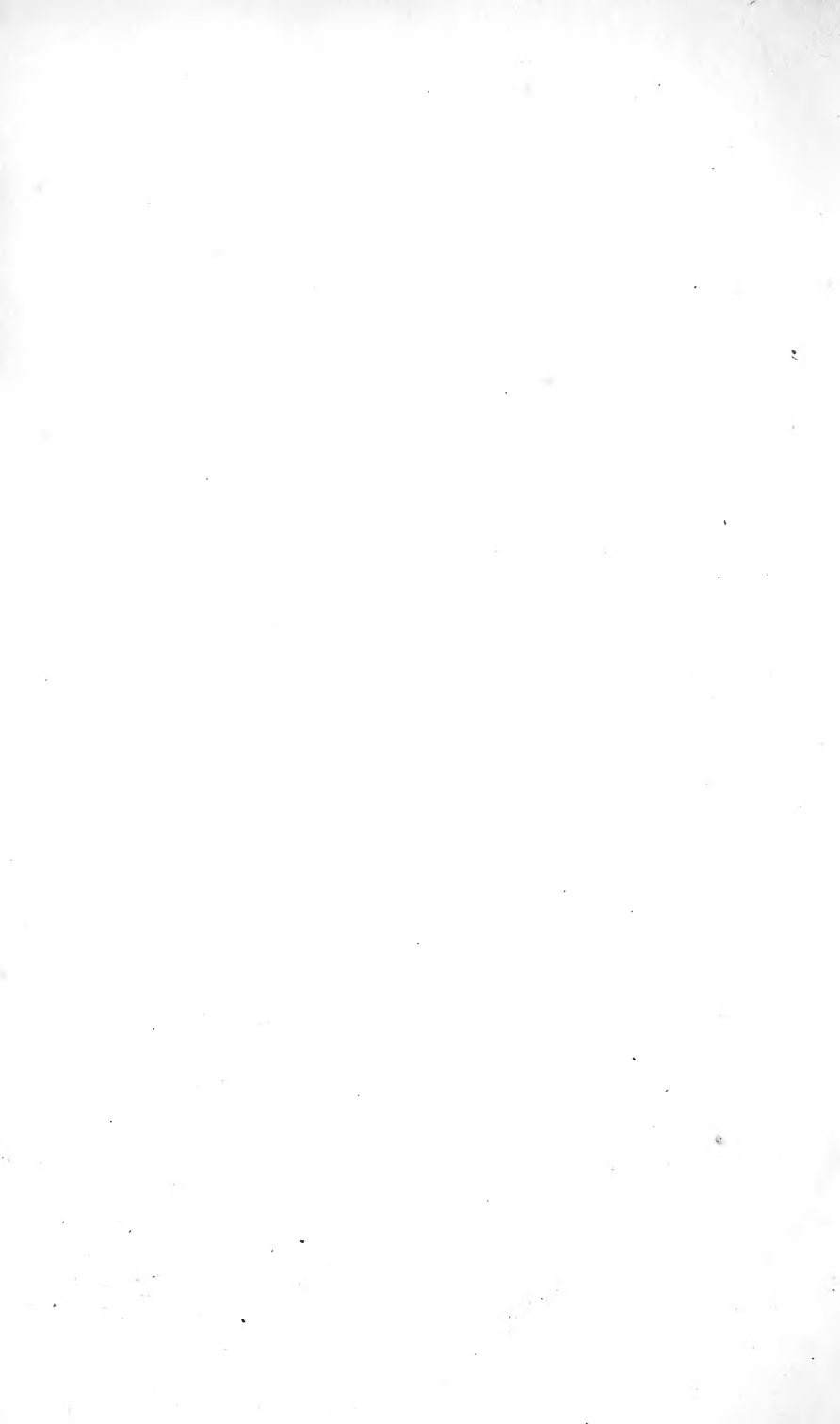


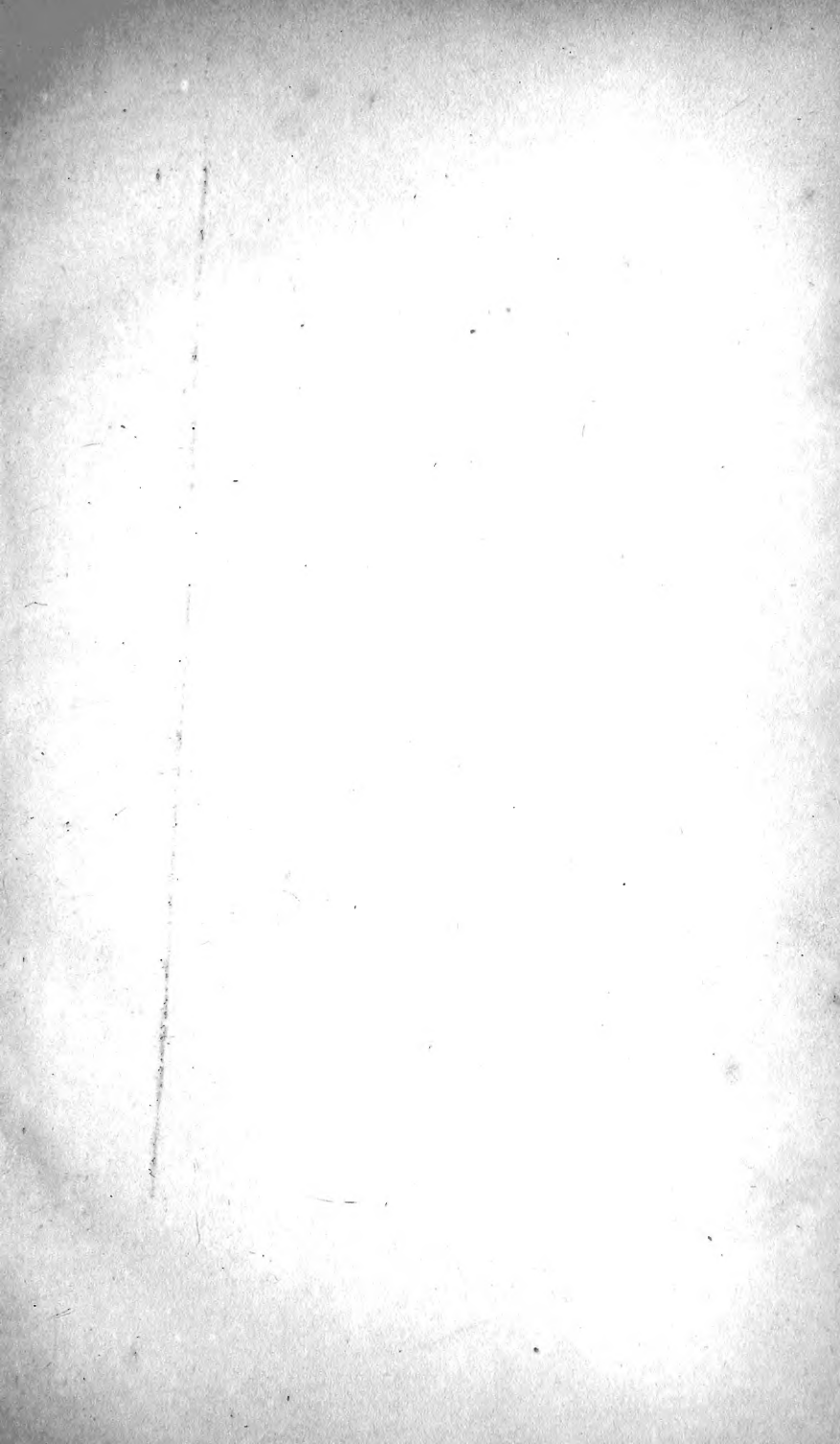
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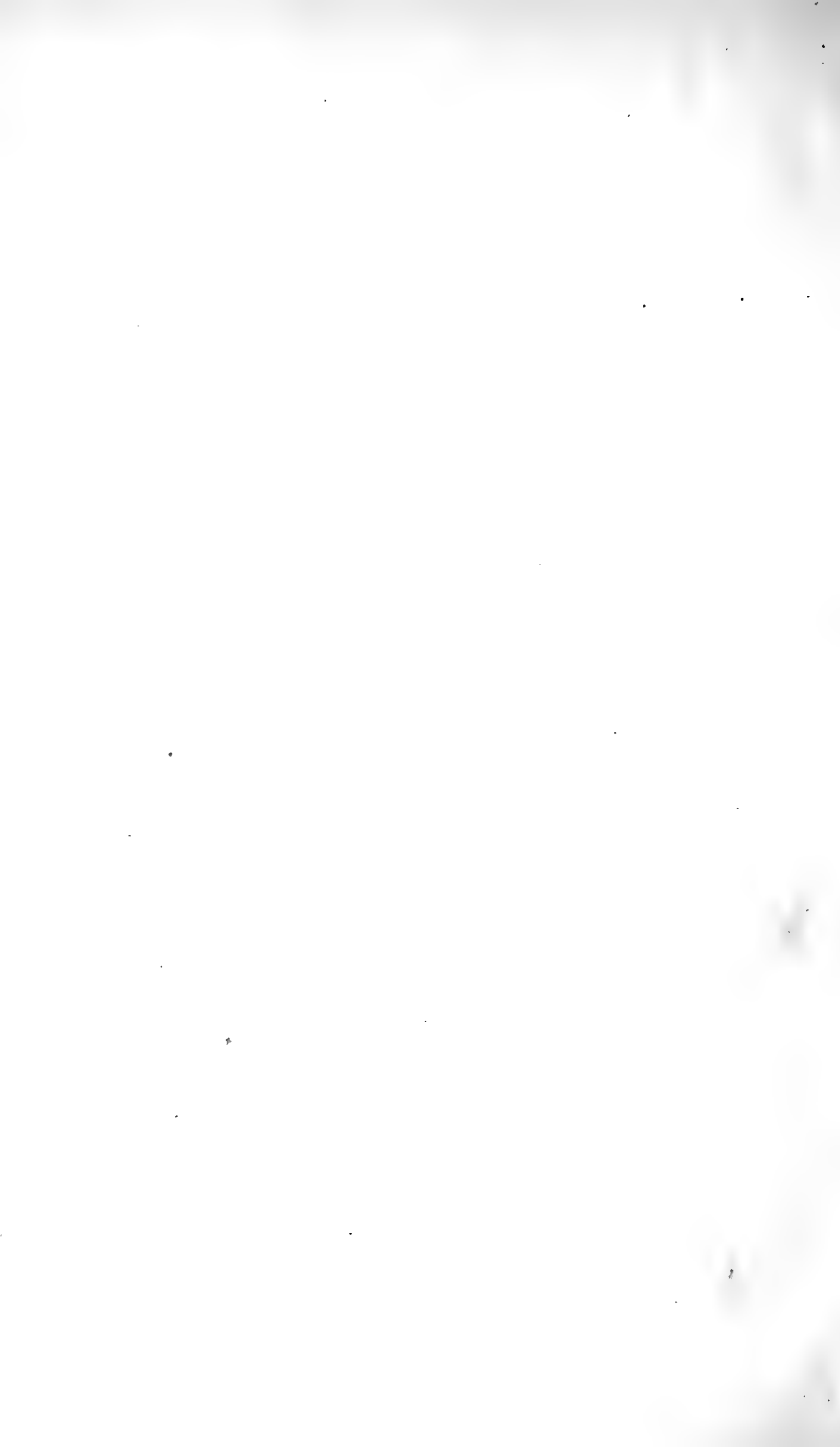
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JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.



VOL. XXXVII.

PART I.

(Nos. I AND II.—1868.)

EDITED BY

THE PHILOLOGICAL SECRETARY.

“It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologists, and men of science, in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease.”

SIR WM. JONES.

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(Published 28th August, 1868.)

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JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PART I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1868.

Contributions to Persian Lexicography.—By H. BLOCHMANN, Esq. M. A.,
Assistant Professor, Calcutta Madrasah.

[Received 11th April, 1868.]

One of the greatest lexicographical undertakings which so eminently distinguish our present time, is Lane's Arabic Dictionary. The Arabic student who hitherto had at nearly every step to supply or correct his meagre vocabularies, finds in it all he can desire. The learned natives of India who had looked upon Fírúzábádí as insurpassable, are astonished to hear of a *Madd i Qámús*. England may indeed be proud of a work which marks an epoch in the history of Arabic learning in Europe.

We trust that the standard which Lane's Dictionary has created, will soon be followed by a compiler of a Persian Dictionary. There exists no reliable Persian Dictionary. Nothing worth the name has been done for Persian lexicography since the days of Castelli and Meninski. This is a matter of surprise, as there are most excellent sources from which a good Persian dictionary could be compiled. The deficiency of all existing dictionaries lies in this, that the compilers, one and all, have used secondary or tertiary sources, instead of having recourse, as Lane did, to original and carefully selected native works.

The sources for compiling a reliable Persian dictionary are the lexicographical works written by *Indians*. In India, as in Túrán,

Persian has been a subject of study and the medium of education. The value of the Indian dictionaries is fully acknowledged by the Persians themselves. Surúrî's *Majma'ulfurs* is indeed the only dictionary written by a Persian, which a compiler will have to consult; and even this book is *half* Indian. The number of Irání lexicographers is small. The better dictionaries written before A. D. 1400 are mostly of Túránían origin. The very first Persian dictionary was written at Soghd. With 1400 the period of the Indian dictionaries commences. Each is an improvement upon the preceding; in each we find the number of words and quotations steadily increasing, till we see them culminating in the *Farhang i Jahángirí*, which brought the old Túrání and Irání dictionaries into oblivion. The practical *vocabulary*, entitled *Burhán i Qátí'*, which has been acknowledged to be the

جامع ترین لغات فارسی

closes the first period, the *period of gathering*, A. D. 1400 to 1652.

With *Rashídí* commences the second epoch of the Indian dictionaries, the *period of criticism*. The two dictionaries of this period, though not yet used by European compilers, must be the basis of a critical dictionary of the Persian language. *Rashídí's Farhang*—let compilers like obedient muríds follow this murshid!—is a critical work on all Indian dictionaries up to the *Farhang i Jahángirí*, whilst the *Siráj ullughát* by Khán Arzú is the indispensable *Vade Mecum* for those who use the *Burhán*. The *Siráj* is at the same time the last dictionary of note for the classical Persian. Towards the end of the past century at last, when sufficient time had elapsed since the death of Kalím, the last poet of the silver age of Persian literature, there appeared the *Muḡtalahát ushshu'ará* and the stupendous *Bahár i 'Ajám*, two works written by Hindoos on the *Isti'mál i Mutaakhhharín* or usage of the writers after Jámí, the last, though not the least, of the classics. The dictionaries of the present age, with the exception of the *Ghiás ullughát*, deserve no notice. The *Shamsullughát* compiled under the direction of a gentleman whose family is known in Calcutta for their liberality, and the *Haft Qulzum* of Lucknow are too full of typographical errors, to render their use desirable.

We may notice that nearly every province of India can point to a lexicographer. Bengal is represented by the quaint *Farhang i Ibráhímí*; *Bahár* by the *Kashf*; the *Dekkhan* by the *Burhán*; the

North-West by the *Adát*, “*primum in Indis*,” the *Muayyid* and the *Siráj*; *Sirhind* by the *Madár*; the *Punjáb* by the *Farhang i Jahángirí* and the *Muḩṩalahát ushshu’ará*; *Sind* by *Rashídí*. Again, four dictionaries are dedicated to princes, and one bears *Akbar’s* stamp.

When we compare the lexicography of the Arabs with that of the Persians, we find some remarkable differences. The Arabs have left us not only more, but they have also shewn a greater interest than the Persians for their ancient literature. Their dictionaries delight in quotations from the ancients. Persian dictionaries on the other hand abound in ancient words, for which there are no proofs, and for which it is now-a-days impossible to find proofs. This absence of proofs has caused varieties of spellings and meanings which are most perplexing. Many words are hopelessly doubtful. To distinguish such words in some way or other, is the first duty of a future compiler.

Another difference is this that in Persian dictionaries the language of the prose is not represented. All quotations are verses. Constructions of verbs with different prepositions are rarely, if ever, to be met with; phrases are never entered, unless they be poetical metaphors. Native lexicographers having thus neglected the Persian prose, modern compilers have still a field left for independent research.

II.

The sources which are absolutely required for the compilation of a *reliable* dictionary of the Persian language, are the following ten—

- | | | |
|---------|------------------|---|
| 1. Ad. | آداة الفضا | written A. D. 1419. |
| 2. Sh. | شرفنامه | written <i>after</i> A. D. 1428 and <i>before</i> 1445. |
| 3. Mu. | موید الفضا | written A. D. 1519. |
| 4. Ma. | مدار الافاضل | written A. D. 1593. |
| 5. FJ. | فرهنگ جهانگیری | written A. D. 1608. |
| 6. Sur. | مجمع الفرس سروری | second edition, written A. D. 1629. |
| 7. R. | فرهنگ رشیدی | written A. D. 1653. |
| 8. Sir. | سراج اللغات | written A. D. 1735. |
| 9. Bh. | بهار عجم | written between A. D. 1739 & 1768. |
| 10. Gh. | غیاث اللغات | written A. D. 1826. |

I subjoin here a list of abbreviations referring to other lexicographical works, &c., mentioned below.

- B. برهان قاطع, written A. D. 1652.
 F. فرهنگ شعوری, written A. D. 1742.
 SHL. شمس اللغات, printed A. D. 1806.
 HK. هفت قلزم, printed A. D. 1822.

V. Vullers' Lexicon Persico-Latinum, Bonn 1855.

A.A. اکبرى, by the author in the Bibliotheca Indica.

The Burhán ought not to be used by future compilers except as a guide for the arrangement of the words.

The sources used by the authors of the ten works which I consider absolutely necessary for the compilation of a reliable dictionary of the Persian language, are mostly forgotten. Many of them perhaps no longer exist; others are only to be found in the libraries of Europe. The abbreviations in the following alphabetical list of the sources of the ten shew by whom they were used.

1. فرهنگ ابوالحفص سعدي, FJ., Sur.
2. فرهنگ ابوالمنصور على بن احمد
بن منصور الاسدي الطوسي, Ad., FJ., Sur.
3. فرهنگ ابراهيمي, FJ. This appears to be another
dictionary than No. 28.
4. فرهنگ آداة الفضلا, Sh., Mu., Ma., FJ., Sur. Vide
below.
5. فرهنگ استاد عبد الله نيشاپوري, FJ.
6. فرهنگ اسکندري, FJ. Vide 10.
7. فرهنگ برهان قاطع, Sir., Bh., Gh.
8. فرهنگ بهار عجم, Gh. Vide below.
9. فرهنگ تحفة الاحباب تصنيف
حافظ اوبهي, FJ., Sur.
10. فرهنگ تحفة السعادة تاليف مولانا
محمود بن شيخ ضياء الدين محمد, Sur., and Ma. who mentions it
as از کتب متاخرين. The Ma. calls
it تحفة السعادة سکندري; hence
it may be the same as No. 6.
11. فرهنگ جامع لغات منظوم نيازی حجازي, FJ., Sur. who found in some MSS.
حجازي instead of بخاري.
12. فرهنگ جهانگیری, Sur., R., B., Sir., Gh. Vide
below.
13. چراغ هدايت, Gh. Vide below.

14. فرهنگ حسینی وفائی, FJ., Sur.
 15. فرهنگ حکیم قطران, FJ.
 16. فرهنگ حسینی, FJ.
 17. فرهنگ دستور الافضل, Ad., Mu., FJ.
 18. فرهنگ دستور الفضل, FJ.
 19. فرهنگ رساله النصیر, Ad., FJ.
 20. فرهنگ رشیدی, Sir., Bh., Gh. Vide below.
 21. فرهنگ زفانگویا جهان پویا المشهور
 , بهفت بخشی تصنیف بدرالدین, Sh., Mu., Ma. who mentions it as از کذب متقدمین, FJ., Sur. My MSS. of the Ma. have المشهور بی پنج بخشی R.
 22. فرهنگ سامانی, R.
 23. سراج اللغات, Gh. Vide below.
 24. فرهنگ سرمه سلیمانی, B., Gh.
 25. فرهنگ سعیدی بن نصیر بن طاهر بن تمیم
 الغزنوی که بنام خواجه نظام الملک نوشته
 و آن یک هزار و دو بیست و پنج لغت است
 , و مسمی بسخن نامه نظامی, FJ.
 26. کتاب شامل اللغات تالیف قرا حصار
 , که معانی لغات را بترکی نوشته, Sur.
 27. شرح سامی فی الاسامی المیدانی, Sur.
 28. فرهنگ شرفنامه احمد منیری تالیف
 , ابراهیم قوام فاروقی, Mu., Ma., FJ., Sur. Vide below.
 29. فرهنگ شیخ زاده عاشق, FJ.
 30. فرهنگ شیخ عبد الرحیم بهاری, FJ. This is the Kashf-
 allughát; vide below.
 31. فرهنگ شیخ محمد بهاری, FJ.
 32. صحاح الادویه تصنیف حسین الانصاری, B.
 33. فرهنگ ضمیر, FJ.
 34. فرهنگ عاصمی, FJ.
 35. فرهنگ عالمی, FJ. Perhaps also Ma.,
 who quotes a dictionary called in my MSS.
 فرهنگ علمی.
 36. فرهنگ عجائب, FJ.

37. فرهنگ علي بيگ نه Ma., FJ.
38. غياث اللغات, Vide below.
39. فردوس اللغات تصنيف عطاء الله Gh.
40. فرهنگ فوائد برهاني و فردوسي Ad., FJ.
41. فرهنگ قاضي ظهير FJ.
42. فرهنگ قنیه الطالبين Mu., Ma., FJ.
43. فرهنگ قنیه الفتیان Ma., FJ.
44. فرهنگ لطائف اللغات Gh. Vide below.
45. فرهنگ لطف الله بن يوسف حکيمی که
معني لغات بترکي نوشته Sur.
46. فرهنگ لسان الشعرا Ad., Sh., Mu., Ma., FJ.,
Sur.
47. فرهنگ لغات ديوان خاقاني FJ.
48. فرهنگ لغات شاهنامه FJ.
49. مجمع الفرس سروری Vide below. R., B., Sir.,
Gh.
50. مجمع اللغات خاني Vide below.
51. مجموع اللغات ابوالفضل بن مبارك Gh.
52. فرهنگ محمد بن قيس FJ.
53. فرهنگ محمد بن هذوشاه منشي که بنام
54. غياث الدين رشيد تصنيف کرده FJ., Sur.
55. فرهنگ مختصر FJ.
56. فرهنگ ميوزا ابراهيم بن ميوزا شاه حسين
اصفهانى FJ., Sur. who calls it
نسخه ميوزا, to distin-
guish it from No. 28.
57. فرهنگ مصطلحات الشعرا Bh., Gh. Vide below.
58. فرهنگ معيار جمالي تاليف افصح المتكلمين,
شمس فخري FJ., Sur.
59. فرهنگ مولانا الهداد سوهندي FJ. This is the Madár;
vide below.
60. فرهنگ منصور شيرازي FJ.
61. فرهنگ مولانا مبارك شاه غزنوي مشهور
بفخر قواس Ad., Sh., Ma., FJ.
62. فرهنگ موزني Sir.
63. فرهنگ مويد الفضل Ma., FJ., Sur. Vide
below.

64. فرهنگ مواید الفواید Sh., Mu., Ma., FJ.

65. فرهنگ نصاب الصديان Ma., FJ., Gh.

The last work is written by Muhammed Badruddín, better known as Abú Naçr i Faráhi, of Farah, a town in Sijistán. The book which has often been printed in India, is an ancient vocabulary in rhyme, and is used in nearly every school in India. There exist several commentaries to it, by محمد بن فصیح دشت بیاضی who lived at the time of Akbar, یوسف بن مانع, and نظام هروی.

The above list of Persian Dictionaries does not give the names of the فرهنگ تبختوری and the فرهنگ حل لغات الشعرا, two dictionaries often quoted by the Madár; but I suspect they are mentioned above under a different name.

III.

After having specified the sources of the ten most valuable dictionaries, I add a few notes on several of them. The notes are necessarily short, as the subject matter of a dictionary is almost entirely independent of the character and mind of the compiler. I trust, however, that the remarks will be of some value, as they are the result of six years' lexicographical studies. With the exception of Surúri's Majma'ulfurs the notes refer to *Indian* works.

1. آداة الفضل.

This Dictionary is compiled by قاضي خان بدر محمد of Delhi. The author adds to his name the words المعروف بدهاروال. The dictionary was written in A. H. 822, or A. D. 1419, more than twenty years after the sack of Delhi by Taimúr. The book is rather a vocabulary than a dictionary; the first part contains Persian words, and the second Persian phrases. The words are arranged according to the first, second, and last letters. No examples are given. For ancient Persian words, especially for such for which there are no proofs, the *Adát* is of some importance. Otherwise the value of the book is rather historical. MSS. are rare.

2. شرفنامه ابراهيمي.

The name of the author is ابراهيم قوام فاروقي; hence his dictionary is sometimes called فرهنگ ابراهيمي. He was a disciple of the famous saint Sharafuddín Ahmad of Munair, a town in Bahár, to whose honor the compiler called his work *Sharafnámah*. He says in the preface (metre Mutaqárib)—

سرپا که مملو ز در دری است شرفنامهٔ احمد منیری است

“The *Sharafnámah* of Ahmad i Munyarí is a dress of honor, filled “with the pearls of the Darí-Persian.” Hence the dictionary is best known under the name of *Sharafnámah i Ibráhímí*. It must not be confounded with the *Farhang i Mirzá Ibráhím*, a later dictionary used by the authors of the FJ. and Sur.

The birthplace of Ibráhím is unknown. It is however clear that he was an Indian; for like the *Ádát* he gives many Hindee equivalents, and mentions Indian pronunciations of Persian words. He lived some time in Persia, and has thus been able to add words and meanings which he heard from natives. He names several times a Shaikh Wáhidí of Shíráz, and an Amír Shihábuddín Hakím, of Kirmán, whose remarks he enters. Thus

پشماق بالغفتح اسپ و این تسامع است از امیر شهاب الدین حکیم کرمانی

The dictionary must have been written during the time of Bárbak, who reigned in Bengal from A. D. 1428 to 1445, as it ends with the following verses (metre *Ramal*)—

لجامه *

بو المظفر باریک شه شاه عالم باد وهست در نگین او همیشه ملک جم باد وهست
دائما ورد زبان فتح هست وهم ظفر بو المظفر باریک شه شاه عالم باد وهست

The work consists of a short treatise on Persian and Turkish terminations, a large number of Persian words and phrases, interspersed with a few Arabic nouns and infinitives, and a collection of Chagatái words. The latter are given separately at the end of each *façl* of Persian words, which arrangement has been followed in the next dictionary and the *Madár*.

In using the dictionary we have to look to the first, last, and second letters of the words. Examples of verses are frequent. The MS. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 1332,—by no means a good one—has an appendix containing the Turkish numerals, and a list of Persian metres.

As a peculiarity of this dictionary, we have to mention that the compiler, though an Indian, follows in the arrangement of the words the rule of *دال* and *ذال*. From the time of the introduction of the Arabic characters up to the time of the poet *Jámí*, the last of the classics, the Irání Persian writers used the letter *ذال* *dzal* for *دال* *dál*, after a long á, í, ú (حروف مد), as *بود* for *búd*; and 2. after every consonant, *بی*,

و, ! excepted, provided that consonant has a vowel, *i. e.*, after the متحرک حروف صحیح, as گدبذ, نذرو, نشیند; but *never* after diphthongs, as in میده; nor after consonants with the jazm (حروف صحیح ساکن), as in کرد, چند, &c. This interchange between ذال and دال was never extended to Arabic words. Beside the Sharafnámah, Surúri's Majma' ulfurs is the only dictionary in which the rule has been adhered to in the arrangement of the words.

The dictionary itself deserves the attention of future compilers, as it has not been sufficiently used. The author is very exact; in his explanations he pays particular attention to legendary names, especially those of the Sháhnámah, and to plants and their medical properties. MSS. are rare.

3. مؤید الغضال

This dictionary was compiled A. H. 925, or A. D. 1519, by Shaikh Muhammad ibn i Shaikh Lád (لاد) of Delhi. His object was to complete the Sharafnámah through the addition of words and phrases from the Qunyat uttálibín. Hence his dictionary is more voluminous. Every façl is tripartite; first come the Arabic, then the Persian, and lastly the Turkish words. The appendix to the dictionary contains the Arabic, Persian and Turkish numerals, and a small Persian grammar. Examples of verses occur but rarely.

The arrangement is the same as in the Sharafnámah. Nothing is known of the author himself. From a remark in the preface we know that he had two children. The reigning king receives no praise; nor was Ibráhím Lódhí a fit subject for an encomium.

MSS. of this dictionary are numerous.

4. كشف اللغات

This dictionary was compiled by 'Abdurrahím ibn i Ahmad Súr of Bahár. It contains the words of the Sharafnámah and the Muayyid, and many Arabic words from the Çuráh. The MSS. are numerous. There exists also a rare lithographed edition of 1264 pp. 4to., which appeared at Calcutta several decads ago. The following extract is taken from the preface—

“Should any one doubt the correctness of a Persian word in my Dictionary, let him look into the Sharafnámah, the dictionary of my

“revered teacher Shaikh Muhammad Lád—May God have mercy on him!—the Dastúr, the Dictionary by Qázi Naçir uddín Gunbudzí, the Qunyat uṭṭálibín, the Dictionary by Fakhr-i-Qawwás, the Dictionary by ’Alí Bóg Bé, the Dictionary by Amír Shihábuddín of Kirmán, the Qáfíyah-i-Kísh, the Lisán ushshu’ará, the Içtiláh ushshu’ará, the Jámí’ uççanáyi’, and the Dictionary by Shaikh Muhammad Khaghri (خغری).”

The date of the compilation is not known; the work must have, however, been completed about the middle of the sixteenth century, as the author knew Shaikh Muhammad Lád, the compiler of the Muayyid (A. D. 1519). He also alludes to the Shaikh under ابن مقله.

This dictionary gives no examples. The Kashf is of importance for those who cannot procure copies of the Sharafnámah and the Muayyid.

5. مدار الافاضل

This valuable work which has been very little used, was compiled by Mauláná Shaikh Iláhdád i Faiszí, son of Asad ul’ulamá ’Alí Shér of Sirhind. The year of the compilation, A. H. 1001, or A. D. 1593, is given in the words فيض عام, the tárikh of the book. As the words are only arranged according to the first and last letters, it is somewhat troublesome to use the book. The Arabic words stand in each façl before the Persian. The Turkish words are given after the Persian words. The Arabic words and the examples are more numerous than in the preceding works. There are a great number of verses marked لمؤلفه by the compiler.

The author makes occasionally *critical* attempts, and mentions *Indian* pronunciations of several Persian words.

The following extracts from this dictionary will shew that the compiler was a poet. His Masnawí entitled *Náz ó Niyáz* must not be confounded with a Masnawí of the same title by Baqáí (No. 1240 Asiatic Society Bengal).

پور سقا مردے بود عالم * بعشق دختر مجوسئے معنی اختیار کرد *
چون آن دختر را خواست هر دو مسلمان شدند * اکثر مجوسیان را هدایت
نمود * غالباً شیخ صنعان خواهد بود که قصه او در منطق الطیر نوشته و
این جامع نیز در کتاب مثنوی ناز و نیاز آورده ۱۱

The metre of the compiler’s Masnawí is the same as of the Shírín

Khusrau, مفاعیلن مفاعیلن مفاعیلن, as will appear from the following quotation*

صنعان بوزن کانعان نام شخصی معروف که عاشق دختر ترسا شده بود
چنانچه قصه اش در مثنوی مؤلف مذکور است * لمؤلفه *
در ایام گذشته شیخ صنعان که بود پیر پیر همچون پیر کنعان

MSS. of this dictionary are as common as those of the Mu. There exist, however, bad copies, where in the فصل الالف مع اللام under ابو الفضل, the compiler is confounded with Faiszí, the great Indian poet. In good MSS. we find—

ابو الفضل یعنی خداوند فضل و نام کارکن سلطان محمود *

Bad MSS. read—

یعنی خداوند فضل و نیز برادر خرد مصنف رحمة الله علیه که مصاحب و
وزیر اکبر پادشاه بود و لقب علامی داشت *

and give also verses of the poet Faiszí marked لمؤلفه. The reference to 'Allámí is quite impossible, as he outlived his brother Faiszí. The confusion, I dare say, is to be ascribed to ignorant copyists who were misled by the takhalluḡ Faiszí. The compiler clearly gives the name of his father, 'Ali Shér, of Sirhind, whilst the father of the poet is Shaikh Mubárik of Nágór. It is also evident from the preface that the compiler was a pious Muhammadan, which the poet Faiszí was certainly not.

It is noticeable that the book does not contain a single reference to Akbar.

The four MSS. at hand have a Khátimah containing grammatical rules. One has the following remark—

و ثانیاً تحریر یافت بتاريخ پنجم ماه شعبان در عهد سلطان السلاطین شاه
جهان غازی از ید محمد امین بن غلام حسین بن شیخ ناصر برادر مؤلف غفر
الله له ولوالدیه و درسه —

at which place the writing is so آپرسیده, that it cannot be read.

* Vide also Vullers' Persian Dictionary, II. p. 518b. In the article صنعان correct صاحب کشف اللغت to حاجب کشف اللغت, the author of the preceding dictionary; and for the verse of Mullá Sálík of Yazd, which in Vullers has no metre, read (metre Ramal)

بگسالتم سبحة و زنار بندم بر میان عشق ترسا بچگه خواهم که صنعانم کند

6. مجمع الفرس سروري

The first edition of Surúrí's *Majma'ulfurs* appeared in A. H. 1008, nine years before the next dictionary. As thirty years later, A. H. 1038, a second edition appeared, we shall first notice the *Farhang i Jahángírí*.

7. فرهنگ جهانگیری

The title of the dictionary is a misnomer, and ought to be *Farhang i Akbarí*. The compiler is Nawwáb 'Aszad uddaulah Mír Jamáluddín Husain i Anjú. He is mentioned in the *Áin i Akbarí*, p. 226, as one of Akbar's courtiers, holding the office of a *نصدي*, or commander of nine hundred, a position not necessarily military, for which he received a monthly salary of Rs. 7100. He appears to have been a favourite of the emperor, as in 1604 he was sent to Bījápúr to bring the daughter of 'Adil Sháh to Agra, where she was married to Prince Dániál.

From the preface of the dictionary it appears that the labours of the compiler extended over thirty years. A. H. 1000, or thirteen years after the commencement of the compilation, when Akbar was at Srínagar, Mír Jamáluddín received the order to complete his dictionary. Not only did Akbar grant sums for the purchase of manuscripts, but he even called learned men from Peria to assist Mír Jamáluddín in the compilation. The historian Badáoní indeed tells us that many a word was investigated in Akbar's *majlis i khág*, the emperor himself evincing that taste for the study of words which Muhammadans so eminently possess. Forty-four dictionaries of those specified above, nine others of which neither the title nor the author's name were known, commentaries, works on science, *Zand* and *Pazand* books, the whole Persian literature, yielded the words for this work. The most ancient dictionaries, of which nothing but the title seems now-a-days to exist, were in Mír Jamáluddín's hands. Among them were—the dictionary of Abú Hafç of Soghd, who according to some made the first Persian verse;* that of Asadí, Firdausí's teacher; the vocabulary of Hakím Qaṭrán, the quaint poet; &c. Akbar unfortunately died A. H. 1014, or A. D. 1605, before the dictionary was completed; and when at

* Vide the author's edition of the Persian Metres by Saifí, p. ۶.

last, three years later in A. H. 1017, it made its appearance, the compiler thought fit to call it in honor of Akbar's successor *Farhang i Jahángirí*. The miçra' (Hazaj i musaddas)

ز ه فوه نگ نور الدين جهانگیر

is the *tárikh* of the completion of the work.

The preface of the dictionary is followed by an *Introduction* containing twelve chapters—

1. On the boundaries of the land *فارس*.
2. On the Persian language.
3. On the letters of the Alphabet, and the rule of *دال* and *ذال*.
4. On the arrangement of the words in the *Farhang i Jahángirí*.
5. On the *قید* *qaid* adopted by the compiler.*
6. On the interchange of letters.
7. On pronominal affixes.
8. On certain words, as *در, به, فرا, بر, مر*.
9. On terminations, as *لام, همي, مند, لاخ, &c.*
10. On the use of the letters *ا, ش, ک, ن, و, ة*, as far as they are used for inflections.
11. On the spelling of certain words, chiefly compounds.
12. On the *عقد* *namal*.

The dictionary itself contains only single Persian words and such Persian compounds as have no *iszáfat*. The *Khátimah* is divided into five chapters or *doors*—

1. Figurative expressions.
 2. Compounds with or without the *Iszáfat*, of which either one or both words are Arabic.
 3. Words which contain any of the *حروف هشنگانه*, viz., *صا, حا, ثا, صاد, عین, ظا, طا, ضاد*.
 4. Zand and Pazand words.
 5. Certain *rare* words, chiefly proper names of towns, persons, &c.
- Among the words, a few terms are found of the dialect of *Shíráz*, to which town the compiler appears to have belonged. The Zand

* Eastern lexicographers describe the *spelling* of words, to avoid mistakes. Thus the *ب* is called *بای مؤحده*, the *ب* with ONE dot; and as it can now no longer be mistaken, the letter is called *مقید* *muqayyad* *fettered*. Hence *قید* means the *system of descriptive spelling*.

and Pazand words form a peculiar feature. They are interesting both for the Zand scholar and the historian of Akbar's reign. The principles of toleration which no king before Akbar had dared openly to confess, had even laid hold of the philologic mind of the king's subjects, and for the first time did the words of the worshippers of "the fire which Muhammad extinguished," find a place in a dictionary, the compiler of which was moreover a Sayyid of the purest blood. Merely to flatter Akbar who, though a Sufi in his heart, was a Parsee by his rites, could not have been the compiler's sole object. Curiosity had caused some of Akbar's courtiers to learn Sanscrit, and the same curiosity taught a philologist to look upon the words of another sect of infidels as things worth knowing and registering. This is proved by the *spontaneous* remark made by the compiler under *آذر*—

فقیر حقیر کہ راقم این حروفم پیرے از پارسیان را کہ در دین زرتشت بود دیدم کہ جزوے از کتاب ژند اوستا داشت * چون مرا رغبت و شغف تمام بجمع لغات فرس بود و در فرس از ژند اوستا کتابی معتبر نیست بجهت تحقیق لغات باو صحبت میداشتم * و انڈر لغاتی کہ در خانمہ این کتاب از ژند و پاژند نقل شدہ از تقریر آن زرتشتی است * و او ہر گاہ قراءت ژند میدہود بدین لغت کہ میرسید آذر بضم دال غیر منقوطہ میخواند الخ *

"I knew an old Persian, a Zoroastrian, who possessed some parts of the Zandavestá. As I have a passion for collecting Persian words, and as no book enjoys a greater authority for Persian than the Zandavestá, I often met him for the purpose of investigating some words; and indeed most of the Zand words which the Khátimah of my dictionary contains, have been extracted by this Zoroastrian from the Zendavestá. Whenever he came across the word *آذر* in reading to me from his holy book, he pronounced it *ádur*, not *ázar*, &c.

