

IX.

SAKASTANA.

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1. WHERE DWELT THE ŚAKAS NAMED BY DARIUS AND
HERODOTUS ?

THE earliest references to the Śakas have been so often discussed that it would seem scarcely worth while to seek for further information in them (*see* Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, 1880, iv, pp. 200 sqq.). But the passages in Herodotus and the inscriptions of Darius have suggested to me a doubt which I should like to submit for consideration.

The notices contained in the history of Herodotus are as follows :—

(1) In book i, c. 153, we are told that Cyrus was prevented from giving his full attention to the subjugation of the Greeks by being called away elsewhere—*ἥ τε γὰρ Βαβυλῶν οἱ ἦν ἐμπόδιος, καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος, καὶ Σάκαι τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιον· ἐπ' οὓς ἐπέιχε στρατηλατέειν αὐτὸς*: “For he was preoccupied with Babylon and the Baktrian nation, and the Sakai and Egyptians, against whom he proposed himself to take the command.”

(2) In book iii, cc. 90–3, we have an enumeration of the twenty νόμοι into which Darius divided the Persian Empire of his day. Fourteen of these I may leave out of question. The remaining six, which comprise the eastern portion of the empire, are as follows :—

No. 7. Σατταγύδαι, Γανδάριοι, Δαδίκαι, Ἀπαρύται.

No. 10. Βακτριανοὶ μέχρι Αἰγλῶν.

No. 14. The Σαγάρτιοι, Σαραγγαί, Θαμάναιοι, Οὔτιοι, Μύκοι, and the inhabitants of the islands in the Indian Ocean.

No. 15. The *Σάκαι* and *Κάσπιοι*.

No. 16. The *Πάρθοι*, *Χοράσμιοι*, *Σογδοί*, and *Ἀρείοι*.

No. 17. The *Παρικάνιοι* and *Αἰθίοπες οἱ ἐξ Ἀσίας*.

(3) In book vii, c. 64, we learn that the Sakai were under the same command with the Baktrioi in the army of Xerxes, that their dress consisted of pointed headgear and *ἀναξυρίδες* and their weapons were *ἀξίνας σαγάρεις*, and that the *Σκύθαι Ἀμύργιοι* were by the Persians called *Σάκαι*, a name which they gave to all *Σκύθαι*. The *Ἴνδοί* are next mentioned. Cf. *Μήδους τε καὶ Σάκας καὶ Βακτρίους τε καὶ Ἴνδούς*, viii, 113.

(4) In book ix, c. 71, we find that the *Σάκαι* formed the best cavalry in the army of Xerxes.

(5) In book ix, c. 113, the *Βάκτριοι* and *Σάκαι* are clearly neighbours.

In these passages Herodotus, whose information in regard to Persia is not at first hand, seems to use the term *Σάκαι* in more than one application. The *Σάκαι* of No. (4) are the same who appear in Persian armies on other occasions as *ἵπποτοξόται*, 'horse-bowmen,' e.g. at Arbela (Arrian's *Anabasis*, iii, c. 8). Their armature was the same as that of the Scythians beyond the Jaxartes who fought against Alexander and that which later was perfected by the Parthians (Justin, xli, 2). They are therefore to be distinguished from the *Σάκαι Ἀμύργιοι* of No. (3). As regards the *Σάκαι* of No. (5) it is impossible to say whether they are the eastern neighbours of the Bactrians, i.e. the wood-and-cave-inhabiting nomads of the Alexandrine geographers (see Ptolemy, vi, c. xiii), or the Scythian Massagetæ on the north-west frontier of Bactria. The events connected with Spitamenes and Dataphernes in the course of Alexander's wars (Arrian's *Anabasis*, iv, cc. 16 sqq.) are perhaps in favour of the latter supposition. The *Σάκαι* associated with the *Κάσπιοι* in No. (2) have been identified with the former and with the *Σάκαι Ἀμύργιοι*, and a place has been found in the mountains east of Bactria for two peoples, *Σάκαι Ἀμύργιοι* and *Κάσπιοι*, neither of which can otherwise be traced there. The *Κάσπιοι* known to us

are situated on the west of the Caspian Sea. But the *Κάσπιοι* of this passage must be the same people which is mentioned in Herod. vii, c. 67, in the account of the army of Xerxes. There, as in the list of *νόμοι*, they are enumerated between the Parthian group (*Πάρθοι καὶ Χοράσμοι καὶ Σογδοὶ τε καὶ Γανδάριοι καὶ Λαδίκαι*) and the southern group (*Σαραυγαί, Πάκτυες, Οὔτιοι καὶ Μύκοι τε καὶ Παρικάνιοι*), and their armature is the same as that of the *Πάκτυες*, while their leader is brother to the leader of the *Γανδάριοι καὶ Λαδίκαι*. It is therefore unlikely that the *Σάκαι* joined with them are identical with the *Σάκαι* of the Alexandrines, who would, moreover, probably be included in the Bactrian *νόμος* (No. 10).

