My "Sassanians in Persia" (Trübner, 1873), p. 43.
2 The faith or dominant creed of the three brothers, Kanerki, Ooerki, and Vasudeva (Hushka, Jushka, Kanteshka), or that of their subjects, may be tested by the devices of the Peshawar hoard of their coins.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kanerki, Κανηρκι</th>
<th>Ooerki, Οοερκι</th>
<th>Bazdeo, Βαζεδηο</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Μιρο</td>
<td>1. Ριαη</td>
<td>1. Νανα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Μειρο</td>
<td>2. Ηρακιλο</td>
<td>2. Οκρω, under nu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Μαο</td>
<td>3. Ωροη</td>
<td>merous forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Αθρο</td>
<td>4. Σαραπο</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Νανα ραο</td>
<td>5. Ζερο</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Όανυρδο</td>
<td>6. Όανυρδο</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Μεδρα (Μιρο,</td>
<td>7. Μεδρα (Μιρο,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Μαο</td>
<td>8. Μαο</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Μαο with</td>
<td>9. Μαο with</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μιρο</td>
<td>Μιρο</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table is confined to the list of 93 specimens, selected from the total Peshawar find of 524 coins, as numismatic examples for deposit in the British Museum. The 60 coins brought home by Sir Bartle Frere from the same trouvaille, for the Indian Government, do not add any varieties to these lists.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vedic Gods</th>
<th>Iránian Gods</th>
<th>Persian</th>
<th>Greek and Gresco-Roman</th>
<th>Brahmanical</th>
<th>Buddhist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ΩΡΟΗ</td>
<td>1. ΟΔΔΟ</td>
<td>1. ΜΙΘΡΟ</td>
<td>1. ΗΛΙΟΣ</td>
<td>1. ΟΚΡΟ</td>
<td>1. ΒΟΔΑ ΣΑΜΑΝΑ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varuna</td>
<td>Vayu</td>
<td>Mithra</td>
<td>Ἕλιος</td>
<td>Śiva</td>
<td>Boda Sramana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ΟΡΔΑΓΝΟ</td>
<td>2. ΜΙΡΟ</td>
<td>2. ΝΑΝΑ</td>
<td>2. ΗΡΑΚΙΛΟ</td>
<td>2. ΑΡΩΘΡΟ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agni</td>
<td>Mihira</td>
<td>Nana</td>
<td>Heracles</td>
<td>Parvati?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ΑΡΑΕΙΧΟ</td>
<td>3. ΝΑΝΑ ΠΑΟ</td>
<td>3. ΡΙΑΗ</td>
<td>Rhea? (Pallas Capitolina)</td>
<td>3. ΜΑΣΧΝΟ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nana-rao</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mahásena</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. ΜΑΟ</td>
<td>4. ΝΑΝΑΙΑ</td>
<td>4. ΣΑΡΑΠΟ</td>
<td>Sarapis</td>
<td>4. ΣΧΑΝΔΟ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mao</td>
<td>Nanaia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Skanda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ΜΑΟ and ΜΙΡΟ</td>
<td>5. ΟΑΝΙΝΑΟ</td>
<td>5. ΖΕΡΟ</td>
<td>Ceres? (Diana)</td>
<td>5. ΚΟΜΑΡΟ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mao and Mihira</td>
<td>Anandates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kundra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ΜΑΝΑΟ ΒΑΓΟ</td>
<td>6. ΡΑΟ ΡΗΡΟ</td>
<td>6. Ραορέθρο (Mars)</td>
<td></td>
<td>6. ΒΙΖΑΓΟ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maonh Bago</td>
<td>Raoréthro (Mars)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Viṣṇuha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. ΑΘΡΟ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atars</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. ΦΑΡΟ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharo, fire-bearer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have reduced both the description of Plate II, as well as the above Table, to the narrowest possible outlines, for two reasons: firstly, because I do not desire to anticipate or}

73
interfere with Mr. Vaux's more comprehensive description of Sir B. Frere's selections from the great Pesháwar find—which we may hope shortly to see in the pages of our Journal; and secondly, because I wish to await General Cunningham's mature report upon the same trouvaille, which is designed to form an article in the Numismata Orientalia, a work in which I am much interested. The only portions of the full number of 524 coins that I have examined are confined to the 93 specimens Sir E. C. Bayley has forwarded to me for the purpose of study and for eventual deposit in the British Museum, and the 60 coins from the same source brought home by Sir Bartle Frere, now in the Library at the India Office.

Nevertheless, there are some suggestive identifications embodied in the Table for which I may be held more immediately responsible, and which I must, as far as may be, endeavour to substantiate.

I. Vedic Gods.

The first, and most venturesome of these, is the association of the ωρον on the coins with the Vedic Varuṇa; but the process of reasoning involved becomes more simple, when we have to admit that Ὄπικας and Varuṇa are identical under independent developments from one and the same Aryan conception—and that, even if exception should be taken to the elected transcription of Ωρον, the manifestly imperfect rendering of the letters of the Greek legend freely admits of the alternative Ωρον.

Some difficulty has been felt, throughout the arrangement of the Table, as to under which of the first four headings certain names should be placed; in this instance, I have been led to put Varuṇa in the Vedic column, on account of the absence of the final Zend o—which would have associated the name more directly with the Iranian branch of worship.¹

A similar reason might properly be urged for removing

¹ Muir, Sanskrit Texts, vol. v. pp. 58, 72, 76, 120, etc.; Haug, Sacred Writings of the Parsees, pp. 226, 230.
OPAANO from column i. to column ii.; but in this case the "Agni" is preferentially Vedic, and the Iranian branch has its own representative of "Fire," in the technical Aηρο. There is also another objection to be met, in the matter of the prefix. It has been usual to follow Lassen's identification of APΔΟΧΠΟ, as meaning "half-Siva," i.e. the female form of that hermaphrodite god; but these new legends suggest, if they do not prove, that the prefix АΠΔ corresponds to the Sanskrit चत्र rita, "worshipped," great, etc., instead of to the assumed श्रद्धा arđđhan, "half." And as, in the present instance, the figure to which the designation is attached is clearly a male, with spear and crested helmet, there can be no pretence of making a half-female out of this device.

II. IRANIAN GODS.

The opening οαΔη of this list might well have claimed a place in column i., in virtue of its approximation to the Vedic Vāyu—a term under which "the wind" is equally addressed in the Zend-Avesta: Vāyus uparōkairyo, "the wind whose business is above the sky." But the term οαΔη is certainly closer in orthography to the Persian ابل bād, and the class of coins upon which it is found pertain more definitely to the Iranian section of the Aryan race, and refer to days when the main body of the Vedic Aryans had long since passed on to the banks of the Jumna.

The μιρο has been committed to column ii. on simply

1 "Agni is the god of fire, the Ignis of the Latins, the Ογνι of the Slavonians. He is one of the most prominent deities of the Rig-Veda... Agni is not, like the Greek Hephaistos, or the Latin Vulcan, the artificer of the gods."—Muir, vol. v. p. 199.
3 Ar. An. pl. xii. fig. 3; Journ. A.S. Bengal, 1836, pl. xxxvi. 1; Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxii. fig. 1; Journ. R.A.S. Vol. XI. o.s. Pl. VI. Fig. 1. I must add that the best specimens of the coins extant give the orthography of ОПΑΑΙΝО, which, however, has hitherto been universally accepted as ОПΑΑΙΝΟ;—a rectification which the parallel frequency of the prefix to other names largely encourages.
4 Hang. p. 194; see also pp. 193-232.
5 Lassen, J.A.S.B., 1840, p. 454; Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, p. 369; Muir, S. Texts, vol. v. p. 143, "Vāyu does not occupy a very prominent place in the Rig-Veda."
orthographical grounds; and the *mao* and *mipo* follow the same law. Among the many outward forms of the Moon-god, *Manao Bago* would almost seem to be a superfluous variant, were it not that the word *Məonh* may assign it to a more definitely Zend-speaking locality. Then, there are complications about male and female Moons, which seem to be indicated in the varieties of outlines given to the figures of *mao*, and it is clear that the ruling religious systems fully recognized both male and female Mithras.

It is with much reserve that I venture to suggest any interpretation of the title of *apaeixpo*. The opening letters may possibly be referred to the Sanskrit अर 'swift,' and, considering the mixed complications of letters and languages to be seen in parallel transcriptions, the *eixpo* might be dubiously associated with *equus*, *lkkos*, *lππος*, *ικFος*, the 'courser rapide,' *i.e.* the Sun.

*Aepo*, as the type of Fire, the Roman Vulcan, sufficiently declares itself in the artistic rendering of his personal form.

1 Haug, p. 180; Khurshid and Mah Yashts. "The first yasht is devoted to the sun, which is called in Zend *hvaro ḫkhshdta = (خورشید) 'sun the King,' the second to the moon called *məonh = Μασά."


3 Muir, Sanskrit Texts, vol. v. p. 155, "The two sun gods celebrated in the hymns of the Rig Veda," "*Sūrya and Sūvitrī.*"

4 "Thou, Sūrya, outstripped all in speed."—Wilson, Rig-Veda, vol. i. p. 181.

5 As in note 1, Mr. Muir also considers that some passages in the Rig-Veda symbolize the Sun under the form of a horse.—Texts, vol. v. p. 158. Prof. Goldstucker has further traced the derivation of the name of the Aswins from "*aswa*, meaning literally the pervader, then the quick; then the horse, which becomes the symbol of the sun"—J.R.A.S. Vol. II. n.s. p. 14; Mrs. Manning, Ancient India, vol. i. p. 9. I am fully aware that a coin is extant bearing the letters ΑΡΟΟΑΣΙΟ (Ἀροοασιο), but the use of the *aspa* "horse" in this case is not necessarily conclusive against the interpretation of the independent transcript above suggested.
The *apo or *appo is equally obvious in its intention and in the pictured outline given to the central figure. The name, of course, is derived from the Latin fero, as embodied in Lucifer and Diana. Lucifera. The early Greeks only knew the designation as that of a light-house, without being able to supply a root for the word, or, indeed, to interpret it otherwise than as "an island in the bay of Alexandria." The term is constant in ancient Persian combinations, as Ataphernes, etc.,—which eventually settled into the Atūrparn or Fire Priest of the Sassanian period.¹

III. PERSIAN GODS.

I have repeated the name of miēpo in the Persian column, more out of regard to the early Persian worship of the god, than because I can trace the direct descent of the Mithra of Cyrus to the same Iranian deity in his Eastern home.

The simple enumeration of the various forms of the worship of ḅanaia would fill volumes. Under its Persian aspect it may be sufficient to refer to Artaxerxes Mnemon’s inscription at Susa, which specifies "Ormazd, Tanaitis, and Mithra,"² as the gods who “help” him. The thirty chapters of the Abar Yasht are devoted to Ardei Sura Anāhita, "sublime, excellent, spotless," whom "Ahuramazda himself is said to have worshipped."³ And, for the traditions of her worship in the lands with which these coins are indirectly associated, we may cite the many sacred places that still bear her name.⁴

The Oanindo, Anandates, is a new discovery; but I conclude there will be no difficulty in admitting her identity with the Anandates of Strabo.⁵

¹ See J.R.A.S. Vol. XIII. o.s. p. 415, etc. We have now new and clear examples of the true Atūrparn. See also Haug, p. 250. "Soshyantos and Angiras = Atharvans."
³ Haug, pp. 178, 179.
⁵ Strabo xi. viii. 4: "They (the Persians) erected there a temple to Anaitis, and the gods Omanus (ἡμανοῦ καὶ Ἀναδήτου) and Anandatus, Persian deities who have a common altar." xv. iii. 15: "The same customs are observed in the
IV. Roman Gods.

In the identification of the whole list of the Roman and Græco-Roman gods, I have been guided more by the forms and figures stamped on the coins than by the legends which are supposed to define the names and attributes of each divinity, which must often be accepted as simply independent versions of the original nomenclature. I am uncertain about the decipherment of piah, but there can be little doubt for whom the figure is intended. In the same way the type of Mars is manifest; his title of ῥέσῷ may be referred to the Zend ṛṣaṣṭha “great,” etc., and though ἐρυθῆς might find some advocates, Anquetil’s Verēthre “victorious” seems to be conclusive as to the derivation. It will be remembered that the nearly similar term of ὁπαθεροτ is to be found on the coins of Κοδες.

V. Brahmanical Gods.

These several deities, their nomenclatures and attributes, have already been fully adverted to, under their Saivic aspect, in the preceding pages.

I have only to add, in addition to what has already been said about ἀράσφρο, a reference to the fact which seems to have been hitherto lost sight of, that the second portion of this name does not coincide with the legitimate orthography of the οκρο of Śiva. Indeed, as far as direct numismatic evidence may furnish a test, Śiva is more directly associated with नन, the Pārvati of later belief, than with the Ardokro, or the Roman definition of “abundance” on coin No. 16, Plate II.

temples of Anaitis and of Omanus. Belonging to these temples are shrines, and a wooden statue of Omanus is carried in procession. These we have seen ourselves.”

1 Burnouf, Yaena, pp. 323, 377, 473.
VI. BUDDHIST.

Although I have felt bound to insert the words *Buddha ūtama* in my Table, on the authority of Gen. Cunningham, I have only been induced to admit any such possible reading by the coincident appearance of definite figures of Buddha, under the double aspect of the conventional standing and seated statues of the saint.

I am not myself prepared to follow the present interpretation of the legends, though better examples may modify my views.¹ But the point I have now more especially to insist upon is, that the appearance of these Buddhist figures is confined to inferior copper pieces of very imperfect execution, whose legends are absolutely chaotic in the forms and arrangement of the Greek letters. So that I should be disposed to assign the limited group of these *Buddha-device* coins to a comparatively late date in the general series of imitations: which, though still bearing the name and typical devices of *Kanerki*, would seem to consist of mere reproductions of old types by later occupants of the localities in which the earlier coins were struck.

THE MATHURĀ ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS.

I adverted, at the commencement of this article, to the importance of the late archaeological discoveries in and around the ancient city of Mathurā²—which so definitely

¹ The coin most relied on to prove the intention of the terms "OM BOA or perhaps OĀI BOA; either Aum Buddha or Adi Buddha," published by General Cunningham in 1845 (J.A.S. Bengal, p. 435, plate 2, fig. 3), presents a central figure on the reverse exactly like the outline of the *APAEIXPO* of the present plate. His Nos. 6 and 7, as I have remarked, though clear in the definition of the figures of Buddha, are of course fabric, of far later date than the associate OĀΔO of the same plate, and finally, the letters of the legends are so badly formed and so struggling as to be utterly untrustworthy in establishing any definite reading. The other limited examples of this class of coins will be found in Ariana Antiqua, pl. xiii. figs. 1, 2, 3. Here, again, the figures are incontestable, but Prof. Wilson did not pretend to interpret the broken legends. Prinsep figured a coin of this description in fig. 11, pl. xxv. J.A.S. Bengal, vol. iii.; Prinsep's Essays, pl. vii. This coin was noticed, but left uninterpreted by Lassen in his paper in the J.A.S. Bengal, 1840, p. 456.

² Amid the cities which were supposed to have claims to the honour of becoming the birthplace of Śākya Muni, Mathurā is rejected because its kings had hereditary ideas inconsistent with the new faith, i.e. adhered to the old,
establish the prominence of the Jaina religion, in the full
developments of its sacred statues and associate inscriptions,
at or about the commencement of our era.1

The Mathurā sculptured monuments have preserved for
modern examination the nude images of the saints of the
Jainas,2 with the devotional dedications of the votaries of the
faith appended in all contemporary formality.

Jainism? "D'autres diront: La ville de Mathoura, riche, éventée, florissante,
et animée par une population nombreuse, toute remplie d'hommes; ce palais du
roi Soubhāou... D'autres diront: Elle ne convient pas non plus; pourquoi?
Parce que ce roi est né dans une famille où les vues fausses sont héréditaires, et
qu'il règne sur des hommes pareils aux barbares."—Lalita Vistara, Foucaux,
p. 25.

1 General Cunningham was fully aware of the value of these discoveries,
in their bearing upon the associate creeds of Jainism and Buddhism. That
he should have ventured so far independently in the direction of the leading
argument of this paper is highly encouraging. His remarks are to the
following effect:

"This is perhaps one of the most startling and important revelations that has
been made by recent researches in India. It is true that, according to Jaina
books, their faith had continuously flourished, under a succession of teachers, from
the death of Mahāvīra in B.C. 627 down to the present time. Hitherto, however,
there was no tangible evidence to vouch for the truth of this statement. But the
Kankāli mound at Mathurā has now given us the most complete and satisfactory
testimony that the Jaina religion, even before the beginning of the Christian era,
must have been in a condition almost as rich and flourishing as that of Buddha.

"The Kankāli mound is a very extensive one, and the number of statues of all
sizes, from the colossal downwards, which it has yielded, has scarcely been sur-
passed by the prolific returns of Buddhist sculpture from the Jall mound. But,
as not more than one-third of the Kankāli mound has yet been thoroughly
searched, it may be confidently expected that its complete exploration will amply
repay all the cost and trouble of the experiment."—General Cunningham, Arch.
Rep. vol. iii. p. 46.