In another place of his dictionary the compiler mentions a Zoroastrian of the name of *Ardshér*. Perhaps it is the same. Akbar had expressly sent for him from Kirmán, as will be seen from the following extract—

برسام * * * شرح این لغت از مچوسوی کہ در دین خون بغایت فاضل بود و اردشیر نام داشت و اورا مچوسویان موبد می دانستند و حضرت عرش آشیانی محض بجهت تحقیق لغات فرس مبالغہا از برایش فرستاده از کرمان طلبیده بودند تحقیق نموده نوشت ||

The editor of the *Burhán* gives likewise the *Zand* words; but, as far as I know, he is the only Muhammadan lexicographer who has thought it worth while to copy them.

The order of the words in the dictionary is at first sight bewildering. They are arranged according to the *second* letter. Thus the first باب contains all words whose second letter is *alif*; the second *báb* those whose second letter is *ب* *bé*, and so on. Within each *báb*, the words are again alphabetically arranged. For example, *سرانداز*, *گردن*, *فرهنگ* will stand in the same *báb*, the *باب* را; but *سرانداز* will stand before, and *گردن* after, the word *فرهنگ*, because *س* *sín* and *گاف* *gáf* stand in the alphabet respectively before and after the *ف* *fé*.

MSS. of the *Farhang* are numerous. A good MS. may be obtained for 40 to 50 Rupees. Our Society possesses two very good ones; No. 611, marked with the muhr of Tippú Sultán, is very correct.

The worth of the dictionary is so generally recognized, that not only the general term "*The Farhang*" is used instead of *Farhang i Jahán-gírí*, but that the sources from which it was compiled have nearly all sunk into oblivion. For the pre-classical and classical times of the Persian literature, it is the completest dictionary and the richest mine of quotations. The *Burhán* is the *Farhang* without examples. Even the Turkish-Persian dictionary which Vullers has used, is chiefly based upon the *Farhang*, whilst the dictionaries of Rashídí and Khán Arzú are intended to correct its mistakes.

Mistakes in a dictionary are, on the whole, of less consequence, than mistakes in works on science; for supposing one of the words be wrong, no one would find it used by authors. Mistakes in meanings are more serious; and in this regard, it is well that the *Farhang* has been examined, partly by Surúrí, but thoroughly by Rashídí and Khán Arzú. On the other hand, it was unfortunate that the *Burhán*, which through the printed editions of Capt. Roebuck and Vullers' *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, has become best known in Europe, appeared before the critical labours of Rashídí and Khán Arzú, so that every mistake of the *Farhang* has been over and over again printed, or improved upon. The chief fault of the *Farhang* is this, that *he too hastily abstracts particular meanings from the verses which he quotes*. Hence the danger to which compilers are exposed that use the *Farhang* without giving his examples, as *Burhán* and Vullers have done.

8. مجمع الفرس سروری
(2nd edition.)

The name of the author is Muhammad Qásim ibn i Hájí Muhammad of Káshán in Irán. Surúrí is his takhalluq. The author is also known as a poet and a commentator; his Arabic commentary on Sa'dí's Gulistán deserves attention. The first edition of the dictionary which appeared in A. H. 1008, or A. D. 1600, is based upon sixteen dictionaries, including the *Ádát*, the *Sharafnámah*, and the *Muayyid*, but is considerably smaller than the second edition which appeared thirty years later in 1038. Those who make use of Surúrí must carefully ascertain, whether they have before themselves the first or the second edition, as MSS. of both exist. This seems to have been overlooked by the Burhán. Though a very careful compiler and professing to have used Surúrí, Burhán does not give all words and meanings that are in the second edition of the *Majma'ulfurs*.

The MSS. of the second edition contain two prefaces. The second preface which commences with the verse (*Hazaj i musaddas*)

کتاب مجمع الفرس سروری بود اهل تدبیر را ضروری

“May the *Majma'ulfurs* of Surúrí be indispensable to critical compilers,” is very short, and stands in the MSS. which I have seen, before the original preface. Surúrí's second edition was caused by the appearance of the *Farhang i Jahángírí*, a copy of which, as late as in 1038, was brought to Surúrí from Hindústán. From it, as also from two other dictionaries, Surúrí has largely extracted. From the respectful manner in which he speaks of the *Farhang*, we might conclude that he lay under certain obligations to its author. He must have known him; else he would not call him

نواب معلی القاب شوکت و ابهت مآب عظمت و حشمت انتساب سلطنت و
امارت ایاب سیدادت و نقابت قباب شاه جمال الدین حسین انچو *

—titles fit for a king.

He passes *in silence* over the blunders of the *Farhang*; and if on two or three places he dares openly to differ in the meaning of a word, he modestly says—

و بخاطر این ضعیف میروسد که این معنی خالی از تکلف نیست

or words to this effect, although he would not so easily let off other authors.

Future compilers of Persian dictionaries will do well carefully to compare each word given in the Farhang with the same in Surúrî, and remember that whenever Surúrî has left out a meaning or a whole word given by the Farhang, there is, to use Rashídî's language, a *جای تأمل*.

Surúrî seems to have been acquainted with Turkish, as he mentions among his sources two dictionaries written in that language. The quotations are very numerous. As Surúrî is an Iránian, his spellings and pronunciations differ occasionally from the Túrání Persian of the preceding Indian lexicographers. His adherence to the *دال* and *ذال* rule has been mentioned. Instead of a final *كاف káf*, he often has a *گاف gáf*; thus he writes *اشگ ashg* a tear, *سروشگ sirishg* a drop, instead of *اشك ashk*, &c. Instead of *اسب asp* he writes *اسب ash*. His arrangement of the words is inconvenient, as it is the same as in the Madár.

Surúrî appears to have died in Hindústán during the reign of Sháh-jahán, as will be seen from the following extract from the khátimah of the valuable work *Mir-át ul 'Alam*; vide Morley's Catalogue of Historical MSS., p. 52:—

سرورجی اصفهانی در عهد فردوس آشیانی بهند آمده * بعد از چندے
متوجه بیت الله گردیده در راه وفات یافت * مجمع الفرس که به فرهنگ سروری
اشتهار دارد از مؤلفات اوست * اوراست
بدرسید از سرشگ من که باشد یتیم و خونی و از سرگذشته
* بیت *

“Surúrî of Iqfahán came to Hindústán during the reign of Sháh-jahán. Soon after he left for Mecca, but died on the road. The “Majma'ulfurs, so famous under the name of *Farhang-i-Surúrî*, is “written by him. The following verse is taken from his poems (metre Hazaj):*—

* Iqfahán is a mistake for Káshán. The verse is a fine example of the poetical figure called *ایهام التماسب thám uttanásab*; vide Garcin de Tassy's *La Rhétorique des Nations Musulmanes*, p. 101. Poets compare their tears to orphans, because both are *uncared for* and *alone*. Orphans grow up to be thieves and *murderers* (خونی); hence *Yatim* means also the same as *rahzan*. But tears also are *خونی* or *خون آلوده*, and flow from the eyes (از سر میگذرد), whilst robbers are *daring* and *unmindful of their lives*, (پروا از سر خود ندارند یعنی از سر خود میگذردند.)

“Fear my tear ; for it is a wicked orphan, a tyrant, a reckless one.”

MSS. of Surúri's dictionary are scarce ; the excellent MS. preserved in the Fort William College Library was bought at the high price of Rs. 100.

The title *مجمع جميع لغات فارس* means *مجمع لغات فارس*. The first edition was dedicated to Sultán Abul Muzaffar 'Abbás Bahádur Khán, king of Persia.

9. *مجمع اللغات خانى*

This dictionary was compiled at Delhi in A. H. 1053, or A. D. 1643, by Ni'matullah al Husainí of Shíráz. His takhalluḡ is *وصلى واغلى*. In his preface he praises Nawwáb Makramat Khán, a vizier of Sháhjahán, to whom the word *خانى* refers. The author has not specified his sources ; but on examination it will be found that the dictionary is almost the same as the second edition of Surúri, somewhat shortened, with a few meanings from the Farhang i Jahángírí. The introduction contains a small Persian grammar likewise copied from the Farhang. The book is a fine example of wholesale plagiarism, and is therefore deservedly but little known. MSS. are very rare ; the MS. of our Society, No. 304, is very fair.

The arrangement of the words is the same as in Surúri. Vullers' F. occasionally quotes this dictionary, as under *چماق*.

10. *برهان قاطع*

This Dictionary is well known. The first edition was printed in 1818 at Calcutta by Captain Roebuck, and the third and last, with a few corrections, in 1834 by Hakím 'Abdul Majíd. The name of the compiler is Muhammad Husain of Tabríz ; Burhán is his takhalluḡ. He completed the dictionary in A. D. 1652, or A. H. 1063, as indicated by the tarikh *كتاب نافع برهان قاطع*, and dedicated it to a contemporary of Sháhjahán, Sultán 'Abdullah Qutbsháh of the Dekhan, where for a time he must have lived. Hence he prefers Dekhan synonyms ; thus under *تباشير* he says :—

آن را از درون نبي هندی بر مى آورند که بانجو باشد ||

where the FJ. has—*آنرا بانس و بنجو گویند برآید*—Burhán's object was to compile a *practical vocabulary* without giving examples. In adopting the order of words as followed in our dictionaries, he arranged them more conveniently than any preceding

lexicographer had done. Nearly all subsequent dictionaries follow Burhán's arrangement. His sources were the FJ., the first edition of Sur., the Surmah i Sulaimání and the Çiháh uladwiyah. MSS. of the last two are not obtainable here; but they cannot be very valuable, as the Burhán contains nothing which is not in the Farhang or Surúrí. Burhán is a careful compiler; only a few words that are given in the Farhang, appear to have been omitted. As an example I may mention پخته *pakhtah* cotton, which the Farhang gives با اول مفتوح پنجه باشد. If Burhán had omitted the useless meanings of the Farhang, his compilation would be more useful than it is.

The printed editions of Capt. Roebuck and Hakím 'Abdul Majíd are accompanied by appendices of words not given in the Burhán. These appendices which are known under the name of ملحقات برهان *Mulhaqát i Burhán*, are not written by Burhán, nor are they found in numerous MSS. of the dictionary; but were made under the direction of Capt. Roebuck from the works of several lexicographers of the 18th and even of the beginning of the 19th century. They are untrustworthy and full of the most glaring blunders. Vullers has embodied them; but we trust that no lexicographer after him will use them. Whatever good they contain, will be found in the original dictionaries written after Burhán.

Burhán's dictionary has produced in India a good deal of critical discussion. During this decade, a book was printed in Delhi, written by Asad ullah Khán, known also under the name of Mirzá Naushah and, as a poet, under the takhalluḡ of غالب. The author is the best Persian writer which India now-a-days possesses. We have from his pen a collection of letters, called پنج كهنگ, a Díván, a historical book on Indian kings, entitled مهرايم روز, and also a book written in pre-classical Persian on the Indian mutiny of 1857, entitled دستتبرو. The name of the book in which he attacks Burhán, has the title قاطع برهان. It has seriously damaged his reputation as a critical scholar. Throughout the book he is abusive, and even obscene. Burhán whom he styles اين مرد الكنى or دكهنى, is throughout represented as an *independent* lexicographer, although Burhán in his preface distinctly says فقير جامع لغات و تابع ارباب لغت است نه واضع. Hence most of Ghálib's attacks are easily refuted by turning up the Farhang or Surúrí. But his book is also full of wilful misstatements, whilst

some of his etymologies are even from a native point of view unscholar-like. He has been well taken to task by Aghá Ahmad 'Alí, of Dacca, one of the Persian teachers of the Calcutta Madrasah. His *reply* is entitled *برهان مؤید Muayyid i Burhán*, and was printed two years ago at Calcutta. The writer shews a spirit of critical enquiry and scientific truthfulness, which is but rarely met with in native writers. Some of his articles, as *آتش*, *آذر*, *ایشنا*, *بخش* &c., are well worth reading. An index has lately been added by the author. Future lexicographers will do well to obtain a copy of this book.

From a perusal of this *reply*, it appears that of the four hundred words which Ghálib attacked, about thirty are Burhán's own blunders, and sixty others must be called *doubtful* words, because they are given in the Farhang and Surúrí *without proof*. Several other mistakes have been discovered by the author of the Siráj (vide below); but on the whole, the number of mistakes made by Burhán *himself* is so small, as not to endanger his reputation of a *careful* compiler. A few were also corrected by Capt. Roebuck in the foot notes of his printed edition. Ghálib's *rejoinder* which appeared in 1867 under the title *تبیخ تیز*, is a mistake. He tries in vain to shift the ground by discussing extraneous matter, and thinks to defeat his opponent by giving on the last page of his books the seals and facsimiles of several *influential* men, even Nawábs, living at present at Delhi, who, he says, agree with his statements. The Aghá's second rejoinder, entitled *Shamshér i téztar*, is in the press.

MSS. of the Burhán are numerous. There exists also a Turkish translation of it.

11. فرهنگ رشیدی

This is the first *critical* dictionary. It stands unsurpassed. The name of the author is Mullá 'Abdurrashíd of Tattah (تهته) in Sind. Other lexicographers, especially the writer of the Bahár i 'Ajam, call him *سید رحمه الله*. He completed his dictionary in A. D. 1653, or A. H. 1064, as shewn by the *tárikh* (metre Ramal)

گشت تاریخ وی از روی قبول باد فرهنگ رشیدی مقبول

The author is well known as the compiler of the *Muntakhab*, the most popular Arabic dictionary in India, which in 1635 he had dedicated to Sháhjahán. When the Persian Dictionary appeared, the

king was the prisoner of his perfidious son *Aurangzib*, for whom *Rashídí* has no words of praise; for at that time *Aurangzib* had not acquired that odour of sanctity which pious Muhammadans acknowledge by a *رحمه الله*, a *دعای خیر* never bestowed upon any of the preceding Moguls.

There exists also a rare *Risálah* written by 'Abdurrashíd, entitled *رسالة معربات*. He was certainly one of the best scholars *Hindústán* has produced. His Persian dictionary, though less known, cannot be too highly valued; it is so full of original research, that no Persian scholar ought to be without a *Rashídí*. As a compiler 'Abdurrashíd is most careful; he rarely copies doubtful words from other dictionaries without removing the doubt; and when he is unable to do so, he plainly states that he does not know the word, or adds *واين جای تامل است* or *والله اعلم*. Nor does he hastily condemn. If he has reason to condemn, his proofs are convincing. He does not abuse the preceding lexicographers; and when he does call the authors of the *Farhang* and *Surúrí* *غافل gháfil*, we expect from the nature of the case a stronger epithet.

The arrangement of the words is the same as in the *Burhán*, although it does not appear, as if he had known that book. He chose that arrangement, because from experience he was satisfied that it was the best. The figurative phrases are given at the end of each *faql*. *Rashídí* has not specified his sources. Nor was this necessary, as his sole object was to correct the *Farhang* and *Surúrí*, which he acknowledges to be the best dictionaries existing. Occasionally he quotes a book written by, or entitled, *سالماني*. Its author is not known to me, but his remarks are so shrewd, that lexicographers would do well to secure a *Sámání*. The book must have been written after *Surúrí*'s second edition. From some of his remarks it appears that *Rashídí* was acquainted with Roman Catholic ceremonies. This may be traced to the fact that his birthplace was for some time in the hands of the Portuguese.

The following passage taken from *Rashídí*'s preface defines the object of the dictionary and gives at the same time an idea of its usefulness—

معترف بعجز وقصور ومغترف از مشرب اهل هوش و ارباب شعور
عبد الرشید بن عبد الغفور الحسینی المدنی التتوی چنین می گوید که چون

فرهنگ جهانگیری و سروری مطالعه افتاد جامع ترین فرهنگها دید اما مشتمل بود بر امری چند که احتراز و اجتناب ازان لازم و مستحکم گردید اول آنکه مؤلفان آن دو فرهنگها در حل لغات اطناب کرده اند بایران عبارت مکرره^ء بیحاصل و اشعار متکثره^ء لا طایل * دوم تصحیح لفظ و توضیح اعراب و تنقیح معانی چنانکه باید نکرده اند * سوم آنکه بعضی لغات عربی در میان لغات فرس درج کرده اند و تنبیه نهموده اند که فرس نیست و چهارم آنکه بعضی لغات بتصحیفات خوانده و لغات متعدده پنداشته چند جا ذکر کرده اند مثلاً بعضی کلمات بپای تازی و فارسی و بنا و نون و بعضی را بکاف تازی و فارسی و بعضی را بشین و سین و بعضی را بزای تازی و فارسی و راء مهمله خوانده و این در نسخه سروری بیشتر است و در جهانگیری کمتر * سوای این نیز سهو و غلط است که در بیان لغات معلوم شود * و عجبتر آنکه در بعضی لغات میان کاف و لام و میان او و وا و مانند آن حروف که اشتباهه^ء دران بعدی دارد اشتباهه^ء نموده اند مثلاً در نسخه سروری در لغت گواز گفته که مرفعه^ء است و حال آنکه بدینمعنی کزاز بضم کاف تازی و هر دو زای معجمه^ء است و نیز گفته که بمعنی کوزه ایست که تنگ نیز گویند و حال آنکه بدینمعنی کراز بضم کاف تازی و رای مهمله است چنانکه بهر دو معنی صاحب قاموس تصریح کرده عربی گفته و عجبتر آنکه در فرهنگ جهانگیری بمعنی کوزه گواز آورده بفتح کاف تازی و بجای راء مهمله او و نیز سروری گفته که بمعنی چوبدستی است که ستوران بدان راندند و حال آنکه بدینمعنی گواز است بضم کاف فارسی و او برین قیاس باید کرد و در فرهنگ جهانگیری گفته که زبرقان بکسر زاء معجمه^ء و بای معروف و فا بمعنی ماه است و حال آنکه زبرقان ببا موحدده و قاف عربیست و در هر دو نسخه * بوف و کوف بمعنی بوم گفته اند و اول تصحیف و کوچ و پوچ بمعنی احوال گفته و ثانی تصحیف است و اینچنین تصحیفات بسیار است که مذکور خواهد شد مثلاً نوجبه بمعنی سیل بنون و بنا خوانده اند و پاغوش بمعنی غوطه بپای فارسی و نون و لخد بمعنی ریم آهن بنون و بای تازی و هسر و مسر بها و میم بمعنی یخ و هیدخ و بیدخ بها و بای تازی بمعنی اسپ جلد و پهنانه و مهنانه بپای فارسی و میم بمعنی میمون و امثال آن در نسخه سروری بسیار است و در جهانگیری کم و درین قسم تصحیفات کلمه را در جای آورده شد که بصحت نزدیکتر بود و اکثر ارباب فرهنگ معتبره ایران نموده بودند پس اگر در کلمه اشتباهه^ء شود هر جا که احتمال داشته باشد باید دید و حمل بر فرو گذاشت آن نکنند .

“ Abdurrashid of Tattah, the son of 'Abdulghafar, of the descendants of Husain, originally of Madinah, who is known for his shortcomings

and sins, and who has sipped a hand full from the intellectual fountain of the poets of Persia, states as follows—

I have examined the Farhang i Jahángírí and Surúrí, and consider them the best dictionaries existing. But they also contain much that is wrong in matter and principle.

1. Both authors have enlarged their dictionaries by quoting as proofs, useless verses, and repeating them on several places.

2. They are not sufficiently painstaking in ascertaining the correct form of words, their vowels and meanings.

3. They enter occasionally Arabic words, and omit to state that the words are not Persian.

4. Both often enter the same words on different places, but wrongly spelt, or even mistake them for separate words. Thus words occur spelt with a ب *bé* and a پ *pé*; with a ت *té* and a ن *nún*; with a ك *káf* and a گ *gáf*; with a ش *shín* and a س *sín*; with a ز *zé* and a ژ *zhé* and a ر *ré*. Such mistakes are especially frequent in Surúrí, though less in the Farhang.

Besides there are actual blunders, as shall be shewn below. And curiously enough, both compilers confound words commencing with a ك *káf* and a ل *lám*, with a و *wáw* and a ر *ré*, and other letters which it is almost impossible to mistake. As an example I may mention the word گراز *guráz*, which has in Surúrí the following meanings—1, a certain disease. This is a mistake for the Ar. كزاز *kuzáz*. 2, a kind of vessel, also called تنگ *tang*. This is a mistake for the Ar. كراز *kuráz*. The Farhang again enters كواز *kawáz*, with a *wáw* instead of a *ré*. 3, a stick to urge on cattle. This is a mistake for گواز *guwaz*. Or, the Farhang gives a word زيرفان *zérfán* [or according to some MSS. *zírán*], the moon. This is a mistake for the Arab. زيرقان *zibirqán*. Again, both the Farhang and Surúrí give بوف *búf* and كوف *kúf*; but the former is wrong; or بوج and کوچ *boj* and *koj*, squinting, the latter being wrong. Similar mistakes are—نوجبه *noujabah* and نوجبه *taujabah*, a torrent; پاغوش *pághósh* and ناغوش *nághósh*, a dive; نخجد *nakhjad* and بخجد *bakhjad*, dross; هسر *hasar* and مسر *masar*, ice; هیدخ *haidakh* and بیدخ *baidakh*, a swift horse; پهنانه *pahnánah* and مهنامه *mdhnánah*, a monkey; &c., as shall be seen below. Such mistakes are more numerous in Surúrí than in the Farhang.

I have generally collected the various forms of spelling under that word which, according to the proofs quoted, appeared to be the correct form. Whenever a word appears to be doubtful, it is certainly of no use to pass over it. Let people only look up carefully."

Rashídí's dictionary is accompanied by an excellent Introduction which forms the basis of the Persian Grammar by 'Abdul-Wási' of Hânsah, a book which is read in most Indian schools. The first part of the preface which contains the usual praises to God and Muhammad, is written in ancient Persian, and is one of the finest prefaces known to me. There appears to be no *خاتمه* to the dictionary, although Rashídí says in the preface—

و این کتاب مشتمل است بر یک مقدمه و چند باب و خاتمه

At least the four MSS. which I have seen, do not give it, but end abruptly with the last word *ییلق* *yélâq*. The *Khâtimah* is several times alluded to in the Dictionary; thus under *ابا* *abâ soup* (or *ibâ* according to Sh., Mu., Ma., FJ.) he says*—

و جمع اقسام اباها در خاتمه کتاب بیاید *

MSS. of this dictionary are rare; the MS. of our Society (No. 76.) is in a bad condition, although with the exception of the preface, it is pretty carefully copied.

* There are some curious blunders connected with this word on the first and fourth pages of Vullers' Dictionary. Vullers has on p. 1.—

1) *آبا* *jus, jusculum*. This form with the *madd* is in no other Dictionary beside F., and may therefore be struck out. 2) *potio, potus*. Not to be found in any Persian Dictionary, 3) *part. admirandi mirum*. This is a blunder for *ایا* *ayâ*. And on p. 4.—

1) *آبای گلوگیر* (*patres fauces constringentes*) *met. gaudium et voluptas*; 2) *aerumna* (*غم*) *mundi*; 3) *gaudium de inimico mortuo, B.*

First, this word is not in B., but in the Appendix of B., and therefore doubtful.

Secondly, the Persian Dictionaries spell the word *آبای* without a *madd*, *ابای* *ábái*, and derive it from *abâ soup*. Ad. and Ma. give also *آبای گلوگیر* and *آبای گلوگیرنده*; hence *jusculum fauces contringens*, and *met. the surfeiting joys of this world*.

Thirdly, the meaning *aerumna* (*غم*) *mundi* is the blunder of some inattentive copyist for *نعم دنیا* *nî'am i dunyâ*, the joys of this world.

Fourthly, the preceding word in Vullers, *آبای علوی* *ábâ i 'alawî*, is a blunder for *آبای 'ulwî*.

12. سراج اللغات

13. چراغ هدايت

Both dictionaries are written by Sirájuddín 'Alí Khán, poetically styled *Arzú*, of Akbarábád. He is the best commentator whom India has produced. His commentaries to Nizámí's *Sikandarnámah*, the *Qaṣídahs* of Kháqání and 'Urfí, and his *شرح* to the *Gulistán*, entitled *خديابان گلستان*, are of great value. The *Siráj* is his largest work and has gained him the titles of *سراج المحققين* and *موشكاف مدققين*. It contains the Persian words of the old poets (*متقدمين*), and many quotations not given in the preceding dictionaries. The words which belong to the *استعمال متأخرين* form the *چراغ هدايت*, or as it is often called, *the second part of the Siráj*.

The chief importance of the *Siráj* lies in this, that it is a commentary on the *Burhán* and *Rashídí*. *Rashídí* is occasionally, though not always convincingly, checked, when he doubts the correctness of a quotation, whilst the critical remarks on the *Burhán* are so numerous, that the *Burhán* should never have been printed without the notes of the *Siráj*. There are also a few words which *Rashídí*, notwithstanding his great carefulness, has overlooked and for the criticism of which the *Siráj* is the more valuable. I take as an example the word *اوستام*. *Burhán* has—
اوستام *ustám*, *اوستنام* *óstam* and *اوستان* *óstán*.

1. The harness of a horse.
2. A man whom you can trust.
3. The threshold of a house.

Vullers gives the same on p. 142*a*. of the first volume of his *Lexicon*. The FJ. gives likewise the three meanings with examples, but he has not the form *اوستان* *óstán*. Nor is it in *Surúrí* and *Rashídí*; who besides have only the first two meanings. We see therefore a *جای تأمل* in the form *اوستان* and the third meaning. The example which the FJ. quotes for the meaning *a threshold* is taken from *Náçir Khusrau* (metre *Muszári'*)

اندر جهان تهی تر از آن نیست خانه
گروام کرد مرد درو فرش و اوستام

"If a man owes his very carpet and his *threshold*, his house is the emptiest in the whole world."

We see at once that this verse proves nothing; for the first meaning

the harness of a horse suits far better. I am at a loss to see why Rashídí has omitted to make a remark on the third meaning. Surúrí, as I said above, passes *in silence* over meanings which he thinks wrong or unsupported. The Siráj has—

اوستام بواو مجهول و فوقانی بالف کشیده و میم یراق اسپ مثل زین
 و لگام * و مردم معتمد و امین * و استام مخفف این * و در بوهان
 اوستان بوزن دوسنان بمعنی مردم معتمد و ساخت و زین و لگام است *
 و آستین خانه گفته * مؤلف گوید که در کتب معتبره این لغت بدین معنی
 دیده نشده و ظاهراً اوستام را اوسنان خوانده و آنرا آستان خانه نیز گمان
 برده * پس غلط در غلط باشد و از صاحب این نسخه استمدادے ندارد ۱۱

Thus we see that Burhán's form اوستان *óstán* is to be struck out as *unsupported*, and that the meaning *a threshold*, as given in the FJ., is *not proved*.

The author of the Siráj says in his preface as follows :—

“As far as the correctness of meanings and the explanation of difficult passages are concerned, no dictionary comes up to the Farhang i Rashídí, whilst the Burhán has certainly the merit of being the completest vocabulary existing. But in both dictionaries there are erroneous statements; especially so in the Burhán, which is full of wrong meanings and spellings, as shall be seen below. To correct them is the only object of *this* dictionary. Hence I have not repeated the examples which are given in the FJ., Sur. and R.

“Whilst I was writing this dictionary, I obtained a MS. copy of a work written by a Persian savant whose name is Majduddín 'Alí, poetically styled *Qúsi*. His book, although it is not known, contains many critical gems; and I have thought best to add them to my own remarks. Beside this MS. copy, I have used the FJ., Sur., R., Mu., B., the Farhang i Múnisí, the Kashf, some commentaries on the Gulistán, the Masnawí i Maulawí, &c. My friend Sayyid Muhammad Masih Khán expressed the *táríkh* of the compilation of this book by calling it

یادبود سراج الدین علی خان

which will be found to give A. H. 1147, [or A. D. 1734-5]. I have followed the order of the words as adopted by B. and R., because it is by far the best system of arrangement.”*

* I cannot give the Persian text, as the copy of the Siráj in my hands is too faulty.

MSS. of the *Siráj* are very rare. I have only seen one, which Major Lees kindly placed into my hands. It belongs to the Fort William College Library, but is a bad copy. The *Siráj* is rather voluminous, as it contains the words of the *Burhán* with lengthy remarks attached to each.

The *Chirágh i Hidáyat* is a much smaller work. It has been several times printed. A very handy edition of the *Ghiás*, easily obtainable in any part of India, contains the *Chirágh* in the margin.

Khán *Árzú's* *Díwán* is much esteemed; Bh. often quotes his verses. Of his other works which compilers ought to read, I may mention the *Tanbíh ul gháfilín*, a critical work on the poems of *حزین Hazín* of *Icfábán*, who died at Benares during the last century. *Hazín*, though a great poet and a man of learning, is not always exact in his metaphors, and borrows from other poets more than native critics by way of *صنعت* allow. Khán *Árzú* in his attack tries to shew that *Hazín* is *بمعنی*, *بمعنای*, and *سارق*. Many of his objections (تعریضات) are, however, not tenable, and *Ték Chand*, *Mirzá Qaṭíl* and *Wárastah* take frequently occasion to justify *Hazín*. One of Khán *Árzú's* nephews also, *Mír Muhsin 'Alí*, wrote a critic on the *Tanbíh*. Again, a very fair rejoinder, entitled *قول فیصل*, appeared in 1862 at Cawnpore (169 pp.), written by *Maulawi Imám Bakhsh*, poetically styled *صہبائی Čahbái*. As most remarks refer to Persian style and idiom, compilers and grammarians will do well to procure copies.

Two rhetorical works written by Khán *Árzú* are entitled—

موہبت عظمیٰ در معانی and *عطیہ کبریٰ در بدیع*

were lithographed at Allahabad in 1830 and 1841.

The following extract is taken from the *Miftáh ut Tawárikh*,* p. 338—

نسب او از جانب پدر بشیخ کمال الدین خواہرزادہ شیخ نصیر الدین
 محمود و از طرف مادر بشیخ محمد غوث گوالیاری شطاری میرسد* از شعرای
 تازہ گو بود و در سلك منصبداران پادشاهی بودہ در اوائل سلطنت محمد فرخ
 سیر بخدمتی از خدمات گوالیاری مامور گردیدہ مدتی در شاہجہان آباد

* Lucknow 1864, 406 pp. 4to. The author of this book is *طامس ولیم بیل* [Mr. Thomas William Bell (?)], a clever Persian writer and poet. Some of his *tárikhs* are excellent. The *tárikh* on p. 371 does not refer to the *Madrasah*, but to the former Fort William College at Calcutta.

استقامت داشت * چون وقت او بآخر رسد بلکهذو آمد و درانجا بیست و سیوم
 شهر ربیع الثانی سنه هزار و یک صد و شصت و نه در گذشت * چندگانه بلکهذو
 بخاک سپرده شد بعد ازان برادرزاده او محمد حسن خان تابوتش بدهلی برده
 درانجا دفن ساخت میرو غلام علی آزاد تاریخش گفته * بیت *
 سراج الدین علی خان نادر العصر ز مرگ او سخن را آبرو رفت
 اگر جوید کسے سال وفاتش بگو آن خان معنی آرزو رفت

According to this extract, Khán Arzú died in January 1756.

Sirájuddín's commentaries are very rare. In his Sharh to the Sikandarnámah, we find occasional references to the abovementioned Majd 'Alí.

14. *The works of Munshí Ték Chand.**

1. بهار عجم.
2. جواهر الحروف
3. ابطال ضرورت
4. نوادر المصادر

There exist lithographed editions of these four lexicographical works; the last three are somewhat rare.

1. The Bahár i 'Ajám is one of the grandest dictionaries ever written by one man. There exist seven editions of it revised by the author. The first appeared in A. D. 1752; the Delhi lithographed edition of 1853 is taken from the author's last MS., which he completed in 1782, or thirty years after the first edition. The MS. preserved in the Fort William College Library, Calcutta, appears to be one of the first issues. Though not so complete as the last, it is a good MS. and preferable to the Delhi lithographed edition, which unfortunately is so full of typographical errors, as to be almost useless. Future compilers of Persian dictionaries ought to be very careful in using the Delhi edition, especially if they extract examples.

The chief object of the Bahár i 'Ajám is to explain the *Isti'mál i mutaakhkharín*. Most examples are therefore taken from the poets after the time of Jámí, although quotations and phrases from the older poets are by no means inconsiderable. The work is so well known that it is unnecessary to say more about it.

The name of the author is منشی تیک چند; some call him تیک چند

* *Munshí* is a title given in Upper India to Hindoos acquainted with Persian and Arabic.

راجہ or چند ٹیک رای ٹیک. He was by caste a Khetrí. His poetical name is بہار. He lived at Delhi. From a note at the end of the second volume of the Delhi edition, it appears that he was nearly deprived by one of his pupils of his well merited fame as the author of the seventh revised edition. Ték Chand must have died shortly after 1782, because he was prevented by old age from commencing the eighth revised edition.

In the preface the author states that for the first edition he only used the *Tanbíhulgháfilín* by Siráj usshu'ará (Sirájuddín, the author of the *Sirájullughát*), and a small treatise written by Mír Muhammad Afzal, poetically styled *Sábit* ثابیت. For the following editions Ték Chand used the *Muḡṭalahát usshu'ará*, the *Risálah i Mukhliḡi i Káshí*, and another book whose title and author were unknown: The first of these three works Ték Chand embodied almost entirely; hence it is so little known.

2. The *Jawáhir ulhurúf* and the *Ibtál i Szurúrat* were written by Ték Chand during the compilation of the *Bahár i 'Ajám*.

The *Jawáhir ulhurúf* contains two chapters :

1. در بیان حروف مفرد
2. در بیان حروف صله و غیره

The former part is the completest treatise on the interchange of letters. It forms an excellent basis for the etymological part of a Persian grammar, and is an indispensable *Vade mecum* for the compiler, as it is of the greatest assistance to him in the numerous spellings of certain words. The second chapter treats of the syntax of the Persian prepositions and particles. Numerous examples are given. The lithographed edition which appeared A. H. 1267 at Cawnpore, is taken from a *unique* MS. in the handwriting of the author. It is on the whole well printed.

3. The *Ibtál i Szurúrat* is the best, if not the only, work on the *Ṭaḡarrufát i Fársí*, or the modifications which both Arabic and Persian words have undergone in Persia during the last ten centuries. In plan the book coincides with our popular and interesting works on the *study of words*, such as by Trench, Richardson, &c. The term ضرورت comes nearest to our "a poetical license," and the object of Ték Chand's book is to shew that in good Persian poetry, there is no license, but that every peculiar expression is either based upon sufficient authority,

or is wrong. Hence the title “*Ibtál i Szurúrat*” or the frustrating of that which a bad Persian poet would call a ضرورت شعر, although in reality it is عجز طبعی or *want of poetical genius*.

A lithographed edition appeared at Delhi in A. H. 1268, 78 pp., small 8vo. It is rare.

4. The *Nawádir ul mağdíir* is a complete collection of the Mağdars of the Persian language. The quotations are numerous, especially those from the older poets. The book is therefore most valuable for the compiler. The lithographed edition which appeared in A. H. 1272 at Delhi, 120 pp., large 8vo., is taken from a MS. in Ték Chand’s handwriting. The book is very fairly got up.

The arrangement of the words in Ték Chand’s lexicographical works is the same as in Rashidí and Burhán.

15. مصطلحات الشعرا

The title of the work contains the *táríkh* of its commencement by the author, A. H. 1180, or A. D. 1767. Like Ték Chand he is a Hindoo, and was born at Lahore. His poetical name is وارسته Wárastah, *independent*; his real name, according to other books, is سيال كوٲي مل. From his preface it appears as if Wárastah had lived for a long time in Irán, where he thoroughly studied the محاورات متأخرين. His dictionary was completed in 1782 after fifteen years, labour, although a MS. copy of at least a part of it came into the hands of the author of the Bahár i ’Ajam, who has largely extracted from it. There are, however, several phrases which Ték Chand has omitted. Though Wárastah’s dictionary is much smaller than the Bahár, because the quotations are not so numerous, it has the merit of being entirely an *original* work.

There exists a very handy copy of the Muçtalahát, lithographed in A. H. 1280 at Lucknow, 404 pp., Royal 8vo. It contains in the margin an extract of the Bahár i ’Ajam, whose words are given without the quotations.

16. غديات اللغات

The name of the compiler is Maulawí Muhammad Ghiasuddín of Rámpúr, east of Delhi. After fourteen years’ labour he finished the work in A. H. 1242, or A. D. 1826. The dictionary contains “all

necessary Arabic, Persian and Turkish words," especially those which occur in such Persian authors as are read in schools. The dictionary is therefore a very useful book; it is in fact "*The Student's Dictionary*." Hence also its general use among the natives of India. Embodied with the dictionary are several small treatises, as on فضائل, عروض, موسیقی, the various eras (vide فصلی), on geography (vide هفت اقلیم), and also grammatical notes (vide ها یا), a description of Hindústán, &c. The work is accompanied by several astronomical and geometrical designs, and a few maps, which shew that the compiler was not unacquainted with western science. A large number of scientific terms are also explained.

