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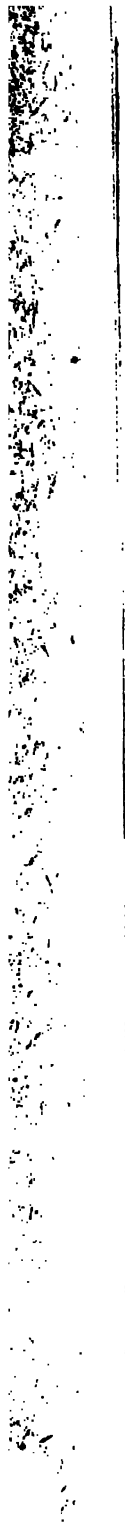
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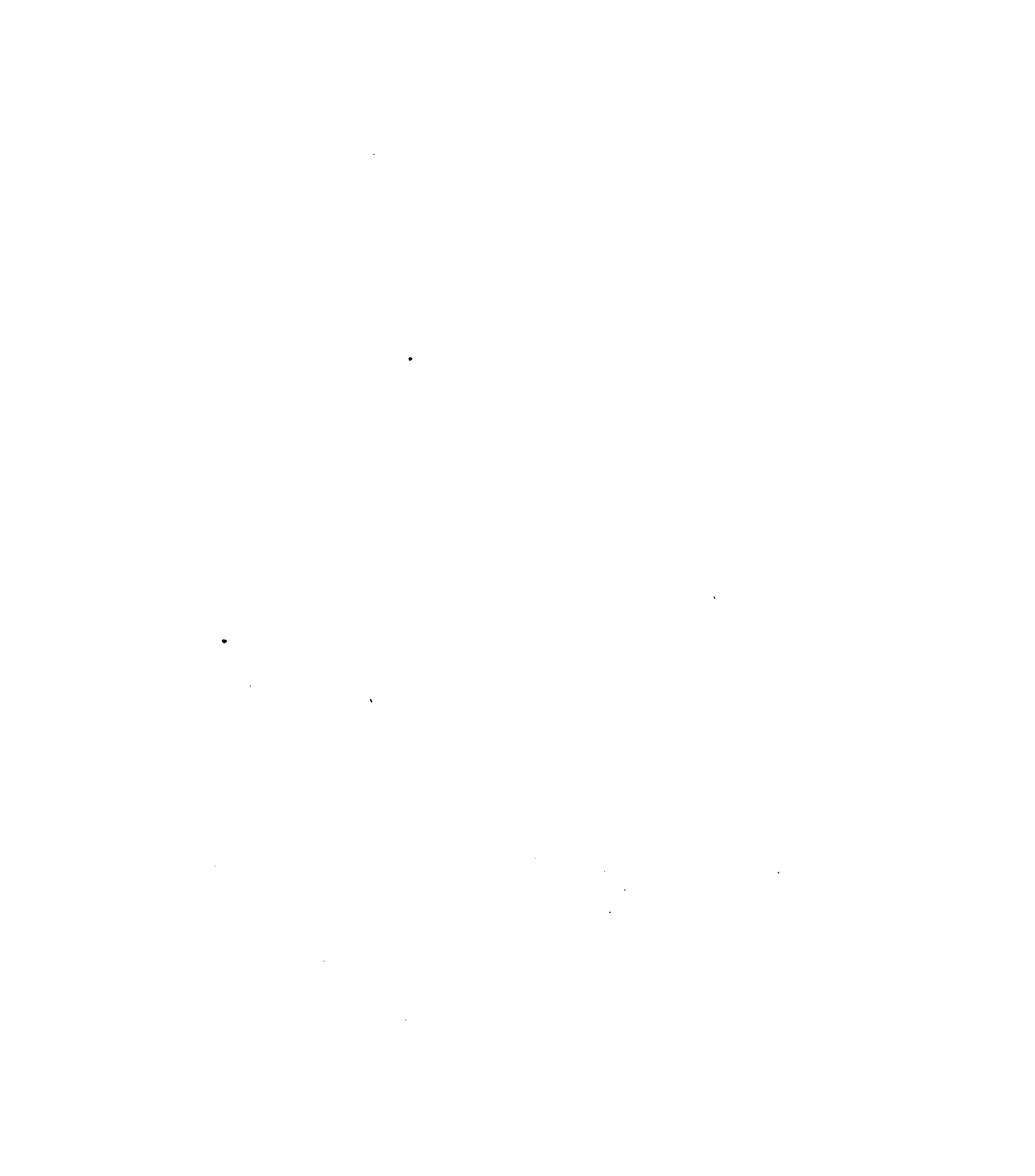


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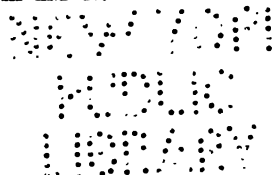
F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A.

FOREIGN MEMBER OF THE FRENCH INSTITUTE, ETC.

VOLUME IV.

Essays chiefly on the Science of Language.

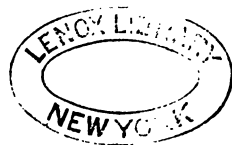
WITH INDEX TO VOLS. III AND IV.



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W. W. W. W. W.
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TO
ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D.

DEAN OF WESTMINSTER,

AS A TOKEN OF

GRATTITUDE AND FRIENDSHIP

FROM

ONE WHO HAS FOR MANY YEARS ADMIRIED

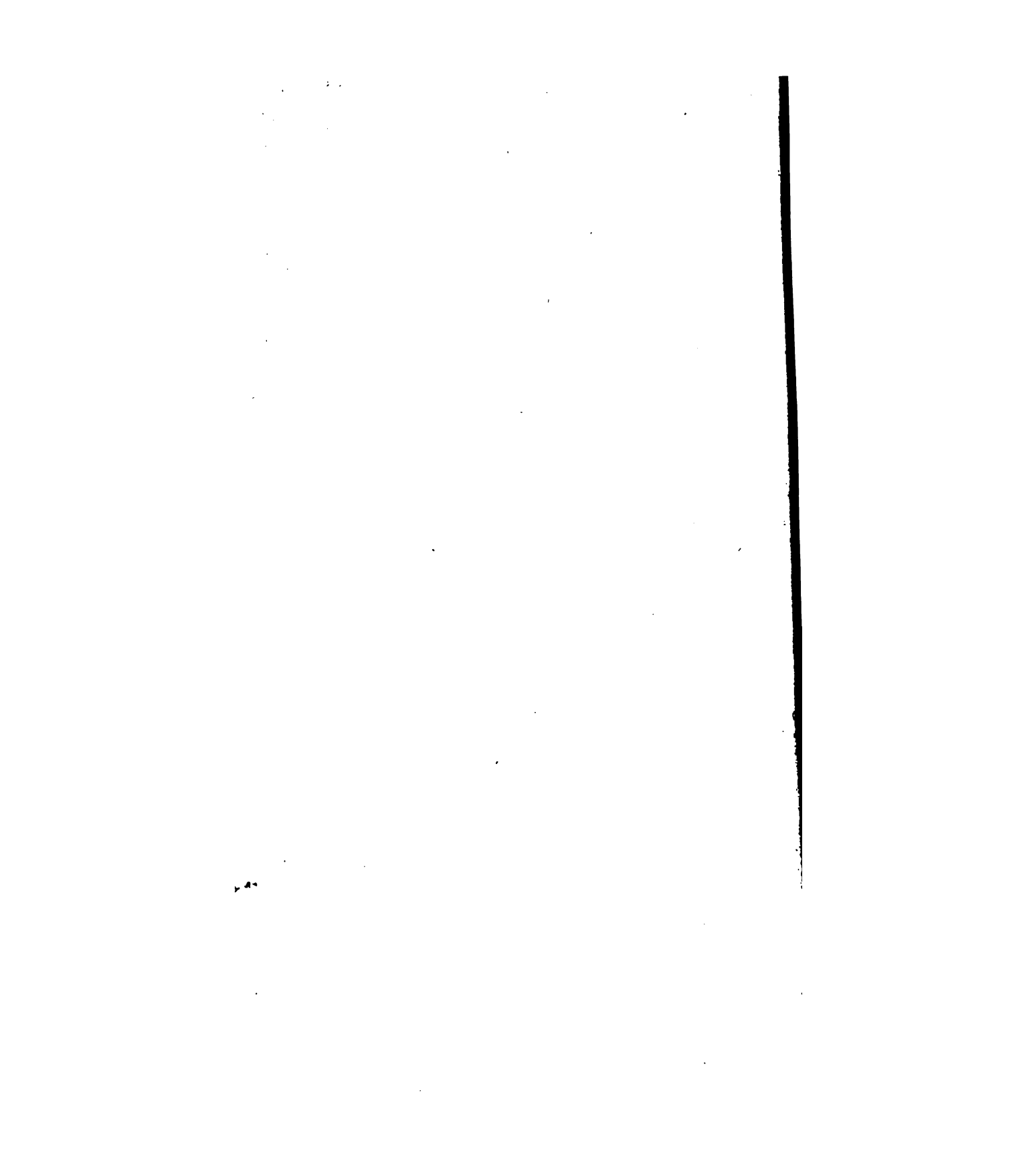
HIS LOYALTY TO TRUTH,

HIS SINGLENESS OF PURPOSE,

HIS CHIVALROUS COURAGE,

AND

HIS UNCHANGING DEVOTION TO HIS FRIENDS.



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I.

INAUGURAL LECTURE,

ON THE VALUE OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY AS
A BRANCH OF ACADEMIC STUDY,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,
THE 27TH OF OCTOBER, 1868.

THE foundation of a professorial chair in the University of Oxford marks an important epoch in the history of every new science¹. There are other

¹ The following statute was approved by the University of Oxford in 1868 ('Statuta Universitatis Oxoniensis,' iv, i, 37, §§ 1-3):—

'1. Professor philologiæ comparativæ a Vice-Cancellario, et professoribus linguarum Hebraicæ, Sanscriticæ, Græcæ, Latinæ, et Anglo-Saxonicæ eligatur. In æqualitate suffragantium rem decadat Vice-Cancellarius.

'Proviso tamen ut si vir cl. M. Müller, M. A., hodie linguarum modernarum Europæ professor Taylorianus, eam professionem intra mensem post hoc statutum sancitum resignaverit, seque professoris philologiæ comparativæ munus suscipere paratum esse scripto Vice-Cancellarium certiore fecerit, is primus admittatur professor.

'2. Professor quotannis per sex menses in Universitate incolat et commoretur inter decimum diem Octobris et primum diem Julii sequentis.

'3. Professor duas lectionum series in duobus discretis terminis legat, terminis Paschatis et S. Trinitatis pro uno reputatis; scilicet per sex septimanas in utroque termino, et bis ad minimum in unaquaque septimana: atque insuper per sex septimanas unius alicujus termini bis ad minimum in unaquaque septimana per unius horæ spatium vacet instruendis auditoribus in iis quæ melius sine solennitate tradi possunt. Unam porro ad minimum lectionem quotannis publice habeat ab academicis quibuscunque sine mercede audiendam. De die hora et loco quibus hæc lectio solennis habenda sit academiam modo consueto certiore faciat.'

universities far more ready to confer this academical recognition on new branches of scientific research, and it would be easy to mention several subjects, and no doubt important subjects, which have long had their accredited representatives in the universities of France and Germany, but which at Oxford have not yet received this well-merited recognition.

If we take into account the study of ancient languages only, we see that as soon as Champollion's discoveries had given to the study of hieroglyphics and Egyptian antiquities a truly scientific character, the French government thought it its duty to found a chair for this promising branch of Oriental scholarship. Italy soon followed this generous example; nor was the Prussian government long behind hand in doing honour to the new-born science, as soon as in Professor Lepsius it had found a scholar worthy to occupy a chair of Egyptology at Berlin.

If France had possessed the brilliant genius to whom so much is due in the deciphering of the cuneiform inscriptions, I have little doubt that long ago a chair would have been founded at the *Collège de France* expressly for Sir Henry Rawlinson.

England possesses some of the best, if not the best, of Persian scholars (alas! he who was here in my mind, Lord Strangford, is no longer among us), yet there is no chair for Persian at Oxford or Cambridge, in spite of the charms of its modern literature, and the vast importance of the ancient language of Persia and Bactria, the Zend, a language full of interest, not only to the comparative philologist, but also to the student of Comparative Theology.

There are few of the great universities of Europe without a chair for that language which, from the

very beginning of history, as far as it is known to us, seems always to have been spoken by the largest number of human beings,—I mean Chinese. In Paris we find not one, but two chairs for Chinese, one for the ancient, another for the modern language of that wonderful empire; and if we consider the light which a study of that curious form of human speech is intended to throw on the nature and growth of language, if we measure the importance of its enormous literature by the materials which it supplies to the student of ancient religions, and likewise to the historian who wishes to observe the earliest rise of the principal sciences and arts in countries beyond the influence of Aryan and Semitic civilization,—if, lastly, we take into account the important evidence which the Chinese language, reflecting, like a never-fading photograph, the earliest workings of the human mind, is able to supply to the student of psychology, and to the careful analyser of the elements and laws of thought, we should feel less inclined to ignore or ridicule the claims of such a language to a chair in our ancient university¹.

I could go on and mention several other subjects, well worthy of the same distinction. If the study of Celtic languages and Celtic antiquities deserves to be encouraged anywhere, it is surely in England,—not, as has been suggested, in order to keep English literature from falling into the abyss of German platitudes, nor to put Aneurin and Taliesin in the place of Shakespeare and Burns, and to counteract by their ‘suavity

¹ An offer to found a professorship of Chinese, to be held by an Englishman whom even Stanislas Julien recognised as the best Chinese scholar of the day, has lately been received very coldly by the Hebdomadal Council of the University.

and brilliancy' the Philistine tendencies of the Saxon and the Northman, but in order to supply sound materials and guiding principles to the critical student of the ancient history and the ancient language of Britain, to excite an interest in what still remains of Celtic antiquities, whether in manuscripts or in genuine stone monuments, and thus to preserve such national heirlooms from neglect or utter destruction. If we consider that Oxford possesses a Welsh college, and that England possesses the best of Celtic scholars, it is surely a pity that he should have to publish the results of his studies in the short intervals of official work at Calcutta, and not in the more congenial atmosphere of Rytichin.

For those who know the history of the ancient universities of England, it is not difficult to find out why they should have been less inclined than their continental sisters to make timely provision for the encouragement of these and other important branches of linguistic research. Oxford and Cambridge, as independent corporations, withdrawn alike from the support and from the control of the state, have always looked upon the instruction of the youth of England as their proper work ; and nowhere has the tradition of classical learning been handed down more faithfully from one generation to another than in England ; —nowhere has its generous spirit more thoroughly pervaded the minds of statesmen, poets, artists, and moulded the character of that large and important class of independent and cultivated men, without which this country would cease to be what it has been for the last two centuries, a *res publica*, a commonwealth, in the best sense of the word. Oxford and Cambridge have supplied what England

expected or demanded, and as English parents did not send their sons to learn Chinese or to study Cornish, there was naturally no supply where there was no demand. The professorial element in the university, the true representative of higher learning and independent research, withered away; the tutorial assumed the vastest proportions during this and the last centuries.

But looking back to the earlier history of the English universities, I believe it is a mistake to suppose that Oxford, one of the most celebrated universities during the middle ages and in the modern history of Europe, could ever have ignored the duty, so fully recognised by other European universities, of not only handing down intact, and laid up, as it were, in a napkin, the traditional stock of human knowledge, but of constantly adding to it, and increasing it fivefold and tenfold. Nay, unless I am much mistaken, there was really no university in which more ample provision had been made by founders and benefactors than at Oxford, for the support and encouragement of a class of students who should follow up new lines of study, devote their energies to work which, from its very nature, could not be lucrative or even self-supporting, and maintain the fame of English learning, English industry, and English genius in that great and time-honoured republic of learning which claims the allegiance of the whole of Europe, nay, of the whole civilized world. That work at Oxford and Cambridge was meant to be done by the Fellows of Colleges. In times, no doubt, when every kind of learning was in the hands of the clergy, these fellowships might seem to have been intended exclusively

for the support of theological students. But when other studies, once mere germs and shoots on the tree of knowledge, separated from the old stem and assumed an independent growth, whether under the name of natural science, or history, or scholarship, or jurisprudence, a fair division ought to have been made at once of the funds which, in accordance with the letter, it may be, but certainly not with the spirit of the ancient statutes, have remained for so many years appropriated to the exclusive support of theological learning, if learning it could be called. Fortunately, that mistake has now been remedied, and the funds originally intended without distinction for the support of 'true religion and useful learning,' are now again more equally apportioned among those who, in the age in which we live, have divided and subdivided the vast intellectual inheritance of the middle ages, in order to cultivate the more thoroughly every nook and every corner in the boundless field of human knowledge.

Something, however, remains still to be done in order to restore these fellowships more fully and more efficiently to their original purpose, and thus to secure to the university not only a staff of zealous teachers, which it certainly possesses, but likewise a class of independent workers, of men who by original research, by critical editions of the classics, by an acquisition of a scholarlike knowledge of other languages besides Greek and Latin, by an honest devotion to one or the other among the numerous branches of physical science, by fearless researches into the ancient history of mankind, by a careful collection or revision of the materials for the history of politics, jurisprudence, medicine, literature, and

arts, by a life-long occupation with the problems of philosophy, and last, not least, by a real study of theology, or the science of religion, should perform again those duties which, in the stillness of the middle ages, were performed by learned friars within the walls of our colleges. Those duties have remained in abeyance for several generations, and they must now be performed with increased vigour, in order to retain for Oxford that high position which it once held, not simply as a place of education, but as a seat of learning, amid the most celebrated universities of Europe.

'*Noblesse oblige*' is an old saying that is sometimes addressed to those who have inherited an illustrious name, and who are proud of their ancestors. But what are the ancestors of the oldest and proudest of families compared with the ancestors of this university! '*Noblesse oblige*' applies to Oxford at the present moment more than ever, when knowledge for its own sake, and a chivalrous devotion to studies which command no price in the fair of the world, and lead to no places of emolument in church or state, are looked down upon and ridiculed by almost everybody.

There is no career in England at the present moment for scholars and students. No father could honestly advise his son, whatever talent he might display, to devote himself exclusively to classical, historical, or physical studies. The few men who still keep up the fair name of England by independent research and new discoveries in the fields of political and natural history, do not always come from our universities; and unless they possess independent means, they cannot devote more than the

leisure hours, left by their official duties in church or state, to the prosecution of their favourite studies. This ought not to be, nor need it be so. If only twenty men in Oxford and Cambridge had the will, everything is ready for a reform, that is, for a restoration of the ancient glory of Oxford. The funds which are now frittered away in so-called prize-fellowships, would enable the universities tomorrow to invite the best talent of England back to its legitimate home. And what should we lose if we had no longer that long retinue of non-resident fellows? It is true, no doubt, that a fellowship has been a help in the early career of many a poor and hard-working man, and how could it be otherwise? But in many cases I know that it has proved a drag rather than a spur for further efforts. Students at English universities belong, as a rule, to the wealthier classes, and England is the wealthiest country in Europe. Yet in no country in the world would a young man, after his education is finished, expect assistance from public sources. Other countries tax themselves to the utmost in order to enable the largest possible number of young men to enjoy the best possible education in schools and universities. But when that is done, the community feels that it has fulfilled its duty, and it says to the young generation, Now swim or drown. A manly struggle against poverty, it may be even against actual hunger, will form a stronger and sounder metal than a lotus-eating club-life in London or Paris. Whatever fellowships were intended to be, they were never intended to be mere sinecures, as most of them are at present. It is a national blessing that the two ancient universities of England should have saved such large

funds from the shipwreck that swallowed up the corporate funds of the continental universities. But, in order to secure their safety for the future, it is absolutely necessary that these funds should be utilised again for the advancement of learning. Why should not a fellowship be made into a career for life, beginning with little, but rising like the incomes of other professions? Why should the grotesque condition of celibacy be imposed on a fellowship, instead of the really salutary condition of—No work, no pay? Why should not some special literary or scientific work be assigned to each fellow, whether resident in Oxford or sent abroad on scientific missions? Why, instead of having fifty young men scattered about in England, should we not have ten of the best workers in every branch of human knowledge resident at Oxford, whether as teachers, or as guides, or as examples? The very presence of such men would have a stimulating and elevating effect: it would show to the young men higher objects of human ambition than the baton of a field marshal, the mitre of a bishop, the ermine of a judge, or the money bags of a merchant; it would create for the future a supply of new workers as soon as there was for them, if not an avenue to wealth and power, at least a fair opening for hard work and proper pay. All this might be done to-morrow, without any injury to anybody, and with every chance of producing results of the greatest value to the universities, to the country, and to the world at large. Let the university continue to do the excellent work which it does at present as a teacher, but let it not forget the equally important duty of a university, that of a worker. Our century has inherited the intellectual

wealth of former centuries, and with it the duty, not only to preserve it or to dole it out in schools and universities, but to increase it far beyond the limits which it has reached at present. Where there is no advance, there is retrogression: rest is impossible for the human mind.

Much of the work therefore, which in other universities falls to the lot of the professors, ought in Oxford to be performed by a staff of student-fellows, whose labours should be properly organised, as they are in the Institute of France or in the Academy of Berlin. With or without teaching, they could perform the work which no university can safely neglect, the work of constantly testing the soundness of our intellectual food, and of steadily expanding the realms of knowledge. We want pioneers, explorers, conquerors, and we could have them in abundance if we cared to have them. What other universities do by founding new chairs for new sciences, the colleges of Oxford could do to-morrow by applying the funds which are not required for teaching purposes, and which are now spent on sinecure fellowships, for making either temporary or permanent provision for the endowment of original research.

It is true that new chairs have from time to time been founded in Oxford also; but if we inquire into the circumstances under which provision was made for the teaching of new subjects, we shall find that it generally took place, not so much for the encouragement of any new branch of scientific research, however interesting to the philosopher and the historian, as in order to satisfy some practical wants that could no longer be ignored, whether in church or in the university itself.

Confining ourselves to the chairs of languages, or as they used to be called, 'the readerships of tongues,' we find that as early as 1311, while the crusades were still fresh in the memory of the people of Europe, an appeal was made by Pope Clement V, at the Council of Vienne, calling upon the principal universities in Christendom to appoint lecturers for the study of Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaic. It was considered at the time a great honour for Oxford to be mentioned by name, together with Paris, Bologna, and Salamanca, as one of the four great seats of learning in which the Pope and the Council of Vienne desired that provision should be made for the teaching of these languages. It is quite clear, however, from the wording of the resolution of the Council¹, that the chief object in the foundation of these readerships was to supply men capable of defending the interests of the church, of taking an active part in the controversies with Jews and Mohammedans, who were then considered dangerous, and of propagating the faith among unbelievers.

Nor does it seem that this papal exhortation produced much effect, for we find that Henry VIII in 1540 had to make new provision in order to secure efficient teachers of Hebrew and Greek in the University of Oxford. At that time these two languages,

¹ 'Liber Sextus Decretalium' (Lugduni, 1572), p. 1027: 'Ut igitur peritia linguarum hujusmodi possit habiliter per instructionem efficaciam obtinere, hoc sacro approbante concilio scholas in subscriptarum linguarum generibus ubicunque Romanam curiam residere contigerit, necnon in Parisiensi, et Oxoniensi, Bononiensi, et Salmantino studiis providimus erigendas; statuentes ut in quolibet locorum ipsorum teneantur viri catholici, sufficienter habentes Hebraicae, Arabicae, et Chaldaeae linguarum notitiam.'

but more particularly Greek, had assumed not only a theological, but a political importance, and it was but natural that the king should do all in his power to foster and spread a knowledge of a language which had been one of the most powerful weapons in the hands of the reformers. At Oxford itself this new chair was by no means popular: on the contrary those who studied Greek were for a long time looked upon with great suspicion and dislike¹.

Henry VIII did nothing for the support of Arabic; but a century later (1636) we find Archbishop Laud, whose attention had been attracted by Eastern questions, full of anxiety to resuscitate the study of Arabic at Oxford, partly by collecting Arabic MSS. in the East and depositing them in the Bodleian Library, partly by founding a new chair of Arabic, inaugurated by Pococke, and rendered illustrious by such names as Greaves, Thomas Hyde, John Wallis, and Thomas Hunt.

The foundation of a chair of Anglo-Saxon, too, was due, not so much to a patriotic interest excited by the ancient national literature of the Saxons, still less to the importance of that ancient language for philological studies, but it received its first impulse from the divines of the sixteenth century, who wished to strengthen the position of the English church in its controversy with the church of Rome. Under the auspices of Archbishop Parker, Anglo-Saxon MSS. were first collected, and the

¹ Greaves, 'Oratio Oxonii habita,' 1637, p. 19: 'Paucos ultra centum annos numeramus ex quo Graecae primum literae oras hasce appulerunt, antea ignotae prorsus, nonnullis exosae etiam et invisae, indoctissimis scilicet fraterculis, quibus religio erat graeco scire, et levissimus Atticae eruditionis gustus haeresin sapiebat.'

Anglo-Saxon translations of the Bible, as well as Anglo-Saxon homilies, and treatises on theological and ecclesiastical subjects were studied by Fox, the martyrologist, and others¹, to be quoted as witnesses to the purity and simplicity of the primitive church founded in this realm, free in its origin from the later faults and fancies of the church of Rome. Without this practical object, Anglo-Saxon would hardly have excited so much interest in the sixteenth century, and Oxford would probably have remained much longer without its professorial chair of the ancient national language of England, which was founded by Rawlinson, but was not inaugurated before the end of the last century (1795).

Of the two remaining chairs of languages, of Sanskrit and of Latin, the former owes its origin, not to an admiration of the classical literature of India, nor to a recognition of the importance of Sanskrit for the purposes of Comparative Philology, but to an express desire on the part of its founder to provide efficient missionaries for India; while the creation of a chair of Latin, though long delayed, was at last rendered imperative by the urgent wants of the university.

Nor does the chair of Comparative Philology, just founded by the university, form altogether an exception to this general rule. It is curious to remark that while Comparative Philology has for more than half a century excited the deepest interest, not only among continental, but likewise among English scholars, and while chairs of this new science have been founded long ago in almost every university

¹ See 'Biographia Britannica Literaria,' vol. i. p. 110.

of France, Germany, and Italy, the foundation of a new chair of Comparative Philology at Oxford should coincide very closely with a decided change that has taken place in the treatment of that science, and which has given to its results a more practical importance for the study of Greek and Latin, such as could hardly be claimed for it during the first fifty years of its growth.

We may date the origin of Comparative Philology, as distinct from the Science of Language, from the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta in 1784. From that time dates the study of Sanskrit, and it was the study of Sanskrit which formed the foundation of Comparative Philology.

It is perfectly true that Sanskrit had been studied before by Italian, German, and French missionaries; it is likewise perfectly true that several of these missionaries were fully aware of the close relationship between Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin. A man must be blind who, after looking at a Sanskrit grammar, does not see at once the striking coincidences between the declensions and conjugations of the classical language of India and those of Greece and Italy¹.

Filippo Sassetti, who spent some time at Goa, between 1581 and 1588, had only acquired a very slight knowledge of Sanskrit before he wrote home to his friends, 'that it has many words in common with Italian, particularly in the numerals, in the names for God, serpent, and many others.' This was in the sixteenth century.

Some of the Jesuit missionaries, however, went far

¹ M. M.'s 'Lectures on the Science of Language,' vol. i. p. 171.

beyond this. A few among them had acquired a real and comprehensive knowledge of the ancient language and literature of India, and we see them anticipate in their letters several of the most brilliant discoveries of Sir W. Jones and Professor Bopp. The père Cœurdoux¹, a French Jesuit, writes in 1767 from Pondichery to the French Academy, asking that learned society for a solution of the question, '*How is it that Sanskrit has so many words in common with Greek and Latin?*' He presents not only long lists of words, but he calls attention to the still more curious fact, that the grammatical forms in Sanskrit show the most startling similarity with Greek and Latin. After him almost everybody who had looked at Sanskrit, and who knew Greek and Latin, made the same remark and asked the same question.

But the fire only smouldered on; it would not burn up, it would not light, it would not warm. At last, owing to the exertions of the founders of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, the necessary materials for a real study of Sanskrit became accessible to the students of Europe. The voice of Frederick Schlegel roused the attention of the world at large to the startling problem that had been thrown into the arena of the intellectual chivalry of the world, and at last the glove was taken up, and men like Bopp, and Burnouf, and Pott, and Grimm, did not rest till some answer could be returned, and some account rendered of Sanskrit, that strange intruder, and great disturber of the peace of classical scholarship.

The work which then began, was incessant. It

¹ M. M.'s 'Lectures on the Science of Language,' vol. i. p. 176.

was not enough that some words in Greek and Latin should be traced in Sanskrit. A kind of silent conviction began to spread that there must be in Sanskrit a remedy for all evils; people could not rest till every word in Greek and Latin had, in some disguise or other, been discovered in Sanskrit. Nor were Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit enough to satisfy the thirst of the new discoverers. The Teutonic languages were soon annexed, the Celtic languages yielded to some gentle pressure, the Slavonic languages clamoured for incorporation, the sacred idiom of ancient Persia, the Zend, demanded its place by the side of Sanskrit, the Armenian followed in its wake; and when even the Ossetic from the valleys of Mount Caucasus, and the Albanian from the ancient hills of Epirus, had proved their birthright, the whole family, the Aryan family of language, seemed complete, and an historical fact, the original unity of all these languages, was established on a basis which even the most sceptical could not touch or shake. Scholars rushed in as diggers rush into a new gold field, picking up whatever is within reach, and trying to carry off more than they could carry, so that they might be the foremost in the race, and claim as their own all that they had been the first to look at or to touch. There was a rush, and now and then an ugly rush, and when the armfuls of nuggets that were thrown down before the world in articles, pamphlets, essays, and ponderous volumes, came to be more carefully examined, it was but natural that not everything that glittered should turn out to be gold. Even in the works of more critical scholars, such as Bopp, Burnouf, Pott, and Benfey, at least in those which were published in the first enthusiasm of

discovery, many things may now be pointed out, which no assayer would venture to pass. It was the great merit of Bopp that he called the attention away from this tempting field to the more laborious work of grammatical analysis, though even in his Comparative Grammar, in that comprehensive survey of the grammatical outlines of the Aryan languages, the spirit of conquest and centralisation still predominates. All languages are, if possible, to submit to the same laws; what is common to all of them is welcome, what is peculiar to each is treated as anomalous, or explained as the result of later corruption.

This period in the history of Comparative Philology has sometimes been characterised as *syncretistic*, and to a certain extent that name and the censure implied in it are justified. But to a very small extent only. It was in the nature of things that a comparative study of languages should at first be directed to what is common to all; nay, without having first become thoroughly acquainted with the general features of the whole family, it would have been impossible to discover and fully to appreciate what is peculiar to each of its members.

Nor was it long before a reaction set in. One scholar from the very first, and almost contemporaneously with Bopp's first essays on Comparative Grammar, devoted himself to the study of one branch of languages only, availing himself, as far as he was able, of the new light which a knowledge of Sanskrit had thrown on the secret history of the whole Aryan family of speech, but concentrating his energies on the Teutonic; I mean, of course, Jacob Grimm, the author of the great

historical grammar of the German language; a work which will live and last long after other works of that early period shall have been forgotten, or replaced, at least, by better books.

After a time Grimm's example was followed by others. Zeuss, in his 'Grammatica Celtica,' established the study of the Celtic languages on the broad foundations of Comparative Grammar. Miklosich and Schleicher achieved similar results by adopting the same method for the study of the Slavonic dialects. Curtius, by devoting himself to an elucidation of Greek, opened the eyes of classical scholars to the immense advantages of this new treatment of grammar and etymology; while Corssen, in his more recent works on Latin, has struck a mine which may well tempt the curiosity of every student of the ancient dialects of Italy. At the present moment the reaction is complete; and there is certainly some danger, lest what was called a *syncretistic* spirit should now be replaced by an *isolating* spirit in the science of language.

It cannot be denied, however, that this isolating, or rather discriminating, tendency has produced already the most valuable results, and I believe that it is chiefly due to the works of Curtius and Corssen, if Greek and Latin scholars have been roused at last from their apathy and been made aware of the absolute necessity of Comparative Philology, as a subject to be taught, not only in every university, but in every school. I believe it is due to their works that a conviction has gradually been gaining ground and also, that Comparative Philology has been ignored as an in-

of Greek and Latin; and while a comparative analysis of Sanskrit, Zend, Armenian, Greek, Latin, Gothic, High-German, Lithuanian, Slavonic, and Celtic, such as we find it in Bopp's 'Comparative Grammar,' would hardly be considered as a subject of practical utility even in a school of philology, it was recognised at last that, not only for sound principles of etymology, not only for a rational treatment of Greek and Latin grammar, not only for a right understanding of classical mythology, but even for a critical restoration of the very texts of Homer and Plautus, a knowledge of Comparative Philology, as applied to Greek and Latin, had become indispensable.

My chief object, therefore, as Professor of Comparative Philology at Oxford, will be to treat the classical languages under that new aspect which they have assumed, as viewed by the microscope of Curtius and Corssen rather than by the telescope of Bopp, Pott, and Benfey. I shall try not only to give results, but to explain what is far more important, the method by which these results were obtained, so far as this is possible without, for the present at least, presupposing among my hearers a knowledge of Sanskrit. Sanskrit certainly forms the only sound foundation of Comparative Philology, and it will always remain the only safe guide through all its intricacies. A comparative philologist without a knowledge of Sanskrit is like an astronomer without a knowledge of mathematics. He may admire, he may observe, he may discover, but he will never feel satisfied, he will never feel certain, he will never feel quite at home.

I hope, therefore, that, besides those who attend my public lectures, there will be at least a few to

form a private class for the study of the elements of Sanskrit. Sanskrit, no doubt, is a very difficult language, and it requires the study of a whole life to master its enormous literature. Its grammar, too, has been elaborated with such incredible minuteness by native grammarians, that I am not surprised if many scholars who begin the study of Sanskrit turn back from it in dismay. But it is quite possible to learn the rules of Sanskrit declension and conjugation, and to gain an insight into the grammatical organization of that language, without burdening one's memory with all the phonetic rules which generally form the first chapter of every Sanskrit grammar, or without devoting years of study to the unravelling of the intricacies of the greatest of Indian, if not of all grammarians,—Pânini. There are but few among our very best comparative philologists who are able to understand Pânini. Professor Benfey, whose powers of work are truly astounding, stands almost alone in his minute knowledge of that greatest of all grammarians. Neither Bopp, nor Pott, nor Curtius, nor Corssen, ever attempted to master Pânini's wonderful system. But a study of Sanskrit, as taught by European grammarians, cannot be recommended too strongly to all students of language. A good sailor may for a time steer without a compass, but even he feels safer when he knows that he may consult it, if necessary; and whenever he comes near the rocks,—and there are many in the Arıyan sea,—he will hardly escape shipwreck without this magnetic needle¹.

It will be asked, no doubt, by Greek and Latin

¹ See Notes A and B, pp. 44, 46.

scholars who have never as yet devoted themselves seriously to a study of Comparative Philology, what is to be gained after all the trouble of learning Sanskrit, and after mastering the works of Bopp, and Benfey, and Curtius? Would a man be a better Greek and Latin scholar for knowing Sanskrit? Would he write better Latin and Greek verse? Would he be better able to read and compare Greek and Latin MSS, and to prepare a critical edition of classical authors? To all these questions I reply both *No* and *Yes*.

If there is one branch of classical philology where the advantages derived from Comparative Philology have been most readily admitted, it is etymology. More than fifty years ago, Otfried Müller told classical scholars that that province at least must be surrendered. And yet it is strange to see how long it takes before old erroneous derivations are exploded and finally expelled from our dictionaries; and how, in spite of all warnings, similarity of sound and similarity of meaning are still considered the chief criteria of Greek and Latin etymologies. I do not address this reproach to classical scholars only; it applies equally to many comparative philologists who, for the sake of some striking similarity of sound and meaning, will now and then break the phonetic laws which they themselves have helped to establish.

If we go back to earlier days, we find that Sanskrit scholars who had discovered that one of the names of the god of love in Bengali was *Dipuc*, i. e. the inflamer, derived from it by inversion the name of the god of love in Latin, *Cupid*. Sir William Jones identified *Janus* with the Sanskrit *Ganesa*, i. e. lord

of hosts¹, and even later scholars allowed themselves to be tempted to see the Indian prototype of *Ganymedes* in the *Kanva-medhâtithi* or *Kanva-mesha* of the *Veda*².

After the phonetic laws of each language had been more carefully elaborated, it was but too frequently forgotten that words have a history as well as a growth, and that the history of a word must be explored first, before an attempt is made to unravel its growth. Thus it was extremely tempting to derive *paradise* from the Sanskrit *paradesa*. The compound *para-desa* was supposed to mean the highest or a distant country, and all the rest seemed so evident as to require no further elucidation. *Paradesa*, however, does not mean the highest or a distant country in Sanskrit, but is always used in the sense of a foreign country, an enemy's country. Further, as early as the Song of Solomon (iv. 13), the word occurs in Hebrew as *pardés*, and how it could have got there straight from Sanskrit requires at all events some historical explanation. In Hebrew the word might have been borrowed from Persian, but the Sanskrit word *paradesa*, if it existed at all in Persian, would have been *paradaesa*, the *s* being a guttural, not a dental sibilant. Such a compound, however, does not exist in Persian, and therefore the Sanskrit word *paradesa* could not have reached Hebrew *viâ* Persia.

It is true, nevertheless, that the ancient Hebrew word *pardés* is borrowed from Persian, viz. from the Zend *pairidaêza*, which means *circumvallatio*, a piece

¹ See M. M., 'Science of Religion,' 1873, p. 293.

² See Weber, 'Indische Studien,' vol. i. p. 38.

of ground enclosed by high walls, afterwards a park, a garden¹. The root in Sanskrit is DIH or DHIH (for Sanskrit *h* is Zend *z*), and means originally to knead, to squeeze together, to shape. From it we have the Sanskrit *dehî*, a wall, while in Greek the same root, according to the strictest phonetic rules, yielded *τοιχος*, wall. In Latin our root is regularly changed into *fig*, and gives us *figulus*, a potter, *figura*, form or shape, and *fungere*. In Gothic it could only appear as *deig-an*, to knead, to form anything out of soft substances; hence *daig-s*, the English *dough*, German *Deich*.

But the Greek *παράδεισος* did not come from Hebrew, because here again there is no historical bridge between the two languages. In Greek we trace the word to Xenophon, who brought it back from his repeated journeys in Persia, and who uses it in the sense of pleasure ground, or deer park².

Lastly, we find the same word used in the LXX, as the name given to the garden of Eden, the word having been borrowed either a third time from Persia, or taken from the Greek, and indirectly from the works of Xenophon.

This is the real history of the word. It is an Aryan word, but it does not exist in Sanskrit. It was first formed in Zend, transferred from thence as a foreign word into Hebrew, and again into Greek. Its modern Persian form is *firdaus*.

All this is matter of history rather than philology.

¹ See Haug, in Ewald's 'Biblische Jahrbücher,' vol. vi. p. 162.

² Anab. i. 2, 7: 'Ἐνταῦθα Κύρη βασιλεία ἦν καὶ παράδεισος μέγας, ἀγρίων θηρίων πλήρης, ἃ ἐκεῖνος ἐθήρευεν ἀπὸ ἵππου, ὅποτε γυμνάσαι βούλοιτο ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους. Διὰ μέσου δὲ τοῦ παραδείσου ῥεῖ ὁ Μαϊάνδρος ποταμὸς κ. τ. λ. Hell. iv. 1, 15: 'Ἐν περιειργμένοις παραδείσοις κ. τ. λ.

Yet we read in one of the best classical dictionaries: 'The root of *παράδεισος* appears to be Semitic, Arab. *firdaus*, Hebr. *pardès*: borrowed also in Sanskrit *paradêsa*¹.' Nearly every word is wrong.

From the same root DIH springs the Sanskrit word *deha*, body; body, like figure, being conceived as that which is formed or shaped. Bopp identified this *deha* with Gothic *leik*, body, particularly dead body, the modern German *Leiche* and *Leichnam*, the English *lich* in *lich-gate*. In this case the master of Comparative Philology disregarded the phonetic laws which he had himself helped to establish. The transition of *d* into *l* is no doubt common enough as between Sanskrit, Latin, and Greek, but it has never been established as yet on good evidence as taking place between Sanskrit and Gothic. Besides, the Sanskrit *h* ought in Gothic to appear as *g*, as we have it in *deig-s*, dough, and not by a *tenuis*.

Another Sanskrit word for body is *kalevara*, and this proved again a stumbling-block to Bopp, who compares it with the Latin *cadaver*. Here one might plead that *l* and *d* are frequently interchanged in Sanskrit and Latin words, but, as far as our evidence goes at present, we have no doubt many cases where an original Sanskrit *d* is represented in Latin by *l*, but no really trustworthy instance in which an original Sanskrit *l* appears in Latin as *d*. Besides, the Sanskrit diphthong *e* cannot, as a rule, in Latin be represented by long *d*.

If such things could happen to Bopp, we must not be too severe on similar breaches of the peace committed by classical scholars. What classical scholars

¹ See 'Indian Antiquary,' 1874, p. 332.

seem to find most difficult to learn is that there are various degrees of certainty in etymologies, even in those proposed by our best comparative scholars, and that not everything that is mentioned by Bopp, or Pott, or Benfey as possible, as plausible, as probable, and even as more than probable, ought therefore to be set down, for instance, in a grammar or dictionary, as simply a matter of fact. With certain qualifications, an etymology may have a scientific value; without those qualifications, it may become not only unscientific, but mischievous. Again, nothing seems a more difficult lesson for an etymologist to learn than to say, I do not know. Yet, to my mind, nothing shows, for instance, the truly scholarlike mind of Professor Curtius better than the very fact for which he has been so often blamed, viz. his passing over in silence the words about which he has nothing certain to say.

Let us take an instance. If we open our best Greek dictionaries, we find that the Greek *ἀγή*, light, splendour, is compared with the German word for eye, *Auge*. No doubt every letter in the two words is the same, and the meaning of the Greek word could easily be supposed to have been specialised or localised in German. Sophocles (Aj. 70) speaks of *ὀμμάτων ἀγαί*, the lights of the eyes, and Euripides (Andr. 1180) uses *ἀγαί* by itself for eyes, like the Latin *lumina*. The verb *ἀγάζω*, too, is used in Greek in the sense of seeing or viewing. Why, then, it was asked, should *ἀγή* not be referred to the same source as the German *Auge*, and why should not both be traced back to the same root that yielded the Latin *oc-ulus*? As long as we trust to our ears, or to what is complacently called common sense, it

would seem mere fastidiousness to reject so evident an etymology. But as soon as we know the real chemistry of vowels and consonants, we shrink instinctively from such combinations. If a German word has the same sound as a Greek word, the two words cannot be the same, unless we ignore that independent process of phonetic growth which made Greek Greek, and German German. Whenever we find in Greek a media, a *g*, we expect in Gothic the corresponding tenuis. Thus the root *gan*, which we have in Greek *γινώσκω*, is in Gothic *kann*. The Greek *γόνυ*, Lat. *genu*, is in Gothic *knīu*. If, therefore, *αὐγή* existed in Gothic it would be *auko*, and not *augo*. Secondly, the diphthong *au* in *augo* would be different from the Greek diphthong. Grimm supposed that the Gothic *augo* came from the same etymon which yields the Latin *oc-ulus*, the Sanskrit *ak-sh-i*, eye, the Greek *ὄσσε* for *ὄκι-ε*, and likewise the Greek stem *ὀπ* in *ὄπ-ωπ-α*, *ὄμμα*, and *ὀφ-θ-αλμός*. It is true that the short radical vowel *a* in Sanskrit, *o* in Greek, *u* in Latin, sinks down to *u* in Gothic, and it is equally true, as Grimm has shown, that, according to a phonetic law peculiar to Gothic, *u* before *h* and *r* is changed to *aú*. Grimm therefore takes the Gothic *aúgð* for **aúhð*, and this for **uhð*, which, as he shows, would be a proper representative in Gothic of the Sanskrit *ak-an*, or *aksh-an*.

But here Grimm seems wrong. If the *au* of *augð* were this peculiar Gothic *aú*, which represents an original short *a*, changed to *u*, and then raised to a diphthong by the insertion of a short *a*, then that diphthong would be restricted to Gothic; and the other Teutonic dialects would have their own representatives for an original short *a*. But in Anglo-Saxon we find

edge, in Old High German *augô*, both pointing to a labial diphthong, i. e. to a radical *u* raised to *au*¹.

Professor Ebel², in order to avoid this difficulty, proposed a different explanation. He supposed that the *k* of the root *ak* was softened to *kv*, and that *augô* represents an original *agvâ* or *ahvâ*, the *v* of *hvâ* being inserted before the *h* and changed to *u*. As an analogous case he quoted the Sanskrit enclitic particle *ka*, Latin *que*, Gothic **hva*, which **hva* appears always under the form of *uh*. Leo Meyer takes the same view, and quotes, as an analogon, *haubida* as possibly identical with *caput*, originally **kapvat*.

These cases, however, are not quite analogous. The enclitic particle *ka*, in Gothic **hva*, had to lose its final vowel. It thus became unpronounceable, and the short vowel *u* was added simply to facilitate its pronunciation³. There was no such difficulty in pronouncing **ah* or **uh* in Gothic, still less the derivative form **ahvô*, if such a form had ever existed.

Another explanation was therefore attempted by the late Dr. Lottner⁴. He supposed that the root *ak* existed also with a nasal as *ank*, and that *ankô* could be changed to *aukô*, and *aukô* to *augô*. In reply to this we must remark that in the Teutonic dialects the root *ak* never appears as *ank*, and that the transition of *an* into *au*, though possible under certain conditions, is not a phonetic process of frequent occurrence.

¹ Grassmann, Kuhn's 'Zeitschrift,' vol. ix. p. 23.

² Ebel, Kuhn's 'Zeitschrift,' vol. viii. p. 242.

³ Schleicher, 'Compendium,' § 112.

⁴ Lottner, Kuhn's 'Zeitschrift,' vol. ix. p. 319.

Besides, in all these derivations there is a difficulty, though not a serious one, viz. that an original tenuis, the *k*, is supposed irregularly to have been changed into *g*, instead of what it ought to be, an *h*. Although this is not altogether anomalous¹, yet it has to be taken into account. Professor Curtius, therefore, though he admits a possible connection between Gothic *augþ* and the root *ak*, speaks cautiously on the subject. On page 99 he refers to *augþ* as more distantly connected with that root, and on p. 457 he simply refers to the attempts of Ebel, Grassmann, and Lottner to explain the diphthong *au*, without himself expressing any decided opinion. Nor does he commit himself to any opinion as to the origin of *ἀγή*, though, of course, he never thinks of connecting the two words, Gothic *augþ* and Greek *ἀγή*, as coming from the same root.

The etymology of the Greek *ἀγή*, in the sense of light or splendour, is not known, unless we connect it with the Sanskrit *ogas*, which, however, means vigour rather than splendour. The etymology of *oculus*, on the contrary, is clear; it comes from a root *ak*, to be sharp, to point, to fix, and it is closely connected with the Sanskrit word for eye, *akshi*, and with the Greek *ᾠσε*. The etymology of the German word *Auge* is, as yet, unknown. All we may safely assert is, that, in spite of the most favourable appearances, it cannot for the present be traced back to the same source as either the Greek *ἀγή* or the Latin *oculus*.

If we simply transliterated the Gothic *augþ* into Sanskrit, we should expect some word like *ohan*,

¹ Leo Meyer, 'Die Gothische Sprache,' § 31.

nom. ohâ. The question is, may we take the liberty, which many of the most eminent comparative philologists allow themselves, of deriving Gothic, Greek, and Latin words from roots which occur in Sanskrit only, but which have left no trace of their former presence in any other language? If so, then there would be little difficulty in finding an etymology for the Gothic *augo*. There is in Sanskrit a root *ûh*, which means to watch, to spy, to look. It occurs frequently in the Veda, and from it we have likewise a substantive, *oha-s*, look or appearance. If in Sanskrit itself this root had yielded a name for eye, such as *ohan*, the instrument of looking, I should not hesitate for a moment to identify this Sanskrit word *ohan* with the Gothic *augô*. No objection could be raised on phonetic grounds. Phonetically the two words would be one and the same. But as in Sanskrit such a derivation has not been found, and as in Gothic the root *ûh* never occurs, such an etymology would not be satisfactory. The number of words of unknown origin is very considerable as yet in Sanskrit, in Greek, in Latin, and in every one of the Aryan languages; and it is far better to acknowledge this fact, than to sanction the smallest violation of any of those phonetic laws, which some have called the straight jacket, but which are in reality, the leading strings of all true etymology.

If we now turn to grammar, properly so called, and ask what Comparative Philology has done for it, we must distinguish between two kinds of grammatical knowledge. Grammar may be looked upon as a mere art, and, as taught at present in most schools, it is nothing but an art. We learn to play on a foreign language as we learn to play on a

musical instrument, and we may arrive at the highest perfection in performing on any instrument, without having a notion of thorough bass or the laws of harmony. For practical purposes this purely empirical knowledge is all that is required. But though it would be a mistake to attempt in our elementary schools to replace an empirical by a scientific knowledge of grammar, that empirical knowledge of grammar ought in time to be raised to a real, rational, and satisfying knowledge, a knowledge not only of facts, but of reasons; a knowledge that teaches us not only what grammar is, but how it came to be what it is. To know grammar is very well, but to speak all one's life of gerunds and supines and infinitives, without having an idea what these formations really are, is a kind of knowledge not quite worthy of a scholar.

We laugh at people who still believe in ghosts and witches, but a belief in infinitives and supines is not only tolerated, but inculcated in our best schools and universities. Now, what do we really mean if we speak of an infinitive? It is a time-honoured name, no doubt, handed down to us from the middle ages; it has its distant roots in Rome, Alexandria, and Athens;—but has it any real kernel? Has it any more body or substance than such names as Satyrs and Lamias?

Let us look at the history of the name before we look at the mischief which it, like many other names, has caused by making people believe that whenever there is a name, there must be something behind it. The name was invented by Greek philosophers who, in their first attempts at classifying and giving names to the various forms of language, did

not know whether to class such forms as *γράφειν*, *γράφειν*, *γράψαι*, *γεγραμέναι*, *γράφεσθαι*, *γράψεσθαι*, *γέγραφθαι*, *γράψασθαι*, *γραφθῆναι*, *γραφθήσεσθαι*, as nouns or as verbs. They had established for their own satisfaction the broad distinction between nouns (*ὀνόματα*) and verbs (*ῥήματα*); they had assigned to each a definition, but, after having done so, they found that forms like *γράφειν* would not fit their definition either of noun or verb¹. What could they do? Some (the Stoics) represented the forms in *ειν*, etc. as a subdivision of the verb, and introduced for them the name *ῥῆμα ἀπαρέμφατον* or *γενικώτατον*. Others recognised them as a separate part of speech, raising their number from eight to nine or ten. Others again classed them under the adverb (*ἐπίρρημα*) as one of the eight recognised parts of speech. The Stoics, taking their stand on Aristotle's definition of *ῥῆμα*, could not but regard the infinitive as *ῥῆμα*, because it implied time, past, present, or future, which was with them recognised as the specific characteristic of the verb (*Zeitwort*). But they went further, and called forms such as *γράφειν*, etc. *ῥῆμα*, in the highest or most general sense, distinguishing other verbal forms, such as *γράφει*, etc. by the names of *κατηγορήμα* or *σύμβημα*. Afterwards, in the progress of grammatical science, the definition of *ῥῆμα* became more explicit and complete. It was pointed out that a verb, besides its predicative meaning (*ἔμφασις*), is able to² express several

¹ Choeroboscus, B. A., p. 1274, 29: Τὰ ἀπαρέμφατα ἀμφιβάλλεται εἰ ἄρα εἰσι ῥήματα ἢ οὐχί. Schoemann, 'Rede-theile,' p. 49.

² Apollonius, De Constr. i. c. 8, p. 32: Δυνάμει αὐτὸ τὸ ῥῆμα οὕτε πρόσωπα ἐπιδέχεται οὕτε ἀριθμούς, ἀλλὰ ἐγγενόμενον ἐν προσώποις τότε καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα διέστειλεν . . . καὶ ψυχικὴν διάθεσιν. Schoemann, l. c. p. 19.

additional meanings (*παρακολουθήματα* or *παρεμφάσεις*), viz. not only time, as already pointed out by Aristotle, but also person and number. The two latter meanings, however, being absent in *γράφειν*, this was now called *ῥῆμα ἀπαρέμφατον* (without by-meanings), or *γενικώτατον*, and, for practical purposes, this *ῥῆμα ἀπαρέμφατον* soon became the prototype of conjugation.

So far there was only confusion, arising from a want of precision in classifying the different forms of the verb. But when the Greek terminology was transplanted to Rome, real mischief began. Instead of *ῥῆμα γενικώτατον*, we now find the erroneous, or at all events inaccurate, translation, *modus infinitus*, and *infinitivus* by itself. What was originally meant as an adjective belonging to *ῥῆμα*, became a substantive, the infinitive, and though the question arose again and again what this infinitive really was, whether a noun, or a verb, or an adverb; whether a mood or not a mood; the real existence of such a thing as an infinitive could no longer be doubted. One can hardly trust one's eyes in reading the extraordinary discussions on the nature of the infinitive in grammatical works of successive centuries up to the nineteenth. Suffice it to say that Gottfried Hermann, the great reformer of classical grammars, treated the infinitive again as an adverb, and therefore, as a part of speech, belonging to the particles. We ourselves were brought up to believe in infinitives; and to doubt the existence of this grammatical entity would have been considered in our younger days a most dangerous heresy.

And yet, how much confused thought, and how much controversy might have been avoided, if this gram-

matical term of infinitive had never been invented¹. The fact is that what we call infinitives are nothing more or less than cases of verbal nouns, and not till they are treated as what they are shall we ever gain an insight into the nature and the historical development of these grammatical monsters.

Take the old Homeric infinitive in *μεναι*, and you find its explanation in the Sanskrit termination *mane*, i. e. *manai*, the dative of the suffix *man* (not, as others suppose, the locative of a suffix *mana*), by which a large number of nouns are formed in Sanskrit. From *gnâ*, to know, we have (*g*)*nâman*, Latin (*g*)*nomen*, that by which a thing is known, its name; from *gan*, to be born, *gân-man*, birth. In Greek this suffix *man* is chiefly used for forming masculine nouns, such as *γνώ-μων*, *γνώ-μονος*, literally a knower; *τλή-μων*, a sufferer; or as *μην* in *ποι-μήν*, a shepherd, literally a feeder. In Latin, on the contrary, *men* occurs frequently at the end of abstract nouns in the neuter gender, such as *teg-men*, the covering, or *tegu-men* or *tegi-men*; *sola-men*, consolation; *voca-men*, an appellation; *certa-men*, a contest; and many more, particularly in ancient Latin; while in classical Latin the fuller suffix *mentum* predominates. If then we read in Homer, *κύνας ἔτευξε δῶμα φυλασσόμεναι*, we may call *φυλασσόμεναι* an infinitive, if we like, and translate 'he made dogs to protect the house;' but the form which we have before us, is simply a dative of an old abstract noun in *μεν*, and the original meaning was 'for the protection of the house,' or 'for protecting the house;' as if we said in Latin, *tutamini domum*.

¹ Note C, p. 49.

The infinitives in *μεν* may be corruptions of those in *μεναι*, unless we take *μεν* as an archaic accusative which, though without analogy in Greek, would correspond to Latin accusatives like *tegmen*, and express the general object of certain acts or movements. In Sanskrit, at least in the Veda, infinitives in *mane* occur, such as *dā-mane*, to give, Greek *δό-μεναι*; *vid-máne*, to know, Greek *φιδ-μεναι*¹.