2 Albiruni (A.D. 1030) has furnished us with a description of the forms of many
of the Indian idols, derived from the text of Varāha-Mihira (sixth cent. A.D.). He
defines the contrast between the statues of Buddha and those of the Arhats or
Jaina saints in the following terms: "Si tu fais la statue de Dżina, c'est-à-dire
Boudhha, tâche de lui donner une figure agréable et des membres bien faits. Il
doit avoir les paumes de la main et le dessous des pieds en forme de nénufar. Tu
le représenteras assis, ayant des cheveux gris, et respirant un air de bonté, comme
s'il était le père des créatures. S'il s'agit de donner à Boudhha la figure d'un
arhata, il faut en faire un jeune homme nu, beau de figure, et d'une physionomie
agréable. Il aura les deux mains appuyées sur les genoux," etc.—Reinaud,
Memoires sur l'Inde, p. 121. Dr. Kern's translation, direct from the original
Sanskrit text, gives: "The god of the Jainas is figured naked, young, handsome,
with a calm countenance, and arms reaching down to the knees; his breast is
marked with the Cīrvasa figure."—J.R.A S. Vol. VI. n.s. p. 328. See also
Wilson, J.A.S. Bengal, vol. i. p. 4; Burnouf, vol. i. p. 312. I omitted to notice in
my previous references to nude statues (pp. 14, 18, 19, etc.), the remarkable
expressions made use of by Calanus to Onesicritus; after "bidding him to strip himself
naked, if he desired to hear any of his doctrine," he adds, "you should not hear
me on any other condition though you came from Jupiter himself." Plutarch
in Alexander. The exaction of these conditions seems to point to the tenets of
Jainism.

While on the subject of discriminating points, I add to the information, outlined
These nude statues of the Jaina Tirthankaras teach us, like so many other subordinate indications of the remote antiquity of the creed, in its normal form, to look for parallels amid other forms of worship in their initiatory stage—and here we are inevitably reminded of the time when men made idols after their own images, and while those men, in the simplicity of nature, stood up, without shame, as the Creator had fashioned them.

The value of the dedicatory inscriptions towards the elucidation of my leading question is, however, still more precise and irrecusable, in respect to the age of the monuments themselves, in the conjoint record of the name of the great Saint Mahávira and that of Vásudeva,—the Bazoaho of the Indo-Scythian coins above described,—the third brother, or, as the case may be, the nominal head of the third tribe of the "Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka" once nomad community.

Of the twenty-four dated inscriptions given by General Cunningham in his Archæological Report for 1871-2, no less than seven refer either directly, or indirectly, in the forms of the pedestals and the statues to which they are attached, to the Jaina creed.

Nos. 2 and 3, dated Sam. 5; 4, dated Samvat 9, bear the name of Kanishka. No. 6, dated Sam. 20, is remarkable, as it specifies "the gift of one statue of Vardhamana" or Mahávira.

at p. 9, a curious account of the modern Jaina reverence for the Footprints of their saints: "Shading the temple (of Vásinghaji—one of the five snake brethren, at Thán) is a large Rayána tree—the close foliage of small dark green oval leaves, which makes the shade so grateful, apparently having had to do with its being consecrated as a sacred tree in Western India, where it is specially dedicated by the Jainas to their first Tirthankara—Rishabhanáthá—the patron saint of Sátraújaya—no shrine to him being complete without a Rayána tree overshadowing his charana or footprints."—Mr. Burgess, Arch. Rep. 1875, p. 5.

1 Xenophanes, colophonii Carminum Reliquiæ, by Simon Karsten (Brussels, 1830), p. vi. His interpretation of one of the leading passages of the Greek text runs:—"v. At mortales opinantur natos esse Deos, mortaliqque habitu et forma et figura præditos." And vi. continues: "Si vero manus haberent boves vel leones, aut pingère manibus et fabricari cadem quem homines possent, ipsi quoque Deorum formas pingérent figurassque formarent tales, quali ipsorum quiosque præditus sit, equi aquis, boves autem bobas similis."—p. 41. Pliny, xxxiv. p. 9, under íconica, adds the Greek practice is, not to cover any part of the "body" of their statues. Max Müller, Sanskrit Literature, vol. ii. p. 388.
No. 16, with the date of *Sam. 83*, and the name of Mahá-rája Vásu-deva, records, on the pedestal of a naked statue, "the gift of an image." No. 18, in like manner, preserves, at the foot of "a naked figure," the entry of *Sam. 87*, and the titles of Mahá-rája Rájatirája Sháhi Vásu-deva.

No. 20, which is, perhaps, the most important of the whole series of inscriptions, is appended to a "Naked standing figure," and commences with the following words:


"Glory to the Arhat Mahávíra, the destroyer of the Devas! (In the reign) of King Vásu-deva, in the Samvat year 98, in Varsha (the rainy season), the 4th month, the 11th day," etc.

Without doubt this list might be largely extended from concurrent palæolithic documents, which do not so definitely declare themselves as of Jaina import; but enough has been adduced to establish the fact of the full and free usage of the Jaina religion in Mathurá so early as the epoch of the Indo-Scythian Kanerkís.
LINGUISTIC PUBLICATIONS

OF

TRÜBNER & CO.,

57 AND 59, LUDGATE HILL, LONDON, E.C.


Aitareya Brahmanam of the Rig Veda. 2 vols. See under HAVG.


This celebrated Edition of the Arabian Nights is now, for the first time, offered at a price which makes it accessible to Scholars of limited means.

Andrews.—A DICTIONARY OF THE HAWAIIAN LANGUAGE, to which is appended an English-Hawaiian Vocabulary, and a Chronological Table of Remarkable Events. By LORRIN ANDREWS. 8vo. pp. 560, cloth. £1 11s. 6d.

Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (The Journal of). Published Quarterly.

Vol I., No. 1. January—July, 1871. 8vo. pp. 120—clix, sewed. Illustrated with 11 full page Plates, and numerous Woodcuts; and accompanied by several folding plates of Tables, etc. 7s.

Vol I., No. 2. October, 1871. 8vo. pp. 121—264, sewed. 4s.


Vol I., No. 1. April, 1872. 8vo. pp. 136, sewed. Eight two-page plates and two four-page plates. 4s.

Vol. II., No. 2. July and Oct., 1872. 8vo. pp. 137—312. 9 plates and a map. 6s.


Vol. III., No. 1. April, 1873. 8vo. pp. 136. With 8 plates and two maps. 4s.


Vol. III., No. 3. January, 1874. 8vo. pp. 238, sewed. With 8 plates, etc. 6s.


Vol. V., No. 2. October, 1875. 8vo. pp. 132, sewed. With 8 plates. 4s.


Vol. V., No. 4. April, 1876. 8vo. pp. 126, sewed. With 2 plates. 5s.

Vol. VI., No. 1. July, 1876. 8vo. pp. 100, sewed. With 5 plates. 5s.


Archæological Survey of India.—See under BURGESS and CUNNINGHAM.


Price One Shilling.
Linguistic Publications of Trübner & Co.,


Arnold.—The Iliad and Odyssey of India. By Edwin Arnold, M.A., F.R.G.S., etc. 2 vols. 8vo. 1s.

Arnold.—The Indian Song of Songs. From the Sanskrit of the Gita Govinda of Jayadeva. By Edwin Arnold, M.A., F.R.G.S. (of University College, Oxford), formerly Principal of Poona College, and Fellow of the University of Bombay. Cr. 8vo. cl., pp. xvi. and 144. 1875. 5s.

Asher.—On the Study of Modern Languages in General, and of the English Language in particular. An Essay. By David Asher, Ph.D. 12mo. pp. viii. and 80, cloth. 2s.

Asiatic Society.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, from the Commencement to 1863. First Series, complete in 20 Vols. 8vo., with many Plates. Price £10; or, in Single Numbers, as follows:—Nos. 1 to 14, 6s. each; No. 15, 2 Parts, 4s. each; No. 16, 2 Parts, 4s. each; No. 17, 2 Parts, 4s. each, No. 18, 6s. These 18 Numbers form Vols. I. to IX.—Vol. X., Part 1, op.; Part 2, 6s.; Part 3, 5s.—Vol. XI., Part 1, 6s.; Part 2 not published.—Vol. XII., 2 Parts, 6s. each.—Vol. XIII., 2 Parts, 6s. each.—Vol. XIV., Part 1, 5s.; Part 2 not published.—Vol. XV., Part 1, 6s.; Part 2, with 3 Maps, £2 2s.—Vol. XVI., 2 Parts, 6s. each.—Vol. XVII., 2 Parts, 6s. each.—Vol. XIX., Part 1 to 4, 16s.—Vol. XX., Parts 1 and 2, 4s. each. Part 3, 7s. 6d.


Vol. II. In Two Parts. pp. 522, sewed. 16s.

Vol. III. In Two Parts. pp. 516, sewed. With Photograph. 22s.


Vol. IV. In Two Parts. pp. 521, sewed. 16s. 6d. With 10 full-page and folding Plates.


Vol. V. In Two Parts. pp. 463, sewed. 18s. 6d. With 10 full-page and folding Plates.


Vol. VI. Part 1, pp. 212, sewed, with two plates and a map. 8s.

Contennts.—The Ishmaelites, and the Arabic Tribes who Conquered their Country. By A. Sayer.—A Brief Account of Four Arabie Works on the History and Geography of Arabia. By Captain B. B. Maze.—Corporation of the Dead at Lissae, Thibet, etc. By Charles Kemble, B.C.S.—The Brhat-Sanhitâ; or, Complete System of Natural Astrology of Varââ-Mihira. Translated from Sanskrit into English by Dr. H. Kern.—Notes on Iwên Thâsg's Account of the Principalities of Tökhârîstan, in which some Previous Geographical Identifications are Reconsidered. By Colonel Yule, C.B.—The Campaign of Alliance in
Linguistic Publications of Trubner & Co.,


Vol. VI., Part II., pp. 213 to 400 and lxxxiv., sewed. Illustrated with a Map, Plates, and Woodcuts. 8s.


Vol. VII., Part I., pp. 170 and 24, sewed. With a plate. 8s.


Vol. VII., Part II., pp. 191 to 394, sewed. With seven plates and a map. 8s.


Vol. VIII., Part I., pp. 156, sewed, with three plates and a plan. 8s.


Vol. VIII., Part II., pp. 157-305, sewed. 8s.


Asiatic Society.—Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Complete in 3 vols. 4to., 80 Plates of Facsimiles, etc., cloth. London, 1827 to 1835. Published at £9 5s.; reduced to £5 5s.

The above contains contributions by Professor Wilson, G. C. Haughton, Davis, Morrison, Colebrooke, Humboldt, Dorn, Grotefend, and other eminent Oriental scholars.

Asiatic Society of Bengal.—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Edited by the Honorary Secretaries. 3vols. 8 numbers per annum. 4s. each number.

Asiatic Society of Bengal.—Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Published Monthly. 1s. each number.
Asiatic Society (Bombay Branch).—The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Edited by the Secretary. Nos. 1 to 33. 7s. 6d. each number.

Asiatic Society.—Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 8vo. Published irregularly. 7s. 6d. each part.


Atharva Veda Pratìcakhya.—See under Whitney.

Auctores Sanscriti. Edited for the Sanskrit Text Society, under the supervision of Theodor Goldstücker. Vol. I., containing the Jaiminya-Nyāya-Mālā-Vistara. Parts I. to V., pp. 1 to 400, large 4to. sewed. 10s. each part.


Bachmaier.—Pasigraphical Dictionary and Grammar. By Anton Bachmaier, President of the Central Pasigraphical Society at Munich. 18mo. cloth, pp. vii. ; 26 ; 160. 1870. 3s.

Bachmaier.—Pasigraphisches Wörterbuch zum Gebrauche für die deutscher Sprache. Verfasst von Anton Bachmaier, Vorsitzendem des Central-Vereins für Pasigraphie in München. 18mo. cloth, pp. vii. ; 32 ; 128 ; 120. 1870. 2s. 6d.

Bachmaier.—Dictionnaire Pasigraphique, précédé de la Grammaire. Redigé par Antoine Bachmaier, President de la Société Centrale de Pasigraphie à Munich. 18mo. cloth, pp. vi. 26 ; 163 ; 160. 1870. 2s. 6d.

Ballad Society’s Publications. —Subscriptions—Small paper, one guinea, and large paper, three guineas, per annum.

1868.

1. Ballads and Poems from Manuscripts. Vol. I. Part I. On the Condition of England in the Reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. (including the state of the Clergy, Monks, and Friars), contains (besides a long Introduction) the following poems, etc.: Now a Dayes, ab. 1520 A.D.; Vox Populi Vox Dei, ab. 1647-8; The Rayn’ of a Ream’; The Image of Ypooresye, ab. 1533; Against the Blaspheming English Luthernans and the Poisonous Dragon Luther; The Spoiling of the Abbeys; The Overthrowe of the Abbeys, a Tale of Robin Hooide; De Monasteris Dirutis. Edited by F. J. Furnivall, M.A. 8vo.


(1.) The firste, the fall and complaynte of Anthothon Babington, whoe, with others, wearie executed for hygie treason in the feildes nere lyncoynes Inne, in the year of our lorde—1586. (2.) The seconde contaynes the life and Death of Roberte, lordc Deverox, Earle of Essex: whoe was beheadede in the towne of lodon on ash-weasdaye mornyng, Anno—1601. (3.) The
laste, Intituoted "acclamatio patrie," containing the horrib[le] treason that was pretended agaynste your Maiestie, to be done on the parliament howse. The seconde [third] yeare of your Maiesties Raygne [1605]. Edited by F. J. Furnivall, M.A. 8vo. (The Introductions, by Professor W. R. Morfill, M.A., of Oriet Coll., Oxford, and the Index, are published in No. 10.)

1869.


1870.


1871.


6. Captain Cox, his Ballads and Books; or, Robert Laneham's Letter: Wherein part of the entertainment unto the Queenz Majesty at Killingworth Castl, in Warwick Sheer in this Souemez Progress, 1575, is signified; from a freend Officer attendant in the Court, unto his freend, a Citizen and Merchant of London. Re-edited, with accounts of all Captain Cox's accessible Books, and a comparison of them with those in the Complaynt of Scotland, 1548-9 A.D. By F. J. Furnivall, M.A. 8vo.

1872.


1873.


1874.


12. The Roxburghe Ballads. Vol. II. Part III.

1875.


1876.


Banerjea.—THE ARIAN WITNESS, or the Testimony of Arian Scriptures in corroboration of Biblical History and the Rudiments of Christian Doctrine. Including Dissertations on the Original Home and Early Adventures of Indo-Arians. By the Rev. K. M. Banerjea. 8vo, sewed, pp. xviii. and 236. 8s. 6d.

Bate.—A DICTIONARY OF THE HINDEE LANGUAGE. Compiled by J. D. Bate. 8vo. cloth, pp. 806. £2 12s. 6d.

Beal.—TRAVELS OF FAH HIAN AND SUNG-YUN, Buddhist Pilgrims from China to India (400 A.D. and 518 A.D.) Translated from the Chinese, by S. Beal (B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge), a Chaplain in Her Majesty’s Fleet, a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, and Author of a Translation of the Pratimoksha and the Amithābha Sūtra from the Chinese. Crown 8vo. pp. lxxxii. and 210, cloth, ornamental, with a coloured map. 10s. 6d.

Beal.—A CATENA OF BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES FROM THE CHINESE. By S. Beal, B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge; a Chaplain in Her Majesty’s Fleet, etc. 8vo. cloth, pp. xiv. and 436. 1871. 15s.

Beal.—THE ROMANTIC LEGEND OF SĀKHEYA BUDDHA. From the Chinese-Sanscrit by the Rev. Samuel Beal, Author of “Buddhist Pilgrims,” etc. Crown 8vo. cloth, pp. 400. 1875. 12s.

Beal.—THE BUDDHIST TRIPITAKA, as it is known in China and Japan. A Catalogue and Compendious Report. By Samuel Beal, B.A. Folio, sewed, pp. 117. 7s. 6d.


Beames.—NOTES ON THE BHOPURÍ DIALECT OF HINDÍ, spoken in Western Behar. By John Beames, Esq., B.C.S., Magistrate of Chumparan. 8vo. pp. 26, sewed. 1868. 1s. 6d.


Bellew.—A DICTIONARY OF THE PUKHOTO, OR PUHKHTO LANGUAGE, on a New and Improved System. With a reversed Part, or English and Pukhoto, By H. W. Bellew, Assistant Surgeon, Bengal Army. Super Royal 8vo. up. xii. and 356, cloth. 42s.

Bellew.—A GRAMMAR OF THE PUHKHTO OR PUHKHTO LANGUAGE, on a New and Improved System. Combining Brevity with Utility, and Illustrated by Exercises and Dialogues. By H. W. Bellew, Assistant Surgeon, Bengal Army. Super-royal 8vo., pp. xii. and 156, cloth. 21s.


Bellows.—**Outline Dictionary, for the Use of Missionaries, Explorers, and Students of Language.** By Max Müller, M.A., Taylorian Professor in the University of Oxford. With an Introduction on the proper use of the ordinary English Alphabet in transcribing Foreign Languages. The Vocabulary compiled by John Bellows. Crown 8vo. Limp morocco, pp. xxxi. and 368. 7s. 6d.