No Persian dictionary ought to be in future compiled without the words of the practical Ghiás; but compilers will do well to remember that Ghiasuddín is not a native of Persia. Of all Indian dictionaries it contains the largest amount of those peculiarities which belong to the *Istí'mál i Hind*. Hence for the pronunciation of words the Ghiás is not always the best authority. Even among the meanings of the words, Ghiás enters occasionally an Indian meaning, taking it for Persian. In some cases, from a comparison of several dictionaries, his attention is forcibly drawn to the Indian usage of words, as will appear from the following extract:—

شمیدن بوئیدن و این از جمله لغات غریبه است که فارسیان در آن تصرف نموده اند از عالم طلبیدن و فهمیدن زیراچه ماخوذ است از شَم بمعنی بوئیدن * لیکن بعد نوشتن بتحقیق پیوست که شمیدن بمعنی بو کردن نیامده بلکه باین معنی هم شنیدن بنون است و بهمیم تحریف است * از سراج * مگر شمیدن در اصل فارسی بمعنی رمیدن و بدهوش شدن و پَریشان شدن و ترسیدن آمده چنانکه در مؤید و جهانگیری ||

"The word شمیدن means *to smell*, and belongs to those Arabic roots which the Persians have adopted and altered according to the genius of their language, as طلبیدن, فهمیدن, &c., because the word is derived from the Arabic شَم *to smell*. After writing this, I found on examination that not شمیدن has the sense of *to smell*, but شنیدن with the *nún*, and that the form with the *mím* is wrong. Thus in the *Siráj*. But شمیدن, as an original Persian word, means *to be frightened, to be perplexed, to be afraid*, as mentioned in the *Farhang i Jahángírí* and the *Muayyid*."

There exist two lithographed editions of the *Ghiás*, one together with the *Chirágh i Hidáyat*, and another printed in 1847, by one *Mír Hasan*, from a MS. corrected by the compiler.

27. لطائف اللغات

The name of the compiler is *Abdullaṭíf ibn i 'Abdullah Kabír*. His object was to write a special dictionary for the *Masnawí* of *Maulaví Rúm*. Hence he says—

واین فرهنگ است مشتمل بر لغات غریبه و الغاظ عجیبه فارسیه مثنوی مولوی معنوی *

He has also written a commentary to the *Masnawí*, entitled *Latáif ul Ma'nawí*, of which our Society possesses a very good MS. (No. 846, 220 leaves, small 8vo.), bearing the muhr of *'Abdulwahháb Khán Bahádur Nuçratjang*.

The compiler lived during the reign of *Sháhjahán*; but the *FJ.* is the latest dictionary consulted by him.

The Catalogue of our Persian MSS. calls him *Gujráti*.

IV.

I subjoin a few notes on the *Isti'mál i Hind*. Those who wish to study this important subject, ought to make themselves acquainted with the writings of *Mírzá Qaṭíl*, entitled *شجره الامانی* and *چهار شریعت*; and a treatise by *Anwar 'Alí* on the spelling of Persian words, entitled *Risálah i Imlá i Fársí*. These works have been lithographed and are easily obtainable.

The *change* in spelling, form, meaning and construction, which an Arabic word, apparently without any reason, undergoes in Persian, or which an Arabic or a Persian word undergoes in Hindustani, is called *تصرف taçarruf*. The *taçarrufat* of Persian words are included in the *استعمال فارس isti'mál i furs*, the usage peculiar to the Persians, and the *taçarrufát* of the Hindustani language, and of the Persian written in India, in the *استعمال هند isti'mál i hind*. A knowledge of the latter is of great importance, not only for those who read Persian books written or printed in India, but also for every Hindustani scholar; for although the *Isti'mál i Hind* is looked upon with suspicion by learned natives, we have to bear in mind that its peculiarities are *generally adopted* and therefore correct. So at least for the Hindustani, according to the proverb *غلط عام صحیح و فصیح*.

In its relation to Persian the *Isti'mál i Hind* will of course in most cases appear as something faulty ; for the peculiarities may no longer be a natural form of development, or a *غلط عام*, but the result of ignorance, a *غلط عوام كالانعام*. Nevertheless the *Isti'mál i Hind* is visible in every Persian book written by Indians, from the works of their excellent historians down to a common dinner invitation (*ضيافتنامه*) of the daily life. Even the works of a writer like Abulfiaszl, "the great Munshí," shew traces of it. Hence the truth of Mons. Garcin de Tassy's remark that every Persian scholar ought to be acquainted with Hindustani. If this be true for the Persian scholar, it is much more true for the compiler of a Persian dictionary ; for a good dictionary ought to be based upon a thorough knowledge of the language in all its forms of development, and must be a history of the language as well as a vocabulary.

But if we only understand by *Isti'mál i Hind* the influence of the Hindí and Hindustani upon the Persian, we would almost identify the term with "the usage of the Persian writers since the establishment of the Mogul dynasty." This would be wrong ; for the *Isti'mál i Hind* includes peculiarities which once belonged to the Persian, as spoken in Persia, but which the modern *Írání*, in the course of its progress, has entirely discarded. In early times Persian had become the court language of *Túrán*, and from *Túrán* it was carried to India by the waves of the *Túránian* immigrants and invaders. Hence on the whole the Persian of India is *Túránian*. As Latin in the Middle Ages, so was the Persian in *Túrán*, and subsequently in India, the language of the learned. The works of the pre-classical and classical periods were studied and imitated, and peculiarities have thus been preserved which have long since disappeared in the *Írání* Persian. The difference between the pre-classical and the modern Persian is, of course, not so great, as between Latin and any of the Romanic languages, because the pre-classical Persian had already attained that logical simplicity to which our modern European languages happily tend ; and though representing the growth of the Persian language during nine centuries, it is scarcely greater than the difference between the English of Fletcher and Beaumont and the English of our century. The Persian language has been compared to a bare tree, *stripped of all its leaves*. This stripping process, however,

is going on in every spoken language, and shews that the copious and beautiful forms of languages like Sanscrit, Gothic, Greek, and many modern *savage* languages, are as many illogical incumbrances. The sequences of events and the order of things which the imitative genius of the modern languages expresses by the order of the words, are expressed in the ancient languages by the annexation of words and particles rather than by a logical order of the words, as if the speaker was afraid that the hearer could only understand those ideas for which there was an audible equivalent. Whilst many are apt to look upon *stripping off the leaves* as a matter of regret, I would consider it as a step towards delivering the human mind from the fetters of form. Perhaps I tread upon contestable ground. But a fact remains; it is this, that of all nations whose languages are preserved to us, the Persians are the first Arians that pitched the tent of speech on the elevated tableland of logical thought.

Simplified then as the Persian language is, further change in terminations being impossible, the growth, as in modern English, is only visible in the pronunciation, the spelling and the meanings of words. For the study of this development a comparison of the works of the older writers with those of the modern, is essential; and as the Persian written and studied in India has hitherto been imitating the pre-classical and classical Persian of the early invaders, the importance of the *Istí'mál i Hind* is easily recognised.

The following peculiarities are said by native writers to be common to the Persian of *Túrán* and India.

a. Many words end in the *Túránian* Persian in ك (káf), whilst the *Íránian* has a گ (gáf); as كېگ a kind of partridge, in *Túr.* كېگ; *mishg* musk, in *Túr.* مشك *mushk*; اشك a tear, in *Túr.* اشك; سرشك a drop, in *Túr.* سرشك. Similarly, بزشك a doctor, رشك jealousy, خلشك, &c., in *Túr.* with a final káf.

b. Also in the beginning of certain words; as گشادان, in *Túr.* كشادان (as every Muhammadan in India pronounces); گشنيز coriander seed, in *Túr.* كشنيز.

This difference between the *Túránian* ك and the *Íránian* گ becomes very apparent in Dictionaries arranged according to the first and last letters. Thus in *Surúrí* اشك stands in the فصل الف مع كاف فارسي, whilst in the *Madár* in the فصل الف مع كاف تازی.

set, the same as رده *a* (made up) coat; حلال خور, the same as كناس or حاكروب *a* sweeper; برف *baraf*, often pronounced *barf*, ice (for snow); داصاد vide Vull. Dict.; خليفه *a* flattering title applied to cooks, tailors, &c.; سبزی *hemp* for بنگ; سه پهر *afternoon*; ناچار for cooks, tailors, &c.; مايوس *despairing*; ضرورى *a closet*, for ضرورى; ولايت Kábul and Persia*; خالصه the royal exchequer; خارجه and ترك *tark* the catch-word at the bottom of the page of a manuscript; سركار, vide Vull. Dict.; جاگير, vide Vull., *also* board given to a poor student who is to teach children in return; صوبه 1. a province, 2. the same as صوبه دار an officer in charge of a province; رساله, the same as رساله دار, an officer commanding a troop; اكبارى, vide Vull.; خواهه *without reason*.

b. The word كه is pronounced *ké*, not *kī*. This seems to be the old form كے, still preserved in كاشكے. The Iszáfat is pronounced ě, not ž, and é in cases of words ending in ڄ; e. g., خانۀ من *khanah é man*. The word پادشاه is pronounced بادشاه *bádsháh*, as پاد *pád* in Hind. means *crepitus ventris*. Similarly do the Persians use the form انكڑ (a prick to urge on an elephant), in order to avoid the Hind. انكس which sounds, as Rashídí observes, like انكس. Other Indian pronunciations are—پلك *palk* and *palak* for *pilk* an eyelid; فغان *fighán* the same as ناله, for *fughán*; قانڑه for قیزه, already observed by Abul-Fazl in the *Áin i Akbarí*. Words of the same class as عفو, e. g., سهو a mistake, هجو a satire, وحى a revelation, سعي exertion, have lost the jazm and are pronounced 'afó, *hajó* with the واو مجهول, the accent being on the penultima, but sa'í, *wahí* with the accent on the ultima.

c. Peculiar forms are يارش, زيديايش, پيدايش (the first and last occur in Abulfazl), for يارى, زيديائي, پيدائي, the ending *ish* being properly restricted to nouns derived from *verbs*; ترشائي for ترشى acidity; سائيس, سائيس, سائيس or سائيس *a* groom, for سائيس; اجنه *ajinnah* ghosts; گنجيهه *a* pack of cards, for گنجيهه; سجان for سجان, vide Vull.; درستگي,

* Vullers has at least half a dozen blunders in his dictionary, all arising from his ignorance of the meaning of this word. Thus under اصول, in his Corrigenda II, p. 1558, No. 2, in regione Kashmir ولايت, *a* blunder for Kashmir ولايت Kashmir and Persia; also sub جيقه جيقه کردن I, p. 546; s. چل دختران I, p. 578, &c. Now-a-days in India, لاويت means *Europe*, esp. *England*.

شیوای طوسی *Shéwá i Túsí*, Firdausí.

فصیح گنجوی *Faṣīh-i-Ganjawí*, Nizámí of Ganjah.

خالق المعانی *Khalláq ul Ma'ání*, the "shaper" of meanings, Kamál of Iqfahán.

قدوة المتغزلین or شیخ شیرازی, Sa'dí.

لسان الغیب or کمال المتغزلین or خواجه شیرازی, Háfiz.

کلام متقدمین *kalám i asá'idzah* (plural of *ustádz*), or کلام اساتذہ, or کلام شعراى بزرگ, the pre-classical and classical poets.

In quoting a poet, the word *rást* راست is often used, as حافظ راست *Háfiz says*.

2. The Mogul emperors of Delhí are rarely mentioned by their names, but by their *laqabs*.

فردوس مکانی *firdaus makání*, Zahíruddín Bábar, 1526 to 1530.

جنت آستانى *jannat ástání*, Naçíruddín Humáyún, 1530 to 1556. *Jannat áshyání* is also used.

عرش آشیانی *'arsh áshyání*, Jaláluddín Muhammad Akbar, 1556 to 1605.

جنت مکانی *jannat makání*, Núruddín Muhammad Jahángír, 1605 to 1627.

فردوس آشیانی *firdaus áshyání*, Shiháb uddín Muhammad Sháh-jahán. He is also called صاحب قران ثانی *ṣáhib qirán i sání*, the second lord of conjunction, Taimúr, his ancestor, being the first. 1627 to 1658.

خلد مکانی *khuld makání*, Muhí uddín Muhammad Aurangzéb, 1658 to 1707. Native historians prefer the name *'Alamgír*.

خلد منزل *khuld manzil*, Quṭbuddín Muhammad Mu'azzim Sháh 'Álam, also called Bahádur Sháh, 1707 to 1712.

Regarding the form of these *laqabs* I may mention, that there are *abstract nouns*. Thus عرش آشیانی means *an occupying of the highest heaven as a resting place*. Like the abstract noun علامة *'allámah*, it then becomes a title, "dwelling in heaven." Similar terms are *میریم مکانی* *miryam makání*, dwelling with the Virgin Mary, the name of one of Akbar's wives; نور چشمی *núr chashmí* my dear son; قبله گاهی *qiblahgáhi* my revered teacher; *مجدوبی* *majdzúbí*, pr. my attracted one, my pupil. Native grammarians call this *یای متکلم* *yá i mutakallim*, as if قبله گاهی were the same as قبله گاه من *qiblahgáh i man*. We may compare our *Mylord* and the A. *sayyidí*. When these words

are followed by a proper noun, they do *not* take the *إضافت*, as *قبله گاهی* qiblahgáhi Muhammad Ghaus; but you may say *قبله گاهی من* qiblahgáhi i man. Similarly the word *بندگی* bandagi does not take the *Iszáfat*, when followed by the name of a *Walí* or a *Shaikh*, whilst other titles, as *حضرت*, *خدمت*, *ملازمان*, &c., take the *Iszáfat*.

3. *لغت* *luġhat* means, 1. a dictionary, the same as *فرهنگ*; 2. the words of a dictionary are its *لغات*; hence you may say *كشفت اللغات* or *كشفت اللغت*; 3. language, as *لغت نازی*, although in this sense the word *زبان* is preferred; 4. a particular form of a word. You say *استا لغتے است از اوستا* *ustá* is another form for *avestá*.

عالم 'alam, a class of words. You say, *از عالم رودبار* is *زنگبار*, belongs to the same class as *rúdbár*, i. e., to the nouns ending in *بار* *bár*.

این سزد خواهد, this requires a proof.

این معنی باین بیت متمسك شده, this meaning is supported by the following verse.

در رشیدی گوین, the author of the *Farhang* says, *Rashidí* says.

سماع *samá'*, and *تسامع* *tasámu'*, verbal information regarding the correctness of a word, obtained from the *اهل زبان* *ahl-i-zabán*, the Natives of Persia, or from an *استاد* *ustád*. The same meaning has the phrase *از اهل زبان بتحقق پیوسته*.

لهجه *lahjah* provincial pronunciation. You say *دكان بزيادت واو موافق لهجه هند است*

dúkán is the Indian pronunciation of *dúkán*.

عرف 'urf or *تعارف* *ta'áruf*, usage.

تصحيف *taçhíf*, an error in spelling.

تحرíf *tahríf*, an error in the meaning of a word.

فتمامل *fa-ta-ammul* or *فاهم* *fa-ahham*, reflect, be careful. pay attention. Lexicographers often use this phrase after explaining a difficult verse.

تدبّع *tatabbu'* or *تفحص* *tafahhuç* lexicographical criticism.

4. The following grammatical terms are noticeable—

واو مجهول, *یای مجهول*, the same as *واو فارسی* or *یای فارسی*.

زده, the same as *موقوف*; e. g., *ارجمند بچیم زده*, "pronounce *arjmand* with a *jazm* above the *ج*, and not *arjamand*."

The word *jazm* is never used in Persian Dictionaries, *sukún* being the usual word.

Every alif in the beginning of a word is called همزة; hence in spelling استاد, you say بضم همزة, baszamm-i-hamzah, not baszamm i alif. And in spelling آفتاب, you would say ذه الف و فای زده بفتح همزة و الف و الف و فای زده.

The sign — is called شکل همزة *shakl-i-hamzah*. This explains the phraseology of Bh. under چهره *chihraí pink*, where he says:—

بهمزة و تحناني رسیده در تلفظ نه در رسم خط ۱۱

“The word چهره, when pronounced, has an alif and a yá-i-tahtáni, چهره ای, but you must not write them.” The sign of the hamzah above the *é* cannot be left out, as Vullers has done, p. 605a. Similar words are پنجه, فاخته of the same colour as the *fákhtah*-pigeon, نقره, سرمه. The spellings نقرئی, بستئی, سرمئی are Indian, and not considered good. This corrects several mistakes in Vullers' Lexicon. Regarding the shakl i hamzah in words as ملچاؤ, نکافؤ, &c., vide the author's *Prosody of the Persians*, p. 14.

In Lucknow and Delhi prints we often find a shakl-i-hamzah above the silent *é*, as خوابیده و بیدار for خوابیده و بیدار. This pedantry is also recommended by the grammarian 'Abdulwási' of Hásnah. Another absurdity of modern MSS. and prints is the spelling بلک for بلکه, though Ghiás approves of the former.

The letters of the alphabet may be treated as masculines or feminines; you may say شین منقوطه, or شین منقوطه. For غیر منقوطه *ghair manqútah*, you may say بنقطه, or بنقطه *bénuqat*.

The word کنایه *kináyah* is followed by the prep. از, in imitation of the Arab. عن. You say:—

نی کنایه از دل پردرد و سوز شاعران

“The sorrowful heart of a poet is compared to the plaintive *naí*.”

VI.

Among the Dictionaries printed in Europe, I shall only mention Johnson's Dictionary and Vullers' Lexicon Persico-Latinum Etymologicum.

It is difficult to make a comparison between the two, as the objects of the compilers are different. In point of *usefulness*, Johnson's work is the better of the two; * it is eminently “the translator's dictionary.” It

* Vullers does not think much of Johnson. He classes him with Castelli, Meninski, and Richardson, and says:—“Horum enim operum accurata compa-

does not pretend to be a critical dictionary, which Vullers does. Johnson gives Arabic words, in which he is exceedingly exact, as he had good sources; Vullers has only a few. The Persian words of both Dictionaries contain a great number of words and meanings that never existed, and many wrong spellings, because both used the B. and the Haft qulzum—works which compilers ought not to use. But the number of mistakes is greater in Vullers, because he has used other bad sources, as shall be shewn hereafter. On the other side Johnson has given many meanings derived from the study of Persian writers, in which point Vullers is sadly deficient. Again, for the Isti'mál-i-Mutaakhkharín, Vullers is better, as he has used, from the middle of the letter ج, the Bahár i 'Ajám.

For those who use Vullers' Lexicon, the following remarks may be of use:—

The words marked in Vullers

C. (Castelli).

C. ex pers. vers. V. Test. (words taken by Castelli from some version of the Old Testament).

C. ex G. I do not know what this means.

F. (Farhang-i-Shu'urí).*

M. ex F. (words which Meninski took from the Farhang-i-Shu'urí).

and *B. in app.* (the appendix by Captain Roebuck) are nearly all doubtful.

As examples of words marked *C.*, *C. ex pers. vers. V. Test.*, and *C. ex G.*, I shall mention—انفده, a blunder for ايغده; انفنج; اواز; اوازی; اوزند, a blunder for اورند; اويان, a blunder for بازبزه; باريدگي; باديانه; بادبانہ; بابره; آبان; بتانج; بالائين; باشا; بازوشتن; باره; بتانج; بخواريدن; بخشه; بترهنگ; بدس; بغراو; نسك; بركيد; بریدن; برهان; بردار; بدس; شكه; شكه; شقه; شغدون; شنوش; شلغه;

ratione cum primariis fontibus ipsis [B. and HK. ?] facta edoctus sum, permultas in iis significationes esse allatas, quae in falsa et perversa interpretatione exempli primarii nituntur indeque utpote falsas prorsus esse delendas." *De te fabula narratur.*

* I mean those words marked with the letter F, which Vullers did not find in B., Bh., HK., SHL.

The MS. of the *Farhang-i-Shu'urí* which Vullers used, must have been the worst possible in existence. But I do not think that the Dictionary itself is trustworthy. As I have seen no copy of this Turkish Dictionary, I am merely guided by quotations in Vullers which mention the sources from which F. extracted. As F. used the *Sharafnamah*, *Farhang-i-Jahángirí*, *Sururí*, the *Majma'-i-Khání*, his Dictionary ought to be a model. But F. has *not* made a proper use of his sources, and gives *hundreds* of words from them, which are nowhere to be found in the numerous and most excellent MSS. of FJ., Sur., Sh., &c., in my possession. Thus the references of F. in Vullers to the *Farhang i Jahángirí* under پاشیب, پتیان, پرندخ, پوهنج, are wrong; my MSS. of the FJ. contain neither the last three words, nor the absurd meaning of the first. So likewise F.'s references to *Sururí's Majma'ulfurs* under بزدك, پيروسته, پيرگال, بنوند, بسته, بستو*, بروفه, بزدك; *Sururí* contains nothing of the absurdities ascribed to him. F.'s references to the *Sharafnámah* under پيرواد, پروال, پخشيدن; and to the *Majma'-i-lughát-i-Khání* under چماق, بلاچور, انبوسيدن, are entirely fictitious. Nor did Burhán find the above words in *his* MSS. of the FJ. and Sur.

These are examples taken only from words beginning with ب *bé* and پ *pé*.

At least one-half of the verses copied by Vullers from F. have neither sense, nor metre; and it is a matter of surprise, how Vullers could have entered them at all. Examples:—

—استاد لبیبی اندخواره
 ز خشم این کهن گرگ زکاره

ندارم جز درت هیچ اندخواره

This is a blunder for اندخواره. F. did not observe the curve of the letter *sín* after the خ.† Bh. quotes دقیقه (metre *hazaj*)

ز خشم این کهن گرگ زکاره
 ندارم جز درت اندخواره

—باسم. Read in Daqíqí's verse خدا یگانا O God!, for خدا یکانه; and for the absurd verse of Shams-i-Fakhrí read (metre *hazaj*)

همچون خر لنگست حسودت بود در افتاده و پربار بمانده شده باسم

“Thy enemy has fallen into a mire like a lame ass, laden and left without help.”

* For دستار رومیان بند, as given by Vullers, Sur. has correctly دستار و میان بند.

† Similarly Vullers on p. vii. of his preface, in the fifth note حیده *hibbuhu* for حسیده *hasbuhu!*

ببر. Vullers' verse from the Sháhnámah is given in Rashídí as follows:—

یکه خام دارد ز چرم پلنگ بیوشده همی اندر آید بچنگ
چومن بدرپوشم بروز نبرد سرچرخ مایه اندر آرم بگود

برینش *burínish*. Vullers quotes from F. the following verse of Nizámí—

دلے باید اندیشه را تیز وتند که برینش ناید ز شمشیر کند

and says:—"in quo tamen falso et contra metrum legitur برینش

[bürínish], quod *e conjectura* in برینش [burrínish] mutavi." But by this *conjecture*, Vullers makes the second foot مفعولن *maf'úlun* — — —, instead of فعلون *fa'úlun* — — —! My MSS. read correctly

دلے باید اندیشه را تیز وتند یرینش نیاید ز شمشیر کند

بشار. In the verse of Amír Khusrau read در وحل instead of Vullers' دروحل, and translate:—"How may a weak man get rid of his frame of clay; an elephant even is helpless when he sticks in the clay." The fourth meaning in Vullers is quite useless, as پای بند is an adjective, and the same as the گرفتار of the fifth meaning.

پنیاړه 3) perturbatio. For Vullers' verse from the Sháhnámah read:—

مرآن اژدها را بصد پاره کرد بسے شور و پرخاش و پتیاره کرد

Again, Vullers' words 2) *in hoc versu ejusdem poetae* are wrong, as the verse quoted belongs to سید ذوالفقار, but not to ابوالفرج رونى, F. having changed the order of the meanings given in the FJ. The fifth meaning is very likely wrong, as the MSS. read the second *miçrá'* (metre *muszári'*)

بیغارے تک—رک باد بزبان دهد

تا. Vullers p. 408, a. For the verse of Shaikh Auhadí read (metre *khafíf*)

بنویسه—د برات برجائے کز دو خروار ادا کند تائے

where some of my MSS. of the *Jám i Jam* read خروار کز سه. "He (the king) writes out at once a money order, when he (the paymaster) pays him (the poet) out of the two loads of money ordered by the king, only half a load."

The verse quoted for the fifth meaning, is given in good MSS. of Háfiz as follows (metre *Mutaqarib*)—

معنی کجائی نوائے بزبان بیکنائی او که تائے بزبان

“Where art thou, singer, strike up a tune! By His unity, strike up a tune!” Vide also Vullers' Lex. I. p. 920 a., under *دوتا*. But this verse belongs to Vullers' *sixth* meaning. Again, in the fifth meaning, my MSS. give the second *miçrâ'* of Kátibí's Rubá'í as follows:—

بے صوت خوش مبادا خالی جائے

ترنگ. For the verses read—

شب کنی روز و روز در کارش در نویسی بدرج طومارش
پاز شعریش بر ترنگانی بقاعاً قدم بلندگانی

but there are a few verses intervening between the two. The two causatives *برترنگانیدن* and *لنگانیدن* may safely be entered in our Dictionaries.

تز. For the first *miçrâ'* of Hakím Sózani's verse read (metre *hazaj*):—

فخر اھم مغز گوز از بهر آنرا

“I do not want to eat the *góznut*, because, &c., where *از بهر آنرا* is *old* for *از بهر آن*.” Old Persian poets often use *را* after the prepositions *برای*, *پی*, *بهر*, *از بهر*.

The words extracted by Vullers from F.—I mean again those which are not at the same time marked with B.—are very extraordinary. Examples:—*ابام*; *اسکدار*, a blunder for *ابلیسه* and *ابلیته* *بره*; *آبام*; *آزود*; *آزده*; *آرزودن*; *آرداد*; *آدک*; *آخیز*; *آجاز*; *ابره* for *آزفت*; *آزده*; *آغره*, a blunder for *آسید* for *آشید*; *واژگونه* for *آشگونه*; *آب زرفت* for *آشچره*; *آل* *dial. Kharizmiae*, the same as *آگیلون* and *آگلیون*, *آقشته*; *انچره* *آمرغ* *ámogh* for *آلوشیدن*; *آلسر* for *آلور*; *آوان* a blunder for *آواره*, the *ré* and *hé* having been drawn together; *آهنچلوغ* the *non plus ultra* of a Persian Infinitive; *آییان*; *آینت* and *آیفت*; *آهنو*; *آلئیدن* *آموختن*, *آلودن*, &c. F.'s Infinitives, though perhaps correctly formed, have been invented by grammarians *in usu tironum*, but they ought not to be given in a Dictionary; just as *تاء tá vacca quæ semper mulgetur* (Vull. p. 408), *شاء sá vivum facit omne* (Vull. p. 495), &c., were invented *in usu a b c dariorum* on the *C* for *cow*, *D* for *dog* principle!

As the above examples are at random taken from the first sixty-five pages, Persian scholars may estimate the number of useless words and blunders in Vullers' Lexicon.

Nor is Vullers happy in his etymologies. The reference to *pisang* under بسنگ, p. 243, may be learned; but a date-palm is not a plantain-tree. بطریق, p. 249, does not come from *patricius*, but from *patriarch*. Under بادرة *bádrah* hastiness, p. 162, Vullers compares رة *ráh* with رة *ráh*, mistaking بادرة for a Persian word; but the word is Arabic, and should be pronounced *bádirah*.³ بخشى *bakshí*, p. 197, is quoted as belonging to a *lingua exotica*, but it is Persian, and the same as بخش كنده. Under برسین *clover*, p. 221, he says, *deest in ceteris lexicis*; it is in every Arabic Dictionary; just as توزك, p. 480, is in every Turkish Vocabulary. The Sanscrit word under بستام, p. 239, may also be very learned, but it was useless, as the whole word is one of the FJ.'s blunders.*

Another defect of Vullers' Lexicon is this, that in case of words having several forms, the meanings are often given under the *unusual* or *doubtful* form. Thus, in the case of آغول and آغیل, where Vullers has put the meaning to آغول, instead of to آغیل, for which alone the Dictionaries give examples. Examples of such displaced meanings are frequent.

The use which Vullers has made of the Bahár i 'Ajam, cannot be approved of. His extracts are most desultory. In hundreds of cases he has given the least useful examples, whilst the number of words which he has altogether omitted—on what principle, I do not know—is very large. We have only to compare the articles جل *jul*, جلد *jallád*, جمعه بازار, جمالستان, جمه, جمال, جم, جماع, جلو, جلدی, جلد, جلاله, جو, جنون, جنگ, جنجنانی, جنت در بسته, جنابت, جذاباز, *jannáb*, جناب, جویب, جهان, جوشن, جوشیره, جوشقان, جور, جواهر, جوان, جواز in Bh. and Vull. Bh.'s valuable notes to some of these words, his fine articles headed جلاله, جنت در بسته, جل, جمال, &c., are entirely left out.

* It should be Ar. بسام *bassám*, smiling; Khusrau (metre mujtass)—

جهان که نزد خردمند دفتر ضحک است به نیم خنده نیرزد ازان لب بسام
 "The world which in the eyes of wise men is a book of laughter, is not worth half a smile from the ever-laughing lip of the sweetheart"—where the FJ. reads بستام *bistám*, inventing at the same time the meaning a coral. Besides it would not be Persian to say *lab-i-bistám*, a coral lip; it should at least be لب بستام رنگ, as you say لب مرجان رنگ. Similar mistakes of FJ., adopted by B. and Vullers, are الوا *ulwá*, a star, for A. انوا *anwá*, pl. of نوء *naú*; جوجم *jójam*, for the Arabic حوجم *hójam*, &c.

In the verses and explanations quoted by Vullers from Bh. we find the same want of understanding, as in the verses quoted by him from F. Examples:—

جرم *jurm*, p. 513. For راز بها *bahá ráz* read از بهار *bahár az*.

جعبه, p. 517. Vullers has no idea of what Bh. means. He reads آن در تری *dar tarí i án*, and translates *fructibus recentibus*; but Bh. has آن در توی *dar túe án*, in the inside of which. Again by سرپوش *sarpósh*, Bh. means a lid, so that طبق will be the cup or plate, and جعبه the lid of it. Hence the nice verse of Tásír, which in Vullers has neither sense nor metre (Ramal)—

باشد از غنچه گل جعبه و از گل طبقش که صبا توشه بفردوس برد بوی ترا
—where the two lips of the sweetheart are compared to a rose and a rose bud, the latter resting like a lid upon the former, and the scent of which is used by the zephyrs as provisions for their journey to paradise. Vullers reads دار *dár* for از *ó az*.

جفته, pp. 519 and 520, c) *paedicare*. For در غلام کردن read کردن اغلام. In the verse read ازین بیدش *bísh azín*, for پیش ازین *písh azín*.

جنگ p. 533. Read زنگی for زنگی; else the verse has no metre.

جنگلی p. 534. Read رعونت *ru'unat* silliness, for Vullers' زعونت *za'aunat*. This verse is quoted by Bh. as a proof for the word جنگلی *jangalí i yakpá*, an animal of a man's shape, having only one leg; it is proverbial for its stupidity. Hence Vullers has left out the word, but given the verse.

جو p. 535, 3) coll. جوی *fluvius*, et dicitur de aqua quam in calamo narcissi servare solent, ut narcissus diutius in statu recenti remanere possit. This is a sad blunder. Bh. has جو نرگس *jaw-i-nargis*, a grain for the narcissus, not جوی *a river*. The metre of Mukhlíç i Káshí's verse (*hazaj*) shews that we have to read *jau*, and not *jú*. The grain is put into the cup of the flower to keep it from shrinking.

The reference in the fifth meaning to the Sharafnámah is also wrong.

Thus throughout his whole Dictionary.

The mistakes in Vullers arising from his being unacquainted with Hindustani, deserve a short notice. Examples:—

اکبری, p. 116, *i. q.*, آشرفی. First, the madd of آشرفی is wrong; secondly, اکبری is a gold or silver coin of the emperor Akbar.

انگریز, p. 134, *English, an Englishman*. The Persians and Arabs say انگلیس *inglīs*, the Hindustanis انگریز *angrēz*. We may compare the modern گرجا *girjá*, a church, with the Portuguese *igreja*, and the Greek *ekklesia*.

اوده p. 140, *nom. urbis cujusdam B.* It is *Oudh*, the famous अवध or अयोध्या.

بابو, p. 155, *a kind of wandering Muhammadan monk, R.* Vullers might have left out this error of Richardson's. Similar mistakes are آزاب, p. 29, for 'عزب' *azab* and 'عزبستان' *azabistán*; بختگاری *bakhtigári*, p. 194, for 'پخته گاری' *pukhtahkári*; بخشى جز p. 197, for 'بخشی جز' *bakhsbí-i-juz*, a deputy paymaster who serves under the 'بخشی کل' *bakhsbí-i-kul*, or paymaster-general; بدسج p. 204, for 'دسج' *badsanj*, as you say 'خوش سنج' *khushsanj*, graceful; بذرگري *badzrgari*, p. 207, for 'برزگري' *barzgarí*, or 'برزه گري' *barzahgarí*; بستا, p. 239, an Indian spelling for 'بسته' *bastah*; بشگیر *bashgír*, p. 246, for 'بشگیر' *bashgír*; پیس گیر *peshgír*; بیلاق *béláq*, p. 303, for 'بیلاق' *yéláq*; پالنگ and پالنگ پوش, p. 323, for 'پالنگ' and 'پالنگ پوش', &c.

بنگاله, p. 269, *nom. magnae urbis et olim metropolis in Hindústán.* This absurdity is supplied by F.

بهله, p. 287; the extract from Richardson, with the exception of the meaning, *a violin*, is correct. The word is Hindee, but occurs very often in Indian Historians. It is a purse of money kept at court for paying alms, rewards, &c.

بولج *búlach*, p. 279; this should be پولج *púlaj*.

پوله p. 384. This is the Hind. پولا *pólá*, a word often applied to fruits.

پیهو, p. 406. This is the Hind. term for *puleæ communis*.

زنتنبور, p. 465. 3) *nom. arcis in Hindustan, B., nomine zantambúr celebris, F.* This absurdity is, of course, supplied by F. It should be رنتنبهور *rantambhúr*, as correctly given by FJ., or Rintambore.

توب *tob*, p. 475; Vull. does not understand the Hind. تھان *thán*, a piece of cloth of a fixed number of yards, *Germ. eine Webe*.

جکر p. 521, the same as ककड़, *a squall*.

جهان آباد, p. 543. Vullers in his extract from Bh. writes twice شایجهان *sháyjahán*, for شاهجهان *Sháhjahán*, the famous emperor of India. I am afraid Vullers has not understood Bh.'s phrase

اما مردم ایران بنابر تعصب جهان آباد میدویند ||

“It is from obstinacy that the Persians call this town Jahánábád, and not Sháh-jahánábád.” The emperor Sháhjahán was often ridiculed by the Persians for assuming the title *Sháh of the world*. Even the then Sultan of Constantinople (خوندار روم) made once in a letter a satirical remark on the emperor’s magniloquence, when his clever court poet Kalím got him out of the difficulty by composing an ode, in which the following verse occurs (metre muszári)—

هند و جهان زروي عدد هردو چون يكديست شهر اخطاب شاهجهاني مبرهن است

“The words هند (5 + 50 + 4 = 59) and جهان (3 + 5 + 1 + 50 = 59) are in point of *value* the same; hence the emperor has a clear right to the title *Sháhjahán*.” For this clever verse Kalím received from the بهله his weight in gold, and his ode was sent to Constantinople.

چپر *chappar*, p. 560; this word is the Hind. چھپر *chhappar*.

چیتل *chétal*, p. 607, This is a mistake often to be met with in Persian books printed in Europe. The correct form is جیتل, with a ج *jím*. The word is *spelt* by Abulfaszl in the A.A., p. 27, l. 4. Nor is it a *numus cuprinus*, but an imaginary division of a *dám*, one silver Rupee (of Akbar) being equivalent to forty copper *dáms*: “Accountants have divided the *dám* into 25 *jetáls*.” A.A., l. c.

دوآني, p. 918, a coin, the 8th of a gold muhur. Thus Vullers from Johnson. It is the eighth part of a rupee, not of a gold muhur.

دودآلود, *dúd álúd*, p. 923, 3) *n. s. nom. magni oppidi in Hindustan F. sine exemplo*. This absurdity is likewise supplied by the *praeclarum opus* of F. Whoever heard of a town *Dúdálúd* in India? It a blunder for دولت آباد *Daulatábád*.

كدل, II. p. 797; a reference to كودل was required. So likewise, p. 920, under كول, to كهولنا; and under توره, p. 479 b., l. 24., to تهورا.

Vullers is also most unfortunate with his اضافات. As the *Iszáfat* of the Persians is very badly treated in the existing Persian grammars, I trust I shall be excused for inserting here a few notes on the *faké i Iszáfat* (فك اضافت), or the *omission* of the *Iszáfat*, reserving some of Vullers’ mistakes for foot notes.

The *Iszáfat* is omitted

a. After پسو, صنم, ولی, نائب, دشمن, عاشق, میرو, صاحب (not in prose), شاه; as—صاحب دل, کمال, صاحب بحر, میرو, an admiral, میرو توشك

The *Kasrat-i-Isti'mál* explains also the omission of the *Iszáfat* in names; as, غلام حسین *Ghulám Husain*, for *Ghulám-i-Husain*.

d. After *بن* *bin* son; as, (Sa'dí) ائبک ابوبکر بن سعد زنگی *Atábak Abubakr bin Sa'd i Zangí*.

This is not absolutely necessary in prose. The Persians use even the form *ابن*, with the *alif*, when followed by the name of the father. Hence it would not be wrong to say, ابوبکر ابن سعد زنگی *Abúbakr ibn i Sa'd i Zangí*.

e. Under the influence of an *alif i waql*. This is poetical; as *سوا تو* *swá tu* beside you, *پا علم خوان* *pá ilm xwán* ; *بها چین گوهر* *bhá chín ghóhr*, *جانماز* *janmáz*, *سوا من* *swá mán* beside you, *پای علم خوان* *pá ilm xwán* one who reads (elegies on *Husain*) sitting at the foot of a banner (as used by the *Shí'ahs* during the *Muharram*.)

f. After a hidden *ه* (های مخفی). This is poetical usage, and not found in modern poets; as, چشمه نور, جامه خواب, کوچه بازار, خمیره صندل, *chshme nór, jáme xwáb, kóche bázár, khmíre sandal*, for *چشمه نور, جامه خواب, کوچه بازار, خمیره صندل*.

g. Before *ایزد* *áyzd* God; as, *بنام ایزد* *banám áyzd* (مغایان), *سپاس ایزد* *sipás áyzd*, the praise of God. This is poetical usage.

h. After *ته*, as *ته بسیط* *tá basít*, for *tá i basít*, the dust below a mat; *ته جرعه* *tá jur'ah*, the last of the cup.

i. After the preposition *زی* *zí* towards, as, *زی درگه تو* *zí dargáh i tu* (*Mír Mu'izz*), towards thy throne, for *زی درگاه تو*. The word *زی* does not occur after *Sa'dí*.

k. In *كافرنعمت* *káfar ni'mat*, *ungrateful*; *ثالث ثلاثة* *sális salásah*, a Christian (*Niz*).

l. After *من* *mán* I; as, *من کیانی* *mán kíyání*, *من رهی* *mán rí*, *من بنده* *mán bandeh*. This occurs sometimes in poetry for *من بنده* *mán i bandah*, I your slave. The word *رهی* does not occur after the time of *Jámí*.

m. After nouns ending in *alif* or *wáw*. Thus, *هلاکو ملعون* *halákú mal'ún* the accursed *Halákú*, *امینا هروی* *Aminá Harawí*,* for *هلاکوی ملعون* and *امینای هروی*, which would not be wrong.