The question next arises, if this is a satisfactory explanation of the infinitives in *μεναι*, how are we to explain the infinitives in *εναι*? We find in Homer, not only *ἵμεναι*, to go, but also *ἰέναι*; not only *ἔμμεναι*, to be, but also *εἶναι*, i. e. *ἔσ-εναι*. Bopp simply says that the *m* is lost, but he brings no evidence that in Greek an *m* can thus be lost without any provocation. The real explanation, here as elsewhere, is supplied by the *Beieinander* (the collateral growth), not by the *Nacheinander* (the successive growth) of language. Besides the suffix *man*, the Aryan languages possessed two other suffixes, *van* and *an*, which were added to verbal bases just like *man*. By the side of *dāman*, the act of giving, we find in the Veda *dāvan*, the act of giving, and a dative *dāváne*, with the accent on the suffix, meaning for the giving, i. e. to give. Now in Greek this *v* would necessarily disappear, though its former presence might be indicated by the *digamma aeolicum*. Thus, instead of Sanskrit *dāváne*, we should have in Greek *δοφέναι*, *δοέναι*, and contracted *δοῖναι*, the regular form of the infinitive of the aorist, a form in which the diphthong *ov* would remain inexplicable, except for the former presence of the

¹ Benfey, 'Ori-

vol. II.

(1).

lost syllable *fe*. In the same manner *είναι* stands for *έσ-φέναι*, *έσ-έναι*, *έέναι*, *είναι*. Hence *ιέναι*, stands for *ιφέναι*, and even the accent remains on the suffix *van*, just as it did in Sanskrit.

As the infinitives in *μεναι* were traced back to the suffix *man*, and those in *φεναι* to a suffix *van*, the regular infinitives in *εναι* after consonants, and *ναι* after vowels, must be referred to the suffix *an*, dat. *ane*. Here, too, we find analogous forms in the Veda. From *dhûrv*, to hurt, we have *dhûrv-ane*, for the purpose of hurting, in order to hurt; in Rv. IX. 61, 30, we find, *vibhv-áne*, Rv. VI. 61, 13, in order to conquer, and by the same suffix the Greeks formed their infinitives of the perfect, *λελοιπ-έναι*, and the infinitives of the verbs in *μι*, *τιθέ-ναι*, *διδό-ναι*, *ιστά-ναι*, etc.

In order to explain, after these antecedents, the origin of the infinitive in *ειν*, as *τύπτειν*, we must admit either the shortening of *ναι* to *νι*, which is difficult; or the existence of a locative in *ι* by the side of a dative in *αι*. That the locative can take the place of the dative we see clearly in the Sanskrit forms of the aorist, *parsháni*, to cross, *ne-sháni*, to lead, which, as far as their form, not their origin, is concerned, would well match Greek forms like *λύσειν* in the future. In either case, *τύπτε-νι* in Greek would have become *τύπτειν*, just as *τύπτε-σι* became *τύπτεις*. In the Doric dialect this throwing back of the final *ι* is omitted in the second person singular, where the Dorians may say *ἀμέλγεις* for *ἀμέλγεις*; and in the same Doric dialect the infinitive, too, occurs in *εν*, instead of *ειν*; e. g. *αἰδεν* instead of *αἰδεν*. (Buttman, Gr. Gr. § 103, 10. 11.)

In this manner the growth of grammatical forms

can be made as clear as the sequence of any historical events in the history of the world, nay I should say, far clearer, far more intelligible; and I should think, that even the first learning of these grammatical forms might be somewhat seasoned and rendered more really instructive by allowing the pupil, from time to time, a glimpse into the past history of the Greek and Latin languages. In English what we call the infinitive is clearly a dative; *to speak* shows by its very preposition what it was intended for. How easy, then, to explain to a beginner that if he translates 'able to speak' by *ικανὸς εἰπεῖν*, the Greek infinitive is really the same as the English, and that *εἰπεῖν* stands for *εἶπεν*, and this for *εἶπεναι*, which to a certain extent answers the same purpose as the Greek *ἔπει*, the dative of *ἔπος*, and therefore originally *ἔπεισι*.

And remark, these very datives or locatives of nouns formed by the suffix *os* in Greek, as in Sanskrit, *es* in Latin, though they yield no infinitives in Greek, yield the most common form of the infinitive in Latin, and may be traced also in Sanskrit. As from *genus* we form a dative *generi*, and a locative *genere*, which stands for *genese*, so from *gigno* an abstract noun would be formed, *gignus*, and from it a dative, *gigneri*, and a locative, *gignere*. I do not say that the intermediate form *gignus* existed in the spoken Latin, I only maintain that such a form would be analogous to *gen-us*, *op-us*, *foed-us*, and that in Sanskrit the process is exactly the same. We form in Sanskrit a substantive *kákshas*, sight, *kákshus*, eye; and we find the dative of *kákshas*, i. e. *kákshase*, and we should call an infinitive, in or out of Latin, we also find another

so-called infinitive, *gīváse*, in order to live, although there is no noun, *gīvas*, life; we find *áyase*, to go, although there is no noun *áyas*, going. This Sanskrit *áyase* explains the Latin *i-re*, as *i-vane explained the Greek *ίέναι*. The intention of the old framers of language is throughout the same. They differ only in the means which they use, one might almost say, at random; and the differences between Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin are often due to the simple fact, that out of many possible forms that might be used and had been used before the Aryan languages became traditional, settled, and national, one family or clan or nation fancied one, another another. While this one became fixed and classical, all others became useless, remained perhaps here and there in proverbial sayings or in sacred songs, but were given up at last completely, as strange, obsolete, and unintelligible.

And even then, after a grammatical form has become obsolete and unintelligible, it by no means loses its power of further development. Though the Greeks did not themselves, we still imagine that we feel the infinitive as the case of an abstract noun in many constructions. Thus *χαλεπὸν εὔρειν*, difficult to find, was originally, difficult in the finding, or, difficult for the act of finding; *δεινὸς λέγειν*, meant literally, powerful in speaking; *ἄρχομαι λέγειν*, I begin to speak, i. e. I direct myself to the act of speaking; *κέλευί με μυθήσασθαι*, you bid me to speak, i. e. you order me towards the act of speaking; *φοβοῦμαι διελέγχειν σε*, I am afraid of refuting you, i. e. I fear in the act, or, I shrink when brought towards the act, of refuting you; *σὸν ἔργον λέγειν*, your business is in or towards speaking, you have to

speak; *πᾶσιν ἀδεῖν χαλεπὸν*, there is something difficult in pleasing everybody, or, in our endeavour after pleasing everybody. In all these cases the so-called infinitive can, with an effort, still be felt as a noun in an oblique case. But in course of time expressions such as *χαλεπὸν ἀδεῖν*, it is difficult to please, *ἀγαθὸν λέγειν*, it is good to speak, left in the mind of the speaker the impression that *ἀδεῖν* and *λέγειν* were subjects in the nominative, the pleasing is difficult, the speaking is good; and by adding the article, these oblique cases of verbal nouns actually became nominatives, *τὸ ἀδεῖν*, the act of pleasing, *τὸ λέγειν*, the act of speaking, capable of being used in every case, e. g. *ἐπιθυμία τοῦ πιεῖν*, *desiderium bibendi*. This regeneration, this process of creating new words out of decaying and decayed materials, may seem at first sight incredible, yet it is as certain as the change with which we began our discussion of the infinitive, I mean the change of the conception of a *ῥῆμα γενικώτατον*, a *verbum generalissimum*, into a *generalissimus* or *infinitivus*. Nor is the process without analogy in modern languages. The French *l'avenir*, the future (*Zukunft*), is hardly the Latin *advenire*. That would mean the arriving, the coming, but not what is to come. I believe *l'avenir* was (*quod est ad venire*, what is to come, contracted to *l'avenir*. In Low-German *to come* assumes even the character of an adjective, and we can speak not only of a year to come, but of a *to-come* year, *de tokum Jahr*¹.

This process of grammatical vivisection may be painful in the eyes of classical scholars, yet even they must see how

quality of knowledge imparted by our Greek and Latin grammars, and by comparative grammar. I do not deny that at first children must learn Greek and Latin mechanically, but it is not right that they should remain satisfied with mere paradigms and technical terms, without knowing the real nature and origin of so-called infinitives, gerunds, and supines. Every child will learn the construction of the accusative with the infinitive, but I well remember my utter amazement when I first was taught to say *Mirror te ad me nihil scribere*, I am surprised that you write nothing to me. How easy would it have been to explain that *scribere* was originally a locative of a verbal noun, and that there was nothing strange or irrational in saying, I wonder at thee in the act of not writing to me. This first step once taken, everything else followed by slow degrees, but even in phrases like *Spero te mihi ignoscere*, we can still see the first steps which led from 'I hope or I desire thee, toward the act of forgiving me,' to 'I trust thee to forgive me.' It is the object of the comparative philologist to gather up the scattered fragments, to arrange them and fit them, and thus to show that language is something rational, human, intelligible, the very embodiment of the mind of man in its growth from the lowest to the highest stage, and with capabilities for further growth far beyond what we can at present conceive or imagine.

As to writing Greek and Latin verse, I do not maintain that a knowledge of Comparative Philology will help us much. It is simply an art that must be acquired by practice, if in these our busy days it is still worth acquiring. A good memory will no doubt enable us to say at a moment's notice whether

certain syllables are long or short. But is it not far more interesting to know why certain vowels are long and others short, than to be able to string longs and shorts together in imitation of Greek and Latin hexameters? Now in many cases the reason why certain vowels are long or short, can be supplied by Comparative Philology alone. We may learn from Latin grammar that the *i* in *fidus*, trusty, and in *fido*, I trust, is long, and that it is short in *fides*, trust, and *perfidus*, faithless; but as all these words are derived from the same root, why should some have a long, others a short vowel? A comparison of Sanskrit at once supplies an answer. Certain derivatives, not only in Latin but in Sanskrit and Greek too, require what is called Guna of the radical vowel. In *fidus* and *fido*, the *i* is really a diphthong, and represents a more ancient *ei* or *oi*, the former appearing in Greek *πειθα*, the latter in Latin *foedus*, a truce.

We learn from our Greek grammars that the second syllable in *δείκνυμι* is long, but in the plural, *δείκνυμεν*, it is short. This cannot be by accident, and we may observe the same change in *δάμνημι* and *δάμναμεν*, and similar words. Nothing, however, but a study of Sanskrit would have enabled us to discover the reason of this change, which is really the accent in its most primitive working, such as we can watch it in the Vedic Sanskrit, where it produces exactly the same change, only with far greater regularity and perspicuity.

Why, again, do we say
ἴσμεν, we know? Why
μέμνηται, but *μέμνηται*?
minds of the Greeks

once at work, and left its traces in these grammatical convulsions : but in Sanskrit we still see, as it were, a lower stratum of grammatical growth, and we can there watch the regular working of laws which required these changes, and which have left their impress not only on Greek, but on Sanskrit, and even on German. The same necessity which made Homer say *οἶδα* and *ἴδμεν*, and the Vedic poet *véda* and *vidmás*, still holds good, and makes us say in German, *Ich weiss*, I know, but *wir wissen*, we know.

All this becomes clear and intelligible by the light of Comparative Grammar ; anomalies vanish, exceptions prove the rule, and we perceive more plainly every day how in language, as elsewhere, the conflict between the freedom claimed by each individual and the resistance offered by the community at large, establishes in the end a reign of law most wonderful, yet perfectly rational and intelligible.

These are but a few small specimens to show you what Comparative Philology can do for Greek and Latin ; and how it has given a new life to the study of languages by discovering, so to say, and laying bare, the traces of that old life, that prehistoric growth, which made language what we find it in the oldest literary monuments, and which still supplies the vigour of the language of our own time. A knowledge of the mere facts of language is interesting enough ; nay, if you ask yourself what grammars really are—those very Greek and Latin grammars which we hated so much in our schoolboy days—you will find that they are storehouses, richer than the richest museums of plants or minerals, more carefully classified and labelled than the productions

of any of the great kingdoms of nature. Every form of declension and conjugation, every genitive and every so-called infinitive and gerund, is the result of a long succession of efforts, and of intelligent efforts. There is nothing accidental, nothing irregular, nothing without a purpose and meaning in any part of Greek or Latin grammar. No one who has once discovered this hidden life of language, no one who has once found out that what seemed to be merely anomalous and whimsical in language is but, as it were, a petrification of thought, of deep, curious, poetical, philosophical thought, will ever rest again till he has descended as far as he can descend into the ancient shafts of human speech, exploring level after level, and testing every successive foundation which supports the surface of each spoken language.

One of the great charms of this new science is that there is still so much to explore, so much to sift, so much to arrange. I shall not therefore be satisfied with merely lecturing on Comparative Philology, but I hope I shall be able to form a small philological society of more advanced students, who will come and work with me, and bring the results of their special studies as materials for the advancement of our science. If there are scholars here who have devoted their attention to the study of Homer, Comparative Philology will place in their hands a light with which to explore the dark crypt on which the temple of the Homeric language was erected. If there are scholars who know their Plautus or Lucretius, Comparative Philology will give them a key to grammatical forms in ancient Latin, which, even if supported by an Ambrosian palimpsest, might still seem hazardous and problematical. As there is

no field and no garden that has not its geological antecedents, there is no language and no dialect which does not receive light from a study of Comparative Philology, and reflect light in return on more general problems. As in geology again, so in Comparative Philology, no progress is possible without a division of labour, and without the most general co-operation. The most experienced geologist may learn something from a miner or from a ploughboy; the most experienced comparative philologist may learn something from a schoolboy or from a child.

I have thus explained to you what, if you will but assist me, I should like to do as the first occupant of this new chair of Comparative Philology. In my public lectures I must be satisfied with teaching. In my private lectures, I hope I shall not only teach, but also learn, and receive back as much as I have to give.

NOTES.

NOTE A.

ON THE FINAL DENTAL OF THE PRONOMINAL STEM *tad*.

ONE or two instances may here suffice to show how compassless even the best comparative philologists find themselves if, without a knowledge of Sanskrit, they venture into the deep waters of grammatical research. What can be clearer at first sight than that the demonstrative pronoun *that* has the same base in Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and German? Bopp places together (§ 349) the following forms of the neuter :

Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	Gothic
tat	<i>tad</i>	<i>τό</i>	<i>is-tud</i>	<i>thata</i>

and he draws from them the following conclusions :

In the Sanskrit *ta-t* we have the same pronominal element repeated twice, and this repeated pronominal element became afterwards the general sign of the neuter after other pronominal stems, such as *ya-t*, *ka-t*.

Such a conclusion seems extremely probable, particularly when we compare the masculine form *sa-s*, the old nom. sing., instead of the ordinary *sa*. But the first question that has to be answered is, whether this is phonetically possible, and how.

If *tat* in Sanskrit is *ta+ta*, then we expect in Gothic *tha+tha*, instead of which we find *tha+ta*. We expect in Latin *is-tut*, not *istud*, *illut*, not *illud*, *it*, not *id* for Latin represents final *t* in Sanskrit by *t*, not by *d*. The old Latin ablative in *d* is not a case in point, as we shall see afterwards.

Both Gothic *tha-ta*, therefore, and Latin *istud*, postulate a Sanskrit *tad*, while Zend and Greek at all events do not

conflict with an original final media. Everything therefore depends on what was the original form in Sanskrit; and here no Sanskrit scholar would hesitate for one moment between *tat* and *tad*. Whatever the origin of *tat* may have been, it is quite certain that Sanskrit knows only of *tad*, never of *tat*. There are various ways of testing the original surd or sonant nature of final consonants in Sanskrit. One of the safest seems to me to see how those consonants behave before *tad-*dhita or secondary suffixes, which require no change in the final consonant of the base. Thus before the suffix *īya* (called *ka* by Pāṇini) the final consonant is never changed, yet we find *tad-īya*, like *mad-īya*, *tvad-īya*, *asmad-īya*, *yushmad-īya*, etc. Again, before the possessive suffix *vat* final consonants of nominal bases suffer no change. This is distinctly stated by Pāṇini I. 4, 19. Hence we have *vidyut-vân*, from *vidyut*, lightning, from the root *dyut*; we have *uda-ṣvit-vân*, from *uda-ṣvi-t*. In both cases the original final tenuis remains unchanged. Hence, if we find *tad-vân*, *kad-vân*, our test shows us again that the final consonant in *tad* and *kad* is a media, and that the *d* of these words is not a modification of *t*.

Taking our stand therefore on the undoubted facts of Sanskrit grammar, we cannot recognise *t* as the termination of the neuter of pronominal stems, but only *d*¹; nor can we accept Bopp's explanation of *tad* as a compound of *ta+t*, unless the transition of an original *t* into a Sanskrit and Latin *d* can be established by sufficient evidence. Even then that transition would have to be referred to a time before Sanskrit and Gothic became distinct languages, for the Gothic *tha-ta* is the counterpart of the Sanskrit *tad*, and not of *tat*.

Bopp endeavours to defend the transition of an original *t* into Latin *d* by the termination of the old ablatives, such as *gnaiwod*, etc. But here again it is certain that the

¹ Dr. Kielhorn in his grammar gives correctly *tad* as base, *tat* as nom. and acc. sing., because in the latter case phonetic rules either require or allow the change of *d* into *t*. Boehtlingk, Roth, and Benfey also give the right forms. Curtius, like Bopp, gives *yat*, Schleicher *tat*, which he supposes to have been changed at an early time into *tad* (§ 203).

original termination was *d*, and not *t*. It is so in Latin, it may be so in Zend, where, as Justi points out, the *d* of the ablative is probably a media¹. In Sanskrit it is certainly a media in such forms as *mad*, *tvad*, *asmad*, which Bopp considers as old ablatives, and which in *madīya*, etc. show the original media. In other cases it is impossible in Sanskrit to test the nature of the final dental in the ablative, because *d* is always determined by its position in a sentence. But under no circumstances could we appeal to Latin *gnaivod* in order to prove a transition of an original *t* into *d*; while on the contrary all the evidence at present is in favour of a media, as the final letter both of the ablative and of the neuter bases of pronouns, such as *tad* and *yad*.

These may seem *minutiae*, but the whole of Comparative Grammar is made up of *minutiae*, which, nevertheless, if carefully joined together and cemented, lead to conclusions of unexpected magnitude.

NOTE B.

DID FEMININE BASES IN *d* TAKE *s* IN THE NOMINATIVE SINGULAR?

I ADD one other instance to show how a more accurate knowledge of Sanskrit would have guarded comparative philologists against rash conclusions. With regard to the nominative singular of feminine bases ending in derivative *d*, the question arose, whether words like *bona* in Latin, *dyabé* in Greek, *sivá* in Sanskrit, had originally an *s* as the sign of the nom. sing., which was afterwards lost, or whether they never took that termination. Bopp (§ 136), Schleicher (§ 246), and others seem to believe in the loss of the *s*, chiefly, it would seem, because the *s* is added to feminine bases ending in *i* and *á*. Benfey² takes the opposite view, viz. that feminines

¹ 'Weich ist es (*f* oder *d*) wohl im abl. sing. gefaßt (gafnādha). Justi, 'Handbuch der Zendsprache,' p. 362.

² 'Orient und Occident,' vol. i. p. 298.

in *d* never took the *s* of the nom. sing. But he adds one exception, the Vedic *gnâ-s*. This remark has caused much mischief. Without verifying Benfey's statements, Schleicher (l. c.) quotes the same exception, though cautiously referring to the Sanskrit dictionary of Boehtlingk and Roth as his authority. Later writers, for instance Merguet¹, leave out all restrictions, simply appealing to this Vedic form *gnâ-s* in support of the theory that feminine bases in *d* too took originally *s* as sign of the nom. sing. and afterwards dropped it. Even so careful a scholar as Büchler² speaks of the *s* as lost.

There is, first of all, no reason whatever why the *s* should have been added³; secondly, there is none why it should have been lost. But, whatever opinion we may hold in this respect, the appeal to the Vedic *gnâ-s* cannot certainly be sustained, and the word should at all events be obelized till there is better evidence for it than we possess at present⁴.

¹ 'Entwicklung der Lateinischen Formenlehre,' 1870, p. 20.

² 'Grundriss der Lateinischen Declination,' 1866, p. 9.

³ See Benfey, l. c. p. 298.

⁴ In the dictionary of Boehtlingk and Roth we read s. v. *gnâ*, 'scarce in the singular; nom. sing. seems to be *gnâs*, according to the passage Rv. IV. 9, 4, and Naigh. I. 11, in one text, while the other text gives the form *gnâ*.' Against this, it should be remarked, that it would make no difference whether the MSS. of the Naighantuka give *gnâ* or *gnâs*. *Gnâ* would be the nom. sing., *gnâs* would be the form in which the word occurs most frequently in the Veda. It is easy to see that the collector of the Naighantuka allowed himself to quote words according to either principle.

Devarâga in his commentary on *gnâ* explains it: 'Gamer dhâtor dhâprîvasyagyatibhyo nañ (U. S. III. 6) iti bahulakân napratyayo bhavati tilopas ka; tap. Gatyarthâ buddhyarthâñ; gñananti karmeti gnâñ. Yadvâ gakkhati yagneshu; abhi yagnâm grinhi no gnâvañ (patnivañ) Rv. I. 15, 3. Khandâmsi vai gnâñ iti brâhmanam iti Mâdhavañ. Asmñ id u gnâñ kîd (Rv. I. 61, 8) ity api; gâyatryâdyâ devapatnya iti sa eva. Tasmâk khandasâm gâyatryâdnâm vâgrûpatvâd gnâvypadesañ.

In his remarks on Nigh. III. 29, it is quite clear that Devarâga takes *gnâñ* as a nom. plur., not as a nom. sing. He says: Menâ gnâñ iti strînâm; ubhâv api sabdau vyâkhyâtâu vâñnâmasu. Mânayanti hi tâñ patîvasuramâtulâdayañ, ptgyâ bhûshayitavyâs keti smaranât. Gakkhanty enâñ patayo patyârthinañ. The passage quoted in the Nirukta III. 29, *gnâs tvâkrîntann apaso 'tanvata vayitryo' vayan*, is taken from the Tândya-brâhmana I. 8, 9: 'O dress! the women cut thee out, the workers stretched thee out, the weavers wove thee.'

Thus every support which the Nighantu or the Nirukta was supposed to give to the form *gnâñ* as a nom. sing. vanishes. And if it is said s. v. *gnâ-*

The passage which is always quoted from the Rv. IV. 9, 4. as showing gnâ-s to be a nom. sing. in *s*, is extremely difficult, and, as it stands at present, most likely corrupt :

Utâ gnâñ agnîñ adhvaré utó grîhá-patîñ dâme, utâ brahmâ ní sídati.

This could only be translated :

‘Agni sits down at the sacrifice as a woman, as lord in the house, and as priest.’

This, however, is impossible, for Agni, the god of fire, is never represented in the Veda as a woman. If we took gnâñ as a genitive, we might translate, ‘Agni sits down in the sacrifice of the lady of the house,’ but this again would be utterly incongruous in Vedic poetry.

I believe the verse is corrupt, and I should propose to read :

Utâ agnâv agnîñ adhvaré.

‘Agni sits down at the sacrifice in the fire, as lord in the house, and as a priest.’

The ideas that Agni, the god of fire, sits down in the fire, or that Agni is lighted by Agni, or that Agni is both the sacrificial fire and the priest, are familiar to every reader of the Veda. Thus we read I. 12, 6, agnínâ agnîñ sám idhyate, Agni is lighted by Agni; X. 88, 1, we find Agni invoked as â-hutam agnâv, etc.

But whether this emendation be right or wrong, it must be quite clear how unsafe it would be to support the theory that feminine bases in *â* ended originally in *s* by this solitary passage from the Veda.

spati, that in this compound gnâñ might be taken as a nom. sing., and that the Pada-text separates gnâñ-patîñ, it has been overlooked that the separation in Rv. II. 38, 10, is a mere misprint. See Prâtisâkhya, 738. The compound gnâspatîñ has been correctly explained as standing for gnâyâspatîñ, and the same old genitive is also found in gâspatîñ and gâspatyam. See also Vâgasan. Prâtisâkhya IV. 39. It is important to observe that the metre requires us to pronounce gnâspati either as gnââspatîñ or as ganâspatîñ.

There is, as far as I know, no passage where gnâñ in the Veda can be taken as a nom. sing., and it should be observed that gnâñ as nom. plur. is always dissyllabic in the Rv. excepting the tenth Mandala. In V. 43, 6) is how
In V. 43, 13, we may

NOTE C.

GRAMMATICAL FORMS IN SANSKRIT CORRESPONDING TO
SO-CALLED INFINITIVES IN GREEK AND LATIN.

THERE is no trace of such a term as infinitive in Sanskrit, and yet exactly the same forms, or, at all events, forms strictly analogous to those which we call infinitives in Greek and Latin, exist in Sanskrit. Here, however, they are treated in the simplest way.

Sanskrit grammarians when giving the rules according to which nouns and adjectives are derived from verbal roots by means of primary suffixes (*Krit*), mention among the rest the suffixes *tum* (*Pân.* III. 3, 10), *se*, *ase*, *adhvai*, *tavai*, *tave*, *shyai*, *e*, *am*, *tos*, *as* (IV. 4, 9-17), defining their meaning in general by that of *tum* (III. 3, 10). This *tum* is said to express immediate futurity in a verb, if governed by another word conveying an intention. An example will make this clearer. In order to say he goes to cook, where 'he goes' expresses an intention, and 'to cook' is the object of that intention which is to follow immediately, we place the suffix *tum* at the end of the verb *pak*, to cook, and say in Sanskrit *vragati pak-tum*. We might also say *pākako vragati*, he goes as one who means to cook, or *vragati pākāya*, he goes to the act of cooking, placing the abstract noun in the dative; and all these constructions are mentioned together by Sanskrit grammarians. The same takes place after verbs which express a wish (III. 3, 158); e. g. *ikkhati paktum*, he wishes to cook, and after such words as *kāla*, time, *samaya*, opportunity, *velā*, right moment (III. 3, 167); e. g. *kālāḥ paktum*, it is time to cook, etc. Other verbs which govern forms in *tum* are (III. 4, 65) *sak*, to be able; *dhrish*, to dare; *gñā*, to know; *glai*, to be weary; *ghat*, to endeavour; *ārabh*, to begin; *labh*, to get; *prakram*, to begin; *utsah*, to endure; *arh*, to deserve; and words like *asti*, there is; e. g. *asti bhoktum*, it is (possible) to eat; *not*, it is (necessary) to eat. The forms in *tum* are also enjoined (III. 4, 66) after words like *alam*, expressing fitness; e. g. *pariyāpto bhoktum*, *alam bhoktum*, *kusalo bhoktum*, fit or able to eat.

Here we have everything that is given by Sanskrit grammarians in place of what we should call the Chapter on the Infinitive in Greek and Latin. The only thing that has to be added is the provision, understood in Pāṇini's grammar, that such suffixes as *tum*, etc. are indeclinable.

And why are they indeclinable? For the simple reason that they are themselves case terminations. Whether Pāṇini was aware of this, we cannot tell with certainty. From some of his remarks it would seem to be so. When treating of the cases, Pāṇini (I. 4, 32) explains what we should call the dative by *Sampradâna*. *Sampradâna* means giving (*δοτική*), but Pāṇini uses it here as a technical term, and assigns to it the definite meaning of 'he whom one looks to by any act' (not only the act of giving, as the commentators imply). It is therefore what we should call 'the remote object.' Ex. *Brâhmanâyâ dhanam dadâti*, he gives wealth to the Brâhman. This is afterwards extended by several rules, explaining that the *Sampradâna* comes in after verbs expressive of pleasure caused to somebody (I. 4, 33); after *slâgh*, to applaud, *hnu*, to dissemble, to conceal, *sthâ*¹, to reveal, *sap*, to curse (I. 4, 34); after *dhâray*, to owe (I. 4, 35); *sprîh*, to long for (I. 4, 36); after verbs expressive of anger, ill-will, envy, detraction (I. 4, 37); after *râdh* and *îksh*, if they mean to consider concerning a person (I. 4, 39); after *pratisru* and *âsru*, in the sense of according (I. 4, 40); *anugri* and *pratigri*, in the sense of acting in accordance with (I. 4, 41); after *parikrî*, to buy, to hire (I. 4, 44). Other cases of *Sampradâna* are mentioned after such words as *namaḥ*, salutation to, *svasti*, hail, *svâhâ*, salutation to the gods, *svadhâ*, salutation to the manes, *alam*, sufficient for, *vashat*, offered to, a sacrificial invocation, etc. (II. 3, 16); and in such expressions as *na tvâm trinâya manye*, I do not value thee a straw (II. 3, 17); *grâmâyâ gakkhati*, he goes to the village (II. 2, 12): where, however, the accusative, too, is equally admissible. Some other cases of *Sampradâna*

¹ *Sthâ*, *svâbhiprâyabodhanânukûlasthiti*, to reveal by gestures, a meaning not found in our dictionaries. Wilson renders it wrongly by to which would govern the instrumental. *Sap*, *curse*. — order to convey some meaning or intention to

are mentioned in the Vārttikas ; e. g. I. 4, 44, muktaye harim bhagati, for the sake of liberation he worships Hari ; vātāya kapilā vidyut, a dark red lightning indicates wind. Very interesting, too, is the construction with the prohibitive mā ; e. g. mā kâpalāya, lit. not for unsteadiness, i. e. do not act unsteadily¹.

In all these cases we easily recognise the identity of Sampradâna with the dative in Greek and Latin. If therefore we see that Pāṇini in some of his rules states that Sampradâna takes the place of tum, the so-called infinitive, we can hardly doubt that he had perceived the similarity in the functions of what we call dative and infinitive. Thus he says that instead of phalāny āhartum yāti, he goes to take the fruits, we may use the dative and say phalebhyo yāti, he goes for the fruits ; instead of yash/tum yāti, he goes to sacrifice, yāgāya yāti, he goes to the act of sacrificing (II. 3, 14-15).

But whether Pāṇini recognised this fact or not, certain it is that we have only to look at the forms which in the Veda take the place of tum, in order to convince ourselves that most of them are datives of verbal nouns. As far as Sanskrit grammar is concerned, we may safely cancel the name of infinitive altogether, and speak instead boldly of datives and other cases of verbal nouns. Whether these verbal nouns admit of the dative case only, and whether some of those datival terminations have become obsolete, are questions which do not concern the grammarian, and nothing would be more unphilosophical than to make such points the specific characteristic of a new grammatical category, the infinitive. The very idea that every noun must possess a complete set of cases, is contrary to all the lessons of the history of language ; and though the fact that some of these forms belong to an antiquated phase of language has undoubtedly contributed towards their being used more readily for certain syntactical purposes, the fact remains that in their origin and their original intention they were datives and nothing else. Neither could the fact that these datives of verbal nouns may govern the same case

¹ Wilson, 'Sanskrit Grammar,' p. 390.

which is governed by the verb, be used as a specific mark, because it is well known that, in Sanskrit more particularly, many nouns retain the power of governing the accusative. We shall now examine some of these so-called infinitives in Sanskrit.

Datives in *e*.

The simplest dative is that in *e*, after verbal bases ending in consonants or *á*, e. g. *drisé*, for the sake of seeing, to see; *vid-é*, to know, *paribhvêê*¹, to overcome; *śradhdhé kám*, to believe.

Datives in *ai*.

After some verbs ending in *á*, the dative is irregularly (Grammar, §§ 239, 240) formed in *ai*; Rv. VII. 19, 7, *parádái*, to surrender. III. 60, 4, *pratimái*, to compare, and the important form *vayodhái*, of which more by and bye.

Accusatives in *am*. Genitives and Ablatives in *as*.

Locatives in *i*.

By the side of these datives we have analogous accusatives in *am*, genitives and ablatives in *as*, locatives in *i*.

Accusative: I. 73, 10, *śakéma yámam*, May we be able to get. I. 94, 3, *śakéma tvâ samídhan*, May we be able to light thee. This may be the Oscan and Umbrian infinitive in *um*, *om* (*u*, *o*), if we take *yama* as a base in *a*, and *m* as the sign of the accusative. In Sanskrit it is impossible to determine this question, for that bases in *a* also are used for similar purposes is clearly seen in datives like *dábhâya*; e. g. Rv. V. 44, 2, *ná dábhâya*, not to conquer; VIII. 96, 1, *nṛbhyáḥ tárâya síndhavaḥ su-pârâḥ*, the rivers easy to cross for men. Whether the Vedic imperatives in *âya* (*śâyaḥ*) admit of a similar explanation is doubtful on account of the accent.

Genitive: *vilikhaḥ*, in *īśvaro vilikhaḥ*, cognisant of drawing; and possibly X. 108, 2, *atiskádaḥ bhíyásá*, from fear of crossing.

¹ In verbs compounded with *śam* the *ś* is dropped, as in the present
e. g. *samidhe*, *atikráma*.

Ablative: Rv. VIII. 1, 12, *purā ātrīdāh*, before striking.

Locative: Rv. V. 52, 12, *driśi tvishé*, to shine in glancing (?).

Datives in *s-e*.

The same termination of the dative is added to verbal bases which have taken the increment of the aorist, the *s*. Thus from *gi*, to conquer, we have *gi-sh*, and *ge-sh*, and from both datival forms with infinitival function. I. 111, 4, *té naḥ hinvantu sātāye dhiyé gishé*, May they bring us to wealth, wisdom, victory!

I. 100, 11, *apām tokāsyā tānāyasyā geshé*, May Indra help us for getting water, children, and descendants. Cf. VI. 44, 18.

Or, after bases ending in consonants, *upapraکشé*; V. 47, 6, *upa-prakشé vrīshanaḥ---vadhvāh yanti ākkha*, the men go towards their wives to embrace.

These forms correspond to Greek infinitives like *λῦσαι* and *τύψαι*, possibly to Latin infinitives like *ferre*, for *fer-se*, *velle* for *vel-se*, and *voluis-se*; for *se*, following immediately on a consonant, can never represent the Sanskrit *ase*. With regard to infinitives like *fac-se*, *dic-se*, I do not venture to decide whether they are primitive forms, or contracted, though *fac-se* could hardly be called a contraction of *fecisse*. The 2nd pers. sing. of the imperative of the 1st aorist middle, *λῦσαι*, is identical with the infinitive in form, and the transition of meaning from the infinitive to the imperative is well known in Greek and other languages. (Παῖδα δ' ἐμοὶ λῦσαι τε φῶλην τὰ τ' ἄποινα δέχεσθαι, Deliver up my dear child and accept the ransom). Several of these aoristic forms are sometimes very perplexing in Sanskrit. If we find, for instance, *stushé*, we cannot always tell whether it is the infinitive (*λῦσαι*); or the 1st pers. sing. of the aor. *Ātmanep.* in the subjunctive (for *stushai*), Let me praise, (*λύσωμαι*); or lastly, the 2nd pers. sing. *Ātmanep.* in the indicative (*λύη*). If *stushe* has no accent, we know, of course, that it cannot be the infinitive, as in X. 93, 9; but when it has the accent on the last, it may, in certain constructions, be either infinitive, or 1st pers. sing. aor. *Ātm. subj.* Here we want far more

careful grammatical studies on the language of the Veda, before we can venture to translate with certainty. In places, for instance, where as in I. 122, 7 we have a nominative with *stushé*, it is clear that it must be taken as an infinitive, *stushé sã vãm---**râtík*, your gift, Varuna and Mitra, is to be praised; but in other places, such as VIII. 5, 4, the choice is difficult. In VIII. 65, 5 *índra grínishé u stushé*, I should propose to translate, Indra, thou longest for praising, thou desirest to be praised, cf. VIII. 71, 15; while in II. 20, 4, *tám u stushe índram tám grínishe*, I translate, Let me praise Indra, let me laud him, admitting here, the irregular retention of *Vikarana* in the aorist, which can be defended by analogous forms such as *grí-nî-sh-áni*, *strí-nî-sh-áni*, of which more hereafter. However, all these translations, as every real scholar knows, are, and can be, tentative only. Nothing but a complete Vedic grammar, such as we may soon expect from Professor Benfey, will give us safe ground to stand on.

Datives in *áyai*.

Feminine bases in *d* form their dative in *áyai*, and thus we find *karáyai* used in the Veda, VII. 77, 1, as what we should call an infinitive, in the sense of to go. No other cases of *kará* have as yet been met with. A similar form is *garáyai*, to praise, I. 38, 13.

Datives in *aye*.

We have next to consider bases in *i*, forming their dative in *áye*. Here, whenever we are acquainted with the word in other cases, we naturally take *aye* as a simple dative of a noun. Thus in I. 31, 8, we should translate *sanáye dhánânâm*, for the acquisition of treasures, because we are accustomed to other cases, such as I. 100, 13, *sanáyas*, acquisitions, V. 27, 3 *saním*, wealth. But if we find V. 80, 5 *drisáye nañ asthât*, she stood to be seen by us, lit. for our seeing, then we prefer, though wrongly, to look upon such datives as infinitives, simply because we have not met with other cases of *drisi-s*.

Datives in *taye*.

What applies to datives of nouns in *i*, applies with still greater force to datives of nouns in *ti*. There is no reason why in IX. 96, 4 we should call *áhataye*, to be without hurt, an infinitive, simply because no other case of *áhati-s* occurs in the Rig-Veda; while *ágítaye*, not to fail, in the same line, is called a dative of *ágíti-s*, because it occurs again in the accusative *ágíti-m*.

Datives in *tyai*.

In *ityái* to go, I. 113, 6; 124, 1, we have a dative of *iti-s*, the act of going, of which the instrumental *ityâ* occurs likewise, I. 167, 5. This *tyâ*, shortened to *tya*, became afterwards the regular termination of the gerund of compound verbs in *tya*, (Grammar § 446), while *ya* (§ 445) points to an original *yâ* or *yai*.

Datives in *as-e*.

Next follow datives from bases in *as*, partly with accent on the first syllable, like neuter nouns in *as*, partly with the accent on *as*; partly with Guna, partly without. With regard to them it becomes still clearer how impossible it would be to distinguish between datives of abstract nouns, and other grammatical forms, to be called infinitives. Thus Rv. I. 7, 3 we read *dîrghãya kákshase*, Indra made the sun rise for long glancing, i. e. that it might glance far and wide. It is quite true that no other cases of *kákshas*, seeing, occur, on which ground modern grammarians would probably class it as an infinitive; but the qualifying dative *dîrghãya*, clearly shows that the poet felt *kákshase* as the dative of a noun, and did not trouble himself, whether that noun was defective in other cases or not.

These datives of verbal nouns in *as*, correspond exactly to Latin infinitives in *ere*, like *vivere*, (*gîvãse*), and explain likewise infinitives in *ãre*, *ẽre*, and *ire*, forms which cannot be separated. It has been thought that the nearest approach to an infinitive is to be found in such forms as *gîvãse*, *bhiyãse*, to fear, (V. 29, 4), because in such cases the ordinary

nominal form would be bháyas-e. There is, however, the instrumental bhíyásâ, X. 108, 2.

Datives in *mane*.

Next follow datives from nouns in man, van, and an. The suffix man is very common in Sanskrit, for forming verbal nouns, such as kar-man, doing, deed, from kar. Van is almost restricted to forming *nomina agentis*, such as druh-van, hating; but we find also substantives like pat-van, still used in the sense of flying. An also is generally used like van, but we can see traces of its employment to form *nomina actionis* in Greek ἀγών, Lat. *turbo*, etc.

Datives of nouns in man, used with infinitival functions, are very common in the Veda; e. g. I. 164, 6, prikkhâmi vidmâne, I ask to know; VIII. 93, 8, dâmane kritâh, made to give. We find also the instrumental case vidmânâ, e. g. VI. 14, 5 vidmânâ urushyâti, he protects by his knowledge. These correspond to Homeric infinitives, like ἰδμεναι, δόμεναι, etc., old datives, and not locatives, as Schleicher and Curtius supposed; while forms like δόμεν are to be explained either as abbreviated, or as obsolete accusatives.

Datives in *vane*.

Of datives in vâne I only know dâvâne, a most valuable grammatical relic, by which Professor Benfey was enabled to explain the Greek δοῦναι, i. e. δοφέναι¹.

Datives in *ane*.

Of datives in âne I pointed out (l. c.) dhûrv-ane and vibhv-âne, VI. 61, 13, taking the latter as synonymous with vibhvê, and translating, Sarasvatî, the great, made to conquer, like a chariot. Professor Roth, s. v. vibhvân, takes the dative for an instrumental, and translates 'made by an artificer.' It is, however, not the chariot that is spoken of, but Sarasvatî, and of her it could hardly be said that she was made either by or for an artificer.

¹ See M. M.'s 'Translation of the Rig-Veda,' I. p. 34.

Locatives in *sani*.

As we saw before that aoristic bases in *s* take the datival *e*, so that we had *prák-sh-e* by the side of *prík-e*, we shall have to consider here aoristic bases in *s*, taking the suffix *an*, not however with the termination of the dative, but with that of the locative *i*. Thus we read X. 126, 3, *náyishtâh u nañ nesháni párshishtâh u nañ parsháni áti dvíshañ*, they who are the best leaders to lead us, the best helpers to help us to overcome our enemies, lit. in leading us, in helping us. In VIII. 12, 19, *grinîsháni*, i. e. *gri-nî-shán-i* stands parallel with *turv-án-e*, thus showing how both cases can answer nearly the same purpose. If these forms existed in Greek, they would, after consonantal bases, be identical with the infinitives of the future.

Cases of verbal nouns in *tu*.

We next come to a large number of datives, ablatives, or genitives, and accusatives of verbal nouns in *tu*. This *tu* occurs in Sanskrit in abstract nouns such as *gátú*, going, way, etc., in Latin in *adven-tus*, etc. As these forms have been often treated, and as some of them occur frequently in later Sanskrit also, it will suffice to give one example of each :

Dative in *tave*: *gántave*, to go, I. 46, 7.

Old form in *ai*: *gántavái*, X. 95, 14.

Genitive in *toñ*: *dátoñ*, governed by *îse*, VII. 4, 6.

Ablative in *toñ*: *gántoñ*, I. 89, 9.

Accusative in *tum*: *gántum*. This is the supine in *tum* in Latin.

Cases of verbal nouns in *tva*.

Next follow cases of verbal nouns in *tvá*, the accent being on the suffix.

Datives in *tváya*: *hatváya*, X. 84, 2.

Instrumentals in *tvá*: *hatvá*, I. 100, 18.

Older form in *tví*: *hatví*, II. 17, 6; *gatví*, IV. 41. 5.

Datives in *dhai* and *dhyai*.

I have left to the end datives in *dhai* and *dhyai*, which properly belong to the datives in *ai*, treated before, but differ

from them as being datives of compound nouns. As from *máyañ*, delight, we have *mayaskará*, delight-making, *mayobhú*, delight-causing, and constructions like *máyo dádhe*, so from *váyas*, life, vigour, we have *váyaskrit*, life-giving, and constructions like *váyo dhât*. From *dhâ*, we can frame two substantival forms, *dhâ* and *dhi-s*, e. g. *puro-dhâ*, and *puro-dhis*, like *vi-dhi-s*. As an ordinary substantive, *purodhâ* takes the feminine termination *â*, and is declined like *sivâ*. But if the verbal base remains at the end of a compound without the feminine suffix, a compound like *vayodhâ* would form its dative *vayodhe* (Grammar, § 239); and as in analogous cases we found old datives in *ai*, instead of *e*, e. g. *parâdai*, nothing can be said against *vayodhai*, as a Vedic dative of *vayodhâ*. The dative of *purodhi* would be *purodhaye*; but here again, as, besides forms like *drisaye*, we met with datives, such as *ityai*, *rohishyai*, there is no difficulty in admitting an analogous dative of *purodhî*, viz. *purodhayi*.

The old dative *dhai* has been preserved to us in one form only, which for that reason is all the more valuable and important, offering the key to the mysterious Greek infinitives in *θαι*, I mean *vayodhâi*, which occurs twice in the Rig-Veda, X. 55, 1, and X. 67, 11. The importance of this relic would have been perceived long ago, if there had not been some uncertainty as to whether such a form really existed in the Veda. By some accident or other, Professor Aufrecht had printed in both passages *vayodhaiñ*, instead of *vayodhai*. But for this, no one, I believe, would have doubted that in this form *vayodhai* we have not only the most valuable prototype of the Greek infinitives in *(σ)θαι*, but at the same time their full explanation. *Vayodhai* stands for *vayas-dhai*, in which composition the first part *vayas* is a neuter base in *as*, the second a dative of the auxiliary verb *dhâ*, used as a substantive. If, therefore, we find corresponding to *vayodhai* a Greek infinitive *βέεσθαι*, we must divide it into *βέεσ-θαι*, as we divide *ψεύδεσθαι* into *ψεύδες-θαι*, and translate it literally by 'to do lying.'

It has been common to identify Greek infinitives in *σθαι*

with corresponding Sanskrit forms ending in *dhyai*. No doubt these forms in *dhyai* are much more frequent than forms in *dhai*, but as we can only take them as old datives of substantives in *dhi*, it would be difficult to identify the two. The Sanskrit *dhy* appears, no doubt, in Greek as $\sigma\sigma$, *dh* being represented by the surd θ , and then assibilated by y ; but we could hardly attempt to explain $\sigma\theta = \theta y$, because $\sigma\delta = \zeta = \delta y$. Therefore, unless we are prepared to see with Bopp in the σ before θ , in this and similar forms, a remnant of the reflexive pronoun, nothing remains but to accept the explanation offered by the Vedic *vayodhai*, and to separate $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ into $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\varsigma\text{-}\theta\alpha\iota$, lying to do. That this grammatical compound, if once found successful, should have been repeated in other tenses, giving us not only $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\epsilon\sigma\text{-}\theta\alpha\iota$, but $\gamma\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon\sigma\text{-}\theta\alpha\iota$, $\gamma\rho\alpha\psi\alpha\sigma\text{-}\theta\alpha\iota$, and even $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\sigma\text{-}\theta\alpha\iota$, is no more than what we may see again and again in the grammatical development of ancient and modern languages. Some scholars have objected on the same ground to Bopp's explanation of *ama-mini*, as the nom. plur. of a participle, because they think it impossible to look upon *amemini*, *amabimini*, *amaremimi*, *ambimini* as participial formations. But if a mould is once made in language, it is used again and again, and little account is taken of its original intention. If we object to $\gamma\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon\sigma\text{-}\theta\alpha\iota$, why not to $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\text{-}\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota$, or $\tau\epsilon\theta\nu\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota$, or $\mu\iota\chi\theta\eta\text{-}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota$? In Sanskrit, too, we should hesitate to form a compound of a modified verbal base, such as *prina*, with *dhi*, doing; yet as the Sanskrit ear was accustomed to *yagadhya* from *yaga*, *gamadhya* from *gama*, it did not protest against *prinadhya*, *vávriddhadhya*, etc.

Historical Importance of these Grammatical Forms.

And while these ancient grammatical forms which supply the foundation of what in Greek, Latin, and other languages we are accustomed to call infinitives are of the highest interest to the grammarian and the logician, their importance is hardly less in the eyes of the historian. Every honest student of antiquity, whether his special field be India, Persia,

Assyria, or Egypt, knows how often he is filled with fear and trembling when he meets with thoughts and expressions which, as he is apt to say, cannot be ancient. I have frequently confessed to that feeling with regard to some of the hymns of the Rig-Veda, and I well remember the time when I felt inclined to throw up the whole work as modern and unworthy of the time and labour bestowed upon it. At that time I was always comforted by these so-called infinitives and other relics of ancient language. They could not have been fabricated in India. They are unknown in ordinary Sanskrit, they are unintelligible as far as their origin is concerned in Greek and Latin, and yet in the Vedic language we find these forms, not only identical with Greek and Latin forms, but furnishing the key to their formation in Greece and Italy. The Vedic *vayas-dhái* compared with Greek *βέσθαι*, the Vedic *stushe* compared with *λύσαι* are to my mind evidence in support of the antiquity and genuineness of the Veda that cannot be shaken by any arguments.

The Infinitive in English.

I add a few words on the infinitive in English, though it has been well treated by Dr. March in his 'Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language,' by Dr. Morris, and others. We find in Anglo-Saxon two forms, one generally called the infinitive, *nim-an*, to take, the other the gerund, *to nim-anne*, to take. Dr. March explains the first as identical with Greek *νέμ-ειν* and *νέμ-ει-αι*, i. e. as an oblique case, probably the dative, of a verbal noun in *an*. He himself quotes only the dative of nominal bases in *a*, e. g. *namanâya*, because he was probably unacquainted with the nearer forms in *an-e* supplied by the Veda. This infinitive exists in Gothic as *nim-an*, in Old Saxon as *nim-an*, in Old Norse as *nem-a*, in Old High German as *nem-an*. The so-called gerund, *to nimanne*, is rightly traced back by Dr. March to Old Saxon *nim-annia*, but he can hardly be right in identifying these old dative forms with the Sanskrit base *nam-aiya*. In the Second Period of English (1100-1250)¹ the termination of the infinitive be-

¹ Morris, 'Hi

man, p. 22

came *en*, and frequently dropped the final *n*, as *smelle* = *smellen*; while the termination of the gerund at the same time became *enne*, (*ende*), *ene*, *en*, or *e*, so that outwardly the two forms appeared to be identical, as early as the 12th century¹. Still later, towards the end of the 14th century, the terminations were entirely lost, though Spenser and Shakespeare have occasionally *to killen*, *passen*, *delven*, when they wish to impart an archaic character to their language. In modern English the infinitive with *to* is used as a verbal substantive. When we say, 'I wish you to do this,' 'you are able to do this,' we can still perceive the datival function of the infinitive. Likewise in such phrases, 'it is time,' 'it is proper,' 'it is wrong to do that,' *to do* may still be felt as an oblique case. But we have only to invert these sentences, and say, 'to do this is wrong,' and we have a new substantive in the nom. sing., just as in the Greek τὸ λέγειν. Expressions like *for to do*, show that the simple *to* was not always felt to be sufficiently expressive to convey the meaning of an original dative.

Works on the Infinitive.

The infinitive has formed the subject of many learned treatises. I divide them into two classes, those which appeared before and after Wilhelm's excellent essay, written in Latin, 'De infinitivi vi et natura,' 1868; and in a new and improved edition, 'De infinitivo linguarum Sanscritae Bactricae Persicae Graecae Oscae Umbricae Latinae Goticae forma et usu,' Isenaci, 1873. In this essay the evidence supplied by the Veda was for the first time fully collected, and the whole question of the nature of the infinitive placed in its true historical light. Before Wilhelm the more important works were Höfer's book, 'Vom Infinitiv, besonders im Sanskrit,' Berlin, 1840; Bopp's paragraphs in his 'Comparative Grammar,' Humboldt's paper, in Schlegel's 'Indische Bibliothek,' (II. 74), 1824; and his posthumous paper in Kuhn's 'Zeitschrift' (II. 245), 1853; some dissertations by L. Meyer, Merguet, and Golenski. Benfey's 'Sanskrit Grammar,' (1852), too, ought to be mentioned, as having laid the

¹ Morris, l. c. p. 177.

first solid foundations for this and all other branches of grammatical research, as far as Sanskrit is concerned. After Wilhelm the same subject has been treated with great independence by Ludwig, 'Der Infinitif im Veda,' 1871, and again 'Agglutination oder Adaptation,' 1873; and also by Jolly, 'Geschichte des Infinitivs,' 1873.

I had myself discussed some questions connected with the nature of the infinitive in my 'Lectures on the Science of Language,' vol. ii. p. 15 seq., and I had pointed out in Kuhn's 'Zeitschrift,' XV. 215 (1866) the great importance of the Vedic *vayodhai* for unravelling the formation of Greek infinitives in *σ-θαι*.

The Infinitive in Bengali.

At a still earlier time, in 1847, in my 'Essay on Bengali,' I said: 'As the infinitives of the Indo-Germanic languages must be regarded as the absolute cases of a verbal noun, it is probable that in Bengali the infinitive in *ite* was also originally a locative, which expressed not only local situation, but also movement towards some object, as an end, whether real or imaginary. Thus the Bengali infinitive corresponds exactly with the English, where the relation of case is expressed by the preposition *to*. Ex. *tâhâke mârite âmi âsiyâchi*, means, I came to the state of beating him, or, I came to beat him; *âmâke mârite deo*, give me (permission), let me (go) to the action of beating, i. e. allow me to beat. Now as the form of the participle is the same as that of the infinitive, it may be doubted if there is really a distinction between these two forms as to their origin. For instance, the phrase *âpan putrake mârite âmi tâhâka dekhilâm*, can be translated, I saw him beating his own son; but it can be explained also as, what they nonsensically call in Latin grammar *accusativus cum infinitivo*, that is to say, the infinitive can be taken for a locative of the verbal noun, and the whole phrase be translated, I saw him in the action of beating his own son, (*vidi patrem caedere ipsius filium*). As in every Bengali phrase the participle in *ite* can be understood in this manner, I think it admissible to ascribe this origin to it, and instead of taking it for a nominative of a verbal adjective, to consider it as a locative of a verbal noun.'

The Infinitive in the Dravidian Languages.

I also tried to show that the infinitive in the Dravidian languages is a verbal noun with or without a case suffix. This view has been confirmed by Dr. Caldwell, but, in deference to him, I gladly withdraw the explanation which I proposed in reference to the infinitive in Tamil. I quote from Dr. Caldwell's 'Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages,' 2nd ed. p. 423: 'Professor Max Müller, noticing that the majority of Tamil infinitives terminate in *ka*, supposed this *ka* to be identical in origin with *kô*, the dative-accusative case-sign of the Hindi, and concluded that the Dravidian infinitive was the accusative of a verbal noun. It is true that the Sanskrit infinitive and Latin supine in *tum* is correctly regarded as an accusative, and that our English infinitive *to do*, is the dative of a verbal noun; it is also true that the Dravidian infinitive is a verbal noun in origin, and never altogether loses that character; nevertheless, the supposition that the final *ka* of most Tamil infinitives is in any manner connected with *ku*, the sign of the Dravidian dative, or of *kô*, the Hindi dative-accusative, is inadmissible. A comparison of various classes of verbs and of the various dialects shows that the *kā* in question proceeds from a totally different source.'

On Labialised and Unlabialised Gutturals.

As in my article on *Vayodhai*, published in Kuhn's 'Zeitschrift,' 1866, p. 215, I had entered a *caveat* against identifying Greek β with Sanskrit ञ, I take this opportunity of frankly withdrawing it. Phonetically, no doubt, these two letters represent totally distinct powers, and to say that Sanskrit ञ ever became Greek β is as irrational to-day as it was ten years ago. But historically I was entirely wrong, as will be seen from the last edition of Curtius' 'Grundzüge.' The guttural sonant check was palatalised in the South-eastern Branch, and there became *g* and *z*, while in the North-western Branch the same *g* was frequently labialised and became *gv*, *v*, and *b*. Hence, where we have ञ in Sanskrit, we may and do find β in Greek.

But after withdrawing my former *caveat*, I make bold to propose another, viz. that the original palatal sonant flatus, which in Sanskrit is graphically represented by *g*, can never be represented in Greek by β . Whether *g* in Sanskrit represents an original palatal sonant check or an original palatal sonant flatus can generally be determined by a reference to Zend, which represents the former by *g*, the latter by *z*. We may therefore formulate this phonetic law :

‘When Sanskrit *g* is represented by Zend *z*, it cannot be represented by Greek β .’