Benfey.—**A Grammar of the Language of the Vedas.** By Dr. Theodor Benfey. In 1 vol. 8vo., of about 650 pages. [In preparation.]

Benfey.—**A Practical Grammar of the Sanskrit Language, for the Use of Early Students.** By Theodor Benfey, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Göttingen. Second, revised and enlarged, edition. Royal 8vo. pp. viii. and 296, cloth. 10s. 6d.


Beurmann.—**Vocabulary of the Tigre Language.** Written down by Moritz von Beurmann. Published with a Grammatical Sketch. By Dr. A. Marx, of the University of Jena. pp. viii. and 78, cloth. 3s. 6d.

Beveridge.—**The District of Barbarsan; its History and Statistics.** By H. Beveridge, B.C.S. 8vo. cloth, pp. xx. and 460. 21s.

Bhagavat-Geeta.—See under Wilkins.


Bigandet.—**The Life or Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese, with Annotations.** The ways to Nebban, and Notice on the Phongyies, or Burmese Monks. By the Right Reverend P. Bigandet, Bishop of Ramatha, Vicar Apostolic of Ava and Pegu. 8vo. sewed, pp. xi., 538, and v. £2 2s.

Birch.—**Fasti Monastici Aevi Saxonicæ; or, an Alphabetical List of the Heads of Religious Houses in England, previous to the Norman Conquest, to which is prefixed a Chronological Catalogue of Contemporary Foundations.** By W. De Grey Birch. 8vo. cloth, pp. viii. and 114. 5s.


Bleek.—**A Brief Account of Bushman Folk-Lore and Other Texts.** By W. H. I. Bleek, Ph.D., etc., etc. Folio sd., pp. 21. 1875. 2s. 6d.

Bleek.—**Reynard in South Africa; or, Hottentot Fables. Translated from the Original Manuscript in Sir George Grey's Library.** By Dr. W. H. I. Bleek, Librarian to the Grey Library, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope. In one volume, small 8vo., pp. xxxi. and 94, cloth. 3s. 6d.

Blochmann.—**The Prosody of the Persians, according to Saifi, Jini, and other Writers.** By H. Blochmann, M.A. Assistant Professor, Calcutta Madrasah. 8vo. sewed, pp. 166. 10s. 6d.

Blochmann.—**School Geography of India and British Burmah.** By H. Blochmann, M.A. 12mo. pp. vi. and 100. 2s. 6d.

Blochmann.—**A Treatise on the Ruba'i entitled Risalah i Taranah.** By Agha Ahmad 'Ali. With an Introduction and Explanatory Notes, by H. Blochmann, M.A. 8vo. sewed, pp. 11 and 17. 2s. 6d.
Blochmann.—The Persian Metres by Sai Fil, and a Treatise on Persian Rhyme by Jami. Edited in Persian, by H. Blochmann, M.A. 8vo. sewed pp. 62. 3s. 6d.

Bombay Sanskrit Series. Edited under the superintendence of G. Bühler, Ph. D., Professor of Oriental Languages, Elphinstone College, and F. Kielhorn, Ph. D., Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies, Deccan College. 1868–70.

1. Panchatantra IV. and V. Edited, with Notes, by G. Bühler, Ph. D. Pp. 84, 16. 6s.


3. Panchatantara II. and III. Edited, with Notes, by G. Bühler, Ph. D. Pp. 86, 14, 2. 7s. 6d.

4. Panchatantara I. Edited, with Notes, by F. Kielhorn, Ph.D. Pp. 114, 53. 7s. 6d.


6. Kálidása’s Málavikágnimitra. Edited, with Notes, by Shankar P. Pánírt, M.A. 10s. 6d.

7. Nágodbhátta’s Paribháshendúsekhara. Edited and explained by F. Kielhorn, Ph.D. Part II. Translation and Notes. (Paribháshás, i.–xxxvii.) pp. 154. 10s. 6d.

8. Kálidása’s Rághuvamśa. With the Commentary of Mallinátha. Edited, with Notes, by Shankar P. Pánírt, M.A. Part II. Cantos VII.–XIII. 10s. 6d.


10. Dandin’s DasakumaraCharita. Edited with critical and explanatory Notes by G. Bühler. Part I. 7s. 6d.

11. Bhartrihari’s Nitisataka and Vairagyasataka, with Extracts from Two Sanskrit Commentaries. Edited, with Notes, by Kasinath T. Telang. 9s.

12. Nágodbhátta’s Paribháshendúsekhara. Edited and explained by F. Kielhorn. Part II. Translation and Notes. (Paribháshás lxx.–cxxxii.) 7s. 6d.

13. Kálidása’s Rághuvamśa, with the Commentary of Mallinátha. Edited, with Notes, by Shankar P. Pánírt. Part III. Cantos XIV.–XIX. 10s. 6d.

14. Vikramaṅkadevacharita. Edited, with an Introduction, by G. Bühler. 7s. 6d.


Bretschneider.—On the Knowledge Possessed by the Ancient
LINGUISTIC PUBLICATIONS OF TRÜBNER & CO.


BRETSCHNEIDER.—NOTES ON CHINESE MEDIEVAL TRAVELLERS TO THE WEST. By E. BRETSCHNEIDER, M.D. Demy 8vo. ed., pp. 130. 5s.

BRETSCHNEIDER.—ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL RESEARCHES ON PEKING AND ITS ENVIRONS. By E. BRETSCHNEIDER, M.D., Physician to the Russian Legation at Peking. Imp. 8vo. sewed, pp. 64, with 4 Maps. 5s.

BRETSCHNEIDER.—NOTICES OF THE MEDIEVAL GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF CENTRAL AND WESTERN ASIA. Drawn from Chinese and Mongol Writings, and Compared with the Observations of Western Authors in the Middle Ages. By E. BRETSCHNEIDER, M.D. 8vo. sewed, pp. 233, with two Maps. 12s. 6d.

Brhat-Sanhita (The).—See under Kern.


British Museum.—CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT AND PALLI BOOKS in the British Museum. By Dr. ERNST HAAS. Printed by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. 4to. pp. viii. and 188, boards. 21s.

Brookie.—INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. Introductory Paper. By WILLIAM BROOKIE, Author of "A Day in the Land of Scott," etc., etc. 8vo. pp. 26, sewed. 1872. 6d.

Bronson.—A DICTIONARY IN ASSAMESE AND ENGLISH. Compiled by M. BRONSON, American Baptist Missionary. 8vo. calf, pp. viii. and 609. £2 2s.

Brown.—THE DHRVISHES; or, ORIENTAL SPIRITUALISM. By JOHN P. BROWN, Secretary and Dragoman of the Legation of the United States of America at Constantinople. With twenty-four Illustrations. 8vo. cloth, pp. viii. and 415. 14s.

Brown.—SANSKRIT PROSODY AND NUMERICAL SYMBOLS EXPLAINED. By CHARLES PHILIP BROWN, Author of the Telugu Dictionary, Grammar, etc., Professor of Telugu in the University of London. Demy 8vo. pp. 64, cloth. 3s. 6d.

Buddhaghosha's Parables: translated from Burmese by Captain H. T. ROGERS, R.E. With an Introduction containing Buddha's Dhammapadam, or, Path of Virtue; translated from Pali by F. MAX MÜLLER. 8vo. pp. 378, cloth. 12s. 6d.


Burnell.—CATALOGUE OF A COLLECTION OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS. By A. C. BURNELL, M.R.A.S., Madras Civil Service. PART I. VEDIC MANUSCRIPTS. Fcap. 8vo. pp. 64, sewed. 1870. 2s.

Burnell.—THE SĀMAVADHIĀNA-ĀRAHMĀṆA (being the Third Brāhmaṇa) of the Sāma Veda. Edited, together with the Commentary of Śaṅkara, an English Translation, Introduction, and Index of Words, by A. C. BURNELL. Volume I.—Text and Commentary, with Introduction. 8vo. pp. xxxviii. and 104. 12s. 6d.

Burnell.—THE VĀMŚĀBRĀHMĀṆA (being the Eighth Brāhmaṇa) of the Sāma Veda. Edited, together with the Commentary of Śaṅkara, a Preface and Index of Words, by A. C. BURNELL, M.R.A.S., etc. 8vo. sewed, pp. xlii, 12, and xii, with 2 coloured plates. 10s. 6d.

Burnell.—THE DEVATĀDHYĀYA-ĀRAHMĀṆA (being the Fifth Brāhmaṇa) of the Sāma Veda. The Sanskrit Text edited, with the Commentary of Śaṅkara, an Index of Words, etc., by A. C. BURNELL, M.R.A.S. 8vo. and Trans., pp. 94. 6s.
Burnell.—On the ANDRA School of Sanskrit Grammarians. Their Place in the Sanskrit and Subordinate Literatures. By A. C. Burnell. 8vo. pp. 120. 10s. 6d.

Burnell.—DAYADAÇACIKI. Ten Slokas in Sanskrit, with English Translation. By A. C. Burnell. 8vo. pp. 11. 2s.

Burnell.—Elements of South-Indian Paleography, from the 4th to the 17th century A.D. By A. C. Burnell. 4to. boards, pp. 98. With 30 plates. 1875.


Calcutta Review.—The Calcutta Review. Published Quarterly. Price 8s. 6d.


Callaway.—IZINGANEKWANE, Nensumansumane, Nenzindara, Zabantu (Nursery Tales, Traditions, and Histories of the Zulus). In their own words, with a Translation into English, and Notes. By the Rev. Henry Callaway, M.D. Volume I., 8vo. pp. xiv. and 378, cloth. Natal, 1866 and 1867. 16s.

Callaway.—The Religious System of the Amazulu. Part I.—Unkulunkulu; or, the Tradition of Creation as existing among the Amazulu and other Tribes of South Africa, in their own words, with a translation into English, and Notes. By the Rev. Canon Callaway, M.D. 8vo. pp. 128, sewed. 1868. 4s.

Part II.—Amatongo; or, Ancestor Worship, as existing among the Amazulu, in their own words, with a translation into English, and Notes. By the Rev. Canon Callaway, M.D. 1869. 8vo. pp. 127, sewed. 1869. 4s.

Part III.—Izinyanga Zokubula; or, Divination, as existing among the Amazulu, in their own words. With a Translation into English, and Notes. By the Rev. Canon Callaway, M.D. 8vo. pp. 150, sewed. 1870. 4s.

Part IV.—Ahatakati, or Medical Magic and Witchcraft. 8vo. pp. 40, sewed. 1s. 6d.

Calligaris.—Le Compagnon de Tous, ou Dictionnaire Polyglotte. Par le Colonel Louis Calligaris, Grand Officier, etc. (French—Latin—Italian—Spanish—Portuguese—German—Modern Greek—Arabic—Turkish.) 2 vols. 4to., pp. 1157 and 746. Turin. £4 4s.

Campbell.—Specimens of the Languages of India, including Tribes of Bengal, the Central Provinces, and the Eastern Frontier. By Sir G. Campbell, M.P. Folio, paper, pp. 308. 1874. £1 11s. 6d.

Carpenter.—The Last Days in England of the Rajah Rammohun Roy. By Mary Carpenter, of Bristol. With Five Illustrations. 8vo. pp. 272, cloth. 7s. 6d.

Carr.—A Collection of Telugu Proverbs, Translated, Illustrated, and Explained; together with some Sanscrit Proverbs printed in the Devnagari and Telugu Characters. By Captain M. W. Carr, Madras Staff Corps. One Vol. and Supplement, royal 8vo. pp. 488 and 148. 31s 6d


Chalmers.—The Origin of the Chinese; an Attempt to Trace the connection of the Chineses with Western Nations in their Religion, Superstitions, Arts, Language, and Traditions. By John Chalmers, A.M. Foolscap 8vo, cloth, pp. 78. 5s.
Linguistic Publications of Trübner & Co.,

Chalmers.—**The Speculations on Metaphysics, Polity, and Morality** of "The Old Philosopher," Lau Tsze. Translated from the Chinese, with an Introduction by John Chalmers, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. cloth, xx. and 62. 4s. 6d.

Charnock.—**Ludus Patronymicus**; or, the Etymology of Curious Surnames. By Richard Stephen Charnock, Ph.D., F.S.A., F.R.G.S. Crown 8vo., pp. 182, cloth. 7s. 6d.

Charnock.—**Verba Nominalia**; or Words derived from Proper Names. By Richard Stephen Charnock, Ph. Dr. F.S.A., etc. 8vo. pp. 326, cloth. 14s.


Chaucer Society’s Publications. Subscription, two guineas per annum.

1868. **First Series.**

**Canterbury Tales.** Part I.

I. The Prologue and Knight’s Tale, in 6 parallel Texts (from the 6 MSS. named below), together with Tablea, showing the Groups of the Tales, and their varying order in 38 MSS. of the Tales, and in the old printed editions, and also Specimens from several MSS. of the “Moveable Prologues” of the Canterbury Tales.—The Shipman’s Prologue, and Franklin’s Prologue,—when moved from their right places, and of the substitutes for them.

II. The Prologue and Knight’s Tale from the Ellesmere MS.

III. " " " " " " Hengwrt " 154.

IV. " " " " " " Cambridge " Gg. 4. 27.

V. " " " " " " Corpus " Oxford.

VI. " " " " " " Petworth "

VII. " " " " " " Lansdowne " 851.

Nos. I. to VII. are separate Texta of the 6-Text edition of the Canterbury Tales, Part I.

1868. **Second Series.**

1. On **Early English Pronunciation,** with especial reference to Shakespeare and Chaucer, containing an investigation of the Correspondence of Writing with Speech in England, from the Anglo-Saxon period to the present day, preceded by a systematic notation of all spoken sounds, by means of the ordinary printing types. Including a re-arrangement of Prof. F. J. Child’s Memoir on the Language of Chaucer and Gower, and Reprints of the Rare Tracts by Salesbury on English, 1547, and Welsh, 1567, and by Barclay on French, 1521. By Alexander J. Ellis, F.R.S., etc., etc. Part I. On the Pronunciation of the xivth, xvith, xviith, and xviiith centuries.


Chaucer Society's Publications—continued.

1869. First Series.

VIII. The Miller's, Reeve's, Cook's, and Gamelyn's Tales: Ellesmere MS.
IX. " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 
Chaucer Society's Publications—continued.

Poems for the Chaucer Society (with a try to set Chaucer's Works in their right order of Time). By FRANK J. FURNIVALL. Part I. (This Part brings out, for the first time, Chaucer's long early but hopeless love)

1872. First Series.

XXV. Chaucer's Tale of Melibe, the Monk's, Nun's Priest's, Doctor's, Parson's Wife of Bath's, Friar's, and Summoner's Tales, in 6 parallel Texts from the MSS., above named, and with the remaining 13 coloured drawings of Tellers of Tales, after the originals in the Ellesmere MS.

XXVI. The Wife's, Friar's, and Summoner's Tales, from the Ellesmere MS., with 9 woodcuts of Tale-Tellers. (Part IV.)

XXVII. The Wife's, Friar's, Summoner's, Monk's, and Nun's Priest's Tales, from the Hengwrt MS., with 23 woodcuts of the Tellers of the Tales. (Part III.)

XXVIII. The Wife's, Friar's, and Summoner's Tales, from the Cambridge MS., with 9 woodcuts of Tale-Tellers. (Part IV.)

XXIX. A Treatise on the Astrolabe; otherwise called Bred and Mylk for Children, addressed to his Son Lowys by Geoffrey Chaucer. Edited by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat, M.A.

1872. Second Series.

7. Originals and Analogues of some of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. Part I. 1. The original of the Man of Law's Tale of Constance, from the French Chronicle of Nicholas Trivet, Arundel MS. 56, ab. 1340 A.D., collated with the later copy, ab. 1400, in the National Library at Stockholm; copied and edited with a translation, by Mr. Edmund Brock. 2. The Tale of "Merelusus the Emperor," from the Early-English version of the Gestorum Romanorum in Harl. MS. 7333; and 3. Part of Matthew Paris's Vita Offa Primi, both stories, illustrating incidents in the Man of Law's Tale. 4. Two French Fabliaux like the Reeve's Tale. 5. Two Latin Stories like the Friar's Tale.

1873. First Series.

XXX. The Six-Text Canterbury Tales, Part V., containing the Clerk's and Merchant's Tales.

1873. Second Series.

8. Albertano of Brescia's Liber Consilii et Consolationis, A.D. 1246 (the Latin source of the French original of Chaucer's Melibe), edited from the MSS. by Dr. Thor Sundry.

1874. First Series.

XXXI. The Six-Text, Part VI., containing the Squire's and Franklin's Tales. XXXII. to XXXVI. Large Parts of the separate issues of the Six MSS.

1874. Second Series.


1875. First Series.

XXXVII. The Six-Text, Part VII., the Second Nun's, Canon's-Yeoman's, and Manciple's Tales, with the Blank-Parson Link.

XXXVIII. to XLIII. Large Parts of the separate issues of the Six MSS. bringing all up to the Parson's Tale.
Chaucer Society's Publications—continued.