If now we turn to our second authority of the first order, we are presented with the following facts:—

(1) On p. 5 of the second edition of Spiegel¹ we find an enumeration of the provinces subdued by Darius, namely, Persia, Susiana, Babylon, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Sparda (i.e. Lydia), Ionia, Media, Armenia, Kappadocia, Parthia, Drangiana, Aria, Khorasmia, Baktria, Sogdiana, Gandhara, the Sakas, Thatagush, Arakhosia, and the Makas. (*Behistūn*, i, § 6.)

(2) On p. 13 Darius enumerates as the provinces which revolted from him Persia, Media, Assyria, Armenia, Parthia, Margiana, the Thatagush, and Sakas. (*Behistūn*, ii, § 2.)

(3) On pp. 49–51 the tributary provinces are named as Susiana, Media, Babylonia, Arabia, Assyria, Egypt, Armenia, Kappadocia, Sparda, the Greeks of the mainland and the islands, and in the East the following: the Sagartians, Parthians, Zrankas, Aria, Baktria, Sogdiana, Khorasmia, the Thatagush, Arakhosia, India, Gandhara, the Sakas, and the Makas. (*Persepolis*, i.)

(4) On p. 55 we find another list: Media, Susiana, Parthia, Aria, Baktria, Sogdiana, Khorasmia, Zranka, Arakhosia,

¹ In regard to the points discussed in this paper, neither the new edition of the Old Persian inscriptions nor the edition of the so-called Scythian nor that of the Babylonian version (all included in the *Assyriologische Bibliothek*) supplies any divergent information.

the Thatagush, Gandhara, India, the Sakā Humavarkā (Haumavarkā) and Tigrakhaudā, Babylon, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Kappadocia, Sparda, Ionia, the *Sakā Tardaraya* or Scythians beyond the sea, the Skudra, Ionians who wear crowns, the Putiyas, Kushiya, Maciyas, Karkas. (*Naksh-i-Rustam*, a, § 3.)

In the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, ii, p. 388, Professor Geiger has arranged these and other references of Darius, which are unmistakably grouped on a geographical principle (Justi, *Grundriss*, ii, p. 454), in a table which we may now in part reproduce:—

DARIUS.	HERODOTUS.	STRABO.	ISIDORE OF CHARAX.	AMMIANUS.	AVESTA.	MODERN.
1. Parsa ...	Persis.	Persis. Paraitakene. Karmania.		Persis, 4. Carnania Maior, 6		Farsistān. Kermān.
4. Parthava ...	Parthians, Sogdians, Khorasmiāns, and	Hurkania. Parthuaia.	Khoirene, 9. Komisene, 10. Hurkania, 11. Astabene, 12. Parthuenē, 13. Apanarktikene, 14	Hyrcania, 7. Parthia, 5.	Varena, 14. Vehrkāna, 9. Cakhra, 13.	Khurāsān.
5. Haraiva ...	Arians, 16.	Aria.	Aria, 16.	Aria, 14.	Haraēva, 6.	
6. Bakhtri ...	Baktria.	Margiane. Baktriane.	Margiane, 15.	Margiana, 8. Bactriana, 9.	Mouru, 3. Nisaya, 5. Bakhdhi, 4.	Merv. Balkh.
7. Suguda ...	With the Parthians, <i>v. supra.</i>	Sogdiane.		Sogdiana, 10.	Sughdha, 2 (Gava).	Sogdiana.
8. Uvārazmi...		Khorasmiōi.			(Hwairizem.)	Khiva.
9. Zaranka ...	Sarangians, Sagartians, Outians, Mukians, 14.	Drangiane.	Anabon, 17. Drangiane, 18. Sakastene, 19.	Drangiana, 16.	Hactumant, 12.	Sistān (Hēlmund).
10. Haraurvati		Arakhosia.	Arakhosia, 20.	Arachosia, 17.	Harahvaiti, 11.	Kandahār.
11. Thatagu ...	Sattagudes, Gandarii, Dadikai, Aparutai.	Paropamisadai.		Paropamisadae, 14.	Vaekereta, 7.	Kābul.
(12. Gandāra)		Gedrosia. Oritai.		Gedrosia, 18.	Urva, 8 (Pisina).	Ghazna, Balū- cistān.