In this manner it is possible, I believe, to utilise Ascoli’s and Fick’s brilliant discovery as to a twofold, or even threefold, distinction of the Aryan *k*, as applied to the Aryan *g*. They have proved that all Aryan languages show traces of an original distinction between a guttural surd check, *k*, frequently palatalised in the South-eastern Branch (Sk. *k̄*, Zend *k̄*), and liable to labialisation in Latin, Greek, Cymric, and Gothic; and another *k*, never liable to labialisation, but changed into a flatus, palatal or otherwise, in Sanskrit, Lithuanian, and Old Slavonic. They showed, in fact,

Sanskrit	Lith.	Slav.	Gadh. & Cym.	Lat.	Greek.	Gothic.
क (क)	= k	= k, č,	c = c	= p = c,	qu, v = κ,	κφ, κκ, π, ππ, τ, ττ, = hv, h.
ख	= sz = s	= c	= c	= c	= κ	= h

In the same manner we ought in future to distinguish between a guttural sonant check, *g*, frequently palatalised in the South-eastern Branch (Sk. *ḡ*, Zend *ḡ*), and liable to labialisation, like *k*; and another *g*, never liable to labialisation, but changed into a flatus, palatal or otherwise, in Zend, Lithuanian, and Old Slavonic. As we never have $\pi = \kappa$ we never have $\beta = \kappa$, if κ in Zend is *z*.

The evidence will be found under Sk. *gan*, *gab*, *gar* (to decay, and to praise), *gush*, *gñâ*, *gñu*, *gâamâtar*; *ag*, *bhrâg*, *marg*, *yag*, *rag*(atam).

Gothic *quinô*, Gadh. *ben*, Boeot. *βava* depend on Zend *geni*; Gadh. *baith-is* on Zend *gaf-ra*. It is wrong to connect *σβερ* with *gas*, on account of Zend *zas*, and *gyâ-ni* with *βία*, on account of Zend *zyâ-ni*.

II.

REDE LECTURE,

DELIVERED

IN THE SENATE HOUSE BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF
CAMBRIDGE, ON FRIDAY, MAY 29, 1868¹.

PART I.

ON THE STRATIFICATION OF LANGUAGE.

THERE are few sensations more pleasant than that of wondering. We have all experienced it in childhood, in youth, and in our manhood, and we may hope that even in our old age this affection of the mind will not entirely pass away. If we analyse this feeling of wonder carefully, we shall find that it consists of two elements. What we mean by wondering is not only that we are startled or stunned:—that I should call the merely passive element of wonder. When we say ‘I wonder,’ we confess that we are taken aback, but there is a secret satisfaction mixed up with

¹ This Lecture has been translated by M. Louis Havet, and forms the first fasciculus of the Bibliothèque de l’École des Hautes Etudes, publiée sous les auspices du Ministère de l’Instruction Publique. Paris, 1869.

our feeling of surprise, a kind of hope, nay, almost of certainty, that sooner or later the wonder will cease, that our senses or our mind will recover, will grapple with these novel impressions or experiences, grasp them, it may be, throw them, and finally triumph over them. In fact we wonder at the riddles of nature, whether animate or inanimate, with a firm conviction that there is a solution to them all, even though we ourselves may not be able to find it.

Wonder, no doubt, arises from ignorance, but from a peculiar kind of ignorance; from what might be called a fertile ignorance; an ignorance which, if we look back at the history of most of our sciences, will be found to have been the mother of all human knowledge. For thousands of years men have looked at the earth with its stratifications, in some places so clearly mapped out; for thousands of years they must have seen in their quarries and mines, as well as we ourselves, the imbedded petrifications of organic creatures: yet they looked and passed on without thinking more about it—they did not wonder. Not even an Aristotle had eyes to see; and the conception of a science of the earth, of Geology, was reserved for the eighteenth century.

Still more extraordinary is the listlessness with which during all the centuries that have elapsed since the first names were given to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field, men have passed by what was much nearer to them than even the gravel on which they trod, namely, the words of their own language. Here, too, the clearly marked lines of different strata seemed almost to challenge attention, and the pulses of former life were still throbbing in the petrified forms imbedded in gram-

mars and dictionaries. Yet not even a Plato had eyes to see, or ears to hear, and the conception of a science of language, of Glottology, was reserved for the nineteenth century.

I am far from saying that Plato and Aristotle knew nothing of the nature, the origin, and the purpose of language, or that we have nothing to learn from their works. They, and their successors, and their predecessors too, beginning with Herakleitos and Demokritos, were startled and almost fascinated by the mysteries of human speech as much as by the mysteries of human thought; and what we call grammar and the laws of language, nay, all the technical terms which are still current in our schools, such as *noun* and *verb*, *case* and *number*, *infinitive* and *participle*, all this was first discovered and named by the philosophers and grammarians of Greece, to whom, in spite of all our new discoveries, I believe we are still beholden, whether consciously or unconsciously, for more than half of our intellectual life.

But the interest which those ancient Greek philosophers took in language was purely philosophical. It was the form, far more than the matter of speech which seemed to them a subject worthy of philosophical speculation. The idea that there was, even in their days, an immense mass of accumulated speech to be sifted, to be analysed, and to be accounted for somehow, before any theories on the nature of language could be safely started, hardly ever entered their minds; or, when it did, as we see here and there in Plato's *Kratylos*, it soon vanished, without leaving any permanent impression. Each people and each generation has its own problems to solve. The problem that occupied Plato in his *Kratylos* was,

if I understand him rightly, the possibility of a perfect language, a correct, true, or ideal language, a language founded on his own philosophy, his own system of types or ideas. He was too wise a man to attempt, like Bishop Wilkins, the actual construction of a philosophical language. But, like Leibniz, he just lets us see that a perfect language is conceivable, and that the chief reason of the imperfections of real language must be found in the fact that its original framers were ignorant of the true nature of things, ignorant of dialectic philosophy, and therefore incapable of naming rightly what they had failed to apprehend correctly. Plato's view of actual language, as far as it can be made out from the critical and negative rather than didactic and positive dialogue of *Kratylos*, seems to have been very much the same as his view of actual government. Both fall short of the ideal, and both are to be tolerated only in so far as they participate in the perfections of an ideal state and an ideal language¹. Plato's *Kratylos* is full of suggestive wisdom. It is one of those books which, as we read them again from time to time, seem every time like new books: so little do we perceive at first all that is pre-supposed in them:—the accumulated mould of thought, if I may say so, in which alone a philosophy like that of Plato could strike its roots and draw its support.

But while Plato shows a deeper insight into the mysteries of language than almost any philosopher that has come after him, he has no eyes for that marvellous harvest of words garnered up in our dictionaries, and in the dictionaries of all the races

¹ See Benfey, 'Ueber die Aufgabe des *Kratylos*.' *Göttingen*

of the earth. With him language is almost synonymous with Greek, and though in one passage of the *Kratylos* he suggests that certain Greek words might have been borrowed from the Barbarians, and, more particularly, from the Phrygians, yet that remark, as coming from Plato, seems to be purely ironical, and though it contains, as we know, a germ of truth that has proved most fruitful in our modern science of language, it struck no roots in the minds of Greek philosophers. How much our new science of language differs from the linguistic studies of the Greeks; how entirely the interest which Plato took in language is now supplanted by new interests, is strikingly brought home to us when we see how the *Société de Linguistique*, lately founded at Paris, and including the names of the most distinguished scholars of France, declares in one of its first statutes that 'it will receive no communication concerning the origin of language or the formation of a universal language,' the very subjects which, in the time of Herakleitos and Plato, rendered linguistic studies worthy of the consideration of a philosopher.

It may be that the world was too young in the days of Plato, and that the means of communication were wanting to enable the ancient philosopher to see very far beyond the narrow horizon of Greece. With us it is different. The world has grown older, and has left to us in the annals of its various literatures the monuments of growing and decaying speech. The world has grown larger, and we have before us, not only the relics of ancient civilization in Asia, Africa, and America, but living languages in such number and variety that we draw back almost aghast

at the mere list of their names. The world has grown wiser too, and where Plato could only see imperfections, the failures of the founders of human speech, we see, as everywhere else in human life, a natural progress from the imperfect towards the perfect, unceasing attempts at realising the ideal, and the frequent triumphs of the human mind over the inevitable difficulties of this earthly condition,—difficulties, not of man's own making, but, as I firmly believe, prepared for him, and not without a purpose, as toils and tasks, by a higher Power and by the highest Wisdom.

Let us look then abroad and behold the materials which the student of language has now to face. Beginning with the language of the Western Isles, we have, at the present day, at least 100,000 words, arranged as on the shelves of a Museum, in the pages of Johnson and Webster. But these 100,000 words represent only the best grains that have remained in the sieve, while clouds of chaff have been winnowed off, and while many a valuable grain too has been lost by mere carelessness. If we counted the wealth of English dialects, and if we added the treasures of the ancient language from Alfred to Wycliffe, we should easily double the herbarium of the linguistic flora of England. And what are these Western Isles as compared to Europe; and what is Europe, a mere promontory, as compared to the vast continent of Asia; and what again is Asia, as compared to the whole inhabitable world? But there is no corner of that world that is not full of language: the very desert and the isles of the sea—*the deserts, and the* more we recede from *larger the number of*

ing up in every valley, and overshadowing the smallest island.

*Ἴδαν ἐς πολύδενδρον ἀνὴρ ἰλατόμος ἐνθάδιν
Παπταίνει, παρέοντος ἄδην, πόθεν ἄρξεται ἔργω¹.

We are bewildered by the variety of plants, of birds, and fishes, and insects, scattered with lavish prodigality over land and sea;—but what is the living wealth of that Fauna as compared to the winged words which fill the air with unceasing music! What are the scanty relics of fossil plants and animals, compared to the storehouse of what we call the dead languages! How then can we explain it that for centuries and centuries, while collecting beasts, and birds, and fishes, and insects, while studying their forms, from the largest down to the smallest and almost invisible creatures, man has passed by this forest of speech, without seeing the forest, as we say in German, for the very number of its trees (*Man sah den Wald vor lauter Bäumen nicht*), without once asking how this vast currency could have been coined, what inexhaustible mines could have supplied the metal, what cunning hands could have devised the image and superscription,—without once wondering at the countless treasure inherited by him from the fathers of the human race?

Let us now turn our attention in a different direction. After it had been discovered that there was this great mass of material to be collected, to be classified, to be explained, what has the Science of Language, as yet, really accomplished? It has achieved much, considering that real work only

¹ Theokritos, xvii. 9.

began about fifty years ago ; it has achieved little, if we look at what still remains to be done.

The first discovery was that languages admit of classification. Now this was a very great discovery, and it at once changed and raised the whole character of linguistic studies. Languages might have been, for all we know, the result of individual fancy or poetry ; words might have been created here and there at random, or been fixed by a convention, more or less arbitrary. In that case a scientific classification would have been as impossible as it is if applied to the changing fashions of the day. Nothing can be classified, nothing can be scientifically ruled and ordered, except what has grown up in natural order and according to rational rule.

Out of the great mass of speech that is now accessible to the student of language, a number of so-called families have been separated, such as the *Aryan*, the *Semitic*, the *Ural-Altai*c, the *Indo-Chinese*, the *Dravidian*, the *Malayo-Polynesian*, the *Kafir* or *Bá-ntu* in Africa, and the *Polysynthetic* dialects of America. The only classes, however, which have been carefully examined, and which alone have hitherto supplied the materials for what we might call the Philosophy of Language, are the Aryan and the Semitic, the former comprising the languages of India, Persia, Armenia, Greece, and Italy, and of the Celtic, Teutonic, and Slavonic races ; the latter consisting of the languages of the Babylonians, the Syrians, the Jews, the Ethiopians, the Arabs.

These two classes include, no doubt, the most important languages of the world, if we measure the importance of languages by the amount of

fluence exercised on the political and literary history of the world by those who speak them. But considered by themselves, and placed in their proper place in the vast realm of human speech, they describe but a very small segment of the entire circle. The completeness of the evidence which they place before us in the long series of their literary treasures, points them out in an eminent degree as the most useful subjects on which to study the anatomy of speech, and nearly all the discoveries that have been made as to the laws of language, the process of composition, derivation, and inflexion, have been gained by Aryan and Semitic scholars.

Far be it from me, therefore, to underrate the value of Aryan and Semitic scholarship for a successful prosecution of the Science of Language. But while doing full justice to the method adopted by Semitic and Aryan scholars in the discovery of the laws that regulate the growth and decay of language, we must not shut our eyes to the fact that our field of observation has been thus far extremely limited, and that we should act in defiance of the simplest rules of sound induction, were we to generalise on such scanty evidence. Let us but clearly see what place these two so-called families, the Aryan and Semitic, occupy in the great kingdom of speech. They are in reality but two centres, two small settlements of speech, and all we know of them is their period of decay, not their period of growth, their descending, not their ascending career, their Being, as we say in German, not their Becoming (*Ihr Gewordensein, nicht ihr Werden*). Even in the earliest literary documents both the Aryan and Semitic speech appear before us as fixed and petrified.

For that purpose a study of Chinese and the Turanian dialects, a study even of the jargons of the savages of Africa, Polynesia, and Melanesia is far more instructive than the most minute analysis of Sanskrit and Hebrew. The impression which a study of Greek and Latin and Sanskrit leaves on our minds is, that language is a work of art, most complicated, most wonderful, most perfect. We have given so many names to its outward features, its genders and cases, its tenses and moods, its participles, gerunds, and supines, that at last we are frightened at our own devices. Who can read through all the so-called irregular verbs, or look at the thousands and thousands of words in a Greek Dictionary without feeling that he moves about in a perfect labyrinth? How then, we ask, was this labyrinth erected? How did all this come to be? We ourselves, speaking the language which we speak, move about, as it were, in the innermost chambers, in the darkest recesses of that primeval palace, but we cannot tell by what steps and through what passages we arrived there, and we look in vain for the thread of Ariadne which in leading us out of the enchanted castle of our language, would disclose to us the way by which, we ourselves, or our fathers and forefathers before us, entered into it.

The question how language came to be what it is has been asked again and again. Even a schoolboy, if he possesses but a grain of the gift of wondering, must ask himself why *mensa* means one table, and *mensae* many tables; why I love should be *amo*, I am loved *amor*, I shall love *amabo*, I have loved *amavi*, I should have loved *amavissem*. Until very lately two answers only could have been given to

such questions. Both sound to us almost absurd, yet in their time they were supported by the highest authorities. Either, it was said, language, and particularly the grammatical framework of language, was made by *convention*, by agreeing to call one table *mensa*, and many tables *mensae*; or, and this was Schlegel's view, language was declared to possess an organic life, and its terminations, prefixes, and suffixes were supposed to have sprouted forth from the radicals and stems and branches of language, like so many buds and flowers. To us it seems almost incredible that such theories should have been seriously maintained, and maintained by men of learning and genius. But what better answer could they have given? What better answer has been given even now? We have learnt something, chiefly from a study of the modern dialects, which often repeat the processes of ancient speech, and thus betray the secrets of the family. We have learnt that in some of the dialects of modern Sanskrit, in Bengali for instance¹, the plural is formed, as it is in Chinese,

¹ In my essay 'On the Relation of Bengali to the Aryan and Aboriginal Languages of India,' published in 1847, I tried to explain these plural suffixes, such as *dig*, *gana*, *gâti*, *varga*, *dala*. I had translated the last word by *band*, supposing from Wilson's Dictionary, and from the *Sabda-kalpa-druma* that *dala* could be used in the sense of *band* or multitude. I doubt, however, whether *dala* is ever used in Sanskrit in that sense, and I feel certain that it was not used in that sense with sufficient frequency to account for its adoption in Bengali. Dr. Friedrich Müller, in his useful abstracts of some of the grammars discovered by the 'Novara' in her journey round the earth (1857-59), has likewise referred *dal* to the Sanskrit *dala*, but he renders what I had in English rendered by *band*, by the German word *Baum*. This can only be an a

Mongolian, Turkish, Finnish, Burmese, and Siamese, also in the Dravidian and Malayo-Polynesian dialects, by adding a word expressive of plurality, and then appending again the terminations of the singular. We have learnt from French how a future, *je parlerai*, can be formed by an auxiliary verb: 'I to speak have' coming to mean, I shall speak. We have learnt from our own language, whether English or German, that suffixes, such as *head* in *godhead*, *ship* in *ladyship*, *dom* in *kingdom*, were originally substantives, having the meaning of quality, shape, and state. But I doubt whether even thus we should have arrived at a thorough understanding of the real antecedents of language, unless, what happened in the study of the stratification of the earth, had

of robbers, which in German would be *Bande*. He seems to have misunderstood me, and to have taken *band* for the German *Band*, which means a ribbon. Might *dala* in Bengali be the Dravidian *tala* or *dala*, a host, a crowd, which Dr. Caldwell (p. 197) mentions as a possible etymon of the pluralising suffix in the Dravidian languages? Bengali certainly took the idea of forming its plurals by composition with words expressive of plurality from its Dravidian neighbour, and it is not impossible that in some cases it might have transferred the very word *dala*, crowd. This *dala* and *tala* appears in Tamil as *kala* and *gala*, and as Sanskrit *k* may in Sinhalese be represented by *v* (*loka* = *lova*), I thought that the plural termination used in Sinhalese after inanimate nouns might possibly be a corruption of the Tamil *kala*. Mr. Childers, however, in his able 'Essay on the formation of the Plural of Neuter Nouns in Sinhalese' (J. R. A. S. 1874, p. 40), thinks that the Sinhalese *vata* is a corruption of the Sanskrit *vana*, forest, an opinion which seems likewise to be held by Mr. D'Alwis (l. c. p. 48). As a case in point, in support of my own opinion, Mr. Childers mentioned me the Sinhalese *mal-varu*, Sanskrit *mâlâ-kâra*, a wreath-maker, a gardener. In Persian both *ân* and *hâ* are remnants of decayed plural terminations, not collective words added to the base.

happened in the study of language. If the formation of the crust of the earth had been throughout regular and uniform, and if none of the lower strata had been tilted up, so that even those who run might read, no shaft from the surface could have been sunk deep enough to bring the geologist from the tertiary strata down to the Silurian rocks. The same in language. Unless some languages had been arrested in their growth during their earlier stages, and had remained on the surface in this primitive state, exposed only to the decomposing influence of atmospheric action, and to the ill-treatment of literary cultivation, I doubt whether any scholar would have had the courage to say that at one time Sanskrit was like unto Chinese, and Hebrew no better than Malay. In the successive strata of language thus exposed to our view, we have in fact, as in Geology, the very thread of Ariadne, which, if we will but trust to it, will lead us out of the dark labyrinth of language in which we live, by the same road by which we and those who came before us, first entered into it. The more we retrace our steps, the more we advance from stratum to stratum, from story to story, the more shall we feel almost dazzled by the daylight that breaks in upon us; the more shall we be struck, no longer by the intricacy of Greek or Sanskrit grammar, but by the marvellous simplicity of the original warp of human speech, as preserved, for instance, in Chinese; by the childlike contrivances, that are at the bottom of Paulo-post Futures and Conditional Moods.

Let no one be frightened at the idea of studying a Chinese grammar. Those who can take an interest in the secret springs of the mind, in the elements of pure

reason, in the laws of thought, will find a Chinese grammar most instructive, most fascinating. It is the faithful photograph of man in his leading-strings, trying the muscles of his mind, groping his way, and so delighted with his first successful grasps that he repeats them again and again. It is child's play, if you like, but it displays, like all child's play, that wisdom and strength which are perfect in the mouth of babes and sucklings. Every shade of thought that finds expression in the highly finished and nicely balanced system of Greek tenses, moods, and particles can be expressed, and has been expressed, in that infant language by words that have neither prefix nor suffix, no terminations to indicate number, case, tense, mood, or person. Every word in Chinese is monosyllabic, and the same word, without any change of form, may be used as a noun, a verb, an adjective, an adverb, or a particle. Thus *ta*, according to its position in a sentence, may mean great, greatness, to grow, very much, very¹.

And here a very important observation has been made by Chinese grammarians, an observation which, after a very slight modification and expansion, contains indeed the secret of the whole growth of language from Chinese to English. If a word in Chinese is used with the *bonâ fide* signification of a noun or a verb, it is called a *full word* (*shi-tsê*); if it is used as a particle or with a merely determinative or formal character, it is called an *empty word* (*hiu-tsê*²). There is as yet no outward difference

¹ Stanilas Julien, 'Exercices Pratiques,' p. 14.

² Endlicher, 'Chinesische Grammatik,' § 122. Wade, 'Progressive Course, On the parts of speech,' p. 102. A different division of words adopted by Chinese grammarians is that into

between full and empty words in Chinese, and this renders it all the more creditable to the grammarians of China that they should have perceived the inward distinction, even in the absence of any outward signs.

Let us learn then from Chinese grammarians this great lesson, that words may become empty, and without restricting the meaning of empty words as they do, let us use that term in the most general sense, as expressive of the fact that words may lose something of their full original meaning.

Let us add to this another observation, which the Chinese could not well have made, but which we shall see confirmed again and again in the history of language, viz. that empty words, or, as we may also call them, dead words, are most exposed to phonetic decay.

It is clear then that, with these two preliminary observations, we can imagine three conditions of language:—

1. There may be languages in which all words, both empty and full, retain their independent form. Even words which are used when we should use mere suffixes or terminations, retain their outward integrity in Chinese. Thus, in Chinese, *jin* means man, *tu* means crowd, *jin-tu*, man-crowd. In this

dead and live words, ssè-tsé and sing-tsé, the former comprising nouns, the latter verbs. The same classes are sometimes called *tsing-tsé* and *ho-tsé*, unmoved and moved words. This shows how purposeless it would be to try to find out whether language began with noun or verb. In the earliest phase of speech the same word was both noun and verb, according to the use that was made of it, and it is so still to a great extent in Chinese. See Endlicher, 'Chinesische Grammatik,' § 219.

compound both *jin* and *tu* continue to be felt as independent words, more so than in our own compound *man-kind*; but nevertheless *tu* has become empty, it only serves to determine the preceding word *jin*, man, and tells us the quantity or number in which *jin* shall be taken. The compound answers in intention to our plural, but in form it is wide apart from *men*, the plural of *man*.

2. Empty words may lose their independence, may suffer phonetic decay, and dwindle down to mere suffixes and terminations. Thus in Burmese the plural is formed by *to*, in Finnish, Mordvinian, and Ostiakian by *t*. As soon as *to* ceases to be used as an independent word in the sense of number, it becomes an empty, or, if you like, an obsolete word, that has no meaning except as the exponent of plurality; nay, at last, it may dwindle down to a mere letter, which is then called by grammarians the termination of the plural. In this second stage phonetic decay may well-nigh destroy the whole body of an empty word, but,—and this is important,—no full words, no radicals are as yet attacked by that disintegrating process.

3. Phonetic decay may advance, and does advance still further. Full words also may lose their independence, and be attacked by the same disease that had destroyed the original features of suffixes and prefixes. In this state it is frequently impossible to distinguish any longer between the radical and formative elements of words.

If we wished to represent these three stages of language algebraically, we might represent the first by RR , using R as the symbol of a root which has suffered no phonetic decay; the second, by $R + \rho$,

or $\rho + R$, or $\rho + R + \rho$, representing by ρ an empty word that has suffered phonetic change; the third, by $r\rho$, or ρr , or $\rho r\rho$, when both full and empty words have been changed, and have become welded together into one indistinguishable mass through the intense heat of thought, and by the constant hammering of the tongue.

Those who are acquainted with the works of Humboldt will easily recognise, in these three stages or strata, a classification of language first suggested by that eminent philosopher. According to him languages can be classified as *isolating*, *agglutinative*¹, and *inflectional*, and his definition of these three classes agrees in the main with the description just given of the three strata or stages of language.

But what is curious is that this threefold classification, and the consequences to which it leads, should not at once have been fully reasoned out; nay, that a system most palpably erroneous should have been founded upon it. We find it repeated again and again in most works on Comparative Philology, that Chinese belongs to the *isolating* class, the Turanian languages to the *combinatory*, the Aryan and Semitic to the *inflectional*; nay, professor Pott² and his

¹ *Agglutinative* seems an unnecessarily uncouth word, and as implying a something which glues two words together, a kind of *Bindevocal*, it is objectionable as a technical term. *Combinatory* is technically more correct, and less strange than agglutinative.

² Professor Pott in his article, entitled 'Max Müller und die Kennzeichen der Sprachverwandtschaft,' published in 1855 in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. ix. p. 412, says, in confutation of Bunsen's view of a real historical progress of language from the lowest to the highest stage: 'So cautious an inquirer as W. von Humboldt declines expressly in the last chapter of his — on the "D"

school seem convinced that no evolution can ever take place from *isolating* to *combinatory* and from *combinatory* to *inflectional* speech. We should thus be forced to believe that by some inexplicable grammatical instinct, or by some kind of inherent necessity, languages were from the beginning created as *isolating*, or *combinatory*, or *inflectional*, and must remain so to the end.

It is strange that those scholars who hold that no transition is possible from one form of language to another, should not have seen that there is really no language that can be strictly called either *isolating*, or

conclusions as to a real historical progress from one stage of language to another, or at least does not commit himself to any definite opinion. This is surely something very different from that gradual progress, and it would be a question whether by admitting such an historical progress from stage to stage, we should not commit an absurdity hardly less palpable than by trying to raise infusoria into horses or still further into men. (What was an absurdity in 1855, does not seem to be so in 1875.) Mr. Bunsen, it is true, does not hesitate to call the monosyllabic idiom of the Chinese an inorganic formation. But how can we get from an inorganic to an organic language? In nature such a thing would be impossible. No stone becomes a plant, no plant a tree, by however wonderful a metamorphosis, except, in a different sense, by the process of nutrition, i. e. by regeneration. The former question, which Mr. Bunsen answers in the affirmative, is disposed of by him with the short dictum: "The question whether a language can be supposed to begin with inflections, appears to us simply an absurdity"—but unfortunately he does not condescend by a clear illustration to make that absurdity palpable. Why in inflectional languages should the grammatical form always have added itself to the matter subsequently and *ab extra*? Why should it not partially from the beginning have been created with it and in it, as having a meaning with something else, but not having antecedently a meaning of its own?



combinatory, or inflectional, and that the transition from one stage to another is in fact constantly taking place under our very noses. Even Chinese is not free from combinatory forms, and the more highly developed among the combinatory languages show the clearest traces of incipient inflection. The difficulty is not to show the transition of one stratum of speech into another, but rather to draw a sharp line between the different strata. The same difficulty was felt in Geology, and led Sir Charles Lyell to invent such pliant names as *Eocene*, *Meiocene*, and *Pleiocene*, names which indicate a mere dawn, a minority, or a majority of new formations, but do not draw a fast and hard line, cutting off one stratum from the other. Natural growth, and even merely mechanical accumulation and accretion, here as elsewhere, are so minute and almost imperceptible that they defy all strict scientific terminology, and force upon us the lesson that we must be satisfied with an approximate accuracy. For practical purposes Humboldt's classification of languages may be quite sufficient, and we have no difficulty in classing any given language, according to the prevailing character of its formation, as either isolating, or combinatory, or inflectional. But when we analyse each language more carefully we find there is not one exclusively isolating, or exclusively combinatory, or exclusively inflectional. The power of composition, which is retained unimpaired through every stratum, can at any moment place an inflectional on a level with an isolating and a combinatory language. A compound such as the Sanskrit *go-duh*, cow-milking, differs little, if at all, from the Chinese *nieou-jou*, *vaccæ lac*, or in the patois of Canton, *ngau ü*, cow-milk, before it

takes the terminations of the nominative, which is, of course, impossible in Chinese.

So again in English *New-town*, in Greek *Nea-polis*, would be simply combinatory compounds. Even *Newton* would still belong to the combinatory stratum; but *Naples* would have to be classed as belonging to the inflectional stage.

Finnish, Hungarian, Turkish, and the Dravidian languages belong in the main to the combinatory stratum; but having received a considerable amount of literary cultivation, they all alike exhibit forms which in every sense of the word are inflectional. If in Finnish, for instance, we find *käsi*, in the singular, hand, and *kädet*, in the plural, hands, we see that phonetic corruption has clearly reached the very core of the noun, and given rise to a plural more decidedly inflectional than the Greek $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\text{-es}$, or the English *hand-s*. In Tamil, where the suffix of the plural is *gal*, we have indeed a regular combinatory form in *kei-gal*, hands; but if the same plural suffix *gal* is added to *kal*, stone, the euphonic rules of Tamil require not only a change in the suffix, which becomes *kaḷ*, but likewise a modification in the body of the word, *kal* being changed to *kar*. We thus get the plural *karkaḷ* which in every sense of the word is an inflectional form. In this plural suffix *gal*, Dr. Caldwell has recognised the Dravidian *tala* or *dala*, a host, a crowd; and though, as he admits himself in the second edition (p. 143), the evidence in support of this etymology may not be entirely satisfactory, the steps by which the learned author of the Grammar of the Dravidian languages has traced the plural termination *lu* in Telugu back to the same original suffix *kaḷ* admit of little doubt.

Evidence of a similar kind may easily be found in any grammar, whether of an isolating, combinatory, or inflectional language, wherever there is evidence as to the ascending or descending progress of any particular form of speech. Everywhere amalgamation points back to combination, and combination back to juxtaposition, everywhere isolating speech tends towards terminational forms, and terminational forms become inflectional.

I may best be able to explain the view commonly held with regard to the strata of language by a reference to the strata of the earth. Here, too, where different strata have been tilted up, it might seem at first sight as if they were arranged perpendicularly and side by side, none underlying the other, none presupposing the other. But as the geologist, on the strength of more general evidence, has to reverse this perpendicular position, and to re-arrange his strata in their natural order, and as they followed each other horizontally, the student of language too is irresistibly driven to the same conclusion. No language can by any possibility be inflectional without having passed through the combinatory and isolating stratum; no language can by any possibility be combinatory without clinging with its roots to the underlying stratum of isolation. Unless Sanskrit and Greek and Hebrew had passed through the combinatory stratum, nay, unless, at some time or other, they had been no better than Chinese, their present form would be as great a miracle as the existence of chalk (and the  associated with it) without an underlying stratum  the strata associated with it unsupported by the trias

stone. Bunsen's dictum, that 'the question whether a language can begin with inflections, implies an absurdity,' may have seemed too strongly worded: but if he took inflections in the commonly received meaning, in the sense of something that may be added or removed from a base in order to define or to modify its meaning, then surely the simple argument *ex nihilo nihil fit* is sufficient to prove that the inflections must have been something by themselves, before they became inflections relatively to the base, and that the base too must have existed by itself, before it could be defined and modified by the addition of such inflections.

But we need not depend on purely logical arguments, when we have historical evidence to appeal to. As far as we know the history of language, we see it everywhere confined within those three great strata or zones which we have just described. There are inflectional changes, no doubt, which cannot as yet be explained, such as the *m* in the accusative singular of masculine, feminine, and in the nominative and accusative of neuter nouns; or the change of vowels between the Hebrew *Piel* and *Pual*, *Hiphil* and *Hophal*, where we might feel tempted to admit formative agencies different from juxtaposition and combination. But if we consider how in Sanskrit the Vedic instrumental plural, *asvebhis* (Lat. *equobus*), becomes before our very eyes *asvais* (Lat. *equis*), and how such changes as *Bruder*, brother, and *Brüder*, brethren, *Ich weiss*, I know, A.S. *wát*, and *Wir wissen*, we know, A.S. *wit-on*, have been explained as the results of purely mechanical, i. e. combinatory proceedings, we need not despair of further progress in the same direction. One thing is

certain, that, wherever inflection has yielded to a rational analysis, it has invariably been recognised as the result of a previous combination, and wherever combination has been traced back to an earlier stage, that earlier stage has been simple juxtaposition. The primitive blocks of Chinese and the most perplexing agglomerates of Greek can be explained as the result of one continuous formative process, whatever the material elements may be on which it was exercised; nor is it possible even to imagine in the formation of language more than these three strata through which hitherto all human speech has passed.

All we can do is to subdivide each stratum, and thus, for instance, distinguish in the second stratum the suffixing ($R + \rho$) from the prefixing ($\rho + R$), and from the affixing ($\rho + R + \rho$) languages.

A fourth class, the infixing or incapsulating languages, are but a variety of the affixing class, for what in Bask or in the polysynthetic dialects of America has the appearance of actual insertion of formative elements into the body of a base, can be explained more rationally by the former existence of simpler bases to which modifying suffixes or prefixes have once been added, but not so firmly as to exclude the addition of new suffixes at the end of the base, instead of, as with us, at the end of the compound. If we could say in Greek $\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa-\mu\iota-\nu$, instead of $\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa-\nu-\mu\iota$, or in Sanskrit $yu-mi-na-g$, instead of $yu-na-g-mi$, we should have a real beginning of so-called incapsulating formations¹.

A few instances will place the normal progress of language from stratum more clearly before

¹ Cf. D. G. Brinton, 'The

our eyes. We have seen that in Chinese every word is monosyllabic, every word tells, and there are, as yet, no suffixes by which one word is derived from another, no case-terminations by which the relation of one word to another could be indicated. How, then, does Chinese distinguish between the son of the father, and the father of the son? Simply by position. *Fú* is father, *tzé*, son; therefore *fú tzé* is son of the father, *tzé fú*, father of the son. This rule admits of no exception but one. If a Chinese wants to say *a wine glass*, he puts *wine* first and *glass* last, as in English. If he wants to say, *a glass of wine*, he puts *glass* first and *wine* last. Thus *i-pei thsieou*, a cup of wine; *thsieou pei*, a wine-cup. If, however, it seems desirable to mark the word which is in the genitive more distinctly, the word *tchi* may be placed after it, and we may say, *fú tchi tzé*, the son of the father. In the Mandarin dialect this *tchi* has become *ti*, and is added so constantly to the governed word, that, to all intents and purposes, it may be treated as what we call the termination of the genitive. Originally this *tchi* was a relative, or rather a demonstrative, pronoun, and it continues to be used as such in the ancient Chinese¹.

It is perfectly true that Chinese possesses no derivative suffixes; that it cannot derive, for instance, *kingly* from a noun, such as *king*, or adjectives like

¹ Julien, 'Exercices Pratiques,' p. 120. Endlicher, 'Chinesische Grammatik,' § 161. See also Nöldeke, 'Orient und Occident,' vol. i. p. 759. 'Grammar of the Bornu Language' (London, 1853), p. 55, 'In the Treaty the genitive is supplied by the relative pronoun *agu*, singularly corroborative of the Rev. R. Garnett's theory of the genitive case.'

visible and *invisible* from a verb *videre*, to see. Yet the same idea which we express by *invisible*, is expressed without difficulty in Chinese, only in a different way. They say *khan-pu-kien*, 'I-behold-and-do-not-see,' and this to them conveys the same idea as the English *invisible*, though more exactly *invisible* might be rendered by *kien*, to see, *pou-te*, one cannot, *ti*, which.

We cannot in Chinese derive from *ferrum*, iron, a new substantive *ferrarius*, a man who works in iron, a blacksmith; *ferraria*, an iron mine, and again *ferrariarius*, a man who works in an iron mine. All this is possible in an inflectional language only. But it is not to be supposed that in Chinese there is an independent expression for every single conception, even for those which are clearly secondary and derivative. If an arrow in Chinese is *shi*, then a maker of arrows (in old French *fléchier*, in English *fletcher*) is called an arrow-man, *shi-jin*. *Shui* means water, *fu*, man; hence *shui-fu*, a water man, a water carrier. The same word *shui*, water, if followed by *sheu*, hand, stands for steersman, literally, water-hand. *Kin* means gold, *tsiang*, maker; hence *kin-tsiang*, a gold-smith. *Shou* means writing, *sheu*, hand; hence *shou-sheu*, a writer, a copyist, literally, a writing-hand.

A transition from such compounds to really combinatory speech is extremely easy. Let *sheu*, in the sense of hand, become obsolete, and be replaced in the ordinary language by another word for hand; and let such names as *shu-sheu*, author, or *shui-sheu*, boatsman, be retained, and the people who speak this language will soon accustom themselves to look upon *sheu* as a mere derivative, and use it by a kind of

false analogy, even where the original meaning of *sheu*, hand, would not have been applicable¹.

We can watch the same process even in comparatively modern languages. In Anglo-Saxon, for instance, *hād* means state, order. It is used as an independent word, and continued to be so used as late as Spenser, who wrote :—

‘Cuddie, I wote thou kenst little good,
So vainly t’ advaunce thy headlesse hood.’

After a time, however, *hād*, as an independent word, was lost, and its place taken by more classical expressions, such as *habit*, *nature*, or *disposition*. But there remained such compounds as *man-hād*, the state of man, *God-hād*, the nature of God; and in these words the last element, being an empty word and no longer understood, was soon looked upon as a mere suffix. Having lost its vitality, it was all the more exposed to phonetic decay, and became both *hood* and *head*.

Or, let us take another instance. The name given to the fox in ancient German poetry was *Regin-hart*.

¹ ‘Time changes the meaning of words as it does their sound. Thus, many old words are retained in compounds, but have lost their original signification. E. g. *'k'eu*, mouth, has been replaced in colloquial usage by *'tsui*, but it is still employed extensively in compound terms and in derived senses. Thus, *k'wat' 'k'eu*, a rapid talker, *men 'k'eu*, door, *kwan 'k'eu*, custom house. So also *muh*, the original word for eye, has given place to *'yen*, *tsing*, or *'yen* alone. It is, however, employed with other words in derived senses. E. g. *muh hia'*, at present; *muh tuh*, table of contents.

‘The primitive word for head, *'sheu*, has been replaced by *.t'eu*, but is retained with various words in combination. E. g. *tseh 'sheu*, robber chief.’

Edkins, ‘Grammar of the Chinese Colloquial Language,’ 2nd edition, 1864, p. 100.

Regin in Old High German means thought or cunning, *hart*, the Gothic *hardu*, means strong. This *hart*¹ corresponds to the Greek *κράτος*, which, in its adjectival form of *κρατης*, forms as many proper names in Greek as *hart* in German. In Sanskrit the same word exists as *kratu*, meaning intellectual rather than bodily strength, a shade of meaning which is still perceivable even in the German *hart*, and in the English *hard* and *hardy*. *Reginhart*, therefore, was originally a compound, meaning 'thought-strong,' strong in cunning. Other words formed in the same or a very similar manner are :—*Peranhart* and *Bernhart*, literally, bear-minded, or bold like a bear; *Eburhart*, boar-minded; *Engilhart*, angel-minded; *Gothart*, god - minded; *Eginhart*, fierce - minded; *Hugihart*, wise-minded or strong in thought, the English *Hogarth*. In Low German the second element, *hart*, lost its *h* and became *ard*. This *ard* ceased to convey any definite meaning, and though in some of the words which are formed by *ard* we may still discover its original power, it soon became a mere derivative, and was added promiscuously to form new words. In the Low German name for the fox, *Reinaert*, neither the first nor the second word tells us any longer anything, and the two words together have become a mere proper name. In other words the first portion retains its meaning, but the second, *ard*, is nothing but a suffix. Thus we find the Low German *dronk-ard*, a drunkard; *dick-ard*, a thick fellow; *rik-ard*, a rich fellow; *gérard*, a miser. In English *sweet-ard*, originally a very sweet person, has been changed and resuscitated as *sweet-heart*²,

¹ Grimm, 'Deutsche Grammatik,' ii. 339.

² Cf. the German *Liebhart*, *mignon*, in *Ans-*

by the same process which changed *shamefast* into *shamefaced*. But, still more curious, this suffix *ard*, which had lost all life and meaning in Low German, was taken over as a convenient derivative by the Romance languages. After having borrowed a number of words such as *renard*, fox, and proper names like *Bernard*, *Richard*, *Gerard*, the framers of the new Romance dialects used the same termination even at the end of Latin words. Thus they formed not only many proper names, like *Abeillard*, *Bayard*, *Brossard*, but appellatives like *leccardo*, a gourmand, *linguardo*, a talker, *criard*, a crier, *codardo*, Prov. *coart*, Fr. *couard*, a coward¹. That a German word *hart*, meaning strong, and originally strength, should become a Roman suffix may seem strange; yet we no longer hesitate to use even Hindustani words as English suffixes. In Hindustani *válá* is used to form many substantives. If Dilli is Delhi, then Dill-*válá* is a man of Delhi. Go is cow, go-*válá* a

'Deutsche Grammatik,' iii. 707. I feel more doubtful now as to *sweetard*. Dr. Morris mentions it in his 'Historical Outlines of English Grammar,' p. 219; but Koch, when discussing the same derivations in his 'English Grammar,' does not give the word. Mr. Skeat writes to me: 'The form really used in Middle English is *sweeting*. Three examples are given in Stratmann. One of the best is in my edition of William of Palerne, where, however, it occurs not *once* only (as given by Stratmann), but *four times*; viz. in lines 916, 1537, 2799, 3088. The lines are:

"Nai, sertes, <i>sweeting</i> , he seide that schal I neuer."	916
"& seide aswithe <i>sweeting</i> , welcome!"	1537
"Sertes, <i>sweeting</i> , that is soth. seide william thanne."	2799
"treuli, <i>sweeting</i> , that is soth. seide william thane."	3088

The date of this poem is about A.D. 1360. Shakespeare has both forms; viz. *sweeting* and *sweet-heart*. Chaucer has *swete herte*, just as we should use *sweet-heart*.'

¹ Diez, 'Grammatik,' ii. 358. Grimm, 'Deutsche Grammatik,' i. p. 340, 706.

cow-herd, contracted into *gválá*. Innumerable words can thus be formed, and as the derivative seemed handy and useful, it was at last added even to English words, for instance in "Competition wallah."

These may seem isolated cases, but the principles on which they rest pervade the whole structure of language. It is surprising to see how much may be achieved by an application of those principles, how large results may be obtained by the smallest and simplest means. By means of the single radical *î* or *yâ*, (originally *ya*), which in the Aryan languages means to go or to send, the almost unconscious framers of Aryan grammar formed not only their neuter, denominative, and causative verbs, but their passives, their optatives, their futures, and a considerable number of substantives and adjectives. Every one of these formations, in Sanskrit as well as in Greek, can be explained, and has been explained, as the result of a combination between any given verbal root and the radical *î* or *yâ*.

There is, for instance, a root *nak*, expressive of perishing or destruction. We have it in *nak*, night; Latin *nox*, Greek *νύξ*, meaning originally the waning, the disappearing, the death of day. We have the same root in composition, as, for instance, *gîva-nak*, life-destroying; and by means of suffixes Greek has formed from it *νεκ-ρός*, a dead body, *νέκ-us*, dead, and *νέκ-u-es*, in the plural, the departed. In Sanskrit this root is turned into a simple verb, *nas-a-ti*, he perishes. But in order to give to it a more distinctly neuter meaning, a new verbal base is formed by composition with *ya*, *nas-ya-ti*, he goes to destruction, he perishes.

By the same or a very similar process denominative verbs are formed in Sanskrit to a very large extent.

From *râgan*, king, we form *râgâ-ya-te*, he behaves like a king, literally, he goes the king, he acts the king, *il a l'allure d'un roi*. From *kumârî*, girl, *kûmârâ-ya-te*, he behaves like a girl, etc¹.

After raising *nas* to *nâsa*, and adding the same radical *ya*, Sanskrit produces a causative verb, *nâsa-ya-ti*, he sends to destruction, the Latin *nêcare*.

In close analogy to the neuter verb *nasyati*, the regular passive is formed in Sanskrit by composition with *ya*, but by adding, at the same time, a different set of personal terminations. Thus *nâs-ya-ti* means he perishes, while *nas-yâ-te* means he is destroyed.

The usual terminations of the Optative in Sanskrit are :

yâm, yâs, yât, yâma, yâta, yus,

or, after bases ending in vowels :

iyam, is, it, ima, ita, iyus.

In Greek :

ιην, ιης, ιη, ιημεν, ιητε, ιεν,

or, after bases ending in o :

ομι, ος, ο, ομεν, οτε, οεν.

In Latin :

iêm, iês, iet, —, —, ient,

îm, îs, it, îmus, îtis, int.

If we add these terminations to the root *AS*, to *be*, we get the Sanskrit *s-yâm* for *as-yâm* :

syâm, syâs, syât, syâma, syâta, syus.

Greek *εσ-ιην*, contracted to *ειην* :

ειην, ειης, ειη, ειημεν, ειητε, ειεν.

¹ See 'Sanskrit Grammar,' § 497. I doubt whether in Greek *ἀγγελλω* is a denominative verb and stands for *ἀγγελ(ο)ῖω* (Curtius, 'Chronologie,' p. 58). I should prefer to explain it as *ἀνα-γαρ-ίω*, to proclaim, as a verb of the fourth class.

Latin *es-iam*, changed to *siēm*, *sīm*, and *erīm*.

siēm,	siēs,	siet ¹ ,	—	—	sient,
sim,	sīs,	sit ² ,	sīmus,	sītis,	sint.
erīm,	erīs,	erit,	erīmus,	erītis,	erint.

If we add the other termination to a verbal base ending in certain vowels, we get the Sanskrit bhara-iyam, contracted to bhāreyam :

bharēyam, bharēs, bharēt, bharēma, bharēta, bharēyus.

in Greek φέρο-ιμι :

φέρο-ιμι, φέρο-ις, φέρο-ι, φέρο-ιμεν, φέρο-ιτε, φέρο-ιεν.

in Latin *ferē-im*, changed to *ferem*, used in the sense of a future, but replaced³ in the first person by *feram*, the subjunctive of the present :

feram, ferēs, feret, ferēmus, ferētis, ferent.

Perfect Subjunctive :

tul-erīm, tul-erīs, tul-erit, tul-erimus, tul-eritis⁴, tul-erint.

¹ Lex Repetund. 'ceivis romanus ex hac lege fiet, nepotesque—ceiveis romanei justei sunt.' Cf. Egger, 'Lat. Serm. Vetust. Reliq.' p. 245. Meunier, in 'Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique, de Paris,' vol. i. p. 34.

² Still used as long by Plautus; cf. Neue, 'Formenlehre,' ii. p. 340.

³ In old Latin the termination of the first person singular was *em*. Thus Quintilian, i. 7. 23, says: 'Quid? non Cato Censorius *dicam* et *faciam*, *dicem* et *faciem* scripsit, eundemque in ceteris, quae similiter cadunt, modum tenuit? quod et ex veteribus ejus libris manifestum est, et a Messala in libro de s. littera positum.' Neue, 'Formenlehre,' ii. p. 348. The introduction of *feram*, originally a subjunctive, to express the future in the first person, reminds us of the distinction in English between *I shall* and *thou wilt*, though the analogy fails in the first person plural. In Homer the use of the subjunctive for the future is well known. See Curtius, 'Chronologie,' p. 50.

⁴ Historically the *i* in *tule* of the perfect, short in the

Here we have clearly the same auxiliary verb, *i* or *ya*, again, and we are driven to admit that what we now call an optative or potential mood, was originally a kind of future, formed by *ya*, to go, very much like the French *je vais dire*, I am going to say, I shall say, or like the Zulu *ngi-ya-ku-tanda*, I go to love, I shall love¹. The future would afterwards assume the character of a civil command, as 'thou wilt go' may be used even by us in the sense of 'go;' and the imperative would dwindle away into a potential, as we may say: 'go and you will see,' in the same sense as, if you go, you will see.

The terminations of the future are :

Sanskrit :

syâmi, syasi, syati, syâmas, syâtha, syanti.

Greek :

σω, σεις, σει, σομεν, σετε, ουσι.

Latin :

ero, eris, erit, erimus, eritis, erunt.

In these terminations we have really two auxiliary verbs, the verb *as*, to be, and *ya*, to go, and by adding them to any given root, *as*, for instance, *DA*, to give, we have the Sanskrit (*dâ-as-yâ-mi*) :

dâ-s-yâ-mi, *dâ-s-ya-si*, *dâ-s-ya-ti*, *dâ-s-yâ-mas*, *dâ-s-ya-tha*, *dâ-s-ya-nti*,

Greek (*δω-εσ-ω*) :

*δω-σ-ω*², *δω-σ-εις*, *δω-σ-ει*, *δω-σ-ομεν*, *δω-σ-ετε*, *δω-σ-ουσι*.

¹ Bleek, 'On the Concord,' p. lxvi.

² In *δω-σ-ω*, for *δωσώ*, the *i* or *y* is lost in Greek as usual. In other verbs *s* and *y* are both lost. Hence *τενείω* becomes *τενίω*, and *τενῶ*, the so-called Attic future. Bopp, 'Vergleich. Grammatik,' first ed. p. 903. In Latin we have traces of a similar future in

Latin :

pot-ero, pot-eris, pot-erit, pot-erimus, pot-eritis, pot-erunt.

A verbal form of very frequent occurrence in Sanskrit is the so-called gerundive participle which signifies that a thing is necessary or proper to be done. Thus from *budh*, to know, is formed *bodh-ya-s*, one who is to be known, *cognoscendus*; from *guh*, to hide, *gúh-ya-s* or *goh-ya-s*, one who is to be hidden, literally, one who goes to a state of hiding or being hidden; from *yag*, to sacrifice, *yâg-ya-s*, one who is or ought to be worshipped. Here, again, what is going to be becomes gradually what will be, and lastly, what shall be. In Greek we find but few analogous forms, such as *ἅγιος*, holy, *στυγίος*, to be hated; in Latin, *ex-im-i-us*, to be taken out; in Gothic *anda-ném-ja*, to be taken on, to be accepted, agreeable, German *angenehm*¹.

While the gerundive participles in *ya* are formed on the same principle as the verbal bases in *ya* of the passive, a number of substantives in *ya* seem to

forms like *fac-so*, *cap-so*, etc. See Neue, 'Formenlehre,' ii. p. 421. The Epic dialect sometimes doubles the *σ* when the vowel is short, *αἰδέσσομαι*. But this can hardly be considered a relic of the original *σ*, because the same reduplication takes place sometimes in the Aorist, *ἐγέλασσα*.

¹ See Bopp, 'Vergleichende Grammatik,' §§ 897, 898. These verbal adjectives should be carefully distinguished from nominal adjectives, such as Sanskrit *div-yá-s*, *divinus*, originally *div-i-a-s*, i.e. *divi-bhavas*, being in heaven; *οἰκίος*, *domesticus*, originally *οἰκε-ος*, being in the house. These are adjectives formed, it would seem, from old locatives, just as in Bask we can form from *etche*, house, *etche-tic*, of the house, and *etche-tic-acoa*, he who is of the house; or from *seme*, son, *semea-ren*, of the son, and *semea-ren-a*, he who is of the son. See W. J. van Eys, 'Essai de Grammaire de la Langue Be
p.

have been formed in close analogy to the bases of denominative verbs, or the bases of neuter verbs, in all of which the derivative *ya* expresses originally the act of going, behaving, and at last of simple being. Thus from *vid*, to know, we find in Sanskrit *vid-yâ*, knowing, knowledge; from *si*, to lie down, *sayyâ*, resting. Analogous forms in Latin are *gaud-i-um*, *stud-i-um*, or, with feminine terminations, *in-ed-i-a*, *in-vid-i-a*, *per-nic-i-es*, *scab-i-es*; in Greek, *μαv-í-a*, *ἀμαρτ-í-a* or *ἀμαρτ-ι-ov*; in German, numerous abstract nouns in *i* and *e*¹.

This shows how much can be achieved, and has been achieved, in language with the simplest materials. Neuter, denominative, causative, passive verbs, optatives and futures, gerundives, adjectives, and substantives, all are formed by one and the same process, by means of one and the same root. It is no inconsiderable portion of grammar which has thus been explained by this one root *ya*, to go, and we learn again and again how simple and yet how wonderful are the ways of language, if we follow them up from *stratum* to *stratum* to their original starting-point.

Now what has happened in these cases, has happened over and over again in the history of language. Everything that is now formal, not only derivative suffixes, but everything that constitutes the grammatical framework and articulation of language, was originally material. What we now call the terminations of cases were mostly local adverbs; what we call the personal endings of verbs were personal pronouns. Suffixes and affixes were mostly independent

¹ Bopp, 'Vergleichende Grammatik,' §§ 888-898.

words, nominal, verbal, or pronominal; there is, in fact, nothing in language that is now empty, or dead, or formal, that was not originally full, and alive, and material. It is the object of Comparative Grammar to trace every formal or dead element back to its life-like form; and though this resuscitating process is by no means complete, nay, though in several cases it seems hopeless to try to discover the living type from which proceeded the petrified fragments which we call terminations or suffixes, enough evidence has been brought together to establish on the firmest basis this general maxim, that *Nothing is dead in any language that was not originally alive*; that nothing exists in a tertiary stratum that does not find its antecedents and its explanation in the secondary or primary stratum of human speech.

After having explained, as far as it was possible in so short a time, what I consider to be the right view of the stratification of human speech, I should have wished to be able to show to you how the aspect of some of the most difficult and most interesting problems of our science is changed, if we look at them again with the new light which we have gained regarding the necessary antecedents of all language. Let me only call your attention to one of the most contested points in the Science of Language. The question whether we may assign a common origin to the Aryan and Semitic languages has been discussed over and over again. No one thinks now of deriving Sanskrit from Hebrew, or Hebrew from Sanskrit; the only question is whether at some time or other the two languages could ever have formed part of one and the same body of speech. There are scholars, and very eminent scholars, who deny all similarity

between the two, while others have collected materials that would seem to make it difficult to assign such numerous coincidences to mere chance. Nowhere, in fact, has Bacon's observation on this radical distinction between different men's dispositions for philosophy and the sciences been more fully verified than among the students of the Science of Language:—*Maximum et velut radicale discrimen ingeniorum, quoad philosophiam et scientias, illud est, quod alia ingenia sint fortiora et aptiora ad notandas rerum differentias; alia ad notandas rerum similitudines...* *Utrumque autem ingenium facile labitur in excessum, prensando aut gradus rerum, aut umbras*¹. Before, however, we enter upon an examination of the evidence brought forward by different scholars in support of their conflicting theories, it is our first duty to ask a preliminary question, viz. What kind of evidence have we any right to expect, considering that both Sanskrit and Hebrew belong, in the state in which we know them, to the inflectional stratum of speech?

Now it is quite true that Sanskrit and Hebrew had a separate existence long before they reached the tertiary stratum, before they became thoroughly inflectional; and that consequently they can share nothing in common that is peculiar to the inflectional stratum in each, nothing that is the result of phonetic decay, which sets in after combinatory formations have become unintelligible and traditional. I mean, supposing that the pronoun of the first person had been originally the same in the Semitic and Aryan languages, supposing that in the Hebrew

¹ Bacon, 'Novum Organum,' i. 55.

an-oki (Assyrian *an-aku*, Phen. *anak*) the last portion, *oki*, was originally identical with the Sanskrit *ah* in *a ham*, the Greek *éγ* in *éγ-ώ*, it would still be useless to attempt to derive the termination of the first person singular, whether in *kátal-ti* or in *ektól*, from the same type which in Sanskrit appears as *mi* or *am*, or *a*, in *tudâ-mi*, *atud-am*, *tutod-a*. There cannot be between Hebrew and Sanskrit the same relationship as between Sanskrit and Greek, if indeed the term of relationship is applicable even to Sanskrit and Greek, which are really mere dialectic varieties of one and the same type of speech.

The question then arises, Could the Semitic and Aryan languages have been identical during the second or *combinatory* period? Here, as before, the answer must be, I believe, decidedly negative, for not only are the empty words which are used for derivative purposes different in each, but, what is far more characteristic, the manner in which they are added to the stems is different too. In the Aryan languages formative elements are attached to the ends of words only; in the Semitic languages they are found both at the end and at the beginning. In the Aryan languages grammatical compounds are all according to the formula $r\rho$; in the Semitic we have formations after the formulas $r\rho$, ρr , and $\rho r\rho$.