XLIV. A detailed Comparison of the Troylus and Cressyde with Boccaccio's Filostrato, with a Translation of all Passages used by Chaucer, and an Abstract of the Parts not used, by W. Michael Rossetti, Esq., and with a print of the Troylus from the Harleian MS. 3943. Part I.

XLV., XLVI. Ryne-Index to the Ellesmere MS. of the Canterbury Tales, by Henry Cromie, Esq., M.A. Both in Royal 4to for the Six-Text, and in 8vo. for the separate Ellesmere MS.

1875. Second Series.

10. Originals and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, Part II. 6. Alphonsus of Lincoln, a Story like the Prioress's Tale. 7. How Reynard caught Chanticleer, the source of the Nun's-Priest's Tale. 8. Two Italian Stories, and a Latin one, like the Pardoner's Tale. 9. The Tale of the Priest's Bladder, a story like the Summoner's Tale, being 'Li dis de le Vescie a Prestre,' par Jakes de Basiw. 10. Petrarch's Latin Tale of Griseldis (with Boccaccio's Story from which it was re-told), the original of the Clerk's Tale. 11. Five Versions of a Pear-tree Story like that in the Merchant's Tale. 12. Four Versions of The Life of Saint Cecilia, the original of the Second Nun's Tale.


12. Life Records of Chaucer. Part I., The Robberies of Chaucer by Richard Brerelay and others at Westminster, and at Hatcham, Surrey, on Tuesday, Sept. 6, 1390, with some account of the Robbers, from the Enrolments in the Public Record Office. By Walford D. Selby, Esq., of the Public Record Office.


Childers.—A P a l i - E n g l i s h D i c t i o n a r y, with Sanskrit Equivalents, and with numerous Quotations, Extracts, and References. Compiled by ROBERT CAESAR CHILDER, late of the Ceylon Civil Service. Imperial 8vo. Double Columns. Complete in 1 Vol., pp. xxii. and 922, cloth. 1875. £3 3s. The first Pali Dictionary ever published.

Childers.—A P a l i G r a m m a r f o r B e g i n n e r s. By ROBERT C. CHILDER.


China Review; or, N o t e s a n d Q u e r i e s o n t h e F a r E a s t. Published bi-monthly. Edited by E. J. BENTLEY. 4to. Subscription, £1 10s. per volume.


Chintamon.—A C O M M E N T A R Y o n t h e T E X T o r t h e B h a g a v a d-G í t a ; or, the Discourse between Krishna and Arjuna of Divine Matters. A Sanscrit Philosophical Poem. With a few Introductory Papers. By HURRYCHUND CHINTAMON, Political Agent to H. H. the Guicowar Mulhar Rao Maharajah of Baroda. Post 8vo. cloth, pp. 118. 6s.

Christaller.—A D I C T I O N A R Y, E n g l i s h, T S H I , (A S A N T E), A K R A; Tshi (Chwee), comprising as dialects Akân (Asánté, Akém, Akuapé, etc.) and Fánté; Akra (Accra), connected with Adangme; Gold Coast, West Africa.

Enyiresi, Twi né Nkran | Eulisi, Otshi ke Gá

By the Rev. J. G. CHRISTALLER, Rev. C. W. LOCKER, Rev. J. ZIMMERMANN, 16mo. 7s. 6d.
Christaller.—A Grammar of the Asante and Fante Language, called Tshi (Chwee, 'Twi'): based on the Akuapem Dialect, with reference to the other (Akan and Fante) Dialects. By Rev. J. G. Christaller. 8vo, pp. xxiv. and 203. 1875. 10s. 6d.

Clarke.—Ten Great Religions: an Essay in Comparative Theology. By James Freeman Clarke. 8vo, cloth, pp. x. and 528. 1871. 14s.

Clarke.—Memoir on the Comparative Grammar of Egyptian, Coptic, and Ude. By Hyde Clarke, Cor. Member American Oriental Society; Mem. German Oriental Society, etc., etc. Demy 8vo. ad., pp. 32. 2s.

Clarke.—Researches in Pre-Historic and Proto-Historic Comparative Philology, Mythology, and Archaeology, in connexion with the Origin of Culture in America and the Accad or Sumerian Families. By Hyde Clarke. Demy 8vo. sewed, pp. xi. and 74. 1875. 2s. 6d.


Vols. II. and III. The Essays. A New Edition, with Notes by E. B. Cowell, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Cambridge. Demy 8vo. cloth, pp. xvi.-544, and x.-520. 1873. 28s.

Collecaos de Vocabullos e Frases usados na Província de S. Pedro, do Rio Grande do Sul, no Brasil. 12mo. pp. 32, sewed. 1s.

Contopoulos.—A Lexicon of Modern Greek-English and English Modern Greek. By N. Contopoulos.
Part I. Modern Greek-English. 8vo, cloth, pp. 460. 12s.
Part II. English-Modern Greek. 8vo, cloth, pp. 592. 15s.


Cotton.—Arabic Primer. Consisting of 180 Short Sentences containing 30 Primary Words prepared according to the Vocal System of Studying Language. By General Sir Arthur Cotton, K.C.S.I. Cr. 8vo, cloth, pp. 38. 2s. 6d.

Cowell and Eggeling.—Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Possession of the Royal Asiatic Society (Hodgson Collection). By Professors E. B. Cowell and J. Eggeling. 8vo, ad., pp. 56. 2s. 6d.

Cowell.—A Short Introduction to the Ordinary Prakrit of the Sanskrit Dramas. With a List of Common Irregular Prakrit Words. By Prof. E. B. Cowell. Cr. 8vo, limp cloth, pp. 40. 1875. 3s. 6d.

Cunningham.—The Ancient Geography of India. I. The Buddhist Period, including the Campaigns of Alexander, and the Travels of Hwen-Thang. By Alexander Cunningham, Major-General, Royal Engineers (Bengal Retired). With thirteen Maps. 8vo, pp. xx. 590, cloth. 1870. 28s.

Cunningham.—The Bhilsa Tophes; or, Buddhist Monuments of Central India: comprising a brief Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of Buddhism; with an Account of the Opening and Examination of the various Groups of Tophes around Bhilsa. By Brev.-Major Alexander Cunningham, Bengal Engineers. Illustrated with thirty-three Plates. 8vo, pp. xxxvi. 870, cloth. 1854. £2 2s.
Cunningham.—Archæological Survey of India. Four Reports, made during the years 1862–63–64–65. By Alexander Cunningham, C.S.I., Major-General, etc. With Maps and Plates. Vols. 1 to 5. 8vo. cloth. £6.

Dalton.—Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal. By Edward Titze Dalton, C.S.I., Colonel, Bengal Staff Corps, etc. Illustrated by Lithograph Portraits copied from Photographs. 3 vol. Lithograph Plates. 4to. half-calf, pp. 340. £6 6s.

D'Alwis.—Buddhist Nirvāṇa; a Review of Max Müller's Dhammapade. By James D'Alwis, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society. 8vo. sewed, pp. x. and 140. 6s.

D'Alwis.—Pali Translations. Part First. By James D'Alwis, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society. 8vo. sewed, pp. 24. 1s.


Davids.—Three Inscriptions of Parākrama Bāhu the Great, from Pulastipura, Ceylon. By T. W. Rhys Davids. 8vo. pp. 20. 1s. 6d.

Davids.—Sigiri, the Lion Rock, near Pulastipura, and the 39th Chapter of the Mahāvamsa. By T. W. Rhys Davids. 8vo. pp. 50. 1s. 6d.


Delepière.—Tableau de la Littérature du Canton, chez les Anciens et chez les Modernes. Par Octave Delepière. 2 vols. small 4to. paper cover, pp. 324 and 318. 21s.

Delepière.—Essai Historique et Bibliographique sur les Rébus. Par Octave Delepière. 8vo. pp. 24, sewed. With 15 pages of Woodcuts. 1870. 3s. 6d.


Dickson.—The Patimukhha, being the Buddhist Office of the Confection of Priests. The Pali Text, with a Translation, and Notes, by J. F. Dickson, M.A. 8vo. ed., pp. 69. 2s.

Dinkard (The).—The Original Pehlwi Text, the same transliterated in Zend Characters. Translations of the Text in the Gujrati and English Languages; a Commentary and Glossary of Select Terms. By Peshotun Dustoor Behramjee Sunjana. Vol. 1. 8vo. cloth. £1 18.


Douglas.—Chinese Language and Literature. Two Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution, by R. K. Douglas, of the British Museum, and Professor of Chinese at King's College. Cr. 8vo. cl., pp. 118. 1875. 5s.

Douse.—Grimm's Law; A Study: or, Hints towards an Explanation of the so-called "Lautverschiebung." To which are added some Remarks on the Primitive Indo-European K, and several Appendices. By T. Le Marchant Douse. 8vo. cloth, pp. xvi. and 230. 10s. 6d.

Dowson.—A Grammar of the Urdu or Hindustani Language. By John Dowson, M.R.A.S. 12mo. cloth, pp. xvi. and 264. 10s. 6d.

Dowson.—A Hindustani Exercise Book. Containing a Series of Passages and Extracts adapted for Translation into Hindustani. By John Dowson, M.R.A.S., Professor of Hindustani, Staff College. Crown 8vo. pp. 100. Limp cloth, 2s. 6d.

Early English Text Society's Publications. Subscription, one guinea per annum.


3. Ané Compendious and Breve Tractate Concernying Ye Office and Dewtie of Kyngis, etc. By William Lauder. (1556 a.d.) Edited by F. Hall, Esq., D.C.L. 4s.


5. Of the Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan Tongue; a treatise, noe shorter than necessarie, for the Schoole, be Alexander Hume. Edited for the first time from the unique MS. in the British Museum (about 1617 a.d.), by Henry B. Wheatley, Esq. 4s.


7. The Story of Genesis and Exodus, an Early English Song, of about 1250 a.d. Edited for the first time from the unique MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by R. Morris, Esq. 8s.


10. Merlin, or the Early History of King Arthure. Edited for the first time from the unique MS. in the Cambridge University Library (about 1450 a.d.), by Henry B. Wheatley, Esq. Part I. 2s. 6d.
Early English Text Society's Publications—continued.


12. THE WRIGHT'S CHASTE WIFE, a Merry Tale, by Adam of Cobsam (about 1462 a.d.), from the unique Lambeth MS. 306. Edited for the first time by F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., M.A. 1s.

13. SEINTE MARHERETE, PE MEIDEN AN MARTYR. Three Texts of ab. 1200, 1310, 1330 a.d. First edited in 1862, by the REV. OSWALD COCKAYNE, M.A., and now re-issued. 2s.

14. KYNG HORN, with fragments of Floriz and Blancheflur, and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. Edited from the MSS. in the Library of the University of Cambridge and the British Museum, by the REV. J. RAWSON LUMBY. 3s. 6d.

15. POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS, AND LOVE POEMS, from the Lambeth MS. No. 306, and other sources. Edited by F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., M.A. 7s. 6d.


17. PARALLEL EXTRACTS from 29 Manuscripts of PIERS PLOWMAN, with Comments, and a Proposal for the Society's Three-text edition of this Poem. By the REV. W. SKEAT, M.A. 1s.

18. HALI MEIDENHEAD, about 1200 A.D. Edited for the first time from the MS. (with a translation) by the REV. OSWALD COCKAYNE, M.A. 1s.

19. THE MONARCHE, and other Poems of Sir David Lyndesay. Part II., the Complaynt of the King's Papingo, and other minor Poems. Edited from the First Edition by F. HALL, Esq., D.C.L. 3s. 6d.

20. SOME TREATISES by RICHARD ROLLE DE HAMPOLLE. Edited from Robert of Thornton's MS. (ab. 1440 A.D.), by REV. GEORGE G. PERRY, M.A. 1s.

21. MERLIN, OR THE EARLY HISTORY OF KING ARTHUR. Part II. Edited by HENRY B. WHEATLEY, Esq. 4s.

22. THE ROMANS OF PARTENAY, OR LUSIGNEN. Edited for the first time from the unique MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, by the REV. W. W. SKEAT, M.A. 6s.

23. DAN MICHEL'S AYSENBITE OF INWYT, OR REMORSE OF CONSCIENCE, in the Kentish dialect, 1340 A.D. Edited from the unique MS. in the British Museum, by RICHARD MORRIS, Esq. 10s. 6d.


25. THE STACIONS OF ROME, and the Pilgrim's Sea-Voyage and Sea-Sickness, with Clene Maydenhod. Edited from the Vernon and Porkington MSS., etc., by F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., M.A. 1s.

26. RELIGIOUS PIECES in PROSE AND VERSE. Containing Dan Jon Gaytrigg's Sermon; The Abbye of S. Spirit; Sayne Jon, and other pieces in the Northern Dialect. Edited from Robert of Thornetone's MS. (ab. 1460 A.D.), by the REV. G. PERRY, M.A. 2s.

27. MANIPULUS VOCABULORUM: a Rhyming Dictionary of the English Language, by PETER LEVINS (1570). Edited, with an Alphabetical Index, by HENRY B. WHEATLEY. 12s.

28. THE VISION OF WILLIAM CONCERNING PIERS PLOWMAN, together with Vita de Dowel, Dobet et Dobest. 1362 a.d., by WILLIAM LANGLAND. The earliest or Vernon Text; Text A. Edited from the Vernon MS., with full Collations, by REV. W. W. SKEAT, M.A. 7s.
Early English English Text Society's Publications—continued.


30. Piers, the Ploughman's Crede (about 1394). Edited from the MSS. by the Rev. W. W. Skeat, M.A. 2s.


33. The Book of the Knight de la Tour Landey, 1372. A Father's Book for his Daughters, Edited from the Harleian MS. 1764, by Thomas Wright Esq., M.A., and Mr. William Rossiter. 8s.


35. Sir David Lyndesay's Works. Part 3. The Historie of ane Nobil and Wailzand Squer, William Meldrum, unquhyde Laird of Cleische and Bynnis, compilyt be Sir David Lyndesay of the Mont alias Lyoun King of Armes. With the Testament of the said William Meldrum, Squer, compilyt alswa be Sir Dauid Lyndesay, etc. Edited by F. Hall, D.C.L. 2s.


40. English Gilds. The Original Ordinances of more than One Hundred Early English Gilds: Together with the olde usages of the cite of Winchester; The Ordinances of Worcester; The Office of the Mayor of Bristol; and the Customary of the Manor of Tettenhall-Regis. From
Early English Text Society's Publications—continued.

Original MSS. of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Edited with Notes by the late Toulmin Smith, Esq., F.R.S. of Northern Antiquaries (Copenhagen). With an Introduction and Glossary, etc., by his daughter, Lucy Toulmin Smith. And a Preliminary Essay, in Five Parts, On the History and Development of Gilds, by Lujo Brentano, Docteur Juris Utriusque et Philosophiae. 21s.


42. Bernardus de Cura Rei Familiaris, with some Early Scotch Prophecies, etc. From a MS., KK 1. 5, in the Cambridge University Library. Edited by J. Rawson Lumby, M.A., late Fellow of Magdalen College, Cambridge. 2s.


48. The Times' Whistle: or, A Newe Dauce of Seven Satires, and other Poems: Compiled by R. C., Gent. Now first Edited from MS. Y. 8. 3. in the Library of Canterbury Cathedral; with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by J. M. Cowper. 6s.


53. Old English Homilies, Series II., from the unique 13th-century MS. in Trinity Coll. Cambridge, with a photolithograph; three Hymns to the Virgin and God, from a unique 13th-century MS. at Oxford, a photolithograph of the music to two of them, and transcriptions of it in modern notation by Dr. Rimbault, and A. J. Ellis, Esq., F.R.S.; the whole edited by the Rev. Richard Morris, LL.D. 8s.
Early English Text Society's Publications—continued.

54. The Vision of Pier PLOWMAN, Text C (completing the three versions of this great poem), with an Autotype; and two unique alliterative Poems: Richard the Redeles (by WILLIAM, the author of the Vision); and The Crowned King; edited by the Rev. W. W. SKEAT, M.A. 18s.


56. The Gest Hystorialie of the Destruction of Troy, translated from Guido de Colonna, in alliterative verse; edited from the unique MS. in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, by D. DONALDSON, Esq., and the late Rev. G. A. PANTON. Part II. 10s. 6d.


60. Meditacyns on the Soper of Our Lordne (perhaps by Robert of Brunne). Edited from the MSS. by J. M. COWPER, Esq. 2s. 6d.

61. The Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceldounne, printed from five MSS. Edited by Dr. James A. H. MURRAY. 10s. 6d.


64. Francis Thynne's Emblemes and Epigrams, a.d. 1600, from the Earl of Ellesmere's unique MS. Edited by F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A. 4s.

65. Be Domes Daege (Bede's De Die Judicil) and other short Anglo-Saxon Pieces. Edited from the unique MS. by the Rev. J. RAWSON LUMBY, B.D. 2s.

Extra Series. Subscriptions—Small paper, one guinea; large paper two guineas, per annum.