The situations of most of the peoples named in these lists are sufficiently known. The Sagartians are fixed by the fact that Arbela was in their country; the name of the Makas, the Mukoi of Herodotus, recurs in the modern Mekran; the Outioi of Herodotus are the Yutiya of Darius, and belong to Persia proper; the Aparutai occupied a country in Southern Drangiana towards Karmania, which also shares with other districts elsewhere the name Paraitakene. The question of the Sakas is one of extreme difficulty. The statement of Herodotus that the Persians gave the name Saka to all Scythians seems to be confirmed by the usage of Darius, who applies it both to European Scythians (the *Sakā Taradaraya*, 'Sakas beyond the sea') and to his eastern subjects the *Sakā Tigrakhaudā* ('Sakas with pointed caps') and *Sakā Haumavarkā*. The conquest of the latter, with the death of one king and the capture and execution of Skunka, the other, is related in an unfortunately mutilated passage of the old Persian inscriptions, which is not represented in the 'Scythian' and Babylonian versions. Here the words *ashiyavam abiy Sakām*, 'I went against Sake,' *abiy darayam avam*, 'to that sea,' and *viyatarayam*, 'I crossed,' can be clearly read, and, as the European Scythians are out of the question, we must find some 'sea' which fits in with the circumstances.

From the united testimony of the Greek and Latin writers we know that there were Asiatic Scythians dwelling (1) in the country north of Parthia and between the Caspian and the Aral Sea. Here were the Parni (the Varena of the Avesta?), the Dahæ, and from here probably came the Saraucæ or Sacarauçæ.¹ (2) In the country north of the Jaxartes, where dwelt, for instance, the Scythians ruled by Satrakes, who fought against Alexander. (3) In the mountainous country about the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes. It is only in the last case that the name Σάκαι is fully attested.² Megasthenes tells us (McCrindle, p. 30)

¹ See the map in Tomaschek's *Centralasiatische Studien*, i, and Ptolemy's *Geographia*, vi, xiv, 13.

² Cf. Strabo, xi, c. viii, 2: οἱ μὲν δὲ πλείους τῶν Σκυθῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Κασπίας

that the Hemodos divides India from the part of Scythia inhabited by the Scythians called Σάκαι. Ptolemy enumerates (McCrindle, pp. 283-5) as their tribes the Karatai, Komaroi, Komedai (the Chinese Kiu-mi-tho), Massagetai, Grunaioi Skuthai, Toornai, and Bultai (Baltistan). With these passages we may associate the expression in Strabo: ἀπὸ τῆς περαιᾶς τοῦ Ἰαξάρτου τῆς κατὰ Σάκας καὶ Σογδιανούς, ἣν κατεῖχον Σάκαι, although it involves some illegitimate extension northwards and westwards; for, according to the geography of Ptolemy, the Tokharoi and other tribes who invaded Sogdiana and Bactria would be Σκύθαι and not Σάκαι, as also are, according to Arrian, the tribes beyond the Jaxartes who fought against Alexander. Here, therefore, the Amurgian Sakai are usually placed.¹

But how are we to reconcile such a situation with the mention of the sea by Darius? A solution of this difficulty is proposed by Justi, who writes (*Grundriss d. Iranischen Philologie*, ii, p. 445):—

“By reason of the ‘sea’ the reference has been
“conjectured to be to the European Scythians, who
“are in fact called *Sakā tyaiy taradaraya*, but are,
“however, in the inscription of Naksh-i-Rustam, care-
“fully distinguished from the *Sakā Haumavargā* and
“*Tigrakhaudā*. The word *drayah* (sea) will have been
“here used like the modern Persian *daryā* of a great
“river, as in fact of the Jaxartes, now *Sīr Daryā*:
“*daryā-i-Gang*, Firdausī 709, 494, and of the Oxus or
“*Jaihun*.” He then quotes further instances.

I do not think it possible to subscribe to this argument. The word *zrayah* (Zend) or *drayah* (old Persian), originally,

θαλάττης ἀρξάμενοι Δάαι προσαγορεύονται. τοὺς δὲ προσεφους τούτων μάλλον Μασσαγέτας, καὶ Σάκας ὀνομάζουσι. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κοινῶς μὲν Σκύθας ὀνομάζουσιν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὡς ἐκάστον.