VI.

I conclude this paper with a few notes taken at random from marginal remarks made by me to several Dictionaries at the time of reading. If it be not presumptuous on my part, I would point out that

* The *Alif* at the end of proper nouns is modern *Írání* usage. Thus *فائضا* *fá'ízsa* & *تقی* *táqí*, *فائض* *fá'íz*, *صائبا* *sá'íba*, *مخلصا* *makhlasa*, *تقی* *táqí*.

notes such as the following in form of an index, ought to accompany the Persian text of every book now-a-days printed; for the compilation of a *reliable* Dictionary, based upon a *knowledge* of the Persian language, must necessarily be the work of many.

آبادان *cultivated*. You say این شهر را آبادان کرد *he built this town*. Also, این شهر را بنام خویش آبادان کرد *he built this town and called it after his name*.

آبافته *ábáftah, made of canvass*. In Indian books mostly without the *Madd*. Indian Historians use the word as a *noun*, the same as *ábáft*, canvass. The forms آبفت *ábáft* and آبفته *ábáftah* appear to be more in use than آبافت *ábáft* and آبافته *ábáftah*.

آبجوش *ábjósh gravy*. Also, *dried raisins*. کشمش *kishmish* is a smaller kind. منقی *munagga* is the best kind of dried raisins. موین *mawéz* is a general term, *dried raisins*.

آدم هفت هزاری *Ádam i haft-hazári*. People say that the number of inhabitants on earth at the death of Ádam, had reached the number of seven thousand.

آزردن. Vullers and several inferior Indian Dictionaries maintain that *ázurdan* is wrong, and *ázardan* correct, as the word is a contraction for آزاردن. But آزد *ázurd* occurs in rhyme with *پیشورد* *fúshurd*, and is analogous to *شمردن* *shumurdan*, *شماردن* *shumardan* and *شماریدن*, *فشاردن* and *فشاردن*, *سپاردن* and *سپاردن*, &c.

آرامیدن *árámídan*, transitive and intransitive. You say دل خود را بدان نیارامد *or, دل من بدان نیارامد*.

آس *ás*, a millstone. You say غله را آس کردن *to grind corn*.

آسب *áséb*, corporeal pain. درد *dard*, both corporeal and mental pain.

آغازیدن and برآغازیدن *to begin*. The word is constructed with the accusative, or with *به* *r*.

آفتابیدن *áftábídan*, to become red like the sun. Infinitives in *ídan* are formed from Arabic and Persian nouns. Examples:—طلبیدن *to require*, فهمیدن *to understand*, رقصیدن *to dance*, غارتیدن (Niz.) *to plunder*, بلعیدن *to swallow down*, طلوعیدن *to rise (sun)*, فوتیدن *to die (Túránian usage)*, مکیدن *to go to Mecca*, مدینیدن *to go to Madínah*, عمریدن and ابابگردن *to visit the tombs of 'Omar and Abúbakr*, طوفیدن *the same as*

* For ابو بگردن. The form with the Alif occurs frequently in this name Similarly بایزید *báyazíd*, for ابویزید *alú yazíd*, the famous saint of Bistám.

طواف کردن the same as مکر کردن, چراغیدن the same as مکر کردن, چراغ افروختن the same as درنگ کردن, سیف زدن the same as سیفیدن, بسم الله گفتن the same as بسم اللهیدن, ماه شدن the same as مهیدن. Khusrau (metre Hazaj)

ز سورش آفنایدم مهیدم چو او سیفید من بسم اللهیدم

آمدن. You say از خواب درآمدن to get up, and از خواب درآوردن to rouse up. We might expect برآمدن *bar-âmadan*, but this is not idiomatic. Nízámí,—رطب چین درآمدن ز شیرینه خواب. So also A.A., p. 251, l. 3.

آرؤختن. The compound در آرؤختن means *to fight* and *to make fight*. Vide A.A. p. 205, l. 9. The nouns آویزه *âwezah* and آویزش *âwezish* mean *a fight, a battle*. Also, *a fight between animals*.

آیاز *âyáz*, or ایاز *âyáz*, or ایاس *âyás*, the name of a slave of Mahmúd of Ghazní. He is proverbial in the East for his faithfulness. The form *âyáz* is the usual form. There exists a Masnawí by Mauláná Zulálí of Khwánsarí, entitled *Mahmúd o Ayáz*. Huzní of Içfaháu (metre Ramal)

گرایاز اینچا و گرمحمود کارش بندگیست عشق از يك رشته پای بنده و آران بست
“Whether it be Ayáz or Mahmúd, here (on the path of love) his duty is slavish obedience; love ties with the same string the foot of the slave and the freeman.”

آئین *áin*, manner, method; as, آئین اکبری the manner of governing adopted by Akbar. Also, one's duties, official work; as, اگر کوتوال “If there be no kótwál, he (the collector) will perform his duties. The plural آئینها means *orders, laws*, the same as احكام; as, آئینهای مقدس *áínhá i muqaddas*, the orders of the king. Hence the *áin* (singular) i Akbarí is divided into several *áíns*.

انصاف *ittiçáf*. This word is constr. with داشتن and به. You say بتقوی انصاف داشت he possessed piety.

اتکه *atkah*, or اتگا *atgah*, a foster father. The latter form of this Chagatái word is given in the Calcutta Chagatái Dictionary. As كوكه *kókah* and كوكلتاش *kokultásh*, a foster brother, it often occurs as a title. Thus اتگهخان *atgah khán*, the name of Shamsuddín Muhammad, whose son, Khán i A'zam Mirzá Kókah, was Akbar's foster brother.

احكامی *ahkámí*, adj. In Indian writers the same as نجومی *nújúmí*,

referring to Astronomy. Thus تاریخ احکامیان, the same as تاریخ منجمان *tárikh i munajjimán*, the era of the astrologers.

ارشاد *arshad*, superlative of رشید, often used by Indian writers as an epithet for a son.

ارتك *artak*. The form اورتك *úrtak* also occurs in MSS. A quilted horse-cloth. The word which is often used by Indian writers, is explained in the AA., p. 142, l. 19, as a چھینت پنبہ آسود, a piece of chintz stuffed with cotton.

ارتك كچيم *artak i kajím*, or according to the Chagatái form, ارتك كچيم *artak-i-kejam*, the quilt upon which the coat of mail of the elephant is placed. AA., p. 124, l. 3.

اسب *asp*. The form اسب *asb* is the Iránian form. It occurs in the Bostán in rhyme with كسب *kasb*, whilst no Persian poet would rhyme *kasb* with *asp*. The Iránian Surúrî quotes also several verses, where it is rhymed with آذرگشپ, which itself stands in the فارسی باي تازی.

The Indian Madár gives distinctly با باي فارسي. Mírzá Ibráhím in his grammar has everywhere *asb*.

استر *astar*, a mule, Hind. خچر, which word is also used by Indian writers. *Fir'au*n was the first that bred mules. The belief in the East is that the mule is not sterile, but dies in foaling. Hence a mule is compared to a man who is liberal beyond his means. Khusrau (metre Muszári')

جود جواد هر چه نذاتيست مردن است استر بميرد از كره چون مادبان كشد

“If the liberality of a liberal man is unnatural, it is his death, just as the female mule dies when she brings forth a foal.”* Observe also that the metre requires the omission of the Tashdíd in the word *kurah*. In accordance with this idea, farmers are said to place a حلقه over the vulva of the mule, in order to prevent gestation, a practice to which Kháqání several times alludes. Thus in the *Tuhfat ul 'Iráqain*, in speaking of the sun, through whose agency all metals and precious stones are called into existence, he says (metre Hazaj)

با قفل زراز توفرج استر با مهره لعل گردن خر

“Through thee (O sun), the vulva of the mule is closed with a lock

* This corrects the reading in Vullers' Dictionary, II. p. 826.

(or ring) of gold; and through thee the neck of the ass has an ornament of rubies.

افتادن *uftádan*. The spelling افتادن is an ancient *plena scriptio*, which in ایستادن has become the usual form, although ایستادن is pronounced. The older Indian Dictionaries, as the Sh., Mu., Ma. mention the pronunciation aftádan as having then prevailed in India. You say این چیز بیدک روپیه افتد it costs a rupee; که زمین از زراعت نیفتد land no longer cultivated; زمین افتاده the state of being waste land; راز در زمانه افتد the secret becomes public; از سرآغاز آگهی زبان شعر کشاد و بعراق افتاد from childhood he made verses and lived in 'Irâq, A.A. p. 251.

اغیار *aghyár*, plural of غیر. The word occurs used as singular, a rival. Hayátí of Gílân (metre Ramal)

از هوس اهل هوس خصم همند دوستی را هیچ کس اغیار نیست

"Inconstant lovers are hostile to each other on account of the inconstancy of their love; in true love no one has a rival." Vide بلهوس *bulhawas*. Similarly, اعدا *a'dú*, pl. of 'aduwv, occurs used as a singular. 'Umar i khayyám (Rubá'i)

می میخورم و مخالفان از چپ و راست گویند بخور باده که دین را اعداست
چون دانستم که می عدو دین است و الله بخورم خون عدورا که رواست
"I drink wine, and opponents from the right and left cry out to me,
'Don't drink wine; it is the foe of faith.' Since I have learned that wine is the foe of faith, I must drink the red blood of the foe; for this is lawful." In the third miçrá' we have to pronounce 'aduwv, and in the fourth 'adú.

مقدس *aqdas*. In Indian writers the same as *royal*. So also مقدس *muqaddas* and قدسی *qudsí*. ذات قدسی *dzát-i-qudsí*, the royal person.

الزام *ilzám*, c. دادن, کردن, to make a thing *lázim* or compulsory; hence to force, to overcome, to defeat in play. So also, ملزم کسے شدن *mulzim-i-kasé shudan* = غالب شدن. 'Urfí (metre Ramal)

چون بیا:بچه شوم ملزم ارباب کلام خندم جوهر فرد است دلیل تقسیم
"When by way of play I defeat the literary writers (who hold the doctrine of the *jauhar-i-fard*, i. e., the atomic theory, which the *hukamá* do not), the *jauhar i-fard* (here = the mouth of the sweetheart) smiles, and proves the divisibility, (because the lips in smiling divide)."

الماس *almás*, a diamond. The idea is prevalent in the East that diamond dust is a deadly poison. Faiszí, (metre Ramal)
 نوش داروی مسموم را چه چيست سودۀ الماس در زهر هلالل ميکنند
 “Do not ask to know the ingredients of the antidote against love; they mix *diamond* dust into a deadly poison.”

ام غیلان *umm i ghílan*, in Persian generally مغیلان *mughílan*, the babúl tree, a kind of acacia. The pronunciation *mugháilan*, given by Burhán, is unsupported; the word occurs in rhyme with فیلان *filán* elephants. The ashes of *mughílan* wood are largely used in the East for refining gold and silver, whilst the thorns of the tree have become proverbial; hence *fig.*, the dangerous obstacles on the road of love. Çairafí of Sâwah (metre Hazaj-i-sálím)

ز راه كعبه ممنوعم وگرنه ميفرستادم كف پائے بزحمت چينيء خار مغيلانش
 “The road towards the ka’bah (of love) is forbidden; else I would gladly direct thither my feet, not caring for the wounds which the sole of my foot would get from the acacia thorns of the road”—in allusion to the law which prohibits Muhammadans from sleeping with their feet stretched in the direction of Mecca, which would be disrespectful.

Judái of Tabríz (metre Munsarih)

حسن بقاء كعبه ايست عشق بيدان او سرزنش ناكسان خار مغيلان او
 “The beauty of the sweethearts is a ka’bah; love the desert (through which the wanderer has to pass); the obstinacy of the wretches (the رقيب, the watcher), the acacia thorns of the road.”

واجب الوجود *imkání*, adj., human, referring to man. God is *واجب الوجود* necessary; man is *ممکن الوجود* *mumkin ulwujúd*, possible; idols are *ممتنع الوجود* impossible. Hence كوششهاي امكاني human efforts.

اندرين *andarín*, pr. in this, within this. This word is, however, often used as a preposition, *within* = *اندر*. Observe that in this case it cannot take the *اضافات*, just as *بنابر* *binábar*, or *نظر برين* *nazar barín*, on account of. Payámí (metre Mujtass)

چارسويي مرادے فتاده ام كه هنوز بچاه يوسف من به كه اندرين بازار
 “I am living in a world where my Yúsuf would be better in the pit than in the bázár,”—where Yúsuf = life, the pit = non-existence, the bázár = existence.

انفسي و آفاقي *anfusí o áfáqí*, referring to the spiritual (*anfusí*) and to the visible world (*áfáqí*). Hence *mard-i-afusí o áfáqí*, a man who looks upon life as something agreeable, but who at the

same time strives to grasp the idea of Godhead. Such a man is both تعلقى *ta'alluqí*, attached to this world, and تَجَرُّدِي *tajarrudí* (or وابسته *wárustah*) independent of it. A.A. p. 49, l. 17.

انگشتري بازی *angushtarí bází*. The players sit in a circle and pass on a ring. The person standing in the middle has to find the ring. If he says to one پوچ *póch*, empty, whilst that person has the ring, he is برده *burdah*, defeated, and must continue searching for the ring. Vide Vullers' II., p. 802, s. کچه *kachah*. Tashbíhí of Káshán (metre Hazaj)

دو دست این جهان و آن جهان پوچ کچه پدش منست این پوچ و آن پوچ
 "Both worlds are empty and have nothing concealed in their hands ;
 I have the ring (of true love) ; every thing else is empty."

ایل *él*. Indian writers use this word in the phrase سرکشان ایل شدند
the rebels became again obedient. MSS. have often وایل *wáil*, pres. part. of وأل *wa-l*.

ایمن *éman*. The fathah of the mím is the same as the fathah in *káfar*, *Hátam*, &c., for *káfir*, *Hátim*, whilst the first syllable is a common *Inálah*. Hence the word is a corruption of آمین *ámin*.

ب

باختن *bákhtan*, 1, to play ; 2, to lose a game, opp. بردن *burdan* to win a game. Shikébi of Icfahán (Rubá'í)

نورده است جهان که بردنش باختنست نزارچی آن بنقش کم ساختنست
 دنیا بمثل چو کعبه بدین نردست بر داشتنش برای انداختنست
 "The world is a nard play, the winning of which is a loss ; skilful nard playing consists in being satisfied with a low throw. The world resembles the two dice of the nard play—you take them into your hands to throw them down again." Payámí (metre Ramal)

هرچه بازی باز بستاند سپهر بدقمار با حریفی کین بدبها کرد نتوان باختن
 "Fate cheats in play and takes back what it lost ; one cannot play with a companion that practises such tricks."

Observe that in the first example, the word نقش *naqsh* means the dots on the dice. The dice used in India are rarely cubical, but long, because the four long sides only are used.

بارگیر *bárgír*, the same as اسپ *asp*, and بارگی *bárgí*, a horse.

2. A slave, Hind. چپله *chélah*, Muç. Bh. 3. حرف بارگیر *harf-i-bárgír*, an expletive particle. *Tásír* (metre Muszári)—
 "چون حرف بارگیر زیاد و مکرر است"—Like an expletive particle, pleonastic

and merely repeated." Compare *نكیده* *kālam*, which has the same meaning.

بازار *bázár*. This word is often used in the sense of a noisy place. *Hayátí of Gilán* (metre *Ramal*)

کوي عشق است این سر بازار نیست لب به بند ایلیجا زبان درکار نیست

"This is love's lane, but not a bazar; hush, you must not talk here."

بازیافت *bázyáft*, stoppages, a fine. Synonyms are, *تاران* *táwán*, *جرمانه* *jurmánah*, *سرشکن* *sarshikan*, *غرامت* *gharámat*, *وضع* *wasá'*, and *بازخواست* *bázhkhwást*. The last word is a general term and may also mean a demand for rendering a satisfactory account; *روز بازخواست* *róz-i-bázhkhwást*, the day of reckoning; *بازخواست سرکار والا* *bázhkhwást-i-sarkár i wálá* that which is due to the state; hence *taxes*. *جرمانه*, *غرامت*, *تاروان* signify a fine; you say *جرمانه گرفتن از کسی* and *وضع* mean stoppages, deductions from salaries, &c. You say *سه ماهه سائسان* *shé mahé saásán* three months' wages of the grooms are deducted; *پنجم حصه ماهپانه از امیر وضع شود* *panjám hase mahépané az amír wazé shod* the fifth part of the monthly allowance of the Amír is stopped; *عامل باندازه گاهش بازیافت نماید* *ámal bándázé gáshé bázyáft náyáid* the collector makes a deduction according to the difference in weight (of coins brought by the peasants). The meaning *بازیافت چاکر* in Vullers (from Richardson) is doubtful. *Sharshikan* is generally used in the sense of military stoppages to which a whole squadron is condemned. For example, A.A. p. 283, l. 13:—

چون یکی بے بارگی شود بر هم‌رهان سرشکن نموده سرانجام کند

"If a trooper be found to be without his horse, he (the faujdar) gives him a new one, charging the price to his squad in equal proportions."

برانگار *burángár*, the right wing, *قول* *qol* the centre, *چورنگار* *chúrangár* the left wing of an army. These are the usual spellings. Other forms are *بورانگار* *búrangár*, *برنغار* *burungár*, as in the Chagatái vocabulary published at Calcutta, and *برانگار* *brángár* (as in Zenker's vocabulary). For *چورانگار*, we also find *چورنگار* *júrangár*, with a *jím*. Vullers' form *جوانگار* *juwángár*, with a *wáw*, is not in my dictionaries. Another Turkish word often used by Indian writers, is *چرخچی* *charkhchí* an avantguard; a foraging party. As the article in Vullers, p. 569, has no sense, I transcribe part of the article in the Muçt. and Bh.

چرخچی در عالم آرای سکندر بیگ فوج هراول الخ

"The word *charkhchí* occurs in the book entitled 'Álam-ará, by

Sikandar Bég, in the sense of *fauj i haráwal*, an avantguard. *Asr* (metre Hazaj)

اگر آوازه ات در روز میدان چرخچی گردد مخالف میشود مغلوب اهل دین باسانی
 "If on the day of battle thy voice is the avantguard, the opponent is easily defeated by the Muslims." From some commentary I have copied the following passage—

چرخچی بمعنی فوجی که از لشکر جدا شده برای آوردن اسباب ضروری و
 بهندی که گویند ॥

Hence a *foraging party*. As Vullers did not understand Bh., he might have left out his etymology. The word is connected with the T. چرک *chirik* and چریک *chirik*, vide Vullers, I. p. 572.

The T. بلوک *bulók*, a troop, is likewise of frequent occurrence; only the pl. is not *bulókán*, as in Vullers, but بلوکات *bulókát*.

بردوبای *burd o bái*, or بردوپای *burd o pái*, or بای و برد *bái o burd*. This word, which is often used by Indian Historians, means *betting on fighting rams or other animals*. The margins of MSS. generally explain it by the Hind. هارچیت, which has the same meaning. I do not know the meaning of بای *bái*. At the courts of the Mogul emperors betting on animals was carried on to a great extent. Akbar had to pass several limiting laws.

برهمن *barhaman*. In the poetry of Hindustan and the later poets of Persia, the Brahmin is enamoured of the صنم *çanam*, in the same way as the nightingale of the rose; the atom (ذره) and the chameleon (حربا) of the sun; the فاخته, or the تذر, of the سرو *sarw*; and the moth of the candle. The following verse is sufistic (metre Ramal)—
 در حقیقت نسب عاشق و معشوق یکی است بوالفضولان صنم و برهمن ساخته اند
 "In reality there is no difference between the lover and the object loved—idle thinkers speak of the idol as distinct from the Brahmin." The verse requires the pronunciation *barhaman*, not *brahman* or *barahman*.

بغدی *bughdí*, a kind of camel of high cost. So *Shaksp*. It would be more correct to say *dromedary*. The Bactrian camel with two humps (دوکھانی *dokuháni*) is called in T. بوغور, or بوغور *bughur*. The latter word is used by Indian historians, but is often confounded in the MSS. with the Arab. بعیر *ba'ir*. Zenker's Turkish vocabulary gives the plena scriptio بوغور, but he translates a *dromedary*, instead of a *Bactrian camel*.

بلهوس *bulhawas*. It is wrong to derive this word from the P. prefix بل *bul* much, as some Indian grammarians and lexicographers have done, whose opinion Vullers adopts. It is another spelling for بوالهوس. This is also confirmed by the fact that but *bulhawas* occurs, and not *bulhós*, whilst *hós* is a Persian taçarruf of the Arab. *hawas*. Again, the few real Persian compounds with *bul* are all ancient.

The *personel* of Persian love poetry consists of the عاشق, the معشوق, the قاصد *qáçid*, the رقيب *raqíb* (or دشمن or مدعي *mudda'í*) who watches over the *ma'shúq*, and lastly, *outsiders*. Among the latter are those who are زاهد *záhid* abstemious, indifferent to love, and those who are بوالهوس *bulhawas*, who possess no عشق, but هوس *hawas*. 'Ishq is بطيء الزوال *batíuzzawál* constant; *hawas* is transient, سريع الزوال *sarí' uzzawál*, though passionate.

بیش *bísh* more. This word is followed by از صد بار *az sad bār* more than a hundred times. But از may be left out, when بیش stands *after* the numeral; as صد بار بیش *more than a hundred times*. *A hundred times more* would be صد بار دیگر *çad bār i dígar*.

پ

پای *pái*. In pre-classical Persian we never find پاي, روي, بوي, and Imperatives as كشاي, نماي, &c., without the ي. During the classical period the ي is often thrown away. In modern Persian the forms without the ي are the usual forms. Hence the modern adjective پاحساب *pá-hisáb* *subject to rendering an account*, in the Indian phrase كسه را پاحساب كردن. Similarly, taxes are the پارانچ سلطنت *páranj i saltanat*. In compounds, when پاي is not followed by a genitive, the shortened form پی *pai* is often preferred; هر كس بدان پی نبرد *not every one cares for it*; پی بمغز گاز بردن *to go straight at a thing, to understand the essence of a thing*; پی بمقصود بردن *to strive to reach the goal*; but پاي كوشش بچيزه اقشردن *the same*. پاي occurs also *adverbially*, under, the same as در پايان, or در تحت *dar taht*; e. g., نام هر موضع نويسد نام تحصيلدار پاي نام هر موضع نويسد *the collector writes the name of every Tahçildár below the name of the village*.

پاوگوش *páo gósh*. What Vullers has copied from Richardson is wrong. The word means $\frac{1}{4}$ *flesh*, and is the name of a regulation of the emperor Akbar by which he wished to determine the fatness, or otherwise, of an animal in proportion to the quantity of food given, vide A.A. p. 163. پاو is Hind.

پارچه *parchah*, for پارچه. This form I have only seen in Indian writers. The author of the *Mir-át ul 'álam* uses it frequently.

پرده *pardah* means 1. a screen; 2. the place behind a screen; hence پردۀ نشین a woman of good family; در پردۀ behind the screen; 3. the thin membranes in limes, pomegranates, &c., vide A.A. p. 80, l. 6. As بار so does also پردۀ take the meaning of *the king's court*; hence, in Indian writers, پردۀ آرائی *the adorning of the court*, doing something for the pomp of the court. پردۀ دري *pardah darí* a tearing of the screen, the exposure of a secret; A.A. p. 198, l. 20.

پريدن *parrídan* and *parídan*. To fly. Also, to evaporate (scents). Similarly رود ديروا از جامه بوي its smell *remains* long in the clothes. Scents, colours are ديروا *dérpá*, lasting, fast.

پشت خا *pusht khár*, a hand made of ivory and fixed to a stick. This instrument, which is very common in India, is used for scratching (خايدن) one's back. A larger kind of this instrument is used as a war club, in which case the whole, or only the hand, is made of iron; vide A. A. p. 122, l. 1. The shape of the hand is either fist-like, or half extended with the fingers bent. خايدن is, of course, a back with *khárs* or scratchers, hence a hedgehog. Observe that in the Indo-Germanic languages the last component of a compound expresses its genus, and the first its particular properties.

Other compounds of *pusht* are پشت تنگ *pusht tang*, *i. e.*, something tight for the back; hence, a broad girth for fixing the saddle, A.A. p. 143, l. 3. The word is given in Vullers, on p. 364, but his spelling پشتنك *pushtank* is wrong. پشت گرمي *pushtgarmí*, support, assistance. Sarmadí of Içfahán (metre *Mujtass*)

ز گرم خوئي عصيان چها بخون كرديم به پشت گرمي رحمت چه جرمها داريم
 "What have I done to myself in the heat of transgression (عصيان,
 as جرم, داغ, رسوائى, گناه, بے عافيتى, رسوائى, داغ, جرم,
 mercy, what crimes have I committed !

پالاس *palás*, the coarse stuff used for making moneybags. The adj. پالاسي *palási* means *like palás*; but the adj. پالاسين *palásín*, *made of palás*, as كيسۀ پالاسين. The same distinction holds for آهنى and آهنين; كاغذى and كاغذين, &c.

پنجره *pinjārah* lattice work, framework, used for hedging in flower beds, or as supports for creepers (بیاره *bayārah**). Pieces of wood or bamboo are stuck into the ground, at proper intervals, and cross-pieces are tied to them. The shape of the interstices may be varied by differently arranging the sticks. In the kind called جعفری *ja'farī*, each interstice is a rhombus, the sticks being placed obliquely, but parallel, into the ground; and so also the cross-sticks, which incline, however, to the other side. In شترنجی *shatranjī*, the pieces stand at right-angles to each other. More costly are the kinds گرد *gird*, where the interstices present the appearance of a square with a circle inscribed in it; شش‌سَر *shash-sar* hexagonal, دوازده‌سَر *duwāzdah-sar* twelve-sided. The *ja'farī* and *shatranjī* may be غیروصلی *ghair waqlī*, not tied, where the sticks are not tied to each other with strings; the other kinds are وصلی *waqlī*, as strings are required.

In Vullers' article جعفری, p. 517, the third meaning is the same as the fifth; Shakspeare's etymology from ضفیره is wrong.

پدچان *péchān*, 1. twisting; 2. twisted. The passive meaning seems to be the usual meaning. Sanjar of Kāshān (metre Rajaz)

ز نار پدچان بر کمر ناقوس نالان در بغل

“(I come from the monastery) with the cord tied round the waist, and the gong under my arm.” Vide another example in Vull. I. p. 597, l. 1. Similarly شناسا *shināsā* knowing, and *pass.*, known, as شناخته; but the passive meaning is rare; vide A.A. p. 284, l. 7; پذیرا *pidzīrá*, *accepting*, and *accepted*.

پیر پنبه *pīr i pambah* a scarecrow. Vullers' meaning is unsupported.

پیمانہ *paimānah*. The *paimānah* is larger than the قدح.

ت

تابین *tābīn*, Inf. II. of ابن; vide Lane's Ar. Dict. p. 9. c., a leading on, the same as پیروی *pairawī*. Indian Historians use this word as an ism i fá'il, پیروی کننده, a leader, pl. تابیات *tābīnāt* leaders, officers; vide A.A. p. 191, l. 17; p. 193, l. 1. تابین باشی *tābīn bāshī* a superior commanding officer, p. 196, l. 20. Thus also often in the Pálisháh-námah.

* Vullers has s. بیاره a reference to بوته *botah*; but *botah* is not a creeper; it is a plant capable of standing without support.

tárákh. Native lexicographers derive this word from مؤرخ *muarrakh*, which is supposed to be corruption of the Pers. ماهروز *máhrúz*, or ماه وروز *máh o rúz*, an era, calendar; *Germ.* Zeitrechnung. Others derive it from the Arab. إراخ *irákh*, the wild cow (*gáw i wahshí*), an animal proverbial in the East for its stupidity. They then explain *tárákh* as meaning the removal of stupidity, hence rendering certain, fixing anything.

The custom of fixing the *tárákh* of an event by a word, or sentence, or a *miçrá'*, or a whole verse, is said to date from the sixth or seventh century of the Hijrah. Before this, meaningless words were used composed of the *huráf i abjad*. Thus in the case of Abú Síná, the Niçáb uççibyán (vide above, p. 7, No. 65) has the following verses—

حجت الحق ابوعلی سینا در شجع آمد از عدم بوجود
در شما کل علم حاصل کرد در تکثر کرد این جهان پدروند

“Abú 'Alí Síná was born in شجع,” A. H. 373, finished his studies in شما, or 391, and died in تکثر, or 427. Such *tárákhs* are no longer used. The modern *tárákhs* are either مطلق *muṭlaq*, or تعمیمه *ta'miyah*. The former kind extends over a whole *miçra'* or verse, as جهانگیر از جہان عزم سفرکرد. The latter kind may be خارجی *kharijî*, in excess, when something is to be subtracted, or داخلی *dákhlî*, when something is to be added. For example—(metre Mujtass)

الف کشید ملایک ز فوت اکبر شاه

in which the words فوت اکبر شاه give A. H. 1015; but as the *maláik* subtract one alif, we get A. H. 1014. The phrase الف کشیدن, or الف بر سینه کشیدن, is explained by the authors of the Muçt. and Bh. as referring to a custom of lovers, dervishes, mourners, &c., to cut the skin of the chest, the wound having the shape of an alif.

نام تاریخی *nám i tárákhî*, an additional name which parents give their children, in order to remind them of the year in which they were born—a very necessary thing in the East, where few people know their correct age. Thus, if a Muhammadan be born A. H. 1255, he may assume the name of مظهر علی *Mazhar 'Alí*, in addition to his own name, as the value of the letters when added will be found to be 1255.

تبر *tabar*, an axe, a hatchet; also a war axe. If the war axe has the shape of a pointed wedge, like the bill of a bird, it is called زاغنون *zághnól*, pr. a crow-beak. If the *zághnól* has joined to it a common

axe, the weapon is called تبرزاغول *tabar zághnól*. If the axe has an anvil-like piece of iron attached, it is called تبرتخماق *tabar-takhmaq*, from the T. توماق a hammer. Under زاغول in Vullers, II., p. 106, a., read *et securis bellicae*, for *et sagittae bellicae*, the Delhi edition of Bh. having wrong تیر سرتیز *tír i sartéz*, instead of *tabar i sar-téz*.

تحويل *tahwíl*, to hand over, to give in charge; hence تحويلدار *tahwíldár* a cash keeper. Akbar had for his household a تحويلدار *tahwíldár i kull*, who gave advances to the various تحويلدارچر *tahwíldár i juz*. The latter furnished workmen, the people of the Harem, &c., with money for which they took receipts. The *tahwíldár i kull* stood under the تهرنجی کل *khizánchí i kull* the Treasurer General. تحويلی *tahwílí* deposited, handed over (money); hence a deposit. فیل تحويلی *fil i tahwílí*, a new elephant waiting to be handed over to the officer in charge of a حلقه *halqah*, (elephants which have the same value). The word تحويل pl. تحويلات, or تحويلات, means also a deposit; a "transfer" of money.

VII.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 5.

In the name of the fourteenth dictionary read حسین *husain*, for حسیني *husainí*.

In 33., several MSS. read ضمیری, instead of ضمیر.

Page 6.

The author of the forty-first dictionary is often mentioned in Indian historians. He was, according to Badáoní, Qází of Delhi.

In the title of the fifty-third dictionary translate:—"The Dictionary of Muhammad ibn i Hindúsháh Munshí who wrote to the praise (بنام) of (the Amír) Ghiás uddín Rashíd." It would be against the idiom to translate:—"Who wrote under the name of Gh." This would be expressed by بخطاب غیاث الدین رشیدی. Observe the final ی in رشیدی. The word خطاب in Persian, is followed by an abstract noun; you say خطاب خانی یافت he got the title of Khan; الشعرائی بخطاب ملک الشعراشی he was honored by the title of Malik ushshu'ará. But this is not the case with the participle مخاطب *mukhátáb*, which is followed by به and the title itself; you say مخاطب بخان شد he got the title of Khán; مخاطب بملك الشعرا شد, &c. The word نام expresses often our alias; you say خان زمان نام علي قلي خان *Khánzamán, alias*

'Alí Qulí Khán. Native Persian scholars in reading these words, draw the word نام to the preceding name, without the اضافت; as, Khán-zamánám 'alíqulíkhán. But if the title be a word which cannot take the form of the maḡdar, *khiṭáb* is constructed as *mukhátáb*; e. g., *عضد الدوله*, instead of *عضد الدولگی*, *سرفراز شد* بخطاب *عضد الدوله*, which would be impossible. Thus also with the word تخلص; you say, *Arzú takhalluḡ*, Sirájuddín Khán, *سراج الدین خان*. We should invert the order, according to our idiom, and say, *Sirájuddín Khán*, poetically styled *Arzú*; or, in the above example, 'Alí Qulí Khán, alias Khán zamán. But when the Persians put the takhalluḡ after the real name, they use the اضافت; as *عمر خیام* 'Umar i Khayyám, 'Umar, poetically styled *Khayyám*.

The author of the *fifty-eighth* dictionary, Shamsuddín, poetically styled *Fakhrí*, belongs to Iḡfahán.

After the *sixtieth* dictionary add

فرهنگ منصور اسدی الطوسی Ad., FJ., Sur. This is Firdausí's *ustád*. The author of the second dictionary is the nephew of this Manḡúr. It is remarkable that FJ. quotes this ancient dictionary as his authority for the forms ارتنگ and ثغ, with a ث.

Page 9.

Line 5 from below, read *printed*, for *lithographed*. This edition of the *Kashf*, when obtainable, sells from fifteen to twenty rupees.

Page 11.

Line 5; in the second miḡrá', read *بودے* *búdé*, for *بود* *búd*.

Page 12.

The author of the *Farhang i Jahángír*, Mír Jamáluddín Husain, played a more important part during the reign of Jahángír. According to the *Akbarnámah* of Abul Faszl, he entered Akbar's service during the twenty-fifth year of his reign, or about 1581. When Abul-Faszl wrote the *Áín*, the Mír was a Hazárí, or commander of one thousand, not a *nuhḡadí*, as the reading of the first note on p. 226 of my *Áín* appears to be more correct than the reading of the text.

The excellent work, entitled *مآثر الامراء* *maásir ulumará*,* contains the following biographical notice—

* Vide Morley's Catalogue, p. 104. The MS. No. 77 of our Society, to judge from the corrections, looks like an autograph. Besides it is almost free from mistakes. It contains 574 leaves. The other MS. of our library, No. 131, is much inferior.

میر جمال الدین انجو انجویه از اعیان سادات شیراز اند نسب ایشان بقاسم الرسی بن حسن ابن ابراهیم طباطبائی حسینی میرسد * میر شاه محمود و میر شاه ابو تراب از اکابر متأخرین این طبقه بواسطت میر شمس الدین اسد الله شوشتری صدر ایوان در زمان شاه طهماسب صفوی اولین بشیخ الاسلامی فارس و دومین باقضی القضائی آنجا اختصاص یافتند * میر جمال الدین از بنی اعیان ایشانست * بولایت دکن وارد شد * حکام آنجا مراسم احترام و بزرگداشت بجا آورده نسبتی هم در میان آوردند * پس ازان بهلزمت عرش آشیانی رسیده سال سی ام بمنصب شش صدی امتیاز یافت و تا سال چهلم بیایه هزاری بر آمد * گویند تا آخر زمان اکبری بسهزاری منصب رسیده بود * چون در آخر سال پنجم قلعه آسیر مفتوح گردید عادل شاه بیجاپوری خواهش نمود که دختر خود را بعقد شاهزاده دانیال در آرد * عرش آشیانی میر را با ساز خواستگاری روانه آن دیار ساخت * میر در سنه یکهزار و سیصد و یک کنگ نزدیک پتن جشن طوی آراسته عروس را بشاهزاده سپرد و خود با گره رسید * پیشکش که تا این زمان بدین خوبی از دکن نیامده بود از نظر پادشاهی گذرانید *

چون با شاهزاده سلطان سلیم خصوصیت نام داشت پس از جلوس بمنصب چهارهزاری و مرحمت نقاره و علم پایه برتر افراخت * هنگامیکه سلطان خسرو از آگره بغی ورزید میر باصلاح دستوی یافت که آنچه ملک بهیرزا محمد حکیم متعلق بود سلطان متصرف شود * او از کم خردی و تیره بختی راضی نشد * چون دستگیر گشته با رفقا بحضور رسید حسن بیگ بدخشی که مدار علیّه مقامات او شده بود بحضور جنت مکانی زبان دراز ساخته گفت که نه من تنها رفیق بودم همه امرا که ایستاده اند درین کار شریک اند دیروز میر جمال الدین انجو که بمصالحت آمده قول منصب پنجهزاری از ما گرفته * میر رنگ رو باخته دست پاچه گشت * خان اعظم بباکانه عرض کرد که عجب حضرت که گوش بر سخن این فضول دارند * او میداند که مرا میکشند جمع دیگر را هم بجانب خود میکشد * شریک غالب درین امر منم بهر عقوبت که سزاوار باشم باین رسانید * پادشاه ازین حرفها اعراض کرده بهیر دلاسا فرمود * پس ازان بحکومت صوبه بهار نامزد گردید * و در سال یازدهم بخطاب عضد الدوله بلندنامی یافت * میر خنجر مرصع[†] که خود در بیجاپور سرکاری نموده بالای دسته یاقوت زرد در کمال صفا با اندام نصف بیضه مرغ نشانده و بیاقوتهای قرنگ پسند و زمردهای کهنه خوش آب و رنگ بطرح نظر قریب زینت افزوده بود از نظر گذرانید * پنجاه هزار روپیه قیمت آن مشخص شد *

مدت در پراگنده بهراج محال تیول خود گذرانید * از آنجا محض—ور آمده باجل طبیعی در گذشت *

* The following words are verbally taken from the Iqbálnamah, ed. Bibl. Ind., p. 87.