There remains, therefore, the first or isolating stage only in which Semitic and Aryan speech might have been identical. But even here we must make a distinction. All Aryan roots are monosyllabic, all Semitic roots have been raised to a trilateral form. Therefore it is only previous to the time when the Semitic roots assumed this secondary trilateral form that any community could possibly be ad

tween these two streams of language. Supposing we knew as an historical fact that at this early period—a period which transcends the limits of everything we are accustomed to call historical—Semitic and Aryan speech had been identical, what evidence of this union could we expect to find in the actual Semitic and Aryan languages such as we know them in their inflectional period? Let us recollect that the 100,000 words of English, nay, the many hundred thousand words in all the dictionaries of the other Aryan languages, have been reduced to about 500 roots, and that this small number of roots admits of still further reduction. Let us, then, bear in mind that the same holds good with regard to the Semitic languages, particularly if we accept the reduction of all triliteral to biliteral roots. What, then, could we expect in our comparison of Hebrew and Sanskrit but a small number of radical coincidences, a similarity in the form and meaning of about 500 radical syllables, everything else in Hebrew and Sanskrit being an after-growth, which could not begin before the two branches of speech were severed once and for ever.

But more, if we look at these roots we shall find that their predicative power is throughout very general, and therefore liable to an infinite amount of specification. A root that means to fall (Sk. *pat*, *πί-πτ-ω*) comes to mean to fly (Sk. *ut-pat*, *πέτομαι*). The root *dâ*, which means to give, assumes, after the preposition *â*, the sense of taking. The root *yu*, which means to join, means to separate if preceded by the preposition *vi*. The root *ghar*, which expresses brightness, may supply, and does supply in different Aryan languages, derivations expressive of

brightness (gleam), warmth (Sk. *gharma*, heat), joy (*χαίρειν*), love (*χάρις*), of the colours of green (Sk. *hari*), yellow (*gilvus, flavus*), and red (Sk. *harit, fulvus*), and of the conception of growing (*ger-men*). In the Semitic languages this vagueness of meaning in the radical elements forms one of the principal difficulties of the student, for according as a root is used in its different conjugations, it may convey the most startling variety of conception. It is also to be taken into account that out of the very limited number of roots which at that early time were used in common by the ancestors of the Aryan and Semitic races, a certain portion may have been lost by each, so that the fact that there are roots in Hebrew of which no trace exists in Sanskrit, and *vice versá*, would again be perfectly natural and intelligible.

It is right and most essential that we should see all this clearly, that we should understand how little evidence we are justified in expecting in support of a common origin of the Semitic and Aryan languages, before we commit ourselves to any opinion on this important subject. I have by no means exhausted all the influences that would naturally, nay necessarily, have contributed towards producing the differences between the radical elements of Aryan and Semitic speech, always supposing that the two sprang originally from the same source. Even if we excluded the ravages of phonetic decay from that early period of speech, we should have to make ample allowances for the influence of dialectic variety. We know in the Aryan languages the constant play between gutturals, dentals, and labials (*quinque*, Sk. *panka*, *πέντε*, Aeol. *πέμπε*, Goth. *fimf*). We know the dialectic interchange of Aspirate, Media, and Tenuis,

which, from the very beginning, has imparted to the principal channels of Aryan speech their individual character (*τρεις*, Goth. *threis*, High German *drei*)¹. If this and much more could happen within the dialectic limits of one more or less settled body of speech, what must have been the chances beyond those limits? Considering how fatal to the identity of a word the change of a single consonant would be in monosyllabic languages, we might expect that monosyllabic roots, if their meaning was so general,

¹ Until a rational account of these changes, comprehended under the name of *Lautverschiebung*, is given, we must continue to look upon them, not as the result of phonetic decay, but of dialectic growth. I am glad to find that this is more and more admitted by those who think for themselves, instead of simply repeating the opinions of others. Grimm's Law stands no longer alone, as peculiar to the Teutonic languages, but analogous changes have been pointed out in the South-African, the Chinese, the Polynesian dialects, showing that these changes are everywhere collateral, not successive. I agree with Professor Curtius and other scholars that the impulse to what we call *Lautverschiebung* was given by the third modification in each series of consonants, by the *gh*, *dh*, *bh* in Sanskrit, the *χ*, *θ*, *φ* in Greek. I differ from him in considering the changes of *Lautverschiebung* as the result of dialectic variety, while he sees their motive power in phonetic corruption. But whether we take the one view or the other, I do not see that Dr. Scherer has removed any of our difficulties. See Curtius, 'Grundzüge,' 4th ed. p. 426, note. Dr. Scherer, in his thoughtful work 'Zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache,' has very nearly, though not quite, apprehended the meaning of my explanation as to the effects of dialectic change contrasted with those of phonetic decay. If it is allowable to use a more homely illustration, one might say with perfect truth, that each dialect chooses its own phonetic garment, as people choose the coats and trousers which best fit them. The simile, like all similes, is imperfect, yet it is far more exact than if we compare the ravages of phonetic decay, as is frequently done, to the wear and tear of these phonetic suits.

vague, and changeable, would all the more carefully have preserved their consonantal outline. But this is by no means the case. Monosyllabic languages have their dialects no less than polysyllabic ones; and from the rapid and decisive divergence of such dialects we may learn how rapid and decisive the divergence of language must have been during the isolating period. Mr. Edkins, who has paid particular attention to the dialects of Chinese, states that in the northern provinces the greatest changes have taken place, eight initial and one final consonant having been exchanged for others, and three finals lost. Along the southern bank of the Yang-tsi-kiang, and a little to the north of it, the old initials are all preserved, as also through Chekiang to Fuh-kien. But among the finals, *m* is exchanged for *n*; *t* and *p* are lost, and also *k*, except in some country districts. Some words have two forms, one used colloquially, and one appropriated to reading. The former is the older pronunciation, and the latter more near to Mandarin. The cities of Su-cheu, Hang-cheu, Ningpo, and Wen-cheu, with the surrounding country, may be considered as having one dialect, spoken probably by thirty millions of people, i. e. by more than the whole population of Great Britain and Ireland. The city of Hwei-cheu has a dialect of its own, in which the soft initial consonants are exchanged for hard and aspirated ones, a process analogous to what we call *Lautverschiebung* in the Aryan languages. At Fucheu-fu, in the eastern part of the province of Kiang-si, the soft initials have likewise been replaced by aspirates. In many parts of the province of Hunan the soft initials still linger on; but in the city of Chang-sha the spoken dialect has the five

tones of Mandarin, and the aspirated and other initials distributed in the same manner. In the island of Hai-nan there is a distinct approach to the form which Chinese words assume in the language of Annam. Many of the hard consonants are softened, instead of the reverse taking place as in many other parts of China. Thus *ti*, *di*, both *ti* in Mandarin, are both pronounced *di* in Hai-nan. *B* and *p* are both used for many words whose initials are *w* and *f* in Mandarin. In the dialects of the province of Fuh-kien the following changes take place in initial consonants: *k* is used for *h*; *p* for *f*; *m*, *b*, for *w*; *j* for *y*; *t* for *ch*; *ch* for *s*; *ng* for *i*, *y*, *w*; *n* for *j*¹. When we have clearly realised to ourselves what such changes mean in words consisting of one consonant and one vowel, we shall be more competent to act as judges, and to determine what right we have to call for more ample and more definite evidence in support of the common origin of languages which became separated during their monosyllabic or isolating stages, and which are not known to us before they are well advanced in the inflectional stage.

It might be said:—why, if we make allowance for all this, the evidence really comes to nothing, and is hardly deserving of the attention of the scholar. I do not deny that this is, and always has been my own opinion. All I wish to put clearly before other scholars is, that this is not our fault. We see why there can be no evidence, and we find there is no evidence, or very little in support of a common origin of Semitic and Aryan speech. But

¹ Edkins, 'Grammar,' p. 84.

that is very different from dogmatic assertions, so often and so confidently repeated that there can be no kind of relationship between Sanskrit and Hebrew, that they must have had different beginnings, that they represent, in fact, two independent species of human speech. All this is pure dogmatism, and no true scholar will be satisfied with it, or turn away contemptuously from the tentative researches of scholars like Ewald, Raumer, and Ascoli. These scholars, particularly Raumer and Ascoli, have given us, as far as I can judge, far more evidence in support of a radical relationship between Hebrew and Sanskrit than, from my point of view, we are entitled to expect. I mean this as a caution in both directions. If, on one side, we ought not to demand more than we have a right to demand, we ought, on the other, not to look for, nor attempt to bring forward, more evidence than the nature of the case admits of. We know that words which have identically the same sound and meaning in Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and German, cannot be the same words, because they would contravene those phonetic laws that made these languages to differ from each other. *To doom* cannot have any connection with the Latin *damnare*; *to call* cannot be the Greek *καλεῖν*, the Latin *calare*; nor Greek *φάυλος* the German *faul*; the English *care* cannot be identified with Latin *cura*, nor the German *Auge* with the Greek *αὐγή*. The same applies, only with a hundred-fold greater force, to words in Hebrew and Sanskrit. If any trilateral root in Hebrew were to agree with a trilateral word in Sanskrit, we should feel certain, at once, that they are not the same, or that their similarity is purely

accidental. Pronouns, numerals, and a few imitative rather than predicative names for father and mother, etc., may have been preserved from the earliest stage by the Aryan and Semitic speakers; but if scholars go beyond, and compare such words as Hebrew *barak*, to bless, and Latin *precari*; Hebrew *lab*, heart, and the English *liver*; Hebrew *melech*, king, and the Latin *mulcere*, to smoothe, to quiet, to subdue, they are in great danger, I believe, of proving too much.

Attempts have lately been made to point out a number of roots which Chinese shares in common with Sanskrit. Far be it from me to stigmatize even such researches as unscientific, though it requires an effort for one brought up in the very straitest school of Bopp, to approach such inquiries without prejudice. Yet, if conducted with care and sobriety, and particularly with a clear perception of the limits within which such inquiries must be confined, they are perfectly legitimate; far more so than the learned dogmatism with which some of our most eminent scholars have declared a common origin of Sanskrit and Chinese as out of the question. I cannot bring myself to say that the method which Mr. Chalmers adopts in his interesting work on the 'Origin of Chinese' is likely to carry conviction to the mind of the *boná fide* sceptic. I believe, before we compare the words of Chinese with those of any other language, every effort should be made to trace Chinese words back to their most primitive form. Here Mr. Edkins has pointed out the road that ought to be followed, and has clearly shown the great advantage to be derived from an accurate study of Chinese dialects. The same scholar has

done still more by pointing out how Chinese should at first be compared with its nearest relatives, the Mongolian of the North-Turanian, and the Tibetan of the South-Turanian class, before any comparisons are attempted with more distant colonies that started during the monosyllabic period of speech. 'I am now seeking to compare,' he writes, 'the Mongolian and Tibetan with the Chinese, and have already obtained some interesting results :

'1. A large proportion of Mongol words are Chinese. Perhaps a fifth are so. The identity is in the first syllable of the Mongol words, that being the root. The correspondence is most striking in the adjectives, of which perhaps one half of the most common are the same radically as in Chinese. E. g. *sain*, good; *begen*, low; *ic'hi*, right; *sologai*, left; *c'hihe*, straight; *gadan*, outside; *c'hohon*, few; *logon*, green; *hung-gun*, light (not heavy). But the identity is also extensive in other parts of speech, and this identity of common roots seems to extend into the Turkish, Tatar, etc.; e. g. *su*, water, *tenri*, heaven.

'2. To compare Mongol with Chinese it is necessary to go back at least six centuries in the development of the Chinese language. For we find in common roots final letters peculiar to the old Chinese, e. g. final *m*. The initial letters also need to be considered from another standpoint than the Mandarin pronunciation. If a large number of words are common to Chinese, Mongol and Tatar, we must go back at least twelve centuries to obtain a convenient epoch of comparison.

'3. While the Mongol has no traces of tones, they are very distinctly developed in Tibetan. Csoma de Körös and Schmidt do not mention the existence

of tones, but they plainly occur in the pronunciation of native Tibetans resident in Peking.

'4. As in the case of the comparison with Mongol, it is necessary in examining the connection of Tibetan with Chinese to adopt the old form of the Chinese with its more numerous final consonants, and its full system of soft, hard, and aspirated initials. The Tibetan numerals exemplify this with sufficient clearness.

'5. While the Mongol is near the Chinese in the extensive prevalence of words common to the two languages, the Tibetan is near in phonal structure, as being tonic and monosyllabic. This being so, it is less remarkable that there are many words common to Chinese and Tibetan, for it might have been expected; but that there should be perhaps as many in the Mongol with its long untuned polysyllables, is a curious circumstance¹.'

¹ Having stated this on the authority of Mr. Edkins, one of our best living Chinese scholars, it is but fair that I should give the opinion of another Chinese scholar, the late Stanislas Julien, whose competence to give an opinion on this subject Mr. Edkins would probably be the first to acknowledge. All that we really want is the truth, not a momentary triumph of our own opinions. M. Julien wrote to me in July, 1868 :

'Je ne suis pas du tout de l'avis d'Edkins qui dit qu'un grand nombre de mots mongols sont chinois ; c'est faux, archifaux.

Sain est mandchou et veut dire bon, en chinois *chen*.

begen, low ; en chinois *hia*.

itchi, droit ; en chinois *yeou*.

sologai, left, gauche ; en chinois *tso*.

c'hihe, straight ; en chinois *tchi* (rectus.)

gadan, outside ; en chinois *waï*.

logon, green ; en chinois *tsing*.

c'hohon, few ; en chinois *chao*.

hungun, light (not heavy) ; en chinois *king*.

This is no doubt the right spirit in which researches into the early history of language should be conducted, and I hope that Mr. Edkins, Mr.

‘Je voudrais bien savoir comment M. Edkins prouve que les mots qu’il cite sont chinois.

‘Foucaux a échoué également en voulant prouver, autrefois, que 200 mots thibétains qu’il avait choisis ressemblaient aux mots chinois correspondants.’

M. Stanislas Julien wrote again to me on the 21st of July:

‘J’ai peur que vous ne soyez fâché du jugement sévère que j’ai porté sur les identifications faites par Edkins du mongol avec le chinois. J’ai d’abord pris dans votre savant article les mots mongols qu’il cite et je vous ai montré qu’ils ne ressemblent pas le moins du monde au chinois.

‘Je vais vous en citer d’autres tirés du Dictionnaire de Khienlung, chinois-mandchou-mongol.

Mongol.	Chinois.
<i>tegrî</i> , ciel	<i>thien</i> .
<i>naran</i> , soleil	<i>jî</i> .
<i>naran barimoni</i> , } éclipse de soleil }	<i>jî-chi</i> .
<i>saran</i> , lune	<i>youèi</i> .
<i>oudoun</i> , étoile	<i>sing</i> .
<i>egoulé</i> , nuages	<i>yun</i> .
<i>ayounga</i> , le tonnerre	<i>louï</i> .
<i>tchagilgan</i> , éclair	<i>tien</i> .
<i>borogan</i> , la pluie	<i>yu</i> .
<i>sigouderi</i> , la rosée	<i>lou</i> .
<i>kirago</i> , la gelée	<i>choang</i> .
<i>lapsa</i> , la neige	<i>sioe</i> .
<i>salgin</i> , le vent	<i>fong</i> .
<i>ousoun</i> , l’eau	<i>chouï</i> .
<i>gal</i> , le feu	<i>ho</i> .
<i>siroi</i> , la terre	<i>thou</i> .
<i>aisin</i> , l’or	<i>altan</i> .

‘Je vous donnerai, si vous le désirez, 1000 mots mongols avec leurs synonymes chinois, et je défie M. Edkins de trouver dans 1000 mots ’

Chalmers, and others, will not allow themselves to be discouraged by the ordinary objections that are brought against all tentative studies. Even if their

‘Comme j’ai fait assez de thibétain, je puis vous fournir aussi une multitude de mots thibétains avec leurs correspondants en chinois, et je défierai également M. Edkins de trouver un seul mot thibétain dans mille qui ressemble au mot chinois qui a le même sens.’

My old friend, M. Stanislas Julien, wrote to me once more on this subject, the 6th of August, 1868 :

‘Depuis une quinzaine d’années, j’ai l’avantage d’entretenir les meilleures relations avec M. Edkins. J’ai lu, anciennement dans un journal que publie M. Léon de Rosny (actuellement professeur titulaire de la langue Japonaise) le travail où M. Edkins a tâché de rapprocher et d’identifier, par les sons, des mots mongols et chinois ayant la même signification. Son système m’a paru mal fondé. Quelques mots chinois peuvent être entrés dans la langue mongole par suite du contact des deux peuples, comme cela est arrivé pour le mandchou, dont beaucoup de mots sont entrés dans la langue mongole en en prenant les terminaisons ; mais il ne faudrait pas se servir de ces exemples pour montrer l’identité ou les ressemblances des deux langues.

‘Quand les mandchous ont voulu traduire les livres chinois, ils ont rencontré un grand nombre de mots dont les synonymes n’existaient pas dans leur langue. Ils se sont alors emparé des mots chinois en leur donnant des terminaisons mandchoues, mais cette quasi-ressemblance de certains mots mandchous ne prouve point le moins du monde l’identité des deux langues. Par exemple, un préfet se dit en chinois *tchi-fou*, et un sous-préfet *tchi-hien* ; les mandchous qui ne possédaient point ces fonctionnaires se sont contentés de transcrire les sons chinois *dchhifou*, *dchhikhiyan*.

‘Le tafetas se dit en chinois *tcheou-tse* ; les mandchous, n’ayant point de mots pour dire tafetas, ont transcrit les sons chinois par *tchousé*. Le bambou se dit *tchou-tze* ; ils ont écrit l’arbre (moo) *tchousé*. Un titre de noblesse écrit sur du papier doré s’appelle *tsé* ; les mandchous écrivent *tche*. Je pourrais vous citer un nombre considérable de mots du même genre, qui ne prouvent pas du tout l’identité du mandchou et du chinois.

researches should only lead to negative results, they would be of the highest importance. The criterion by which we test the relationship of inflectional languages, such as Sanskrit and Greek, Hebrew and Arabic, cannot, from the nature of the case, be applied to languages which are still in the combinatory or isolating stratum, nor would they answer

‘L’ambre s’appelle *hou-pe* ; les mandchous écrivent *khôba*. La barbe s’appelle *hou-tse*, ils écrivent *khôsé*.

‘Voici de quelle manière les mandchous ont fait certains verbes. Une balance s’appelle en chinois *thien p’ing*, ils écrivent *p’ing-sé* ; puis pour dire peser avec une balance, ils ont fait le verbe *p’ingse-lembi* ; *lembi* est une terminaison commune à beaucoup de verbes.

‘Pour dire faire peser, ordonner de peser avec une balance, ils écrivent *p’ingseleboûmbi* ; *boumbi* est la forme factive ou causative ; cette terminaison sert aussi pour le passif ; de sorte que ce verbe peut signifier aussi *être pesé avec une balance*.

‘Je pourrais citer aussi des mots mandchous auxquels on a donné la terminaison mongole, et *vice versa*.’

These remarks, made by one who, during his lifetime, was recognised by friend and foe as the first Chinese scholar in Europe, ought to have their proper weight. They ought certainly to make us cautious before persuading ourselves that the connection between the Northern and Southern branches of the Turanian languages has been found in Chinese. On the other hand, I am quite aware that all that M. Stanislas Julien says against Mr. Edkins may be true, and that nevertheless Chinese may have been the central language from which Mongolian in the north and Tibetan in the south branched off. A language, such as Chinese, with a small number of sounds and an immense number of meanings, can easily give birth to dialects which, in their later development, might branch off in totally different directions. Even with languages so closely connected as Sanskrit and Latin, it would be easy to make out a list of a thousand words in Latin which could not be matched in Sanskrit. The question, therefore, **What is wanted are re-**
 searches carried on
 at the same time

any purpose, if we tried by them to determine whether certain languages, separated during their inflectional growth, had been united during their combinatory stage, or whether languages, separated during their combinatory progress, had started from a common centre in their monosyllabic age. Bopp's attempt to work with his Aryan tools on the Malayo-Polynesian languages, and to discover in them traces of Aryan forms, ought to serve as a warning example.

However, there are dangers also, and even greater dangers, on the opposite shore, and if Mr. Chalmers in his interesting work on 'the Origin of Chinese,' compares, for instance, the Chinese *tzé*, child, with the Bohemian *tsi*, daughter, I know that the indignation of the Aryan scholars will be roused to a very high pitch, considering how they have proved most minutely that *tsi* or *dci* in Bohemian is the regular modification of *dugte*, and that *dugte* is the Sanskrit *duhitar*, the Greek *θυγάτηρ*, daughter, originally a pet-name, meaning a milk-maid, and given by the Aryan shepherds, and by them only, to the daughters of their house. Such accidents¹ will happen in so comprehensive a subject as the Science of Language. They have happened to scholars like Bopp, Grimm, and Burnouf,

¹ If Mr. Chalmers' comparison of the Chinese and Bohemian names for daughter is so unpardonable, what shall we say of Bopp's comparison of the Bengali and Sanskrit names for sister? Sister in Bengali is *bohinî*, the Hindi *bahin* and *bhân*, the Prakrit *bahinî*, the Sanskrit *bhaginî*. Bopp in the most elaborate way derives *bohinî* from the Sanskrit *svasrî*, sister. Bopp, 'Vergleichende Grammatik,' Vorrede zur vierten Abtheilung, p. x.

and they will happen again. I do not defend haste or inaccuracy, I only say, we must venture on, and not imagine that all is done, and that nothing remains to conquer in our science. Our watchword, here as elsewhere, should be *Festina lente!* but, by all means, *Festina! Festina! Festina!*

wrongly, we need not here inquire) to the pronominal stems *ana*, *that*, and *ti*, *he*. These two stems, when joined together, become *anti*¹, meaning *those and he*, and are gradually reduced to *âti*, and in Sanskrit to *us* for *ant*. What we call reduplication has likewise been traced back by Pott himself to an original repetition of the whole root, so that *vi-vis* stands for an original or intentional *vis-vis*; thus showing again the succession of the three stages, juxtaposition, *vis-vis*, combination, *vi-vis*, inflection, the same, *vi-vis*, though liable to further phonetic modification.

Used as a nominal base the same root *vis* appears, without any change, in the nom. plur. *vis-as*, the settlers, the clans, the people. Now here again Professor Pott himself has endeavoured to explain the inflection as by tracing it back to the pronominal base *as*, in *asau*, *ille*. He therefore takes the plural *vis-as* as a compound, meaning 'man and that;' that is to say, he traces the inflection back to a combinatory origin.

By raising the simple base *vis* to *visu*, we arrive at new verbal forms, such as *vis-â-mi*, I enter, *vis-a-si*, thou enterest, *vis-a-ti*, he enters. In all these inflectional forms, the antecedent combinatory stage is still more or less visible, for *mi*, *si*, *ti*, whatever their exact history may have been, are clearly varieties of the pronominal bases of the first, second, and third persons, *ma*, *tva*, *ta*.

Lastly, by raising *vis* to *vesa*, we arrive at a new nominal base, and by adding to it the stem of a demonstrative pronoun *s*, we form the so-called nom.

¹ Pott, E. F. 1871, p. 21.

take the French adverb *sincèrement*, sincerely, and trace it back to the Latin *sincerâ mente*, we have for a second time the three stages of juxtaposition, combination, and, to a certain extent, inflection, repeated before our eyes. I say inflection, for *ment*, though originally an independent word, soon becomes a mere adverbial suffix, the speakers so little thinking of its original purport, that we may say of a stone that it falls *lourdement*, heavily, without wishing to imply that it falls *luridâ mente*, with a heavy, lit. with a lurid mind.

If we take the nom. sing. of a noun in Sanskrit, Greek, or Latin, we find that masculine nouns end frequently in *s*. We have, for instance, Sk. *vesa-s*, Gr. *οἴκο-s*, Lat. *vicu-s*. These three words are identical in their termination, in their base, and in their root. The root is the Sk. *vis*, to settle down, to enter upon or into a thing. This root, without undergoing any further change, may answer the purpose both of a verbal and a nominal base. In the precative, for instance, we have *vis-yâ-t*, he may enter, which yields to a rational analysis into *vis*, the root *yâ*, to go, and the old pronominal stem of the third person, *t*, he. We reduplicate the root, and we get the perfect *vi-vis-us*, they have entered. Here I can understand that objections might be raised against accepting us as a mere phonetic corruption of *ant* and *anti*; but if, as in Greek, we find as the termination of the third pers. plur. of the perfect *ᾶσι*, we know that this is a merely phonetic change of the original *anti*¹, and this *anti* has been traced back by Pott himself (whether rightly or

¹ Curtius, 'Verbum,' p. 72.

PART II.

ON CURTIUS' CHRONOLOGY OF THE INDO-GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

IN a former Lecture on the 'Stratification of Language' I ventured to assert that wherever *inflection* has yielded to a rational analysis, it has invariably been recognised as the result of a previous *combination*, and wherever *combination* has been traced back to an earlier stage, that earlier stage has been simply *juxtaposition*.

Professor Pott in his 'Etymologische Forschungen' (1871, p. 16), a work which worthily holds its place by the side of Bopp's 'Comparative Grammar,' questions the correctness of that statement; but in doing so he seems to me to have overlooked the restrictions which I myself had introduced, in order to avoid the danger of committing myself to what might seem too general a statement. I did not say that every form of inflection had been proved to spring from a previous combination, but I spoke of those cases only where we have succeeded in a rational analysis of inflectional forms, and it was in these that I maintained that inflection had always been found to be the result of previous combination. What is the object of the analysis of grammatical inflections, or of Comparative Grammar in general, if not to find out what things originally were, before they assumed their present character? If we

sing. *vesa-s*, *olko-s*, *vicu-s*, from which we started, meaning originally house-here, this house, the house.

In all this Professor Pott would fully agree, but where he would differ, would be when we proceed to generalise, and to lay it down as an axiom, that all inflectional forms *must* have had the same combinatory origin. He may be right in thus guarding against too hasty generalisation, to which we are but too prone in all inductive sciences. I am well aware that there are many inflections which have not yielded, as yet, to any rational analysis, but, with that reservation, I thought, and I still think, it right to say that, until some other process of forming those inflections has been pointed out, inflection may be considered as the invariable result of combination.

It is impossible in writing, always to repeat such qualifications and reservations. They must be taken as understood. Take for instance the augment in Greek and Sanskrit. Some scholars have explained it as a negative particle, others as a demonstrative pronoun; others, again, took it as a mere symbol of differentiation. If the last explanation could be established by more general analogies, then, no doubt, we should have here an inflection, that cannot be referred to combination. Again, it would be difficult to say, what independent element was added to the pronoun *sa*, *he*, in order to make it *sâ*, *she*. This, too, may, for all we know, be a case of phonetic symbolism, and, if so, it should be treated on its own merits. The lengthening of the vowel in the subjunctive mood was formerly represented by Professor Curtius as a symbolic expression of hesitation. ~~but~~ he has lately rec-
able. I pointed

with such forms as *Piel* and *Pual*, *Hiphil* and *Hophal*, we feel tempted to admit formative agencies, different from mere juxtaposition and combination. But before we admit this purely phonetic symbolism, we should bear in mind that the changes of *bruder*, brother, into *brüder*, brethren, of *Ich weiss*, I know, into *wir wissen*, we know, which seem at first sight purely phonetic, have after all been proved to be the indirect result of juxtaposition and combination, so that we ought to be extremely careful and first exhaust every possible rational explanation, before we have recourse to phonetic symbolism as an element in the production of inflectional forms.

The chief object, however, of my Lecture on the 'Stratification of Language' was not so much to show that inflection everywhere presupposes combination, and combination juxtaposition, but rather to call attention to a fact, that had not been noticed before, viz. that there is hardly any language, which is not at the same time *isolating*, *combinatory*, and *inflectional*.

It had been the custom in classifying languages morphologically to represent some languages, for instance Chinese, as *isolating*; others, such as Turkish or Finnish, as *combinatory*; others, such as Sanskrit or Hebrew, as *inflectional*. Without contesting the value of this classification for certain purposes, I pointed out that even Chinese, the very type of the isolating class, is not free from combinatory forms, and that the more highly developed among the combinatory languages, such as Hungarian, Finnish, Tamil, etc., show the clearest traces of incipient inflection. 'The difficulty is not,' as I said, 'to show the transition of one stratum of speech into another, but rather to draw a sharp line between the

different strata. The same difficulty was felt in Geology, and led Sir Charles Lyell to invent such pliant names as *Eocene*, *Meiocene*, and *Pleiocene*, names which indicate a mere dawn, a minority, or a majority of new formations, but do not draw a fast and hard line, cutting off one stratum from the other. Natural growth and even merely mechanical accumulation and accretion, here as elsewhere, are so minute and almost imperceptible, that they defy all strict scientific terminology, and force upon us the lesson that we must be satisfied with an approximate accuracy.'

Holding these opinions, and having established them by an amount of evidence which, though it might easily be increased, seemed to me sufficient, I did not think it safe to assign to the three stages in the history of the Aryan languages, the *juxtapositional*, the *combinatory*, and the *inflectional*, a strictly successive character, still less to admit in the growth of the Aryan languages a number of definite stages, which should be sharply separated from each other, and assume an almost chronological character. I fully admit that wherever *inflectional* forms in the Aryan languages have yielded to a rational analysis, we see that they are preceded chronologically by *combinatory* formations; nor should I deny for one moment that *combinatory* forms presuppose an antecedent, and therefore chronologically more ancient stage of mere juxtaposition. What I doubt is whether, as soon as combination sets in, juxtaposition ceases, and when the first appearance of inflection puts an end to the working of combination.

It seems to me, even though I have argued prior

grounds, that there must have been at least a period of transition during which both principles were at work together, and I hardly can understand what certain scholars mean if they represent the principle of inflection as a sudden psychological change which, as soon as it has taken place, makes a return to combination altogether impossible. If, instead of arguing *à priori*, we look the facts of language in the face, we cannot help seeing that, even after that period during which it is supposed that the united Aryan language had attained its full development, I mean at a time when Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin had become completely separated, as so many national dialects, each with its own fully developed inflectional grammar, the power of combination was by no means extinct. The free power of composition, which is so manifest in Sanskrit and Greek, testifies to the continued working of combination in strictly historical times. I see no real distinction between the transition of *Néa pólis*, i.e. new town, into *Neápolis*, and into *Naples*, and the most primitive combination in Chinese, and I maintain that as long as a language retains that unbounded faculty of composition, which we see in Sanskrit, in Greek, and in German, the growth of new inflectional forms from combinatory germs must be admitted as possible. Forms such as the passive aorist in Greek, *ἐρέθην*, or the weak preterite in Gothic, *nas-i-da*, *nas-i-dédjau*, need not have been formed before the Aryan family broke up into national languages; and forms such as Italian *meco*, *fratello*, or the future *avro*, I shall have, though not exactly of the same workmanship, show at all events that analogous powers are at work even in the latest periods of linguistic growth.

Holding these opinions, which, as far as I know, have never been controverted, I ought perhaps, when I came to publish the preceding Lecture, to have defended my position against the powerful arguments advanced in the mean time by my old friend, Professor G. Curtius, in support of a diametrically opposite opinion, in his classical essay, 'On the Chronology of the Indo-Germanic Languages,' published in 1867, new edition, 1873. While I had endeavoured to show that juxtaposition, combination, and inflection, though following each other in succession, do not represent chronological periods, but represent phases, strongly developed, it is true, in certain languages, but extending their influence far beyond the limits commonly assigned to them, Professor Curtius tried to establish the chronological character not only of these three, but of four other phases or periods in the history of Aryan speech. Confining himself to what he considers the undivided Aryan language to have been, before it was broken up into national dialects, such as Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, he proceeds to subdivide the antecedent period of its growth into *seven* definite stages, each marked by a definite character, and each representing a sum of years in the chronology of the Aryan language. As I had found it difficult to treat Chinese as entirely *juxtapositional*, or Turkish as entirely *combinatory*, or Sanskrit as entirely *inflectional*, it was perhaps not to be wondered at that not even the persuasive pleading of my learned friend could convince me of the truth of the more minute chronological division proposed by him in his learned essay. But it would hardly have been fair if, on the present occasion, I had reprinted my 'Rede Lecture' without explaining

why I had altered nothing in my theory of linguistic growth, why I retained these three phases and no more, and why I treated even these, not as chronological periods, in the strict sense of the word, but as preponderating tendencies, giving an individual character to certain classes of language, without being totally absent in others. Professor Curtius is one of the few scholars with whom it is pleasant to differ. He has shown again and again that what he cares for is truth, not victory, and when he has defended his position against attacks not always courteous, he has invariably done so, not with hard words, but with hard arguments. I therefore feel no hesitation in stating plainly to him where his theories seem to me either not fully supported, or even contradicted by the facts of language, and I trust that this free exchange of ideas, though in public, will be as pleasant as our conversations in private used to be, now more than thirty years ago.

Let us begin with the *First Period*, which Professor Curtius calls the *Root-Period*. There must have been, as I tried to explain before, a period for the Aryan languages, during which they stood on a level with Chinese, using nothing but roots, or radical words, without having reduced any of them to a purely formal character, without having gone through the process of changing what Chinese grammarians call *full* words into *empty* words. I have always held, that to speak of roots as mere abstractions, as the result of grammatical theory, is self-contradictory. Roots which never had any real or historical existence may have been invented both in modern and ancient collections or Dhâtupâthas; but that is simply the fault of our etymological

analysis, and in no way affects the fact, that the Aryan, like all other languages we know, began with roots. We may doubt the legitimacy of certain chemical elements, but not the reality of chemical elements in general. Language, in the sense in which we use the word, begins with roots, which are not only the ultimate facts for the Science of Language, but real facts in the history of human speech. To deny their historical reality would be tantamount to denying cause and effect.

Logically, no doubt, it is possible to distinguish between a root as a mere postulate, and a root used as an actual word. That distinction has been carefully elaborated by Indian grammarians and philosophers, but it does in no way concern us in purely historical researches. What I mean by a root used in real language is this: when we analyse a cluster of Sanskrit words, such as yodha-s, a fighter, yodhaka-s, a fighter, yoddhâ, a fighter, yodhana-m, fighting, yuddhi-s, a fight, yuyutsu-s, wishing to fight, â-yudha-m, a weapon, we easily see that they presuppose an element yudh, to fight, and that they are all derived from that element by well-known grammatical suffixes. Now is this yudh, which we call the root of all these words, a mere abstraction? Far from it. We find it as yudh used in the Veda either as a nominal or as a verbal base, according to suffixes by which it is followed. Thus yudh by itself would be a fighter, only that dh when final, has to be changed into t. We have goshu-yúdh-am, an accusative, the fighter; cows. In the plural we have yúdh-i, in the locative yudh-i, in the mental, yudh-â, with th-

we find that as a nominal base, yudh, without any determinative suffixes, may express fighting, the place of fighting, the instrument of fighting, and a fighter. If our grammatical analysis is right, we should have yudh as a nominal base in yúdh-ya-ti, lit. he goes to fighting, yudh-yá-te, pass.; (a)-yut-smahi, aor., either we were to fight, or we were fighters; yú-yut-sa-ti, he is to fight-fight; yudh-ya-s, to be fought, (p. 98), etc. As a verbal base we find yudh, for instance, or yu-yudh-e, I have fought; in a-yud-dha, for a-yudh-ta, he fought. In the other Aryan languages this root has left hardly any traces: yet the Greek *ύσμίν*, and *ύσμίνη*, would be impossible without the root yudh.

The only difference between Chinese and these Sanskrit forms which we have just examined, is that while in Chinese such a form as yudh-i, in the battle, would have for its last element a word clearly meaning middle, and having an independent accent, Sanskrit has lost the consciousness of the original material meaning of the *i* of the locative, and uses it traditionally as an empty word, as a formal element, as a mere termination.

I also agree with Curtius that during the earliest stage, not of Sanskrit, but of Aryan speech in general, we have to admit two classes of roots, the *predicative* and *demonstrative*, and that what we now call the plural of yudh yudh-as, fighters, was, or may have been, originally a compound consisting of the predicative root yudh, and the demonstrative root, as or sa, possibly repeated twice, meaning 'fight-he-he,' or 'fight-there-there,' i. e. fighters.

There is another point with regard to the character of this earliest radical stage of the Aryan

language, on which formerly I should have agreed with Curtius, but where now I begin to feel more doubtful,—I mean the necessarily monosyllabic form of all original roots. There is, no doubt, much to be said for this view. We always like to begin with what is simple. We imagine, as it has been said, that ‘the simple idea must break forth, like lightning, in a simple body of sound, to be perceived in one single moment.’ But, on the other hand, the simple, so far as it is the general, is frequently, to us at least, the last result of repeated complex conceptions, and therefore there is at all events no *à priori* argument against treating the simplest roots as the latest, rather than the earliest products of language. Languages in a low state of development are rich in words expressive of the most minute differences, they are poor in general expressions, a fact which ought to be taken into account as an important qualification of a remark made by Curtius that language supplies necessities first, luxuries afterwards (p. 32). I quote the following excellent remarks from Mr. Sayce’s ‘Principles of Comparative Philology,’ (p. 208): ‘Among modern savages the individual objects of sense have names enough, while general terms are very rare. The Mohicans have words for cutting various objects, but none to signify cutting simple¹.’ In taking this view, we certainly

¹ Dr. Callaway in his ‘Remarks on the Zulu Language,’ (1870), p. 2, says: ‘The Zulu language contains upwards of 20,000 words in *bonâ fide* use among the people. Those curious appellations for different coloured cattle, or for different maize cobs, to express certain minute peculiarities of colour or arrangement of colour, which

are better able to explain the actual forms of the Aryan roots, viz. by *elimination*, rather than by *composition*. If we look for instance, as I did myself formerly, on such roots as yudh, yug, and yaut, as developed from the simpler root yu, or on mardh, marg, mark, marp, mard, smar, as developed from mar, then we are bound to account for the modificatory elements, such as *dh, g, k, p, d, s, n, t, r*, as remnants of other roots, whether predicative or demonstrative. Thus Curtius compares tar or tra, with tras, tram, trak, trap; tri and tru with trup, trib, taking the final consonants as modificatory letters. But what are these modificatory letters? Every attempt to account for them has failed. If it could be proved that these modificatory elements, which Curtius calls *Determinatives*, produced always the *same* modification of meaning, they might then be classed with the verbal suffixes which change simple verbs into causative, desiderative, or intensive verbs. But this is not the case. On the other hand, it would be perfectly intelligible that such roots as mark, marg, mard, mardh, expressing different kinds of crushing, became fixed side by side, that by a process of elimination, their distinguishing features were gradually removed, and the root mar left as the simplest form, expressive of the most general meaning. Without entering here on that process of mutual friction by which, I believe, that

it is difficult for us to grasp, are not synonymous, but instances in which a new noun or name is used instead of adding adjectives to one name to express the various conditions of an object. Neither are these various verbs used to express varieties of the same action, synonyms, such as *ukupata*, to carry in the hand, *ukweshata*, to carry on the shoulder, *ukubeleta*, to carry on the back.'

the development of roots can best be explained, we may say at least so much, that whatever process will account for the root *yu*, will likewise account for the root *yug*, nay, that roots like *mark* or *mard* are more graphic, expressive, and more easily intelligible than the root *mar*.

However, if this view of the origin of roots has to be adopted, it need not altogether exclude the other view. In the process of simplification, certain final letters may have become typical, may have seemed invested with a certain function or determinative power, and may therefore have been added independently to other roots, by that powerful imitative tendency which asserts itself again and again through the whole working of language. But however that may be, the sharp line of distinction which Curtius draws between the First Period, represented by simple, and the Second Period represented by derivative roots, seems certainly no longer tenable, least of all as dividing *chronologically* two distinct periods in the growth of language.

When we approach the Third Period, it might seem that here, at least, there could be no difference of opinion between Professor Curtius and myself. That Third Period represents simply what I call the first setting in of *combination*, following after the *isolating* stage. Curtius calls it the *primary verbal period*, and ascribes to it the origin of such combinatory forms as *dā-ma*, give-I, *dā-tva*, give-thou, *dā-ta*, give-he; *dā-ma-tvi*, give-we, *dā-tva-tvi*, give-you, *dā-(a)nti*, give-they. These verbal forms he considers as much earlier than any attempts at declension in nouns. No one who has read Curtius' arguments in support of this chronological arrangement

ment would deny their extreme plausibility; but there are grave difficulties which made me hesitate in adopting this hypothetical framework of linguistic chronology. I shall only mention one, which seemed to me insurmountable. We know that during what we called the First Radical Period the sway of phonetic laws was already so firmly established, that, from that period onward to the present day, we can say, with perfect certainty, which phonetic changes are possible, and which are not. It is through these phonetic laws that the most distant past in the history of the Aryan language is connected with the present. It is on them that the whole science of etymology is founded. Only because a certain root has a tenuis, a media, an aspirate, or a sibilant, is it possible to keep it distinct from other roots. If t and s could be interchanged, then the root tar, to cross, would not be distinct from the root sar, to go. If d and dh could vary, then dar, to tear, would run together with dhar, to hold. These phonetic distinctions were firmly established in the radical period, and continue to be maintained, both in the undivided Aryan speech, and in the divided national dialects, such as Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and Gothic. How then can we allow an intervening period, during which ma-tvi could become masi, tva-tvi, thas, and the same tva-tvi appear also as sai? Such changes, always most startling, may have been possible in earlier periods; but when phonetic order had once been established, as it was in what Curtius calls his first and second periods; to admit them as possible, would be, as far as I can judge, to admit a complete anachronism. Of two things one; either we must altogether surrender those chaotic changes which are

required for identifying Sanskrit *e* with Greek *μαι*, and Greek *μαι* with *mâ-ma*, etc., or we must throw them back to a period anterior to the final settlement of the Aryan roots.

I now proceed to point out a second difficulty. If Curtius uses these same personal terminations, *masi*, *tvasi*, and *anti*, as proof positive that they must have been compounded out of *ma + tva*, and *tva-tva*, before there were any case terminations, I do not think his argument is quite stringent. Curtius says: 'If plural suffixes had existed before the coining of these terminations, we should expect them here, as well as in the noun' (p. 33). But the plural of the pronoun *I* could never have been formed by a plural suffix, like the plural of *horse*. *I* admits of no plural, as little as *thou*, and hence the plural of these very pronouns in the Aryan language is not formed by the mere addition of a plural termination, but by a new base. We say *I*, but *we*; *thou*, but *you*, and so through all the Aryan languages. According to Curtius himself, *masi*, the termination of the plural, is not formed by repeating *ma*, by saying, *I* and *I*, but by *ma* and *tva*, *I* and *thou*, the most primitive way, he thinks, of expressing *we*. The termination of the second person plural might be expressed by repeating *thou*. 'You did it,' might have been rendered by 'thou and thou did it;' but hardly by treating *thou* like a noun, and adding to it a plural termination. The absence of plural terminations, therefore, at the end of the personal suffixes of the verbs, does not prove, as far as I can see, that plurals of nouns were unknown when the first, second, and third persons plural of the Aryan verbs were called into existence.

Again, if Curtius says, that 'what language has once learnt, it does not forget again, and that therefore if the plural had once found expression in nouns, the verb would have claimed the same distinction,' is true, no doubt, in many cases, but not so generally true as to supply a safe footing for a deductive argument. In so late a formation as the periphrastic future in Sanskrit, we say *dâtâ-smah*, as it were *dator sumus*, not *dâtârah smah*; and in the second person plural of the passive in Latin *amamini*, though the plural is marked, the gender is always disregarded.

Further, even if we admit with Bopp and Curtius that the terminations of the medium are composed of two pronouns, that the *ta* of the third person singular stands for *ta-ti*, to-him-he, that *καλύπτεται* in fact meant originally hide-himself-he, it does not follow that in such a compound one pronominal element should have taken the termination of the accusative, any more than the other takes the termination of the nominative. The first element in every composition takes necessarily its Pada or thematic form; the second or final element has suffered so much, according to Bopp's own explanation, that nothing would be easier to explain than the disappearance of a final consonant, if it had existed. The absence of case-terminations in such compounds cannot therefore be used as proof of the non-existence of case-terminations at a time when the medial and other personal endings took their origin. On the contrary, these terminations seem to me to indicate, though that the conception of a sub-
an objective case, had been
framed them. I do not

myself venture to speak very positively of such minute processes of analysis as that which discovers in the Sk. first pers. sing. ind. pres. of the middle, *tude*, I strike, an original *tuda + a + i*, *tuda + ma + i*, *tuda + ma + mi*, *tuda + mâ + ma*, but admitting that the middle was formed in that way, and that it meant originally *strike-to-me-I*, then surely we have in the first *mâ* an oblique case, and in the compound itself the clearest indication that the distinction between a nominative and an oblique case, whether dative or accusative, was no longer a mystery. Anyhow, and this is the real point at issue, the presence of such compounds as *mâ-ma*, *to-me-I*, is in no way a proof that at the time of their formation people could not distinguish between *yudh(s)* nom. a fighter, and *yudh(am)*, acc. a fighter; and we must wait for more irrefragable evidence before admitting, what would under all circumstances be a most startling conclusion, viz. that the Aryan language was spoken for a long time without case-terminations, but with a complete set of personal terminations, both in the singular and the plural. For though it is quite true that the want of cases could only be felt in a sentence, the same seems to me to apply to personal terminations of the verb. The one, in most languages we know, implies the other, and the very question whether conjugation or declension came first is one of those dangerous questions which take something for granted which has never been proved.

During all this time, according to Curtius, our Aryan language would have consisted of nothing but roots, used for nominal and verbal purposes, but without any purely derivative suffixes, whether

verbal or nominal, and without declension. The only advance, in fact, made beyond the purely Chinese standard, would have consisted in a few combinations of personal pronouns with verbal stems, which combinations assumed rapidly a typical character, and led to the formation of a skeleton of conjugation, containing a *present*, an *aoist* with an augment, and a *reduplicated perfect*. Why, during the same period, nominal bases should not have assumed at least some case-terminations, does not appear; and it certainly seems strange that people who could say *vak-ti*, *speak-he*, *vak-anti*, *speak-this-he*, should not have been able to say *vâk-s*, whether in the sense of *speak-there*, i. e. *speech*, or *speak-there*, i. e. *speaker*.

The next step which, according to Curtius, the Aryan language had to make, in order to emerge from its purely radical phase, was the creation of bases, both verbal and nominal, by the addition of verbal and nominal suffixes to roots, both primary and secondary. Curtius calls this fourth the Period of the *Formation of Themes*. These suffixes are very numerous, and it is by them that the Aryan languages have been able to make their limited number of roots supply the vast materials of their dictionary. From *bhar*, to carry, they formed *bhar-a*, a carrier, but sometimes also a burden. In addition to *bhar-ti*, *carry-he*, they formed *bhara-ti*, meaning possibly *carrying-he*. The growth of these early themes may have been very luxuriant, and, as Professor Curtius expresses it, chiefly *paraschematic*. It may have to assign to that large number definite meanings. Thus, *√*, the act of carrying,

used also in the sense of *impetus* (being carried away), and of *provectus*, i. e. what is brought in. *Φορός* means carrying, but also violent, and lucrative; *φέρετρον*, an instrument of carrying, means a bier; *φαιρέτρα*, a quiver, for carrying arrows. *Φορμός* comes to mean a basket; *φόρτος*, a burden; *φορός*, tribute.

All this is perfectly intelligible, both with regard to nominal and verbal themes. Curtius admits four kinds of verbal themes as the outcome of his Fourth Period. He had assigned to his Third Period the simple verbal themes *έσ-τί*, and the reduplicated themes such as *δίδω-σι*. To these were added, in the Fourth Period, the following four secondary themes :

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| (1) <i>πλέκ-ε-(τ)-ι</i> | Sanskrit <i>lipa-ti</i> |
| (2) <i>ἀλείφ-ε-(τ)-ι</i> | „ <i>laipa-ti</i> |
| (3) <i>δείκ-νῦ-σι</i> | „ <i>lip-nau-ti</i> |
| (4) <i>δάμ-νη-σι</i> | „ <i>lip-nâ-ti</i> |

He also explains the formation of the subjunctive in analogy with bases such as *lipa-ti*, as derived from *lip-ti*.

Some scholars would probably feel inclined to add one or two of the more primitive verbal themes, such as

<i>limpa-ti</i>	<i>rumpo</i>
<i>limpana-ti</i>	<i>λαμβάνε(τ)ι</i> ,

but all would probably agree with Curtius in placing the formation of these themes, both verbal and nominal, between the radical and the latest inflectional period. A point, however, on which there would probably be considerable difference of opinion is this, whether it is credible, that at a time when so many nominal themes were formed,—for Curtius ascribes to this Fourth Period the formation of such nominal bases as

λόγ-ο, intellect,	= lipa-ti
λοίπ-ο, left,	= laipa-ti
λιγ-νύ, smoke,	= lip-nau-ti
δάφ-νη, laurel,	= lip-nâ-ti—

the simplest nominal compounds, which we now call nominative and accusative, singular and plural, were still unknown; that people could say *dhrish-nu-más*, we dare, but not *dhrish-nú-s*, daring-he; that they had an imperative, *dhrishnuhí*, dare, but not a vocative, *dhrishno*? Curtius strongly holds to that opinion, but with regard to this period too, he does not seem to me to establish it by a regular and complete argument. Some arguments which he refers to occasionally have been answered before. Another, which he brings in incidentally, when discussing the abbreviation of certain suffixes, can hardly be said to carry conviction. After tracing the suffixes *ant* and *tar* back to what he supposes to have been their more primitive forms, *an-ta* and *ta-ra*, he remarks that the dropping of the final vowel would hardly be conceivable at a time when there existed case-terminations. Still this dropping of the vowel is very common, in late historical times, in Latin, for instance, and other Italian dialects, where it causes frequent confusion and heteroclitism¹. Thus the Augustan *innocua* was shortened in common pronunciation to *innoca*, and this dwindles down in Christian inscriptions to *innox*. In Greek, too, *διάκτορος* is older than *διάκτωρ*; *φύλακος* older than *φύλαξ*.

Nor can it be admitted that the nominal suffixes have suffered less from phonetic corruption than the

¹ Bruppacher, 'Lantlere der Oskischen Sprache,' p. 48. Büchler, 'Grundriss der Lateinischen Declination,' p. 1.

terminations of the verb, and that therefore they must belong to a more modern period (pp. 39, 40). In spite of all the changes which the personal terminations are supposed to have undergone, their connection with the personal pronouns has always been apparent, while the tracing back of the nominal suffixes, and, still more, of the case-terminations to their typical elements, forms still one of the greatest difficulties of comparative grammarians¹.

Professor Curtius is so much impressed with the later origin of declension that he establishes one more period, the fifth, to which he assigns the growth of all compound verbal forms, compound stems, compound tenses, and compound moods, before he allows the first beginnings of declension, and the formation even of such simple forms as the nominative and accusative. It is difficult, no doubt, to disprove such an opinion by facts or dates, because there are none to be found on either side: but we have a right to expect very strong arguments indeed, before we can admit that at a time when an aorist, like *ἔδεικ-σ-α*, Sanskrit a-dik-sha-t was possible, that is to say, at a time when the verb *as*, which meant originally to breathe, had by constant use been reduced to the meaning of being; at a time when that verb, as a mere auxiliary, was joined to a verbal base in order to impart to it a general historical power; when the persons of the verb were distinguished by pronominal elements, and when the augment, no longer purely demonstrative, had become the symbol of time past,

¹ 'Die Entstehung der Casus ist noch das allerdunkelste im weiten Bereich des indogermanischen Formensystems.' Curtius, 'Chronologie,' p. 71.

that at such a time people were still unable to distinguish, except by a kind of Chinese law of position, between 'the father struck the child,' and 'the child struck the father.' Before we can admit this, we want much stronger proofs than any adduced by Curtius. He says, for instance, that compound verbal bases formed with yâ, to go, and afterwards fixed as causatives, would be inconceivable during a period in which accusatives existed. From *nâs*, to perish, we form in Sanskrit *nâsa-yâmi*, I make perish. This, according to Curtius, would have meant originally, I send to perishing. Therefore *nâsa*, would have been in the accusative, *nâsam*, and the causative would have been *nâsamyâmi*, if the accusative had then been known. But we have in Latin¹ *pessum dare*, *venum ire*, and no one would say that compounds like *calefacio*, *liquefacio*, *putrefacio*, were impossible after the first Aryan separation, or after that still earlier period to which Curtius assigns the formation of the Aryan case-terminations. Does Professor Curtius hold that compound forms like Gothic *nasi-da* were formed not only before the Aryan separation, but before the introduction of case-terminations? I hold, on the contrary, that such really old compositions never required, nay never admitted, the accusative. We say in Sanskrit, *dyu-gat*, going to the sky, *dyu-ksha*, dwelling in the sky, without any case-terminations at the end of the first part of the compound. We say in Greek, *σακέσ-παλος*, not *σάκος-παλος*, *παιδοφόνος*, not *παιδαφόνος*, *ὄρεσ-κῶος*, mountain-bred, and also *ὄρεσί-τροφος*, mountain-fed. We say in Latin, *agricola*, not *agrum-cola*, *fratri-cida*, not *fratrem-cida*,

¹ Corssen, ii. 888.

rēgi-fugium, not *regis-fugium*. Are we to suppose that all these words were formed before there was an outward mark of distinction between nominative and accusative in the primitive Aryan language? Such compounds, we know, can be formed at pleasure, and they continued to be formed long after the full development of the Aryan declension, and the same would apply to the compound stems of causal verbs. To say, as Curtius does, that composition was possible only before the development of declension, because when cases had once sprung up, the people would no longer have known the bases of nouns, is far too strong an assertion. In Sanskrit¹ the really difficult bases are generally sufficiently visible in the so-called Pada-cases, i. e. before certain terminations beginning with consonants, and there is besides a strong feeling of analogy in language, which would generally, though not always (for compounds are frequently framed by false analogy), guide the framers of new compounds rightly in the selection of the proper nominal base. It seems to me that even with us there is still a kind of instinctive feeling against using nouns, articulated with case-terminations, for purposes of composition, although there are exceptions to that rule in ancient, and many more in modern languages. We can hardly realize to ourselves a Latin *pontemfex*, or *pontisfex*, still less *ponsfex* instead of *pontifex*, and when the Romans drove away their kings, they did not speak of a *regisfugium* or a *regumfugium*, but they took, by habit or by instinct, the base *regi*, though none

¹ Cf. Clemm, 'Die neust-
Griechischen Composita.'

them, if they had been asked, knew what a base was. Composition, we ought not to forget, is after all only another name for combination, and the very essence of combination consists in joining together words which are not yet articulated grammatically. Whenever we form compounds, such as *railway*, we are still moving in the combinatory stage, and we have the strongest proof that the life of language is not capable of chronological division. There was a period in the growth of the Aryan language when the principle of combination preponderated, when inflection was as yet unknown. But inflection itself was the result of combination, and unless combination had continued long after inflection set in, the very life of language would have become extinct.

I have thus tried to explain why I cannot accept the fundamental fact on which the seven-fold division of the history of the Aryan language is founded, viz. that the combinatory process which led to the Aryan system of conjugation would have been impossible, if at the time nominal bases had already been articulated with terminations of case and number. I see no reason why the earliest case-formations, I mean particularly the nominative and accusative in the singular, plural, and dual, should not date from the same time as the earliest formations of conjugation. The same process that leads to the formation of *vak-ti*, speak-he, would account for the formation of *vak-s*, speak-there, i. e. speaker. Necessity, which after all is the mother of all inventions, would much sooner have required the clear distinction of singular and plural, of nominative and accusative, than of the three persons, of the verbs. It is far more important to be able to distinguish the

subject and the object in such sentences as 'the son has killed the father,' or 'the father has killed the son,' than to be able to indicate the person and tense of the verb. Of course we may say that in Chinese the two cases are distinguished without any outward signs, and by mere position; but we have no evidence that the law of position was preserved in the Aryan languages, after verbal inflection had once set in. Chinese dispenses with verbal inflection as well as with nominal, and an appeal to it would therefore prove either too much or too little.