1. The Romance of William of Palerne (otherwise known as the Romance of William and the Werwolf). Translated from the French at the command of Sir Humphrey de Bohun, about A.D. 1350, to which is added a fragment of the Alliterative Romance of Alisander, translated from the Latin by the same author, about A.D. 1340; the former re-edited from the unique MS. in the Library of King's College, Cambridge, the latter now first edited from the unique MS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. By the Rev. Walter W. SKEAT, M.A. 8vo. sewed, pp. xlvii. and 328. £1 6s.

2. On Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakspere and Chaucer; containing an investigation of the Correspondence of Writing with Speech in England, from the Anglo-Saxon period to the present day, preceded by a systematic Notation of all Spoken Sounds by means of the ordinary Printing Types; including a re-arrangement of Prof. F. J. Child's Memoirs on the Language of Chaucer and Gower, and reprints of the rare Tracts by Salesbury on English, 1547, and Welsh, 1567, and by
Early English Text Society's Publications—continued.

Barclay on French, 1521 By Alexander J. Ellis, F.R.S. Part I. On the Pronunciation of the xivth, xvith, xvith, and xvith centuries. 8vo. sewed, pp. viii. and 416. 10s.

3. Caxton's Book of Curtesye, printed at Westminster about 1477-8, a.d., and now reprinted, with two MS. copies of the same treatise, from the Oriel MS. 79, and the Balliol MS. 354. Edited by Frederick J. Furnivall, M.A. 8vo. sewed, pp. xii. and 63. 5s.


6. The Romance of the Chevelere Assignée. Re-edited from the unique manuscript in the British Museum, with a Preface, Notes, and Glossarial Index, by Henry H. Gibbs, Esq., M.A. 8vo. sewed, pp. xviii. and 38. 3s.

7. On Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakspeare and Chaucer. By Alexander J. Ellis, F.R.S., etc., etc. Part II. On the Pronunciation of the xiiiith and previous centuries, of Anglo-Saxon, Icelandic, Old Norse and Gothic, with Chronological Tables of the Value of Letters and Expression of Sounds in English Writing. 10s.


57 and 59, Ludgate Hill, London, E.C.
Early English Text Society's Publications—continued.


(Part I, Starkey's Life and Letters, is in preparation.

13. A Supplication for the Beggars. Written about the year 1529, by Simon Fish. Now re-edited by Frederick J. Furnivall. With a Supplication to our moste Soueraigne Lorde Kyngge Henry the Euyght (1544 A.D.), A Supplication of the Poore Commons (1546 A.D.), The Decaye of Engeland by the great multitude of Shepe (1550-3 A.D.). Edited by J. Meadows Cowper. 6s.


15. Robert Crowley’s Thirty-One Epigrams, Voyce of the Last Trumpet, Way to Wealth, etc., 1550-1 A.D. Edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. 12s.


18. The Complaynt of Scotlande, etc. Part II. 8s.


22. Henry Brinetlow’s Complaynt of Roderycx Mors, somtyme a gray Fryre, unto the Parliament Howae of Ingland his naturlly Country, for the Redresse of certen wicked Lawes, eucl Customs, and cruel Decreys (ab. 1542); and The Lamentacion of a Christian Against the City of London, made by Roderigo Mos, A.D. 1545. Edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. 9s.


Edda Saemundar Hinns Froda—The Edda of Saemund the Learned. From the Old Norse or Icelandic. By Benjamin Thorpe. Part I. with a Mythological Index. 12mo. pp. 152, cloth, 3s. 6d. Part II. with Index of Persons and Places. 12mo. pp. viii. and 172, cloth. 1866. 4s.; or in 1 Vol. complete, 7s. 6d.

Edkins.—China's Place in Philology. An attempt to show that the Languages of Europe and Asia have a common origin. By the Rev. Joseph Edkins. Crown 8vo., pp. xxiii.—403, cloth. 10s. 6d.

Edkins.—A Vocabulary of the Shanghai Dialect. By J. Edkins. 8vo. half-calf, pp. vi. and 151. Shanghai, 1869. 21s.


Eger and Grime; an Early English Romance. Edited from Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript, about 1650 A.D. By John W. Hales; M.A., Fellow and late Assistant Tutor of Christ's College, Cambridge, and Frederick J. Furnivall, M.A., of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. 1 vol. 4to., pp. 64, (only 100 copies printed), bound in the Roxburghe style. 10s. 6d.


Elliot.—The History of India, as told by its own Historians. The Muhammadan Period. Edited from the Posthumous Papers of the late Sir H. M. Elliot, K.C.B., East India Company's Bengal Civil Service, by Prof. John Dowson, M.R.A.S., Staff College, Sandhurst. Vols. I. and II. With a Portrait of Sir H. M. Elliot. 8vo. pp xxxii. and 542, x. and 580, cloth. 18s. each.

Vol. III. 8vo. pp. xii. and 627, cloth. 24s.

Vol. IV. 8vo. pp. x. and 563 cloth 21s.

Vol. V. 8vo. pp. xii. and 576, cloth. 21s.

Vol. VI. 8vo. pp. viii. and 574, cloth. 21s.

Vol. VII. 8vo. pp. viii. and 574, cloth.

Vol. VIII. 8vo. [In the Press.]

Elliot.—Memoirs on the History, Folklore, and Distribution of the Races of the North Western Provinces of India; being an amplified Edition of the original Supplementary Glossary of Indian Terms. By the late Sir Henry M. Elliot, K.C.B., of the Hon. East India Company's Bengal Civil Service. Edited, revised, and re-arranged, by John Beamis, M.R.A.S., Bengal Civil Service; Member of the German Oriental Society, of the Asiatic Societies of Paris and Bengal, and of the Philological Society of London. In 2 vols. demy 8vo., pp. xx., 370, and 386, cloth. With two Lithographic Plates, one full-page coloured Map, and three large coloured folding Maps. 36s.

Ellis.—On Numerals, as Signs of Primeval Unity among Mankind. By Robert Ellis, B.D., Late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Demy 8vo. cloth, pp. viii. and 94. 3s. 6d.


Ellis.—Peruvia Scythica. The Quichua Language of Peru: its derivation from Central Asia with the American languages in general, and with the Turanian and Iberian languages of the Old World, including the Basque, the Lycian, and the Pre-Aryan language of Etruria. By Robert Ellis, B.D. 8vo. cloth, pp. xii. and 219. 1875. 6s.
Ellis.—ETRUSCAN NUMERALS. By Robert Ellis, B.D. 8vo. sewed, pp. 52. 2s. 6d.

English and Welsh Languages.—THE INFLUENCE OF THE ENGLISH AND Welsh Languages upon each other, exhibited in the Vocabularies of the two Tongues. Intended to suggest the importance to Philologers, Antiquaries, Ethnographers, and others, of giving due attention to the Celtic Branch of the Indu-Germanic Family of Languages. Square, pp. 30, sewed. 1869. 1s.

English Dialect Society’s Publications. Subscription, 10s. 6d. per annum.

1873.

1874.
4. Series D. The History of English Sounds. By H. Sweet, Esq. 4s. 6d.
5. Series B. Part II. Reprinted Glossaries. Containing seven Provincial English Glossaries, from various sources. 7s.

1875.
7. Series D. Part II. The Dialect of West Somerset. By F. T. Elworthy, Esq. 3s. 6d.

1876.
11. On the Survival of Old English Words in our Dialects. By Dr. E. Morris. 6d.


Faber.—A SYSTEMATICAL DIGEST OF THE DOCTRINES OF CONFUCIUS, according to the Analects, Great Learning, and Doctrine of the Mean, with an Introduction on the Authorities upon Confucius and Confucianism. By Ernst Faber, Rhenish Missionary. Translated from the German by P. G. von Moellendorff. 8vo. sewed, pp. viii. and 131. 1875. 12s. 6d.
Facsimiles of Two Papyri found in a Tomb at Thebes. With a Translation by Samuel Birch, LL.D., F.S.A., Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, Academies of Berlin, Herculaneum, etc., and an Account of their Discovery. By A. Henry Rhind, Esq., F.S.A., etc. In large folio, pp. 30 of text, and 15 plates coloured, bound in cloth. 21s.

Fallon.—A NEW HINDUSTAN-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. By S. W. Fallon, Ph.D. Halle. Parts I. to IV. Roy. 8vo. Pp. 4s. 6d. each Part. To be completed in about 25 Parts of 48 pages each Part, forming together One Volume.

Fausbøll.—THE DASARATHA-JĀTAKA, being the Buddhist Story of King Rāma. The original Pāli Text, with a Translation and Notes by V. Fausbøll. 8vo, sewed, pp. iv. and 48. 2s. 6d.

Fausbøll.—FIVE JĀTAKAS, containing a Fairy Tale, a Comical Story, and Three Fables. In the original Pāli Text, accompanied with a Translation and Notes. By V. Fausbøll. 8vo, sewed, pp. viii. and 72. 6s.

Fausbøll.—TEN JĀTAKAS. The Original Pāli Text, with a Translation and Notes. By V. Fausbøll. 8vo, sewed, pp. xiii. and 128. 7s. 6d.

Fausbøll.—JĀTAKA. See under JĀTAKA.

Fiske.—MYTHS AND MYTH-MAKERS: Old Tales and Superstitions interpreted by Comparative Mythology. By John Fiske, M.A., Assistant Librarian, and late Lecturer on Philosophy at Harvard University. Crown 8vo, cloth, pp. viii. and 262. 10s. 6d.

Foss.—NORWEGIAN GRAMMAR, with Exercises in the Norwegian and English Languages, and a List of Irregular Verbs. By Father Foss, Graduate of the University of Norway. Crown 8vo, pp. 50, cloth limp. 2s.

Foster.—PRE-HISTORIC RACES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. By J. W. Foster, LL.D., Author of the "Physical Geography of the Mississippi Valley," etc. With 72 Illustrations. 8vo, cloth, pp. xvi. and 416. 14s.

Furnivall.—EDUCATION IN EARLY ENGLAND. Some Notes used as Forewords to a Collection of Treatises on "Manners and Meals in the Olden Time," for the Early English Text Society. By Frederick J. Furnivall, M.A., Trinity Hall, Cambridge, Member of the Philological and Early English Text Societies. 8vo, sewed, pp. 74. 1s.

Fu So Mimi Bukuro.—A BUDGET OF JAPANESE NOTES. By Capt. Ppów, of Yokohama. 8vo, sewed, pp. 184. 7s. 6d.

Gautama.—THE INSTITUTES OF GAUTAMA. Edited with an Index of Words. By Adof. Friederich Stenzler, Ph.D., Prof. of Oriental Languages in the University of Breslau. 8vo. cloth, pp. iv. and 78. 4s. 6d.

Garrett.—A CLASSICAL DICTIONARY OF INDIA, illustrative of the Mythology, Philosophy, Literature, Antiquities, Arts, Manners, Customs, etc., of the Hindoos. By John Garrett. 8vo. pp. x. and 798. cloth. 28s.

Garrett.—SUPPLEMENT TO THE ABOVE CLASSICAL DICTIONARY OF INDIA. By John Garrett, Director of Public Instruction at Mysore. 8vo. cloth, pp. 160. 7s. 6d.

Giles.—CHINESE SKETCHES. By Herbert A. Giles, of H.B.M.’s China Consular Service. 8vo. cl., pp. 204. 10s. 6d.

Giles.—A DICTIONARY OF COLLOQUIAL IDIOMS IN THE MANDARIN DIALECT. By Herbert A. Giles. 4to. pp. 65. £1 8s.

Giles.—SYNOPTICAL STUDIES IN CHINESE CHARACTER. By Herbert A. Giles. 8vo. pp. 118. 15s.

Giles.—CHINESE WITHOUT A TEACHER. Being a Collection of Easy and Useful Sentences in the Mandarin Dialect. With a Vocabulary. By Herbert A. Giles. 12mo, pp. 60. 5s.

Giles.—THE SAN TZE CHING; or, Three Character Classic; and the Ch’ Jen Tsu Wen; or, Thousand Character Essay. Metrically Translated by Herbert A. Giles. 12mo, pp. 28. Price 2s. 6d.


Goldstucker.—PANINI: His Place in Sanskrit Literature. An Investigation of some Literary and Chronological Questions which may be settled by a study of his Work. A separate impression of the Preface to the Facsimile of MS. No. 17 in the Library of Her Majesty's Home Government for India, which contains a portion of the MANAVA-KALPA-SUTRA, with the Commentary of KUMARILA-SWAMIN. By Theodor Goldstucker. Imperial 8vo. pp. 268, cloth. £2 2s.

Goldstucker.—On the Deficiencies in the Present Administration of Hindu Law; being a paper read at the Meeting of the East India Association on the 8th June, 1870. By Theodor Goldstucker, Professor of Sanskrit in University College, London, &c. Demy 8vo. pp. 56, sewed. 1s. 6d.

Govet.—The Folk-Songs of Southern India. By Charles E. Govet. 8vo. pp. xxi. and 299, cloth 10s. 6d.

Grammatography. —A Manual of Reference to the Alphabets of Ancient and Modern Languages. Based on the German Compilation of F. Ballhorn. Royal 8vo. pp. 80, cloth. 7s. 6d.

The "Grammatography" is offered to the public as a compendious introduction to the reading of the most important ancient and modern languages. Simple in its design, it will be consulted with advantage by the philological student, the amateur linguist, the bookseller, the corrector of the press, and the diligent compositor.

**ALPHABETICAL INDEX.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afghan (or Pushto)</td>
<td>Czechian (or Bohemian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amharic</td>
<td>Hebrew (current hand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo-Saxons</td>
<td>Hebrew (Jadec-Ger)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Hungarian (man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aralio Liguatures</td>
<td>Illyrian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aramic</td>
<td>Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>Italic (Old)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aracha Characters</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenian</td>
<td>Javanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assyrian Cuneiform</td>
<td>Javanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>Kannada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bighinian (Czechian)</td>
<td>Khasia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buriat</td>
<td>Korean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canarese (or Carnaticca)</td>
<td>Khotanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Khmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coptic</td>
<td>Hittite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croato-Glagolitie</td>
<td>Hieratic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cufic</td>
<td>Hieroglyphics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyrllic (or Old Slavonic)</td>
<td>Hebrew</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grassmann.—Wörterbuch zum Rig Veda. Von Hermann Grassmann, Professor am Marienstifts-Gymnasium zu Stettin. 8vo. pp. 1775. £1 10s.

Green.—Shakespeare and the Emblem-Writers: an Exposition of their Similarities of Thought and Expression. Preceded by a View of the Emblem-Book Literature down to A.D. 1615. By Henry Green, M.A. In one volume, pp. xvi, 572, profusely illustrated with Woodcuts and Photolith. Plates, elegantly bound in cloth gilt, large medium 8vo. £1 11s. 6d.; large imperial 8vo. 1870. £2 12s. 6d.

Vol. II. Part I.—Australia. 8vo. pp. iv. and 44. 1s. 6d.
Vol. II. Part 2.—Papuan Languages of the Loyalty Islands and New Hebrides, comprising those of the Islands of Neugone, Lifu, Aneitum, Tana, and others. 8vo. p. 12. 6d.
Vol. II. Part 3.—Fiji Islands and Rotuma (with Supplement to Part II., Papuan Languages, and Part I., Australia). 8vo. pn. 34. 1s.
Vol. II. Part 4.—New Zealand, the Chatham Islands, and Auckland Islands. 8vo. pp. 76. 3s. 6d.
Vol. II. Part (continued).—Polynesia and Borneo. 8vo. pp. 77-154. 3s. 6d.
Vol. III. Part 1.—Manuscripts and Incunabales. 8vo. pp. viii. and 24. 2s.

Grey.—MAORI MEMENTOS: being a Series of Addresses presented by the Native People to Hia Excellency Sir George Grey, K.C.B., F.R.S. With Introductory Remarks and Explanatory Notes; to which is added a small Collection of Laments, etc. By CH. OLIVER B. DAVIS. 8vo. pp. iv. and 228, cloth. 12s.


Vol. II., containing Book II., with additional Notes and Index of Names. Demy 8vo. pp. 504, cloth. 18s.
Vol. IV. Demy 8vo. pp. viii. and 432. 1873. 18s.
Vol. V. Demy 8vo. pp. 368, cloth. 1875. 15s.


Gubernatis.—ZOLOGICAL MYTHOLOGY; or, the Legends of Animals. By ANGELO DE GUBERNATIS, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Literature to the Instituto di Studii Superiori e di Perfezionamento a Firenze, etc. In 2 vols. 8vo. pp. xxvi. and 452, viii. and 442. 28s.


Haas.—CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT AND PALI BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM. By Dr. ERNST HAAS. Printed by Permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. 4to. cloth, pp. 200. 51 1s.

Hafiz of Shiraz.—SELECTIONS FROM HIS POEMS. Translated from the Persian by HERMAN BICKNELL. With Preface by A. S. BICKNELL. Demy 4to., pp. xx. and 384, printed on fine stout plate-paper, with appropriate Oriental Bordering in gold and colour, and Illustrations by J. R. HERBERT, R.A. £2 2s.