میر بکمالات ظاهری آراستگی داشت * نسخهٔ فرهنگ جهانگیری که درین فن بسیار معتبر و نوزد همهٔ سنده است ازوست * الحاق در تحقیق الفاظ و تعیین اعراب مساعی شگرف بکار بوده * پسر کالانش میر امین الدین با پدر تعیین دکن بود بصیدیهٔ خالخانان عبد الرحیم منسوب گشته لختی ترقی کرد و در عین جوانی در گذشت و میر حسام الدین مرتضی خان پسر دومش جداگانه درین اوراف مذکور شده *

“Mír Jamáluddín Anjú, of Anjú, belongs to the Sayyids of Shíráz, who trace their descent to Qásim arrasí ibn i Hasan ibn i Ibrahim i Tabátibá i Husainí. Mír Sháh Mahmúd and Mír Sháh Abú Turáb, two later members of this renowned family, were appointed during the reign of Sháh Tahmásp i Çafawí, at the request of the Chief Justice of Persia, Mír Shamsuddín i Asadullah of Shúster, the first as Shaikh-ulislám of Persia, and the second as Qází-lqzát. Mír Jamáluddín is one of their cousins. He went to the Dekhan, the Kings of which had frequently intermarried with the Anjús.* Afterwards he entered Akbar's service, and, in the thirtieth year, was appointed a commander of six hundred. In the fortieth year of Akbar's reign, he was promoted to the rank of a Hazárí. It is said that in the end of Akbar's reign he was a commander of three thousand.† When in the forty-fifth year of the emperor's reign, the fort of Ásír had been conquered, 'Ádil Sháh, king of Bījápúr, wished to enter into a matrimonial alliance with Akbar, and offered his daughter to Prince Dányál. To settle matters, Akbar despatched the Mír to the Dekhan, who, in A. H. 1013, after making, near Pattan, the necessary preparations for the marriage feast, handed over the bride to Prince Dányál. After this he repaired to Agra,‡ in order to lay the tribute and the presents before the emperor, the best of all which up to that time had come from the Dekhan.”

“As the Mír had always been a particular friend of Prince Salím (Jahángír), he was promoted after the prince's accession to the post of a Chahár Hazárí, and obtained the privilege of the naqqárah and the flag.§ When Prince Khusrau (Salím's son) rebelled, the Mír received the order, to effect an understanding by offering Khusrau

* So also Firishtah.

† If this is correct, it must have been after Abalfazl's death.

‡ Accompanied by the historian Firishtah.

§ To sound the naqqárah, and to have a flag carried before oneself, was a distinction only given to great amírs. The aurang, chatr, sáibán and kaukabah are reserved to kings. Vide AA. p. 45.

the kingdom, which Mírzá Muhammad Hakím (Akbar's brother who had held Kábul) had governed. The Prince unfortunately did not agree. When he was subsequently made prisoner, and brought before the emperor, Hasan Bég of Badakhshán, Khusrau's principal agent, impudently said to Jahángír, that it was not he alone who had favoured Khusrau, but that all the amírs present were implicated; Mír Jamál-uddín, the emperor's ambassador, had only the day before asked him (Hasan Bég), to promise him an appointment as Panjhazárí. The Mír got pale and confused, when the Khán i A'zam* fearlessly advised the emperor, not to listen to such absurdities; Hasan Beg knew very well, that he would have to suffer death, and tried therefore to involve others; he himself (the Khán i A'zam) was the chief conspirator, and ready as such to undergo any punishment."

"This satisfied the emperor; he consoled the Mír, and appointed him afterwards Governor of Bahár. In the eleventh year of Jahángír's reign (A. D. 1616), he received the title of 'Aszaduddaulah.† On this occasion the Mír presented to the emperor a dagger, inlaid with precious stones, the making of which he had himself superintended, whilst at BÍjápúr. At the top of the handle he had a yellow yáqút fixed, perfectly pure, of the shape of half an egg, and had it surrounded by yáqúts, as approved of by Europeans, and old and clear emeralds, so as to make it more conspicuous. The value was estimated at fifty thousand rupees."

"After this he lived for some time at Baraitch, where he held lands granted to him by the emperor. He repaired once more to the capital, where he died of a natural death."

"The Mír was a man distinguished for his talents. The Dictionary, entitled *Farhang i Jahángírí*, which is everywhere highly valued, and referred to as the best authority, was compiled by him. The author has indeed shewn a most admirable carefulness in his critical investigations, and the correctness of the vowels."

"Of his two sons, the elder, Mír Amínuddín had been with his father in the Dekhan, and was married to a daughter of 'Abdurrahím, Akbar's Commander-in-Chief; he was promoted to a higher post, when, at an early age, he died; the younger, Mír Husámuddín Murtasza Khán, has been mentioned before."

* Vide AA. p. 223, No. 21.

† Vide Toozuk i Jahángírí, ed. by Sayyid Ahmad, Allygurh, 1864, p. 175.

The *Tuzuk i Jahángirí* gives the following additional particular :—*
 میر عضد الدوله چون بسیار پیر و صحنی شده از عهد سامان و لشکر و
 جاگیر نمی تواند برآمد اورا از تکلیف خدمت و تردد معاف داشته حکم فرمودم
 که هر ماه چهار هزار روپیه نقد از خزانه عامه می گرفته باشد و در آگره و لاهور
 و هر جا مرضی او بوده باشد اقامت گزیده آسوده و صرفه الحال بسر برده
 بدعای ازدیاد عمر و دولت اشتغال نماید *

“Mír 'Aszaduddaulah having now (A. D. 1621) become very old, and bent from old age, he is no longer fit for employment in the household, the army, or the administration of a jágír. I excuse him therefore of all further trouble, and give hereby the order, to pay him out of my treasury the monthly sum of four thousand rupees cash, payable at Agra, Lahore, or any other place, where he likes to reside, so that he may be happy and comfortable, always praying for the welfare of my kingdom.”

The highest rank which the Mír attained, was a brevet Panj-hazárí (پنج هزاری ذات), with an actual command (and salary) of a Sihhazár o páñcadí.†

Towards the end of his life, he seems to have revised his dictionary. As late as 1623, he presented a copy of it at the eighteenth anniversary of Jahángir's accession. The writer of the latter part of the *Tuzuk* says:—

الحق محنت بسیار کشیده و خوب پیروی ساخته و جمیع لغات را از
 اشعار علمای قدما مستشهد آورده * درین فن کتابی مثل این نمی باشد †

The word انجو I have heard generally pronounced *Anjú*. I think *Injú* is the correct pronunciation, as انجو appears to be the same as اینجو and اینجو, a word thoroughly investigated by Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, p. 130. From a remark in the *Waççáf*, it appears that a part of Shíráz was called اینجو *injú*. This seems to be the meaning of the word انجویه *injúyah*, in the first line of the extract from the *Maásir ulumará*.

* Sayyid Ahmad's edition, p. 327, med. Major Price's translation of the *Tuzuk i Jahángirí* mentions Mír Jamáludín on several places; but the imperfect MS. used by him, renders his translation useless. Major Price's MS., to judge from the translation, resembles the bad MS. of our Society, No. 1339 (واقعات جهانگیری).

† Sayyid Ahmad's T. i. J., p. 156, l. 3.

‡ Sayyid Ahmad's T. i. J., p. 359, l. 7.

As it is then settled that Mír Jamáluddín is a Shírází,* we can understand, why he has given so many words belonging to the dialect of Shíráz, a few of which may be found in the B. and Vullers.

Page 22.

Line 21. For **ببا** read **ببای**; and l. 2 from below, read 'Abd ul Ghafár, for 'Abdul Ghafár.

Page 24.

Line 7 from below, read **ábái**, for **ábái**.

According to Tadzkirah by *Sarkhush* (last chapter), 'Abdurrashíd discovered that the following verse of the Qorán (Sur. iv. 62)—

اطيعوا الله واطيعوا الرسول واولى الامر منكم

contains the *tárikh* of Aurangzéb's accession.

To page 27.

Sirájuddin in the preface to the *عطيه كبرى* gives a list of some of the books written by him.—

1. **خيابان شرح گلستان**
2. **شكوفه زار شرح سكندرنامه**
3. **شرح قصائد عرفى**
4. **سراج وهاج محاكمه شعرا**
5. **سراج منير اجوبه اعتراضات ملك منير**
بر اشعار بعض متأخرين
6. **رساله ادب عشق در تحقيق ادب عشق.**
7. **معيار الافكار در قواعد صرفيه و نحويه.**
فارسي
8. **مثنويء جوش و خروش بمقابلهء سوز و**
گداز ملك نوعي
9. **مثنويء سوز و ساز در برابر محمود و**
اياز ملك زلالى
10. **عالم آب در جواب ساقينامهء ملاظهري.**
11. **مثنوي عبرت فسانه در تتبع قضا و قدر.**
ملك محمد قلى سليم
12. **ديوان غزل مشتمل بر پنج هزار بيت**
13. **نثر پيام شوق در جواب مراسلات اعزله**
14. **گلزار خيال در تعريف فصل هولج**

* Mirzá Nausha calls him **هذى**.

هندوستان

15. آبروی سخن در وصف حوض و فواکه و
وناک

16. قصائد و رباعیات و خطب

To this long list, we have to add the works mentioned on pp. 25 to 27; the *مصممع الغائس* *majma' unnafâis*, a tadhkirah of Persian poets, alphabetically arranged according to the takhalluḡ;* and the *نوادیر الفاظ* *nawâdir i alfâz*, a dictionary of those Hindî words whose equivalents are rarely met with in Arabic and Persian.

Page 30.

Line 21, read fifteen years' labour, for fifteen years, labour.

Page 32.

Line 4. Read 17, for 27.

Page 39.

Line 15. I do not know, whether *Jannatústání*, or *Jannatáshyání*, or both, be correct. In some historical books both terms are used *promiscue*, in many *áshyání*, in others *ústání*. In the MS. of the *Maásir-ulumará*, mentioned in the note of p. 65, *áshyání* has every where been carefully corrected to *ústání*. Even in Akbar's laqab, I have found *ústání*, for *áshyání*. There is no doubt that *áshyání* conveys a better meaning, than *ústání*. Line 5 from below, read of Akbar's mother, for of one of Akbar's wives.

Line 3 from below, read teacher, for pupil. The pious are attracted by God.

Page 37.

To the Indian pronunciations mentioned in *i.*, add—غازی الدین—*ghází uddín*, for *gháziddín*; دیدار بخشش *Dídárbakhsh*, for دادار بخشش *Dádarbakhsh*; باغچه *baghichah*, for باغچه *bághchah*. The Indian pronunciation سنجان, for سجان, is said to be Chagatái.

* The MS. of our Society, No. 129, goes only to the letter ح *hé*; nor do I know, whether Arzú completed the work. I may mention that this MS., to judge from a marginal remark which the binder has half cut away, is written by Sayyid Ghulám 'Alí of Belgrám, Arzú's nephew. He was himself a poet, and Arzú has mentioned him under his takhalluḡ *Arzád*.

From this book, it also appears that the *Surnah i Sulaimání*, the twenty-fourth dictionary of p. 5, was compiled by the poet تقی اوحدی, Taqí Auhadí of Iqfahán, the well-known author of a Tadhkirah. He came to India during the reign of Jahángír (1605 to 1627), and must not be confounded with the poet Taqí, of Shustar, one of Akbar's nobles; vide A. A. p. 230, No. 352. The concluding chapter of the *Mir-át ul 'Alam* gives a few of their verses.

Page 44.

Line 2, read *follows*, for *ollows*.

Line 11, read *برینش burínish*, for *یرینش yurínish*.

Page 45.


Line 20, read *أبره ábrah*, for *بره*.

Page 50.

Line 19, remove the asterisk after the word *kóh*.

Page 53.

Line 5, read *سوزش sózish*, for *سورش sórish*.

 In conclusion I may mention that this paper is an extract of a larger work written by me, entitled "Contributions to Persian Lexicography." About six years ago, Major Lees asked me to compile a Persian Dictionary. A part of it has been completed. But as the costs of the undertaking appeared too great, in proportion to the assistance which the Government of India then granted, the work was not proceeded with, though a specimen sheet had been issued.

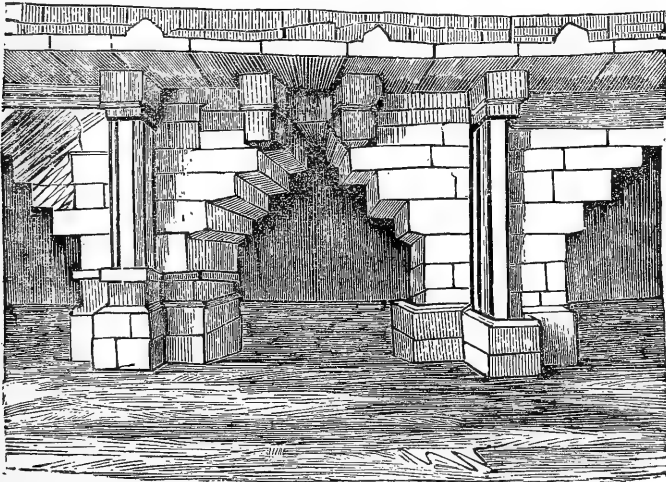
Since then I have been comparing the Persian Dictionaries written by natives, and correcting various lexicographical MSS. in my possession. I trust in a short time to have sufficient leisure, to see the whole of my "Contributions" through the press, though I should prefer the compilation of a Persian Dictionary itself, if the Government or a learned Society were inclined to defray the printing charges.

H. Bl.

Description of a Hindu Temple converted into a Mosque at Gaganes'var, Zilá Medinipur.—By W. HERSCHEL, Esq., B. C. S.

[Received 21st December, 1867.]

This is another fine specimen of the stone buildings to be found in the South-western parts of Medinipur. I visited it in 1866. The plan of the building is an oblong enclosure. Outside, nothing is to be seen but a flat wall, about 15 feet high, of clean cut massive laterite stones, with no other ornament than a square beading of the same style as that described for Chandrarekhá Garh at page 183 of the Journal. (Vol. XXXV. pt. i.) The long side is about 312 feet, and the other 252 feet, outside. There is no opening anywhere in the wall except at the one narrow solid gate-way, so that the place looks queer and forbidding. Perhaps for this reason it is called a Garh by the people, and possibly enough it was so used, when occasion required, as a defence against Mahrattas. But the plan of the building is that of an ordinary Mandir, in the centre of a large courtyard surrounded by a high solid wall, on the inner side of which, the whole way round, is a row of serais like cloisters. The wood cut below shews one such serai.

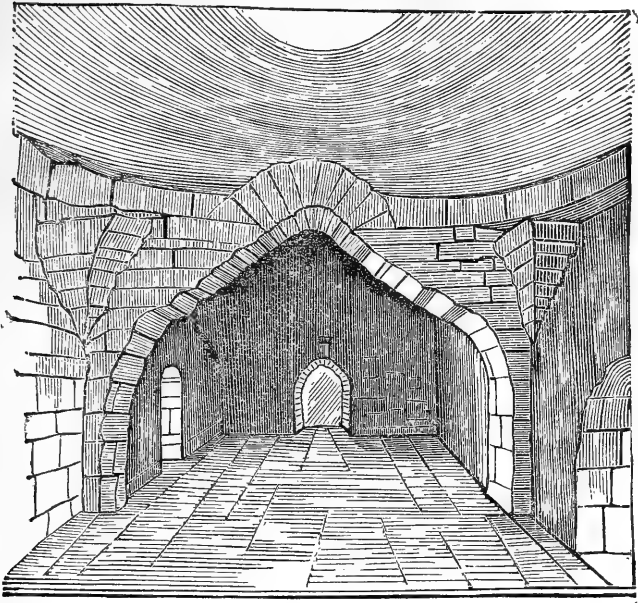


From each of the squat square piers an arch (so to call it, though it is only laminated as in the sketch) springs across the cloister to the

outer wall; so that each serai is formed of three such doorways as in the sketch, and the flat wall for the fourth side. The perspective view down the cloister in the inside, shewing some twenty of these arches is very impressive, owing to the massiveness of the work. Each opening is about 10 feet high. A very few of the ornamental pillars are rounded, and the (apparent but not real) keystone in each serai has a lotus with a pendant pistil. These are the only curved lines in the building. All the rest is severely straight. The South-western corner of the enclosure is a good deal ruined, shewing the huge stones to have been held together in some parts with iron clamps. At the Western side a white stone is let into the wall, bearing a Uriyá inscription, which I could not decipher or get deciphered at the time, though it is legible enough where not defaced. The villagers declare it was purposely defaced by a certain officer of Government, who has, however, denied the charge on enquiry. The week and month are legible, but unfortunately the year has been defaced. The villagers can give no conception as to the date, which must be inferred from the stones.

In the centre stood one of the ordinary tall many fluted Hindu temples, consisting only of a spire over the Ling, and a small room in front of it. The sketch given of the temple at Chandrarekhá (Ante Vol. XXXV. pt. I. p. 185,) would have suited this one also. The temple, except the foundations, has been entirely destroyed by the "Moghals" as the villagers call the Muhammedans here. It has gone to make the platform of the Mosque which now stands at the Western end of the oblong. Where the Ling used to stand, a well has been sunk by a pious or treasure-seeking Brahmin, who gave out that the Ling had retired there. He failed to recover it, and carved instead two common idols on two slabs of stone, which lie in one of the cloisters, receiving very precarious worship from the people.

The Mosque itself is built of new small stones. There is nothing noteworthy about it except the unusual smallness of the entrances, generally so handsome in Muhammadan buildings. Though in the form of a pointed arch, they are only cut out of the wall, as it were. Inside, however, is a good specimen of a true arch, crowning an almost complete laminated arch. The sketch of it, given below, is perhaps worth inspection. The little entrance at the end (as well as another

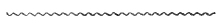


like it) has, instead of seven or eight stones in arch, only one cut like a key-stone. But as the entrance is cut through solid masonry and is small, there was no need of any key-stone, and it has sunk down for want of pressure on its sides. I note this, because it is difficult to guess why the key-stone was put there at all, unless it was to give the appearance of an arch. The dome is only a weak rubble and mortar thing, which is falling in. There was once a village of 300 houses of Muhammadans near Gaganes'var. Nothing is left of them but the mounds of the village and this mosque, and some Persian words in the Zemindári vocabulary. The Zemindár has no records of them in his papers. I do not suppose the original building is more than three or four hundred years old. In the inscription it is called a "berá," and its name among the villagers is "the Kamberá."

Note by the Editor.—The inscription alluded to above is in the Uriyá language and character, but seven out of eight lines of it being defaced by the strokes of a hatchet or some other blunt iron instrument, the

purport of it cannot be fully made out. The first line alone is legible; it begins by stating that, "in the invincible reign of the auspicious hero and Mahárájá S'rí Pratápakapáles'vara Deva, on Wednesday the 22nd of Vaisákha, in the year — (?) the building of the enclosure of S'rí Gaganés'vara."—(*S'rí Vira S'rí Pratápa-kapálesvara Deva Mahárájan karu vijaya ráje samasta anka S'rí ha mesa 22n. budhaváre S'rí Gaganés'vara Devanku vedá gāḥana*).—The name of the king in its integrity does not occur in Prinsep's Tables; the first part Pratápa is common enough, and was assumed by two of the Súrýavañsi kings, but neither of them had Kapáles'vara (lord of skulls) for the second part. That word, however, is a name of Mahádeva, and one of the most common names of that divinity is Rudra, and if this circumstance would warrant the assumption of the two words being used synonymously, the name would be that of the unfortunate Pratáparudra, who reigned from 1503 to 1524, and left thirty-two sons, all to be murdered by his minister Govinda Deo. The date of the enclosure, according to this conjecture, would be the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

R. M.



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PART I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

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No. II.—1868.  
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On the History of the Burma Race.—By Colonel SIR ARTHUR PHAYRE,
K. C. S. I., C. B., *Bengal Staff Corps.*

[Received 25th July, 1868.]

In the thirty-second volume of the Journal of the Asiatic Society, for the year 1864, the present writer, following the Mahá-rádzá-weng, traced the history of the Burma race from the earliest time, down to the arrival of the two sons of the king of Tágúng at the site of the present town of Prome. The national chronicles from that time proceed with the history of the monarchy established at Thare-khet-ta-rá to the east of Prome. It is proposed in the present paper to condense into a brief narrative the principal events of that monarchy, and of the succeeding dynasties of Burman kings, which reigned at Pugán on the Irrawaddy river, about one hundred and eighty miles above Prome.

The elder of the sons of the king of Tágúng, named Maháthambawá, was married to his cousin Bhedárí, daughter of the hermit, who lived in a cave or cell, near a small stream which runs into the Irrawaddy river below the town of Prome. The king of the Pyú tribe, named Táp-bú-lá, who with his people dwelt in the land around Prome, had been exposed to attacks by tribes coming from Southern Arakan. He had either been killed or taken prisoner. His queen still ruled. But the Kán-rán tribe from Arakan attacked her also.

The Pyú repelled the attack. The Kán-rán fled and returned to, or then established themselves at, Thán-dwai, (Sandoway), and in the seven hill districts lying along the eastern side of the Arakan mountain range in that neighbourhood. The queen of the Pyú then established herself at the Thaggá lake. After a time she resigned the sovereignty of her people to Maháthambawá. She was of the true Sákya race, descended from Mú-dú-tseit-ta, son of Kán Rádzágyí, who, as before related, had been made by his father king over the tribes Pyú, Kánrán, and Thek or Sák. Maháthambawá made the Pyú queen his second wife. This was in the year 60 of religion. The Pyú queen gave birth to a daughter, and soon after died. Maháthambawá died in the year of religion 66, aged twenty-six years. At the time of his death Queen Bhedári was pregnant with the son to whom she afterwards gave birth, and through whom the royal race was continued. He was called Dwot-ta-búng.

Maháthambawá was succeeded, by his brother Tsú-la-tham-bawá. Bhedári became his queen also. He reigned thirty-five years and died in the year 101 of religion.

Dwot-ta-búng now became king. The time had come when the predictions of Gaudama were to be fulfilled. The city of Tha-rkhet-ta-rá was, with the help of the heavenly beings termed Nát, built on an extensive plain, to the eastward of the present town of Prome. This was in the year 101 of religion. This king had great power and authority. He married two wives; *first*, his half sister born to his father by the queen of the Pyú people, and named Tsánda-de-wí; and *second*, Bhe-tsan-dí, the daughter of the king of the Ná-gás or dragons. His reign is described as glorious, and he built many pagodas. A cave and a well of water, are still shown by the people of Prome, as those of the great and good king Dwot-ta-búng. He ruled over many countries adjoining his native kingdom. But he was guilty of one act of injustice which diminished his power and shortened his days. A poor woman, who sold bread, bestowed five *pai* of land on the Raháns of a monastery. The king, wishing to possess the land, confiscated it. His good fortune at once abandoned him. His celestial weapons no longer had any power and his glory declined. He then restored the land. But the evil result of his sin could not be shaken off. His tributary kings withheld

their tribute. He went himself to demand it, throughout all Dzambu-dí-pa or the continent of India. But misfortune followed him. The sea dragons were offended, and carried his ship to their own regions. In other words his ship foundered at sea. This happened after a reign of seventy years when he was one hundred and five years old. "Reflecting," observes the writer of the *Mahá-rádzá-weng*, "on the story of king Dwot-ta-búng, the lords of great countries should remember, that it is not proper to take so much as a single fruit, or a single flower, of those things which pertain to the three precious jewels."

Dwot-ta-búng was succeeded by his son Dwot-ta-rán in the year 171 of religion. He reigned twenty-two years.

No particular event is related of the succeeding kings until Thi-ri-rít came to the throne in the year of religion 424. He had a deep regard for religion, and the people during his reign were happy. But with him the race of Dwot-ta-búng came to an end, and another dynasty succeeded.

The story is thus told. A certain man of that country placed his young son with a Rahán at a monastery, where he became a Thá-ma-ne or probationer for the higher degrees of the order. The Rahán liked him and taught him the *Bí-da-gát* and *Be-deng*. The Rahán had a cock who, when he crowed, seemed to say, "Whoso eats my head will be king hereafter." The Rahán, hearing this, called the youth and told him to prepare the cock for food. The probationer did so, but in the preparation the head accidentally touched the hinder parts of the bird. Thinking this rendered it unclean for the Rahán, he ate it himself. The Rahán asked him where the head was, and the probationer told him. The Rahán thought, "Now we shall see if the animal's crowing comes true." He had the young man educated in every branch of knowledge, and then entrusted to the care of a nobleman. At length he was introduced into the palace, and the king retained him there. The king, having no son of his own, adopted the young man, and created him crown-prince. Eventually he succeeded to the throne, and reigned fifty-one years. This king was called *Nga-ta-bá*, because the cock in crowing seemed to utter those words; and also because he was of another lineage and not of the existing royal race. No explanation is given in the history re-

garding the cause of this change of dynasty, nor is any hint given as to the lineage of Nga-ta-bá.

He was succeeded by his son. The descendants of this king are represented as filling the throne until the year of religion 638. The last king of this race was Thupignyá, who came to the throne in the year of religion 627, or A. D. 84. He is described as a good king, and devoted to religion. Having a quarrel with the Kán-rán king, whose territory lay in the southern part of the country now called Arakan, he collected an army, and marched against him. The country was subdued, and the king found there a golden image of Gaudama eighty-eight cubits high. On account of this image he remained there for three years. His nobles entreated him to return. He ordered a great raft to be made in order to bring the golden image by sea round the high cape called Na-ga-rít* to his own country. But his nobles, thinking this could not be accomplished, consulted together to evade the king's order. They determined to melt down the large golden image, but to appease the king's anger, they made twenty-eight smaller images which they presented to him, and kept the rest of the gold for themselves. The king then returned to Tha-re-khet-ta-rá. When the people of the country brought the gold of the holy image into daily use, the seven excellent Náts who had presided over the building of the city were offended, and the whole country became confused and distracted with robbery and violence. There was at that time a saying abroad that a man named Nga-tsa-kan, (which means in the Burmese language a corn-sieve) would destroy the country. One day a sudden gust of wind carried away the corn-sieve of a woman, who followed it crying aloud, "My corn-sieve, my corn-sieve." (Nga-tsa-kan, Nga-tsa-kan.) The people, much alarmed, supposed that Nga-tsa-kan had really come. They separated into three hostile divisions, and the king died at the same time after a reign of eleven years.

The three divisions of the people were Pyú or Byú, Kám-rán or Kán-ran, and Mrán-má. The last is the present national name for

* Na-gá-rit or Na-gá-nhít is the name of a well-known high bluff of land on the coast of Burma. The word implies, the place where the Nagá or sea dragon sinks ships. It is here that the ship of king Dwot-ta-búng was borne to the depths of the sea by dragons. The adjoining coast is, even in these days, the scene of frequent wrecks. The native name is preserved in Cape Negrais, a term which appears to have been handed down by the old Portuguese voyagers.

the whole people, which is first mentioned in the Mahá-rádzá-weng at this time. The Pyú and Kán-ran peoples fought. The chiefs agreed to settle their quarrel in a way already known in the history of their race, that is, by the building of a pagodá. In this peaceable contest, the Pyú tribe was victorious, and the Kán-rán people retired. The Pyú tribe then fought among themselves. One portion then joined with the Kya-barg tribe, supposed to have been settled on the west of the Irrawaddy, near to what is now the country of the Yau tribe, and also with a portion of the Thek tribe. One division established themselves in the hilly district to the south-east of Prome called Taung-nyo. After three years, they were there attacked by the Talaings and crossed the Irrawaddy river to Padaung. Being attacked there by the Kán-rán tribe, they went north to Men-don. After this they moved to the east of the Irrawaddy, and settled under king Tha-múg-da-rít at Yun-hlwot-guen. A period of thirteen years had been occupied in the migrations since the destruction of Tha-ré-khet-ta-rá. King Tha-múg-da-rít is called a nephew of king Thupignyá. The country where he settled was afterwards called Air-mád-da-ná also Tám-pá-dí-pa; and the city Pouk-kán or Pu-gán. King Tha-múg-da-rít established nineteen villages, on the land of which the city was to be built.

The historian of the Mahá-rádzá-weng then narrates at great length the ancient legends concerning the country of Pugán, so as to connect the kings of the ancient royal race of Tagúg, on the upper Irrawaddy, with the kings of the great city which was now to arrive. The scene opens as follows :—

“ When the lord Gau-da-ma was still on the earth, he went about
 “ from country to country in Mits-tsi-má-de-tha. Standing on the
 “ top of the Tán-kyí* hill, and looking he saw on the top of a *pouk*
 “ tree, which grew on a steep bank, a white heron and a black crow.
 “ In a fork of the tree, lay a great lizard having seven tongues.
 “ At the foot of the tree a frog crouched on the ground. Seeing
 “ these the lord smiled. His younger brother the lord Ananda
 “ asked respectfully, why he smiled. The lord replied, ‘ Beloved

* This is the name of a peak on the range of hills on the bank of the Irrawaddy river opposite to Pugán. The name Pugán or Pouk-gán is said to be derived from the Pouk tree, (*Butea frondosa*.)

“ ‘ Ananda, after I shall have attained Neib-bán 651 years, then in
 “ ‘ this place a great country will arise. At the top of a pouk tree,
 “ ‘ a white heron and a black crow perching, the meaning is, that in
 “ ‘ that country the performance of charitable and religious duties will
 “ ‘ abound ; and irreligious deeds will also abound. As to the lizard
 “ ‘ with seven tongues, the people of that country, without rice fields
 “ ‘ or plantations, but supporting themselves by commerce, will use false
 “ ‘ words, and truth will gradually decline. The meaning of the little
 “ ‘ frog at the root of the tree is, that he who first establishes that
 “ ‘ country, (king Tha-mág-da-rít,) in his time great birds, great
 “ ‘ boars, great tigers, and flying monsters will be kings or leaders.
 “ ‘ They will be destroyed by a powerful king.’ Such was the
 “ ‘ divine prediction. The chief who struck down those enemies was
 “ ‘ he who became king, and is known as Pyú Tsautí.”

The history of Pyú Tsautí, who afterwards became king of Pugán, is then related. The reader's attention is called to the emigration of one of the Thá-ki princes of Kúp-pi-la-wot, named Da-zá Rádzá, and his arrival on the Irrawaddy as before narrated in the early part of the Mahá-rádzá-weng. This king built the city of upper Pugán, after having married Ná-ga-tshein of the ancient Thá-ki race. Though their kingdom was overthrown by invaders, yet the line of kings descended from them was not destroyed. In the seventeenth generation Tha-do Mahá-rádzá of this race was king. His son was Mahá-thámbawá from whom descended the kings of Tha-re-khet-ta-rá as has already been described. But he had another son from whom descended Thado Á-deits-tsa, who lived about the time that the city of Tha-re-khet-ta-rá was destroyed. The country of Tágúng was at that time deeply disturbed, and Á-deits-tsa, driven from his throne, remained concealed near Ma-le, a place on the Irrawaddy about eighty miles above Ava. He supported himself by cultivation. In his garden was a well, in which dwelt a Na-gá or dragon which was worshipped by the country people. The queen of Á-deits-tsa gave birth to a son. He was named Tsau-tí. The Nagá loved him so, that he and the Nagá queen watched over the child. At seven years of age he was placed under a hermit, who instructed him in literature, science, and religion. As the hermit predicted that he would become a king, his name was changed to Meng-ti, and he was taught

kingly knowledge. When sixteen years of age, as the divine prediction had to be accomplished, he asked leave from his father and mother to go to Pugán, then lately established, and they gave him permission. He went there and lived in the house of an old Pyú man and his wife. They having no children, loved him as their own son. Hence he was called Pyú-tsau-tí. At that time the country was infested with great tigers, birds, and flying creatures, which devoured the people. A monster bird required a young maiden to be supplied to him daily, and on the seventh day, seven maidens. The king of the country could not withstand these monsters. The young prince, confident in his own strength, destroyed them all. King Tha-múg-da-rít, who for twelve years had been oppressed by these creatures, was exceedingly rejoiced, and went to see the young man. The lineage of the prince was then learned. The king gave him his daughter in marriage and appointed him crown-prince.

The historian here enters on a long dissertation as to the line of princes descended from the son, as if feeling that doubt might exist as to the true descent of Tsau-tí, and therefore of the present royal family of Burma. He recounts the stories given in former histories of the birth of Tsau-tí from a she-dragon and the Nát of the sun. The she dragon, it was said in these fabulous tales, produced an egg, from which came forth Tsau-tí. "But," observes the historian "this is impossible, for in such case the son would either have been a Nát like his father, or a dragon like his mother; whereas all agree that he was a man. It is evident therefore that the story has arisen from his father's name *A-deits-tsa* which means sun; and from the dragon queen having watched over him when he was an infant. But truly all kings from *Ma-há Thama-dá* to *Gau-da-ma*, were by descent of the race of the sun. And so it has continued to the present time." Having settled this point of the prince's descent, the historian justifies his rejection of previous legends in the following words: "Wise men have said, an old tree if bad, although old, must be cast aside. That such has happened before, is evident from the history of Pugán itself. For, during thirty generations of kings in that city, the doctrines of the heretical *A-rí* sect were believed in, until the time of that sagacious king *A-nan-ra-hta* to be hereafter described, who listening to the instruction of the great

“ teacher Sheng A-ra-han, the erroneous doctrines of the A-rí sect
 “ were renounced. Those A-rís, in order to propagate such doctrines
 “ as they pleased among the people, used to make a book according
 “ to their desire, and put it in the hollow of a thakhwot tree, and
 “ when the bark which grows rapidly, had closed over it, they would
 “ pretend a dream, and persuade the king to go to search for a book
 “ in the tree, which being found, both king and people believed what
 “ was false. So the story of a prince born from the egg of a dragon,
 “ whether old or not old, appeared to readers as if ancient and true,
 “ but nevertheless must be rejected. What has now been advanced
 “ is more credible, and more in accordance with the ancient records of
 “ Pugán ; therefore it should be made permanent.”

This dissertation on the lineage of Pyú Tsautí, or Pyú Mengtí, is a fair specimen of explanations given in the history followed by the present writer, for occasional deviations from previous stories in the Burmese chronicles. The present version of the fable, is no doubt more acceptable to the supposed descendants of Pyú Mengtí, than the legend of his birth from a dragon's egg.

Pyú Mengtí became crown-prince at sixteen years of age. King Tha-mug-da-rít died after a reign of forty-five years. A hermit, for some reason not explained, was raised to the throne. He reigned for fifteen years, and is called Kathé Kyúng. Pyú Mengtí then became king in the year 89 of the last era established at Prome. His power and glory were great. His dominion extended to the upper course of the Irrawaddy. The Chinese having invaded the province of Kau-thám-bí, which lies to the eastward of Bhaman, the king with a vast army repelled them. Near his capital, he built a pagoda where he had killed the monster bird. He also built many other religious buildings, and caused books of laws to be compiled for the benefit of his people. He died after a reign of seventy-five years, aged one hundred and ten.

In the history of the Pugán kingdom after the death of Pyú Mengtí, it is related that the city was much enlarged by his descendant Theng-lay-gyung, and was called Thí-ri-pits-tsa-yá, probably from the site of the palace having been changed. In the reign of the next king Kyaung-dú-rít, who came to the throne in the year 931 of religion, (A. D. 388), it is related that the important event of the

introduction of the complete Buddhist scriptures, Bi-da-gát, into Burma, occurred. This event has probably been materially antedated, as indeed appears from what is stated subsequently in the history of the reign of A-nan-ra-htá more than six hundred years later. But in the history it is related how at this time, the entire Bi-da-gát was brought to Tha-htun, then the chief city of the Talaing kingdom, by the great teacher Bud-da-gau-tha. The story of this great teacher appears to have been taken from the Maháwanso of Ceylon, for older Burmese accounts generally represented Bud-da-gau-tha as an inhabitant of Tha-htun. The event is thus narrated. "About this time it is recorded in the great Rádzá-weng, that the celebrated teacher, the lord Bud-da-gau-tha, went from the country of Tha-htun to Ceylon to bring the books of the Bi-da-gát. In the new Rádzá-weng, it is said that he crossed from Mits-tsi-má-de-tha; but the case is really thus: For more than nine hundred years after the establishment of religion,* the disciples of Yau-ná-kamahá-dham-ma-rak-khi-tá, and of Thau-na and Út-ta-rá, repeated by heart the three great divisions of the Bi-da-gát. There were as yet no letters in Dzám-bu-dí-pa. At that time a young Brahman was living near the Baudi tree. He was learned in medicine and mathematics. Wandering about in Dzám-bú-dí-pa, disputing the doctrines of others, he came to a monastery, and in the vicinity began to recite in a soft voice. The great teacher Sheng Re-wa-tá hearing, said: 'This man is wise, it will be proper to discuss with him.' He therefore called out, 'Who is there braying like an ass?' The young man replied, 'You understand then the braying of asses?' and then to his questions Sheng Rewatá gave suitable replies. But the young Brahman knew nothing of the divine law. He therefore became a Rahan to study the three great books of the Bi-da-gát. From that time, he became as celebrated as a Phrá, and was named Bud-da-gau-tha. He wished to study commentaries on the Bi-da-gát. The Sheng Ré-wa-tá, knowing this, said: 'In Dzám-bú-dí-pa there is only the Páli, there is not the commentary; teachers with various gifts of mind are scarce; but in Ceylon the commentaries are pure. The

* The assertion in the text must mean that until after the year 900 of religion, there were no Scriptures in Burma or Suvánabhumi, that is, Tha-htun. The term Dzám-bú-dí-pa, which is generally applied to India only, is here applied by a bold license to those two countries.

Pali divine revelations as repeated in the three great councils, were carried to Ceylon by the lord Ma-hin-da. Going there where the commentaries exist in the Singalese language, learn it and translate them into Magadá.' Saying this, he sent him, as is written in the book Tsú-la-weng."

The history then gives in detail several versions of the story of the sacred books being procured in Ceylon by Bud-da-gau-tha, and brought to the Indo-Chinese nations. The great teacher is represented as the religious benefactor or missionary to the Burmese, Talaings, Arakanese, Shans, Siamese and Cochin Chinese. But he was led to Tha-htun by a miraculous direction at the last moment. The history proceeds thus: "Lo! the lord Bud-da-gau-tha, after having obtained permission from king Mahá-ná-ma, by presenting him with a white elephant, brought away the book Wi-thú-dí-mag, the three great divisions of the Bidagát, and the commentaries. But when he was on his way to Dzam-bu-dí-pa, a Thagya came and warned him, saying, There is no place in Mits-tsi-má-de-tha where religion can be established; the places where it is to be firmly established are situated on the south-east side of Mits-tsi-má-de-tha; they are nine hundred yúzanás in circumference; they lie on the outskirts, and are known as Tha-re-khet-ta-rá, The-ri-pits-tsa-ra, Rá-ma-nyya and other countries. Religion shall be established in them for full five thousand years. The books should be conveyed thither. The great teacher accordingly came to Tha-htun in the country of Rámangyá, then called Thú-dam-má-wa-ti, and also Thu-wan-na-bhum-mi."