At the end of the five periods which we have examined, but still before the Aryan separation, Curtius places the sixth, which he calls the Period of the Formation of Cases, and the seventh, the Period of Adverbs. Why I cannot bring myself to accept the late date here assigned to declension, I have tried to explain before. That adverbs existed before the great branches of Aryan speech became definitely separated has been fully proved by Professor Curtius. I only doubt whether the adverbial period can be separated chronologically from the case period. I should say, on the contrary, that some of the adverbs in Sanskrit and the other Aryan languages exhibit the most primitive and obsolete case-terminations, and that they existed probably long before the system of case-terminations assumed its completeness.

If we look back at the results at which we have arrived in examining the attempt of Professor Curtius to establish seven distinct chronological periods in the history of the Aryan speech, previous to its separation into Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Slavonic, Teutonic, and Celtic, I think we shall find two principles clearly established:

1. That it is impossible to distinguish more than *three* successive phases in the growth of the Aryan language. In the first phase or period the only materials were roots, not yet compounded, still less articulated grammatically, a form of language to us almost inconceivable, yet even at present preserved in the literature and conversation of millions of human beings, the Chinese. In that stage of language, 'king rule man heap law instrument,' would mean, the king rules men legally.

The *second* phase is characterised by the combination of roots, by which process one loses its independence and its accent, and is changed from a full and material into an empty or formal element. That phase comprehends the formation of compound roots, of certain nominal and verbal stems, and of the most necessary forms of declension and conjugation. What distinguishes this phase from the inflectional is the consciousness of the speaker, that one part of his word is the stem or the body, and all the rest its environment, a feeling analogous to that which we have when we speak of *man-hood*, *man-ly*, *man-ful*, *man-kind*, but which fails us when we speak of *man* and *men*, or if we speak of *wo-man*, instead of *wif-man*. The principle of combination preponderated when inflection was as yet unknown. But inflection itself was the result of combination, and unless it had continued long after inflection set in, the very life of language would have become extinct.

The *third* phase is the inflectional, when the base and the modificatory elements of words coalesce, lose their independence in the mind of the speaker, and simply produce the impression of modification taking place in the body of words, but without any

intelligible reason. This is the feeling which we have throughout nearly the whole of our own language, and it is only by means of scientific reflection that we distinguish between the root, the base, the suffix, and the termination. To attempt more than this three-fold division seems to me impossible.

2. The second principle which I tried to establish was that the growth of language does not lend itself to a chronological division, in the strict sense of the word. Whatever forces are at work in the formation of languages, none of them ceases suddenly to make room for another, but they work on with a certain continuity from beginning to end, only on a larger or smaller scale. Inflection does not put a sudden end to combination, nor combination to juxtaposition. When even in so modern a language as English we can form by mere combination such words as *man-like*, and reduce them to *manly*, the power of combination cannot be said to be extinct, although it may no longer be sufficiently strong to produce new cases or new personal terminations. We may admit, in the development of the Aryan language, previous to its division, three successive strata of formation, a *juxtapositional*, a *combinatory*, and an *inflectional*; but we shall have to confess that these strata are not regularly superimposed, but tilted, broken up, and convulsed. They are very prominent each for a time, but even after that time is over, they may be traced at different points, pervading the very latest formations of tertiary speech. The true motive power in the progress of all language is combination, and that power is not extinct even in our own time.

III.

ON THE MIGRATION OF FABLES.

A LECTURE DELIVERED AT THE ROYAL INSTITUTION,

ON FRIDAY, JUNE 3, 1870.

‘COUNT not your chickens before they be hatched,’ is a well-known proverb in English, and most people, if asked what was its origin, would probably appeal to La Fontaine’s delightful fable, *La Laitière et le Pot au Lait*¹. We all know Perrette, lightly stepping along from her village to the town, carrying the milk-pail on her head, and in her day-dreams selling her milk for a good sum, then buying a hundred eggs, then selling the chickens, then buying a pig, fattening it, selling it again, and buying a cow with a calf. The calf frolics about, and kicks up his legs—so does Perrette, and, alas! the pail falls down, the milk is spilt, her riches gone, and she only hopes when she comes home that she may escape a flogging from her husband.

Did La Fontaine invent this fable? or did he merely follow the example of Sokrates, who, as we

¹ La Fontaine, ‘Fables,’ livre vii. fable 10.

know from the Phaedon¹, occupied himself in prison, during the last days of his life, with turning into verse some of the fables, or, as he calls them, the myths of Aesop.

La Fontaine published the first six books of his fables in 1668², and it is well known that the subjects of most of these early fables were taken from Aesop, Phaedrus, Horace, and other classical fabulists, if we may adopt this word 'fabuliste,' which La Fontaine was the first to introduce into French.

In 1678 a second edition of these six books was published, enriched by five books of new fables, and in 1694 a new edition appeared, containing one additional book, thus completing the collection of his charming poems.

The fable of Perrette stands in the seventh book, and was published, therefore, for the first time in the edition of 1678. In the preface to that edition La Fontaine says: 'It is not necessary that I should say whence I have taken the subjects of these new fables. I shall only say, from a sense of gratitude, that I owe the largest portion of them to Pilpay, the Indian sage.'

If, then, La Fontaine tells us himself that he borrowed the subjects of most of his new fables from Pilpay, the Indian sage, we have clearly a right to

¹ Phaedon, 61, 5: *μετὰ δὲ τὸν θεόν, ἐνοήσας, ὅτι τὸν ποιητὴν δία, εἶπερ μέλλοι ποιητὴς εἶναι, ποιεῖν μύθους, ἀλλ' οὐ λόγους, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἦ μυθολογικός, διὰ ταῦτα δὴ οὐς προχείρους εἶχον καὶ ἠπιστάμην μύθους τοῖς Αἰσώπου, τούτων ἐποίησα οἷς πρώτοις ἐνέτυχον.*

² Robert, 'Fables Inédites,' des XII^e, XIII^e, et XIV^e Siècles; Paris, 1825; vol. i. p. ccxxvii.

look to India in order to see whether, in the ancient literature of that country, any traces can be discovered of Perrette with the milk-pail.

Sanskrit literature is very rich in fables and stories; no other literature can vie with it in that respect; nay, it is extremely likely that fables, in particular animal fables, had their principal source in India. In the sacred literature of the Buddhists, fables held a most prominent place. The Buddhist preachers, addressing themselves chiefly to the people, to the untaught, the uncared for, the outcast, spoke to them, as we still speak to children, in fables, in proverbs and parables. Many of these fables and parables must have existed before the rise of the Buddhist religion; others, no doubt, were added on the spur of the moment, just as Sokrates would invent a myth or fable whenever that form of argument seemed to him most likely to impress and convince his hearers. But Buddhism gave a new and permanent sanction to this whole branch of moral mythology, and in the sacred canon, as it was settled in the third century before Christ, many a fable received, and holds to the present day, its recognised place. After the fall of Buddhism in India, and even during its decline, the Brahmans claimed the inheritance of their enemies, and used their popular fables for educational purposes. The best known of these collections of fables in Sanskrit is the *Pañkatantra*, literally the Pentateuch, or the Pentamerone. From it and from other sources another collection was made, well known to all Sanskrit scholars by the name of the *Hitopadesa*, i. e. Salutory Advice. Both these books have been published in England and Germany, and there are

translations of them in English, German, French, and other languages¹.

The first question which we have to answer refers to the date of these collections, and dates in the history of Sanskrit literature are always difficult points. Fortunately, as we shall see, we can in this case fix the date of the *Pañkatantra* at least, by means of a translation into ancient Persian, which was made about 550 years after Christ, though even then we can only prove that a collection somewhat like the *Pañkatantra* must have existed at that time; but we cannot refer the book, in exactly that form in which we now possess it, to that distant period.

If we look for La Fontaine's fable in the Sanskrit stories of the *Pañkatantra*, we do not find, indeed, the milkmaid counting her chickens before they are hatched, but we meet with the following story:

'There lived in a certain place a Brâhman, whose name was *Svabhâvakrîpana*, which means "a born miser." He had collected a quantity of rice by begging (this reminds us somewhat of the Buddhist mendicants), and after having dined off it, he filled a pot with what was left over. He hung the pot on a peg on the wall, placed his couch beneath, and looking intently at it all the night, he thought, "Ah, that pot is indeed brimful of rice. Now, if there should be a famine, I should certainly make a hundred rupees

¹ 'Pantschatantrum sive Quinquepartitum,' edidit I. G. L. Kosegarten. Bonnæ, 1848.

'Pantschatantra, Fünf Bücher indischer Fabeln, aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt.' Von Th. Benfey. Leipzig, 1859.

'Hitopadesa,' with interlinear translation, grammatical analysis, and English translation, in Max Müller's Handbooks for the study of Sanskrit. London, 1864.

'Hitopadesa, eine alte indische Fabelsammlung aus dem Sanskrit zum ersten Mal in das Deutsche übersetzt.' Von M. Leipzig, 1844.

by it. With this I shall buy a couple of goats. They will have young ones every six months, and thus I shall have a whole herd of goats. Then, with the goats, I shall buy cows. As soon as they have calved, I shall sell the calves. Then, with the cows, I shall buy buffaloes; with the buffaloes, mares. When the mares have foaled, I shall have plenty of horses; and when I sell them, plenty of gold. With that gold I shall get a house with four wings. And then a Brâhman will come to my house, and will give me his beautiful daughter, with a large dowry. She will have a son, and I shall call him Somasarman. When he is old enough to be danced on his father's knee, I shall sit with a book at the back of the stable, and while I am reading, the boy will see me, jump from his mother's lap, and run towards me to be danced on my knee. He will come too near the horse's hoof, and, full of anger, I shall call to my wife, 'Take the baby; take him!' But she, distracted by some domestic work, does not hear me. Then I get up, and give her such a kick with my foot." While he thought this, he gave a kick with his foot, and broke the pot. All the rice fell over him, and made him quite white. Therefore, I say, "He who makes foolish plans for the future will be white all over, like the father of Somasarman¹."

I shall at once proceed to read you the same story, though slightly modified, from the Hitopadesa². The Hitopadesa professes to be taken from the Pañkatantra and some other books; and in this case it would seem as if some other authority had been followed. You will see, at all events, how much freedom there was in telling the old story of the man who built castles in the air.

'In the town of Devikotta there lived a Brâhman of the name of Devasarman. At the feast of the great equinox he received a plate full of rice. He took it, went into a potter's shop, which was full of crockery, and, overcome by the heat, he lay down in a corner and began to doze. In order to protect his plate of rice, he kept

¹ 'Pañkatantra,' v. 10.

² 'Hitopadesa,' ed. Max Müller, p. 120; German translation p. 159.

a stick in his hand, and began to think, "Now, if I sell this plate of rice, I shall receive ten cowries (kapardaka). I shall then, on the spot, buy pots and plates, and after having increased my capital again and again, I shall buy and sell betel nuts and dresses till I grow enormously rich. Then I shall marry four wives, and the youngest and prettiest of the four I shall make a great pet of. Then the other wives will be so angry, and begin to quarrel. But I shall be in a great rage, and take a stick, and give them a good flogging." . . . While he said this, he flung his stick away; the plate of rice was smashed to pieces, and many of the pots in the shop were broken. The potter, hearing the noise, ran into the shop, and when he saw his pots broken, he gave the Brâhman a good scolding, and drove him out of his shop. Therefore I say, "He who rejoices over plans for the future will come to grief, like the Brâhman who broke the pots."

In spite of the change of a Brahman into a milkmaid, no one, I suppose, will doubt that we have here in the stories of the Pañkatantra and Hito-padesa the first germs of La Fontaine's fable¹. But how did that fable travel all the way from India to France? How did it doff its Sanskrit garment and don the light dress of modern French? How was the stupid Brahman born again as the brisk milkmaid, '*cotillon simple et souliers plats?*'

It seems a startling case of longevity that while languages have changed, while works of art have perished, while empires have risen and vanished again, this simple children's story should have lived on, and maintained its place of honour and its undisputed sway in every schoolroom of the East and every nursery of the West. And yet it is a case of longevity so well attested that even the most sceptical would hardly venture to question it. We have the passport of these stories visé'd at every place through which they have passed, and

as far as I can judge, *parfaitement en règle*. The story of the migration of these Indian fables from East to West is indeed wonderful; more wonderful and more instructive than many of these fables themselves. Will it be believed that we, in this Christian country and in the nineteenth century, teach our children the first, the most important lessons of worldly wisdom, nay, of a more than worldly wisdom, from books borrowed from Buddhists and Brahmans, from heretics and idolaters, and that wise words, spoken a thousand, nay, two thousand years ago, in a lonely village of India, like precious seed scattered broadcast all over the world, still bear fruit a hundred and a thousand fold in that soil which is the most precious before God and man, the soul of a child? No lawgiver, no philosopher, has made his influence felt so widely, so deeply, and so permanently as the author of these children's fables. But who was he? We do not know. His name, like the name of many a benefactor of the human race, is forgotten. We only know he was an Indian—a nigger, as some people would call him—and that he lived at least two thousand years ago.

No doubt, when we first hear of the Indian origin of these fables, and of their migration from India to Europe, we wonder whether it can be so; but the fact is, that the story of this Indo-European migration is not, like the migration of the Indo-European languages, myths, and legends, a matter of theory, but of history, and that it was never quite forgotten either in the East or in the West. Each translator, as he handed on his treasure, seems to have been anxious to show how he came by it.

Several writers who have treated of the origin and spreading of Indo-European stories and fables, have mixed up two or three questions which ought to be treated each on its own merits.

The first question is, whether the Aryans, when they broke up their pro-ethnic community, carried away with them, not only their common grammar and dictionary, but likewise some myths and legends which we find that Indians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Celts, Germans, Slaves, when they emerge into the light of history, share in common? That certain deities occur in India, Greece, and Germany, having the same names and the same character, is a fact that can no longer be denied. That certain heroes, too, known to Indians, Greeks, and Romans, point to one and the same origin, both by their name and by their history, is a fact by this time admitted by all whose admission is of real value. As heroes are in most cases gods in disguise, there is nothing very startling in the fact that nations, who had worshipped the same gods, should also have preserved some common legends of demi-gods or heroes, nay, even in a later phase of thought, of fairies and ghosts. The case, however, becomes much more problematical when we ask, whether stories also, fables told with a decided moral purpose, formed part of that earliest Aryan inheritance? This is still doubted by many who have no doubts whatever as to common Aryan myths and legends, and even those who, like myself, have tried to establish by tentative arguments the existence of common Aryan fables, dating from before the Aryan separation, have done so only by showing a possible connection between ancient popular saws and mytho-

logical ideas, capable of a moral application. To any one, for instance, who knows how in the poetical mythology of the Aryan tribes, the golden splendour of the rising sun leads to conceptions of the wealth of the Dawn in gold and jewels and her readiness to shower them upon her worshippers, the modern German proverb, *Morgenstunde hat Gold im Munde*, seems to have a kind of mythological ring, and the stories of benign fairies, changing everything into gold, sound likewise like an echo from the long-forgotten forest of our common Aryan home. If we know how the trick of dragging stolen cattle backwards into their place of hiding, so that their footprints might not lead to the discovery of the thief, appears again and again in the mythology of different Aryan nations, then the pointing of the same trick as a kind of proverb, intended to convey a moral lesson, and illustrated by fables of the same or a very similar character in India and Greece, makes one feel inclined to suspect that here too the roots of these fables may reach to a pro-ethnic period. *Vestigia nulla retrorsum* is clearly an ancient proverb, dating from a nomadic period, and when we see how Plato ('Alcibiades,' i. 123) was perfectly familiar with the Aesopian myth or fable,—*κατὰ τὸν Αἰσώπου μῦθον*, he says—of the fox declining to enter the lion's cave, because all footsteps went into it and none came out, and how the Sanskrit *Pañkatantra* (III. 14) tells of a jackal hesitating to enter his own cave, because he sees the footsteps of a lion going in, but not coming out, we feel strongly inclined to admit a common origin for both fables. Here, however, the idea that the Greeks, like La Fontaine, had borrowed their fable from the *Pañkatantra* would be simply

absurd, and it would be much more rational, if the process must be one of borrowing, to admit, as Benfey ('Pantschatantra,' i. 381) does, that the Hindus, after Alexander's discovery of India, borrowed this story from the Greeks. But if we consider that each of the two fables has its own peculiar tendency, the one deriving its lesson from the absence of backward footprints of the victims, the other from the absence of backward footprints of the lion himself, the admission of a common Aryan proverb, such as '*vestigia nulla retrorsum*,' would far better explain the facts such as we find them. I am not ignorant of the difficulties of this explanation, and I would myself point to the fact that among the Hottentots, too, Dr. Bleek has found a fable of the jackal declining to visit the sick lion, 'because the traces of the animals who went to see him did not turn back¹.' Without, however, pronouncing any decided opinion on this vexed question, what I wish to place clearly before you is this, that the spreading of Aryan myths, legends, and fables, dating from a pro-ethnic period, has nothing whatever to do with the spreading of fables taking place in strictly historical times from India to Arabia, to Greece and the rest of Europe, not by means of oral tradition, but through more or less faithful translations of literary works. Those who like may doubt whether *Zeus* was *Dyaus*, whether *Daphne* was *Ahanâ*, whether *La Belle au Bois* was the mother of two children, called *L'Aurore* and *Le Jour*², but

¹ 'Hottentot Fables and Tales,' by Dr. W. H. I. Bleek, London 1864, p. 19.

² 'Academy,' vol. v. p. 548.

the fact that a collection of fables was, in the sixth century of our era, brought from India to Persia, and by means of various translations naturalised among Persians, Arabs, Greeks, Jews, and all the rest, admits of no doubt or cavil. Several thousand years have passed between those two migrations, and to mix them up together, to suppose that Comparative Mythology has anything to do with the migration of such fables as that of Perrette, would be an anachronism of a portentous character.

There is a third question, viz. whether besides the two channels just mentioned, there were others through which Eastern fables could have reached Europe, or Aesopian and other European fables have been transferred to the East. There are such channels, no doubt. Persian and Arab stories, of Indian origin, were through the crusaders brought back to Constantinople, Italy, and France; Buddhist fables were through Mongolian¹ conquerors (13th century) carried to Russia and the eastern parts of Europe. Greek stories may have reached Persia and India at the time of Alexander's conquests and during the reigns of the Diadochi, and even Christian legends may have found their way to the East through missionaries, travellers, or slaves.

¹ 'Die Märchen des Siddhi-kür,' or 'Tales of an Enchanted Corpse,' translated from Kalmuk into German by B. Jülg, 1866. (This is based on the *Vetâlapañkavimsati*). 'Die Geschichte des Ardschi-Bordschi Chan,' translated from Mongolian by Dr. B. Jülg, 1868. (This is based on the *Simhâsanâdvâtrimsati*). A Mongolian translation of the 'Kalila and Dimnah' is ascribed to Mélik Saïd Iftikhar eddin Mohammed ben Abou Nasr, who died A.D. 1280. See Barbier de Meynard, 'Description de la Ville de Kazvin,' *Journal Asiatique*, 1857, p. 284, Lancereau, 'Pantchatantra,' p. xxv.

Lastly, there comes the question, how far our common human nature is sufficient to account for coincidences in beliefs, customs, proverbs and fables, which, at first sight, seem to require an historical explanation. I shall mention but one instance. Professor Wilson ('Essays on Sanskrit Literature,' i. p. 201) pointed out that the story of the Trojan horse occurs in a Hindu tale, only that instead of the horse we have an elephant. But he rightly remarked that the coincidence was accidental. In the one case, after a siege of nine years, the principal heroes of the Greek army are concealed in a wooden horse, dragged into Troy by a stratagem, and the story ends by their falling upon the Trojans and conquering the city of Priam. In the other story a king bent on securing a son-in-law, had an elephant constructed by able artists, and filled with armed men. The elephant was placed in a forest, and when the young prince came to hunt, the armed men sprang out, overpowered the prince and brought him to the king, whose daughter he was to marry. However striking the similarity may seem to one unaccustomed to deal with ancient legends, I doubt whether any comparative mythologist has postulated a common Aryan origin for these two stories. They feel that, as far as the mere construction of a wooden animal is concerned, all that was necessary to explain the origin of the idea in one place was present also in the other, and that while the Trojan horse forms an essential part of a mythological cycle, there is nothing truly mythological or legendary in the Indian story. The idea of a hunter disguising himself in the skin of an animal, or even of one animal assuming the

disguise of another¹, are familiar in every part of the world, and if that is so, then the step from hiding under the skin of a large animal to that of hiding in a wooden animal is not very great.

Every one of these questions, as I said before, must be treated on its own merits, and while the traces of the first migration of Aryan fables can be rediscovered only by the most minute and complex inductive processes, the documents of the latter are to be found in the library of every intelligent collector of books. Thus, to return to Perrette and the fables of Bilpay, Huet, the learned bishop of Avranches, the friend of La Fontaine, had only to examine the

¹ Plato's expression, 'As I have put on the lion's skin' (Kratylos, 411) seems to show that he knew the fable of an animal or a man having assumed the lion's skin without the lion's courage. The proverb *ἄνος παρὰ Κυμπίους* seems to be applied to men boasting before people who have no means of judging. It presupposes the story of a donkey appearing in a lion's skin.

A similar idea is expressed in a fable of the Pañkātāntra (IV. 8) where a dyer, not being rich enough to feed his donkey, puts a tiger's skin on him. In this disguise the donkey is allowed to roam through all the cornfields without being molested, till one day he sees a female donkey and begins to bray. Thereupon the owners of the field kill him.

In the Hitopadesa (III. 3) the same fable occurs, only that there it is the keeper of the field who on purpose disguises himself as a she-donkey, and when he hears the tiger bray, kills him.

In the Chinese Avadānas, translated by Stanislas Julien (vol. ii. p. 59) the donkey takes a lion's skin and frightens everybody, till he begins to bray and is recognised as a donkey.

In this case it is again quite clear that the Greeks did not borrow their fable and proverb from the Pañkātāntra; but it is not so easy to determine positively whether the fable was carried from the Greeks to the East, or whether it arose independently in two places.

prefaces of the principal translations of the Indian fables in order to track their wanderings, as he did in his famous 'Traité de l'Origine des Romans,' published at Paris in 1670, two years after the appearance of the first collection of La Fontaine's fables. Since his time the evidence has become more plentiful, and the whole subject has been more fully and more profoundly treated by Sylvestre de Sacy¹, Loiseleur Deslongchamps², and Professor Benfey³. But though we have a more accurate knowledge of the stations by which the Eastern fables reached their last home in the West, Bishop Huet knew as well as we do that they came originally from India through Persia by way of Bagdad and Constantinople.

In order to gain a commanding view of the countries traversed by these fables, let us take our position at Bagdad in the middle of the eighth century, and watch from that central point the movements of our literary caravan in its progress from the far East to the far West. In the middle of the eighth century, during the reign of the great Khalif Almansur, Abdallah ibn Almokaffa wrote his famous collection of fables, the 'Kalila and Dimnah,' which we still possess. The Arabic text of these fables has been published by Sylvestre de Sacy, and there is an English translation of it by Mr. Knatch-

¹ 'Calilah et Dimna, ou, Fables de Bidpai, en Arabe, précédées d'un Mémoire sur l'origine de ce livre.' Par Sylvestre de Sacy. Paris, 1816.

² Loiseleur Deslois sur leur introduction

³ 'Pantschatantra Erzählungen, mit E

bull, formerly Professor of Arabic at Oxford. Abdallah ibn Almokaffa was a Persian by birth, who after the fall of the Omeyyades became a convert to Mohammedanism, and rose to high office at the court of the Khalifs. Being in possession of important secrets of state, he became dangerous in the eyes of the Khalif Almansur, and was foully murdered¹. In the preface, Abdallah ibn Almokaffa tells us that he translated these fables from Pehlevi, the ancient language of Persia; and that they had been translated into Pehlevi (about two hundred years before his time) by Barzûyeh, the physician of Khosru Nushirvan, the king of Persia, the contemporary of the Emperor Justinian. The king of Persia had heard that there existed in India a book full of wisdom, and he had commanded his Vezier, Buzurj-mihr, to find a man acquainted with the languages both of Persia and India. The man chosen was Barzûyeh. He travelled to India, got possession of the book, translated it into Persian, and brought it back to the court of Khosru. Declining all rewards beyond a dress of honour, he only stipulated that an account of his own life and opinions should be added to the book. This account, probably written by himself, is extremely curious. It is a kind of *Religio Medici* of the sixth century, and shows us a soul dissatisfied with traditions and formularies, striving after truth, and finding rest only where many other seekers after truth have found rest before and after him, in a life devoted to alleviating the sufferings of mankind.

There is another account of the journey of this Persian physician to India. It has the sanction of

¹ See Weil, 'Geschichte der Chalifen,' vol. ii. p. 84.

Firdúsi, in the great Persian epic, the Shah Námeh, and it is considered by some¹ as more original than the one just quoted. According to it, the Persian physician read in a book that there existed in India trees or herbs supplying a medicine with which the dead could be restored to life. At the command of the king he went to India in search of those trees and herbs; but, after spending a year in vain researches, he consulted some wise people on the subject. They told him that the medicine of which he had read as having the power of restoring men to life had to be understood in a higher and more spiritual sense, and that what was really meant by it were ancient books of wisdom preserved in India, which imparted life to those who were dead in their folly and sins². Thereupon the physician translated these books, and one of them was the collection of fables, the 'Kalila and Dimnah.'

It is possible that both these stories were later inventions; the preface also by Ali, the son of Alshah Farési, in which the names of Bidpai, and King Dabshelim are mentioned for the first time, is of later date. But the fact remains that Abdallah ibn Almokaffa, the author of the oldest Arabic collection of our fables, translated them from Pehlevi, the language of Persia at the time of Khosru Nushirvan, and that the Pehlevi text which he translated was believed to be a translation of a book brought from India in the middle of the sixth century. That Indian book could not have been the Pañkatantra, as we now possess it, but must have been a much

¹ Benfey, p. 60.

² Cf. 'Barlaam et Joasaph,' ed. Boissonade, p. 37.

larger collection of fables, for the Arabic translation, the 'Kalilah and Dimnah,' contains eighteen chapters instead of the five of the Pañkatantra, and it is only in the fifth, the seventh, the eighth, the ninth and the tenth chapters that we find the same stories which form the five books of the Pañkatantra in the *textus ornatiore*. Even in these chapters the Arabic translator omits stories which we find in the Sanskrit text, and adds others which are not to be found there.

In this Arabic translation the story of the Brahman and the pot of rice runs as follows :

'A religious man was in the habit of receiving every day from the house of a merchant a certain quantity of butter (oil) and honey, of which, having eaten as much as he wanted, he put the rest into a jar, which he hung on a nail in a corner of the room, hoping that the jar would in time be filled. Now, as he was leaning back one day on his couch, with a stick in his hand, and the jar suspended over his head, he thought of the high price of butter and honey, and said to himself, "I will sell what is in the jar, and buy with the money which I obtain for it ten goats, which, producing each of them a young one every five months, in addition to the produce of the kids as soon as they begin to bear, it will not be long before there is a large flock." He continued to make his calculations, and found that he should at this rate, in the course of two years, have more than four hundred goats. "At the expiration of this term I will buy," said he, "a hundred black cattle, in the proportion of a bull or a cow for every four goats. I will then purchase land, and hire workmen to plough it with the beasts, and put it into tillage, so that before five years are over I shall, no doubt, have realized a great fortune by the sale of the milk which the cows will give, and of the produce of my land. My next business will be to build a magnificent house, and engage a number of servants, both male and female; and, when my establishment is completed, I will marry the handsomest woman I can find, who, in due time becoming a mother, will present me with an heir to my possessions, who, as he advances in age, shall receive the best masters that can be procured; and, if the progress which he makes in learning is equal to my reasonable expectations, I shall be amply

repaid for the pains and expense which I have bestowed upon him; but if, on the other hand, he disappoints my hopes, the rod which I have here shall be the instrument with which I will make him feel the displeasure of a justly-offended parent." At these words he suddenly raised the hand which held the stick towards the jar, and broke it, and the contents ran down upon his head and face...¹

You will have observed the coincidences between the Arabic and the Sanskrit versions, but also a considerable divergence, particularly in the winding up of the story. The Brahman and the holy man both build their castles in the air; but, while the former kicks his wife, the latter only chastises his son. How this change came to pass we cannot tell. One might suppose that, at the time when the book was translated from Sanskrit into Pehlevi, or from Pehlevi into Arabic, the Sanskrit story was exactly like the Arabic story, and that it was changed afterwards. But another explanation is equally admissible, viz. that the Pehlevi or the Arabic translator wished to avoid the offensive behaviour of the husband kicking his wife, and therefore substituted the son as a more deserving object of castigation.

We have thus traced our story from Sanskrit to Pehlevi, and from Pehlevi to Arabic; we have followed it in its migrations from the hermitages of Indian sages to the court of the kings of Persia, and from thence to the residence of the powerful Khalifs at Bagdad. Let us recollect that the Khalif Al Mansur, for whom the Arabic translation was made, was the contemporary of Abderrhaman, who ruled in Spain, and that both were but little anterior to Harun al Rashid and Charlemagne. At that time,

¹ 'Kalila and Dimna; or, the Fables of Bidpai, translated from the Arabic.' By the Rev. Wyndham Knatchbull, A.M. Oxford, 1819.

therefore, the way was perfectly open for these Eastern fables, after they had once reached Bagdad, to penetrate into the seats of Western learning, and to spread to every part of the new empire of Charlemagne. They may have done so, for all we know; but nearly three hundred years pass before these fables meet us again in the literature of Europe. The Carlovingian empire had fallen to pieces, Spain had been rescued from the Mohammedans, William the Conqueror had landed in England, and the Crusades had begun to turn the thoughts of Europe towards the East, when, about the year 1080, we hear of a Jew, of the name of Symeon, the son of Seth, who translated these fables from Arabic into Greek. He states in his preface that the book came originally from India, that it was brought to the King Chosroes of Persia, and then translated into Arabic. His own translation into Greek must have been made from an Arabic MS. of the 'Kalila and Dimna,' in some places more perfect, in others less perfect, than the one published by De Sacy. The Greek text has been published, though very imperfectly, under the title of 'Stephanites and Ichneutes¹.' Here our fable is told as follows (p. 337):

'It is said that a beggar kept some honey and butter in a jar close to where he slept. One night he thus thought within himself: "I shall sell this honey and butter for however small a sum; with it I shall buy ten goats, and these in five months will produce as many again. In five years they will become four hundred. With them I shall buy one hundred cows, and with them I shall cultivate

¹ 'Specimen Sapientiae Indorum Veterum, id est Liber Ethico-Politicus pervetustus, dictus Arabice Kalilah ve Dimnah, Graece Stephanites et Ichneutes, nunc primum Graece ex MS. Cod. Holsteiniano prodit cum versione Latina, opera S. G. Starkii.' Berolini, 1697.

some land. And what with their calves and the harvests, I shall become rich in five years, and build a house with four wings¹, ornamented with gold, and buy all kinds of servants, and marry a wife. She will give me a child, and I shall call him Beauty. It will be a boy, and I shall educate him properly; and if I see him lazy, I shall give him such a flogging with this stick. . . .” With these words he took a stick that was near him, struck the jar, and broke it, so that the honey and milk ran down on his beard.’

This Greek translation might, no doubt, have reached La Fontaine; but as the French poet was not a great scholar, least of all a reader of Greek MSS, and as the fables of Symeon Seth were not published till 1697, we must look for other channels through which the old fable was carried along from East to West.

There is, first of all, an Italian translation of the ‘Stephanites and Ichnelates,’ which was published at Ferrara in 1583². The title is, ‘Del governo de’ regni. Sotto morali essempli di animali ragionanti tra loro. Trattati prima di lingua Indiana in Agarena da Lelo Demno Saraceno. Et poi dall’ Agarena nella Greca da Simeone Setto, philosopho Antiocheno. Et hora tradotti di Greco in Italiano.’ This translation was probably the work of Giulio Nuti.

There is, besides, a Latin translation, or rather a free rendering of the Greek translation, by the learned Jesuit, Petrus Possinus, which was published at Rome in 1666³. This may have been, and, according to some authorities, has really been one of the

¹ This expression, a four-winged house, occurs also in the *Pañkatantra*. As it does not occur in the Arabic text published by De Sacy, it is clear that Symeon must have followed another Arabic text in which this adjective, belonging to the Sanskrit, and no doubt to the Pehlevi text also, had been preserved.

² Note B, p. 202.

³ Note C, p. 202.

sources from which La Fontaine drew his inspirations. But though La Fontaine may have consulted this work for other fables, I do not think that he took from it the fable of Perrette and the milk-pail.

The fact is, these fables had found several other channels through which, as early as the thirteenth century, they reached the literary market of Europe, and became familiar as household words, at least among the higher and educated classes. We shall follow the course of some of these channels. First, then, a learned Jew, whose name seems to have been Joel, translated our fables from Arabic into Hebrew (1250?). His work has been preserved in one MS. at Paris, but has not yet been published, except the tenth book, which was communicated by Dr. Neubauer to Benfey's journal, 'Orient und Occident' (vol. i. p. 658). This Hebrew translation was translated by another converted Jew, Johannes of Capua, into Latin. His translation was finished between 1263-1278, and, under the title of 'Directorium humane vite,' it became very soon a popular work with the select reading public of the thirteenth century¹. In the 'Directorium,' and in Joel's translation, the name of Sendeban is substituted for that of Bidpay. The 'Directorium' was translated into German at the command of Eberhard, the great Duke of Württemberg², and both the Latin text and the German translation occur, in repeated editions, among the rare books printed between 1480 and the end of the fifteenth century³. A Spanish translation founded both on the German and the Latin

¹.

² Note E, p. 204.

³ 'd Occident,' vol. i. p. 138.

texts, appeared at Burgos in 1493¹; and from these different sources flowed in the sixteenth century the Italian renderings of Firenzuola (1548)² and Doni (1552)³. As these Italian translations were repeated in French⁴ and English, before the end of the sixteenth century, they might no doubt have supplied La Fontaine with subjects for his fables.

But, as far as we know, it was a third channel that really brought the Indian fables to the immediate notice of the French poet. A Persian poet, of the name of Nasr Allah, translated the work of Abdallah ibn Almokaffa into Persian about 1150.

¹ Benfey, 'Orient und Occident,' vol. i. p. 501. Its title is: 'Exemplario contra los engaños y peligros del mundo,' *ibid.* pp. 167, 168.

² 'Discorsi degli animali, di Messer Agnolo Firenzuola, in Prose di M. A. F.' (Firenza, 1548.)

³ 'La Moral Filosofia del Doni, tratta da gli antichi scrittori.' Vinegia, 1552.

'Trattati Diversi di Sendebâr Indiano, filosofo morale.' Vinegia, 1552.

P. 65. *Trattato Quarto.*

A woman tells her husband to wait till her son is born, and says:

'Stava uno Romito domestico ne i monti di Brianza a far penitenza e teneva alcune cassette d'api per suo spasso, e di quelle a suoi tempi ne cavava il *Mele*, e di quello ne vendeva alcuna parte tal volta per i suoi bisogni. Avenne che un' anno ne fu una gran carestia, e egli attendeva a conservarlo, e ogni giorno lo guardava mille volte, e gli pareva cent' anni ogni hora, che e gli indugiava a empierlo di Mele,' etc.

⁴ 'Le plaisant et facétieux discours des animaux, nouvellement traduit de tuscan en françois,' Lyon, 1556, par Gabriel Cottier.

'Deux livres de philosophie fa-
de M. Ange Firenzuola, le s-
indien, par Pierre de La R

The second book is a
'*Filosofia morale.*'

le premier pris des disc

This Persian translation was enlarged in the fifteenth century by another Persian poet, Husain ben Ali called el Vaez, under the title of 'Anvári Suhaili'.¹ This name will be familiar to many members of the Indian Civil Service, as being one of the old Haileybury class-books which had to be construed by all who wished to gain high honours in Persian. This work, or at least the first books of it, were translated into French by David Sahid of Ispahan, and published at Paris in 1644, under the title of 'Livre des Lumières, ou, la Conduite des Rois, composé par le Sage Pilpay, Indien.' This translation, we know, fell into the hands of La Fontaine; and a number of his most charming fables were certainly borrowed from it.

But Perrette with the milk-pail has not yet arrived at the end of her journey, for if we look at the 'Livre des Lumières,' as published at Paris, we find neither the milkmaid nor her prototype, the Brahman who kicks his wife, or the religious man who flogs his boy. That story occurs in the later chapters, which were left out in the French translation; and La Fontaine, therefore, must have met with his model elsewhere.

Remember that in all our wanderings we have not yet found the milkmaid, but only the Brahman or the religious man. What we want to know is who first brought about this metamorphosis.

No doubt La Fontaine was quite the man to seize on any jewel which was contained in the Oriental

¹ 'The Anvar-i Suhaili, or the Lights of Canopus, being the Persian version of the Fables of Pilpay, or the Book, Kalilah and Damnah, rendered into Persian by Husain Vá'iz U'l-Káshifi, literally translated by E. B. Eastwick.' Hertford, 1854.

fables, to remove the cumbersome and foreign-looking setting, and then to place the principal figure in that pretty frame in which most of us have first become acquainted with it. But in this case the charmer's wand did not belong to La Fontaine, but to some forgotten worthy, whose very name it will be difficult to fix upon with certainty.

We have, as yet, traced three streams only, all starting from the Arabic translation of Abdallah ibn Almokaffa, one in the eleventh, another in the twelfth, a third in the thirteenth century, all reaching Europe, some touching the very steps of the throne of Louis XIV, yet none of them carrying the leaf which contained the story of 'Perrette,' or of the 'Brahman,' to the threshold of La Fontaine's home. We must, therefore, try again.

After the conquest of Spain by the Mohammedans, Arabic literature had found a new home in Western Europe, and among the numerous works translated from Arabic into Latin or Spanish, we find towards the end of the thirteenth century (1289) a Spanish translation of our fables, called 'Calila é Dymna'.¹ In this the name of the philosopher is changed from Bidpai to Bundobel. This, or another translation from Arabic, was turned into Latin verse by Raimond de Béziers in 1313 (not published).

Lastly, we find in the same century another translation from Arabic straight into Latin verse, by Baldo, which became known under the name of 'Aesopus alter'.²

From these frequent translations, and translations of translations, in the eleventh, twelfth

¹ Note F, p.

teenth centuries, we see quite clearly that these Indian fables were extremely popular, and were, in fact, more widely read in Europe than the Bible, or any other book. They were not only read in translations, but having been introduced into sermons¹, homilies, and works on morality, they were improved upon, acclimatized, localized, moralized, till at last it is almost impossible to recognise their Oriental features under their homely disguises.

I shall give you one instance only.

Rabelais, in his 'Gargantua,' gives a long description how a man might conquer the whole world. At the end of this dialogue, which was meant as a satire on Charles V, we read:

'There was there present at that time an old gentleman well experienced in the wars, a stern soldier, and who had been in many great hazards, named Echephron, who, hearing this discourse, said: "J'ay grand peur que toute ceste entreprise sera semblable à la farce *du pot au lait* duquel un cordavanier se faisoit riche par resverie, puis le pot cassé, n'eut de quoy disner."

This is clearly our story, only the Brahman has, as yet, been changed into a shoemaker only, and the pot of rice or the jar of butter and honey into a pitcher of milk. Now it is perfectly true that if a writer of the fifteenth century changed the Brahman into a shoemaker, La Fontaine might, with the same right, have replaced the Brahman by his milkmaid. Knowing that the story was current, was, in fact, common property in the fifteenth century, nay, even at a much earlier date, we might really be satisfied after having brought the germs of Perrette within easy reach of La Fontaine. But, fortunately, we can make at least one step further, a step of about two

¹ Note H, p. 208.

centuries. This step backwards brings us to the thirteenth century, and there we find our old Indian friend again, and this time really changed into a milkmaid. The book I refer to is written in Latin, and called '*Dialogus Creaturarum optime moralizatus;*' in English, the 'Dialogue of Creatures moralized.' It was a book intended to teach the principles of Christian morality by examples taken from ancient fables. It was evidently a most successful book, and was translated into several modern languages. There is an old translation of it in English, first printed by Rastell¹, and afterwards repeated in 1816. I shall read you from it the fable in which, as far as I can find, the milkmaid appears for the first time on the stage, surrounded already by much of that scenery which, four hundred years later, received its last touches at the hand of La Fontaine.

'DIALOGO C. (p. ccxxiii.) For as it is but madnesse to trust to moche in surete, so it is but foly to hope to moche of vanyteys, for vayne be all erthly thinges longynge to men, as sayth Davyd, Psal. xciiii: Wher of it is tolde in fablys that a lady uppon a tyme delyvered to her mayden a *galon of mylke* to sell at a cite, and by the way, as she sate and restid her by a dyche side, she began to thiuke that with the money of the mylke she wold bye an henne, the which shulde bringe forth chekyns, and when they were growyn to hennys she wolde sell them and by piggis, and eschaunge them in to shepe, and the shepe in to oxen, and so whan she was come to richesse she sholde be married right worshipfully unto some worthy man, and thus she reioycid. And whan she was thus mervelously comfortid and ravished inwardly in her secrete solace,

¹ 'Dialogues of Creatures moralysed, sm. 4to, circ. 1517. It is generally attributed to the press of John Rastell, but the opinion of Mr. Haslewood, in his preface to the reprint of 1816, that the book was printed on the Continent, is perhaps the correct one' (Quaritch's Catalogue, July, 1870).

A. D.	OLD COLLECTION OF INDIAN FABLES.		
500—600	531—590. Khosru Nushirvan, King of Persia; his physician, Harrotyah, translates the Indian fables into Pahlavi, s.t. 'Gallig and Damang' (Radj). 570. Translation of the 'Gallig and Damang,' from Indian into Syriac, by Bird Perdidentes (Beatty and Soehn). 754—775. Khalif Al-Mansur. Abdallah Ibn Almoctaf (d. 700 translates the Pahlavi into Arabic (ed. de Sacy, 1816).		
600—1000	1118-53. Into Persian, by Abdul Maali Naser Allah (poese).	1060. Into Greek, by Symeon Seth, s.t. 'Technolates et Stephanites,' ed. Startius, 1097.	
1000—1100	1200—1300. Into Latin, by 1280. Into Spanish, by order Baldo, s.t. Al-ker Assopus (ed. du Métil). s.t. 'Callia e Dymna' (ed. de Gayangos). 1313. Into Latin, by Raimond de Beziens, s.t. 'Callia et Dymna.'	1350. Into Hebrew, by Rabbi Joel. 1363-78. Into Latin, by Johannes of Capua, s.t. 'Dypoteorium humane vite' (print, 1480). Into German, under Eberhard, Duke of Wurtemberg (d. 1395), printed before 1485.	
1300—1400		Into German, under Eberhard, Duke of Wurtemberg (d. 1395), printed before 1485.	
1400—1500	1491. Modernised in Persian, by Husain Ben Ali, el Vazir, s.t. 'Avvari Suhaili.'	1493. Into Spanish, s.t. 'Exemplario contra los eugaficos.'	
1500—1600	1590. New, by Abulfazl for Akbar, 'Avvari Danish.' Translated into Hindustani, s.t. 'Kbirud Ufroz, the Illuminator of the Understanding.'	1540. Into Turkish, by Ali Tochelebi, s.t. 'Homayun Nameh.'	1548. Into Persian, by Anves Firerzok, s.t. 'Discorsi degli animali.'
		1556. Into French, by G. Cottier, s.t. 'Les plaisirs discours des animaux.'	1579. Into French, by Pierre de La Riviere, s.t. 'Deux livres de l'Abolition.'
1600—1700	1644. Into French, by David Sahid d'Ispahan (Gashmin), s.t. 'Fables de l'Inde,' 1645, 1646, 1647, 1648, 1649, 1650, 1651, 1652, 1653, 1654, 1655, 1656, 1657, 1658, 1659, 1660, 1661, 1662, 1663, 1664, 1665, 1666, 1667, 1668, 1669, 1670, 1671, 1672, 1673, 1674, 1675, 1676, 1677, 1678, 1679, 1680, 1681, 1682, 1683, 1684, 1685, 1686, 1687, 1688, 1689, 1690, 1691, 1692, 1693, 1694, 1695, 1696, 1697, 1698, 1699, 1700, 1701, 1702, 1703, 1704, 1705, 1706, 1707, 1708, 1709, 1710, 1711, 1712, 1713, 1714, 1715, 1716, 1717, 1718, 1719, 1720, 1721, 1722, 1723, 1724, 1725, 1726, 1727, 1728, 1729, 1730, 1731, 1732, 1733, 1734, 1735, 1736, 1737, 1738, 1739, 1740, 1741, 1742, 1743, 1744, 1745, 1746, 1747, 1748, 1749, 1750, 1751, 1752, 1753, 1754, 1755, 1756, 1757, 1758, 1759, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783, 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798, 1799, 1800.	—Into Spanish, by Brantini, 'Espajo politico,' 1594.	
1700—1800		1724. Into French, by Galland, s.t. 'Les Contes et Fables Indiennes de Sinbad le Marin,' 1704, 1705, 1706, 1707, 1708, 1709, 1710, 1711, 1712, 1713, 1714, 1715, 1716, 1717, 1718, 1719, 1720, 1721, 1722, 1723, 1724, 1725, 1726, 1727, 1728, 1729, 1730, 1731, 1732, 1733, 1734, 1735, 1736, 1737, 1738, 1739, 1740, 1741, 1742, 1743, 1744, 1745, 1746, 1747, 1748, 1749, 1750, 1751, 1752, 1753, 1754, 1755, 1756, 1757, 1758, 1759, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783, 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798, 1799, 1800.	1724. Into French, by Galland, s.t. 'Les Contes et Fables Indiennes de Sinbad le Marin,' 1704, 1705, 1706, 1707, 1708, 1709, 1710, 1711, 1712, 1713, 1714, 1715, 1716, 1717, 1718, 1719, 1720, 1721, 1722, 1723, 1724, 1725, 1726, 1727, 1728, 1729, 1730, 1731, 1732, 1733, 1734, 1735, 1736, 1737, 1738, 1739, 1740, 1741, 1742, 1743, 1744, 1745, 1746, 1747, 1748, 1749, 1750, 1751, 1752, 1753, 1754, 1755, 1756, 1757, 1758, 1759, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783, 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798, 1799, 1800.

thinkynge with howe greate ioye she shuld be ledde towarde the chirche with her husbond on horsebacke, she sayde to her self: "Goo we, goo we." Sodaynlye she smote the ground with her fote, myndynge to spurre the horse, but her fote slypped, and she fell in the dyche, and there lay all her mylke, and so she was farre from her purpose, and never had that she hopid to have¹.

Here we have arrived at the end of our journey. It has been a long journey across fifteen or twenty centuries, and I am afraid our following Perrette from country to country, and from language to language, may have tired some of my hearers. I shall, therefore, not attempt to fill the gap that divides the fable of the thirteenth century from La Fontaine. Suffice it to say, that the milkmaid, having once taken the place of the Brahman, maintained it against all comers. We find her as Dona Truhana, in the famous 'Conde Lucanor,' the work of the Infante Don Juan Manuel², who died in 1347, the grandson of St. Ferdinand, the nephew of Alfonso the Wise, though himself not a king, yet more powerful than a king; renowned both by his sword

¹ The Latin text is more simple: 'Unde cum quedam domina dedisset ancille sue lac ut venderet et lac portaret ad urbem juxta fossatum cogitare cepit quod de p̄cio lactis emerit gallinam quæ faceret pullos quos auctos in gallinas vendēret et porcellos emerit eosque mutaret in oves et ipsas in boves. Sic que ditata contraheret cum aliquo nobili et sic gloriabatur. Et cum sic gloriaretur et cogitaret cum quanta gloria duceretur ad illum virum super equum dicendo gio gio cepit pede percutere terram quasi pungeret equum calcaribus. Sed tunc fossatum effundendo lac. { sperabat.'—'Dialogus Crēs to Nicolaus Pergaminus, seculo XIII. (century). He quotes Ely edition, per Gerardum leet *Dei finitus est, Anno Domi*

tus est pes ejus et cecidit in
on habuit quod se adepturam
time ne dicitur' (ascribed

and by his pen, and possibly not ignorant of Arabic, the language of his enemies. We find her again in the 'Contes et Nouvelles of Bonaventure des Periers,' published in the sixteenth century, a book which we know that La Fontaine was well acquainted with. We find her after La Fontaine in all the languages of Europe¹.

You see now before your eyes the bridge on which our fables came to us from East to West. The same bridge which brought us Perrette brought us hundreds of fables, all originally sprung up in India, many of them carefully collected by Buddhist priests, and preserved in their sacred canon, afterwards handed on to the Brahmanic writers of a later age, carried by Barzûyeh from India to the court of Persia, then to the courts of the Khalifs at Bagdad and Cordova, and of the emperors at Constantinople. Some of them, no doubt, perished on their journey, others were mixed up together, others were changed till we should hardly know them again. Still, if you once know the eventful journey of Perrette, you know the journey of all the other fables that belong to this Indian cycle. Few of them have gone through so many changes, few of them have found so many friends, whether in the courts of kings or in the huts of beggars. Few of them have been to places where Perrette has not also been. This is why I selected her and her passage through the

¹ My learned German translator, Dr. Felix Liebrecht, says in a note: 'Other books in which our story appears before La Fontaine are 'Esopus,' by Burkhard Waldis, ed. H. Kurz, Leipzig, 1862; ii. 177;' note to 'Des Bettlers Kaufmannschaft;' and Oesterley in Kirchoff's 'Wendunmuth,' v. 44, note to i. 171, 'Vergebene Anschleg reich zuwerden' (Bibl. des liter. Vereins zu Stuttg. No. 99).

world as the best illustration of a subject which otherwise would require a whole course of lectures to do it justice.

But though our fable represents one large class or cluster of fables, it does not represent all. There were several collections, besides the *Pankatantra*, which found their way from India to Europe. The most important among them is the 'Book of the Seven Wise Masters, or the Book of Sindbad,' the history of which has lately been written, with great learning and ingenuity, by Signor Comparetti¹.

These large collections of fables and stories mark what may be called the high roads on which the literary products of the East were carried to the West. But there are, beside these high roads, some smaller, less trodden paths on which single fables, sometimes mere proverbs, similes, or metaphors, have come to us from India, from Persepolis, from Damascus and Bagdad. I have already alluded to the powerful influence which Arabic literature exercised on Western Europe through Spain. Again, a most active interchange of Eastern and Western ideas took place at a later time during the progress of the Crusades. Even the inroads of Mongolian tribes into Russia and the East of Europe kept up a literary bartering between Oriental and Occidental nations.

But few would have suspected a Father of the Church as an importer of Eastern fables. Yet so it is.

At the court of the same Khalif Almansur, where Abdallah ibn

¹ 'Ricerche i

from the Father and the Son, or from the Father through the Son, dates a century later than Joannes. The fact, again, that the author does not mention Mohammedanism¹, proves nothing against the authorship of Joannes, because, as he places Barlaam and Joasaph in the early centuries of Christianity, he would have ruined his story by any allusion to Mohammed's religion, then only a hundred years old. Besides, he had written a separate work, in which the relative merits of Christianity and Mohammedanism are discussed. The prominence given to the question of the worship of images shows that the story could not have been written much before the time of Joannes Damascenus, and there is nothing in the style of our author that could be pointed out as incompatible with the style of the great theologian. On the contrary, the author of 'Barlaam and Joasaph' quotes the same authors whom Joannes Damascenus quotes most frequently—e. g. Basilius and Gregorius Nazianzenus. And no one but Joannes could have taken long passages from his own works without saying where he borrowed them².

The story of 'Barlaam and Joasaph'—or, as he is more commonly called, Josaphat—may be told in a

¹ Littré, 'Journal des Savants,' 1865, p. 337.

² The 'Martyrologium Romanum,' whatever its authority may be, states distinctly that the acts of Barlaam and Josaphat were written by Sanctus Joannes Damascenus. 'Apud Indos Persis actus sanctorum Barlaam et Josaphat, quorum actus mirandos Joannes Damascenus conscripsit.' See Leonis Allatii Prolegomena in Joannis Damasceni Opera,' ed. Lequien, vol. i. p. xxvi.

ἱεραρχα per Concil. Florent. cap. 5 :
 ἡ τοῦ Δαμασκού ὀφθαλμοὶ ἐν τῇ βίῳ
 αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν.

and that he wrote the most learned theological works of his time, cannot be easily questioned.

Among the works ascribed to him is a story called 'Barlaam and Joasaph'.¹ There has been a fierce controversy as to whether he was the author of it or not. Though for our own immediate purposes it would be of little consequence whether the book was written by Joannes Damascenus or by some less distinguished ecclesiastic, I must confess that the arguments hitherto adduced against his authorship seem to me very weak.

The Jesuits did not like the book, because it was a religious novel. They pointed to a passage in which the Holy Ghost is represented as proceeding from the Father 'and the Son,' as incompatible with the creed of an Eastern ecclesiastic. That very passage, however, has now been proved to be spurious; and it should be borne in mind, besides, that the controversy on the procession of the Holy Ghost

¹ The Greek text was first published in 1832 by Boissonade, in his 'Anecdota Graeca,' vol. iv. The title as given in some MSS. is: *ἱστορία ψυχωφελῆς ἐκ τῆς ἐνδοτέρας τῶν Αἰθίοπων χώρας, τῆς Ἰδῶν λεγομένης, πρὸς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν μετενεχθεῖσα διὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ μοναχοῦ* [other MSS. read, *συγγραφείσα παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ*], ἀνδρὸς τιμίου καὶ ἐναρέτου μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Σάβα· ἐν ᾗ ὁ βίαιος Βαρλαάμ καὶ Ἰωάσαφ τῶν ἀοιδίμων καὶ μακαρίων. Joannes Monachus occurs as the name of the author in other works of Joannes Damascenus. See Leo Allatius, Prolegomena, p. L., in 'Damasceni Opera Omnia.' Ed. Lequien, 1748. Venice.

At the end the author says: "Ἔως ἄδε τὸ πέρας τοῦ παρόντος λόγου, ὃν κατὰ δύναμιν ἐμὴν γεγράφηκα, καθὼς ἀκήκοα παρὰ τῶν ἀψευδῶς παραδοκῶν μοι τιμίων ἀνδρῶν. Γένοιτο δὲ ἡμᾶς, τοὺς ἀναγνώσκοντας τε ἀκούοντας τὴν ψυχωφελῆ διήγησιν ταύτην, τῆς μερίδος ἀξιοθῆναι τῶν στησάντων τῷ κυρίῳ εὐχαίς καὶ πρεσβείαις Βαρλαάμ καὶ Ἰωάσαφ μακαρίων, περὶ ὧν ἡ διήγησις. See also Wiener 'I. lxxiii. pp. 44-83; vol. lxxii. p. 274-288; vol.

from the Father and the Son, or from the Father through the Son, dates a century later than Joannes. The fact, again, that the author does not mention Mohammedanism¹, proves nothing against the authorship of Joannes, because, as he places Barlaam and Joasaph in the early centuries of Christianity, he would have ruined his story by any allusion to Mohammed's religion, then only a hundred years old. Besides, he had written a separate work, in which the relative merits of Christianity and Mohammedanism are discussed. The prominence given to the question of the worship of images shows that the story could not have been written much before the time of Joannes Damascenus, and there is nothing in the style of our author that could be pointed out as incompatible with the style of the great theologian. On the contrary, the author of 'Barlaam and Joasaph' quotes the same authors whom Joannes Damascenus quotes most frequently—e. g. Basilius and Gregorius Nazianzenus. And no one but Joannes could have taken long passages from his own works without saying where he borrowed them².