Haldeman.—PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH: a Dialect of South Germany with an Infusion of English. By S. S. HALDEMAN, A.M., Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. 8vo. pp. viii. and 70, cloth. 1872. 3s. 6d.
Linguistic Publications of Trübner & Co.,

Hall.—MODERN ENGLISH. By FITZEDWARD HALL, M.A., Hon. D.C.L., Oxon. Cr. 8vo. cloth, pp. xvi. and 394. 10s. 6d.


Hans Breitmann Ballads.—See under LELAND.

Hardy.—CHRISTIANITY AND BUDDHISM COMPARED. By the late Rev. R. SPENCE HARDY, Hon. Member Royal Asiatic Society. 8vo. ad. pp. 138. 6s.

Hassoun.—THE DIWAN OF HATIM TAI. An Old Arabic Poet of the Sixth Century of the Christian Era. Edited by R. Hassoun. With Illustrations. 4to. pp. 43. 3s. 6d.

Hawell.—GRAMMATICAL NOTES AND VOCABULARY OF THE PEGUAN LANGUAGE. To which are added a few pages of Phrases, etc. By Rev. J. M. HAWSWELL. 8vo. pp. xvi. and 160. 15s.

Haug.—THE BOOK OF ARA DVARAP. The Pahlavi text prepared by Destur Hoshangji Jamaspji Asa. Revised and collated with further MSS., with an English translation and Introduction, and an Appendix containing the Texts and Translations of the Gosht-i Fryano and Hadokht Nask. By MARTIN HAUG, Ph.D., Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at the University of Munich. Assisted by E. W. WEST, Ph.D. Published by order of the Bombay Government. 8vo. sewed, pp. lxxxv., v., and 316. £1 5s.

Haug.—A LECTURE ON AN ORIGINAL SPEECH OF ZOROASTER (Yasna 45), with remarks on his age. By MARTIN HAUG, Ph.D. 8vo. pp. 28, sewed. Bombay, 1865. 2s.


Haug.—AN OLD ZAND-PHALAVI GLOSSARY. Edited in the Original Characters, with a Transliteration in Roman Lettera, an English Translation, and an Alphabetical Index. By DESTUR HOSHANGJI JAMASPI JI, High-priest of the Parsis in Malwa, India. Revised with Notes and Introduction by MARTIN HAUG, Ph.D., late Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies in the Poona College, Foreign Member of the Royal Bavarian Academy, Published by order of the Government of Bombay. 8vo. sewed, pp. lxi. and 132. 15s.

Haug.—AN OLD PAHLAVI-PAZAND GLOSSARY. Edited, with an Alphabetical Index, by DESTUR HOSHANGJI JAMASPI JI, High Priest of the Parsis in Malwa, India. Revised and Enlarged, with an Introductory Essay on the Pahlavi Language, by MARTIN HAUG, Ph.D. Published by order of the Government of Bombay. 8vo. pp. xvi. 152, 268, sewed, 1870. 28s.

Heaviside.—AMERICAN ANTIQUITIES; or, the New World the Old, and the Old World the New. By JOHN T. C. HEAVISIDE. 8vo. pp. 46, sewed. 1s. 6d.

Hepburn.—A JAPANESE AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY. With an English and Japanese Index. By J. C. HEPBURN, M.D., LL.D. Second edition. Imperial 8vo. cloth, pp. xxxii., 632 and 201. 8s. 8s.

Hepburn.—JAPANESE-ENGLISH AND ENGLISH-JAPANESE DICTIONARY. By J. C. HEPBURN, M.D., LL.D. Abridged by the Author from his larger work. Small 4to. cloth, pp. vi. and 206. 1873. 12s. 6d.

Hernisz.—A GUIDE TO CONVERSATION IN THE ENGLISH AND CHINESE LANGUAGES, for the use of Americana and Chinese in California and elsewhere. By STANISLAS HERNISS. Square 8vo. pp. 274; sewed. 10s. 6d.

The Chinese characters contained in this work are from the collections of Chinese groups, engraved on steel, and cast into moveable types, by Mr. Marcellin Legrand, engraver of the Imperial Printing Office at Paris. They are used by most of the missions to China.


Hoffmann.—Shopping Dialogues, in Japanese, Dutch, and English, by Professor J. Hoffmann. Oblong 8vo. pp. xiii. and 44, sewed. 3s.


H owe.—A Grammar of the Cree Language. With which is combined an analysis of the Chippeway Dialect. By Joseph H owe, Esq., F.R.G.S. 8vo. pp. xx. and 324, cloth. 7s. 6d.


Ikhwán-us Sáfá.—Ikhwán-us Sáfá; or, Brothers of Purity. Describing the Contention between Men and Beasts as to the Superiority of the Human Race. Translated from the Hindustání by Professor J. Dowsen, Staff College, Sandhurst. Crown 8vo. pp. viii. and 156, cloth. 7s.


Jaiminiya-Nyāya-Mālā-Vistara.—See under Auctiones Sanscriti.

Jataka (The), together with its Commentary. Now first published in Pali, by V. Faurebll, with a Translation by R. C. Childers, late of the Ceylon Civil Service. To be completed in five volumes. Text. Vol. I. Part I. Roy. 8vo. sewed, pp. 224. 7s. 6d.

Jenkins's Vest-Pocket Lexicon.—An English Dictionary of all except Familiar Words; including the principal Scientific and Technical Terms, and Foreign Moneys, Weights and Masures. By Jabez Jenkins. 64mo., pp. 564, cloth. 1s. 6d.


Kalid-i-Afghani.—Translation of the Kalid-i-Afghani, the Text-
book for the Pakhhto Examination, with Notes, Historical, Geographical, Grammatical, and Explanatory. By TREVOR CHICHELE PLOWDEN. Imp. 8vo. pp. xx. and 406, with a Map. Lahore, 1875. £2 2s.

Kellogg.—A GRAMMAR OF THE HINDI LANGUAGE, in which are treated the Standard Hindi, Braj, and the Eastern Hindi of the Ramayan of Tulsi Dae; also the Colloquial Dialects of Marwar, Kamaou, Avadi, Baghelkhand, Bhujpur, etc., with Copious Philological Notes. By the REV. S. H. KELLOGG, M.A. Royal 8vo. cloth, pp. 400. 21s.

Kern.—THE ARYABHATITA, with the Commentary Bhatadipika of Paramaciyara, edited by DR. H. KERN. 4to. pp. xii. and 107. 9s.


Kidd.—CATALOGUE OF THE CHINESE LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. By the REV. S. KIDD. 8vo. pp. 58, sewed. 1s.

Kielhorn.—A GRAMMAR OF THE SANSKRIT LANGUAGE. By F. KIELHORN, Ph.D., Superintendcnt of Sanskrit Studies in Deccan College. Registered under Act xxiv. of 1867. Demy 8vo. pp. xvi. 260. cloth. 1870. 10s. 6d.

Kilgour.—THE HEBREW OR IBERIAN RACE, including the Pelasgians, the Phenicians, the Jews, the British, and others. By HENRY KILGOUR. 8vo. sewed, pp. 76. 1872. 2s. 6d.

Kistner.—BUDDHA AND HIS DOCTRINES. A Bibliographical Essay. By OTTO KISTNER. Imperial 8vo., pp. iv. and 32, sewed. 2s. 6d.


Koran (The). Arabic text, lithographed in Oudh, A.H. 1284 (1867). 16mo. pp. 942. 7s. 6d.

Kroeger.—THE MINNESINGER OF GERMANY. By A. E. KROEGER. 12mo. cloth, pp. vi. and 284. 7s.

Lacombé.—Dictionnaire et Grammaire de la Langue des Cris, par le Rev. Pére Alb. LACOMBRE. 8vo. paper, pp. xx. and 713. 4th. and 190. 21s.


Land.—THE PRINCIPLES OF HEBREW GRAMMAR. By J. P. N. LAND, Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Leyden. Translated from the Dutch by REGINALD LAND POOLE, Balliol College, Oxford. Part I. Sounds. Part II. Words. Crown 8vo. pp. xx. and 220, cloth. 7s. 6d.


Vol. I, containing Confucian Analects, the Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean. 8vo. pp. 526, cloth. £2 2s.

Vol. II., containing the Works of Mencius. 8vo. pp. 634, cloth. £2 2s.
Vol. III. Part I. containing the First Part of the Shoo-King, or the Books of Tang, the Books of Yu, the Books of Hea, the Books of Shang, and the Prolegomena. Royal 8vo. pp. viii. and 280, cloth. £2 2s.

Vol. III. Part II. containing the Fifth Part of the Shoo-King, or the Books of Chow, and the Indexes. Royal 8vo. pp. 231—736, cloth. £2 2s.

Vol. IV. Part I. containing the First Part of the She-King, or the Lessons from the States; and the Prolegomena. Royal 8vo. cloth, pp. 182—244. £2 2s.

Vol. IV. Part II. containing the First Part of the She-King, or the Minor Odes of the Kingdom, the Greater Odes of the Kingdom, the Sacrificial Odes and Praise-Songs, and the Indexes. Royal 8vo. cloth, pp. 540. £2 2s.

Vol. V. Part I. containing Dukes Yin, Hwan, Chwang, Min, He, Wan, Senen, and Ch'ing; and the Prolegomena. Royal 8vo. cloth, pp. xii., 148 and 410. £2 2s.

Vol. V. Part II. Contents:—Dukes Seang, Ch'iaon, Ting, and Gal, with Tao's Appendix, and the Indexes. Royal 8vo. cloth, pp. 526. £2 2s.


Vol. III. The She King, or The Book of Poetry. Crown 8vo., cloth, pp. viii. and 432. 12s.

Leigh.—The Religion of the World. By H. Stone Leigh. 12mo. pp. xii. 66, cloth. 1869. 2s. 6d.


Hans Breitmann's Party. With other Ballads. By Charles G. Leland. Tenth Edition. Square, pp. xvi. and 74, cloth. 2s. 6d.


Hans Breitmann as an Uhlman. Six New Ballads, with a Glossary. Square, pp. 72, sewed. 1s.

Leland.—Fusang; or, the Discovery of America by Chinese Buddhist Priests in the Fifth Century. By Charles G. Leland. 8vo. cloth, pp. xix. and 212. 7s. 6d.

Leland.—English Gypsy Songs. In Rommany, with Metrical English Translations. By Charles G. Leland, Author of "The English Gipsies," etc.; Prof. E. H. Palmer; and Janet Tuckey. Crown 8vo. cloth, pp. xii. and 276. 7s. 6d.

Leland.—Pidgin-English Sing-Song; or Songs and Stories in the China-English Dialect. With a Vocabulary. By Charles G. Leland. 8vo. pp. viii. and 140, boards. 1876. 5s.

Leonowens.—The English Governess at the Siamese Court being Recollections of six years in the Royal Palace at Bangkok. By Anna Harriette Leonowens. With Illustrations from Photographs presented to the Author by the King of Siam. 8vo. cloth, pp. x. and 332. 1870. 12s.


Ludewig (Hermann E.)—The Literature of American Aboriginal Languages. With Additions and Corrections by Professor Wm. W. Turner. Edited by Nicolás TrüIner. 8vo. fly and general Title, 2 leaves; Dr. Ludewig's Preface, pp. v.—viii.; Editor's Preface, pp. iv.—xii.; Biographical Memoir of Dr. Ludewig, pp. xiii.—xiv.; and Introductory Biographical Notices, pp. xiv.—xxiv., followed by List of Contents. Then follow Dr. Ludewig's Bibliotheca Giottica, alphabetically arranged, with Additions by the Editor, pp. 1—209; Professor Turner's Additions, with those of the Editor to the same, also alphabetically arranged, pp. 210—246; Index, pp. 247—256; and List of Errata, pp. 257, 258. Handsomely bound in cloth. 10s. 6d.


Mahabharata. Translated into Hindi for Madan Mohun Bhatt, by Krishnachandradharmadhikarin of Benares. (Containing all but the Harivasas.) 3 vols. 8vo. cloth, pp. 574, 810, and 1106. £3 3s.

Maha-Vira-Charita; or, the Adventures of the Great Hero Rama. An Indian Drama in Seven Acts. Translated into English Prose from the Sanskrit of Bhavabhuti. By John Pickford, M.A. Crown 8vo. cloth. 5s.

Maino-i-Khard (The Book of the).—The Pazard and Sanskrit Texts (in Roman characters) as arranged by Neriosengh Dhaval, in the fifteenth century. With an English translation, a Glossary of the Pazard texts, containing the Sanskrit, Rosian, and Pahlavi equivalents, a sketch of Pazard Grammar, and an Introduction. By E. W. West. 8vo. sewed, pp. 484. 1871. 16s.

Maltby.—A Practical Handbook of the Uriya or Odia Language. 8vo. pp. xiii. and 201. 1874. 10s. 6d.


Manipulus Vocabolorum; A Rhyming Dictionary of the English Language. By Peter Levios (1870) Edited, with an Alphabetical Index, by Henry B. Wheatley. 8vo. pp. xvi. and 370, cloth. 14s.

Manning.—An Inquiry into the Character and Origin of the Possessive Augment in English and in Cognate Dialects. By the late James Manning, Q.A.S., Recorder of Oxford. 8vo. pp. iv. and 90. 2s.

March.—A Comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language (which its forms are illustrated by those of the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin,
Gothic, Old Saxon, Old Friesic, Old Norse, and Old High-German. By FRANCIS A. MARCH, LL.D. Demy 8vo. cloth. pp. xi. and 253. 1873. 10s.

Markham.—QUICHUA GRAMMAR and DICTIONARY. Contributions towards a Grammar and Dictionary of Quichua, the Language of the Yncas of Peru; collected by CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, F.S.A., Corr. Mem. of the University of Chile. Author of “Cuzco and Lima,” and “Travels in Peru and India.” In one vol. crown 8vo., pp. 223, cloth. £1 11s. 6d.

Markham.—OLLANTA: A DRAMA IN THE QUICHUA LANGUAGE. Text, Translation, and Introduction, By CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, F.R.G.S. Crown 8vo., pp. 128, cloth. 7s. 6d.


Markham.—THE NARRATIVES OF THE MISSION OF GEORGE BOGLE, B.C.S., to the Teshu Lama, and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa, Edited, with Notes and Introduction, and lives of Mr. Bogle and Mr. Manning, by CLEMENTS R MARKHAM, C.B., F.R.S. Demy 8vo., with Maps and Illustrations, pp. clxi. 314, cl. 21s.


Part II. The Urtuki Turkumans. By SEANLEY LANE POOLE. Royal 4to. pp. xii. and 44, and 6 plates. 9s.


Mason.—THE PALL TEXT OF KACHCHAYANO'S GRAMMAR, WITH ENGLISH ANNOTATIONS. By FRANCIS MASON, D.D. I. The Text Aphorisms, I to 673. II. The English Annotations, including the various Readings of six independent Burmese Manuscripts, the Singalese Text on Verbs, and the Cambodian Text on Syntax. To which is added a Concordance of the Aphorisms. In Two Parts. 8vo. sewed, pp. 208, 75, and 28. Toogoo, 1871. £2 11s. 6d.

Mathews.—ABRAHAM BEN EZRA'S UNEDITED COMMENTARY ON THE CANTICLES, the Hebrew Text after two MS., with English Translation by H. J. MATHEWS, B.A., Exeter College, Oxford. 8vo. pp. 34, 24. 2s. 6d.

Mathuráprasáda Misra.—A TRILINGUAL DICTIONARY, being a comprehensive Lexicon in English, Urdu, and Hindi, exhibiting the Syllabication, Pronunciation, and Etymology of English Words, with their Explanation in English, and in Urdu and Hindi in the Roman Character. By MATHURÁPRAŠÁDA MISRA, Second Master, Queen's College, Benares. 8vo. pp. xv. and 1330, cloth. Benares, 1865. £2 2s.

Mayers.—ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE LAMAIST SYSTEM IN TIBET, drawn from Chinese Sources. By WILLIAM FREDERICK MAYERS, Esq., of Her Britannic Majesty's Consular Service, China. 8vo. pp. 24, sewed. 1869. 1s. 6d.


Megha-Duta (The). (Cloud-Messenger.) By Kālidāsa. Translated from the Sanskrit into English verse, with Notes and Illustrations. By the late H. H. Wilson, M.A., F.R.S., Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford, etc., etc. The Vocabulary by Francis Johnson, sometime Professor of Oriental Languages at the College of the Honourable the East India Company, Haileybury. New Edition. 4to. cloth, pp. xi. and 180. 10s. 6d.

Memoirs read before the ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON, 1863-65. 8vo. Vol. I. pp. 542, cloth. 21s.


Moffat.—THE STANDARD ALPHABET PROBLEM; or the Preliminary Subject of a General Phonick System, considered on the basis of some important facts in the Schewana Language of South Africa, and in reference to the views of Professors Lepsius, Max Müller, and others. A contribution to Phonetic Philology. By Robert Moffat, junr., Surveyor, Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. 8vo. pp. xxviii. and 174, cloth. 7s. 6d.


Muhammed.—THE LIFE OF MUHAMMED. Based on Muhammed Ibn Ishak By Abd El Malik Ibn Hisham. Edited by Dr. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld. One volume containing the Arabic Text. 8vo. pp. 1026, sewed. Price 21s. Another volume, containing Introduction, Notes, and Index in German. 8vo. pp. lixxii. and 266, sewed. 7s. 6d. Each part sold separately. The text based on the Manuscripts of the Berlin, Leipsic, Gottha and Leyden Libraries, has been carefully revised by the learned editor, and printed with the utmost exactness.