The historian states that this event occurred in the year 946 of religion, or A. D. 403. "Thus," he concludes, "in order to set forth distinctly the account of the arrival in the Burma country of the scriptures, the root and foundation of religion, which had been omitted, in the great and the middle Rádzá-weng, I have extracted the narrative thereof from the religious books."

King Kyúng-du-rit died after a reign of twenty-five years. No particular event is recorded until the reign of Thaik-taing. He changed the site of the city from Thí-ri-pits-tsa-yá to Tha-ma-htí and called it Tam-pa-wá-ti. The change of the position of the capital city to the distance only of a few miles, is still a common practice with Burmese kings. It is prompted sometimes by superstitious

motives, and sometimes by mere caprice. In the instances mentioned of change of the capital Pu-gán, it is probable that the king's palace was rebuilt, and only a portion of the population required to remove. In modern times when the capital was changed from Ama-ra-pú-ra to Mán-da-le, a distance of six miles, the whole population, numbering one hundred thousand souls was forced to accompany the court to the new capital.

From this time a considerable interval elapsed without any event which can be mentioned as materially bearing on the national history. Several usurpers are recorded as having gained the throne by artifice or violence. The most remarkable of these was Thenga-rá-dzá, called also Pup-pá Tsau Rahán. He is said to have been the teacher to the queen of Htwon-khyit. On the death of that king, he married the queen and seized the throne. Being a learned man, he reformed the calendar. He ascended the throne in the year 535 of the era established by A-de-tyá king of Tha-re-khet-ta-rá. He reigned twenty-seven years, and in the last year of his reign, which would have been 562 of that era, he established a new one. Having a deep respect for the ancient royal race, he declared prince Shwe-ún-thi the son of his predecessor, heir to the throne. That prince married Thenga Rádzá's daughter and succeeded his father-in-law.*

In the reign of Pyin-byá who ascended the throne in the year of religion 1385, the site of the city, or rather probably of the palace, was again changed to a position called more especially Pu-gán. This

* The existing Burmese era commences from this time. The Burmese year begins when the sun is supposed to enter the first sign of the zodiac, now about the 13th or 14th of April. The Burmese year 1230, commenced in April 1868. It would therefore appear that the existing era commenced when the sun entered the sign Aries, A. D. 639. The Burmese chronology has been thus adjusted with the year of Gautama's Neibbán, called in the Mahá-rádzá-weng the year of religion. The first king of the dynasty, of Tha-re-khet-ta-rá, named Ma-há-thám-ba-wá is stated to have become king in the year 60 of religion = 483 B. C. The number of years of the reigns of all the kings of Tha-re-khet-ta-rá and of Pugán, from that time to the end of the reign of Thenga Rádzá, as given in the history, and including an interregnum of thirteen years, amount to 1120. This would therefore place the close of Thengarádzá's reign in the year 1180 of religion or 637 A. D. The Burmese ordinary year contains only 354 days. Every third year there is an intercalary month of thirty days. But the calendar is occasionally interfered with arbitrarily by order of the king, to adjust the reckoning of time with some supposed necessity, which depends upon superstitious prejudices. There is an apparent difference of two years between the time at which the present era is said to have been established, and that which is shown from the number of years or date which corresponds with 1868 A. D. namely 1230.

probably is the locality now shown to travellers as the site of the palace. The enclosure wall can still be traced by a line of earth mixed with brick. The magnificent temples built some centuries later, still exist entire, but of the palace, which no doubt was built of wood, not a vestige remains. This king also built the city of Tung-gweng to the south and called it Rá-má-wa-ti.

After this the history frequently refers to the heretical religion which existed, of which the A-rí teachers were the priests. The false worship which was practiced is strongly denounced, apparently to enhance the merit of the revival of pure Buddhism under A-nan-ra-htá about four hundred years later. But before that king appears, the historian considers it necessary to make it clear, that he was of the true royal race, an object carefully kept in view throughout the history with reference to each king, from whom the present royal family claim descent. It is recorded that the thirty-fourth king of Pugán, named Tan-net was deposed by an obscure youth called Ngá-khwé. It is admitted that Ngá-khwé was of obscure origin. He had been sold as a slave ; but his descent is traced from a younger brother of Thein-tsusan the twenty-sixth king of Pugán. He entered the service of king Tan-net as a groom. He soon rose in the king's favour and confidence. At length he acquired much influence, and entered into a conspiracy against the king, whom he murdered. He then seized the throne. He reigned nine years and was succeeded by his son Thein-kho. A curious story is told of this king having been accidentally killed while hunting in the forest. The king, having been separated from his followers, and being hungry, entered the plantation of a hill man and plucked a cucumber. The hill man, not knowing the king, struck him with a spade, and killed him. The story is thus continued : " The groom of king Thein-kho having come up and seeing the body of his master, asked the hill man, ' Why have you struck him to death ? ' ' The hill man replied, ' Your master plucked and ate my cucumbers, and shall I not strike him ? ' The groom said craftily, ' He who kills a king always becomes king himself.' The hill man answered, ' I don't wish to be a king. This year I am a king of cucumbers, which hang on the stalks in my plantation like sucking puppies.' The groom said, ' You shall have your cucumbers and enjoy also the pleasure of reigning as a king. The hap-

pinness of a king is excellent and exalted. He has good food and fine clothes. He has gold, silver, elephants, horses, buffaloes, cows, goats, pigs, and rice in abundance.' The hill man, being thus persuaded, followed the groom. The groom secretly led the hill man into the palace, and told the whole story to the chief queen. She praised the groom for his discretion. The queen also, lest the country should become disturbed, gave out that the king was ill, and prevented all coming in and going out of the palace. The hill man was instructed, bathed, and perfumed. One of the queens of inferior rank being disrespectful to him, the stone image at the gate of the palace, rushed in, and smote her to death. Seeing this all in the palace was frightened, as if they were in danger of being eaten up. The chief queen on the sixth day caused it to be proclaimed throughout the city, that the next day the king would appear, and all ministers, nobles, and officers were required to attend. Early next morning all went into the palace. When the gate of the inner palace was opened, all joining their hands bowed down their heads. But one of them insolently said, 'Alas! this is not our master, our lady, the queen, has not consulted us in this matter.' Suddenly one of the stone images at the gate of the palace, rushed in and smote him to death. Then all the ministers, nobles, and officers, and the whole country feared as if they were to be devoured. When the hill man became king he was very powerful. He took the title of Tsau Rahán. He made a delightful garden at his former cucumber plantation. The image of a great dragon was placed there. This image was worshipped; for dragons being more powerful, and more excellent than men, great benefit may be derived from the worship of them. Moreover, as there were hollow temples in the countries of Tha-htun and Tha-re-khet-ta-rá, the king, after consulting the false Arí teachers, built five hollow temples. In each temple was placed an image, resembling neither Nát nor Phrá. To these morning and evening, food and spirits were offered, and so they were propitiated and worshipped. At the time when the omniscient and excellent Phrá was still existing, the religious doctrine which was first established by Pun-na-hté in the Mram-má country; in Tagúng, in Thare-khet-ta-rá, in A-rí-mad-da-ná and in The-ri-pits-tsa-rá; the true doctrines of religion were maintained during the reigns of many successive kings. Afterwards when the city

of Tâmpawáti was built, from the time of king *Thaik-taing*, the strength of religion gradually declined ; for the books of the *Bi-dagát* being not yet, the king *Tsau Rahán* and the whole country believed the false doctrines of the great *Arí* teachers. The king *Tsau Rahán* indeed should have come to great destruction for killing a king, while he was yet a hill man cultivating a plantation ; but on account of the great merit acquired by the good works he had done in former existences, he obtained the rank of a king. Thus, in the divine law of the *Phrá*, it is written, ‘ They who have acquired the destiny which adheres to merit, succeed though they strive not ; they who have not acquired merit, fail though they strive much.’ There are numerous examples of the truth of this. As for the king *Tsau Rahán*, when the predestined successor, king *Kyúng Phyú* arrived, *Tsau Rahán* stood at the entrance of the palace and cried ‘ Who will be king while I am here ?’ But at that moment the merit of his former good works was exhausted ; the stone image at the gate of the palace pushed him so that he fell headlong and died.”

He was succeeded by *Kwon-tshau-kyúng-phyú*. As this king was the father of *A-nan-ra-htá*, the great hero of the modern Burmese people, his descent and early history are carefully narrated. It has already been mentioned, that king *Tannet* was dethroned by a youth named, *Nga Khwé*. *Kwon-tshau-kyoung-phyú* was said to be a son of king *Tannet*, born after the death of his father. An usurper generally retained in his harem, the queens of his predecessor ; so to prevent the suspicion of *Kyoung-phyú* being a son of *Nga Khwé*, it is stated that the chief queen of *Tannet* being pregnant, refused to remain in the palace after her husband’s death, but fled secretly and hid herself at a place called *Kyúng-phyú*. In the *Mahá-rádzá-weng* the story is thus related : “ When *Nga Khwé* killed king *Tannet*, and took possession of the palace, the queen, who was pregnant, fearing that she would be seized by *Nga Khwé*, escaped from the palace and lived at a place called *Kyúng-phyú*. This place was also called the dragon’s road, or golden road which leads to the abode of dragons. There king *Kyúng-phyú* was born. When he was a child, he one day went to play with the children of the place, and the children reviled him by calling him a fatherless boy, on this he complained to his mother. His mother replied, ‘ My dear son, your father was not

an ordinary man, he was king of this country. The present king killed him and deprived him of the kingdom. You were then in the womb, and I, fearing that I would be taken possession of by him, escaped and hid myself at this place, where you were born.' Kyúngphyú on hearing this, made a vow, saying, 'May I succeed to the place of my royal father.' He then went to the city, and waited upon the reigning king. The king bestowed upon him the right to gather betel leaves* in the village or township of Let-htup. There the future king quietly supported and comforted his mother. Daily when he went out early on his occupation, his mother packed up for him his daily food. He used to open this bundle and eat his food beneath a tsúng-gyán tree. Before eating any of his food, a handful of it was daily laid at the root of the tree in honour of the guardian Nát. The Nát thus pondered, 'This young man daily presents to me the first portion of his meal, what will happen to him hereafter?' He saw that the young man before long would become a king. He therefore appeared to Kwon-tshau and said, 'You have presented to me daily the first portion of your food; if you wish to be a great man, adhere to the worship of the Phrá, and observe the five religious duties, always tell the truth, and repeat the ten a-nu-thá-ti two thousand times every day. Henceforth he habitually observed these instructions. Considering this event it is proper to remember that religion was not altogether extinguished at Pugán. From that time the Thagyá and all the Náts who support religion, assisted Kwon Tshau, and it began to be noised abroad that a Meng-lúng, (embryo-king) would appear at Pugán. As he was expected to appear upon a certain day, all the people went in a body on that day to the hill called Tú-ywen-dúng, to meet him. The Kwon-tshau resolved also to collect the betel leaves early in the morning, and go to see the Meng-lúng. He therefore begged his mother to pack up his food earlier than usual. His mother did accordingly. He took the packet and went to Let-htup village before daylight, and having collected the betel leaves quickly, he made his way to Pugán to see the Meng-lúng. A Thagyá, in the disguise of an old man riding on horseback, came and said to the Kwon-tshau, 'Young man, I have business here,

* Hence the term Kwon-tshau, and Kyúngphyu the place of his birth, combined in the name of this king.

will you be pleased to take this horse to Pugán ?' Kwon-tshau replied, ' Grandfather, I am in a hurry to arrive there to see the Meng-lúng, therefore I shall not be able to take your horse with me.' The old man said ' Young man, would you not reach there sooner on horseback than by walking ? Take this jewelled crown and put it on your head ; put these ruby rings on your fingers ; hold the sword and spear in your hands ; if I should be long in coming, go on until you come to the king's plain.' Then Kwon-tshau, after having put the rings on his fingers, wearing the jewelled crown on his head, and holding the Thi-la-wun-tha sword and the A-rein-da-má spear in his hands, all given by the Tha-gya, rode swiftly to see the Meng-lúng at Pugán. The nobles, the ministers and the people, on seeing the Kwon-tshau come riding towards them, in the dress and jewels given by the Tha-gyá, in which he shone brightly as the rising sun, fell down and prostrated themselves before him. Then Kwon-tshau thought within himself ' I am the Meng-lúng,' and remembering what the Nát of tsúng-gyán tree had said, he rode at once to the palace. King Tsau Rahán stood at the entrance, and said, ' Who will dare to enter while I am here ?' But the stone image at the gate pushed him down, and he fell headlong and died. Tsau Rahán had married three sisters. The eldest was raised to the rank of the southern queen. The second was called the middle, and the third the northern queen. At the time of king Tsau Rahán's death, Kyi-tsó who was afterwards king, had been for nine months in the womb of the southern queen. Tsuk-ka-té, who also became king afterwards, had been then six months in the womb of the middle queen. When Kwon-tshan became king, he took these queens as his own. Anan-ra-htá was brought forth by the northern queen. When Kyi-tso and Tsuk-ka-te were of age, they built a very fine monastery and invited the king Kwon-tshau to join in consecrating it. Kwon-tshau, without any suspicion of danger, went according to their invitation. Then Kyi-tso and Tsuk-ka-té seized the king, and forced him to become a Rahán. They spread a report that the king, out of regard to his future welfare had voluntarily taken the vows of a Rahán. Thus king Kwon-tshau Kyúng-phyú after a reign of twenty-two years was deposed in the eightieth year of his age." It is stated that he lived to the age of one hundred and fifteen years.

The prince Kye-tso then succeeded to the throne. He was passionately fond of hunting. Once he came to a spot where a hunter was hid in the forest, watching the drinking-place of a deer. The hunter, seeing the jangal move, shot an arrow, which pierced the king, so that he died.

He was succeeded by his brother Tsuk-ka-te. At this time the dethroned king Kwutshan Kyungphyá was in his monastery, and his queen with her son A-nau-ra-htá-tsau supported him. Tsuk-ka-te deeply insulted A-nau-ra-htá, who then begged from his father the horse, regalia, and arms, formerly given to him by the Thagyá. Having received these, A-nau-ra-htá, raised an army, and attacked his elder brother (cousin). They fought together singly; Tsuk-ka-te, being thrust through with a spear, fled on horseback towards the river, where he died. The place is to this day called Myín-ka-pá, or "horse-swerving place." The mother of A-nau-ra-htá, weeping for her sister's son, built pagodas in memory of his death and her own mourning.

A-nau-ra-htá, after the death of his brother, (cousin), went to his father at the monastery, and besought him to take the throne once more. But Kyungphyá refused on account of his great age, and A-nau-ra-htá then took possession of the palace, and was consecrated king. This, according to the history, was in the year 379 of the existing Burmese era, answering to 1017 A. D. But 372 appears to be the correct date, derived from the Mahá-Rádzá-Weng itself.

It is the glory of A-nau-ra-htá that he restored the ancient power of the Burmese monarchy, and effected a thorough reformation of religion and of morals among the priesthood. The events of his reign are recorded with much minuteness. At first he was deeply troubled in conscience from having killed his elder brother. But he was comforted in a dream by the king of the Tha-gyás, who advised him "to build pagodas, monasteries, and travellers' rest-houses, and to devote a portion of the merit of such good works to his elder brother; besides that, wells, tanks, embankments, canals, and rice-field water channels should be constructed for the good of the people, and the merit be given to the elder brother." The king obeyed these directions, and so expiated the sin of which he had been guilty.

A-nau-ra-htá, being desirous of renewing the connection of the

royal family of Burma with the kings of India, now sent a nobleman to demand in marriage a daughter of the king of Wetháli. This kingdom is represented still flourishing as a Buddhist country. The king of Wetháli gave his daughter, who was brought through Arakan across the mountains. But on the way the nobleman was faithless to his charge; and on arrival at the capital city, he represented to the king that the princess was only an adopted, and not a real, daughter of the king of Wetháli. A-nau-ra-htá, therefore, did not bring her into the chief building of the palace, but placed her, first, in the western house, and afterwards in the village of Pa-reim-ma, where she lived. Nevertheless, she was pregnant by A-nau-ra-htá; and when her time was near, an earthquake shook the whole land. The astrologers were consulted, and they replied that he who would hereafter succeed to the throne, was then in the womb of a woman towards the north. The king, fearing evil consequences, had all the pregnant women towards the north sought out and put to death. But the Indian princess was concealed by the care and devotion of a young Nága, or dragon youth, and her life was thus saved. The astrologers afterwards said the child had been born. The king then caused six thousand sucking children to be killed. But the Nága youth preserved the son of the Wetháli princess. After this the astrologers said the child had reached the age of a cowherd. The king, caused five thousand boys of that age to be killed, but the son of the princess remained undiscovered. His mother then put him into a monastery, and he became a Rahán. The astrologers informed the king that his destined successor had become a monk. The king, anxious to discover him, by the advice of the astrologers, invited all the Raháns to a feast. The astrologers said that he might be discovered by a shining circle, the mark of a true prince, inside his mouth. The king, therefore, himself gave water to drink to each Rahán from a vessel with a long spout. By this device he saw the shining circle in the mouth of the young man, son of the Indian princess. Convinced by this mark that he was of pure royal race, the king caused him to leave the monastery he had entered, and acknowledged him as his own son. He then received the name of Kyán-tsít-thá, or Kyán-yít-thá. Many fanciful etymologies for this name are given in the history. The *first* name, which is that most generally given means "the child with the true mark." The *second*

is interpreted "the child that remained" after the others had been killed. This son afterwards ascended the throne, and the remaining kings of Pu-gán were descended from him.

The Mahá-Rádzá-Weng next proceeds with the subject of the reform of religion. The chapter which treats of this important event, opens by describing the necessity which existed for reform, justifies the movement, and gives a clear narrative of the means by which it was effected. The chapter opens in the following words:—

"In the reign of king A-nau-ra-htá, Tsau the city was called Pú-gá-rá-ma. All his predecessors had received the doctrines of the thirty great A-ris, and their sixty thousand disciples, who lived at a place called Tha-ma-htí, and were firm in the profession of a wrong faith. These A-rí Raháns set aside the doctrines of Buddha, and established their own. They made a scripture to suit their own desire, and persuaded the people to follow it. The law they preached was such as 'Whosoever shall commit murder, he is freed from his sin by repeating a prayer or invocation; whosoever shall kill his parents, by repeating a prayer, he is freed from the punishment due to the five greatest sins,' and so on, teaching people falsehood and wrong, as if they were truth and right. Moreover, when the sons and daughters of the king, or of nobles, ministers, rich persons, or others, were about to be married, the bride was always sent to those teachers on the night before; this was called presentation of the virgin flower. In the morning when she came out from them, she was married. If a bride was married without the virgin flower having been presented to the teachers, heavy punishment had to be borne, for breaking a long established custom. When king A-nau-ra-htá saw and heard of these shameful doings, being filled with excellent virtue, and knowing that the precepts of these teachers were false; being uneasy in mind, and feeling great alarm, he began to long for the true law. At that time the lord A-ra-hán, called also Dham-ma-da-thí, arrived at Pu-gán from the country of Tha-htun, called likewise Dham-ma-wa-tí. The history of the lord A-ra-hán is as follows:—The holy Ra-hán-das, seeing that religion had not yet enlightened the countries of Thú-na-pa-ránta and Tám-pá-dí-pa, went to Tha-gyá Meng, and prevailed on him to persuade one who would be able to establish religion there to do so. Tha-gyá Meng, having entreated one of the Náts in the Tá-

wa-dein-tha-man-siús, he consulted and was conceived in the womb of a Bráh-maní. When he was born, he was taken care of by a Ra-hán-da named Thí-la-búd-di. When he was of age he became a Ra-hán, and was taught the Bi-da-gát. On attaining the state of a Ra-hán-da, he was famous throughout Dzam-bú-dí-pa, by the name of A-ra-hán. Because religion was not yet established, this Ráhán came to the city of Pu-ga-rá-ma. On arriving, he stopped in a grove, not very far from the border of the city. Tha-gyá Meng caused one of the hunters of the country, who was out ranging the forest for game, to see the lord A-ra-hán. The hunter, seeing a man with a grave and noble countenance, began to think 'this is an excellent and no ordinary man. I will conduct him to the city, and present him to the king.' So the lord A-ra-hán gathered up the eight priestly requisites, and followed him to the presence of the king."

At the interview which follows, the great teacher discourses eloquently on the doctrines, the moral teaching, and the perfections of Buddha. A-nau-ra-htá at once is converted, and so sincerely well disposed that "his heart became as the cleanest and softest cotton dipped in the purest oil." His mind is filled and saturated by the all-subduing grace of the doctrine. The lord A-ra-hán also gives to the king a succinct narrative of the life of Gautama. He relates how he died and went to Neib-bán; how the relics of his body were taken by different kings; and long after were obtained by Thí-ri-dham-má Thau-ka. He adds that one being a tooth is worshipped in Gan-da-la-rít, a country of China. That the complete scripture, Bi-da-gát, has been brought from Ceylon to Tha-htún.

The king then declared his conversion to the doctrines of the lord A-ra-hán, and the heretical doctrines of the A-rí teachers were cast aside. The whole of the people threw away their evil teaching, and embraced the good law. The A-rí teachers and their sixty thousand disciples were forced to become laymen. Many Ra-háns came from Tha-htún, and the lord A-ra-hán ordained as Ra-háns and Pin-zens, those of the country who sincerely embraced the true faith.

About this time it is related that two foreigners, brothers, natives of India, arrived at Tha-htún, being floated ashore on a piece of wreck. They are represented as magicians; but having offended the king of Tha-htún, one of them was put to death by him. The other fled to

Pu-gán. There he married, and had two sons, named Shwe-byín-gyí and Shwe-byín-nge. They were taken into the king's service, and became very useful to him. It appears that at this time communication between southern India and the coast of Pegu had become frequent.

By the preaching of the lord Ara-hán, king A-nau-ra-htá learnt that, in order to enjoy the full benefit of religion, it was requisite that the great scriptures, the Bi-da-gát, should be obtained; and also a true relic of the Phrá. The whole of the Bi-da-gát was to be had at Tha-htún, and even relics, which the kings had worshipped for many generations. A-nau-ra-htá therefore sent to Ma-nú-ha, the king of that country, a man of high rank and ability, to ask politely for a complete copy of the Bi-da-gát. The king of Tha-htún answered haughtily that he would give nothing. A-nau-ra-htá then was very wroth; and collecting a large army, advanced by land and water against Tha-htún. There were four generals, of whom the king's son Kyantsít-tha was one. Notwithstanding his large army and his great generals, the king was foiled in his attempt to take Tha-htún. His astrologers informed him that the obstacles arose from the enchantments of powerful magicians and evil spirits. The king, by means of counter-enchantments and contrivances, devised by the Indian who had fled to him from Tha-htún, overcame the enchantments, and the city was then taken. King Ma-nú-ha, his whole family, and court, were captured and brought before A-nau-ra-htá. There were found the holy relics preserved in a jewelled casket, which had been worshipped from ancient times by the kings. These and thirty complete copies of the Bi-da-gát were brought to the king, laden upon thirty-two white elephants. These all with painters, builders, and artificers of every description, and the soldiers, were carried away to Pu-gán. At the same time the Ra-háns, learned in the Bi-da-gát, were respectfully invited to accompany the king. At Pu-gá-rá-ma he allotted separate places to the soldiers and the various artificers to live in. The holy relics were put into a shrine studded with rubies, which was placed at the head of the royal couch. The books of the Bi-da-gát were deposited in a building beneath a lofty spire, adorned with jewels, where the Ra-háns studied them. King Ma-nú-ha was placed with his followers at Myín-ka-bá.

After this A-nau-ra-htá, being a man of great piety, desired to

possess the holy tooth relic which was in the province of Cán-da-la-rít in China. He therefore marched with a vast army, accompanied by Kyan-tsít thá and Shwe-by-ín-gyí and Shwe-by-ín-nge. The emperor of China shut himself up in his city, and not being aware of the greatness of A-nau-ra-htá, took no notice of him. At length by means of an artifice accomplished by Shwe-by-ín-gye and Shwe-by-ín-nge, and by the boldness of Kyan-tsít-tha the emperor became alarmed. The two sovereigns had a friendly meeting. The king, however, failed to procure the holy tooth relic. He brought away, however, an emerald studded image, which had been sanctified by contact with the holy relic; and in a divine communication from Tha-gyá Meng, was informed that he might have a forehead bone relic which king Dwot-ta-búng had formerly brought to Tha-ye-khet-ta-rá from the country of the Kam-rám. A-nau-ra-htá then returned, taking with him the emerald image. While passing through Shan, a Chinese province of Mau, he married Tsau-mwun-hlá, the daughter of the prince of the province. This marriage and the subsequent adventures of the princess, have been made the subject of one of the most popular dramas in Burma.

After this the king went to Tha-re-khet-ta-ra, and pulled down the pagoda in which king Dwot-ta-búng had enshrined the forehead bone relic. In the histories of Arakan, it is said, he brought this relic from that country;* but that is not true. It had indeed originally been brought from thence by king Dwot-ta-búng. A-nau-ra-htá, fearing that the city of Tha-ré-khet-ta-rá might fall into the hands of enemies, destroyed it. When he arrived at Pu-gán, he built the Shwe-zí-gun pagoda for the holy relic to repose. But although

* In the history of Arakan which I have consulted, it is stated that A-nau-ra-htá invaded that country to carry away a celebrated brazen image of Gauda-ma, which was in the temple of Mahá-mú-ní. He did not succeed in doing so. The Arakanese history represents this first invasion as occurring in the year 994 A. D., but records that the same king invaded Arakan twenty-four years later, when the Arakanese king was killed. As A-nau-ra-htá, according to Burmese history, did not succeed to the throne until the year 1017 A. D., or 1010 A. D., more correctly reckoned, the two statements cannot be reconciled. But the date of A-nau-ra-htá's succession varies in different copies of the Mahá-Radzá-Weng. In the appendix to Crawford's embassy to the Court of Ava, that author gives a list of the kings of Burma from manuscripts procured by him in the country. The accession to the throne of A-nau-ra-htá is stated to be in 997 A. D. This agrees better with the dates in the Arakanese history. Considering that the father of A-nau-ra-htá was still alive when the son ascended the throne, there may have been doubts as to the proper date.

heavenly voices proclaimed the king's righteousness, yet the holy relic ascended to the sky. By the advice of the lord Ara-hán, the king consoled himself by worshipping the jewelled basket in which the holy relic had been carried. He then thought of the famous tooth relic in Ceylon, and sent a ship with four discreet messengers to ask the king of that country for it. A miraculous emanation from the tooth was the reward of this pious zeal, and this was borne away with great honour by the four messengers. The king proceeded to the seaport to receive it, and brought it with a grand procession to Pu-gán, where it was deposited in a suitable building at the gate of the palace.* After this king Ma-nú-há and his whole family were degraded to the lowest depth of infamy, by being presented as pagoda slaves to the Shwe-zí-gún pagoda. About this time Kyan-tsít-thá deeply offended the king, and fled. The king despatched after him some of his Indian swift-running footmen, but they could not take him. Kyan-tsít-thá crossed the Irawádi river to the western bank and took refuge at a monastery, where he remained concealed. The king now made a progress through the western portion of his dominions as far as Bengal. That his descendants might have a memorial of his greatness, he set up stone images; and having built pagodas, returned to his own city. As the reign of A-nau-ra-htá draws to a close, the historian recapitulates the many pagodas and monasteries which he had built; the tanks, canals, and water-dams he had constructed; the rice-land he had redeemed from jangal; his great armies and the extent of his kingdom. But the protecting influence of his good works was at length exhausted. In going to China he had offended the guardian Nát of a tree, who then became his enemy. As long as the influence of the king's good works remained, the Nát could do nothing against him. But that being now exhausted, the Nát sought to take revenge. Changed into a wild buffalo, he met the king near one of the gates of the city, and gored him to death. A-nau-ra-htá reigned for forty-two years.

He was succeeded by Tsau-lú, his son born of his chief queen. The governor of Pegu, Nga-Ra-mán-kan, rebelled. In the disturb-

* It is curious that a few years ago the present king of Burma deputed messengers to Ceylon to procure it, where it was popularly stated the tooth relic was deposited. They returned with a model of it, which has been placed in a building within the palace yard.

ances which followed, Tsau-lú was killed. Kyan-tsít-tha then defeated the rebel, and took the throne in the year 426 of the existing Burmese era. He is also called Hti-hlaing-sheng.

On the accession of Kyan-tsít-tha to the throne, a not very intelligible story is told of an intention to marry his daughter to the son of the king of Pa-teik-ka-rá, a name here given to some part of Bengal. The marriage was eventually disallowed, it is stated, by the advice of the nobles, "lest the country should become kulá or foreign." Notwithstanding this the princess is represented as with child by the kulá prince, though doubt is afterwards thrown upon this fact, and she gave birth to a son, who afterwards succeeded to the throne, under the name of A-lúng-tsí-thú. But the kulá prince committed suicide, and the princess was married to Tsau-gwon, the son of king Tsau-lú. So highly did Kyan-tsít-tha regard his grandson that, while he was yet a child, he underwent the ceremony of bi-the-ka, or consecration as a king, and received the name of Thi-ri-dze-ya-thú-ra. Kyan-tsít-tha either enlarged or completed, the Shwe-zí-gún pagoda built by his father.

Once there came to Pu-gán eight Ra-hán-das from the Gan-da-má-da-na mountain. They presented a model of the Nan-da-mú-la cave which is in that mountain. And the king determined to build one like it. This was done, and it was called the Nan-da-Phrá. The king also built many pagodas at various places near the city. He died after a reign of twenty-eight years.

His grandson now ascended the throne. Though he received a name at the time of consecration from his grandfather, yet the title of Alúng-tsí-thú, referring to the great drum of the palace having at his birth sounded without the agency of man, has been retained for him in history. Soon after the commencement of his reign, he built the Shwe-kú temple now to be seen at Pu-gán. This king travelled throughout the whole extent of his dominions. He went into Arakan and the adjoining country of Bengal, where he visited the stone images set up by his great grandfather A-nau-ra-htá. It is said also that he visited Ceylon. He regulated the weights and measures throughout the kingdom. During the reign of Kyan-tsít-tha, the heir to the king of Arakan had been expelled from his kingdom by a rebel. He came and resided at Pu-gán and there a son was born to him named Let-ga-

meng-nan. Alúng-tsí-thú yielded to his entreaties and gave him an army, said to consist of one hundred thousand Pyús, and one hundred thousand Talaings. After one repulse the army was successful. The usurper who occupied the throne of Arakan, Meng Ba-di, was slain, and Let-ya-meng-nan was restored to the throne of his ancestors.* This

* In the history of Arakan this event is stated to have occurred in the year 465. The present Mahá Rá-dzá-Weng appears to consider the year 480 as the correct time. A Burmese stone inscription which was discovered at Buddha Gayá and of which a facsimile is given in the 20th volume of the Asiatic Researches, confirms the fact related in the Arakanese and Burmese histories, of the restoration of Let-yá-meng-nan (called Pyú-ta-thein-meng) to his country by the king of Pu-gán. But there is a strange uncertainty as to the dates recorded in the inscription. General Cunningham has some remarks on this question in his Archæological survey report, dated 3rd June, 1862. I have not seen the facsimile taken by General Cunningham, my present remarks therefore apply to that published in the 20th volume of the Researches. The two dates in lines 11 and 12 of the inscription, have been read by Prinsep and Cunningham as 667 and 668. Colonel Burney, who first translated the inscription, agreed with the Burmese literati in reading them 467 and 468. The latter no doubt were induced to do so, lest their national history should be impugned. Regarding the second date, there can, I think, be no doubt. It must be read as 660, not as 668. It will be found that a 4, a 6, an 8, and also a cipher, fortunately occur elsewhere in the inscription. In the second line is a 4 rudely engraved, but the same in form as the modern figure. The Burmese literati, who gave the copy of the inscription in the modern character, have omitted the figure, and given the number four in writing. A 6 occurs in the eleventh line of the original, meaning the sixth day of the week. In the translation this has been rendered Friday. The figure 4 in the second line is utterly unlike either of the figures in the second date, which I read as 660. The two first figures are very like the undoubted 6 in the eleventh line. The last figure is similar to the undoubted cipher in the eleventh line, being the record of the 10th day of the month. So much for the second date. In the first date there has apparently been some error on the part of the engraver. The first figure in that date is really a 4 reversed. It has not the least resemblance to a 6. The second figure is a rude 6, with an adjunct, large and clumsy, instead of the small stroke added to the 6, which stands for Friday, so that it almost looks like an additional figure between the 6 and 7. The last figure is undoubtedly 7. I therefore read this date as 467. The first figure as it stands is not a 4. Turn the paper upside down and it is 4. The engraver only could account for this vagary. The question now is, how can the dates 467 and 660, thus placed together in the inscription, be reconciled with the object for which the inscription was written? The Burmese language, especially as it was written five or six hundred years ago, is very elliptical, and it is frequently necessary to guess at the meaning attempted to be conveyed. In the translation of the inscription in the Researches, the idea is conveyed that the temple of Buddha Gayá was rebuilt in 467 or say 667, and that the religious ceremonies, apparently of consecration, followed in the next year. Certainly at first sight the inscription appears to mean this. But it is not necessarily so. And if the second date is 660 and not 668, it cannot be so. I take the inscription then to jump over long periods of time. It first recounts how the temple had been built by Asoka. It was destroyed and repaired more than once at long intervals of time. Then came the latest work of the kind, and it was rebuilt under the immediate assistance of the king of Arakan, Pyú-ta-thein-meng, called also Let-yá-meng-nán. This rebuilding occurred in the year, Burmese era, 467. This quite corresponds with the date of Let-yá-meng-nán being restored to his

king built the temples still to be seen at Pu-gán called Shwe-kú, and Tha-pinyo. He kept up intercourse with a king in the eastern part of Bengal, called in the Burmese history, Pa-teik-ka-rá. He is said to have married a daughter of this king. Alúng-tsi-thú, when he became old, was much troubled by the disobedience of his sons. His oldest son Meng Sheng Tsau retired from the city, and settled near where the city of A-ma-ra-pú-ra was afterwards built. There he formed the lake called Aung-peng-lay. He wished his second son Na-ra-thú to succeed him. The king was now a hundred and one years old, and had reigned seventy-five years. This son, desirous of hastening his death, had him carried from the palace to the Shwe-kú temple, where he was smothered under a heap of cloth.

Na-ra-thú at once took possession of the palace. But his elder brother marched rapidly towards the city. Na-ra-thú cunningly concealed his intentions, and induced the chief, or bishop, of the Buddhist monks, to send a message of peace and welcome to Meng Sheng Tsau. The prince, being unsuspecting, came down the river with one boat and a few attendants. He was met by his brother at the landing-

throne. (See History of Arakan, in *Journal, Asiatic Society*, Vol. XIII. p. 39). The inscription appears mainly concerned in recounting the religious ceremonies and worship offered to the temple on a special occasion. And this event occurred in the year 660. In the latter year, we must conclude that the inscription was written. This supposition appears to me to reconcile the inconsistency of the dates hitherto as read. The second date being undoubtedly 660, the first cannot be 667, as it (the first in the inscription) gives the rebuilding of the temple for that year, and the consecration or other religious ceremony would be subsequent to that. The difficulty is removed if we read the first date as 467 for which it has been shown there are good reasons. If the inscription means that the worship offered in 660 was a sort of consecration of the building, there is certainly no reason apparent why one hundred and ninety-three years were allowed to elapse before this was done. But it may be that there being a special and solemn worship in 660, a record was then made regarding the offerings and the previous repeated building of the temple. The inscription has been written by an Arakanese, and this might have been done by the king of Arakan in 660 (A. D. 1298) more probably than by the king of Pu-gán, as the latter kingdom had at that time fallen into great confusion in consequence of the Chinese invasion. In the histories of Burma and Arakan, dates have no doubt, in some instances, been tampered with. But there is no reason to suppose that this has been done to the extent of nearly two hundred years. The first time that Burma is mentioned by an European is, I believe, near the close of the 13th century by Marco Polo. The war made by Kublai Khan on Burma is by him stated to have occurred in 1272. This only differs by twelve years from the date given in the Burmese history. On the whole as the first date in the inscription has only the last figures, 67, clearly defined, and the second date is clearly 660, the above attempt at explanation appears to be the most probable solution of the difficulty.

place, and escorted to the palace with honour. At once he was consecrated king, but that night was poisoned. Na-ra-thú then became king without opposition. He pursued a course of crime and cruelty. He put to death many of his father's favourites. The whole of the people, in the palace, the city, and the country, were alarmed and distressed. He commenced building a magnificent temple called Dha-ma-yan-gyí; but it was with difficulty that workmen could be procured, for all fled from fear, and the work proceeded slowly. This king, with his own hand, killed the daughter of the king of Pa-teik-ka-rá (Bengal) who had remained after the death of his father. This led to an extraordinary event. Her father, on hearing of the murder of his daughter, disguised eight brave men as Brahmans, who were sworn to execute their master's revenge. They arrived at Pu-gán, and were introduced into the palace under pretence of blessing the king. There they killed him with a sword. After which they killed each other or committed suicide, so that all eight died. This king is, on account of the manner of his death, called "Ku-lá-kyá-meng," that is "the king killed or dethroned by foreigners." It is stated that at the time of his death, the temple Dha-ma-yán-gyí was unfinished.

He was succeeded by his son Meng-rí-na-ra-thein-kha. He appointed his younger brother to the office of Ein-she-meng or "lord of the eastern house," a title equivalent to that of crown-prince. This is the first time the title is mentioned in the history. After some time, the king, under pretence of a war having broken out on the northern frontier, despatched his brother to that quarter in command of an army. He then took possession of his brother's wife. The crown-prince found that there was no war, and when he discovered the wrong that had been done him, he returned to the city and put his brother to death. He then succeeded to the throne under the title of Na-ra-ba-di-tsí-thú.

He is represented as a good king. He visited all parts of his kingdom. He built, at Pu-gán, the temples called Gau-dau-pal-leng and Tsú-la-ma-ní; and one, a Tha-ma-htí not far from the city, called Dham-ma-rá-dzi-ka. This king had constant communication with Ceylon. Four Raháns from Ceylon settled at Pu-gán and introduced some new philosophical doctrines. The king is highly praised for his piety and attention to the affairs of his country. He died after a

reign of thirty-seven years, and was succeeded by his son Dze-ya-thein-kha, in the year 1204, A. D.