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few words: 'A king in India, an enemy and persecutor of the Christians, has an only son. The astrologers have predicted that he would embrace the new doctrine. His father, therefore, tries by all means in his power to keep him ignorant of the miseries of the world, and to create in him a taste for pleasure and enjoyment. A Christian hermit, however, gains access to the prince, and instructs him in the doctrines of the Christian religion. The young prince is not only baptized, but resolves to give up all his earthly riches; and, after having converted his own father and many of his subjects, he follows his teacher into the desert.'

The real object of the book is to give a simple exposition of the principal doctrines of the Christian religion. It also contains a first attempt at comparative theology, for in the course of the story there is a disputation on the merits of the principal religions of the world—the Chaldaean, the Egyptian, the Greek, the Jewish, and the Christian. But one of the chief attractions of this manual of Christian theology consisted in a number of fables and parables with which it is enlivened. Most of them have been traced to an Indian source. I shall mention one only which has found its way into almost every literature of the world¹:

'A man was pursued by a unicorn, and while he tried to flee from it, he fell into a pit. In falling, he stretched out both his arms, and laid hold of a small tree that was growing on one side of the pit. Having gained a firm footing, and holding to the tree, he fancied he was safe, when he saw two mice, a black and a white

¹ The story of the caskets, well known from the 'Merchant of Venice,' occurs in 'Barlaam and Josaphat,' though it is used there for a different purpose.

one, busy gnawing the root of the tree to which he was clinging. Looking down into the pit, he perceived a horrid dragon with his mouth wide open, ready to devour him, and when examining the place on which his feet rested, the heads of four serpents glared at him. Then he looked up, and observed drops of honey falling down from the tree to which he clung. Suddenly the unicorn, the dragon, the mice, and the serpents were all forgotten, and his mind was intent only on catching the drops of sweet honey trickling down from the tree.'

An explanation is hardly required. The unicorn is Death, always chasing man; the pit is the world; the small tree is man's life, constantly gnawed by the black and the white mouse—i. e. by night and day; the four serpents are the four elements which compose the human body; the dragon below is meant for the jaws of hell. Surrounded by all these horrors, man is yet able to forget them all, and to think only of the pleasures of life, which, like a few drops of honey, fall into his mouth from the tree of life¹.

But what is still more curious is, that the author of 'Barlaam and Josaphat' has evidently taken his very hero, the Indian Prince Josaphat, from an Indian source. In the 'Lalita Vistara'—the life, though no doubt the legendary life, of Buddha—the father of Buddha is a king. When his son is born, the Brahman Asita predicts that he will rise to great glory, and become either a powerful king, or, renouncing the throne and embracing the life of a hermit, become a Buddha². The great object of his

¹ Benfey, 'Pantschatantra,' vol. i. p. 80; vol. ii. p. 528; 'Les Contes et Apologues indiens,' par Stanislas Julien, i. 11; 'Gesta Romanorum,' cap. 168; 'Homáyun Nameh,' 'Mythologie,' pp. 758-759; Liebrecht, 'Literatur,' 1860.

father is to prevent this. He therefore keeps the young prince, when he grows up, in his garden and palaces, surrounded by all pleasures which might turn his mind from contemplation to enjoyment. More especially he is to know nothing of illness, old age, and death, which might open his eyes to the misery and unreality of life. After a time, however, the prince receives permission to drive out; and then follow the four drives¹, so famous in Buddhist history. The places where these drives took place were commemorated by towers still standing in the time of Fa Hian's visit to India, early in the fifth century after Christ, and even in the time of Hiouen Thsang, in the seventh century. I shall read you a short account of the three drives²:

'One day when the prince with a large retinue was driving through the eastern gate of the city, on the way to one of his parks, he met on the road an old man, broken and decrepit. One could see the veins and muscles over the whole of his body, his teeth chattered, he was covered with wrinkles, bald, and hardly able to utter hollow and unmelodious sounds. He was bent on his stick, and all his limbs and joints trembled. "Who is that man?" said the prince to his coachman. "He is small and weak, his flesh and his blood are dried up, his muscles stick to his skin, his head is white, his teeth chatter, his body is wasted away; leaning on his stick, he is hardly able to walk, stumbling at every step. Is there something peculiar in his family, or is this the common lot of all created beings?"

"Sir," replied the coachman, "that man is sinking under old age, his senses have become obtuse, suffering has destroyed his strength, and he is despised by his relations. He is without support, and useless; and people have abandoned him, like a dead tree in a forest. But this is not peculiar to his family. In every

¹ 'Lalita Vistara,' ed. Calcutt. p. 225.

² See M. M.'s 'Chips from a German Workshop,' 2nd edit. vol. i. p. 211.

creature youth is defeated by old age. Your father, your mother, all your relations, all your friends, will come to the same state; this is the appointed end of all creatures."

"Alas!" replied the prince, "are creatures so ignorant, so weak, and foolish as to be proud of the youth by which they are intoxicated, not seeing the old age which awaits them? As for me, I go away. Coachman, turn my chariot quickly. What have I, the future prey of old age—what have I to do with pleasure?" And the young prince returned to the city without going to the park.

'Another time the prince was driving through the southern gate to his pleasure-garden, when he perceived on the road a man suffering from illness, parched with fever, his body wasted, covered with mud, without a friend, without a home, hardly able to breathe, and frightened at the sight of himself, and the approach of death. Having questioned his coachman, and received from him the answer which he expected, the young prince said, "Alas! health is but the sport of a dream, and the fear of suffering must take this frightful form. Where is the wise man who, after having seen what he is, could any longer think of joy and pleasure?" The prince turned his chariot, and returned to the city.

'A third time he was driving to his pleasure-garden through the western gate, when he saw a dead body on the road, lying on a bier and covered with a cloth. The friends stood about crying, sobbing, tearing their hair, covering their heads with dust, striking their breasts, and uttering wild cries. The prince, again, calling his coachman to witness this painful scene, exclaimed, "Oh, woe to youth, which must be destroyed by old age! Woe to health, which must be destroyed by so many diseases! Woe to this life, where a man remains so short a time! If there were no old age, no disease, no death; if these could be made captive for ever!" Then, betraying for the first time his intentions, the young prince said, "Let us turn back, I must think how to accomplish deliverance."

'A last meeting put an end to his hesitation. He was driving through the northern gate on the way to his pleasure-gardens, when he saw a mendicant, who appeared outwardly calm, subdued, looking downwards, wearing with an air of dignity his religious vestment, and carrying an alms-bowl.

"Who is that man?" asked the prince.

"Sir," replied the coachman, "this man is one of those who are

called Bhikshus, or mendicants. He has renounced all pleasures, all desires, and leads a life of austerity. He tries to conquer himself. He has become a devotee. Without passion, without envy, he walks about asking for alms."

"This is good and well said," replied the prince. "The life of a devotee has always been praised by the wise. It will be my refuge, and the refuge of other creatures; it will lead us to a real life, to happiness and immortality."

'With these words the young prince turned his chariot, and returned to the city.'

If now we compare the story of Joannes of Damascus, we find that the early life of Josaphat is exactly the same as that of Buddha. His father is a king, and after the birth of his son, an astrologer predicts that he will rise to glory; not, however, in his own kingdom, but in a higher and better one; in fact, that he will embrace the new and persecuted religion of the Christians. Everything is done to prevent this. He is kept in a beautiful palace, surrounded by all that is enjoyable; and great care is taken to keep him in ignorance of sickness, old age, and death. After a time, however, his father gives him leave to drive out. On one of his drives he sees two men, one maimed, the other blind. He asks what they are, and is told that they are suffering from disease. He then inquires whether all men are liable to disease, and whether it is known beforehand who will suffer from disease and who will be free; and when he hears the truth, he becomes sad, and returns home. Another time, when he drives out, he meets an old man with wrinkled face and shaking legs, bent down, with white hair, his teeth gone, and his voice faltering. He asks again what all this means and is told that this is what happens to all and that no one can

end all men must die. Thereupon he returns home to meditate on death, till at last a hermit appears¹, and opens before his eyes a higher view of life, as contained in the Gospel of Christ.

No one, I believe, can read these two stories without feeling convinced that one was borrowed from the other; and as Fa Hian, three hundred years before John of Damascus, saw the towers which commemorated the three drives of Buddha still standing among the ruins of the royal city of Kapilavastu, it follows that the Greek father borrowed his subject from the Buddhist scriptures. Were it necessary, it would be easy to point out still more minute coincidences between the life of Josaphat and of Buddha, the founder of the Buddhist religion. Both in the end convert their royal fathers, both fight manfully against the assaults of the flesh and the devil, both are regarded as saints before they die. Possibly even a proper name may have been transferred from the sacred canon of the Buddhists to the pages of the Greek writer. The driver who conducts Buddha when he flees by night from his palace where he leaves his wife, his only son, and all his treasures, in order to devote himself to a contemplative life, is called Chandaka, in Burmese, Sanna². The friend and companion of Barlaam is called

¹ Minayeff, 'Mélanges Asiatiques,' vi. 5, p. 584, remarks: 'According to a legend in the "Mahâvastu" of Yasas or Yasoda, (in a less complete form to be found in Schiefner, "Eine tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Sâkyamunis," p. 247; Hardy, "Manual of Buddhism," p. 187; Bigandet, "The life or legend of Gaudama," p. 113,) a merchant appears in Yosoda's house, the night before he has the dream which induces him to leave his paternal house, and proclaims to him the true doctrine.'

² 'Journal of the American Oriental Society,' vol. iii. p. 21.

Zardan¹. Reinaud in his 'Mémoire sur l'Inde,' p. 91, (1849) was the first, it seems, to point out that Youdasf, mentioned by Massoudi as the founder of the Sabaeen religion, and Youasaf, mentioned as the founder of Buddhism by the author of the 'Kitáb-al-Fihrist,' are both meant for Bodhisattva, a corruption quite intelligible with the system of transcribing that name with Persian letters. Professor Benfey has identified Theudas, the sorcerer in 'Barlaam and Joasaph,' with the Devadatta of the Buddhist scriptures².

¹ In some places one might almost believe that Joannes Damascenus did not only hear the story of Buddha, as he says, from the mouth of people who had brought it to him from India, but that he had before him the very text of the 'Lalita Vistara.' Thus in the account of the three or four drives we find indeed that the Buddhist canon represents Buddha as seeing on three successive drives, first an old, then a sick, and at last a dying man, while Joannes makes Joasaph meet two men on his first drive, one maimed, the other blind, and an old man, who is nearly dying, on his second drive. So far there is a difference which might best be explained by admitting the account given by Joannes Damascenus himself, viz. that the story was brought from India, and that it was simply told him by worthy and truthful men. But, if it was so, we have here another instance of the tenacity with which oral tradition is able to preserve the most minute points of the story. The old man is described by a long string of adjectives both in Greek and in Sanskrit, and many of them are strangely alike. The Greek *γέρων*, old, corresponds to the Sanskrit *gīrṇa*; *πεπαιωμένος*, aged, is Sanskrit *vṛiddha*; *έρρικνώμενος τὸ πρόσωπον*, shrivelled in his face, is *ballīnikitakāya*, the body covered with wrinkles; *παρείμενος τὰς κνήμας*, weak in his knees, is *pravedhayamānaḥ sarvāṅgapratyangaiḥ*, trembling in all his limbs; *συγκεκνυφός*, bent, is *kubga*; *πεπολιώμενος*, *παλιτάκησα*; *ἐστερήμενος τοὺς ὀδόντας*, toothless, is *khurakḥ*; *ἐγκεκομένα λαλῶν*, stammering, is *khurakḥ*.

² 'Zeitschrift der Deutschen

How palpable these coincidences are between the two stories is best shown by the fact that they were pointed out, independently of each other, by scholars in France, Germany, and England. I place France first, because in point of time M. Laboulaye was the first who called attention to it in one of his charming articles in the 'Débats'¹. A more detailed comparison was given by Dr. Liebrecht². And, lastly, Mr. Beal, in his translation of the 'Travels of Fa Hian'³, called attention to the same fact—viz. that the story of Josaphat was borrowed from the 'Life of Buddha.' I could mention the names of two or three scholars besides who happened to read the two books, and who could not help seeing, what was as clear as daylight, that Joannes Damascenus took the principal character of his religious novel from the 'Lalita Vistara,' one of the sacred books of the Buddhists; but the merit of having been the first belongs to M. Laboulaye.

This fact is, no doubt, extremely curious in the history of literature; but there is another fact connected with it which is more than curious, and I wonder that it has never been pointed out before. It is well known that the story of 'Barlaam and Josaphat' became a most popular book during the Middle Ages. In the East it was translated into Syriac (?), Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Hebrew;

¹ 'Débats,' 1859, 21 and 26 Juillet.

² 'Die Quellen des Barlaam und Josaphat, in Jahrbuch für roman. und engl. Litteratur,' vol. ii. p. 314, 1860.

³ 'Travels of Fah-hian and Sung-Yun, Buddhist Pilgrims, from China to India.' (400 A. D. and 518 A. D.) Translated from the Chinese by Samuel Beal. London, Trübner & Co. 1869.

in the West it exists in Latin, French, Italian, German, English, Spanish, Bohemian, and Polish. As early as 1204, a King of Norway translated it into Icelandic, and at a later time it was translated by a Jesuit missionary into Tagala, the classical language of the Philippine Islands. But this is not all. Barlaam and Josaphat have actually risen to the rank of Saints, both in the Eastern and in the Western Churches. In the Eastern Church the 26th of August is the saints' day of Barlaam and Josaphat; in the Roman Martyrologium, the 27th of November is assigned to them.

There have been from time to time misgivings about the historical character of these two saints. Leo Allatius, in his 'Prolegomena,' ventured to ask the question, whether the story of 'Barlaam and Josaphat' was more real than the 'Cyropaedia' of Xenophon, or the 'Utopia' of Thomas More; but, *en bon Catholique*, he replied, that as Barlaam and Josaphat were mentioned, not only in the *Menaea* of the Greek, but also in the Martyrologium of the Roman Church, he could not bring himself to believe that their history was imaginary. Billius thought that to doubt the concluding words of the author, who says that he received the story of 'Barlaam and Josaphat' from men incapable of falsehood, would be to trust more in one's own suspicions than in Christian charity, which believeth all things. Bellarminus thought he could prove the truth of the story by the fact that, at the end of it, the author himself invokes the two saints Barlaam and Josaphat! Leo Allatius admitted, indeed, that some of the *speech* and conversations occurring in the story *the work* of Joannes Dama-

Having but recently been converted, could not have quoted so many passages from the Bible. But he implies that even this could be explained, because the Holy Ghost might have taught St. Josaphat what to say. At all events, Leo has no mercy for those 'quibus omnia sub sanctorum nomine prodita male olent, quemadmodum de sanctis Georgio, Christophoro, Hippolyto, Catarina, aliisque nusquam eos in rerum natura extitisse impudentissime nugantur.' The Bishop of Avranches had likewise his doubts; but he calmed them by saying: 'Non pas que je veuille soutenir que tout en soit supposé: il y auroit de la témérité à desavouer qu'il y ait jamais eû de Barlaam ni de Josaphat. Le témoignage du Martyrologe, qui les met au nombre des Saints, et leur intercession que Saint Jean Damascene reclame à la fin de cette histoire ne permettent pas d'en douter¹.'

With us the question as to the historical or purely imaginary character of Josaphat has assumed a new and totally different aspect. We willingly accept the statement of Joannes Damascenus that the story of 'Barlaam and Josaphat' was told him by men who came from India. We know that in India a story was current of a prince who lived in the sixth century B.C., a prince of whom it was predicted that he would resign the throne, and devote his life to meditation, in order to rise to the rank of a Buddha. The story tells us that his father did everything to prevent this; that he kept him in a palace secluded from the world, surrounded by all that makes life enjoyable; and that he tried to keep him in ignorance of sickness, old age, and death. We know from the

¹ Littré, 'Journal des Savants,' 1865, p. 337.

same story that at last the young prince obtained permission to drive into the country, and that, by meeting an old man, a sick man, and a corpse, his eyes were opened to the unreality of life, and the vanity of this life's pleasures; that he escaped from his palace, and, after defeating the assaults of all adversaries, became the founder of a new religion. This is the story, it may be the legendary story, but at all events the recognised story of Gautama Sâkyamuni, best known to us under the name of Buddha.

If, then, Joannes Damascenus tells the same story, only putting the name of Joasaph or Josaphat, i. e. Bodhisattva, in the place of Buddha; if all that is human and personal in the life of St. Josaphat is taken from the 'Lalita Vistara'—what follows? It follows that, in the same sense in which La Fontaine's Perrette is the Brahman of the Pañkatantra, St. Josaphat is the Buddha of the Buddhist canon. It follows that Buddha has become a Saint in the Roman Church; it follows that, though under a different name, the sage of Kapilavastu, the founder of a religion which, whatever we may think of its dogma, is, in the purity of its morals, nearer to Christianity than any other religion, and which counts even now, after an existence of 2400 years, 455,000,000 of believers, has received the highest honours that the Christian Church can bestow. And whatever we may think of the sanctity of saints, let those who doubt the right of Buddha to a place among them read the story of his life as it is told in the Buddhist canon. If he lived the life which is there described, few saints have a better title than Buddha: and

Greek or in the Roman Church need be ashamed of having paid to Buddha's memory the honour that was intended for St. Josaphat, the prince, the hermit, and the saint.

History, here as elsewhere, is stranger than fiction; and a kind fairy, whom men call Chance, has here, as elsewhere, remedied the ingratitude and injustice of the world.

APPENDIX.

I AM enabled to add here a short account of an important discovery made by Professor Benfey with regard to the Syriac translation of our Collection of Fables. Doubts had been expressed by Sylvestre de Sacy and others, as to the existence of this translation, which was mentioned for the first time in Ebedjesu's catalogue of Syriac writers, published by Abraham Ecchellensis, and again later by Assemani ('Biblioth. Orient.' tom. iii. part. 1. p. 219). M. Renan, on the contrary, had shown that the title of this translation, as transmitted to us, 'Kalilag and Dam-nag,' was a guarantee of its historical authenticity. As a final k in Pehlvi becomes h in modern Persian, a title such as 'Kalilag and Dam-nag,' answering to 'Kalilak and Damnak' in Pehlvi, in Sanskrit 'Kara-taka and Damanaka,' could only have been borrowed from the Persian before the Mohammedan era. Now that the interesting researches of Professor Benfey on this subject have been rewarded by the happy discovery of a Syriac translation, there remains but one point to be cleared up, viz. whether this is really the translation made by Bud Periodeutes, and whether this same translation was made, as Ebed-jesu affirms, from M. Re
supposes, from a!

which Professor Benfey himself gave of his discovery in the Supplement to the 'Allgemeine Zeitung' of July 12, 1871, and I may add that both text and translation are nearly ready for publication (1875).

The oldest MS. of the Panchatantra.

Göttingen, July 6, 1871.

The account I am about to give will recall the novel of our celebrated compatriot Freytag ('Die verlorene Handschrift,' or 'The Lost MS. '), but with this essential difference, that we are not here treating of a creation of the imagination, but of a real fact; not of the MS. of a work of which many other copies exist, but of an unique specimen; in short, of the MS. of a work which, on the faith of one single mention, was believed to have been composed thirteen centuries ago. This mention, however, appeared to many critical scholars so untrustworthy, that they looked upon it as the mere result of confusion. Another most important difference is, that this search, which has lasted three years, has been followed by the happiest results: it has brought to light a MS. which, even in this century, rich in important discoveries, deserves to be ranked as of the highest value. We have acquired in this MS. the oldest specimen preserved to our days of a work, which, as translated into various languages, has been more widely disseminated and has had a greater influence on the development of civilisation than any other work, excepting the Bible.

But to the point.

Through the researches, which I have published

in my edition of the *Pantschatantra*¹, it is known that about the sixth century of our era, a work existed in India, which treated of deep political questions under the form of fables, in which the actors were animals. It contained various chapters, but these subdivisions were not, as had been hitherto believed, eleven to thirteen in number, but, as the MS. just found shows most clearly, there were at least twelve, perhaps thirteen or fourteen. This work was afterwards so entirely altered in India, that five of these divisions were separated from the other six or nine, and much enlarged, whilst the remaining ones were entirely set aside. This apparently curtailed, but really enlarged edition of the old work, is the Sanskrit book so well known as the *Pantschatantra*, 'The Five Books.' It soon took the place, on its native soil, of the old work, causing the irreparable loss of the latter in India.

But before this change of the old work had been effected in its own land, it had, in the first half of the sixth century, been carried to Persia, and translated into Pehlvi under King Chosru Nuschirvan (531-579). According to the researches which I have described in my book already quoted, the results of which are fully confirmed by the newly discovered MS, it cannot be doubted that, if this translation had been preserved, we should have in

¹ 'Pantschatantra; Fünf Bücher indischer Fabeln, Märchen und Erzählungen. Aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen,' 2 Theile, Leipzig, 1859; and particularly in the first part the introduction called 'Ueber das Indische Grundwerk, und dessen Ausflüsse, so wie über die Quellen und die Verbreitung & Inhalts derselben.'

it, a faithful reproduction of the original Indian work, from which, by various modifications, the *Pantschatantra* is derived. But unfortunately this Pehlvi translation, like its Indian original, is irretrievably lost.

But it is known to have been translated into Arabic in the eighth century by a native of Persia, by name Abdallah ibn Almokaffa (d. 760), who had embraced Islamism, and it acquired, partly in this language, partly in translations and retranslations from it, (apart from the recensions in India, which penetrated to East, North, and South Asia,) that extensive circulation which has caused it to exercise the greatest influence on civilisation in Western Asia, and throughout Europe.

Besides this translation into Pehlvi, there was, according to one account, another, also of the sixth century, in Syriac. This account we owe to a Nestorian writer, who lived in the thirteenth century. He mentions in his catalogue of authors¹ a certain Bud Periodeutes, who probably about 570 had to inspect the Nestorian communities in Persia and India, and who says that, in addition to other books which he names, 'he translated the book "Qalilag and Damnag" from the Indian.'

Until three years ago, not the faintest trace of this old Syrian translation was to be found, and the celebrated orientalist, Silvestre de Sacy, in the historical memoir which he prefixed to his edition of the Arabic translation, 'Calila and Dimna' (Paris, 1816), thought himself justified in seeing

¹ Cf. Assemani 'Biblioth. Orient.' iii. 1. 220, and Renan in the 'Journal Asiatique,' Cinq. Série, t. vii. 1856, p. 251.

in this mention a mere confusion between Barzûyeh, the Pehlvi translator, and a Nestorian monk.

The first trace of this Syriac version was found in May, 1868. On the sixth of that month, Professor Bickell of Münster, the diligent promoter of Syrian philology, wrote to tell me that he had heard from a Syrian Archdeacon from Urumia, Jochannân bar Bâbisch, who had visited Münster in the spring to collect alms, and had returned there again in May, that, sometime previously, several Chaldean priests who had been visiting the Christians of St. Thomas in India, had brought back with them some copies of this Syriac translation, and had given them to the catholic patriarch in Elkosh (near Mossul). He had received one of these.

Though the news appeared so unbelievable and the character of the Syrian priest little calculated to inspire confidence in his statements, it still seemed to me of sufficient importance for me to ask my friends to make further inquiries in India, where other copies ought still to be in existence. Even were the result but a decided negative, it would be a gain to science. These inquiries had no effect in proving the truth of the Archdeacon's assertions; but, at the same time, they did not disprove them. It would of course have been more natural to make inquiries among the Syrians. But from want of friends and from other causes, which I shall mention further on, I could hardly hope for any certain results, and least of all, that if the MS. really existed, I could obtain it, or a copy of it.

The track thus appeared to be lost, and not possible to be followed up, when, after the lapse of nearly two years, Professor Bickell, in a letter of Feb. 22, 1870,

drew my attention to the fact that the Chaldean Patriarch, Jussuf Audo, who, according to Jochannân bar Bâbisch, was in possession of that translation, was now in Rome, as member of the Council summoned by the Pope.

Through Dr. Schöll of Weimar, then in Rome, and one Italian savant, Signor Ignazio Guidi, I was put into communication with the Patriarch, and with another Chaldean priest, Bishop Qajjât, and received communications, the latest of June 11, 1870, which indeed proved the information of Jochannân bar Bâbisch to be entirely untrustworthy; but at the same time pointed to the probable existence of a MS. of the Syriac translation at Mardîn.

I did not wait for the last letters, which might have saved the discoverer much trouble, but might also have frustrated the whole inquiry; but, as soon as I had learnt the place where the MS. might be, I wrote, May 6, 1870, exactly two years after the first trace of the MS. had been brought to light, to my former pupil and friend, Dr. Albert Socin of Basle, who was then in Asia on a scientific expedition, begging him to make the most careful inquiries in Mardîn about this MS, and especially to satisfy himself whether it had been derived from the Arabian translation, or was independent of and older than the latter. We will let Dr. Socin, the discoverer of the MS, tell us himself of his efforts and their results. 'I received your letter of May 6, 1870, a few days ago, by Bagdad and Mossul, at Yacho on the Chabôras. You say that you had heard that the book was in the library at Mardîn. I must own that I doubted seriously the truth of the information, for oriental Christians always say that they possess

every possible book, whilst in reality they have but few. I found this on my journey through the "Christian Mountain," the Tûr el' 'Abedîn, where I visited many places and monasteries but little known. I only saw Bibles in Estrangelo character, which were of value, nowhere profane books; but the people are so fanatical, and watch their books so closely, that it is very difficult to get sight of anything; and one has to keep them in good humour. Unless after a long sojourn, and with the aid of bribery, there can never be any thought of buying anything from a monastic library. Arrived in Mardîn, I set myself to discover the book. I naturally passed by all Moslem libraries, as Syriac books only exist among the Christians. I settled at first that the library in question could only be the Jacobite Cloister, "Der ez Zâferân," the most important centre of the Christians of Mardîn. I therefore sent to the Patriarch of Diarbekir for most particular introductions, and started for "Der ez Zâferân," which lies in the mountains, 5½ hours from Mardîn. The recommendations opened the library to me. I looked through 400 volumes, without finding anything; there was not much of any value. On my return to Mardîn, I questioned people right and left; no one knew anything about it. At length I summoned up courage one day, and went to the Chaldean monastery. The different sects in Mardîn are most bitter against each other, and as I unfortunately lodged in the house of an American missionary, it was very difficult for me to gain access to these Catholics, who were unknown to me. Luckily my servant was a Catholic, and *could state* that I had no proselytising schemes.

After a time I asked about their books ; Missals and Gospels were placed before me ; I asked if they had any books of fables. "Yes, there was one there." After a long search in the dust, it was found and brought to me. I opened it, and saw at the first glance, in red letters, "Qalilag and Damag," with the old termination g, which proved to me that the work was not translated from the Arabic "Calila ve Dimnah." You may be certain that I did not show what I felt. I soon laid the book quietly down. I had indeed before asked the monk specially for "Kalila and Dimna," and with some persistency, before I inquired generally for books of fables ; but he had not the faintest suspicion that the book before him was the one so eagerly sought after. After about a week or ten days, in order to arouse no suspicion, I sent a trustworthy man to borrow the book ; but he was asked at once if it were for the "Fréngi den Prot" (Protestant), and my confidant was so good as to deny it, "No, it was for himself." I then examined the book more carefully. Having it safely in my possession, I was not alarmed at the idea of a little hubbub. I therefore made inquiries, but in all secret, whether they would sell it. "No, never," was the answer I expected and received, and the idea that I had borrowed it for myself was revived. I therefore began to have a copy made. But I was obliged to leave Mardîn and even the neighbouring Diarbekir, before I received the copy. In Mardîn itself the return of the book was loudly demanded, as soon as they knew I was having it copied. I was indeed delighted when, through the kindness of friends, *post tot discrimina rerum* I received the book at Aleppo.

So far writes my friend, the fortunate discoverer, who, as early as the nineteenth of August 1870, announced in a letter the happy recovery of the book. On April 20, 1871, he kindly sent it to me from Basle.

This is not the place to descant on the high importance of this discovery. It is only necessary to add that there is not the least doubt that it has put us in possession of the old Syriac translation, of which Ebedjesu speaks. There is only one question still to be settled, whether it is derived direct from the Indian, or through the Pehlvi translation? In either case it is the oldest preserved rendering of the original, now lost in India, and therefore of priceless value.

The fuller treatment of this and other questions, which spring from this discovery, will find a place in the edition of the text, with translation and commentary, which Professor Bickell is preparing in concert with Dr. Hoffmann and myself.

THEODOR BENFEY.

N O T E S.

NOTE A.

IN modern times, too, each poet or fabulist tells the story as seems best to him. I give three recensions of the story of Perrette, copied from English schoolbooks.

The Milkmaid.

A milkmaid who poised a full pail on her head,
Thus mused on her prospects in life, it is said:—
Let me see, I should think that this milk will procure
One hundred good eggs or fourscore, to be sure.

Well then, stop a bit, it must not be forgotten,
Some of these may be broken, and some may be rotten;
But if twenty for accident should be detached,
It will leave me just sixty sound eggs to be hatched.

Well, sixty sound eggs—no, sound chickens I mean:
Of these some may die—we'll suppose seventeen;
Seventeen, not so many!—say ten at the most,
Which will leave fifty chickens to boil or to roast.

But then there's their barley, how much will they
need?

Why, they take but one grain at a time when they feed,
So that's a mere trifle;—now then, let me see,
At a fair market price how much money there'll be.
Six shillings a pair, five, four, three-and-six,
To prevent all mistakes that low price I will fix;
Now what will that make? Fifty chickens I said;
Fifty times three-and-six?—I'll ask brother Ned.

Oh! but stop, three-and-sixpence a pair I must sell
them!

Well, a pair is a couple; now then let us tell them.
A couple in fifty will go (my poor brain),
Why just a score times, and five pairs will remain.

Twenty-five pairs of fowls, now how tiresome it is
That I can't reckon up such money as this.
Well there's no use in trying, so let's give a guess—
I'll say twenty pounds, and it can be no less.

Twenty pounds I am certain will buy me a cow,
Thirty geese and two turkeys, eight pigs and a sow;
Now if these turn out well, at the end of the year
I shall fill both my pockets with guineas, 'tis clear.

Forgetting her burden when this she had said,
The maid superciliously tossed up her head,
When, alas for her prospects! her milkpail descended,
And so all her schemes for the future were ended.

This moral, I think, may be safely attached—
'Reckon not on your chickens before they are hatched!'

JEFFREYS TAYLOR.

Fable.

A country maid was walking with a pail of milk upon her head, when she fell into the following train of thoughts: 'The money for which I shall sell this milk will enable me to increase my stock of eggs to three hundred. These eggs will bring at least two hundred and fifty chickens. The chickens will be fit to carry to market about Christmas, when poultry always bear a good price; so that by May-day I shall have money enough to buy me a new gown. Green?—let me consider—yes, green becomes my complexion best, and green it shall be. In this dress I will go to the fair, where all the young fellows will strive to have me for a partner; but I shall perhaps refuse every one of them, and with an air of disdain toss from them.' Charmed with this thought, she could not forbear acting with her head what thus passed in her mind, when down came the pail of milk, and with it all her fancied happiness.—From GUY'S 'British Spelling Book.'

Alnasker.

Alnasker was a very idle fellow, that would never set his hand to work during his father's life. When his father died he left him to the value of a hundred pounds in Persian money. In order to make the best of it he laid it out in glasses and bottles, and the finest china. These he piled up in a large open basket at his feet, and leaned his back upon the wall of his shop in the hope that many people would come in to buy. As he sat in this posture, with his eyes upon the basket, he fell into an amusing train of thought, and talked thus to himself: 'This basket,' says he, 'cost me a hundred pounds, which is all I had in the world. I shall quickly make two hundred of it by selling in retail. These two hundred shall in course of trade rise to ten thousand, when I will lay aside my trade of a glass-man, and turn a dealer in pearls and diamonds, and all sorts of rich stones. When I have got as much wealth as I can desire, I will purchase the finest house I can find, with lands, slaves, and horses. Then I shall set myself on the footing of a prince, and will ask the grand Vizier's daughter to be my wife. As soon as I have married her, I will buy her ten black servants, the youngest and best that can be got for money. When I have brought this princess to my house, I shall take care to breed her in due respect for me. To this end I shall confine her to her own rooms, make her a short visit, and talk but little to her. Her mother will then come and bring her daughter to me, as I am seated on a sofa. The daughter, with tears in her eyes, will fling herself at my feet, and beg me to take her into my favour. Then will I, to impress her with a proper respect for my person, draw up my leg, and spurn her from me with my foot in such a manner that she shall fall down several paces from the sofa.' Alnasker was entirely absorbed with his ideas, and could not forbear acting with his foot what he had in his thoughts; so that, striking his basket of brittle ware, which was the foundation of all his grand hopes, he kicked his glasses to a great distance into the street, and broke them into a thousand pieces.—'Spectator.' (From the Sixth Book, published by the Scottish School Book Association, W. Collins and Co., Edinburgh.)

NOTE B.

PERTSCH, in Benfey's 'Orient und Occident,' vol. ii. p. 261. Here the story is told as follows: 'Perche si conta che un certo pouer huomo hauea uicino a doue dormiua, un mulino & del buturo, & una notte tra se pensando disse, io uenderò questo mulino, & questo butturo tanto per il meno, che io comprerò diece capre. Le quali mi figliaranno in cinque mesi altre tante, & in cinque anni multiplicheranno fino a quattro cento; Le quali barattero in cento buoi, & con essi seminarò una cãpagna, & insieme da figliuoli loro, & dal frutto della terra in altri cinque anni, sarò oltre modo ricco, & farò un palagio *quadro*, adorato, & comprerò schiaui una infinità, & prenderò moglie, la quale mi farà un figliuolo, & lo nominerò Pancalo, & lo farò ammaestrare come bisogna. Et se vedrò che non si curi con questa bacchetta cosi il percoterò. Con che prendendo la bacchetta che gli era uicina, & battendo di essa il vaso doue era il buturo, e lo ruppe, & fuse il buturo. Dopò gli partorì la moglie un figliuolo, e la moglie un dì gli disse, habbi un poco cura di questo fanciullo o marito, fino che io uo e torno da un seruigio. La quale essendo andata fu anco il marito chiamato dal Signore della terra, & tra tanto auenne che una serpe salì sopra il fanciullo. Et vna donzella uicina, corsa là, l' uccise. Tornato il marito uide insanguito l' vscio, & pensando che costei l' hauesse ucciso, auanti che il uedesse, le diede sul capo, di un bastone, e l' uccise. Entrato poi, & sano trouando il figliuolo, & la serpe morta, si fu grandemente pentito, & piãse amaramente. Così adunque i frettolosi in molte cose errano.' (P. 516.)

NOTE C.

THIS and some other extracts, from books not to be found at Oxford, were kindly copied for me by my late friend, E. Deutsch, of the British Museum.

'Georgii Pachymeris Michael Palaeologus, sive Historia rerum a M. P. gestarum,' ed. Petr. Possinus. Romae, 1666.

Appendix ad observationes Pachymerianas, Specimen Sapientiae Indorum veterum liber olim ex lingua Indica in

Persicam a Perzoe Medico: ex Persica in Arabicam ab Anonymo: ex Arabica in Graecam a Symeone Seth, a Petro Possino Societ. Iesu, novissime e Graeca in Latinam translatus.

‘Huic talia serio nuganti haud paulo cordatior mulier. Mihi videris, Sponse, inquit, nostri ejusdam famuli egentissimi hominis similis ista inani provisione nimis remotarum et incerto eventu pendentium rerum. Is diurnis mercedibus mellis ac butyri non magna copia collectâ duobus ista vasis e terra coctili condiderat. Mox secum ita ratiocinans nocte quadam dicebat: Mel ego istud ac butyrum quindecim minimum vendam denariis. Ex his decem Capras emam. Hae mihi quinto mense totidem alias parient. Quinque annis gregem Caprarum facile quadingentarum confecero. Has commutare tunc placet cum bobus centum, quibus exarabo vim terrae magnam et numerum tritici maximum congeram. Ex fructibus hisce quinquennio multiplicatis, pecuniae scilicet tantus existet modus, ut facile in locupletissimis numerer. Accedit dos uxoris quam istis opibus ditissiman nansciscar. Nascetur mihi filius quem jam nunc decerno nominare Pancalum. Hunc educabo liberalissime, ut nobilium nulli concedat. Qui si ubi adoleverit, ut juvenus solet, contumacem se mihi praebeat, haud feret impune. Baculo enim hoc illum hoc modo feriam. Arreptum inter haec dicendum lecto vicinum baculum per tenebras jactavit, casuque incurrens in dolia mellis et butyri juxta posita, confregit utrumque, ita ut in ejus etiam os barbamque stillae liquoris prosilirent; caetera effusa et mixta pulveri prorsus corrumperentur; ac fundamentum spei tantae, inopem et multum gementem momento destitueret.’ (P. 602.)

NOTE D.

‘DIRECTORIUM Humanae Vitae alias Parabolae Antiquorum Sapientum,’ fol. s. l. e. a. k. 4 (circ. 1480?): ‘Dicitque olim quidam fuit heremita apud quendam regem. Cui rex providerat quolibet die pro sua vita. Scilicet provisionem de sua coquina et vasculum de melle. Ille vero comedebat decocta, et reservabat mel in quodam vase suspenso super suum caput

donec esset plenum. Erat autem mel percarum in illis diebus. Quadam vero die: dum jaceret in suo lecto elevato capite, respexit vas mellis quod super caput ei pendeat. Et recordatus quoniam mel de die in diem vendebatur pluri solito seu carius, et dixit in corde suo. Quum fuerit hoc vas plenum: vendam ipsum uno talento auri: de quo mihi emam decem oves, et successu temporis he oves facient filios et filias, et erunt viginti. Postea vero ipsis multiplicatis cum filiis et filiabus in quatuor annis erunt quatuor centum. Tunc de quibuslibet quatuor ovibus emam vaccam et bovem et terram. Et vaccae multiplicabuntur in filiis, quorum masculos accipiam mihi in culturam terre, praeter id quod percipiam de eis de lacte et lana, donec non consummatis aliis quinque annis multiplicabuntur in tantum quod habeo mihi magnas substantias et divitias, et ero a cunctis reputatus dives et honestus. Et edificabo mihi tunc grandia et excellentia edificia pre omnibus meis vicinis et consanguinibus, itaque omnes de meis divitiis loquantur, nonne erit mihi illud jocundum, cum omnes homines mihi reverentiam in omnibus locis exhibeant. Accipiam postea uxorem de nobilibus terre. Cumque eam cognovero, concipiet et pariet mihi filium nobilem et delectabilem cum bona fortuna et dei beneplacito qui crescet in scientia virtute, et relinquam mihi per ipsum bonam memoriam post mei obitum et castigabo ipsum dietim: si mee recalcitraverit doctrine; ac mihi in omnibus erit obediens, et si non: percutiam eum isto baculo et erecto baculo ad percutiendum percussit vas mellis et fregit ipsum et defluxit mel super caput ejus.'

NOTE E.

'Das Buch der Weisheit der alter Weisen,' Ulm, 1415.
Here the story is given as follows:

'Man sagt es wohnet eins mal ein brüder der dritten regel der got fast dienet, bei dem künige hof, den versach der künig alle tag zu speissen. Er lebent ein lichen speiss und ein lichen. Er lebent ein lichen speiss von der

fleschlein das hieng ob seiner petstat so lang biss es voll ward. Nun kam bald eine grosse teür in den honig und eins morgens früe lag er in seinem pett und sach das honig in dem fleschlein ob seinem haubt hangen do fiel ym in sein gedanck die teüre des honigs und fieng an mit ihm selbs ze reden. wann diss fleschlein gantz vol honigs wirt so verkauff ich das umb fünff güldin, darūm kauff ich mir zehen güter schaff und die machen alle des jahrs leंबर. und dann werden eins jahrs zweintzig und die und das von yn kummen mag in zehen jaren werden tausent. dann kauff ich umb fier schaff ein kü und kauff dobei ochsen und ertrich die meren sich mit iren früchten und do nimb ich dann die frücht zü arbeit der äcker. von den andern küen und schaffen nimb ich milich und woll ee das andre fünff jar fürkommen so wird es sich also meren das ich ein grosse hab und reichtumb überkumen wird dann will ich mir selbs knecht und kellerin kauffen und hohe und hübsche bäw ton. und darnach so nimm ich mir ein hübsch weib von einem edeln geschlecht die beschlaff ich mit kurtzweiliger lieb. so enpfecht sie und gebirt mir ein schön glükseligten sun und gottföchtigen. und der wirt wachsen in lere und künsten und in weissheit. durch den lass ich mir einen güten leümde nach meinem tod. aber wird er nit fölgig sein und meiner straff nit achten so wolt ich yn mit meinem stecken über sein rucken on erbernde gar hart schlagen. und nam sein stecken da mit man pflag das pet ze machen ym selbs ze zeigen wie frefelich er sein sun schlagen wölt. und schlüg das irden fass das ob seinem haubt hieng zü stücken dass ym das honig under sein antlit und in das pet troff und ward ym von allen sein gedenecken nit dann das er sein antlit und pet weschen müst.'

NOTE F.

THIS translation has lately been published by Don Pascual de Gayangos in the 'Biblioteca de Autores Españoles,' Madrid, 1860, vol. li. Here the story runs as follows (p. 57):

'Del religioso que vertió la miel et la manteca sobre su cabeza.

'Dijo la mujer:—"Dicen que un religioso habia cada dia

limosna de casa de un mercader rico, pan é manteca é miel e otras cosas, et comia el pan é lo ál condesaba, et ponía la miel é la manteca en un jarra, fasta quel a finchó, et tenía la jarra colgada á la cabecera de su cama. Et vino tiempo que encareció la miel é la manteca, et el religioso fabló un día consigo mismo, estando asentado en su cama, et dijo así: Venderé quanto está en esta jarra por tantos maravedís, é comparé con ellos diez cabras, et empreñarse-han, é parirán á cabo de cinco meses; et fizo cuenta de esta guisa, et falló que en cinco años montarian bien cuatrocientas cabras. Desí dijo: Venderlas-he todas, et con el precio dellas compraré cien vacas, por cada cuatro cabezas una vaca, é haberé simiente é sembraré con los bueyes, et aprovecharme-he de los becerros et de las fembras é de la leche é manteca, é de las mieses habré grant haber, et labraré muy nobles casas, é compraré siervos é siervas, et esto fecho casarme-he con una mujer muy rica, é hermosa, é de grant logar, é empreñarla-he de fijo varon, é nacerá complido de sus miembros, et criarlo-he como á fijo de rey, é castigarlo-he con esta vara, si non quisiere ser bueno é obediente." E él diciendo esto, alzó la vara que tenía en la mano, et ferió en la olla que estaba colgada encima dél, é quebróla, é cayóle la miel é la manteca sobre su cabeza, etc.

NOTE G.

SEE 'Poésies inédites du moyen âge,' par M. Edéstand Du Ménil. Paris 1854. XVI. De viro et vase olei (p. 239):

'Uxor ab antiquo fuit infecunda marito.

Mesticiam (l. moestitiam) cujus cupiens lenire vix (l. vir)
hujus,

His blandimentis solatur tristi[ti]a mentis:

Cur sic tristaris? Dolor est tuus omnis inanis:

Pulchrae prolis eris satis amodo munere felix.

Pro nihilo ducens conjunx haec verba prudens,

His verbis plane quod ait vir monstrat inane:

Rebus inops quidam . . . (bone vir, tibi dicam)

Vas oleo *plenum*, longum quod retro per aevum

Legerat orando, loca per diversa vagando,

Fune ligans ar(c)to, tecto[que] suspendit ab alto.

Sic praestolatur tempus quo pluris ematur[atur]
 Qua locupletari se sperat et arte beari.
 Talia dum captat, haec stultus inania jactat:
 Ecce potens factus, fuero cum talia nactus,
 Vinciar uxori quantum queo nobiliori:
 Tunc sobolem gignam, se meque per omnia dignam,
 Cujus opus morum genus omne praeibit avorum.
 Cui nisi tot vitae fuerint insignia rite,
 Fustis hic absque mora feriet caput ejus et [h]ora.
 Quod dum narraret, dextramque minando levaret,
 Ut percussisset puerum quasi praesto fuisset
 Vas in praedictum manus ejus dirigit ictum
 Servatumque sibi vas il[1]ico fregit olivi.'

I owe the following extract to the kindness of M. Paul Meyer:

Apologi Phaedrii ex ludicris I. Regnerii Belnensis doct. Medici, Divione, apud Petrum Palliot, 1643 in 12, 126 pages et de plus un index.

(Le recueil se divise en deux partis, pars I, pars II. La fable en question est à la page 32, pars I, fab. xxv.)

XXV.

Pagana et eius mercis emptor.

Pagana mulier, lac in olla fictili,
 Ova in canistro, rustici mercem penus,
 Ad civitatem proximam ibat venditum.
 In eius aditu factus huic quidam obvius
 Quanti rogavit ista quae fers vis emi?
 Et illa tanti. Tantin' ? hoc fuerit nimis.
 Numerare num me vis quod est aequum ? vide
 Hac merce quod sit nunc opus mihi plus dabo
 Quam praestet illam cede, et hos nummos cape,
 Ea quam superbe foede rusticitas agit,
 Hominem reliquit additis conviciis,
 Quasi aestimasset vilis mercem optimam.
 Aversa primos inde vix tulerat gradus,
 Cum lubricato corrui strato viae:
 Lac olla fundit quassa, gallinaceae
 Testae vitellos congerunt coeno suos

Caput cruorem mittit impingens petrae
 Luxata nec fert coxa surgentem solo:
 Ridetur ejus non malum, sed mens procax,
 Qua merx et ipsa mercis et pretium perit;
 Seque illa deflens tot pati infortunia
 Nulli imputare quam sibi hanc sortem potest
 Dolor sed omnis saeviter recruduit
 Curationis danda cum merces fuit.

In re minori cum quis et fragili tumet
 Hunc sortis ingens sternit indignatio.

NOTE H.

HULSBACH, 'Sylva Sermonum,' Basileae, 1568, p. 28: 'In sylva quadam morabatur heremicola jam satis provectae aetatis, qui quaque die accedebat civitatem, afferens inde mensuram mellis, qua donabatur. Hoc recondebat in vase terreo, quod pependerit supra lectum suum. Uno dierum jacens in lecto, et habens baculum in manu sua, haec apud se dicebat: Quotidie mihi datur vasculum mellis, quod dum indies recondo, fiet tandem summa aliqua. Jam valet mensura staterem unum. Corraso autem ita floreno uno aut altero, emam mihi oves, quae foenerabunt mihi plures: quibus divenditis coëmam mihi elegantem uxoreulam, cum qua transigam vitam meam laetanter: ex ea suscitabo mihi puellam, quam instituam honeste. Si vero mihi noluerit obedire, hoc baculo eam ita comminam: atque levato baculo confregit suum vasculum, et effusum est mel, quare cassatum est suum propositum, et manendum adhuc in suo statu.'

NOTE I.

'EL Conde Lucanor, compuesto por el excelentissimo Principe don Iuan Manuel, hijo del Infante don Manuel, y nieto del Santo Rey don Fernando,' Madrid, 1642; cap. 29. p. 96. He tells the story as follows: 'There was a woman called Dona Truhana (Gertrude), rather poor than rich. One day she went to the market carrying a pot of honey on her head. On her way she began to think that she would sell the pot

Of honey, and buy a quantity of eggs, that from those eggs she would have chickens, that she would sell them and buy sheep; that the sheep would give her lambs, and thus calculating all her gains, she began to think herself much richer than her neighbours. With the riches which she imagined she possessed, she thought how she would marry her sons and daughters, and how she would walk in the street surrounded by her sons and daughters-in-law; and how people would consider her very happy for having amassed so large a fortune, though she had been so poor. While she was thinking over all this, she began to laugh for joy, and struck her head and forehead with her hand. The pot of honey fell down, was broken, and she shed hot tears because she had lost all that she would have possessed if the pot of honey had not been broken.'

NOTE K.

BONAVENTURE des Periers, 'Les Contes ou les Nouvelles.' Amsterdam, 1735. Nouvelle XIV. (vol. i. p. 141). (First edition, Lyon, 1558): 'Et ne les (les Alquemistes) scauroit-on mieux comparer qu'à une bonne femme qui portoit une potée de laict au marché, faisant son compte ainsi: qu'elle vendroit deux liards: de ces deux liards elle en achepteroit une douzaine d'œufs, lesquelz elle mettroit couver, et en auroit une douzaine de poussins: ces poussins deviendroient grands, et les feroit chaponner: ces chapons vaudroient cinq solz la piece, ce seroit un escu et plus, dont elle achepteroit deux cochons, masle et femelle: qui deviendroient grands et en feroient une douzaine d'autres, qu'elle vendroit vingt solz la piece; apres les avoir nourris quelque temps, ce seroient douze francs, dont elle achepteroit une iument, qui porteroit un beau poulain, lequel croistroit et deviendroit tant gentil: il sauteroit et feroit *Hin*. Et en disant *Hin*, la bonne femme, de l'aise qu'elle avoit en son compte, se print à faire la ruade que feroit son poulain: et en ce faisant sa potée de laict va tomber, et se respendit toute. Et voila ses œufs, ses poussins, ses chapons, ses cochons, sa jument, et son poulain, tous par terre.'

IV.

ON THE RESULTS OF THE SCIENCE
OF LANGUAGE.

INAUGURAL LECTURE,

DELIVERED IN THE IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY OF STRASSBURG,

MAY 23, 1872.

YOU will easily understand that, in giving my first lecture in a German University, I feel some difficulty in mastering and repressing the feelings which stir within my heart. I wish to speak to you, as it becomes a teacher, with perfect calmness, thinking of nothing but of the subject which I have to treat. But here where we are gathered together to-day, in this old free imperial town, in this University, full of the brightest recollections of Alsatian history and German literature, even a somewhat grey-headed German professor may be pardoned if, for some moments at least, he gives free vent to the thoughts that are foremost in his mind. You will see, at least, that he feels and thinks as you all feel and think, and that in living from Germany he has not forgotten his German or lost his German heart.

The times in which we live are great, so great that we can hardly conceive them great enough; so great that we, old and young, cannot be great and good and brave and hardworking enough, if we do not wish to appear quite unworthy of the times in which our lot has been cast.

We older people have lived through darker times, when to a German, learning was the only refuge, the only comfort, the only pride; times when there was no Germany except in our recollection, and perhaps in our secret hopes. And those who have lived through those sadder days feel all the more deeply the blessings of the present. We have a Germany again, a united, great, and strong country; and I call this a blessing, not only in a material sense, as giving, at last, to our homes a real and lasting security against the inroads of our powerful neighbours, but also in a moral sense, as placing every German under a greater responsibility, as reminding us of our higher duties, as inspiring us with courage and energy for the battle of the mind even more than for the battle of the arm.

That blessing has cost us dear, fearfully dear, dearer than the friends of humanity had hoped; for, proud as we may be of our victories and our victors, let us not deceive ourselves in this, that there is in the history of humanity nothing so inhuman, nothing that makes us so entirely despair of the genius of mankind, nothing that bows us so low to the very dust, as war—unless even war becomes ennobled and sanctified, as it was with us, by the sense of duty, duty towards our country, duty towards our town, duty towards our home, towards our fathers and mothers, our wives and

children. Thus, and thus only, can even war become the highest and brightest of sacrifices; thus, and thus only, may we look history straight in the face, and ask, 'Who would have acted differently?'

I do not speak here of politics in the ordinary sense of the word,—nay, I gladly leave the groping for the petty causes of the late war to the scrutiny of those foreign statesmen who have eyes only for the infinitesimally small, but cannot, or will not, see the powerful handiwork of Divine justice that reveals itself in the history of nations as in the lives of individuals. I speak of politics in their true and original meaning, as a branch of ethics, as Kant has proved them to be, and from this point of view, politics become a duty from which no one may shrink, be he young or old. Every nation must have a conscience, like every individual; a nation must be able to give to itself an account of the moral justification of a war in which it is to sacrifice everything that is most dear to man. And that is the greatest blessing of the late war, that every German, however deep he may delve in his heart, can say without a qualm or a quiver, 'The German people did not wish for war, nor for conquest. We wanted peace and freedom in our internal development. Another nation, or rather its rulers, claimed the right to draw for us lines of the Main, if not new frontiers of the Rhine; they wished to prevent the accomplishment of that German union for which our fathers had worked and suffered. The German nation would gladly have waited longer still, if thereby war could have been averted. We knew that the union of Germany was inevitable, and the inevitable is in no

hurry. But when the gauntlet was thrown in our face, and, be it remembered, with the acclamation of the whole French nation, then we knew what, under Napoleonic sway, we might expect from our powerful neighbour, and the whole German people rose as one man for defence, not for defiance. The object of our war was peace, and a lasting peace, and therefore now, after peace has been won, after our often menaced, often violated, western frontier has been made secure for ever by bastions, such as nature only can build, it becomes our duty to prove to the world that we Germans are the same after as before the war, that military glory has nothing intoxicating to us, that we want peace with all the world.'

You know that the world at large does not prophesy well for us. We are told that the old and simple German manners will go, that the ideal interests of our life will be forgotten, that, as in other countries, so with us, our love for the True and the Beautiful will be replaced by love of pleasure, enjoyment, and vanities. It rests with us with all our might to confound such evil prophecies, and to carry the banner of the German mind higher than ever. Germany can remain great only by what has made her great—by simplicity of manners, contentment, industry, honesty, high ideals, contempt of luxury, of display, and of vain-glory. '*Non propter vitam vivendi perdere causas,*'—'Not for the sake of life to lose the real objects of life,' this must be our watchword for ever, and the *causae vitae*, the highest objects of life, are for us to-day, and will, I trust, remain for coming generations the same as they were in the days of Lessing, of Kant, of Schiller, and of Humboldt.

And nowhere, methinks, can this return to the work of peace be better inaugurated than here in this very place, in Strassburg. It was a bold conception to begin the building of the new temple of learning in the very midst of the old German frontier fortress. We are summoned here, as in the days of Nehemiah, when 'the builders everyone had his sword girded by his side, and so builded.' It rests with us, the young as well as the old, that this bold conception shall not fail. And therefore I could not resist the voice of my heart, or gainsay the wish of my friends who believed that I, too, might bring a stone, however small, to the building of this new temple of German science. And here I am among you to try and do my best. Though I have lived long abroad, and pitched my workshop for nearly twenty-five years on English soil, you know that I have always remained German in heart and mind. And this I must say for my English friends, that they esteem a German who remains German far more highly than one who wishes to pass himself off as English. An Englishman wishes every man to be what he is. I am, and I always have been, a German living and working in England. The work of my life, the edition of the Rig-Veda, the oldest book of the Indian, ay, of the whole Aryan world, could be carried out satisfactorily nowhere but in England, where the rich collections of Oriental MSS, and the easy communications with India, offer to an Oriental scholar advantages such as no other country can offer. That by living and working in England I have made some sacrifices, that I have lost many advantages which the free intercourse with German scholars in a German

university so richly offers, no one knows better than myself. Whatever I have seen of life, I know of no life more perfect than that of a German professor in a German school or university. You know what Niebuhr thought of such a life, even though he was a Prussian minister and ambassador at Rome. I must read you some of his words, they sound so honest and sincere: 'There is no more grateful, more serene life than that of a German teacher or professor, none that, through the nature of its duties and its work, secures so well the peace of our heart and our conscience. How many times have I deplored it with a sad heart, that I should ever have left that path of life to enter upon a life of trouble which, even at the approach of old age, will probably never give me lasting peace. The office of a schoolmaster, in particular, is one of the most honourable, and despite of all the evils which now and then disturb its ideal beauty, it is for a truly noble heart the happiest path of life. It was the path which I had once chosen for myself, and how I wish I had been allowed to follow it!'