Muir.—ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS, on the Origin and History of the People of India, their Religion and Institutions. Collected, Translated, and Illustrated by John Muir, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., Ph. D.


Vol. III. The Vedas: Opinions of their Authors, and of later Indian Writers, on their Origin, Inspiration, and Authority. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. 8vo. pp. xxxii. 312, cloth. 1868. 10s.

Vol. V. Contributions to a Knowledge of the Cosmogony, Mythology, Religious Ideas, Life and Manners of the Indians in the Vedic Age. 8vo. pp. xvi. 492, cloth, 1870. 21s.

Müller.—The Sacred Hymns of the Brahmins, as preserved to us in the oldest collection of religious poetry, the Rig-Veda-Samhita, translated and explained. By F. Max Müller, M.A., Fellow of All Souls' College; Professor of Comparative Philology at Oxford; Foreign Member of the Institute of France, etc., etc. Volume I. 8vo. pp. clii. and 264. 12s. 6d.

Müller.—The Hymns of the Rig-Veda, in Samhitá and Pada Texts, without the Commentary of Sáyána. Edited by Prof. Max Müller. In 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 1704, paper. £3 3s.

Müller.—Lecture on Buddhist Nihilism. By F. Max Müller, M.A., Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Oxford; Member of the French Institute, etc. Delivered before the General Meeting of the Association of German Philologists, at Kiel, 28th September, 1869. (Translated from the German.) Sewed. 1869. 1s.


Naradiya Dharma Sastram; or, the Institutes of Narada. Translated for the First Time from the unpublished Sanskrit original. By Dr. Julius Jolly, University, Wurzburg. With a Preface, Notes chiefly critical, an Index of Quotations from Narada in the principal Indian Digests, and a general Index. Crown 8vo., pp. xxxv. 144, cloth. 10s. 6d.


Newman.—The Text of the Iguvine Inscriptions, with interlinear Latin Translation and Notes. By Francis W. Newman, late Professor of Latin at University College, London. 8vo. pp. xvi. and 54, sewed. 2s.

Newman.—Orthoept: or, a simple mode of Accenting English, for the advantage of Foreigners and of all Learners. By Francis W. Newman, Emeritus Professor of University College, London. 8vo. pp. 28, sewed. 1869. 1s.

Nodal.—Elementos de Gramática Quichua ó Idioma de los Yncas. Bajo los Auspicios de la Redentora, Sociedad de Filántropos para mejorar la suerte de los Aborígenes Peruanos. Por el Dr. José Fernandez Nodal, Abogado de los Tribunales de Justicia de la República del Perú. Royal 8vo. cloth, pp. xvi. and 441. Appendix, pp. 9. £1 1s.

Nodal.—Los Vinículos de Ollanta y Cusi-Kuyllor. Drama en Quichua. Obra Compilada y Espurgada con la Version Castellana al Frente de su Testo by the Dr. José Fernandez Nodal, Abogado de los Tribunales de Justicia de la República del Perú. Bajo los Auspicios de la Redentora Sociedad de Filántropos para Mejorar la Suerte de los Aborígenes Peruanos. Roy. 8vo. bds. pp. 70. 1874. 7s. 6d.
Notley.—A Comparative Grammar of the French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese Languages. By Edwin A. Notley. Crown 8vo. cloth, pp. xv. and 396. 7s. 6d.


Nutt.—A Sketch of Samaritan History, Dogma, and Literature. Published as an Introduction to "Fragnments of a Samaritan Targum. By J. W. Nutt, M.A. Demy 8vo. cloth, pp. viii. and 172. 1874. 5s.

Nutt.—Two Treatises on Verbs Containing Feeble and Double Letters by R. Jehuda Hayyag of Fez, translated into Hebrew from the original Arabic by R. Moses Gikatilia, of Cordova; with the Treatise on Punctuation by the same Author, translated by Aben Ezra. Edited from Bodleian MS, with an English Translation by J. W. Nutt, M.A. Demy 8vo. sewed, pp. 312. 1870. 7s. 6d.

Oera Linda Book, from a Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century, with the permission of the Proprietor, C. Over de Linden, of the Holder The Original Frisian Text, as verified by Dr. J. O. Ottema; accompanied by an English Version of Dr. Ottema’s Dutch Translation, by William R. Sandbach. 8vo. cl. pp. xxvii. and 223. 5s.

Ollanta: A Drama in the Quichua Language. See under Markham and under Nodal.


Osburn.—The Monumental History of Egypt, as recorded on the Ruins of her Temples, Palaces, and Tombs. By William Osburn. Illustrated with Maps, Plates, etc. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. xii. and 461; vii. and 643, cloth. £2 2s.

Vol. I.—From the Colonization of the Valley to the Visit of the Patriarch Abram.
Vol. II.—From the Visit of Abram to the Exodus.


Palmer.—A Concise Dictionary of the Persian Language. By E. H. Palmer, M.A., Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. Square 16mo. pp. viii. and 364, cloth. 10s. 6d.

Palmer.—Leaves from a Word Hunter’s Note Book. Being some Contributions to English Etymology. By the Rev. A. Smythe Palmer, B.A., sometime Scholar in the University of Dublin. Cr. 8vo. cl. pp. xii.—316. 7s. 6d.


Among the Contents will be found translations from Hafiz, from Omar El Khayyám, and from other Persian as well as Arabic poets.

Paul-Nâmah. — The Pand-Nâmah; or, Books of Counsels. By Adarbâd Mârâgand. Translated from Pehlevi into Gujarathi, by Harbad Sheriarjee Dadabhoy. And from Gujarathi into English by the Rev. Shapurji Edalji. Fcasp. 8vo. sewed. 1870. 6d.
Pandit's (A) Remarks on Professor Max Müller's Translation of the "Rig-Veda." Sanskrit and English. Fcap. 8vo. sewed. 1870. 6d.

Paspati.—ÉTUDES SUR LES TCHINGHIANÉS (GYPSIES) OU BOHÉMIENS DE L'EMPIRE OTTOMAN. Par ALEXANDRE G. PASPATI, M.D. Large 8vo. sewed, pp. xii. and 652. Constantinople, 1871. 28s.

Patell.—COWASJEE PATELL'S CHRONOLOGY, containing corresponding Dates of the different Eras used by Christians, Jews, Greeks, Hindús, Mohamedans, Parsees, Chinese, Japanese, etc. By COWASJEE SORABJEE PATELL. 4to. pp. viii. and 184, cloth. 50s.

Peking Gazette.—Translation of the Peking Gazette for 1872, 1873, 1874, and 1875. 8vo. pp. 187, 124, 160, and 177. 10s. 6d each.


Phillips.—THE DOCTRINE OF ADDAI THE APOSTLE. Now first Edited in a Complete Form in the Original Syriac, with an English Translation and Notes. By GEORGE PHILLIPS, D.D., President of Queen's College, Cambridge. 8vo. pp. 122, cloth. 7s. 6d.

Pierce the Ploughman's Crede (about 1394 Anno Domini). Transcribed and Edited from the MS. of Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 3, 15. Collated with the MS. Bibl. Reg. 18. B. xvii. in the British Museum, and with the old Printed Text of 1558, to which is appended "God sped the Plough" (about 1560 Anno Domini), from the Lansdowne MS. 762. By the REV. WALTER W. SKEAT, M.A., late Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, pp. xx. and 75, cloth. 1867. 2s. 6d.

Pimentel.—CUADRO DESCRIPTIVO Y COMPARATIVO DE LAS LÉNGUAS INDÍGENAS DE MÉXICO, O Tratado de Filología Mexicana. Par FRANCISCO PIMENTEL. 2 Edición unica completa. 3 Vols. 8vo. México, 1875. £2 2s.


Prakrit-Pakasa; or, The Prakrit Grammar of Vararuchi, with the Commentary (Manorama) of Bhamaha. The first complete edition of the Original Text with Vararuchi Readings from a Collation of Six Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and the Libraries of the Royal Asiatic Society and the East India House; with copious Notes, an English Translation, and Index of Prakrit words, to which is prefixed an easy Introduction to Prakrit Grammar. By E. B. COWELL. Second issue, with new Preface, and corrections. 8vo. pp. xxxii. and 204. 14s.

Priault.—QUESTIONS MOSAIQUE; or, the first part of the Book of Genesis compared with the remains of ancient religions. By OSMOND DE BEAUVOR PRIAULT. 8vo. pp. viii. and 548, cloth. 12s.

Rámayan of Válmiki.—Vols. I. and II. See under GRIFFITH.

Linguistic Publications of Trübner & Co.


Rask.—A Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue. From the Danish of Erasmus Rask, Professor of Literary History in, and Librarian to, the University of Copenhagen, etc. By Benjamin Thorpe. Second edition, corrected and improved. 18mo. pp. 200, cloth. 5s. 6d.

Rawlinson.—A Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria, including Readings of the Inscription on the Nimrud Obelisk, and Brief Notice of the Ancient Kings of Nineveh and Babylon, by Major H. C. Rawlinson. 8vo. pp. 84, sewed. London, 1850. 2s. 6d.

Rawlinson.—Notes on the Early History of Babylonia. By Colonel Rawlinson, C.B. 8vo. 8d., pp. 48. 1s.


Revue Celtique.—The Revue Celtique, a Quarterly Magazine for Celtic Philology, Literature, and History. Edited with the assistance of the Chief Celtic Scholars of the British Islands and of the Continent, and Conducted by H. Gaidoz. 8vo. Subscription, £1 per Volume.

Rhys.—Lectures on Welsh Philology. By John Rhys Crown 8vo. cloth. 10s. 6d. [In preparation.

Rig-Veda.—The Hymns of the Rig-Veda in the Samhitá and Pada Text, without the Commentary of the Sāyana. Edited by Prof. Max Müller. In 2 vols. 8vo. paper, pp. 1704. £3 3s.

Rig-Veda-Sanhita: The Sacred Hymns of the Brahmans. Translated and explained by F. Max Müller, M.A., LL.D., Fellow of All Souls’ College, Professor of Comparative Philology at Oxford, Foreign Member of the Institute of France, etc., etc. Vol. I. HYMNS TO THE MABUTS, OR THE STORM-GODS. 8vo. pp. cli. and 264. cloth. 1869. 12s. 6d.

Rig-Veda-Sanhita: A Collection of Ancient Hindu Hymns. Constituting the First Ashtaka, or Book of the Rig-veda; the oldest authority for the religious and social institutions of the Hindus. Translated from the Original Sanskrit by the late H. H. Wilson, M.A. 2nd Ed., with a Postscript by Dr. Fitzedward Hall. Vol. I. 8vo. cloth, pp. lii. and 348, price 21s.

Rig-veda Sanhita: A Collection of Ancient Hindu Hymns, constituting the Fifth to Eighth Ashtakas, or books of the Rig-Veda, the oldest Authority for the Religious and Social Institutions of the Hindus. Translated from the Original Sanskrit by the late Horace Hayman Wilson, M.A., F.R.S., etc. Edited by E. B. Cowell, M.A., Principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit College. Vol. IV., 8vo., pp. 214, cloth. 14s.

A few copies of Vols. II. and III. still left. [Vols. V. and VI. in the Press.

Roe and Fryer.—Travels in India in the Seventeenth Century. By Sir Thomas Roe and Dr. John Fryer. Reprinted from the “Calcutta Weekly Englishman.” 8vo. cloth, pp. 474. 7s. 6d.

Röhrig.—The Shortest Road to German. Designed for the use of both Teachers and Students. By F. L. O. Röhrig. Cr. 8vo. cloth, pp. vii. and 225. 1874. 7s. 6d.
Rogers.—Notice on the Dinars of the Abbasside Dynasty. By Edward Thomas Rogers, late H.M. Consul, Cairo. 8vo. pp. 44, with a Map and four Autotype Plates. 5s.

Rosny.—A Grammar of the Chinese Language. By Professor Leon de Rosny. 8vo. pp. 48. 1874. 3s.


Sabbakalpadrana, the well-known Sanskrit Dictionary of Rajah Radhâkanta Deva. In Bengali characters. 4to. Parts 1 to 40. (In course of publication.) 3s. 6d. each part.

Sakuntala.—Kalidâsa’s Sakuntalâ. The Bengal Recension. With Critical Notes. Edited by Richard Pischel. 8vo. cloth, pp. xi. and 210. 12s.

Sale.—The Koran; commonly called The Alcoran of Mohammed. Translated into English immediately from the original Arabic. By George Sale, Gent. To which is prefixed the Life of Mohammed. Crown 8vo. cloth, pp. 472. 7s.

Sâma-Vidhâna-Brâhmâna. With the Commentary of Sâvana. Edited, with Notes, Translation, and Index, by A. C. Burnell, M.R.A.S. Vol. I. Text and Commentary. With Introduction. 8vo. cloth, pp. xxxviii. and 104. 12s. 6d.

Sanskrit Works.—A Catalogue of Sanskrit Works Printed in India, offered for Sale at the affixed nett prices by Trübner & Co. 16mo. pp. 52. 1s.


Sayce.—An Assyrian Grammar for Comparative Purposes. By A. H. Sayce, M.A., 12mo. cloth, pp. xvi. and 188. 7s. 6d.

Sayce.—The Principles of Comparative Philology. By A. H. Sayce, Fellow and Tutor of Queen’s College, Oxford. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. cl., pp. xxxii. and 416. 10s. 6d.


Schelde de Vere.—Studies in English; or, Glimpses of the Inner Life of our Language. By M. Schelde de Vere, LL.D., Professor of Modern Languages in the University of Virginia. 8vo. cloth, pp. vi. and 365. 10s. 6d.

Schelde de Vere.—Americanisms: the English of the New World. By M. Schelde de Vere, LL.D., Professor of Modern Languages in the University of Virginia. 8vo. pp. 685, cloth. 12s.


Schemell.—El Mustaker; or, First Born. (In Arabic, printed at Beyrout). Containing Five Comedies, called Comedies of Fiction, on Hopes and Judgments, in Twenty-six Poems of 1092 Verses, showing the Seven Stages of Life, from man’s conception unto his death and burial. By Emin Ibrahim Schemell. In one volume, 4to. pp. 166, sewed. 1870. 5s.


Shapurji Edalji.—A Grammar of the Gujarati Language. By Shapurji Edalji. Cloth, pp. 127. 10s. 6d.


Shaw.—A Sketch of the Turkî Language as spoken in Eastern Turkistan (Kashgar and Yarkand); together with a Collection of Extracts. Part I. By Robert Bunkley Shaw, F.R.G.S. Printed under the authority of the Government of India. Large 8vo. cloth, pp. 174 and 32. Price £1 1s.


Sherring.—Hindu Tribes and Castes, as represented in Benares. By the Rev. M. A. Sherring, M.A., L.L.D., London, Author of “The Sacred City of the Hindus,” etc. With Illustrations. 4to. cloth, pp. xxiii. and 465. £4 4s.

Sherring.—The History of Protestant Missions in India. From their commencement in 1706 to 1871. By the Rev. M. A. Sherring, M.A., London Mission, Benares. Demy 8vo. cloth, pp. xi. and 482. 16s.

Singh.—Saohee Book; or, The Description of Gooroo Gobind Singh’s Religion and Doctrines, translated from Gooroo Mukhi into Hindi, and afterwards into English. By Surdar Attar Singh, Chief of Bhadour. With the author’s photograph. 8vo. pp. xviii. and 205. 15s.

Smith.—A Vocabulary of Proper Names in Chinese and English. Of Places, Persons, Tribes, and Sects, in China, Japan, Corea, Assam, Siam, Burmah, The Straits, and adjacent Countries. By F. Smith. China. 4to. half-bound, pp. vi., 72, and x. 1870. 10s. 6d.

Smith.—Contributions towards the Materia Medica and Natural History of China. For the use of Medical Missionaries and Native Medical Students. By F. Porter Smith, M.B. London, Medical Missionary in Central China. Imp. 4to. cloth, pp. viii. and 240. 1870. £1 1s.

Sophocles.—A Glossary of Later and Byzantine Greek. By E. A. Sophocles. 4to., pp. iv. and 624, cloth. £2 2s.

Sophocles.—Roman or Modern Greek Grammar. By E. A. Sophocles. 8vo. pp. xxviii. and 196. 7s. 6d.

Sophocles.—Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100). By E. A. Sophocles. Imp. 8vo. pp. xvi. 1188, cloth. 1870. £2 8s.


Stratmann.—A Dictionary of the Old English Language. Compiled from the writings of the XXth, XIXth, and XIXth centuries, by Francis Henry Stratmann. Second Edition. 4to., pp. xiii. and 594. 1873. In wrapper, £1 11s. 6d.; cloth, £1 14s.

Stratmann.—An Old English Poem of the Owl and the Nightingale. Edited by Francis Henry Stratmann. 8vo. cloth, pp. 60. 3s.

Strong.—Selections from the Bostan of Sadi, translated into English Verse. By Dawsonne Melanchton Strong, Captain H.M. 10th Bengal Lancers. 12mo. cloth, pp. ii. and 56. 2s. 6d.