Dze-ya-thein-kha had a quiet reign. He was chiefly occupied with religious buildings. He finished the Gau-dau-pal-leng temple commenced by his father, and built the Bau-di temple with some others, which are now less known.

His son Kya-tswá called also Dham-ma-rá-dzá was pre-eminent in learning. He gave his whole time to the study of religion and philosophy, and left the affairs of the kingdom to his son U-za-ná. As a work of merit, he formed a lake by damming up a mountain-stream, where all kinds of water-fowl enjoyed themselves, and which also watered rice-lands. He was learned and pious, but the religious zeal, and the art which, during two hundred years had existed, and through which the noble temples still to be seen at Pu-gán, had been built, now had passed away. This king only commenced a pagoda, not now to be traced, which he did not live to complete. He died from an accidental wound after a reign of sixteen years.

His son U-za-ná succeeded. This king had been accustomed as a young prince to hunt wild elephants in the forests of Pegu. He went there again to follow this sport, and was killed by a wild elephant, having reigned five years.

This king left two sons, Thí-ha-thú and Meng-khwé-khyé. The former had been appointed heir to the throne, but a powerful noble formed a conspiracy, and he was set aside. The younger son Meng-khwe-khye then succeeded with the title of Na-ra-thí-ha-pa-te. There was a rebellion in the province of Mut-ta-má (Martaban) headed by the Governor Nga-Shwe-lay; but it was suppressed. This king lived in greater luxury than any of his predecessors. He commenced building a pagoda called Men-ga-lá dze-dí. But there was a prophecy which said "The pagoda is finished and the country ruined." The king therefore paused and for six years did nothing to the pagoda. But he afterwards thought this fear of consequences inconsistent with piety, and discreditable to his fame as a king, he therefore finished the pagoda in the year 636 or A. D. 1274. In the relic chamber were deposited golden images of the disciples of Gau-da-ma; golden models of the holy places; golden images of the fifty-one kings of Pu-gán, and images of the king, his wives and children, and of the nobles of the country. Holy relics were also deposited.

In the year 643, answering to A. D. 1281, the Talaings rebelled. They killed the Governor of Martaban named A-leim-má, and Wá-rí-rú made himself king. The same year the Emperor of China sent ambassadors to demand gold and silver vessels as tribute, saying that king A-nau-ra-htá had presented such tokens of homage. The ambassadors were insolent in their conduct, and the king, against the remonstrance of his ministers, had them put to death. The Emperor of China now assembled an army to punish this outrage. The king appointed two brothers named A-nan-da-pits-tsin and Kanda-pits-tsin to command his army. They marched to the city of Nga-tshaung-gyan, which appears to have been near the Ba-mau or Ta-ping river. This city they fortified, and then for three months resisted the invaders at the passage of the Ba-mau river. But they were overpowered by numbers, and forced to retreat. The Ta-rúk army then crossed the river, and Nga-tshaung-gyan was destroyed. The two generals then retreated and built two stockades on the east side of the Marle hill. There a fierce battle was fought. But A-náu-da-pits-tsin was killed, and the Ta-rúk army being superior in numbers, the Burmese were again defeated. In the meantime Na-ra-thí-ha-pa-te had abandoned the city of Pu-gán with his whole court, and had gone down the river Irrawaddy to Bassein. The army arriving at the city and finding no one, followed in the same direction. The Ta-rúk army pursued to the city, and then further south as far as Ta-rúk-mau, but the way being long and food scarce for a large army, they returned. The flight of the king is stated to have occurred in the year 1284, and he is called "Ta-rúk-pye-meng" or the king who fled from the Ta-rúk. After five months he sets out on his return up the Irrawaddy. The historian records the excessive luxury in which the king lived, even amidst the desolation of his country. He went on until he reached Prome. There his son Thí-ha-thú was Governor. This prince forced his father to swallow poison.

This king left several sons by different mothers. Three of them U-za-ná, Kyau-tswá, and Thí-ha-thú now disputed the throne. Finally Kyau-tswá, who was Governor of Dalla in Pegu, succeeded, and became king in the year 648 or A. D. 1286. The Burmese empire had now almost fallen to pieces. The several nations who had formerly been tributary are enumerated, and it is added they now became indepen-

dent. It is well to enter these here to show the extent of territory claimed, as having at one time formed part of the Empire of Pu-gán. First come Ra-khaing and other countries and tribes to the westward. Of the three Talaing divisions, Pegu was taken by the Governor with the title of Ta-ra-byá; Martaban was taken by Wá-rí-rú. The countries of Yo-da-yá, Ta-neng-thá-rí, Thouk-ka-te, Pi-tha-louk, La-gwon-thí-má-akyau-maing-tsan, Leng-zeng, La-waik, Ywon or Zim-mé; Gún, Guen or Kyaing-htún, Lú or Kaing-rún, also on the east of the Thán-lwíng river Maing-mau, Tse-khweng, Ho-thá, Lá-thá, Mo-ná, Tsanda, Mo-wun, Kaing-má, Maing-my'n; all became independent. The Tsaulon Shans on the west of the Thanlwíng river and of the three Talaing divisions the city of Bassein, still remained to the Burmese country. At this time there were, in the kingdom, three brothers who were great favourites with the king. They were the sons of a Shan Chief who had fled from his country while it was disturbed, and had settled at Myín-tsaing during the reign of Na-ra-thí-ha-pa-te. Their names were A-then-kha-ra, Rá-dzá-then-gyan, and Thí-ho-thú. The eldest received the district of Myin-tsaing, the second that of Nek-kha-rá, and the third that of Peng-lay. They exercised great authority. The chief Queen, being offended that she was never consulted by the king, entered into a conspiracy with the three brothers to dethrone Kyau-tswá. They had built a fine monastery at Myin-tsaing, and the Queen persuaded the king to go to the consecration of it. When there the three brothers seized him and forced him to become a monk. This occurred in the year 660, being A. D. 1298.

After this, the Queen returned to Pu-gán. The three brothers guarded the late king at Myin-tsaing, and ruled like kings. At Pu-gán, the eldest son of Kyau-tswá named Tsau-nhít was allowed to live in the palace; his younger brother Meng-sheng-tsau was made Governor of the district of Tha-ret. In some histories it is said that Tsau-nhít was merely permitted to live at Pu-gán, and that Thí-ha-thú the youngest of the Shan brothers ruled there. These brothers were allied to the royal family by the marriage of their sister to Prince Thí-ha-thú, son of Na-ra-thí-ha-pa-te who had forced his father to take poison. Their sister's daughter by that Prince was now married to Meng-sheng-tsau and they lived at the city of Tha-ret.

The Pu-gán dynasty ends with the deposition of Kyau-tswá. The three Shan brothers exercised what power remained to the kingdom. Their authority was gradually consolidated, and about sixty years later, the city of Ava was founded. There or in the immediate neighbourhood, the capital of the Burmese monarchy has been established up to the present time.

Observations.

It has been shown in a former paper, that after the conversion of the rude Turanian tribes, dwelling in the country of the upper Irrawaddy to Buddhism, they assumed the national name of Mrán-má. In later times other cognate tribes have been absorbed in that nationality. Probably the most remarkable instance of this assimilation, is that of the Talaing or Mwun people, which, in about a century, has become nearly lost in name and language, amidst the Mran-má in their own country of Pegu. In the early time of the Mrán-má people, a monarchy was established, having the capital city at Tagúng or old Pu-gán. It was afterwards overthrown by an invasion of tribes who came from the east or north-east. The conquered people or portions of them, retired down the Irrawaddy, and established themselves in the country near to the present town of Prome. There kindred tribes already existed; the Pyú or Byú being on the east bank of the river, and the Kám-rán or Kán-rán being in the hilly country to the west, and in the southern part of the country now called Ra-khaing or Arakan. A city was now built to the east of the present town of Prome, and received the name of Tha-re-khet-ta-rá. The remains of this city still exist, and the positions of the walls and gates are shown by the peasants of the neighbourhood. Some ancient pagodas, built of stone, are also to be seen. The city is now generally called Ra-the-myo, or city of the hermit, from the legend of the hermit recorded in the Mahá-rá-dzá-Weng. The name Tha-re-khét-ta-rá appears to be the Burmese form of the Pali, Thi-rí-khet-ta-rá, the latter word being the same as Kshatriya and referring to the supposed Indian descent of the hermit and of Dwot-ta-búng the founder of the city. It has already been shown in a former paper, that the Burmese royal family, claim to be descended from the race to which Gau-da-ma belonged, that is, the Sakya tribe included in the Kshatriya division

of the peoples in Gangetic India. The whole term then would mean City of the noble Kshatriya. This city founded, according to Burmese history, in the fifth century before Christ, continued the seat of government of the Burmese monarchy for 537 years. During this period we are not informed as to events in the upper Irrawaddy, where it is probable the tribes coming from the eastward continued to maintain themselves. The monarchy at *Tha-re-khet-tará* is represented as being transmitted in the same family with only one break. This defect also is supposed to have been remedied in after times by the appearance of a true descendant of the ancient royal race. The dynasty established near Prome is represented, consistently with Buddhist tenets, as being finally brought to an end, by the mysterious but inevitable influence of an act of impiety. The sin which produced this result, was the act of devoting a portion of the gold of a holy image to secular objects; and though the king was not personally involved therein, yet he and his country were thereby doomed to destruction. A legend relates how dark rumours of coming wars and tumults, prevailed among the people; and from the general dread and distrust which existed, a trifling occurrence was the immediate occasion of a civil war. The several tribes which still existed separately, though subject to one king, fought with each other. A portion of the *Pyú* tribe retired to the north, and finally settled at the place called new *Pu-gán*, on the east bank of the Irrawaddy river. This is about one hundred and seventy miles north of Prome. Here a new dynasty was established, which is held to be the true royal race of Burma; while Prome appears at this time to have been subdued and occupied for some time, by the *Talaing* people coming from the south. But on this point the Burmese narrative is not clear. It does not appear what extent of territory belonged to the monarchy of *Tha-re-khet-tará*. It is, however, probable that it did not extend on the south farther than a ridge of hills called *A-kauk-taung*, about forty miles below Prome. On the north, it may have reached to *Mye-de*, fifty miles distant; while east and west it did not extend beyond the hills which bound the valley of the Irrawaddy. During the time this kingdom lasted, it is probable that the tribes coming from the northeast, who had overthrown the Buddhist kingdom established in the upper Irrawaddy, gradually mingled with the earlier inhabitants. After the

establishment of the monarchy at new Pu-gán, the upper country in time became subject to that kingdom. The large influence which the Pyú tribe had in the formation of that monarchy is evident from the legend of the third king called Pyú-meng-tí, who, the historian is anxious to show, was not a Pyú by race, but a descendant of the ancient kings of Tagúng. An interval of more than two hundred years occurs before any event of consequence is recorded. The arrival of the celebrated teacher Bud-da-gau-tha, bearing the Buddhist scriptures from Ceylon, is an event which is justly regarded of the highest importance to the Indo-Chinese nations. It may be accepted as an historical fact that he came to Tha-htun, which is situated a few miles north of Martaban, and which was then the capital city of one of the Talaing states. In most histories of Burma, it is stated that he was a native of Tha-htun, but this claim now seems to be abandoned. The year given for his arrival, A. D. 403, has no doubt been fixed, after consulting the Mahawanso of Ceylon, but still is scarcely consistent with it, as he was in Ceylon during the reign of Mahá Náma, who began to reign in A. D. 410. The Burmese Mahá-rádzá-weng assumes that the whole of the Buddhist scriptures were at this time brought to Pu-gán. This is not credible. The intercourse between the Burmese and Talaings at this time appears to have been but small, and as has been seen, the history subsequently relates the arrival of the scriptures, and the reform of religion, as being brought about in the reign of A-nau-ra-htá, or about six hundred years afterwards. At the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era, it is probable that Buddhism in Burma was in a very corrupt state. Originally established in the country of the upper Irrawaddy by missionaries from Gangetic India, the religion had been overwhelmed by the irruption of tribes from the eastward; the Burmese people in the central Irrawaddy country appear to have remained isolated for some centuries. In the year 638, A. D., during the reign of Then-gá Rá-dzá there is evidence of intercourse with India, as a new era was then adopted, which is in use to the present time. In the Mahá-rádzá-weng there is a frequent confusion of dates. The writers have attempted to reconcile dates on stone inscriptions recording the dedication of temples and monasteries with those derived from other sources. The consequence is, that in many cases, it is evident that the dates for

some events have been made to fit into, what was supposed to be, an absolute necessity. But on the whole, there appears to have been an honesty of purpose, and a painstaking care in the writers of the Burmese national history, which is highly creditable to them.

In Robinson's history of Assam, we are informed, on the authority of Pemberton, that the Shans, about the year 80 of the Christian era, established the kingdom of Pong, of which Mo-gaung was the capital. This city is on a feeder of the Irrawaddy, about eighty miles north from Ba-mau. It was not until seven hundred years later, that they extended their territory, eastward to the country around Ba-mau; and westward to Munnipúr and Assam. In the latter country they are called Ahom. It was the decline of this kingdom which enabled A-nau-ra-htá to re-assert the rights of the Burmese people to the territory of the upper Irrawaddy, in the eleventh century; and it has remained, with a few intervals, under the Burmese kings ever since.

In the early part of the eleventh century of the Christian era, the great hero of the later Burmese history, A-nau-ra-htá ascended the throne. That this king conquered Tha-htun and procured the Buddhist scriptures from thence cannot be doubted. His reform of religion is minutely and graphically described. He had intercourse with India and China. He appears to have established and maintained the influence of his government in the upper Irrawaddy. In the reigns of his immediate successors, and during a period of little more than one hundred and fifty years, were built the magnificent temples which still remain uninjured at Pu-gán. They show a grandeur of design seen nowhere else from the Indus to the Cambodia river, and have rather the appearance of gothic Cathedrals than of Buddhist temples. It is remarkable that the most elaborate of these, in internal sculptured decoration, if not in general design, was the first erected. It is that called A-nan-da, which was built by Kyan-tsit-thá supposed son of A-nau-ra-htá, who ascended the throne in the year 1064, A. D. Nearly the last of these great temples, called Dham-ma-yan-gyi, was built by king Na-ra-thú amidst general discontent at his tyranny and extortion, which were exercised apparently to provide funds for the building. It was unfinished at his death, and from its present appearance was probably never completed. The intercourse which at this period existed between Pu-gán and the countries of India and

Ceylon will no doubt account for the beautiful work in the architectural details of these buildings. But the designs for them appear not to have been derived from Indian examples, and the fervent revival of Buddhism may, for a short period, have called forth a talent which derived its existence from enthusiasm for religion. The close connection of Burma with India at this period is, in other respects, worthy of notice. King A-nau-ra-htá is represented as having married a daughter of the king of We-thá-li; the ancient kingdom of We-thá-li situated to the north of Patna, could scarcely be in existence at this time, and the statement may be taken to mean that A-naú-ra-htá did marry the daughter of some Buddhist Rájá. A strange mystery is at first thrown over the paternity of Kyan-tsít-tha, who was the son of this Indian princess; and still stranger is the doubt as to the paternity of Kyan-tsít-tha's grandson and successor A-lúng-tsí-thú. His mother was the daughter of Kyan-tsít-thá, and it seems to be implied in the history that his father was an Indian prince, son of the king of Pa-teík-ka-rá. This prince came to Pu-gán and committed suicide there, after which Kyau-tsít-thá's daughter was married to a son of Kyan-tsít-thá's half-brother Tsau-lú. It is by no means clear what name is represented by Pa-teík-ka-rá. The Burmese make sad havoc of all Indian names, except those which they have received through the ancient Páli. The only name which I can discover, as likely to have been meant, is Vikrampur, which was near Dacca, and was for some time the capital of Eastern Bengal, before the Mahomedan conquest, which commenced in 1203. Up to the close of the eleventh century of the Christian era, or even later, it is not improbable that the kings of Bengal were still Buddhist; and unless this part of the Burmese history is pure invention, that must have been the case. But perhaps the strangest story, illustrating the connection at this time between the two countries, is that told of the revenge taken by the king of Pa-teík-ka-rá for the murder of his daughter by king Na-ra-thú. This story can scarcely have been invented. It is not one tending to exalt the glory of the royal race, an object very dear to Burmese historians. The name given to this king also "Kulá-kyá-meng," or the king killed by foreigners, is that by which he is now commonly called. Another undoubted instance of the connection

of the kings of Burma with Bengal, is the rebuilding of the temple at Buddha Gayá under the orders of A-lúng-tsí-thú at the beginning of the twelfth century.

In the reign of Na-ra-thí-ha-pa-te occurred the invasion, by the Mogul or the Tartar army under the orders of the Emperor Kablai Khan, which is mentioned in the travels of Marco Polo. As far as I know, this is the first mention of Burma, at least in modern times, by any European author. It will be well therefore briefly to compare his account of the invasion of the Moguls with what is stated in the Burmese history. In the edition of the great traveller by Hugh Murray, what relates to Burma is contained in chapters 49, 50, and 51. From the first of these, it appears that in the year 1272, the great Khan sent an army of Tartars in the province of Caraian or Karazan, which is understood to be northern Yunán. The king of Mien or Burma, thinking he was going to be attacked, assembled a large army, advanced to the city of Vociam, and took post in a plain at the distance of three days' journey. There a great battle was fought, in which the Burmese were defeated. Afterwards the Tartar Khan conquered the country of Mien. Chapter 50 describes the route from Caraian into Burma, which may be either that leading down the Bamau river to the Irrawaddy, or that leading nearly direct south to Thein-ní. Both are followed by caravans at the present day, and no doubt were formerly. But the route taken by the army of invasion was that leading down to Ba-mau. Chapter 51 refers to the capture of the city of Mien or Pu-gán by the Tartar army. This, as related by Marco, may either result from an immediate march on the capital, after the battle described in Chapter 50, or may possibly refer in part to the proceedings of a subsequent expedition.

I think it must be admitted that the Burmese account, as regards the localities of the campaign, is more likely to be correct than Marco's, who wrote his narrative long after the transactions referred to, and perhaps without even notes to assist his memory; considering that his general correctness is marvellous. The city of Vociam is generally understood to refer to Yung-chang, called by the Burmese Wun-shen, which lies about a day and a half's journey east of the Salwín river. Now the Burmese would scarcely be so imprudent,

when they stood on the defensive, as to advance so far as that city away from their resources. And their own account in the national history is quite inconsistent with such a theory. In short, what they relate, is just what a prudent general would do in similar circumstances. That is the pass into Burma likely to be taken by the enemy was, that formed by the course of the Ta-ping or Bamanu river through the mountains. The Burmese army defended that pass, and had a fortified post called Nga-tshaung-gyan a little in their rear. For three months they resisted the Tartar army, but being overpowered by numbers, were forced to retreat, and abandon the fortified post. They then took post at the Male hill, nearly two hundred miles further south where they built two stockades. Here a decisive battle was fought, in which the Burmese acknowledge they were entirely defeated, and the Ta-ruk army marched on to the capital Pu-gán, about one hundred and fifty miles distant. Now, from this narrative, it is evident that there was fighting in the hilly country bordering on Vociam, but some six or seven ordinary days' journey from it; and that the great battle took place at least some ten or twelve days' journey farther still. How is this to be reconciled with Marco Polo's battle near the city of Vociam? In the first place, Marco speaks of the *kingdom* of Vociam, and it appears from the Burmese history, that after the war, the Chinese added to their territory several of the frontier districts which remained under the direct government of the Tartar governor of Yung-chang. So that Marco appears to attribute to the *kingdom* of Vociam a greater extent of territory to the west, than it possessed before the war. And as he states, the Khan "added the lands of Mien to his dominions," he perhaps used the term kingdom of Vociam, as extending down to the Irrawaddy river. But Marco's is a somewhat disjointed narrative, and in the 51st Chapter, appears to raise up a subsequent expedition with the capture of Pu-gán in the reign of Na-ra-thí-ha-pa-te. His words are as follows:—"When the great Khan conquered that city, he desired "all the players and buffoons, of whom there were a great "number in his court, to go and achieve the conquest, offering "them a captain and some warlike aid. The jesters willingly "undertook the affair, and setting out with the proffered assistance,

“subdued this province of Mien.” Now this story is quite inconsistent with what Marco tells us in the 49th Chapter of the hard fought battle the Tartars had with the Burmese in the kingdom of Vociam in the year 1272. That surely could not have led the Khan to anticipate in future a feeble resistance from such a people. Can this statement be explained from the Burmese history? I think it may be. The Burmese virtually acknowledge that, after the capture of their capital, the kingdom became dependant on the Tartar Khan. The king called contemptuously “*Ta-ruk-pye-ming*,” having been murdered, his son *Kyau-tswa* was deposed, and three Shan chiefs governed the country from *Myin-tsaing*, a city about thirty miles south of *Ava*, where the Shan brothers had established themselves. This is represented as being the state of affairs in the year 1298, (1291 by the revised dates), or fourteen years after the capital had been taken by the Tartars. Then the deposed king *Kyau-tswa* complained to the Khan, apparently acknowledging himself to be a tributary king. A Tartar army came into Burma to restore king *Kyau-tswa*. The Shan brothers made no resistance, but conciliated the Tartar general with rich presents, and disposed of *Kyau-tswa*’s claim by putting him to death. This plan was adopted by the advice of “*players and buffoons*,” who possibly may have come with the Tartar army. The Burmese history states that the Shan brothers were advised to consult tumblers and rope-dancers. The Burmese are very fond of consulting the fates, by listening to undesigned warnings by children or persons of low estate. In accordance with this idea, the tumblers and rope-dancers—who may be accepted as equivalent to the players and buffoons of Marco—were summoned to exhibit a performance. They sang a song in which occurred the words:—“There can be no dispute, if there is no disputant.” This was accepted as a guide to action; *Kyau-tswa* was killed, and his head delivered to the Tartar general,—together with arguments in the shape of presents,—to show that no disputant to the existing government remained. The Tartar general then agreed to withdraw his army after having employed it in the unexplained work of digging a canal, which is shewn near *Myin-tsaing* to this day. The occasion for this second appearance of a *Ta-ruk* or Tartar army is certainly consistent with

the whole narrative as given in the Burmese history, and it may be, that the quaint story of the tumblers' advice being followed in an affair of such importance, gave rise to the distorted gossip which Marco has repeated at second or third hand. It is evident that Marco was not aware or had forgotten that a revolution had been accomplished in Burma since Pu-gán had been taken in the first instance; that the king had been deposed, and that consistently with the traditions of the race, a new dynasty now gradually rising, had abandoned the ancient capital, the fortune of which had passed away, and had settled in another city, where the interview with the general of the second Tartar invasion, took place. Hence the "city of Mien," of the first invasion is represented by Marco as the "city of Mien" of the second also. In short, in chapter 51, events at Pu-gán and events at Myin-tsaing, which occurred fourteen years apart, are mixed up together.

In regard to dates, Marco Polo represents the first war as occurring in 1272. The Burmese represent the quarrel as arising in 1281 and Pu-gán as being taken in 1284. The Burmese dates, as now given, are not to be depended on within ten or twelve years, for there has no doubt, been a general readjustment of dates throughout the Mahá-ra-dzá-weng. And I have found a positive error of seven years from dates contained in their own history. The taking of Pu-gán will therefore be correctly 1277. But I am satisfied that for many years previous to 1281, there had been no quarrel with the Ta-ruks or Chinese. There is no trace of such an event in the Burmese history since the time of A-nau-ra-htá, about two hundred and fifty years before. Had any dispute occurred with China, especially during or about the year 1272, it would surely have been mentioned in the Burmese annals. But about that time, the king of Burma was occupied with the affairs of the southern portion of his country. His predecessors, for some generations, had been occupied more with the countries to the westward than with those to the east. And this leads to a question which has caused difficulty in the title which Marco has given to the king of Burma—namely king of Mien and Bangalá. It is the latter word that requires explanation. We have already seen, that there was an undoubted connection of Burma with Bengal and other parts of

India, commencing in more modern times, with the great revival of Buddhism under A-nau-ra-htá in the early part of the eleventh century of the Christian era. Marriages were contracted between the royal family of Burma, and the family of some Raja, apparently a Buddhist, in Bengal. The strange tale of the assassination of king Nara-thú by Indians sent from Bengal, has been related. From all these circumstances, and from the conquests attributed to A-nau-ra-htá, it is very probable that after the conquest of Bengal by the Mahomedans in the thirteenth century, the kings of Burma would assume the title of kings of Bengal. It is nowhere expressly stated in the Burmese history, but the course of events renders this very probable. We know that this claim to Bengal was asserted by the king of Burma in long after years. In the journal of the Marquis of Hastings, under the date of September 6th, 1818, is the following passage:—"The king of Burma favoured us early this year with the obliging requisition that we should cede to him Moorshedabad and the provinces to the east of it which, he deigned to say, were all natural dependencies of his throne." And at the time of the disputes on the frontier of Arakan in 1823-24, which led to the war of the two following years, the governor of Arakan made a similar demand. We may, therefore, reasonably conclude that at the close of the thirteenth century of the Christian era, the kings of Pu-gán called themselves kings of Burma and Bengála.

In order that the reader may have a distinct view of the several dynasties of the Burmese monarchy as recorded in the Mahá-radza-weng, I have drawn out a table of them from the earliest time. The list of kings who are said to have reigned at Ta-gúng and upper Pu-gán, before the establishment of the kingdom of Tha-rekhet-tara, I have not considered it necessary to give in detail. But the name of each king, and the length of his reign, commencing with Ma-há-thám-ba-wa, in the year 483 B. C., has been carefully copied from the Burmese history. In regard to dates, there are given in the Mahá-radzá-weng various local eras. To avoid confusion, these have been omitted, until the existing era commencing with 639 A. D. is reached. The era of Gaudama's death, commencing with 543 B. C. which is in use in Burma and all the adjoining

Buddhist countries, has been followed in arranging the chronology, and the corresponding years B. C. and A. D. have occasionally been inserted. I have found a difference of seven years between the reckoning of the existing era in the Mahá Rádzá Weng, and what is deduced from adding up the number of years of each reign. Thus A-nau-ra-hta is said to ascend the throne in the Burmese year 379. But I make out the year to be 372—to A. D. 1010, and have therefore so entered it in the list. This correction would make the capture of Pu-gán by the Tartar army, occur in the year 1277, A. D., instead of 1284, A. D., as stated in the text.

ERRATUM.

In the paper on the history of the Burma race in note at page 27, Vol. XXII. it is stated that Buddhist missionaries probably first went to Burma in the year 234 of religion, or twelve years before Alexander crossed the Indus. There is an error in the last statement. The year 234 of Gaudama's death, corresponds with the year 309, B. C. being seventeen years after Alexander had crossed the Indus.

No. 1.—*List of the kings of Burma as entered in the Mahá Rádzá Weng.*

<i>Names of kings.</i>	<i>Explanatory Remarks.</i>
Abhi Rádzá.	This king who came from Kap-pi-ta-wot, and his thirty-two successors reigned at Tagúng or Thengá-thá-rahtá. No date is given for the commencement of the dynasty. The last king named Bhein-na-ka was driven from his country by an invasion of tribes from the east. His queen Na-ga-tshein settled at Ma-le above Ava.
Da-za Rádzá.	This king is represented as coming from Kap-pi-la-wot to settle in the country of the Upper Irrawaddy. He married the queen Na-ga-tshein. They and their descendants reign at Mauriza, Theng-dwe, Upper Pu gán, and Pinta-ta-yúng. Seventeen kings of this race reigned. The last was Tha-do-Ma-há Rádzá. It was the two sons of this king who are represented as being set afloat on the Irrawaddy, and floating down to Prome, near to which place, Thá-re-khet-ta-rá's dynasty commenced to reign, in the year 60 of the Buddhist religion, or B. C. 483.

No. 2.—List of the Kings of Burma as entered in the *Mahá Rátsá Weng*.

NAMES OF KINGS.	Commencement of reign.			Length of reign; years.	Relation-ship of each succeeding king.	REMARKS.
	Year of Religion.	B. C.	Burmese Era.			
1. Ma-há-tham-ba-wa,	60	483	...	6	..	Dynasty established at Tha-re-khet-ta-rá. A change of dynasty. Nga-ta-bá was the adopted son of Thi-rí-rít.
2. Tsú-la-thám-ba-wá,	66	...	...	35	Brother.
3. Dwot-ta-búng,	101	...	...	70	Son of No. 1.
4. Dwot-ta-ran,	171	...	...	22	Son.
5. Ran-búng,	193	...	...	50	Son.
6. Ran-mhán,	243	...	...	50	Son.
7. Rek-khan,	293	...	...	31	Son.
8. Khan-loung-meng,	324	...	...	38	Son.
9. Lek-khaing,	362	...	...	34	Son.
10. Thi-rí-khan,	396	...	...	28	Son.
11. Thi-rí-rít,	424	...	...	9	...
12. Nga-ta-bá,	433	110	...	51	...	
13. Phá-pe-ran,	484	...	...	66	Son.
14. Rán-muk-khá,	550	A. D. 7	...	15	Son.	
15. Ran-thun-khá,	565	...	...	3	Son.
16. Ran-mú-tsa-lein-da,	568	...	...	15	Son.
17. Be-rin-da,	583	...	...	12	Brother.

18. Mú-tsa-la,	595	...	...	...	5	Son.	
19. Pún-na,	600	...	...	...	3	Son.	
20. Thá-kha,	603	...	...	...	3	Brother.	
21. Thá-khí,	606	...	...	...	3	Son.	
22. Kán-nú,	609	...	...	...	1	Brother.	
23. Kán-tek,	610	...	...	...	3	Brother.	
24. Bits-tsá,	613	...	...	...	4	Brother.	
25. Thú-mun-da-rí,	617	...	...	...	7	...	Relationship not stated.
26. A-de-tya,	624	...	...	...	3	Son.	
27. Thú-pi-nyú, or ra-tshein-na,	627	84	...	...	11	Brother.	At the death of this king in A. D. 95, the kingdom of Tha-re-khet-ta-rá ends. There is an interval of thirteen years before the new dynasty begins to reign at Pu-gán.
1. Tha-múg-da-rít,	651	108	...	...	45	...	This king said to be a nephew to Thú- pi-nyá, established a dynasty at Pu- gán, which is also called Pank-gán, Pu-gú-rá-ma, Thí-ri-pít-sa-rá, Ari- mád-da-ná, Tám-pa-dí-pa, and Tám-pa- wa-tí.
2. Ra-the Kyúng,	696	...	...	...	15	...	
3. Pyú-meng-tí, or tsau-tí,	711	...	...	...	75	...	Supposed descendant of the ancient kings of Mau-re-ya and Upper Pu-gán.
4. Hú-meng-yín,	786	...	...	...	57	Son.	

NAMES OF KINGS.	Commencement of reign.			Length of reign; each succeeding king.	Relation-ship of each succeeding king.	REMARKS.
	Year of Religion.	A. D.	Burmese Era.			
5. Yin-meng-baik,	843	...	...	25	Son.	
6. Paik-theng-lay,	868	...	...	20	Son.	
7. Theng-lay-gyúng,	888	...	...	43	Son.	
8. Kyúng-du-rít,	931	...	...	25	Son.	
9. Thay-htán,	956	...	...	23	Son.	
Several Usurpers,	979	...	...	55	...	
10. Tha-ra-mwun-byá,	1034	...	...	22	...	Grandson of Thay-htan.
11. Thaik-taing-meng,	1056	...	...	7	Son.	
12. Theng-lay-gyúng-ngé,	1063	...	...	9	Son.	
13. Theng-lay-paik,	1072	...	...	15	Brother.	
14. Khán-lúng,	1087	...	...	10	Brother.	
15. Khán-lat,	1097	...	...	12	Brother.	
16. Ht-wun-taik,	1109	...	...	13	Son.	
17. Ht-wun-byít,	1122	...	...	16	Son.	
18. Ht-wun-Khyít,	1138	...	...	15	Son.	
19. Thengá Rá-dzá or Pú-pá-tsaú Ra-hán,	1153	...	...	27	...	Usurper.
20. Shwe-ún-thí,	1180	637	...	12	...	The existing Burmese era, though said to have been established by Thenga Rá-dzá commences A. D. 639, in the month of April.

21. Peit-thun,	1192	649	11	8	Brother.	
22. Peit-túng,	1200	657	19	50	Son.	
23. Nga Khwe,	1250	...	...	6	Brother.	
24. Mýn-Kywe,	1256	...	...	10	...	Usurper.
25. Theing-khá,	1266	...	...	8	...	Relationship not stated, said to be of the royal race.
26. Thein-tswun,	1274	...	...	6	Son.	
27. Shwe-lúng,	1280	...	...	9	Son.	
28. Ht-wun-dweng,	1289	...	...	9	Son.	
29. Shwe-mhauk,	1298	...	...	23	Son.	
30. Mwun-lwut,	1321	...	...	17	Brother.	
31. Tsau-kheng-nhít,	1338	...	...	27	Son.	
32. Khai lú,	1365	...	...	17	Son.	
33. Pýn-byá,	1382	...	...	32	Brother.	
34. Tan-net,	1414	...	...	25	Son.	
35. Nga Khwe,	1442	...	...	9	...	Grandson of a younger brother of No. 26, Their-tswin.
36. Thein-kho,	1451	...	...	16	Son.	
37. Ngyoung-u-Tsau	1467	...	...	33	...	Usurper.
38. Kwon tshau	1500	...	...	22	Son of No. 34,	} Dethroned.
Phyú,	...	...	...	6	Tannet.	
39. Kyí-tso,	1522	...	...	25	Son of No. 37.	
40. Tsuk-ka-tá,	1528	...	...	42	Brother.	
41. Anau-ra-hítá-tsan,	1553	1010	372	...	Son of No. 38.	The history places the commencement of this reign in 379 B. E. but this does not agree with the date deduced from the length of previous reigns.

The Poems of Chand Barday.—By F. S. GROWSE, Esq., M. A.
OXON, B. C. S.

In the cold weather of 1867, I addressed a brief note to the Asiatic Society, in course of which I suggested the desirability of taking some steps towards the publication of the ancient Hindi poems ascribed to Chand Barday. The matter was taken up by Mr. Long and others, and an application made to Government for the loan of the MS. preserved in the Agra College Library. The result was, that in last June, I was formally requested by the Secretary to the Government of the N. W. P. to examine the poem, and write a report upon its value in an antiquarian or general point of view. The MS. was duly forwarded to me through the Director of Public Instruction, and I had made some slight progress in it when a misunderstanding occurred (which has since been fully explained) in consequence of which I abandoned the task, and returned the MS. But before doing so, I had put myself in communication with Bábú Siva Prasád, the well-known Inspector of Schools, who was kind enough to borrow for me another MS. from the Library of the Mahárájá of Benares. I had imagined that this would be useful for purposes of collation; but on inspection found it to be an entirely different poem, and bearing a different name, though written professedly by the same author and treating of the same events. The Agra poem, entitled Prithiráj rás, occupies 1598 folio pages, and is divided into 68 cantos, corresponding apparently with the MS. consulted by Col. Tod. It has all the dignity and proportions of an Epic poem, commencing, with an elaborate introduction, and proceeding through a succession of incidents to a grand catastrophe, viz. the capture of Delhi and the establishment of the Muhammadan dynasty. The Benares poem, entitled the Prithiráj-ráyasá, occupies only 786 octavo pages, plunges at once in *medias res*, terminates abruptly, and is altogether much less ornate in character. Though it bears the same name as the MS. described in the Proceedings of the Society for July last, it does not appear to correspond with it in any other respect, judging at least from the table of contents, and may be another part of the same work. As copies of the poem are exceedingly scarce, and no two seem to agree,

I think it desirable to place on record a brief notice of each. Accordingly I propose to do so for the copy that I have examined by, 1st, giving a summary of the contents; 2dly, attempting a translation of one canto; and 3rdly, making a transcript of some verses of the original text.

This plan of procedure will indicate the general scope of the work, the interest of the narrative, and the character of the language; which are the three points most to be considered. I should be glad to see the same scheme pursued with all other copies that may be brought to light.

The Benares MS. of the Prithiráj-ráyasá is dated *Sambat* 1900. It is well written, but has received numerous marginal corrections, and stands in need of many more, being full of clerical errors. It consists of two books entitled I. Mahobe ká samay, and II. Kanauj ká samay. I am uncertain how the word *samay* is here to be translated; the ordinary meaning *time* does not seem very appropriate. Sir H. Elliot was evidently in the same difficulty, as appears from a note of his which I shall quote later. The second book has no subordinate sections; the first is divided into 38 cantos. I give the titles as they stand in the original, thinking this the most satisfactory plan, since their brevity makes them often obscure and capable of alternative interpretations.

1. Rájá Chandra-brahma utpatti.
2. Manurpur Bhándav jagya.
3. Rájá Parmál Alhan sambodha.
4. Mallakhán mantrain.
5. Mantra subhaṭ pratijná.
6. Mallakhán juddh.
7. Kanaujpur Alhan svapna.
8. Jaganáyak Kanaujpur.
9. Jaman juddh Kábiljer.
10. Alhan Gangáju darsan.
11. Alhan Jay-chand miláp.
12. Gájar juddh.
13. Jaganak Alhan sambád.
14. Alhan Jaychand sambád.
15. Brahmá barát Batesvi darsan.

16. Belá byáh.
17. Alhan Kanaujte Mahobeko gaman.
18. Gandhau Alhan juddh tathá Mahilko Ghorinko dand karná.
19. Kalysur púja Alhan sapna.
20. Alhá Mahobe nist Lákhan Talhan sahit.
21. Rúp Brahma.
22. Prithiráj Parmál do kos antar apná mantráin.
23. Páninko bidá Kálinjarko karan.
24. Rájá Parmál Kalinjar gaman.
25. Tálhan vadha.
26. Lákhan Talhan vadha.
27. Alhan Arahma sambád.
28. Udal Sanjam Ráy juddh.
29. Udal-kanh sangrám.
30. Udal vadha.
31. Rájá Parmál sráp.
32. Alhá bardán.
33. Chanhán Chandel sená.
34. Jaganak Devapur gaman.
35. Brahmajit Kumár vadha.
36. Gorakhnáth darsan.
37. Alha jogáarth Gorakhnáth sang Kalinjar gaman.
38. Chand bhavishya varnana.