I could quote to you the words of another Prussian ambassador, Bunsen. He, too, often complained with sadness that he had missed his true path in life. He, too, would gladly have exchanged the noisy hotel of the ambassador for the quiet home of a German professor.

From my earliest youth it has been the goal of my life to act as a professor in a German university, and if this dream of my youth was not to be fulfilled in its entirety, I feel all the more grateful that, through the kindness of my friends and German colleagues, I have been allowed, at least

once in my life, to act during the present spring and summer as a real German professor in a German university.

This was in my heart, and I wanted to say it, in order that you might know with what purpose I have come, and with what real joy I begin the work which has brought us together to-day.

I shall lecture during the present term on 'The Results of the Science of Language;' but you will easily understand that to sum up in one course of lectures the results of researches which have been carried on with unflagging industry by three generations of scholars, would be a sheer impossibility. Besides, a mere detailing of results, though it is possible, is hardly calculated to subserve the real objects of academic teaching. You would not be satisfied with mere results: you want to know and to understand the method by which they have been obtained. You want to follow step by step that glorious progress of discovery which has led us to where we stand now. What is the use of knowing the Pythagorean problem, if we cannot prove it? What would be the use of knowing that the French *larme* is the same as the German *Zähre* (tear), if we could not with mathematical exactness trace every step by which these two words have diverged till they became what they are?

The results of the Science of Language are enormous. There is no sphere of intellectual activity which has not felt more or less the influence of this new science. Nor is this to be wondered at. Language is the organ of all knowledge, and though we flatter ourselves that we are the lords of language, that we use it as a useful tool, and no more, believe

me there are but few who can maintain their complete independence with respect to language, few who can say of her, Ἐχὼ Λατῖδα, οὐκ ἔχομαι. To know language historically and genetically, to be able more particularly to follow up the growth of our technical terms to their very roots, this is in every science the best means to keep up a living connection between the past and the present, the only way to make us feel the ground on which we stand.

Let us begin with what is nearest to us, *Philology*. Its whole character has been changed as if by magic. The two classical languages, Greek and Latin, which looked as if they had fallen from the sky or been found behind the hedge, have now recovered their title-deeds, and have taken their legitimate place in that old and noble family which we call the Indo-European, the Indo-Germanic, or by a shorter, if not a better name, the Aryan. In this way not only have their antecedents been cleared up, but their mutual relationship, too, has for the first time been placed in its proper light. The idea that Latin was derived from Greek, an idea excusable in scholars of the Scipionic period, or that Latin was a language made up of Italic, Greek, and Pelasgic elements, a view that had maintained itself to the time of Niebuhr, all this has now been shown to be a physical impossibility. Greek and Latin stand together on terms of perfect equality; they are sisters, like French and Italian:

· Facies non omnibus una,

Nec diversa tamen qualem decet esse sororum.'

If it could be a scientific question which of the two is the elder sister, Greek or Latin, Latin, I believe, could produce better claims of seniority than Greek.

Now, as in the modern history of language we are able to explain many things that are obscure in French and Italian by calling in the Provençal, the Spanish, the Portuguese, nay, even the Wallachian and the Churwälsch, we can do the same in the ancient history of language, and get light for many things which are difficult and unintelligible in Greek and Latin, by consulting Sanskrit, Zend, Gothic, Irish, and even Old Bulgarian. We can hardly form an idea of the surprise which was occasioned among the scholars of Europe by the discovery of the Aryan family of languages, reaching with its branches from the Himalayan mountains to the Pyrenees. Not that scholars of any eminence believed at the end of the last century that Greek and Latin were derived from Hebrew: that prejudice had been disposed of once for all, in Germany at least, by Leibniz. But after that theory had been given up, no new truly scientific theory had taken its place. The languages of the world, with the exception of the Semitic, the family type of which was not to be mistaken, lay scattered about as *disjecta membra poëtae*, and no one thought of uniting them again into one organic whole. It was the discovery of Sanskrit which led to the re-union of the Aryan languages, and if Sanskrit had taught us nothing else, this alone would establish its claim to a place among the academic sciences of our century.

When Greek and Latin had once been restored to their true place in the natural system of the Aryan languages, their special treatment, too, became necessarily a different one. In grammar, for instance, scholars were no longer satisfied to give forms and rules, and to place what was irregular by the side of

what was regular. They wished to know the reasons of the rules as well as of the exceptions; they asked why the forms were such as they were, and not otherwise; they required not only a logical, but also an historical foundation of grammar. People asked themselves for the first time, why so small a change as *mensa* and *mensae* could express the difference between one and many tables; why a single letter, like *r*, could possess the charm of changing I love, *amo*, into I am loved, *amor*. Instead of indulging in general speculations on the logic of grammar, the riddles of grammar received their solution from a study of the historical development of language. For every language there was to be a historical grammar, and in this way a revolution was produced in philological studies to be compared only to the revolution produced in chemistry by the discoveries of Lavoisier, or in geology by the theories of Lyell. For instance, instead of attempting an explanation why the genitive singular and the ablative plural of the first and second declensions could express rest in a place—*Romae*, at Rome; *Tarenti*, at Tarentum; *Athenis*, at Athens; *Gabiis*, at Gabii—one glance at the past history of these languages showed that these so-called genitives were not and never had been genitives, but corresponded to the old locatives in *i* and *su* in Sanskrit. No doubt, a pupil can be made to learn anything that stands in a grammar; but I do not believe that it can conduce to a sound development of his intellectual powers if he first learns at school the real meaning of the genitive and ablative, and then has to accept on trust that, somehow or other, the same cases may express rest in a place. A well-known English divine,

opposed to reform in spelling, as in everything else, once declared that the fearful orthography of English formed the best psychological foundation of English orthodoxy, because a child that had once been brought to believe that t-h-r-o-u-g-h sounded like 'through,' t-h-o-u-g-h like 'though,' r-o-u-g-h like 'rough,' would afterwards believe anything. Be that as it may, I do not consider that grammatical rules like those just quoted on the genitive and ablative assuming the power of the locative, are likely to strengthen the reasoning powers of any schoolboy.

Even more pernicious to the growth of sound ideas was the study of etymology, as formerly carried on in schools and universities. Everything here was left to chance or to authority, and it was not unusual that two or three etymologies of the same word had to be learnt, as if the same word might have had more than one parent. Yet it is many years since Otfried Müller told classical scholars that they must either surrender the whole subject of the historical growth of language, etymology, and grammatical morphology, or trust in these matters entirely to the guidance of Comparative Philology. As a student at Leipzig, I lived to see old Gottfried Hermann quoting the paradigms of Sanskrit grammar in one of his last *Programs*; and Boeckh declared in 1850, at the eleventh meeting of German philologists, that, in the present state of the science of language, the grammar of the classical languages cannot dispense with the co-operation of comparative grammar. And yet there are scholars even now who would exclude the Science of Language from schools and universities. What gigantic steps truly scientific etymology has made in Greek and Latin, every

scholar may see in the excellent works of Curtius and Corssen. The essential difference between the old and the new systems consists here, too, in this, that while formerly people were satisfied if they knew, or imagined they knew, from what source a certain word was derived, little value is now attached to the mere etymology of a word, unless at the same time it is possible to account, according to fixed phonetic laws, for all the changes which a word has undergone in its passage through Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit. How far this conscientiousness may be carried is shown by the fact that the best comparative philologists decline to admit, on phonetic grounds, the identity of such words as the Latin *Deus*, and the Greek *Θεός*, although the strongest internal arguments may be urged in favour of the identity of these words¹.

Let us go on to *Mythology*. If mythology is an old dialect, outliving itself, and, on the strength of its sacred character, carried on to a new period of language, it is easy to perceive that the historical method of the Science of Language would naturally lead here to most important results. Take only the one fact, which no one at present would dare to question, that the name of the highest deity among the Greeks and Romans, *Zeús*, and *Jupiter*, is the same as the Vedic *Dyaus*, the sky, and the old German *Zio*, Old Norse *Týr*, whose name survives in the modern names of *Dienstag* or *Tuesday*. Does not this one word prove the union of those ancient races? Does it not show us, at the earliest dawn of history, the fathers of the Aryan race, the fathers of our own race, gathered together in the great temple of nature,

¹ Note A, p. 239.

like brothers of the same house, and looking up in adoration to the sky as the emblem of what they yearned for, a father and a God. Nay, can we not hear in that old name of *Jupiter*, i.e. Heaven-Father, the true key-note which still sounds on in our own prayer, 'Our Father which art in heaven,' and which imparts to these words their deepest tone, and their fullest import? By an accurate study of these words we are able to draw the bonds of language and belief even more closely together. You know that the nom. sing. of *Zeús* has the acute, and so has the nom. sing. of *Dyaus*; but the vocative of *Zeús* has the circumflex, and so has likewise the vocative of *Dyaus* in the Veda¹. Formerly the accent might have been considered as something late, artificial, and purely grammatical: the Science of Language has shown that it is as old as language itself, and it has rightly called it the very soul of words. Thus even in these faint pulsations of language, in the changes of accent in Greek and Sanskrit, may we feel the common blood that runs in the veins of the old Aryan dialects.

History, too, particularly the most ancient history, has received new light and life from a comparative study of languages. Nations and languages were in ancient times almost synonymous, and what constitutes the ideal unity of a nation lies far more in the intellectual factors, in religion and language, than in common descent and common blood. But for that very reason we must here be most cautious. It is but too easily forgotten that if we speak of Aryan and Semitic families, the ground of classification is language, and language only. There are

¹ Note B, p. 243.

Aryan and Semitic languages, but it is against all rules of logic to speak, without an expressed or implied qualification, of an Aryan race, of Aryan blood, of Aryan skulls, and to attempt ethnological classification on purely linguistic grounds. These two sciences, the Science of Language and the Science of Man, cannot, at least for the present, be kept too much asunder; and many misunderstandings, many controversies, would have been avoided, if scholars had not attempted to draw conclusions from language to blood, or from blood to language. When each of these sciences shall have carried out independently its own classification of men and of languages, then, and then only, will it be time to compare their results; but even then, I must repeat, what I have said many times before, it would be as wrong to speak of Aryan blood as of dolichocephalic grammar¹.

We have all accustomed ourselves to look for the cradle of the Aryan languages in Asia, and to imagine these dialects flowing like streams from the centre of Asia to the South, the West, and the North. I must confess that Professor Benfey's protest against this theory seems to me very opportune, and his arguments in favour of a more northern, if not European, origin of the whole Aryan family of speech, deserve, at all events, far more attention than they have hitherto received.

For the same reasons it seems to me at least a premature undertaking to use the greater or smaller number of coincidences between two or more of the

¹ See M. M.'s 'Letter to Chevalier Bunsen, *On the Turanian Languages*, 1854, second chapter, second section, *Ethnology versus Phonology*.'

Aryan languages as arguments in support of an earlier or later separation of the people who spoke them. First of all, there are few points on which the opinions of competent judges differ more decidedly than when the exact degrees of relationship between the single Aryan languages have to be settled. There is agreement on one point only, viz. that Sanskrit and Zend are more closely united than any other languages. But though on this point there can hardly be any doubt, no satisfactory explanation of this extraordinary agreement has as yet been given. In fact, it has been doubted whether what I called the 'Southern Division' of the Aryan family could properly be called a division at all, as it consisted only of varieties of one and the same type of Aryan speech. As soon as we go beyond Sanskrit and Zend, the best authorities are found to be in open conflict. Bopp maintained that the Slavonic languages were most closely allied to Sanskrit, an opinion shared by Pott. Grimm, on the contrary, maintained a closer relationship between Slavonic and German. In this view he was supported by Lottner, Schleicher, and others, while Bopp to the last opposed it. After this, Schleicher (as, before him, Newman in England) endeavoured to prove a closer contact between Celtic and Latin, and, accepting Greek as most closely united with Latin, he proceeded to establish a South-Western European division, consisting of Celtic, Latin, and Greek, and running parallel with the North-Western division, consisting of Teutonic and Slavonic; or, according to Ebel, of Celtic, Teutonic, and Slavonic.

But while these scholars classed Greek with Latin, others, such as Grassmann and Sonne, pointed out

striking peculiarities which Greek shares with Sanskrit, and with Sanskrit only, as, for instance, the augment, the voiceless aspirates, the *alpha privativum* (a, not an), the *mâ* and *μη* *prohibitivum*, the *tara* and *τερο* as the suffix of the comparative, and some others. A most decided divergence of opinion manifested itself as touching the real relation of Greek and Latin. While some regarded these languages not only as sisters, but as twins, others were not inclined to concede to them any closer relationship than that which unites all the members of the Aryan family. While this conflict of opinions lasts (and they are not mere assertions, but opinions supported by arguments), it is clear that it would be premature to establish any historical conclusions, such, for instance, as that the Slaves remained longer united with the Indians and Persians than the Greeks, Romans, Germans, and Celts; or, if we follow Professor Sonne, that the Greeks remained longer united with the Indians than the other Aryan nations. I must confess that I doubt whether the whole problem admits of a scientific solution. If in a large family of languages we discover closer coincidences between some languages than between others, this is no more than we should expect, according to the working of what I call the Dialectic Process. All these languages sprang up and grew and diverged, before they were finally separated; some retained one form, others another, so that even the apparently most distant members of the same family might, on certain points, preserve relics in common which were lost in all the other dialects, and *vice versa*. No two languages, not even Lithuanian and Old Slavonic, are so closely

united as Sanskrit and Zend, which share together even technical terms, connected with a complicated sacrificial ceremonial. Yet there are words occurring in Zend, and absent in Sanskrit, which crop up again sometimes in Greek, sometimes in Latin, sometimes in German¹. As soon as we attempt to draw from such coincidences and divergences historical conclusions as to the earlier or later separation of the nations who developed these languages, we fall into contradictions like those which I pointed out just now between Bopp, Grimm, Schleicher, Ebel, Grassmann, Sonne, and others. Much depends, in all scientific researches, on seeing that the question is properly put. To me the question, whether the closer relations between certain independent dialects furnish evidence as to the successive times of their separation seems, by its very nature, fruitless. Nor have the answers been at all satisfactory. After a number of coincidences between the various members of the Aryan family have been carefully collected, we know no more in the end than what we knew at first, viz. that all the Aryan dialects are closely connected with each other. We know—

1. That Slavonic is most closely united with German (Grimm, Schleicher);
2. That German is most closely united with Celtic (Ebel, Lottner);
3. That Celtic is most closely united with Latin (Newman, Schleicher);
4. That Latin is most closely united with Greek (Mommesen, Curtius);

¹ Note C, p. 248.

5. That Greek is most closely united with Sanskrit (Grassman, Sonne, Kern);

6. That Sanskrit is most closely united with Zend (Burnouf).

Let a mathematician draw out the result, and it will be seen that we know in the end no more than we knew at the beginning. Far be it for me to use a mere trick in arguing, and to say that none of these conclusions can be right, because each is contradicted by others. Quite the contrary. I admit that there is some truth in every one of these conclusions, and I maintain, for that very reason, that the only way to reconcile them all is to admit that the single dialects of the Aryan family did not break off in regular succession, but that, after a long-continued community, they separated slowly, and, in some cases, contemporaneously, from their family-circle, till they established at last, under varying circumstances, their complete national independence. This seems to me all that at present one may say with a good conscience, and what is in keeping with the law of development in all dialects.

If now we turn away from the purely philological results of the Science of Language, in order to glance at the advantages which other sciences have derived from it, we shall find that they consist mostly in the light that has been shed on obscure words and old customs. This advantage is greater than, at first sight, it might seem to be. Every word has its history, and the beginning of this history, which is brought to light by etymology, leads us back far beyond its first historical appearance. Every word, as we know, had originally a predicative meaning, and that predicative meaning differs often very

considerably from the later traditional or technical meaning. This predicative meaning, however, being the most original meaning of the word, allows us an insight into the most primitive ideas of a nation.

Let us take an instance from jurisprudence. *Poena*, in classical Latin, means simply punishment, particularly what is either paid or suffered in order to atone for an injury. (*Si injuriam faxit alteri, viginti quinque aeris poenae sunt, fragm. xii. tab.*) The word agrees so remarkably, both in form and meaning, with the Greek *ποινή*, that Mommsen assigned to it a place in what he calls Graeco-Italic ideas¹. We might suppose, therefore, that the ancient Italians took *poena* originally in the sense of ransom, simply as a civil act, by which he who had inflicted injury on another was, as far as he and the injured person were concerned, restored *in integrum*. The etymology of the word, however, leads us back into a far more distant past, and shows us that when the word *poena* was first framed, punishment was conceived from a higher moral and religious point of view, as a purification from sin; for *poena*, as first shown by Professor Pott (and what has he not been the first to show?), is closely connected with the root *pu*, to purify. Thus we read in the 'Atharva-veda,' xix. 33, 3 :

‘Tvám bhūmim átyeshi ógasá
Tvám védyâm sídasi kárur adhvaré
Tvám pavítram ríshayo bhárantas
Tvám puníhi duritáni asmát,’

‘Thou, O God of Fire, goest mightily across the

¹ ‘Judgment (*crimen*, *κρίνειν*), penance (*poena*, *ποινή*), retribution (*talio*, *ταλίδω*, *τλήναι*), are Graeco-Italic conceptions.’—Mommsen, ‘Röm. Geschichte,’ vol. i. p. 25.

earth; thou sittest brilliantly on the altar at the sacrifice. The prophets carry Thee as the Purifier: purify us from all misdeeds.'

From this root pu we have, in Latin, *pūrus* and *pūtus*, as in *argentum purum putum*, fine silver, or in *purus putus est ipse*, Plaut. Ps. 4, 2, 31. From it we also have the verb *purgare*, for *purigare*, to purge, used particularly with reference to purification from crime by means of religious observances. If this transition from the idea of purging to that of punishing should seem strange, we have only to think of *castigare*, meaning originally to purify, but afterwards in such expressions as *verbis et verberibus castigare*, to chide and to chasten.

I cannot convince myself that the Latin *crimen* has anything in common with *κρίνειν*. The Greek *κρίνειν* is no doubt connected with Latin *cer-no*, from which *cri-brum*, sieve. It means to separate, to sift, so that *κρίμα* may well signify a judgment, but not a crime or misdeed. *Crīmen*, as every scholar knows or ought to know, meant originally an accusation, not a crime, and, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, has nothing whatever in common with *discrīmen*, which means what separates two things, a difference, a critical point. *In crīmen venire* means to get into bad repute, to be calumniated; *in discrīmine esse* means to be in a critical and dangerous position.

It is one of the fundamental laws of etymology that in tracing words back to their roots, we have to show that their primary, not their secondary meanings agree with the meaning of the root. Therefore even if *crīmen* had assumed in later times the meaning of judgment, yet its derivation from the Greek *κρίνειν* would have to be rejected, because it would

explain the secondary only, but not the primary meaning of *crimen*. Nothing is clearer than the historical development of the meanings of *crimen*, beginning with accusation, and ending with guilt.

I believe I have proved that *crimen* is really and truly the same word as the German *Verleumdung*, calumny¹. *Verleumdung* comes from *Leumund*, the Old High-German *hlumunt*, and this *hlumunt* is the exact representative of the Vedic *sromata*, derived from the root *sru*, to hear, *cluere*, and signifying good report, glory, the Greek κλέος, the Old High-German *hruom*. The German word *Leumund* can be used in a good and a bad sense, as good or evil report, while the Latin *crī-men*, for *croe-men*, (like *liber* for *loeber*) is used only *in malam partem*. It meant originally what is heard, report, *on dit*, gossip, accusation; lastly, the object of an accusation, a crime, but never judgment, in the technical sense of the word.

The only important objection that could be raised against tracing *crimen* back to the root *sru*, is that this root has in the North-Western branch of the Aryan family assumed the form *clu*, instead of *cru*, as in κλέος, *cliens*, *gloria*, O. Sl. *slovo*, A. S. *hlūd*, loud, *in-clutus*. I myself hesitated for a long time on account of this phonetic difficulty, nor do I think it is quite removed by the fact that Bopp ('Comp. Gr.' § 20) identified the German *scriu-u-mēs*, we cry (instead of *scriw-u-mēs*), with Sk. *srāv-ayā-mas*, we make hear; nor by the *r* in *in-cre-pare*, in κράζω, as compared with κλάζω, nor even by the *r* in ἀκροάομαι, which Curtius seems inclined to derive from

¹ See my article in Kuhn's 'Zeitschrift,' vol. xix. p. 46.

sru. The question is whether this phonetic difficulty is such as to force us to surrender the common origin of *sromata*, *hlíumunt*, and *crīmen*; but even if this should be the case, the derivation of *crīmen* from *cerno* or *κρίνειν* would remain as impossible as ever.

This will give you an idea in what manner the Science of Language can open before our eyes a period in the history of law, customs, and manners, which hitherto was either entirely closed, or reached only by devious paths. Formerly, for instance, it was supposed that the Latin word *lex*, law, was connected with the Greek *λόγος*. This is wrong, for *λόγος* never means law in the sense in which *lex* does. *Λόγος*, from *λέγειν*, to collect, to gather, signifies, like *κατάλογος*, a gathering, a collection, an ordering, be it of words or thoughts. The idea that there is a *λόγος*, an order or law, for instance, in nature, is not classical, but purely modern. It is not improbable that *lex* is connected with the English word *law*, only not by way of the Norman *loi*. English *law* is A. S. *lagu* (as *saw* corresponds both to the German *Sage* and *Säge*), and it meant originally what was laid down or settled, with exactly the same conception as the German *Gesetz*. It has been attempted to derive the Latin *lex*, too, from the same root, though there is this difficulty, that the root of *liegen* and *legen* does not elsewhere occur in Latin. The mere disappearance of the aspiration would be no serious obstacle. If, however, the Latin *lex* cannot be derived from that root, we must, with Corssen, refer it to the same cluster of words to which *ligare*, to bind, *obligatio*, binding, and the Oscan ablative *lig-ud* belong, and assign to it the original meaning of *bond*. On no account can it be derived

from *legere*, to read, as if it meant a bill first read before the people, and afterwards receiving legal sanction by their approval.

From these considerations we gain at least this negative result, that, before their separation, the Aryan languages had no settled word for law ; and even such negative results have their importance. The Sanskrit word for law is *dhārma*, derived from *dhar*, to hold fast. The Greek word is *νόμος*, derived from *νέμειν*, to dispense, from which *Nemesis*, the dispensing deity, and perhaps even *Numa*, the name of the fabulous king and lawgiver of Rome.

Other words might easily be added which, by the disclosure of their original meaning, give us interesting hints as to the development of legal conceptions and customs, such as marriage, inheritance, ordeals, and the like. But it is time to cast a glance at theology, which, more even than jurisprudence, has experienced the influence of the Science of Language. What was said with regard to mythology, applies with equal force to theology. Here, too, words harden, and remain unchanged longer even than in other spheres of intellectual life ; nay, their influence often becomes greater the more they harden, and the more their original meaning is forgotten. Here it is most important that an intelligent theologian should be able to follow up the historical development of the *termini technici* and *sacrosancti* of his science. Not only words like *priest*, *bishop*, *sacrament*, or *testament*, have to be correctly apprehended in that meaning which they had in the first century, but expressions like *λόγος*, *πνεῦμα ἅγιον*, *δικαιοσύνη* have to be traced historically to the beginnings of Christianity, and

beyond, if we wish to gain a conception of their full purport.

In addition to this, the Philosophy of Religion, which must always form the true foundation of theological science, owes it to the Science of Language that the deepest germs of the consciousness of God among the different nations of the world have for the first time been laid open. We know now with perfect certainty that the names, that is, the most original conceptions, of the Deity among the Aryan nations, are as widely removed from coarse fetichism as from abstract idealism. The Aryans, as far as the annals of their language allow us to see, recognised the presence of the Divine in the bright and sunny aspects of nature, and they, therefore, called the blue sky, the fertile earth, the genial fire, the bright day, the golden dawn their *Devas*, that is, their bright ones. The same word, *Deva* in Sanskrit, *Deus* in Latin, remained unchanged in all their prayers, their rites, their superstitions, their philosophies, and even to-day it rises up to heaven from thousands of churches and cathedrals,—a word which, before there were Brahmans or Germans, had been framed in the dark workshop of the Aryan mind.

That the natural sciences, too, should have felt the electric shock of our new science is not surprising, considering that man is the crown of nature, the apex to which all other forces of nature point and tend. But that which makes man man, is language. *Homo animal rationale, quia orationale*, as Hobbes said. Buffon called the plant a sleeping animal; living philosophers speak of the animal as a dumb man. Both, however, forget that the plant would cease to be a plant if it awoke, and that the brute

would cease to be a brute the moment it began to speak. There is, no doubt, in language a transition from the material to the spiritual: the raw material of language belongs to nature, but the form of language, that which really makes language, belongs to the spirit. Were it possible to trace human language *directly* back to natural sounds, to interjections or imitations, the question whether the Science of Language belongs to the sphere of the natural or the historical sciences would at once be solved. But I doubt whether this crude view of the origin of language counts one single supporter in Germany. With one foot language stands, no doubt, in the realm of nature, but with the other in the realm of the spirit. Some years ago, when I thought it necessary to bring out as clearly as possible the much neglected natural element in language, I tried to explain in what sense the Science of Language had a right to be called the last and the highest of the natural sciences. But I need hardly say that I did not lose sight, therefore, of the intellectual and historical character of language; and I may here express my conviction that the Science of Language will yet enable us to withstand the extreme theories of the evolutionists, and to draw a hard and fast line between spirit and matter, between man and brute.

This short survey must suffice to show you how omnipresent the Science of Language has become in all spheres of human knowledge, and how far its limits have been extended, so that it often seems impossible for one man to embrace the whole of its vast domain. From this I wish, in conclusion, draw some necessary advice.

Whoever devotes his

prehensive a science must try never to lose sight of two virtues: conscientiousness and modesty. The older we grow, the more we feel the limits of human knowledge. 'Good care is taken,' as Goethe said, 'that trees should not grow into the sky.' Every one of us can make himself real master of a small field of knowledge only, and what we gain in extent, we inevitably lose in depth. It was impossible that Bopp should know Sanskrit like Colebrooke, Zend like Burnouf, Greek like Hermann, Latin like Lachmann, German like Grimm, Slavonic like Miklosich, Celtic like Zeuss. That drawback lies in the nature of all comparative studies. But it follows by no means that, as the French proverb says, *qui trop embrasse, mal étreint*. Bopp's 'Comparative Grammar' will always mark an epoch in linguistic studies, and no one has accused the old master of superficiality. There are, in fact, two kinds of knowledge: the one which we take in as real nourishment, which we convert *in succum et sanguinem*, which is always present, which we can never lose; the other which, if I may say so, we put into our pockets, in order to find it there whenever it is wanted. For comparative studies the second kind of knowledge is as important as the first, but in order to use it properly, the greatest conscientiousness is required. Not only ought we, whenever we have to use it, to go back to the original sources, to accept nothing on trust, to quote nothing at second-hand, and to verify every single point before we rely on it for comparative purposes, but, even after we have done everything to guard against error, we ought to proceed with the greatest caution and modesty. I consider, for instance, that an accurate knowledge of Sanskrit is a

conditio sine quâ non in the study of Comparative Philology. According to my conviction, though I know it is not shared by others, Sanskrit must for ever remain the central point of our studies. But it is clearly impossible for us, while engaged in a scholarlike study of Sanskrit, to follow at the same time the gigantic strides of Latin, Greek, German, Slavonic, and Celtic philology. Here we must learn to be satisfied with what is possible, and apply for advice, whenever we want it, to those who are masters in these different departments of philology. Much has of late been said of the antagonism between comparative and classical philology. To me it seems that these two depend so much on each other for help and advice that their representatives ought to be united by the closest ties of fellowship. We must work on side by side, and accept counsel as readily as we give it. Without the help of Comparative Philology, for instance, Greek scholars would never have arrived at a correct understanding of the Digamma—nay, a freer intercourse with his colleague, Bopp, would have preserved Bekker from several mistakes in his restoration of the Digamma in Homer. Latin scholars would have felt far more hesitation in introducing the old *d* of the ablative in Plautus, if the analogy of Sanskrit had not so clearly proved its legitimacy.

On the other hand, we, comparative philologists, should readily ask and gladly accept the advice and help of our classical colleagues. Without their guidance, we can never advance securely: ~~their~~ warnings are to us of the greatest approval our best reward. W
we do not see all the dif

way of our speculations, we are too apt to forget that, in addition to its general Aryan character, every language has its peculiar genius. Let us all be on our guard against omniscience and infallibility. Only through a frank, honest, and truly brotherly co-operation can we hope for a true advancement of knowledge. We all want the same thing: we all are *etymologists*—that is, lovers of truth. For this, before all things, the spirit of truth, which is the living spirit of all science, must dwell within us. Whoever cannot yield to the voice of truth, whoever cannot say, 'I was wrong,' knows little as yet of the true spirit of science.

Allow me, in conclusion, to recall to your remembrance another passage from Niebuhr. He belongs to the good old race of German scholars. 'Above all things,' he writes, 'we must in all scientific pursuits preserve our truthfulness so pure that we thoroughly eschew every false appearance; that we represent not even the smallest thing as certain of which we are not completely convinced; that if we have to propose a conjecture, we spare no effort in representing the exact degree of its probability. If we do not ourselves, when it is possible, indicate our errors, even such as no one else is likely to discover; if, in laying down our pen, we cannot say in the sight of God, "Upon strict examination, I have knowingly written nothing that is not true;" and if, without deceiving either ourselves or others, we have not presented even our most odious opponents in such a light only that we could justify it upon our death-beds—if we cannot do this, study and literature serve only to make us unrighteous and sinful.'

Few, I fear, could add, with Niebuhr: 'In this I am convinced that I do not require from others anything of which a higher spirit, if he could read my soul, could convict me of having done the contrary.' But all of us, young as well as old, should keep these words before our eyes and in our hearts. Thus, and thus only, will our studies not miss their highest goal: thus, and thus only, may we hope to become true etymologists—i. e. true lovers, seekers, and, I trust, finders of truth.

NOTES.

NOTE A.

Θεός AND *Deus*.

THAT Greek θ does not legitimately represent a Sanskrit, Latin, Slavonic, and Celtic d is a fact that ought never to have been overlooked by comparative philologists, and nothing could be more useful than the strong protest entered by Windischmann, Schleicher, Curtius, and others, against the favourite identification of Sk. *deva*, *deus*, and *θεός*. Considering it as one of the first duties, in all etymological researches, that we should pay implicit obedience to phonetic laws, I have never, so far as I remember, quoted *θεός* as identical with *deus*, together with the other derivatives of the root *div*, such as *Dyaus*, *Zeús*, *Jupiter*, *deva*, Lith. *deva-s*, Irish *día*.

But with all due respect for phonetic laws, I have never in my own heart doubted that *θεός* belonged to the same cluster of words which the early Aryans employed to express the brightness of the sky and of the day, and which helped them to utter their first conception of a god of the bright sky (*Dyaus*), of bright beings in heaven, as opposed to the powers of night and darkness and winter (*deva*), and, lastly, of deity in the abstract¹. I have never become an atheist; and though I did not undervalue the powerful arguments advanced against the identity of *deus* and *θεός*, I thought that other arguments also possessed their value, and could not be ignored with impunity. If, with our eyes shut, we submit to the dictates of

¹ 'Lectures on the Science of Language,' vol. ii. p. 467.

phonetic laws, we are forced to believe that while the Greeks shared with the Hindus, the Italians, and Germans the name for the bright god of the sky, *Zeús*, *Dyaus*, *Jovis*, *Zio*, and while they again shared with them such derivatives as *δῖος*, heavenly, Sk. *divyas*, they threw away the intermediate old Aryan word for god, *deva*, *deus*, and formed a new one from a different root, but agreeing with the word which they had rejected in all letters but one. I suppose that even the strongest supporters of the atheistic theory would have accepted *δεός*, if it existed in Greek, as a correlative of *deva* and *deus*; and I ask, would it not be an almost incredible coincidence, if the Greeks, after giving up the common Aryan word, which would have been *δοιFός* or *δειFός* or *δεFός*, had coined a new word for god from a different root, yet coming so near to *δεFός* as *θεFός*? These internal difficulties seem to me nearly as great as the external: at all events it would not be right to attempt to extenuate either.

Now I think that, though much has been said against *θεός* for *δεFός*, something may also be said in support of *δεFός* assuming the form of *θεός*. Curtius is quite right in repelling all arguments derived from Sk. *duhitar*=*θυγάτηρ*, or Sk. *dvâr*=*θύρ-α*; but I think he does not do full justice to the argument derived from *φιάλη* and *φιάρός*. The Greek *φιάλη* has been explained as originally *πιFάλη*, the lost digamma causing the aspiration of the initial *π*. Curtius says: 'This etymology of *φιάλη* is wrecked on the fact that in Homer the word does not mean a vessel for drinking, but a kind of kettle.' This is true, but the fact remains that in later Greek *φιάλη* means a drinking cup. Thus Pindar ('Isthm.' v. 58) says:

**Ἀνδῶκε δ' αὐτῷ φέρτατος*
οἰνοδόκον φιάλαν χρυσῷ πεφρικυῖαν Τελαμών,

which refers clearly to a golden-goblet, and not a kettle. Besides, we have an exactly analogous case in the Sk. *pâtram*. This, too, is clearly derived from *pâ*, to drink, but it is used far more frequently in the sense of vessel in general, and its etymological meaning vanishes altogether when it comes to mean a vessel for something, a fit person. I see no etymology for *φιάλη*, except *πιFάλη*, a drinking vessel.

Secondly, as to *φιαρός*, which is supposed to be the same as *πιαρός*, and to represent the Sanskrit *pīvaras*, fat, Curtius says that it occurs in Alexandrian poets only, that it there means bright, resplendent, and is used as an adjective of the dawn, while *πιαρός* means fat, and fat only. Against this I venture to remark, first, that there are passages where *φιαρός* means sleek, as in Theocr. ii. 21, *φιαρωτέρα ὄμφακος ὤμας*, said of a young plump girl, who in Sanskrit would be called *pīvarī*; secondly, that while *πῖαρ* is used for cream, *φιαρός* is used as an adjective of cream; and, thirdly, that the application of *φιαρός* to the dawn is hardly surprising, if we remember the change of meaning in *λιπαρός* in Greek, and the application in the Veda of such words as *ghṛita pratīka*, to the dawn. Lastly, as in *φιάλη*, I see no etymology for *φιαρός*, except *πιφαρός*.

I think it is but fair therefore to admit that *θεός* for *δεφός* would find some support by the analogy of *φιάλη* for *πιφάλη*, and of *φιαρός* for *πιφαρός*. There still remain difficulties enough to make us cautious in asserting the identity of *θεός* and *deus*; but in forming our own opinion these difficulties should be weighed impartially against the internal difficulties involved in placing *θεός*, as a totally independent word, by the side of *deva* and *deus*. And, as in *φιάλη* and *φιαρός*, may we not say of *θεός* also that there is no etymology for it, if we separate it from *Zeús* and *δῖος*, from *Dyaus* and *divyas*? Curtius himself rejects Plato's and Schleicher's derivation of *θεός* from *θέω*, to run: likewise C. Hoffmann's from *dhava*, man; likewise Bühler's from a root *dhi*, to think or to shine; likewise that of Herodotus and A. Göbel from *θεε*, a secondary form of *θε*, to settle. Ascoli's analysis is highly sagacious, but it is too artificial. Ascoli¹ identifies *θεός*, not with *deva*, but with *divyá-s*. *Divyás* becoming *διφεός* (like *satya*, *έρεός*), the accent on the last syllable would produce the change to *δφεός-s*, *F* would cause aspiration in the preceding consonant and then disappear, leaving *θεός*=*divyás*. All these changes are just possible phonetically, but, as Curtius

¹ 'Rendiconti del Reale Istituto Lombardo, classe de lettere,' iv. fasc. 6.

observes, the point for which the theists contend is not gained, for we should still have to admit that the Greeks lost the common word for god, *deva* and *deus*, and that they alone replaced it by a derivative *divya*, meaning heavenly, not bright.

Curtius himself seems in favour of deriving *θεός* from *θεσ*, to implore, which we have in *θεο-σάμενοι*, *θέσσαντο*, *πολύθεστος*, etc. *Θεός*, taken as a passive derivative, might, he thinks, have the meaning of *ἀρηγός* in *πολύαρηγος*, and mean the implored being. I cannot think that this is a satisfactory derivation. It might be defended phonetically and etymologically, though I cannot think of any analogous passive derivatives of a root ending in *s*. Where it fails to carry conviction is in leaving unexplained the loss of the common Aryan word for deity, and in putting in its place a name that savours of very modern thought.

I think the strongest argument against the supposed aspirating power of medial *v*, and its subsequent disappearance, lies in the fact that there are so many words having medial *v*, which show no traces of this phonetic process, (Curtius, p. 507.) On the other hand, it should be borne in mind, that the Greeks might have felt a natural objection to the forms which would have rendered *deva* with real exactness, I mean, *δοιός* or *δέος*, the former conveying the meaning of double, the latter of fear. A mere wish to keep the name for god distinct from these words might have produced the phonetic anomaly of which we complain; and, after all, though I do not like to use that excuse, there are exceptions to phonetic laws. No one can explain how *δγδοος* was derived from *δκτώ*, or *ξβδομος* from *επτά*, yet the internal evidence is too strong to be shaken by phonetic objections. In the case of *θεός* and *deus* the internal evidence seems to me nearly as strong as in *δγδοος*, and *ξβδομος*, and though unwilling to give a final verdict, I think the question of the loss in Greek of the Aryan word for god and its replacement by another word nearly identical in form, but totally distinct in origin, should be left for the present an open question in Comparative Philology.

NOTE B.

THE VOCATIVE OF *Dyaús* AND *Zeus*.

THE vocative of *Dyaus*, having the circumflex, is one of those linguistic gems which one finds now and then in the Rig-Veda, and which by right ought to have a place of honour in a Museum of Antiquities. It is a unique form. It occurs but once in the Rig-Veda, never again, as far as we know at present, in the whole of Vedic literature, and yet it is exactly that form which a student of language would expect who is familiar with the working of the laws of accent in Sanskrit and in Greek. Without a thorough knowledge of these laws, the circumflexed vocative in Sanskrit, *Dyaüs*, corresponding to Greek *Zēu*, would seem a mere anomaly, possibly an accidental coincidence, whereas in reality it affords the most striking proof of the organic working of the laws of accent, and at the same time an unanswerable testimony in favour of the genuineness of the ancient text of the Rig-Veda.

The laws of accent bearing on this circumflexed vocative are so simple that I thought they would have been understood by everybody. As this does not seem to have been the case, I add a few explanatory remarks.

It was Benfey who, as on so many other points, so on the accent of vocatives, was the first to point out (in 1845) that it was a fundamental law of the Aryan language to place the acute on the first syllable of all vocatives, both in the singular, and in the dual and plural¹. In Sanskrit this law admits of no exception; in Greek and Latin the rhythmic accent has prevailed to that extent that we only find a few traces left of the original Aryan accentuation. It is well known that in vocatives of nouns ending in *ius*, the ancient Romans preserved the accent on the first syllable, that they said *Virgīli*, *Váleri*, from *Virgilius* and *Valérius*. This statement of Nigidius Figulus, preserved by Gellius, though with the remark that in his time no one would

¹ See Benfey, 'Über die Entstehung des Indo-germanischen Vocativs,' Göttingen, 1872, p. 35.

say so, is the only evidence of the former existence of the Aryan law of accentuation in Latin. In Greek the evidence is more considerable, but the vocatives with the accent on the first syllable are, by the supreme law of the rhythmic accent in Greek, reduced to vocatives, drawing back their accent as far as they can, consistently with the law which restricts the accent to the last three syllables. Thus while in Sanskrit a word like 'Αγαμέμνων would in the vocative retract the accent on the first syllable, "Αγαμεμνον, the Greek could do no more than say 'Αγάμεμνον with the accent on the antepenultimate. In the same manner the vocative of 'Αριστοτέλης, can only be 'Αριστότελες, whereas in Sanskrit it would have been "Αριστοτελες.

Here, however, the question arises, whether in words like 'Αγαμέμνων¹ and 'Αριστοτέλης² the accent was not originally on the antepenultimate, but drawn on the penultimate by the rhythmic law. This is certainly the case in ἥδιον, as the vocative of ἡδίων, for we know that both in Sanskrit and Greek, comparatives in *ων* retract their accent as far as possible, and have it always on the first syllable in Sanskrit, always on the penultimate in Greek, if the last syllable is long. But, *cessante causâ cessat effectus*, and therefore the accent goes back on the antepenultimate, not only in the vocative, but likewise in the nom. neuter ἥδιον.

It is possible that the same process may explain the vocative δέσποτα from δεσπότης, if we compare Sanskrit compounds with *pati*, such as *dásapati*, *gáspati*, *dám-pati*, which leave the accent on the first member of the compound. In Δημήτηρ also all becomes regular, if we admit the original accentuation to have been Δήμητηρ, changed in Δημήτηρ, but preserved in the genitive Δήμητρος, and the vocative Δήμητερ³.

But there are other words in which this cannot be the case, for instance, ἀδελφε, πόνηρε, μόχθηρε from ἀδελφός, πονηρός,

¹ The rule is that vocatives in *ων* from proper names in *ων* retract the accent, except Λακεδαιμόν, and those in *φρον*, as Λυκόφρον from Λυκόφρων.

² Vocatives in *ες* from proper names in *ης* retract the accent, except those in *ωδες*, *ωλες*, *ωρες*, *ηρες*, as Λειώδες.

³ Bentley, l. c. p. 40.

μοχθηρός. Here the accent is the old Aryan vocative accent. Again, in *πατήρ, πατέρα*, Sk. *pitā, pitāram*, in *μήτηρ, μητέρα*, Sk. *mâtā, mâtāram*, in *θυγάτηρ, θυγατέρα*, Sk. *duhitā, duhitāram*, the radical accent was throughout on the suffix *tār*, nor would the rules of the rhythmic accent in Greek prevent it from being on the antepenultimate in the accusative. The fact therefore that it is retracted on the penultimate and antepenultimate in the vocative, shows clearly that we have here, too, the last working of the original Aryan accentuation. The irregular accent in the nom. sing. of *μήτηρ*, instead of *μητήρ* is probably due to the frequent use of the vocative, (an explanation which I had adopted before I had seen Benfey's essay), and the same cause may explain the apparently irregular accentuation in *θύγατρα*, by the side of *θυγατέρα*, in *θύγατρεις*, and *θύγατρας*. Similar vocatives with retracted accent are *δᾶερ*, nom. *δαήρ*, *εἴνατερ*, nom. *εἰνάτηρ*, *γύναι*, nom. *γυνή*, *σῶτερ*, nom. *σωτήρ*, *ἄνερ*, nom. *ἀνήρ*, *Ἄπολλον*, nom. *Ἄπόλλων*, *Πόσειδον*, nom. *Ποσειδῶν*, *Ἡρακλεις*, nom. *Ἡρακλῆς*.

We have thus established the fact that one feature of the primitive Aryan accentuation, which consisted in the very natural process of placing the high accent on the first syllable of vocatives, was strictly preserved in Sanskrit, while in Greek and Latin it only left some scattered traces of its former existence. Without the light derived from Sanskrit, the changes in the accent of vocatives in Greek and Latin would be inexplicable, they would be, what they are in Greek grammar, mere anomalies; while, if placed by the side of Sanskrit, they are readily recognised as what they really are, remnants of a former age, preserved by frequent usage or by an agent whom we do not like to recognise, though we cannot altogether ignore him,—viz. chance.

Taking our position on the fact that change of accent in the vocative in Greek is due to the continued influence of an older system of Aryan accentuation, we now see how the change of nom. *Zeús* into voc. *Zeû*, and of nom. *Dyaús*, into voc. *Dyaũs*, rests on the same principle. In Sanskrit the change, though at first sight irregular, admits of explanation. What we call the circumflex in Sanskrit, is the combination

of a rising and falling of the voice, or, as we should say in Greek, of an acute and grave accent. As *Dyaús* was originally *Diaús*, and is frequently used as two syllables in the Veda, the vocative would have been *Díaūs*, and this contracted would become *Dyaũs*. Thus we have *paribhṛē* from *paribhṛís*. In Greek the facts are the same, but the explanation is more difficult. The general rule in Greek is that vocatives in *ou, oi,* and *eu,* from oxytone or perispome nominatives, are perispome; as *πλακοῦ, βοῦ, Λητοῦ, Πηλεῦ, βασιλεῦ,* from *πλακοῦς, οὔντος, placenta, βοῦς, Λητώ, Πηλεΐς, βασιλεΐς*. The rationale of that rule has never been explained, as far as Greek is concerned. Under this rule the vocative of *Zeús* becomes *Zeũ*; but no Greek grammarian has attempted to explain the process by which *Zeús* becomes *Zeũ*, and nothing remains for the present than to admit that we have in it an ancient Aryan relic, preserved in Greek long after the causes which had produced it had ceased to act. It would fall into the same category as *εἶμι* and *ἴμεν*. Here, too, the efficient cause of the length and shortness of the radical vowel *i,* viz. the change of accent, Sk. *émi,* but *imás,* has disappeared in Greek, while its effect has been preserved. But whatever explanation may hereafter be adopted, the simple fact which I had pointed out remains, the motive power which changed the nom. *dyaús* into the vocative *dyaũs,* is the same which changed *Zeús* into *Zeũ*. Those who do not understand, or do not admit this, are bound to produce, from the resources of Greek itself, another motive power to account for the change of *Zeús* into *Zeũ*; but they must not imagine that a mere reference to a Greek elementary grammar suffices for explaining that process.

The passage in the Rig-Veda (VI. 51, 5) to which I referred is unique, and I therefore give it here, though it has in the meantime been most ably discussed by Benfey in his 'Essay on the Vocative' (1872).

‘Dyaũh pítah prithivi mátaḥ ádhruk
Zeũ páter πλατεῖα μήτερ ἀτρεκ(ές)
Agne bhrátaḥ vasavaḥ mriláta nah¹
 Ignis φράτερ *FḗσηFes μέλδετε νοῦ¹*’

¹ See also M. M.'s 'Lectures on t

This passage is clearly one of great antiquity, for it still recognises Dyaús, the father, as the supreme god, Earth, the mother, by his side, and Agni, fire, as the brother, not of Heaven and Earth, but of man, because living with men on the hearth of their houses. Vasu, as a general name of the bright gods, like deva in other hymns, corresponds, I believe, to the Greek adjective ἐὺς. The genitive plural ἐάων is likewise derived from ἐὺς or vāsus, by Benfey (l. c. p. 57), and dātā vāsûnâm (Rv. VIII. 51, 5) comes certainly very near to δοτήρ ἐάων. The only difficulty would be the ā instead of the η, as in ἐῆος, the gen. sing. of ἐὺς in Homer, a difficulty which might be removed by tracing the gen. plur. ἐάων back to a fem. ἐά, corresponding to a Sk. vasavî or vasavyâ. As to μέλδερε, it is phonetically the nearest approach to mṛilata, i. e. *mardata, though in Greek it means 'make mild' rather than 'be mild.' Mild and mollis come from the same root.

What gives to this passage its special value is, that in all other passages when dyaus occurs as a vocative and as bisyllabic, it appears simply with the udâtta, thus showing at how early a time even the Hindus forgot the meaning of the circumflex on dyaūs, and its legitimate appearance in that place. Thus in Rv. VIII. 100, 12, we read,

'Sákhe Vishno vitarám ví kramasva,
Dyaúh dehí lokám vágrâya viskábhe
Hánâva vritrám rinákâva síndhûn
Índrasya yantu prasavé vísrishâtâh.'

'Friend Vishnu, stride further,
Dyaus give room for the lightning to leap,
Let us both kill Vritra and free the rivers,
Let them go, sent forth at the command of Indra.'

Here, I have little doubt, the ancient Rishis pronounced Dyaūs, but the later poets, and the still later Âkâryas were satisfied with the acute, and with the acute the word is written here in all the MSS. I know.

NOTE C.

ARYAN WORDS OCCURRING IN ZEND, BUT NOT IN SANSKRIT.

It has been objected that the three instances which I had quoted of Zend words, not occurring in Sanskrit, but preserved in one or the other of the Indo-European languages, were not sufficient to establish the fact which I wished to establish, particularly as one of them, *kehrp*, existed in Sanskrit, or, at least, in Vedic Sanskrit, as *krip*. I admit that I ought to have mentioned the Vedic *krip*, rather than the later *kalpa*; but I doubt whether the conclusions which I wished to draw would have been at all affected by this. For what I remarked with regard to *kalpa*, applies with equal force to *krip*; it does not in Sanskrit mean body or flesh, like *kehrp*, and *corpus*, but simply form. But even if *kehrp* were not a case in point, nothing would have been easier than to replace it by other words, if at the time of printing my lecture I had had my collectanea at hand. I now subjoin a more complete list of words, present in Zend, absent in Sanskrit, but preserved in Greek, Latin, or German.

Zend *ana*, prep., upon; Greek *ἀνά*; Goth. *ana*, upon.

Zend *erezataêna*, adj., made of silver; Lat. *argentinus*.

In Sk. we have *ragatam*, silver, but no corresponding adjective.

Zend *îci*, ice; O. N. *iss*; A. S. *is*; O. H. S. *îs*.

Grimm compares the Irish *eirr*, snow, and he remarks that the other Aryan languages have each framed their own words for ice, Lith. *ledas*, O. S. *led*", and distantly connected with these, through the Russian *chłodnyi*, the Latin *glacies*, for *gelacies*; Greek *κρύος*, *κρυμός*, *κρύσταλλος*.

The root from which these Greek words for ice are derived has left several derivatives in other languages, such as Lat. *cru-s-ta*, and O. N. *hrí-m*, rime, hoar-frost, and in Zend *kh-rûta*, used as an adjective of *zim*, winter, originally the hard winter. In Zend *kh-rûma*, and *kh-rûra*, Sk. *krûra*, as in Greek *κρύεϊς*, the meaning has changed to *crudus*, *crudelis*. In the English *raw*, O. H. G. *hrdo*, a similar change of meaning may be observed.

Another name connected with ice and winter is the Zend *zyâo*, frost, from the root *hi*, which has given us *χι-ών*, Sk. *hi-ma*, Lat. *hiem-s*, O. S. *zima*, but which in the simplest form has been preserved in Zend only and in the O. N. *gē*. Fick quotes *gē* with the doubtful meanings of cold and snow, Curtius with that of storm, identifying it with Norw. *gjö*, *nix autumni recens*.

There is still another name for snow, absent in Sanskrit, but fully represented in Zend and the other Aryan languages, viz. Zend *gnizh*, to snow, Lat. *nix*, Goth. *snaiw-s*, Lith. *snig-ti*, to snow, Ir. *snechta*, snow, Gr. *νίψ-α* (acc)¹.

Zend *aêva*, one; Gr. *οἶος*.

Zend *kamara*, girdle, vault; Gr. *καμάρα*, vault, covered carriage; A. S. *himil*. Connected with this we find the Zend *kameredhe*, skull, vault of head, very nearly connected with *κμέλεθρον*, *μέλαθρον*.

Zend *kareta*, knife; Lith. *kalta-s*, knife; cf. *culter*, Sk. *kart-ari*, etc. The Slav. *korda*, O. N. *kordi*, Hung. *kard*, are treated by Justi as words borrowed from Persian.

Zend *cvant*, Lat. *quantus*. Sk. has *tâvat*, *tantus*, and *yâvat*, but not *kâvat*.

Zend *garanh*, reverence; Gr. *γέρας*.

Zend *thrâfanh*, food; Gr. *-τρέφες*.

Zend *da*, e. g. *vaêçmen-da*, towards the house; Gr. *οἰκόνδε*; cf. Goth. *du*, to, O. S. *do*.

Zend *daiti*, gift; Gr. *δότης*; Lat. *dōs*, *dōti-s*, Lith. *dūti-s*.

Zend *dâmi*, creation; Gr. *θέμις*, law.

Zend *naçu*, corpse; Gr. *νέκυσ*; Goth. *nau-s*.

Zend *napo*, nom. sing.; A. S. *nefa*; O. H. G. *nefo*.

Zend *paithya* in *qaêpaithya*, own; Lat. *sua-pte*, *ipse*; Lith. *pati-s*, self.

Zend *peretu*, bridge; Lat. *portus*.

Zend *fraêsta*, most, best; Gr. *πλείστος*.

Zend *brvat*, brow; Gr. *ἀβροῦτες* (Macedon.); Lat. *frons*.

Zend *madh*, to cure; Lat. *mederi*.

Zend *man*, in *upa-man*, to wait; Lat. *manere*.

Zend *mîzhda*; Gr. *μισθός*; Goth. *mizd-ô*; O. S. *mîzda*.

¹ See M. M.'s 'Introduction to the Science of Religion,' p. 372, note.

Zend yâre, year; Goth. *jer*; O. S. *jarŭ*, spring.

Zend yâonh, yâh, to gird; yâonha, dress; Gr. ζωρ in ζώννυμι; O. S. *po-yasŭ*, girdle.

Zend râçta, straight; Lat. *rectus*; Goth. *raiht-s*.

Zend rap, to go; Lat. *repere*.

Zend varez, to work, vareza, work, varstva, work; Goth. *vaurkjan*, to work; Gr. ζοργα, βέζω; Goth. *vaursto*.

Zend vaêti, willow; Lith. *vŷti-s*, withy; Lat. *vitis*.

Zend çtaman, mouth; Gr. στόμα.

V.

WESTMINSTER LECTURE.

ON MISSIONS¹.

DELIVERED IN THE NAVE OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY,

ON THE EVENING OF DECEMBER 3, 1873.

THE number of religions which have attained stability and permanence in the history of the world is very small. If we leave out of consideration those vague and varying forms of faith and worship

NOTICE.

¹ Westminster Abbey. Day of Intercession for Missions, Wednesday, December 3rd, 1873. Lecture in the Nave, at eight o'clock, p.m.

Hymn 25 (*Bp. Heber*) *Wittenberg* (p. 50).

From Greenland's icy mountains,
From India's coral strands,
Where Afric's sunny fountains,
Roll down their golden sands;
From many an ancient river,
From many a palmy plain,
They call us to deliver
Their land from error's chain.

What though the spicy breezes
Blow soft o'er Ceylon's isle;
Though every prospect pleases,
And only man is vile!
In vain with lavish kindness
The gifts of God are strown;
The blindness

Can we whose souls are lighted
With wisdom from on high,
Can we to men benighted
The lamp of life deny?
Salvation, O Salvation!
The joyful sound proclaim,
Till earth's remotest nation
Has learnt Messiah's name.

Waft, waft, ye winds, his story;
And you, ye waters, roll;
Till, like a sea of glory,
It spreads from pole to pole;
Till o'er our ransom'd nature,
The Lamb for sinners slain,
Redeemer, King, Creator,
In bliss returns to reign. Amen.

stone.

Delivered in the Nave on Missions by

which we find among uncivilised and unsettled races, among races ignorant of reading and writing, who have neither a literature, nor laws, nor even hymns and prayers handed down by oral teaching from father to son, from mother to daughter, we see that the number of the real historical religions of mankind amounts to no more than eight. The Semitic races have produced three—the Jewish, the Christian, the Mohammedan; the Aryan, or Indo-European races, an equal number—the Brahman, the Buddhist, and the Parsi. Add to these the two religious systems of China, that of Confucius and Lao-tse, and you have before you what may be called the eight distinct languages or utterances of the faith of mankind from the beginning of the world to the present day; you have before you in broad outlines the religious map of the whole world.