Surya-Siddhanta (Translation of the).—A Text Book of Hindu Astronomy, with Notes and Appendix, &c. By W. D. Whitney. 8vo. boards, pp. iv. and 354. £1 11s. 6d.

Swamy.—The Datha-vansa; or, the History of the Tooth-Relic of Gotama Buddha. The Pali Text and its Translation into English, with Notes. By M. Coomara Swamy, Mudilâr. Demy 8vo. cloth, pp. 174. 1874. 10s. 6d.

Swamy.—The Datha-vansa; or, the History of the Tooth-Relic of Gotama Buddha. English Translation only. With Notes. Demy 8vo. cloth, pp. 100. 1874. 6s.

Swamy.—Sutta Nipata; or, the Dialogues and Discourses of Gotama Buddha. Translated from the Pali, with Introduction and Notes. By Sir M. Coomâra Swamy. Cr. 8vo. cloth, pp. xxxvi. and 160. 1874. 6s.

Sweet.—A History of English Sounds, from the Earliest Period, including an Investigation of the General Laws of Sound Change, and full Word Lists. By Henry Sweet. Demy 8vo. cloth, pp. iv. and 194. 4s. 6d.

Syed Ahmad.—A Series of Essays on the Life of Mohammed, and Subjects subsidiary thereto. By Syed Ahmad Khan Bahadur, C.S.I., Author of the “Mohammedan Commentary on the Holy Bible,” Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, and Life Honorary Secretary to the Algygur Scientific Society. 8vo. pp. 532, with 4 Genealogical Tables, 2 Maps, and a Coloured Plate, handsomely bound in cloth. 80s.

Tâittiriya-Pratîcakhyà.—See under Whitney.

Talmud.—Selections from the Talmud. Being Specimens of the Contents of that Ancient Book. Its Commentaries, Teaching, Poetry, and Legends. Also brief Sketches of the Men who made and commented upon it. Translated from the original by H. Polano. 8vo. cloth, pp. 382. 15s.
Linguistic Publications of Trübner & Co.

Tarkavachaspati.—VACHASPATHA, a Comprehensive Dictionary, in Ten Parts. Compiled by TARANATHA TARKAVACHASPATHI, Professor of Grammar and Philosophy in the Government Sanskrit College of Calcutta. An Alphabetically Arranged Dictionary, with a Grammatical Introduction and Copious Citations from the Grammarians and Scholiasts, from the Vedas, etc. Parts I. to VII. 4to. paper. 1873-6. 18s. each Part.

Technological Dictionary.—POCKET DICTIONARY OF TECHNICAL TERMS USED IN ARTS AND SCIENCES. English-German-French. Based on the larger Work by KARMARSCH. 3 vols. imp. 16mo. 12s. cloth.

Technological Dictionary of the terms employed in the Arts and Sciences; Architecture, Civil, Military and Naval; Civil Engineering, including Bridge Building, Road and Railway Making; Mechanics; Machine and Engine Making; Shipbuilding and Navigation; Metallurgy, Mining and Smelting; Artillery; Mathematics; Physics; Chemistry; Mineralogy, etc. With a Preface by Dr. K. KARMARSCH. Second Edition. 3 vols.

Vol. II. German—English—French. 8vo. pp. 646. 10s. 6d.
Vol. III. French—German—English. 8vo. pp. 618. 12s.


The Vision of William concerning Piers Plowman, together with Vita de Dowel, Dobet et Dobest, secundum wit et resoun. By WILLIAM LANGLAND (about 1362-1380 anno domini). Edited from numerous Manuscripts, with Prefaces, Notes, and a Glossary. By the REV. WALTER W. SKRETH, M.A. pp. xiv. and 158, cloth, 1867. Vernon A. Text; Text 7s. 6d.

Thomas.—EARLY SASSANIAN INSCRIPTIONS, SEALS AND COINS, illustrating the Early History of the Sassanian Dynasty, containing Proclamations of Ardashir Bahk, Sapor I, and his Successors. With a Critical Examination and Explanation of the Celebrated Inscription in the Hajijabad Cave, demonstrating that Sapor, the Conqueror of Valerian, was a Professing Christian. By EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S. Illustrated. 8vo. cloth, pp. 148. 7s. 6d.


Thomas.—THE REVENUE RESOURCES OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA, from A.D. 1583 to A.D. 1707. A Supplement to “The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi.” By EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S. Demy 8vo., pp. 60, cloth. 3s. 6d.

Thomas.—COMMENTS ON RECENT Pehlvi Decipherments. With an Incidental Sketch of the Derivation of Aryan Alphabets, and contributions to the Early History and Geography of Tabaristan. Illustrated by Coins. By EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S. 8vo. pp. 56, and 2 plates, cloth, sewed. 3s. 6d.

Thomas.—SASSANIAN COINS. Communicated to the Numismatic Society of London. By E. THOMAS, F.R.S. Two parts. With 3 Plates and a Woodcut. 12mo, sewed, pp. 43. 5s.

Thomas.—RECORDS OF THE GUPTA DYNASTY. Illustrated by Inscriptions, Written History, Local Tradition and Coins. To which is added a Chapter on the Arabs in Sind. By EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S. Folio, with a Plate, handsomely bound in cloth, pp. iv. and 64. Price 14s.

Thomas.—THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF CREOLE GRAMMAR. By J. J. THOMAS. Port of Spain (Trinidad), 1869. 1 vol. 8vo. bds. pp. viii. and 135. 12s.
Thorburn.—BANNÚ; or, Our Afghan Frontier. By S. S. THORBURN, I.C.S., Settlement Officer of the Bannú District. 8vo. cloth. pp. x. and 480. 18s.

Thorpe.—Diplomatarium Anglicum ÆVI Saxonici. A Collection of English Charters, from the reign of King Æthelberht of Kent, A.D., DCV., to that of William the Conqueror. Containing: I. Miscelaneous Charters. II. Wills. III. Guilds. IV. Manumissions and Acquittances. With a Translation of the Anglo-Saxon. By the late BENJAMIN THORPE, Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the Society of Netherlandish Literature at Leyden. 8vo. pp. xlii. and 682, cloth. 1865. £1 1s.

Tindall.—A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Namqua-Hottentot Language. By HENRY TINDALL, Wesleyan Missionary. 8vo. pp. 124, sewed. 6s.

Trübner's Bibliotheca Sanscrita. A Catalogue of Sanskrit Literature, chiefly printed in Europe. To which is added a Catalogue of Sanskrit Works printed in India; and a Cateogule of Pali Books. Constantly for sales by Trübner & Co. Cr. 8vo. sd. pp. 84. 2s. 6d.

Trumpp.—Grammar of the Pāsto, or Language of the Afghans, compared with the Iranian and North-Indian Idioms. By Dr. ERNEST TRUMPP. 8vo. sewed, pp. xvi. and 412. 21s.

Trumpp.—Grammar of the Sindhi Language. Compared with the Sanskrit-Prakrit and the Cognate Indian Vernaculars. By Dr. ERNEST TRUMPP. Printed by order of Her Majesty's Government for India. Demy 8vo. sewed, pp. xvi. and 590. 15s.

Van der Tuuk.—Outlines of a Grammar of the Malayasý Language. By H. N. VAN DER TUUK. 8vo., pp. 28, sewed. 1s.

Van der Tuuk.—Short Account of the Malay Manuscripts Belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society. By H. N. VAN DER TUUK. 8vo., pp. 52. 2s. 6d.

Vedarthayatana (The); or, an Attempt to Interpret the Vedas. A Marathi and English Translation of the Rig Veda, with the Original Sanshitá and Pada Texts in Sanskrit. Parts I. to V. 8vo. pp. 1—313. Price 3s. 6d. each.

Vishnu-Purana (The); a System of Hindu Mythology and Tradition. Translated from the original Sanskrit, and Illustrated by Notes derived chiefly from other Purāpas. By the late H. H. WILSON, M.A., F.R.S., Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford, etc., etc. Edited by FITZEDWARD HALL. In 6 vols. 8vo. Vol. I. pp. exl. and 200; Vol. II. pp. 348; Vol. III. pp. 348; Vol. IV. pp. 346, cloth; Vol. V. pp. 392, cloth. 10s. 6d. each. Vol. V., Part 2, containing the Index, and completing the Work, is in the Press.

Wade.—Yù-Yen T'U-EH Ch'i. A progressive course designed to assist the Student of Colloquial Chinese, as spoken in the Capital and the Metropolitan Department. In eight parts, with Key, Syllabary, and Writing Exercises. By THOMAS FRANCIS WADE, C.B., Secretary to Her Britannic Majesty's Legation, Peking. 3 vols. 4to. Progressive Course, pp. xx. 296 and 16; Syllabary, pp. 126 and 36; Writing Exercises, pp. 48; Key, pp. 174 and 140, sewed. £4.

Wade.—Wén-Chien T'U-EH Ch'i. A series of papers selected as specimens of documentary Chinese, designed to assist Students of the language, as written by the officials of China. In sixteen parts, with Key. Vol. I. By THOMAS FRANCIS WADE, C.B., Secretary to Her Britannic Majesty's Legation at Peking. 4to., half-cloth, pp. xii. and 455; and iv., 72, and 52. £1 16s.


Watson.—Index to the Native and Scientific Names of Indian and other Eastern Economic Plants and Products, originally prepared under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council. By JOHN FORBES WATSON, M.A., M.D., F.L.S., F.R.A.S., etc., Reporter on the Products of India. Imperial 8vo., cloth, pp. 650. £1 11s. 6d.

Webster.—An Introductory Essay to the Science of Comparative Theology; with a Tabular Synopsis of Scientific Religion. By Edward Webster, of Ealing, Middlesex. Read in an abbreviated form as a Lecture to a public audience at Ealing, on the 3rd of January, 1870, and to an evening congregation at South Place Chapel, Finsbury Square, London, on the 27th of February, 1870. 8vo. pp. 28, sewed. 1870. 1s.


Wedgwood.—On the Origin of Language. By Hensleigh Wedgwood, late Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. Fcap. 8vo. pp. 172, cloth. 3s. 6d.


Wheeler.—The History of India from the Earliest Ages. By J. Talboys Wheeler, Assistant Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, Secretary to the Indian Record Commission, author of "The Geography of Herodotus," etc. etc. Demy 8vo. cl.

Vol. III. Hindu, Buddhist, Brahmanical Revival. pp. 464, with two maps. 18s

Wheeler.—Journal of a Voyage up the Irrawaddy to Mandalay and Bhamo. By J. Talboys Wheeler. 8vo. pp. 104, sewed. 1871. 3s. 6d.

Whitney.—Oriental and Linguistic Studies. The Veda; the Avesta; the Science of Language. By William Dwight Whitney, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in Yale College. Cr. 8vo. cl., pp. x. and 418. 12s.

Contents.—The Vedas.—The Vedic Doctrine of a Future Life.—Müller's History of Vedic Literature.—The Translation of the Veda.—Müller's Rig-Veda Translation.—The Avesta.—Indo-European Philology and Ethnology.—Müller's Lectures on Language.—Present State of the Question as to the Origin of Language.—Bleek and the Simious Theory of Language.—Schleicher and the Physical Theory of Language.—Steinthal and the Psychological Theory of Language.—Language and Education.—Index.


Whitney.—Atharva Veda Prātiçañkhyā; or, Čauñakīyā Caturādhyāyikā (The). Text, Translation, and Notes. By William D. Whitney, Professor of Sanskrit in Yale College. 8vo. pp. 286, boards. £1 11s. 6d.

Whitney.—_Language and Its Study_, with especial reference to the Indo-European Family of Languages. Seven Lectures by W. D. Whitney, Professor of Sanskrit, and Instructor in Modern Languages in Yale College. Edited with Introduction, Notes, Tables of Declension and Conjugation, Grimm's Law with Illustration, and an Index, by the Rev. R. Morris, M.A., L.L.D. Cr. 8vo. cl., pp. xxii. and 318. 5s.

Whitney.—_Surya-Siddhanta_ (Translation of the): A Text-book of Hindu Astronomy, with Notes and an Appendix, containing additional Notes and Tables, Calculations of Elevenses, a Stellar Map, and Indexes. By W. D. WHITNEY. 8vo. pp. iv. and 354, boards. £1 11s. 6d.

Whitney.—_Taittirîya-Prātiṣṭākhyà_, with its Commentary, the Tribhāshyaratana: Text, Translation, and Notes. By W. D. Whitney, Prof. of Sanskrit in Yale College, New Haven. 8vo. pp. 469. 1871. 25s.

Williams.—_A Dictionary, English and Sanscrit_. By Monier Williams, M.A. Published under the Patronage of the Honourable East India Company. 4to. pp. xii. 862, cloth. 1855. £3 3s.

Williams.—_A Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language_, arranged according to the Wu-Fang Yuen Yin, with the pronunciation of the Characters as heard in Peking, Canton, Amoy, and Shanghai. By S. Wells Williams. 4to. cloth, pp. lxxxiv. and 1282. 1874. £5 5s.

Williams.—_First Lessons in the Maori Language_. With a Short Vocabulary. By W. L. Williams, B.A. Fcasp. 8vo. pp. 68, cloth. 6s.

Williams.—_A Sanskrit-English Dictionary_, Etymologically and Philologically arranged, with special reference to Greek, Latin, German, Anglo-Saxon, English, and other cognate Indo-European Languages. By Monier Williams, M.A., Boden Professor of Sanskrit. 4to. cloth. £4 14s. 6d.

Wilson.—_Works of the late Horace Hayman Wilson, M.A., F.R.S._, Member of the Royal Asiatic Societies of Calcutta and Paris, and of the Oriental Soc. of Germany, etc., and Boden Prof. of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford. Vols I. and II. _Essays and Lectures_ chiefly on the Religion of the Hindus, by the late H. H. WILSON, M.A., F.R.S., etc. Collected and edited by Dr. REINHOLD ROST. 2 vols cloth, pp. xiii. and 399, vi. and 416. 21s.

Vols. III, IV, and V. _Essays Analytical, Critical, and Philological, on Subjects connected with Sanskrit Literature_. Collected and Edited by Dr. REINHOLD ROST. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. 408, 408, and 390, cloth. Price 36s.

Vols. VI., VII., VIII., IX. and X. _Vinshu Puràna_, A System of Hindu Mythology and Tradition. Translated from the original Sanskrit, and Illustrated by Notes derived chiefly from other Purâpâs. By the late H. H. Wilson, Edited by FITZEDWARD HALL, M.A., D.C.L., OXON. Vols. I. to V. 8vo., pp. cxl. and 260; 344; 344; 346, cloth. 21. 12s. 6d.

Vol. V. Part 2. containing the Index, and completing the Work, is in the Press.

Vols. XI. and XII. _Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus_. Translated from the Original Sanskrit. By the late HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, M.A., F.R.S. 3rd corrected Ed. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. lxii. and 384; and iv. and 418, cl. 21s.


**CONTENTS.**


Vol. II.—Dramas translated from the Original Sanskrit—Malâtî and Mádhava, or the Stolen Marriage—Mudrâ Râkshasa, or the Signet of the Minister—Ratnâvall, or the Necklace—Appendix, containing short accounts of different Dramas.


Wise.—Commentary on the Hindu System of Medicine. By T. A. Wise, M.D., Bengal Medical Service. 8vo., pp. xx. and 432, cloth. 7s. 6d.


Withers.—The English Language Spelled as Pronounced, with enlarged Alphabet of Forty Letters. With Specimen. By George Withers. Royal 8vo. sewed, pp. 84. 1s.

Wright.—Feudal Manuals of English History. A Series of Popular Sketches of our National History, compiled at different periods, from the Thirteenth Century to the Fifteenth, for the use of the Feudal Gentry and Nobility. Now first edited from the Original Manuscripts. By Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A. Small 4to. cloth, pp. xxiv. and 184. 1872. 15s.

Wright.—The Homes of Other Days. A History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments during the Middle Ages. By Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. 'With Illustrations from the Illuminations in contemporary Manuscripts and other Sources, drawn and engraved by F. W. Fairholt, Esq., F.S.A. 1 Vol. medium 8vo. handsomely bound in cloth, pp. xv. and 512. 360 Woodcuts. £1 1s.

Wright.—Anglo-Saxon and Old-English Vocabularies, Illustrating the Condition and Manners of our Forefathers, as well as the History of the Forms of Elementary Education, and of the Languages spoken in this Island from the Tenth Century to the Fifteenth. Edited by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., etc. Second Edition, edited, collated, and corrected by Richard Wulcker. [In the press.]


Wylie.—Notes on Chinese Literature; with introductory Remarks on the Progressive Advancement of the Art; and a list of translations from the Chinese, into various European Languages. By A. Wylie, Agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society in China. 4to. pp. 296, cloth. Price, 1l. 16s.

Yates.—A Bengal Grammar. By the late Rev. W. Yates, D.D. Reprinted, with improvements, from his Introduction to the Bengali Language Edited by L. Wenger. Fcap. 8vo., pp. iv. and 150, bda. Calcutta, 1864. 3s. 6d.

STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, PRINTERS, HERTFORD.