Sir H. Elliot, in his Bibliographical Index, has a note apropos to Rashid-u-din's mention of Kajráha, which may be here quoted as bearing on Cantos I and II. "Kajraha. Its real name is Kajrái, on the banks of the Ken, between the Chatterpur and Panna, said to have been founded by the great parent of the Chandel race. The ruined temples of Kajrái are of great antiquity and interest. They are described in the Mahoba Sama, and there said to have been built by Hamoti, upon the occasion of her having held a Banda jag, or penitential sacrifice. She had committed a little *faux pas* with the moon in human shape, and, as a self-imposed punishment for her indiscretion, held a Banda jag, a part of which ceremony consists in sculpturing indecent representations on the walls of temples, and holding up ones own foibles to the disgust and ridicule of the world. Hamoti was the daughter of Hemráj, spiritual adviser to Indrají,

Gaharwár Rájá of Benares." It is strange to find a scholar like Sir H. Elliot guilty of so many inaccuracies in one short paragraph : for *Sama* read *Samay*, for *Hamoti*, *Hemavati*, for *Banda*, *Bhándav*, from the root *bhand*, to divide, and for *Indrají*, *Indrajit*. The legend of *Hemavati*'s amour with the moon is related at full length in the first canto of the *Prithiráj ráyasa*, which I now proceed to translate. Here the river *Ken*, or *Cane* as it stands in our barbarous maps, appears in its original form as *Karnavati*, and the city of *Kajrái* is called *Kharjinpur* or *Khajjurpur*.

Translation of Canto I of the Prithiráj-ráyasa (Benares MS.)

I reverence the gracious feet of *Ganesh*, *Gangá* and *Gauri* by whose slightest favour, highest wisdom is attained. Getting unutterable lore, I sing the glory of *Raghupati* ; after *Ganesh* and *Girijá*, not unmindful of the great bard *Válmiki*. *Válmiki* composed the *Rámáyana* ; *Vyása* uttered the *Mahábhárat* ; their works are renowned throughout the world ; the *Mahábhárat* has spread through the universe. Men reckon the *Mahábhárat* at 100,000 verses ; the poet *Chand*, in as many, celebrates the fame of the *Chauháns*. The king, a second *Duryodhan*, with his hundred knights inaugurating an era ; in a second *Mahábhárat* the poet *Chand* records his achievements. With the *Tomar* king were four godlike sages, lights of the world, lights of the court, endued with the sin-destroying splendours of *Hari* and *Vyása* ; four lights born in the world, of pure and boundless wisdom, *Vyása* the son of *Parásar* incarnate in four portions.

With the foes of hares and deer (*i. e. chitás*) with the kings of the feathered tribe (*i. e. hawks*) and innumerable dogs, *Anangapála* set out towards the north to hunt. On the bank of the mountain stream he espied a dense forest, abode of the king of beasts ; thither the monarch turned. Spells, charms and prayers, even the chase itself, are forgotten : such a marvel met the king's gaze in the forest. A ram of vast strength, that would dash through a thousand armies, was fighting with eight tigers, and scattered them all. A hind, conceiving strange fury in her breast, wildly butting the eight tigers on the ground, rushed on to the attack and, leaving her young, tore up the ground with her antlers. The king, astonished at the sight, called for *Vyása* : " How can a ram fight a tiger ? tell me, noblest of *Bráhmans*. A ram has but little might, yet now consider it well, he

has fought for a whole watch and come off victorious." "Standing on Seshanága's head the ram was strong; what are eight tigers? he could vanquish a thousand. (Part of the next couplet is obscure. I give it therefore in the original.)

उत्तिमांग नृप सिंगु ली करतन तीच्छन दंत
नद्विपला द्विवशेष वल्ल सृग जहानं केकंत

High or low, on whomsoever rests the favour of the king of the serpents, his power stands firm." Anangapála, having heard and considered the words of Vyása, sent and summoned 2000 workmen, in his delight distributed rich presents, and, in an auspicious hour, commenced building a palace, mindful of Vyása's words. The king demanded 100 sers of iron and had it hammered well, then the smiths were speedily summoned, who made a shaft five hands long. The king took the shaft, well hammered as it was and five hands long, and drove it in; three fingers breadth of the point passed into Seshanága's forehead. According to Vyása's instructions, the king had had it well worked with the hammers, and had ordered a sharp point wherewith to pierce Seshanága's head like a deer or a fish. Said Vyása: "O king, the spike is in Seshanága's head, now rule at ease with unprecedented sway." Said Vyása; "There will be a plot, O Tomar Rájá, be prudent, and give an order that the shaft be not removed." "The advice is good;" so saying he too went away home with Vyása, for the fair Hemavatí had come to meet him. The great sage Vyása sings of the sacrificial preparations made by Janamenjaya: how can fate be annulled, says the poet Chand. Rámchandra, lord of the three worlds, was deceived by the golden deer: look again at Bali and the dwarf: Fate is a word of power. Seshanága called to his younger brother Tachhak: "Exert yourself to get this spike out of my head. Hear, brother Tachhak, and attend; an iron spike has been driven into my head, put in practice all the four stratagems of war, and rid me of this spike, my brother." Tachhak was pleased when he heard Seshanága's wise and courteous speech: "the spike must come out to-day, think well of it and exert yourself."

How Tachhak took leave of Seshanága and disguised himself as a Bráhmañ.

"Assume the dress of a Bráhmañ with soft and plausible words, pretending that the events of yesterday are an absurdity, go before the

Tomar king." Tachhak was glad when he heard the speech of the serpent king, and taking a book in his hand, and binding his hair in a knot, he assumed the guise of a Bráhmaṇ. With a white dhoti, a garland on his breast, and sandals on his feet, started the serpent, repeating the four Vedas. With great composure repeating the Vedas, fountain of all wisdom, putting the people on one side, he came to the Tomar king. When Tachhak saw the Rájá, raising his hands on high and still repeating the Veda, he gave him his blessing ; and the Rájá being much gratified, saluted him lowly : " Ask whatever gift thy soul desires." Then said the Bráhmaṇ : " If I may ask what I will, I have heard a wonderful story, concerning that, O king, will I ask. Listen to me, wise monarch ; what wonderful fancy has come into your head ? come tell me plainly, and put an end to doubt." " Hear then, O Bráhmaṇ, in one word a marvellous story : a spike driven into the ground has entered Seshanága's head." Said the Bráhmaṇ, " This cannot be true." " Hear, O Brahman, this is no doubt the Kali Jug, but Vyása cannot speak false, greatest of astrologers, perfect in science." " The spike is no more in Seshanága's head than it is in mine : " the Bráhmaṇ pulled out his stake and threw it down. " If the spike is in Seshanága's forehead, then cut off my head." When the king heard this, he had the shaft pulled up : the king saw blood flow, and at once drew his sword. Drawing the sword from its sheath, the king became violently enraged, but looking round could see no one : Tachhak had vanished into the earth. The Tomar's day set with the shaking of the shaft ; blood welled up like a fountain, and poured along the ground. Sun, moon and stars tottered ; an awful voice was heard. As Vyasa had predicted, Delhi met its fate. The serpent king, and the hope of the Tomar dynasty, flew away : then came Vyása lamenting with loud voice : " O King, once favoured of fortune, your word has been broken through craft." The king stood astounded. Then spoke Vyása again : " Hear, O king. Tachhak has craftily accomplished Seshanága's deliverance, and has escaped. Janamenjaya at the time of sacrifice directed his intention against his father's enemies, and recited charms by which they came and threw themselves into the fire. By the protection of the king of the gods, there escaped to the heavenly city this crafty one, this Tachhak, rescued by Indra and Brahma ; being born of Kasyapa, as all the

world knows, what greater power this serpent has, he inherits from Brahma." Then the Tomar Rájá spoke and said: "This I did not know: now tell me what plan is best by which to remedy the evil that has been done." Then the Rájá, cursing his folly, deeply grieving in heart, listened while Vyása expounded to him the future.

How Vyása expounded the future to the Tomar Rájá.

"There shall be a tremendous war between the Chauháns and Chandels; blood shall flow in torrents, flooding the whole earth. Power will be exhausted in the conflict between the Chauháns and the Rahtors, then the sovereignty shall pass to the Muhammadans." The Tomar Rájá, clasping his hands, said: "O excellent in wisdom, seeing that my rule is over, tell me what shall befall in the times to come after me." "The Dwápar age has passed; the Kali Jug, as all know, has come upon the earth, and in the character of Duryodhan, the Chauhán takes birth. The Chauhán shall war with the Chandel, iron clashing against iron; earth loses a fraction of the weight upon her head. With Prithiráj are a hundred heroes, men of valour, giants incarnate; on the other side the gallant Chandel princes: then Valla and Salla take birth." "In what family shall Salla and Valla be born?" asked the Rájá. Answered Vyása, the great sage: "O glory of the Tomar line, great and righteous king, the prayer of earth was heard of old, when in the form of a cow, fair of hue, with gleaming hoofs and budding horns, she came before Brahma and cried: 'In the Satya Jug Hari, with his discus, had battle with and slew the great serpent Káli; in the Treta Jug, Ráma scattered the hosts of Kumbhakarna and Rávan; in the Dwapar Jug was the war between the sons of Kuru and Pándu, when the son of Jadu took a whole mountain off my head: now in this era of Kali Jug remove a portion of my burden? O Brahma. The times are very evil; the ocean of existence is illimitable; hear, O Chaturánan, and consider; remove the burden from my head.' As you desire the incarnation of Valla and Salla, in the Banáphar line Alha and Udal appear. Prithiráj the Chauhan marches upon Mahoba, and, breathing fury, rages against the enemy. Siva dances in exultation, with a garland on his breast; while witches fill their urns from fathomless rivers of blood. Deep flow the streams of gore; the Chandels fight gallantly; no one turns his back; it is a conflict of heroes."

[The passage that here follows is rather obscure, and I do not quite see how some parts of it are to be rendered. Accordingly, as it enters into my plan to give a specimen of the original text, I take this for the purpose. It will be found at the end of the paper: I resume the translation from the point where the transcript breaks off.]

Then the Rájá in astonishment enquired of the noble sage: "How can Chhatris spring from Brahmans? Tell me, O Brahman, the two lines from the union of which these Chhatris were produced," said the great king Anangapála. Said Vyása, when he heard the king's words, "Conceive no amazement in your mind: as God ordains, so events befall. Attend, O Tomar king, while I declare the Gaharwár genealogy; afterwards I will relate the origin of the Chandels. The Gaharwárs were seated at Káshí; their name and descent hear first, O king; then I will pass on to the Chandels. Karuchandra was the Gaharwár king of Káshí; under his sway all the people dwelt in peace and content. A just man and righteous was king Chandra. His son was Ransiñh, beautiful as Kámadeva; the son of Ransiñh was prince Jagannáth; he took fort Ratn by craft from the Asuras. His son Ransiñh, with great powers, assaulted and took Sumárant. His son was the beneficent Surasiñh, a monarch like Murári. Of him was born king Indrajit, to whom Vindhya Deví manifested herself. In this Rájá's court were many Brahmans, amongst them the gracious Hemráj, to whom a daughter was born: who can describe her? Born in the holy city of Káshí, she received the name of Hemavatí, most lovely, in form a *chitrani*, of most amiable disposition. This charming Hemavatí grew up in the reign of the Gaharwár king. In the summer season, when the sun's rays were at their hottest, the moon rose upon her view. The moon came and manifested himself to Hemavatí; the maiden trembled with sudden cold and blushed beneath his gaze. Bright shone the pendants in her ears and the jewels in her hair; on her forehead a patch of sandal wood; on her bosom a garland of flowers. The ear-rings glisten; the flowers are pure white, bright is the gleam between her parted hair; lovely her whole attire. As she loitered with her fair companions, the moon-beams toyed with her person. She knew not the dalliance. But deep was the curse which the damsel uttered. The moon stayed and cried, "Fair maid, be comforted; curse me not, for thy son shall be a

king ; his sway shall be universal ; no sickness shall touch his body. Hundreds and thousands of kings shall acknowledge his power. Pause, lady, and consider ; attend to my words." So saying, the king of the stars was departing, but the damsel cried, "Stay, tell me by what means to remove the stain I have incurred." Answered the moon, "O lady, be not distressed." Quick as a lightning flash she grasped her lover by the hand.

An episode. The Rájá asks Vyása whether the damsel lived with her lover or was separated from him, and at what time this dalliance with the moon took place ; and Vyása tells the king.

The rishi relates how many years the damsel stayed in company with her lord, and at what season the meeting with the moon occurred. After sixteen years, through the curse of Indra, the lady became a widow. It was in the fiery month of Jeth, when it is pleasant to be bathing all day long, that the moon to gratify his passion, came down and embraced her ; the whole night was spent in sweet dalliance, yet such is the divine power, the maiden knew it not. As the ocean-born was leaving, she ran and seized him by the hand : "Is it thus you leave me ? mine has been the disgrace, be your's the curse." The Brahman's daughter ran and seized the Brahman's king (*i. e.*, the moon) crying "Who is this that has come, making me thus criminal ? Wretched that I am without a lord ; in one day wedded and widowed. The wild sea spreads wide before me ; there will I plunge : who will drag me again to the shore ? so the stain of sin shall be washed from my body. Of what avail to avert the inevitable have been my ablutions in Kártik and Mágh ? Tell me quickly some remedy : I am not such a one as the wife of Gautama." Then spoke the starry lord, the moon, lovely monarch of the night, and addressed the damsel : "O lady, thy son, noble in mind and body, shall be born a hero on the bank of the Karnátá. Then proceed to Kharjinpur ; there give alms and offer sacrifices ; so a king shall reign at Mahoba, with many horses, many cows, many warrior knights ; with an army complete in all four departments, crushing the hosts of his enemies, truly a great king, whose sway shall be boundless. Then having acquired the philosopher's stone, transforming all things to pure gold, he shall erect statues and temples and excavate a spacious lake. Then after founding the fort of Kalinjar, he shall abandon the body, and attain

heaven, leaving his body in Kalinjar, and by death acquiring nirvána." Said the damsel : " But I have been ravished : my son shall be born a king, but I shall be lost in hell. O cruel, treacherous lord of night, I am sunk in an ocean of grief, speedily shall my curse fall upon thee : speak, wretch that thou art." Then said the ruler of night : " What was ordained has come to pass : fate cannot be annulled ; this even the gods admit. Sixteen sons shall be born to thee, great and munificent kings ; the Bhandav sacrifice shall be celebrated with liberal gifts." Then the monarch of the stars instructed her : " O lady, obey my advice ; quickly leave this city and go to Kalinjar. And in Kalinjar tarry not many days, but remaining only a short time, proceed to the Karnávatí." Then he bestowed on her a charm and comforted her, saying " Whenever thou shalt recite this, then I will be near thee. Brahma has declared that Hemavatí's son shall be the greatest of Chhatriya kings ; his sway shall extend to the bounds of the ocean." So saying, the king of the stars vanished, while Hemavatí pondered the spell.

Leaving Káshí she came to Kalinjar, and there rested four months, bathing in the sacred stream, and invoking all the gods on behalf of her son. Then quitting Kalinjar, she came to a village, her fair body glistening bright as the moon. Towards day-break, on Monday the 11th of the light fortnight of Baisákh, king Chandra-brahma was born. Joyous strains of mystic purport sounded in the air, and the happy gods from their chariots rained down flowers. The rivers flowed milk ; soft, cool and fragrant breathed the air, when Hemavatí's son was born ; the whole world heard of it. The best of omens came to the daughter of Hemráj ; her left side throbbed : then appeared the lord of night. Brihaspati too arrived, midst the songs of the Kinnars : Hemavatí fell at his feet : her lord thus addressed her. (The next four lines are obscure and I quote them in the original.)

देहा हेमवती तुव पुत्र वड भूपति याहि निहार
सहस लाख गजराज करकरता दिकत जिचार
विश्वावारुनि ब्राह्मनहि द्वैताकारन कोइ
राजभूमि तुव वंसकौ सहस लाख लगमोइ

The teacher of the gods wrote the horoscope, while the goddesses sang gladsome strains : then the son of Angira read it aloud. The divine orchestra played as he read ; flowers rained upon the earth ; the

apsarás danced for joy. "A son has been born in the line of the moon, who shall tread the path of the golden age; his sway shall extend to the ocean, great poets shall sing his fame. Celebrating sacrifices, lavishing gifts, earth shall find in him a sovereign lord: Chandra-brahma has been born to the moon in the city of Khajínpur." When the sage had thus spoken, the gods all departed to their several seats.

Every day Chandra-brahma grew in beauty, Kámadeva incarnate. All the people of Khajínpur were astonished as they gazed upon his face: "This son of a widowed Bráhma woman, has with ease slain a tiger." The boy was ten years old when he set for Kedár: there he spied an enormous tiger and slew it. As the strong tiger could not be seized, the king victoriously encountered it: the glorious son of the moon slew it with his sword twelve hands in length. The resolute prince left the king of that district and arrived at Khajínpur, where he related the encounter to Alhan. Queen Hemavati came and took him to her bosom, and recited the spell: the lord of night appeared. The moon kissed his son's face, having called his chariot near; then Chandra-brahma received from him the philosopher's stone. Mainaka danced for joy with her fair companions; glad strains are heard. The happy Hemavati brings her due offerings of flowers, fruit and water; all the gods unite to establish the throne of Chandra-brahma. With one accord exclaiming, 'Long live the king'; and repeating potent spells, they called the noble prince and instructed him in kingly polity. "Who can have enjoyment that associates with a man who is hump-backed, or lame, or who has black teeth, or who is a leper, or crooked, or deaf, or foolish, or very dull, or a sensualist, or a false friend, meanest of all men? hear my advice, O prince, let not such persons come near thee, nor do thou go near them. This is the purport of all the eighteen Puránas. Poets and sages and all the world declare, the society of such men brings no good. (The two next lines are obscure:)

सत्त्वज्जेकोटिल्यासहातपद्यनंघये

दृक्ष्यवावनजालकानासथाहिधीपतये

Encourage ingenious poets, with them is excellent wisdom; with them, O prince, converse; keep also about thee knights and warriors. Give not thy mind too much to the chase; shed dignity on thy royal

estate. Consider first virtue and the practices of religion ; be not a slave to the populace ; keep thine eyes ever wakeful and thoughtfully observe many countries. Conceal thy emotions both of love and hate, at the time acting a part. Whether affection or resentment have the upper hand, remember that time tames not. Be strenuous to restrain self-complacency, and speak reverently before the altar of battle." Having thus instructed him in kingly polity, the lord of wealth exclaimed : Reign over thousands, and hundreds of thousands, discarding all doubt and distrust. All lands exult, the heavenly choirs sing for joy at thy glory, O Chandra-brahma, imperishable in the world." Staying a moment, the moon called to him his wife and son : " Know of a surety, O lady, the words of Brahmá cannot fail." So spoke the glorious lord of night. She rose and touching his feet, said, " O my lord, hear this my vow, the name of Brahmá shall never cease from the family." The son of ocean departed and calling the bounteous god of wealth sent him with the stone. The lady gave it to her son, telling him its virtues in full : there was singing amongst the gods in the heavenly city when the story was told to Chandra-brahma. According to the instructions, he took the stone and applied it ; and with the masses of gold thus produced proceeded to Kálinjar.

When king Chandra-brahma had reached seventeen years of age, he bathed at Kálinjar and adored Nílkantḥ. There innumerable Bráhmans came crowding to visit the king : none understood the mystery of his origin and body of purest gold. When he saw the Bráhmans, he sent for a hundred millions of gold pieces and bestowed them himself a king upon the kings of earth ; it is beyond me to tell even the half of his munificence. With 30,000 heroes an invasion was made ; in little more than 12 hours he subdued both countries, Sihura and Gahor, and with an immense train of horses, cows and bulls returned to Kálinjar. The Gaharwár fled in terror, deserting Káshi : the godlike Chandra-brahma annexed every dominion.

" Tell me, noble sage, what virtue there is in Kálinjar, that bathing there gives access to the heavenly city ?" He answered : In the Satya Jug called Mahatgiri, in the Treta Pingaldáy, in the Dwápar Swargráe in the Kali Jug, it receives the name of Kálinjar. Religious pilgrimage may be made to many sacred places ; the virtues of a million are inherent in Mrigadhára. By beholding, touching and bathing in

that sacred stream, man is purified permanently from sin and error. It possesses in a pre-eminent degree the virtue of many tiraths : he who worships there with pure intent, performs a most meritorious act.

As the king reclined upon his couch of kusa grass, the gods came and blessed him : " Build a fort upon my holy mountain, then reign for twenty generations." When he heard the gracious words that proceeded from the mouth of the gods, he set heart, tongue and body to work at the foundation of the city. He had a fort built in four courts, with a splendid gate to each, with frowning towers of vast dimensions. Then he collected for the fort, stores of all eight metals, with guns and men to look after them, and placed the stores in order, hallowing the work with prayer. Then he cleared the ground from blocks of stone and dressed it, and set up an enormous figure of a lion : lastly gave alms in great profusion, for alms-giving brings with it a blessing.

There still remain 14 stanzas to the end of the canto, but I think it unnecessary to translate them, since they are nothing but an enumeration of the grain, live-stock and other stores, including balls and powder for the guns above mentioned, which were stowed away in the fort. This mention of fire-arms is certainly curious : Sir H. Elliot in his Bibliographical Index quotes from the Kanauj-khand three passages of five or six lines each, in which the words *âtish*, *zambûr* and *top* occur, and says " it appears to me evident that the passages where these are mentioned are spurious and interpolated, to accommodate the poem to the knowledge of subsequent ages." He adds, however, that the verses in other respects have anything but a modern ring, and the same may be said of the lines with which my translation concludes.

I had expected to find a large intermixture of Persian words in these poems ; since some scholars who condemn the pedantic use of pure Hindi in modern composition, have defended their practice by the example of Chand, the father of vernacular literature. However, in the canto now translated, I have detected only eight foreign words ; viz. *jahân*, the world ; *zâhir*, manifest : both occurring in one line ; *sher*, a lion ; *sahm*, fear, in a doubtful passage : and *bâz*, a hawk ; *jurra*, a hawk, *kadd*, size and *khiyâl*, thought, all of which

come close together at the end of the canto. Later on in the poem, Persian words may be rather more frequent.

As for my translation, I have done my best to keep close to the original; but a poem, like the Prithirāj-rāyasa, intended expressly for recitation, and composed in a ballad metre with many words thrown in more for sound than sense, scarcely admits of literal rendering. The narrative too is occasionally very abrupt in its transitions, briefly alluding to events which require to be known in detail before the ambiguous allusions can be interpreted; while the language is of a most archaic type and the text exceedingly corrupt. The necessary result of all these circumstances is, that my rendering of several passages is little more than conjectural.

The few lines to which I have been unable to attach any definite meaning, and which I have therefore reproduced in their original form, are probably more or less corrupt. I hope some scholar will exercise his ingenuity, and favour the Society with a translation both of them and of the longer continuous passage with which I now conclude this paper.

बंद ऋत्रसाल संकेस सुदुर्जनवीर है ।
 चक्रपानि गह लैति दला रनधीर है ।
 दसहरके जुग पुत्र अत्र करधार है ।
 पर्वतसै अतिउच्च करारन टारहै ।
 चलै काल विक्रमी चलै धर पौन है ।
 परत नाहि सुरभंस कलाकि क्या न है ।
 वियभारथ भुव होइ देबगन हर्ष है ।
 परिपूरन मनकाम सुमन सुर वर्ष है ।
 इक भार तुव भूमवंधु जग टार है ।
 द्वितिय भार निह कर्नक कुष्य उतार है ।

देहा चाङ्गवान संभरघनी अरु आलहन अरिकट्ट ।
 भूतल सुन तुव भारकहं इक भार लिय कट्ट ।
 संवोधन पाथौ उटमूनमगैलकीनाव ।
 चतुरानन तुव घर वचन गथे मोद मन पाव ।
 प्रथम गौडकासीनृपति गहिरवार फिर होइ ।
 ता नृपके प्रोहित भैया हंसराज का सोइ ।
 वरता द्विजकी कन्यका प्रगटे वंसचंदेल ।
 वल्ल सल्ल तिन दास ऊव करै जुइ आसिपेल ।

List of some of the more unusual words, Sanscrit, Prakrit and Provincial, occurring in the canto translated.

Chhaná, Prakrit, for *sávaka*, the young of any animal.

Uttamáng, Sanscrit compound, the head.

Sandha, a palace, S.

Chhanhani, for *akshauhini*, an army.

Viya, or *biya*, a particle of asseveration : see Varamchi's Prakrita Prakásá, ix. 3.

Bádav, a Brahman, S.

Pánwari, sandals.

Nakkat, putting on one side? from *nakk*, a S. root, given in the dictionaries without any authoritative reference for its meaning.

Aghát, a crashing sound.

Thá for *tum* : *tháko* for *tumhárá*.

Bhá, for *main*, I.

Rauran, for *tumhárá*.

Vatt, Prakrit, for *vartá*, original of modern *bát*, a word.

Puhumi, for *prithivi*, the earth.

Sat, for *s'at*, 100. *Shodas*, 16, S.

Pith-thal, for *Prithi ráj*.

Go, the earth, S.

Kumudvant, epithet of the moon.

Gulak, an ear-ring.

Sukra-más, the month Jeth, S.

Bámá, a woman, S.

Chhonip, a king.

Chhandna, for *chhorna*, to leave.

Mádhav, the month Baisákh, S.

Payán, for *pavan*, wind.

Bhindapál, a kind of spear, S.

Pánwar, low, mean.

Ankár, for *ahamkára*, conceit.

Dwait, doubt, S.

Náh, for *náth*, a lord.

Bard, a bull.

Gurj, for *burj*? a bastion.

Jindám, for *jandrá*? a pitch-fork or rake.

S'rag, for *asrij*, sangins.

Note on the Chandel Rájás of Mahoba.

In the second canto of the poem the descent of Parmál the last Chandel king of Mahoba is traced up to Hemavati through 20 generations, which was the number specified in the prophecy. The line stands as follows: 1. Hemavati and the moon god; 2. Chandra-brahma. He founds Kalinjar and Khajinpur with 85 temples and 101 lakes: marries Chandrávali; settles at Mahoba; 3. Bár-brahma; he builds Bárigarh; 4. Pár-brahma; 5. Rúp-chandra-brahma; 6. Braj-brahma; 7. Rúp-bel-brahma 8. Mán-brahma; 9. Jag-brahma; 10. Gyán-brahma; 11. Suján-brahma; 12. Jay-satyan-brahma; 13. Jag-jat-brahma; 14. Kíl-brahma; 15. Súraj-brahma; 16. Janrúp-brahma; 17. Ráhil-brahma. He invades Ceylon, founds Rásin, marries Rájmati; 18. Madan-brahma; 19. Kírat-brahma; 20. Parmál. Being ashamed of his origin, he drops the affix Brahma and in consequence loses his ráj.

Mainpuri, October 17th, 1868.

Authors of Armenian Grammars, from the earliest stages of Armenian literature up to the present day.—By JOHANNES AVDALL, Esq., M. A. S.

[Received 30th July, 1868.]

A brief sketch of the rise and progress of Armenian literature will, it is hoped, not be deemed altogether uninteresting. Agathangelus was the first who wrote a history of the life and exploits of the Armenian king Tiridates, towards the close of the third century of the Christian era. He was of Greek extraction, and well acquainted with the Armenian language. Before that period, it cannot be said that the Armenians had a literature of their own. Some popular and rural songs were extant, commemorative of heroes and heroic achievements. At this period, there was no Armenian alphabet. Consequently the Armenians used the Greek, Pelhevic and Syriac characters. The Armenian alphabet was invented in the beginning of the fourth century by the intelligence and efforts of St. Mesrop. Although some odd and uncouth letters were in existence, bearing the name of

their inventor Daniel, they were altogether incomplete, and all the vowels were wanting. The invention or perfection of the Armenian alphabet was soon followed by the establishment of schools, the formation of literary and scientific societies, the translation of the holy scriptures into Armenian from the original Greek and Syriac, and by the production of original works, such as history, biography, grammar, theology, geography, &c. During these days the Armenians generally used the grammar of Dionysius of Thrace, which was originally written in Greek and translated into Armenian by David, surnamed the invincible philosopher. The Armenian grammar has only two numbers, singular and plural, but David attempted to introduce into it the dual number, in imitation of the Greek. The idiom of the Armenian language, however, did not admit of this extraordinary innovation.

Subsequent to this, the grammar of Moses Քերթովք the grammarian was prepared and introduced into all the Armenian schools, which was, in the course of a short time, generally studied, and became a popular class-book. Moses Khorenensis Մովսէս Խորենացի is supposed by contemporary historians to be the author of this grammar.

Gregorius Magistratus, who flourished in the eleventh century, compiled another grammar from those that were already extant. This was also introduced into the schools of that period.

Johannes of Ezinka, of the thirteenth century, wrote a new grammar by the help of a dictionary compiled by Dr. Aristakes. In this new work, the author has compiled and mentioned all that was worthy of note and useful from the preceding grammars. Gregor Tathevensis Տաթևացի of the thirteenth century, produced a commentary on the grammar of Aristakes and his coadjutor George.

Jacob of Ghrim Յակոբ Ղրիմեցի is the author of a grammar, in which he has taken a great deal of pains in dilating upon punctuation and accentuation. A grammar is also extant without date, supposed to be a compilation by the Սարկաւազ Deacon Johannes. In like manner, another grammar is in existence, the authorship of which is ascribed to Priest Cachatúr. The foregoing are the authors of Armenian grammars, who flourished in Armenia prior to the four-

teenth century. I shall now proceed to give a concise account of those who followed them in the subsequent centuries.

Among Europeans, Franciscus Rivola of Milan, composed an Armenian and Latin grammar, which was printed in 1624. Being himself a foreigner, he seems to have taken a great deal of pains in preparing his book, which is not, however, without errors.

Another grammar was compiled in Armenian and Latin by Clement Galanus, which was printed in Rome in 1645. It is more comprehensive, and less abounds with inaccuracies than that of Rivola. A treatise on Logic is also appended to this work.

Doctor Voscan Ոսկան Վարդապետ published an abridgment of Armenian grammar in Amsterdam in 1666.

An epitome of Armenian grammar, under the name of S'imon, native of Julpha, was printed in Constantinople in 1725. Johannes Jacob the Priest, surnamed Հրլոյլ Declension, wrote an Armenian grammar in Latin, for the use of European students, which was published in Rome in 1675. Cachatur Vertabed of Erzerum, published an Armenian grammar in Aligornia in 1696.

Johannes Vertabed of Julpha, compiled a short grammar, accompanied by a treatise on Logic, which was printed in Amsterdam in 1711.

Johannes Joachim Schroder, a native of Holland, studied the Armenian language with unceasing application, and the greatest avidity by bishop Thomas of Gokhten and his nephew Lucas. He published an Armenian grammar with Latin exposition at Amsterdam in 1711, under the title of Սրբախոս Լեզուի Գրանք "THESAURUS LINGUAE ARMENICAE ANTIQUAE ET HODIERNAE," with a copious vocabulary and entertaining Dialogues in modern Armenian. Being an excellent oriental scholar, he was competent to criticise the grammatical works of his predecessors, and to note their inaccuracies and defects.

Jacobus Villotte, from the Society of Jesus, published in 1714 at Rome, a Latin and Armenian Dictionary with an elementary grammar. He was, for several years, a Jesuit Missionary among the Armenians. The great bulk of his book is a proof of the vast amount of labour he has bestowed on its preparation and completion.

Subsequently a more enlarged and improved grammar was published by Mechithar, the founder of the Mechitharistic Society in Venice in the year 1730.

Deacon Balthasar published an Armenian grammar at Constantinople in 1736.

During the close of the eighteenth century, when the cultivation of Armenian literature was appreciated far and wide, not only among the Armenians themselves, but also by several learned European orientalists, Father Michael Chamich's grammar was published in the year 1779, which was hailed with the greatest avidity and enthusiasm by the Armenian literati as the most complete work of its kind. It was introduced into all the schools, superseding the use of all the other grammars previously published.

In 1815 another grammar appeared, by Gabriel Avietick, member of the Mechitharistic Society of Venice. Although its first part is written in the modern or vernacular Armenian, the another has taken a great deal of pains to throw more light on the ancient literature of Armenia by a careful reference to rare manuscripts of antiquity, which have been discovered, subsequent to the publication of Father Chamich's grammar.

Jacob Shahan Cirbied published his Armenian grammar in Paris in the year 1823, under the title, "Grammaire de la langue Armenienne." Its publication elicited a violent correspondence between the author and his critics.

In 1826 Ter Arratoon Ter Mesrop published an Armenian grammar in Constantinople nearly in imitation of Chamich, for the use of Armenian schools of that city.

Father Paschal Aucher, of the Mechitharistic Society of Venice published an Armenian and English grammar and *vice versá*, in Venice in 1819 and 1832, by the assistance of Lord Byron and of John Brand, Esq., A. M. of the University of Cambridge, with copious selections from the best Armenian authors in chronological order. Doctor Michael Salanth, of the Armenian College of Moscow, published in 1827, a comprehensive grammar in two volumes. The publication of this work met with a most favorable reception from the Armenian literati of Russia. The author, however, is severely critical on the slight inaccuracies of Father Michael Chamich.

In 1847, appeared another grammar, short, simple, plain and easy, from the pen of Mackertich Emin, Esq., formerly of Calcutta but now Principal of the Imperial College of Oriental Languages in Moscow.

A brief Armenian and Latin grammar was published in Berlin in 1841 by that eminent orientalist and accomplished Armenian scholar, Jul. Henr. Petermann. It is accompanied with a copious glossary, which does no small credit both to the head and heart of the distinguished author. He is now in the Holy Land, as Prussian Consul General. His efforts, in search of scriptural antiquities and rare ancient Armenian manuscripts will, it is hoped, be crowned with success.

In the year 1830, an Armenian grammar was published in Calcutta, with notes and copious English glossary, by the author of the present article, chiefly intended for youths educated in India.

In the year 1844, appeared the Polyglott grammar, in Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Tartar languages, with copious critical and philological notes, Par Le P. Minas Médiçi. It is highly prized by orientalist and learned Societies of Europe.

A full and comprehensive grammar was published in Venice in 1852, by Doctor Arsen Comitas Bagratúni, the oldest and most eminent member of the Mechitharistic Society of Venice, abounding in philosophical commentaries and philological observations. It is more intended for the advanced student, than as a class-book for schools. The author was deservedly distinguished for the profundity of his erudition. He was one of the brightest luminaries that ever shone in the horizon of Armenian literature. He died in the year 1866, at the advanced age of 77 years, but his works will perpetuate his name to prosperity among his countrymen.

Rev. A. Kurken, M. M., of the Mechitharistic Society of Venice published in 1853, an English and Armenian grammar, with copious examples from English authors. This work is considered very useful for beginners. In conclusion, I also think it necessary to add, that since the year 1840, up to the present day, a great variety of elementary grammars have been published by the indefatigable members of the Mechitharistic Societies of Venice and Vienna, in Armenian and French, Armenian and German, Armenian and Latin, Armenian and Italian, and Armenian and Russian languages, which will greatly tend to facilitate the study of the Armenian language by European scholars.

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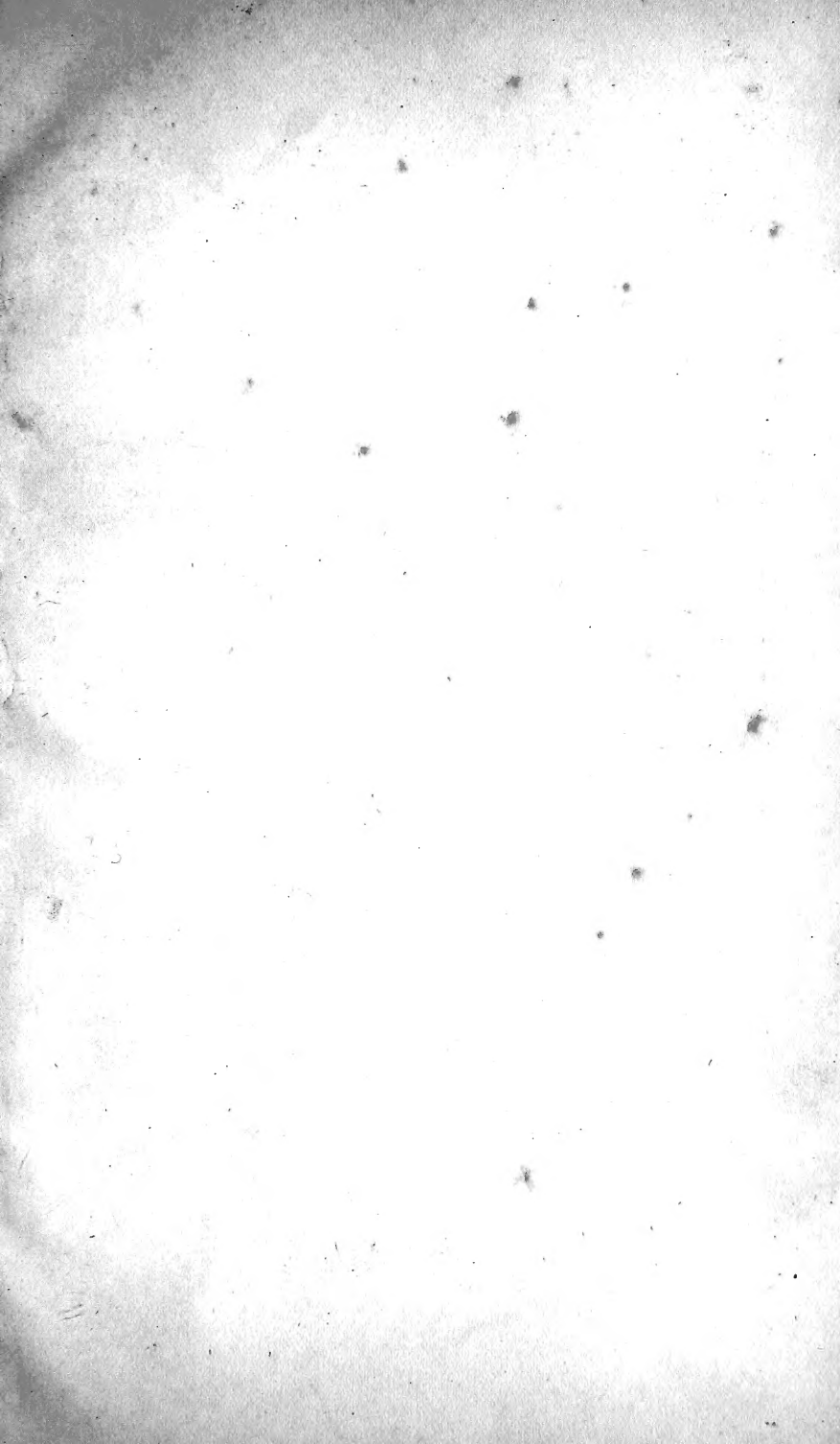
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