All these religions, however, have a history, a history more deeply interesting than the history of language, or literature, or art, or politics. Religions are not unchangeable; on the contrary, they are always growing and changing; and if they cease to grow and cease to change, they cease to live. Some of these religions stand by themselves, totally independent of all the rest; others are closely united, or have influenced each other during various stages of their growth and decay. They must therefore be

Ps. 100 (*New Version*) *Old Hundredth* (p. 21).

<p>With one consent let all the earth To God their cheerful voices raise; Glad homage pay with awful mirth, And sing before Him songs of praise.</p> <p>Convinced that He is God alone, From Whom both we and all proceed; We whom He chooses for His own, The flock that He vouchsafes to feed.</p>	<p>O enter then His temple gate, Thence to His courts devoutly press; And still your grateful hymns repeat, And still His Name with praises bless.</p> <p>For He's the Lord supremely good, His mercy is for ever sure; His truth, which all times firmly stood, To endless ages shall endure. Amen.</p>
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studied together, if we wish to understand their real character, their growth, their decay, and their resuscitations. Thus, Mohammedanism would be unintelligible without Christianity; Christianity without Judaism: and there are similar bonds that hold together the great religions of India and Persia—the faith of the Brahman, the Buddhist, and the Parsi. After a careful study of the origin and growth of these religions, and after a critical examination of the sacred books on which all of them profess to be founded, it has become possible to subject them all to a scientific classification, in the same manner as languages, apparently unconnected and mutually unintelligible, have been scientifically arranged and classified; and by a comparison of those points which all or some of them share in common, as well as by a determination of those which are peculiar to each, a new science has been called into life, a science which concerns us all, and in which all who truly care for religion must sooner or later take their part—*the Science of Religion*.

Among the various classifications¹ which have been applied to the religions of the world, there is one that interests us more immediately to-night, I mean the division into Non-Missionary and Missionary religions. This is by no means, as might be supposed, a classification based on an unimportant or merely accidental characteristic; on the contrary, it rests on what is the very heart-blood in every system of human faith. Among the six religions of

¹ Different systems of classification applied to the religions of the world are discussed in my 'Introduction to the Science of Religion,' pp. 122-143.

the Aryan and Semitic world, there are three that are opposed to all missionary enterprise—Judaism, Brahmanism, and Zoroastrianism; and three that have a missionary character from their very beginning—Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity.

The Jews, particularly in ancient times, never thought of spreading their religion. Their religion was to them a treasure, a privilege, a blessing, something to distinguish them, as the chosen people of God, from all the rest of the world. A Jew must be of the seed of Abraham: and when in later times, owing chiefly to political circumstances, the Jews had to admit strangers to some of the privileges of their theocracy, they looked upon them, not as souls that had been gained, saved, born again into a new brotherhood, but as strangers (גֵּרִים), as Proselytes (προσῳλυτοι); which means men who have come to them as aliens, not to be trusted, as their saying was, until the twenty-fourth generation¹.

A very similar feeling prevented the Brahmans from ever attempting to proselytise those who did not by birth belong to the spiritual aristocracy of their country. Their wish was rather to keep the light to themselves, to repel intruders; they went so far as to punish those who happened to be near enough to hear even the sound of their prayers, or to witness their sacrifices².

¹ 'Proselyto ne fidus usque ad vigesimam quartam generationem.' Jalkut Ruth, f. 163, d; Danz, in Meuschen, 'Nov. Test. ex Talm. illustr.' p. 651.

² 'India, Progress and Condition,' Blue Book presented to Parliament, 1873, p. 99. 'It is asserted (but the assertion must be taken with reserve), that it is a mistake to suppose that the Hindu religion is not proselytising. Any number of outsiders, so long as

The Parsi, too, does not wish for converts to his religion ; he is proud of his faith, as of his blood ; and though he believes in the final victory of truth and light, though he says to every man, ' Be bright as the sun, pure as the moon,' he himself does very little to drive away spiritual darkness from the face of the earth, by letting the light that is within him shine before the world.

But now let us look at the other cluster of religions, at Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity. However they may differ from each other in some of their most essential doctrines, this they share in common—they all have faith in themselves, they all have life and vigour, they want to convince, they mean to conquer. From the very earliest dawn of their existence these three religions were missionary : their very founders, or their first apostles, recognised the new duty of spreading the truth, of refuting error, of bringing the whole world to acknowledge the paramount, if not the divine, authority of their doctrines. This is what gives to them all a common expression, and lifts them high above the level of the other religions of the world.

Let us begin with Buddhism. We know, indeed, very little of its origin and earliest growth, for the earliest beginnings of all religions withdraw themselves by necessity from the eye of the historian. But we have something like contemporary evidence of the Great Council, held at Pataliputra, 246 B. C.,

they do not interfere with established castes, can form a new caste, and call themselves Hindus, and the Brahmans are always ready to receive all who submit to and pay them.' Can this be called proselytising ?

in which the sacred canon of the Buddhist scriptures was settled, and at the end of which missionaries were chosen and sent forth to preach the new doctrine, not only in India, but far beyond the frontiers of that vast country¹. We possess inscriptions containing the edicts of the King who was to Buddhism what Constantine was to Christianity, who broke with the traditions of the old religion of the Brahmans, and recognised the doctrines of Buddha as the state religion of India. We possess the description of the Council of Pataliputra, which was to India what the Council of Nicaea, 570 years later, was to Europe; and we can still read there² the simple story, how the chief Elder who had presided over the Council, an old man, too weak to travel by land; and carried from his hermitage to the Council in a boat—how that man, when the Council was over, began to reflect on the future, and found that the time had come to establish the religion of Buddha in foreign countries. He therefore dispatched some of the most eminent priests to Cashmere, Cabul, and farther west, to the colonies founded by the Greeks in Bactria, to Alexandria on the Caucasus, and other cities. He sent others northward to Nepal, and to the inhabited portions of the Himalayan mountains. Another mission proceeded to the Dekhan, to the people of Mysore, to the Mahrattas, perhaps to Goa; nay, even Birma and Ceylon are mentioned as among the earliest missionary stations of Buddhist priests. We still possess accounts of their manner of preaching. When threatened by infuriated crowds, one of those Buddhist missionaries said calmly, 'If the

¹ Cf. 'Mahavanso,' cap. 5.

² Cf. 'Mahayan'

whole world, including the Deva heavens, were to come and terrify me, they would not be able to create in me fear and terror.' And when he had brought the people to listen, he dismissed them with the simple prayer, 'Do not hereafter give way to anger, as before; do not destroy the crops, for all men love happiness. Show mercy to all living beings, and let men dwell in peace.'

No doubt, the accounts of the successes achieved by those early missionaries are exaggerated, and their fights with snakes and dragons and evil spirits remind us sometimes of the legendary accounts of the achievements of such men as St. Patrick in Ireland, or St. Boniface in Germany. But the fact that missionaries were sent out to convert the world seems beyond the reach of reasonable doubt¹; and this fact represents to us at that time a new thought, new, not only in the history of India, but in the history of the whole world. The recognition of a duty to preach the truth to every man, woman, and child, was an idea opposed to the deepest instincts of Brahmanism; and when, at the end of the chapter on the first missions, we read the simple words of the old chronicler, 'Who would demur, if the salvation of the world is at stake?' we feel at once that we move in a new world, we see the dawn of a new day, the opening of vaster horizons—we feel, for the first

¹ In some of the places mentioned by the 'Chronicle' as among the earliest stations of Buddhist missions, relics have been discovered containing the names of the very missionaries mentioned by the 'Chronicle.' See Koeppen, 'Die Religion des Buddha,' p. 188.

time in the history of the world, the beating of the great heart of humanity¹.

The Koran breathes a different spirit; it does not invite, it rather compels the world to come in. Yet there are passages, particularly in the earlier portions, which show that Mohammed, too, had realised the idea of humanity, and of a religion of humanity; nay, that at first he wished to unite his own religion with that of the Jews and Christians, comprehending all under the common name of Islâm. Islâm meant originally humility or devotion; and all who humbled themselves before God, and were filled with real reverence, were called Moslim. 'The Islâm,' says Mohammed, 'is the true worship of God. When men dispute with you, say, "I am a Moslim." Ask those who have sacred books, and ask the heathen: "Are you Moslim?" If they are, they are on the right path; but if they turn away, then you have no other task but to deliver the message, to preach to them the Islâm².'

As to our own religion, its very soul is missionary, progressive, world-embracing; it would cease to exist, if it ceased to be missionary—if it disregarded the parting words of its Founder: 'Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things I have com-

¹ Note A, p. 281.

² '*Islâm* is the verbal noun, and *Moslim* the participle of the same root which also yields *Salâm*, peace, and *salim* and *salym*, whole, honest. *Islâm* means, therefore, to satisfy or pacify by forbearance; it also means simply subjection.' Sprenger, 'Mohammed,' i. p. 69; iii. 486.

manded ; and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.'

It is this missionary character, peculiar to these three religions, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity, which binds them together, and lifts them to a higher sphere. Their differences, no doubt, are great ; on some points they are opposed to each other like day and night. But they could not be what they are, they could not have achieved what they have achieved, unless the spirit of truth and the spirit of love had been alive in the hearts of their founders, their first messengers, and missionaries.

The spirit of truth is the life-spring of all religion, and where it exists it must manifest itself, it must plead, it must persuade, it must convince and convert. Missionary work, however, in the usual sense of the word, is only one manifestation of that spirit ; for the same spirit which fills the heart of the missionary with daring abroad, gives courage also to the preacher at home, bearing witness to the truth that is within him. The religions which can boast of missionaries who left the old home of their childhood, and parted with parents and friends—never to meet again in this life—who went into the wilderness, willing to spend a life of toil among strangers, ready, if need be, to lay down their life as witnesses to the truth, as martyrs for the glory of God—the same religions are rich also in those honest and intrepid inquirers who, at the bidding of the same spirit of truth, were ready to leave behind them the cherished creed of their childhood, to separate from the friends they loved best, to stand alone among men that shrug their shoulders, and

ask, 'What is truth?' and to bear in silence a martyrdom more galling often than death itself. There are men who say that, if they held the whole truth in their hand, they would not open one finger. Such men know little of the working of the spirit of truth, of the true missionary spirit. As long as there are doubt and darkness and anxiety in the soul of an inquirer, reticence may be his natural attitude. But when once doubt has yielded to certainty, darkness to light, anxiety to joy, the rays of truth will burst forth; and to close our hand or to shut our lips, would be as impossible as for the petals of a flower to shut themselves against the summons of the sun of spring.

What is there in this short life that should seal our lips? What should we wait for, if we are not to speak *here* and *now*? There is missionary work at home as much as abroad; there are thousands waiting to listen, if *one* man will but speak the truth, and nothing but the truth; there are thousands starving, because they cannot find that food which is convenient for them.

And even if the spirit of truth might be chained down by fear or prudence, the spirit of love would never yield. Once recognise the common brotherhood of mankind, not as a name or a theory, but as a real bond, as a bond more binding, more lasting than the bonds of family, caste, and race, and the questions, Why should I open my hand? why should I open my heart? why should I speak to my brother? will never be asked again. Is it not far better to speak
 unknown, unknown
 spoken to his f

soul, and been answered with harshness or repelled with scorn? Has any one of us, be he priest or layman, ever listened to the honest questionings of a truth-loving soul, without feeling his own soul filled with love? aye, without feeling humbled by the very honesty of a brother's confession?

If we would but confess, friend to friend, if we would be but honest, man to man, we should not want confessors or confessionals.

If our doubts and difficulties are self-made, if they can be removed by wiser and better men, why not give to our brother the opportunity of helping us? But if our difficulties are not self-made, if they are not due either to ignorance or presumption, is it not even then better for us to know that we are all carrying the same burden, the common burden of humanity, if haply we may find, that for the heavy laden there is but one who can give them rest?

There may be times when silence is gold, and speech silver: but there are times also when silence is death, and speech is life—the very life of Pentecost.

How can man be afraid of man? How can we be afraid of those whom we love?

Are the young afraid of the old? But nothing delights the older man more than to see that he is trusted by the young, and that they believe he will tell them the truth.

Are the old afraid of the young? But nothing sustains the young more than to know that they do not stand alone in their troubles, and that in many trials of the soul the father is as helpless as the child.

Are women afraid of men? But men are not

wiser in the things appertaining to God than women, and real love of God is theirs far more than ours.

Are men afraid of women? But though women may hide their troubles more carefully, their heart aches as much as ours, when they whisper to themselves, 'Lord, I believe, help thou my unbelief.'

Are the laity afraid of the clergy? But where is the clergyman who would not respect honest doubt more than unquestioning faith?

Are the clergy afraid of the laity? But surely we know, in this place at least, that the clear voice of honesty and humility draws more hearts than the harsh accents of dogmatic assurance or ecclesiastic exclusiveness.

'There lives more faith in honest doubt,
Believe me, than in half the creeds.'

A missionary must know no fear; his heart must overflow with love—love of man, love of truth, love of God; and in this, the highest and truest sense of the word, every Christian is, or ought to be, a missionary.

And now, let us look again at the religions in which the missionary spirit has been at work, and compare them with those in which any attempt to convince others by argument, to save souls, to bear witness to the truth, is treated with pity or scorn. *The former are alive, the latter are dying or dead.*

The religion of Zoroaster—the religion of Cyrus, of Darius and Xerxes—which, but for the battles of Marathon and Salamis, might have become the religion of the civilised world, is now professed by only 100,000 souls—that is, by about a ten-thousandth part of the inhabitants of the world. During the last two centuries their number has

steadily decreased from four to one hundred thousand, and another century will probably exhaust what is still left of the worshippers of the Wise Spirit, Ahuramazda.

The Jews are about thirty times the number of the Parsis, and they therefore represent a more appreciable portion of mankind. Though it is not likely that they will ever increase in number, yet such is their physical vigour and their intellectual tenacity, such also their pride of race and their faith in Jehovah, that we can hardly imagine that their patriarchal religion and their ancient customs will soon vanish from the face of the earth.

But though the religions of the Parsis and Jews might justly seem to have paid the penalty of their anti-missionary spirit, how, it will be said, can the same be maintained with regard to the religion of the Brahmans? That religion is still professed by at least 110,000,000 of human souls, and, to judge from the last census, even that enormous number falls much short of the real truth. And yet I do not shrink from saying that their religion is dying or dead. And why? Because it cannot stand the light of day. The worship of Siva, of Vishnu, and the other popular deities, is of the same, nay, in many cases of a more degraded and savage character than the worship of Jupiter, Apollo, and Minerva; it belongs to a stratum of thought which is long buried beneath our feet: it may live on, like the lion and the tiger, but the mere air of free thought and civilised life will extinguish it. A religion may linger on for a long time, it may be accepted by the large masses of the people, because it is there, and there is nothing better. But when a

religion has ceased to produce defenders of the faith, prophets, champions, martyrs, it has ceased to live, in the true sense of the word ; and in that sense the old, orthodox Brahmanism has ceased to live for more than a thousand years.

It is true there are millions of children, women, and men in India who fall down before the stone image of Vishnu, with his four arms, riding on a creature half bird, half man, or sleeping on the serpent ; who worship Siva, a monster with three eyes, riding naked on a bull, with a necklace of skulls for his ornament. There are human beings who still believe in a god of war, Kârtikêya, with six faces, riding on a peacock, and holding bow and arrow in his hands ; and who invoke a god of success, Ganesa, with four hands and an elephant's head, sitting on a rat. Nay, it is true that, in the broad daylight of the nineteenth century, the figure of the goddess Kali is carried through the streets of her own city, Calcutta¹, her wild dishevelled hair reaching to her feet, with a necklace of human heads, her tongue protruded from her mouth, her girdle stained with blood. All this is true ; but ask any Hindu who can read and write and think, whether these are the gods he believes in, and he will smile at your credulity. How long this living death of national religion in India may last, no one can tell : for our purposes, however, for gaining an idea of the issue of the great religious struggle of the future, that religion too is dead and gone.

The three religions which are alive, and between

¹ Lassen, 'Indische Alterthumskunde,' vol. iv. p. 635. Cf. 'Indian Antiquary,' 1873, p. 370. 'Academy,' 1874, p. 61.

which the decisive battle for the dominion of the world will have to be fought, are the three missionary religions, *Buddhism*, *Mohammedanism*, and *Christianity*. Though religious statistics are perhaps the most uncertain of all, yet it is well to have a general conception of the forces of our enemies; and it is well to know that, though the number of Christians is double the number of Mohammedans, the Buddhist religion still occupies the first place in the religious census of mankind¹.

Buddhism rules supreme in Central, Northern, Eastern, and Southern Asia, and it gradually absorbs whatever there is left of aboriginal heathenism in that vast and populous area.

Mohammedanism claims as its own Arabia, Persia, great parts of India, Asia Minor, Turkey, and Egypt; and its greatest conquests by missionary efforts are made among the heathen population of Africa.

Christianity reigns in Europe and America, and it is conquering the native races of Polynesia and Melanesia, while its missionary outposts are scattered all over the world.

Between these three powers, then, the religious battle of the future, the Holy War of mankind, will have to be fought, and is being fought at the present moment, though apparently with little effect. To convert a Mohammedan is difficult; to convert a Buddhist, more difficult still; to convert a Christian, let us hope, well nigh impossible.

What then, it may be asked, is the use of missionaries? Why should we spend millions on foreign

¹ 'Chips from a German Workshop,' vol. i; 'Essays on the Science of Religion,' pp. 161, 216.

missions, when there are children in our cities who are allowed to grow up in ignorance? Why should we deprive ourselves of some of the noblest, boldest, most ardent and devoted spirits and send them into the wilderness, while so many labourers are wanted in the vineyard at home?

It is right to ask these questions; and we ought not to blame those political economists who tell us that every convert costs us 200*l.*, and that at the present rate of progress it would take more than 200,000 years to evangelise the world. There is nothing at all startling in these figures. Every child born in Europe is as much a heathen as the child of a Melanesian cannibal; and it costs us more than 200*l.* to turn a child into a Christian man. The other calculation is totally erroneous; for an intellectual harvest must not be calculated by adding simply grain to grain, but by counting each grain as a living seed, that will bring forth fruit a hundred and a thousand fold.

If we want to know what work there is for the missionary to do, what results we may expect from it, we must distinguish between two kinds of work: the one is *parental*, the other *controversial*. Among uncivilised races the work of the missionary is the work of a parent; whether his pupils are young in years or old, he has to treat them with a parent's love, to teach them with a parent's authority; he has to win them, not to argue with them. I know this kind of missionary work is often despised; it is called mere religious kidnapping; and it is said that missionary success obtained by such means proves nothing for the truth of Christianity; that the child handed over to a Mohammedan would grow up a Moham-

medan, as much as a child taken by a Christian missionary becomes a Christian. All this is true; missionary success obtained by such means proves nothing for the truth of our Creeds: but it proves, what is far more important, it proves Christian love. Read only the 'Life of Patteson,' the bishop of Melanesia; follow him in his vessel, sailing from island to island, begging for children, carrying them off as a mother her new-born child, nursing them, washing and combing them, clothing them, feeding them, teaching them in his Episcopal Palace, in which he himself is everything, nurse, and housemaid, and cook, schoolmaster, physician, and bishop—read there, how that man who tore himself away from his aged father, from his friends, from his favourite studies and pursuits, had the most loving of hearts for these children, how indignantly he repelled for them the name of savages, how he trusted them, respected them, honoured them, and when they were formed and stablished, took them back to their island homes, there to be a leaven for future ages. Yes, read the life, the work, the death of that man, a death in very truth, a ransom for the sins of others—and then say whether you would like to suppress a profession that can call forth such self-denial, such heroism, such sanctity, such love. It has been my privilege to have known some of the finest and noblest spirits which England has produced during this century, but there is none to whose memory I look up with greater reverence, none by whose friendship I feel more deeply humbled than by that of that true saint, that true martyr, that truly parental missionary.

The work of the parental missionary is clear, and

its success undeniable, not only in Polynesia and Melanesia, but in many parts of India—(think only of the bright light of Tinnevely)—in Africa, in China, in America, in Syria, in Turkey, aye, in the very heart of London.

The case is different with the controversial missionary, who has to attack the faith of men brought up in other religions, in religions which contain much truth, though mixed up with much error. Here the difficulties are immense, the results very discouraging. Nor need we wonder at this. We know, each of us, but too well, how little argument avails in theological discussion; how often it produces the very opposite result of what we expected; confirming rather than shaking opinions no less erroneous, no less indefensible, than many articles of the Mohammedan or Buddhist faith.

And even when argument proves successful, when it forces a verdict from an unwilling judge, how often has the result been disappointing; because in tearing up the rotten stem on which the tree rested, its tenderest fibres have been injured, its roots unsettled, its life destroyed.

We have little ground to expect that these controversial weapons will carry the day in the struggle between the three great religions of the world.

But there is a third kind of missionary activity, which has produced the most important results, and through which alone, I believe, the final victory will be gained. Whenever two religions are brought into contact, when members of each live together in peace, abstaining from all direct attempts at conversion, whether by force or by argument, though conscious all the time of the fact that they and their

religion are on their trial, that they are being watched, that they are responsible for all they say and do—the effect has always been the greatest blessing to both. It calls out all the best elements in each, and at the same time keeps under all that is felt to be of doubtful value, of uncertain truth. Whenever this has happened in the history of the world, it has generally led either to the reform of both systems, or to the foundation of a new religion.

When after the conquest of India the violent measures for the conversion of the Hindus to Mohammedanism had ceased, and Mohammedans and Brahmans lived together in the enjoyment of perfect equality, the result was a purified Mohammedanism, and a purified Brahmanism¹. The worshippers of Vishnu, Siva, and other deities became ashamed of these mythological gods, and were led to admit that there was, either over and above these individual deities, or instead of them, a higher divine power (the Para-Brahma), the true source of all being, the only and almighty ruler of the world. That religious movement assumed its most important development at the beginning of the twelfth century, when Râmânuga founded the reformed sect of the worshippers of Vishnu; and again, in the fourteenth century, when his fifth successor, Râmânanda, imparted a still more liberal character to that powerful sect. Not only did he abolish many of the restrictions of caste, many of the minute ceremonial observances in eating, drinking, and bathing, but he replaced

¹ Lassen, 'Indische Alterthumskunde,' vol. iv. p. 606; Wilson, 'Asiatic Researches,' xvi. p. 21.

the classical Sanskrit—which was unintelligible to the large masses of the people—by the living vernaculars, in which he preached a purer worship of God.

The most remarkable man of that time was a weaver, the pupil of Rāmānanda, known by the name of Kabir. He indeed deserved the name which the members of the reformed sect claimed for themselves, Avadhūta, which means one who has shaken off the dust of superstition. He broke entirely with the popular mythology and the customs of the ceremonial law, and addressed himself alike to Hindu and Mohammedan. According to him, there is but one God, the creator of the world, without beginning and end, of inconceivable purity, and irresistible strength. The pure man is the image of God, and after death attains community with God. The commandments of Kabir are few: Not to injure anything that has life, for life is of God; to speak the truth; to keep aloof from the world; to obey the teacher. His poetry is most beautiful, hardly surpassed in any other language.

Still more important in the history of India was the reform of Nānak, the founder of the Sikh religion. He, too, worked entirely in the spirit of Kabir. Both laboured to persuade the Hindus and Mohammedans that the truly essential parts of their creeds were the same, that they ought to discard the varieties of practical detail, and the corruptions of their teachers, for the worship of the *One Only Supreme*, whether he is termed Allah or Vishnu.

The effect of this reform was highly beneficial; it destroyed idolatry, and has

gent and spiritual worship, which may at any time develop into a higher national creed.

The same effect which Mohammedanism produced on Hinduism is now being produced, in a much higher degree, on the religious mind of India by the mere presence of Christianity. That silent influence began to tell many years ago, even at a time when no missionaries were allowed within the territory of the old East India Company. Its first representative was Ram Mohun Roy, born just one hundred years ago, in 1772, who died at Bristol in 1833, the founder of the Brahma-Samâj. A man so highly cultivated and so highly religious as he was, could not but feel humiliated at the spectacle which the popular religion of his country presented to his English friends. He drew their attention to the fact that there was a purer religion to be found in the old sacred writings of his people, the Vedas. He went so far as to claim for the Vedas a divine origin, and to attempt the foundation of a reformed faith on their authority. In this attempt he failed.

No doubt the Vedas and other works of the ancient poets and prophets of India, contain treasures of truth, which ought never to be forgotten, least of all by the sons of India. The late good Bishop Cotton, in his address to the students of a missionary institution at Calcutta, advised them to use a certain hymn of the Rig-Veda in their daily prayers¹. Nowhere do we find stronger arguments against idolatry, nowhere has the unity of the Deity been upheld more strenuously against the errors of polytheism than by some of the ancient

¹ See 'Brahmic Questions of the Day,' 1869, p. 16.

sages of India. Even in the oldest of their sacred books, the Rig-Veda, composed three or four thousand years ago—where we find hymns addressed to the different deities of the sky, the air, the earth, the rivers—the protest of the human heart against many gods, breaks forth from time to time with no uncertain sound. One poet, after he has asked to whom sacrifice is due, answers, ‘to Him who is God above all gods’¹. Another poet, after enumerating the names of many deities, affirms, without hesitation, that ‘these are all but names of Him who is One.’ And even when single deities are invoked, it is not difficult to see that, in the mind of the poet, each one of the names is meant to express the highest conception of deity of which the human mind was *then* capable. The god of the sky is called Father and Mother and Friend; he is the Creator, the Upholder of the Universe; he rewards virtue and punishes sin; he listens to the prayers of those who love him.

But granting all this, we may well understand why an attempt to claim for these books a divine origin, and thus to make them an artificial foundation for a new religion, failed. The successor of Ram Mohun Roy, the present head of the Brahma-Samâj, the wise and excellent Debendranâth Tagore, was for a time even more decided in holding to the Vedas as the sole foundation of the new faith. But this could not last. As soon as the true character of the Vedas², which but few people in India

¹ ‘History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature,’ by M. M. (2nd ed.), p. 569.

² ‘The Adi Brahma-Samâj,’ views 1870, p. 10.

can understand, became known, partly through the efforts of native, partly of European scholars, the Indian reformers relinquished the claim of divine inspiration in favour of their Vedas, and were satisfied with a selection of passages from the works of the ancient sages of India, to express and embody the creed which the members of the Brahma-Samáj hold in common¹.

The work which these religious reformers have been doing in India is excellent, and those only who know what it is, in religious matters, to break with the past, to forsake the established custom of a nation, to oppose the rush of public opinion, to brave adverse criticism, to submit to social persecution, can form any idea of what those men have suffered, in bearing witness to the truth that was within them.

They could not reckon on any sympathy on the part of Christian Missionaries; nor did their work attract much attention in Europe till very lately, when a schism broke out in the Brahma-Samáj between the old conservative party and a new party, led by Keshub Chunder Sen. The former, though willing to surrender all that was clearly idolatrous in the ancient religion and customs of India, wished to retain all that might safely be retained: it did not wish to see the religion of India denationalised. The other party, inspired and led by Keshub Chunder Sen, went further in their zeal for religious purity. All that smacked of the old leaven was to be surrendered; not only caste, but even that sacred cord—the religious

¹ 'A Brief History of the Calcutta Brahma-Samáj,' 1868, p. 15.

riband which makes and marks the Brahman, which is to remind him at every moment of his life, and whatever work he may be engaged in, of his God, of his ancestors, and of his children—even that was to be abandoned; and instead of founding their creed exclusively on the utterances of the ancient sages of their own country, all that was best in the sacred books of the whole world, was selected and formed into a new sacred Code¹.

The schism between these two parties is deeply to be deplored; but it is a sign of life. It augurs success rather than failure for the future. It is the same schism which St. Paul had to heal in the Church of Corinth, and he healed it with the words, so often misunderstood, 'Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth.'

In the eyes of our missionaries this religious reform in India has not found much favour: nor need we wonder at this. Their object is to transplant, if possible, Christianity in its full integrity from England to India, as we might wish to transplant a full-grown tree. They do not deny the moral worth, the noble aspirations, the self-sacrificing zeal of these native reformers; but they fear that all this will but increase their dangerous influence, and retard the progress of Christianity, by drawing some of the best minds of India, that might have been gained over to our religion, into a different current. They feel towards Keshub Chunder Sen² as Athanasius might have felt towards Ulfilas, the Arian Bishop of the Goths: and yet, what would have be

¹ See Note B, p. 283.

Europe but for those Gothic races, but for those Arian heretics, who were considered more dangerous than downright pagans?

If we think of the future of India, and of the influence which that country has always exercised on the East, the movement of religious reform which is now going on, appears to my mind the most momentous in this momentous century. If our missionaries feel constrained to repudiate it as their own work, history will be more just to them than they themselves¹. And if not as the work of Christian missionaries, it will be recognised hereafter as the work of those missionary Christians who have lived in India, as examples of a true Christian life, who have approached the natives in a truly missionary spirit, in the spirit of truth and in the spirit of love; whose bright presence has thawed the ice, and brought out beneath it the old soil, ready to blossom into new life. These Indian puritans are not against us; for all the highest purposes of life they are with us, and we, I trust, with them. What would the early Christians have said to men, outside the pale of Christianity, who spoke of Christ and his doctrine as some of these Indian

¹ The 'Indian Mirror' (Sept. 10, 1869) constantly treats of missionary efforts of various kinds in a spirit which is not only friendly, but even desirous of reciprocal sympathy; and hopeful that whatever differences may exist between them (the missionaries) and the Brahmos, the two parties will heartily combine as brethren to exterminate idolatry, and promote true morality in India.

Many of our ministers and leading men, says the 'Indian Mirror,' are recruited from missionary schools, which, by affording religious education, prove more favourable to the growth and spread of Brahmoism than Government schools with Comte and Secularism ('Indian Theism,' by S. D. Collet, 1870, p. 22).

reformers? Would they have said to them, 'Unless you speak our language and think our thoughts, unless you accept our Creed and sign our Articles, we can have nothing in common with you.'

O that Christians, and particularly missionaries, would lay to heart the words of a missionary Bishop¹! 'I have for years thought,' writes Bishop Patteson, 'that we seek in our Missions a great deal too much to make *English* Christians. . . . Evidently the heathen man is not treated fairly, if we encumber our message with unnecessary requirements. The ancient Church had its "selection of fundamentals." . . . Anyone can see what mistakes we have made in India. . . . Few men think themselves into the state of the Eastern mind. . . . We seek to denationalise these races, as far as I can see; whereas we ought surely to change as little as possible—only what is clearly incompatible with the simplest form of Christian teaching and practice. I do not mean that we are to compromise truth . . . but do we not overlay it a good deal with human traditions!'

If we had many such missionaries as Bishop Patteson and Bishop Cotton, if Christianity were not only preached, but lived in that spirit, it would then prove itself what it is—the religion of humanity at large, large enough itself to take in all shades and diversities of character and race.

And more than that—if this true missionary spirit, this spirit of truth and love, of forbearance, of trust, of toleration, of humility, were once to kindle the hearts of all those chivalrous ambassa-

¹ 'Life of John Coleridge Patteson,' by C. M. Yonge, ii. p. 167.

dors of Christ, the message of the Gospel which they have to deliver would then become as great a blessing to the giver as to the receiver. Even now, missionary work unites, both at home and abroad, those who are widely separated by the barriers of theological sects¹.

It might do so far more still. When we stand before a common enemy, we soon forget our own small feuds. But why? Often, I fear, from motives of prudence only and selfishness. Can we not, then,

¹ 'The large body of European and American missionaries settled in India bring their various moral influences to bear upon the country with the greater force, because they act together with a compactness which is but little understood. Though belonging to various denominations of Christians, yet from the nature of their work, their isolated position, and their long experience, they have been led to think rather of the numerous questions on which they agree, than of those on which they differ, and they co-operate heartily together. Localities are divided among them by friendly arrangements, and, with a few exceptions, it is a fixed rule among them that they will not interfere with each other's converts and each other's spheres of duty. School books, translations of the Scriptures and religious works, prepared by various missions, are used in common; and help and improvements secured by one mission are freely placed at the command of all. The large body of missionaries resident in each of the presidency towns form missionary conferences, hold periodic meetings, and act together on public matters. They have frequently addressed the Indian Government on important social questions involving the welfare of the native community, and have suggested valuable improvements in existing laws. During the past twenty years, on five occasions, general conferences have been held for mutual consultation respecting their missionary work; and in January last, at the latest of these gatherings, at Allahabad, 121 missionaries met together belonging to twenty different societies, and including several men of long experience who have been twenty years in India.'—'India, Progress and Condition,' 1873, p. 124.

if we stand in spirit before a common friend—can we not, before the face of God, forget our small feuds, for very shame? If missionaries admit to their fold converts who can hardly understand the equivocal abstractions of our Creeds and formulas, is it necessary to exclude those who understand them but too well to submit the wings of their free spirit to such galling chains? When we try to think of the majesty of God, what are all those formulas but the stammerings of children, which only a loving father can interpret and understand! The fundamentals of our religion are not in these poor Creeds; true Christianity lives, not in our belief, but in our love—in our love of God, and in our love of man, founded on our love of God.

That is the whole Law and the Prophets, that is the religion to be preached to the whole world, that is the Gospel which will conquer all other religions—even Buddhism and Mohammedanism—which will win the hearts of all men.

There can never be too much love, though there may be too much faith—particularly when it leads to the requirement of exactly the same measure of faith in others. Let those who wish for the true success of missionary work learn to throw in of the abundance of their faith; let them learn to demand less from others than from themselves. That is the best offering, the most valuable contribution which they can make to-day to the missionary cause.

Let missionaries preach the Gospel again as it was preached when it began the conquest of the Roman Empire and the Gothic nations; when it had to struggle with powers and principalities, with time-honoured religions and triumphant philosophies,

with pride of civilisation and savagery of life—and yet came out victorious. At that time conversion was not a question to be settled by the acceptance or rejection of certain formulas or articles; a simple prayer was often enough: ‘God be merciful to me a sinner.’

There is one kind of faith that revels in words, there is another that can hardly find utterance: the former is like riches that come to us by inheritance; the latter is like the daily bread, which each of us has to win in the sweat of his brow. We cannot expect the former from new converts; we ought not to expect it or to exact it, for fear that it might lead to hypocrisy or superstition. The mere believing of miracles, the mere repeating of formulas requires no effort in converts, brought up to believe in the *Purānas* of the Brahmans or the Buddhist *Gātakas*. They find it much easier to accept a legend than to love God, to repeat a creed than to forgive their enemies. In this respect they are exactly like ourselves. Let missionaries remember that the Christian faith at home is no longer what it was, and that it is impossible to have one creed to preach abroad, another to preach at home. Much that was formerly considered as essential is now neglected; much that was formerly neglected is now considered as essential. I think of the laity more than of the clergy: but what would the clergy be without the laity? There are many of our best men, men of the greatest power and influence in literature, science, art, politics, ay even in the Church itself, who are no longer Christian in the old sense of the word. Some imagine they have ceased to be Christians altogether, because they feel that they cannot believe as much

as others profess to believe. We cannot afford to lose these men, nor shall we lose them if we learn to be satisfied with what satisfied Christ and the Apostles, with what satisfies many a hard-working missionary. If Christianity is to retain its hold on Europe and America, if it is to conquer in the Holy War of the future, it must throw off its heavy armour, the helmet of brass and the coat of mail, and face the world like David, with his staff, his stones and his sling. We want less of creeds, but more of trust; less of ceremony, but more of work; less of solemnity, but more of genial honesty; less of doctrine, but more of love. There is a faith, as small as a grain of mustard-seed, but that grain alone can move mountains, and more than that, it can move hearts. Whatever the world may say of us, of us of little faith, let us remember that there was one who accepted the offering of the poor widow. She threw in but two mites, but that was all she had, even all her living.

NOTES.

NOTE A.

Mahâdayassâpi *ginassa kaddhanam,*
Vihâya *pattam amatam sukham pi te*
Karimsu *lokassa hitam tahim tahim,*
Bhaveyya *ko lokahite pamâdavâ?*

The first line is elliptical.

(Imitating) the resignation of the all-merciful Conqueror,
They also, resigning the deathless bliss within their reach,
Worked the welfare of mankind in various lands.

What man is there who would be remiss in doing good to
mankind?

Hardy, in his 'Manual of Buddhism' (p. 187), relates how fifty-four princes and a thousand fire-worshippers became the disciples of Buddha. 'Whilst Buddha remained at Isipattana, Yasa, the son of Sujatâ, who had been brought up in all delicacy, one night went secretly to him, was received with affection, became a priest, and entered the first path. The father, on discovering that he had fled, was disconsolate: but Buddha delivered to him a discourse, by which he became a rahat. The fifty-four companions of Yasa went to the monastery to induce him to return, and play with them as usual; but when they saw him, they were so struck with his manner and appearance, that they also resolved on becoming priests. When they went to Buddha, they were admitted, by the power of irdhi received the pirikara requisites of the priesthood, and became rahats. Buddha had now sixty disciples who were rahats, and he commanded them to go by

different ways, and proclaim to all that a supreme Buddha had appeared in the world.'

Mr. Childers has kindly sent me the following extract from Fausböll's 'Dhammapada' (p. 119), where the same story is told:

. . . Yasakulaputtassa upanissayasampattim disvâ tam rattibhâge nibbiggîtvâ geham pahâya nikkhantam 'ehi Yasâti' pakkositvâ, tasmîñ ñeva rattibhâge sotâpattiphalam punadivase arahattam pâpesi. Apare pi tassa sahâyake katupannâsagane ehibhikkhupabbaggâya pabbâgetvâ arahattam pâpesi. Evam loke ekasatthiyâ arahantesu gâtesu vutthavasso pavâretvâ 'karatha bhikkhave kârîkan' ti satthim bhikkhû disâsu pesetvâ . . . 'Seeing that the young nobleman Yasa was ripe for conversion, in the night, when weary with the vanities of the world he had left his home and embraced the ascetic life,—he called him, saying, "Follow me, Yasa," and that very night he caused him to obtain the fruition of the first path, and on the following day arhatship. And fifty-four other persons, who were friends of Yasa's, he ordained with the formula, "Follow, me priest," and caused them to attain arhatship. Thus when there were sixty-one arhats in the world, having passed the period of seclusion during the rains and resumed active duties, he sent forth the sixty priests in all directions, saying, "Go forth, priests, on your rounds (or travels)."'

Another passage, too, showing Buddha's desire to see his doctrine preached in the whole world, was pointed out to me by Mr. Childers from the 'Mahâparinibbâna Sutta,' which has since been published by this indefatigable scholar in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' vol. vii. p. 77:

'Three months before his death, when Gautama's health and strength is fast failing, he is tempted by Mâra, who comes to him and urges him to bring his life and mission at once to a close by attaining Nirvâna (dying). Buddha replies that he will not die until his disciples are perfect on all points, and able to maintain the Truth with power against all who oppose it. Mâra replies that this is already the case, and that he uses these stri-

yissâmi yâva me imam brahmacariyam na iddhañ k' eva bhavissati phîtañ ka vitthârikam bâhujaññam puthubhâtam, yâvad eva manussehi suppakâsitan ti. "O wicked one, I will not die until this my holy religion thrives and prospers, until it is widely spread, known to many peoples, and grown great, until it is completely published among men." Mâra again asserts that this is already the case, and Buddha replies, "Strive no more, wicked one, the death of the Tathâgata is at hand, at the end of three months from this time, the Tathâgata will attain Nirvâna."

NOTE B.

THE SCHISM IN THE BRAHMA-SAMAJ¹.

The present position of the two parties in the Brahma-Samâj is well described by Rajnarain Bose (the 'Adi Brahma Samaj,' Calcutta, 1873, p. 11). 'The particular opinions above referred to can be divided into two comprehensive classes—conservative and progressive. The conservative Brahmos are those who are unwilling to push religious and social reformation to any great extreme. They are of opinion that reformation should be gradual, the law of gradual progress being universally prevalent in nature. They also say that the principle of Brahmic harmony requires a harmonious discharge of all our duties, and that, as it is a duty to take a part in reformation, so there are other duties to perform, namely, those towards parents and society, and that we should harmonise all these duties as much as we can. However unsatisfactory such arguments may appear to a progressive Brahma, they are such as could not be slighted at first sight. They are certainly such as to make the conser-

¹ Brahma-Samâj, the Church of Brahma, is the general title. When the schism took place, the original Samâj was called Adi Brahma-Samâj, i. e. the First Church of Brahma, while the progressive party under Keshub Chunder Sen was distinguished by the name of the Brahma-Samâj of India. The vowels *u* and *o* are often the same in Bengali, and are sometimes used for *a*.

vative Brahmo think sincerely that he is justified in not pushing religious and social reformation to any great extreme. The progressive Brahmo cannot therefore call him a hypocrite. A union of both the conservative and the progressive elements in the Brahmo church is necessary for its stability. The conservative element will prevent the progressive from spoiling the cause of reformation by taking premature and abortive measures for advancing that cause; the progressive element will prevent the conservative from proving a stolid obstruction to it. The conservative element will serve as a link between the progressive element and the orthodox community, and prevent the progressive Brahmo from being completely estranged from that community, as the native Christians are; while the progressive element will prevent the conservative from remaining inert and being absorbed by the orthodox community. The common interests of Brahmo Dharma should lead both classes to respect, and be on amicable terms with, each other. It is true the progressive of the present half century will prove the conservative of the next; but there could never come a time when the two classes would cease to exist in the bosom of the church. She should, like a wise mother, make them live in peace with each other, and work harmoniously together for her benefit.

‘As idolatry is intimately interwoven with our social fabric, conservative Brahmos, though discarding it in other respects, find it very difficult to do so on the occasion of such very important domestic ceremonies as marriage, shradh (ancestral sacrifices), and upanayana (spiritual apprenticing); but they should consider that Brahmoism is not so imperative on any other point as on the renunciation of idolatry. It can allow conservatism in other respects, but not on the point of idolatry. It can consider a man a Brahmo if he be conservative in other respects than idolatry; but it can never consider an idolater to be a Brahmo. The conservative Brahmo can do one thing, that is, observe the old ritual, leaving out only the idolatrous portion of it, if he do not choose to follow it.’

“Anushthána Paddhati.” Liberty should be given by the progressive Brahma to the conservative Brahma in judging of the idolatrous character of the portions of the old ritual rejected by him. If a progressive Brahma requires a conservative one to reject those portions which the former considers to be idolatrous, but the latter does not, he denies liberty of conscience to a fellow-Brahma.

‘The Adi Brahma-Samaj is the national Hindu Theistic Church, whose principles of church reformation we have been describing above. Its demeanour towards the old religion of the country is friendly, but corrective and reformatory. It is this circumstance which pre-eminently distinguishes it from the Brahma-Samaj of India, whose attitude to that religion is antagonistic and offensive. The mission of the Adi Samaj is to fulfil the old religion, and not to destroy it. The attitude of the Adi Samaj to the old religion is friendly, but it is not at the same time opposed to progress. It is a mistake to call it a conservative church. It is rather a conservative-progressive church, or, more correctly, simply a church or religious body, leaving matters of social reformation to the judgments of individual members or bodies of such members. It contains both progressive and conservative members. As the ultra-progressive Brahmos, who wanted to eliminate the conservative element from it, were obliged to secede from it, so if a high conservative party arise in its bosom which would attempt to do violence to the progressive element and convert the church into a partly conservative one, that party also would be obliged to secede from it. Only men who can be tolerant of each other’s opinions, and can respect each other’s earnest convictions, progressive and conservative, can remain its members.’

The strong national feeling of the Indian reformers finds expression in the following passage from ‘Brahmic Questions,’ p. 9:—

‘A Samaj is accessible to all. The minds of the majority of our countrymen are not deeply saturated with Christian sentiments. What would they think of a Brahma minister who would quote on the Vedi (altar) sayings from the Bible?’

Would they not from that time conceive an intolerable hatred towards Brahmoism and everything Brahmo? If quoting a sentence from the Bible or Koran offend our countrymen, we shall not do so. Truth is as catholic when taken from the *Sâstras* as from the Koran or the Bible. True liberality consists, not in quoting texts from the religious Scriptures of other nations, but in bringing up, as we advance, the rear who are grovelling in ignorance and superstition. We certainly do not act against the dictates of conscience, if we quote texts from the Hindu *Sâstras* only, and not from all the religious Scriptures of all the countries on the face of the globe. Moreover, there is not a single saying in the Scriptures of other nations, which has not its counterpart in the *Sâstras*.'

And again in 'The Adi Brahma-Samaj, its Views and Principles,' p. 1:—

'The members of the Adi Samaj, aiming to diffuse the truths of Theism among their own nation, the Hindus, have naturally adopted a Hindu mode of propagation, just as an Arab Theist would adopt an Arabian mode of propagation, and a Chinese Theist a Chinese one. Such differences in the aspect of Theism in different countries must naturally arise from the usual course of things, but they are adventitious, not essential, national, not sectarian. Although Brahmoism is universal religion, it is impossible to communicate a universal form to it. It must wear a particular form in a particular country. A so-called universal form would make it appear grotesque and ridiculous to the nation or religious denomination among whom it is intended to be propagated, and would not command their veneration. In conformity with such views, the Adi Samaj has adopted a Hindu form to propagate Theism among Hindus. It has therefore retained many innocent Hindu usages and customs, and has adopted a form of divine service containing passages extracted from the Hindu *Sâstras* only, a book of Theistic texts containing selections from those sacred books only, and a ritual containing as much of the ancient form as could be kept consistently with the dictates of conscience.'

NOTE C.

EXTRACTS FROM KESHUB CHUNDER SEN'S LECTURE ON
CHRIST AND CHRISTIANITY, 1870.

'Why have I cherished respect and reverence for Christ? . . . Why is it that, though I do not take the name of "Christian," I still persevere in offering my hearty thanksgivings to Jesus Christ? There must be something in the life and death of Christ,—there must be something in his great gospel which tends to bring comfort and light and strength to a heart heavy-laden with iniquity and wickedness. . . . I studied Christ ethically, nay spiritually,—and I studied the Bible also in the same spirit, and I must acknowledge candidly and sincerely that I owe a great deal to Christ and to the gospel of Christ. . . .

'My first inquiry was, What is the creed taught in the Bible? . . . Must I go through all the dogmas and doctrines which constitute Christianity in the eye of the various sects, or is there something simple which I can at once grasp and turn to account?

'I found Christ spoke one language and Christianity another. I went to him prepared to hear what he had to say, and was immensely gratified when he told me: "Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy mind, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and love thy neighbour as thyself;" and then he added, "This is the whole law and the prophets," in other words, the whole philosophy, theology, and ethics of the law and the prophets are concentrated in these two great doctrines of love to God and love to man; and then elsewhere he said, "This do and ye shall inherit everlasting life." . . . If we love God and love man we become Christ-like, and so attain everlasting life.

'Christ never demanded from me worship or adoration that is due to God, the Creator of the Universe. . . . He places himself before me as the spirit I must imbibe in order to approach the Divine Father, as the great Teacher and guide who will lead me to God.

‘There are some persons who believe that if we pass through the ceremony of baptism and sacrament, we shall be accepted by God, but if you accept baptism as an outward rite, you cannot thereby render your life acceptable to God, for Christ wants something internal, a complete conversion of the heart, a giving up the yoke of mammon and accepting the yoke of religion, and truth, and God. He wants us to baptize our hearts not with cold water, but with the fire of religious and spiritual enthusiasm; he calls upon us not to go through any outward rite, but to make baptism a ceremony of the heart, a spiritual enkindling of all our energies, of all our loftiest and most heavenly aspirations and activities. That is true baptism. So with regard to the doctrine of the Sacrament. There are many who eat the bread and drink the wine at the Sacramental table, and go through the ceremony in the most pious and fervent spirit, but, after all, what does the real Sacrament mean? If men simply adopt it as a tribute of respect and honour to Christ, shall he be satisfied? Shall they themselves be satisfied? Can we look upon them as Christians simply because they have gone through this rite regularly for twenty or fifty years of their lives? I think not. Christ demands of us absolute sanctification and purification of the heart. In this matter, also, I see Christ on one side, and Christian sects on the other.

‘What is that bread which Christ asked his disciples to eat? what that wine which he asked them to taste? Any man who has simple intelligence in him, would at once come to the conclusion that all this was metaphorical, and highly and eminently spiritual. Now, are you prepared to accept Christ simply as an outward Christ, an outward teacher, an external atonement and propitiation, or will you prove true to Christ by accepting his solemn injunctions in their spiritual importance and weight? He distinctly says, every follower of his must eat his flesh and drink his blood. If we eat, bread is converted into strength and health, and becomes the means of prolonging our life; so, spiritually, if we take truth into our heart, if we put Christ into the soul, we assimilate the spirit of Christ to our spiritual being, and then we find

Christ incorporated into our existence and converted into spiritual strength, and health, and joy, and blessedness. Christ wants something that will amount to self-sacrifice, a casting away of the old man and a new growth in the heart. I thus draw a line of demarcation between the visible and outward Christ and the invisible and inward Christ, between bodily Christ and spiritual Christ, between the Christ of images and pictures, and the Christ that grows in the heart, between dead Christ and living Christ, between Christ that lived and that was, and Christ that does live and that is. . . .

‘To be a Christian then is to be Christ-like. Christianity means becoming like Christ, not acceptance of Christ as a proposition or as an outward representation, but spiritual conformity with the life and character of Christ. And what is Christ? By Christ I understand one who said, “Thy will be done;” and when I talk of Christ, I talk of that spirit of loyalty to God, that spirit of absolute determinedness and preparedness to say at all times and in all circumstances, “Thy will be done, not mine.” . . .

‘This prayer about forgiving an enemy and loving an enemy, this transcendental doctrine of love of man, is really sweet to me, and when I think of that blessed Man of God, crucified on the cross, and uttering those blessed words, “Father, forgive them, they know not what they do;” oh! I feel that I must love that being, I feel that there is something within me which is touched by these sweet and heavenly utterances, I feel that I must love Christ, let Christians say what they like against me; that Christ I must love, for he preached love for an enemy. . . .

‘When every individual man becomes Christian in spirit—repudiate the name, if you like—when every individual man becomes as prayerful as Christ was, as loving and forgiving towards enemies as Christ was, as self-sacrificing as Christ was, then these little units, these little individualities, will coalesce and combine together by the natural affinity of their hearts; and these new creatures, reformed, regenerated, in the child-like and Christ-like spirit of devotion and faith, will feel drawn towards each other, and they shall constitute a

real Christian church, a real Christian nation. Allow me, friends, to say, England is not yet a Christian nation.'

EXTRACTS FROM A CATECHISM ISSUED BY A MEMBER OF THE
ADI BRAHMO-SAMAJ.

Q. Who is the deity of the Brahmos?

A. The One True God, one only without a second, whom all Hindu Śāstras proclaim.

Q. What is the divine worship of the Brahmos?

A. Loving God, and doing the works He loveth.

Q. What is the temple of the Brahmos?

A. The pure heart.

Q. What are the ceremonial observances of the Brahmos?

A. Good works.

Q. What is the sacrifice of the Brahmos?

A. Renunciation of selfishness.

Q. What are the austerities of the Brahmos?

A. Not committing sin. The Mahābhārata says, He who does not commit sin in mind, speech, action or understanding, performs austerities; not he who drieth up his body.

Q. What is the place of pilgrimage of the Brahmos?

A. The company of the good.

Q. What is the Veda of the Brahmos?

A. Divine knowledge. It is superior to all Vedas. The Veda itself says: The inferior knowledge is the Rig Veda, the Yajur Veda, the Sama Veda, the Atharva Veda, etc.; the superior knowledge is that which treats of God.

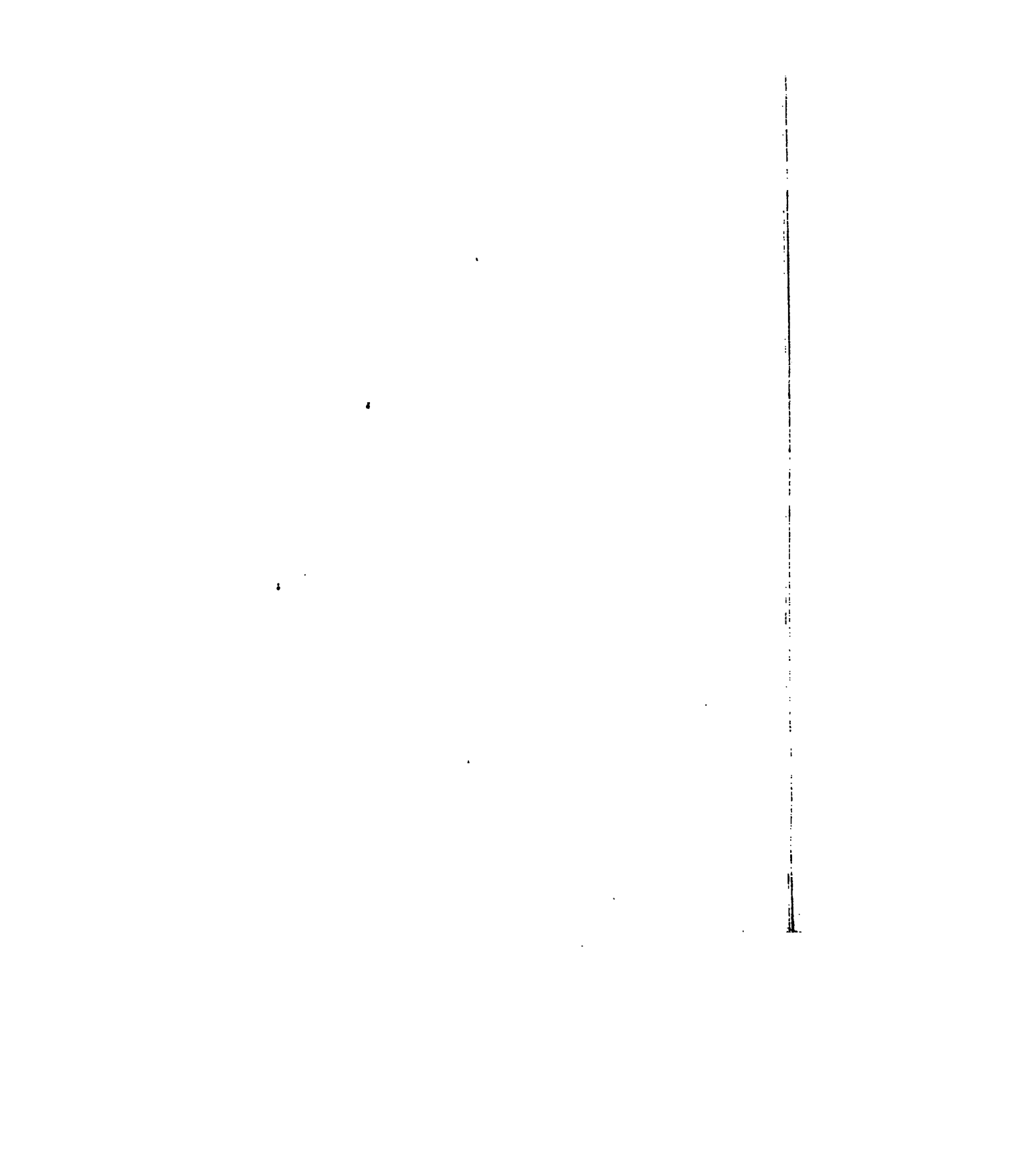
Q. What is the most sacred formula of the Brahmos?

A. Be good and do good.

Q. Who is the true Brahman?

A. He who knows Brahma. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* says: He who departs from this world knowing Brahma is a Brahman. (See 'Brahmic Questions')







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