¹ There seems to be no real proof that the *Sse* of the Chinese, though the original pronunciation was *Sek* or *Sok* (see M. Lévi's very interesting note, *Journal Asiatique*, sér. ix, vol. ix, 1897, pp. 10, 11), were our *Sakas*. The Tibetan *Sog* means Mongol.

no doubt, meaning 'wide space' (cf. Sanskrit *jrayas*), is used by Darius himself more than once in the sense of 'sea,' and in the Avesta it is applied only to certain definite stretches of water, namely, (a) the world ocean (*vouru-kaša*), (b) with *pūtika*, a mythical lake, (c) with *kaṃsaoya*, the Hāmūn lake.¹ In the face of this, of what value is the occasional idiomatic use of *daryā* first traced in Firdausī, 1,500 years later than Darius? We may add that the well-known citation from Hellanicus' *Scythica* (Ἀμύργιον πεδίου Σακῶν), though it might suit the plains east of the Caspian or north of the Jaxartes, would not be applicable to the mountains of the Caucasus inhabited by Ptolemy's Sakai.

No one has suggested that it was the Caspian Sea which Darius crossed to attack the Sakas, nor is this a probable hypothesis.² Against tribes dwelling to the east of that sea, he would no doubt have despatched his satraps in Hyrcania, Parthia, or Bactria, just as the rebellions in Parthia, Hyrcania, and Margiana were suppressed by governors of Parthia and Bactria, Hystaspes (father of Darius), and Dādaršiš.³

Is there any fatal objection to an identification of the sea in question with the Hāmūn lake itself, which even in modern times bears the name Zarrah and in the time of Darius gave the name Drangiana to the surrounding country?⁴ We may note in passing that with reference to this region Darius always uses the form with *z*, Zrañka, also represented by the Σαπαρρυαί of Herodotus, and that this proves the name to have been current in the country itself, since the Persian form of the word would be Drañka.⁵

It may be said that the settlement of Sakas in this region, afterwards known as Sakastāna, now Sistān, is an event which may be assigned to a definite date, namely, the end of the

¹ Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. *zrayah-*.

² According to Strabo, xi, c. vii, 2, the Caspian was ἄπλους τε καὶ ἀργός, 'unsailed and idle.'

³ *Behistun Inser.*, ii, § 35 (xvi) – iii, 38 (iii).

⁴ Drangiana = 'Seelandschaft' (Geiger, *Grundriss d. Iran. Philologie*, ii, p. 393, doubted by Foy, *Kuhns Zeitschrift*, xxxv, p. 22).

⁵ This remark is also made by Foy, *Kuhns Zeitschrift*, xxxvii, p. 536.

second century B.C.,¹ and that with this date well accords the fact that the name Sakastāna is first recorded by Isidor of Charax² in the time of Augustus, being unknown before. The first part of this objection seems, however, to be baseless. Testimony of such an immigration of Sakas into south-eastern Persia is, so far as I have ascertained, to be *entirely wanting*: what we have is a conjecture based upon the Chinese accounts of the movements of the Yue-tchi, which accounts in themselves contain no such statement.³ As for the name Sakastāna, it may be due as well to the rise of Sakas, already in the country, to a consolidated power as to their first appearance there,⁴ and such an event may very well have taken place during the decay of the Greek rulers of Bactria, who, though at one time possessed of Kandahar and Sindh, later “per varia bella iactati non regnum tantum, “verum etiam libertatem amiserunt, siquidem Sogdianorum “et *Arachotorum* et *Drangianorum* et *Areorum* bellis fatigati “ad postremum ab invalidioribus Parthis velut exsanguis “oppressi sunt” (Justin, xli, c. 6).

Secondly, it may be objected that when we have taken account of the Drangians, Thatagush, Arachosians, Gandharians, and Makas, who are all separately mentioned by Darius, we have no room in south-eastern Persia, Afghanistan, and Baluchistan for the insertion of the Sakas. This leads me to make the following observations.

The country lying between India and Persia, to which Strabo assigns the collective name of Ariana, includes on the

¹ Geiger, *Grundriss*, ii, p. 393; Justi, *ibid.*, p. 489.

² *Stathmoi Parthikoi*, § 18.

³ See Mr. Vincent Smith's article, J.R.A.S., 1903, pp. 1-64, esp. pp. 18-24 and *ref.*

[I find that the above statement requires modification. Ma-twan-lin's work (thirteenth century) does, in the account of Ki-pin, affirm that when the Yué-tchi moved west “the king of the Sai went to the south to dwell in Ki-pin. The “tribes of the Sai divided and dispersed so as to form here and there different “kingdoms. From Sou-le on the north-west, all the dependencies of Hieu-Siun “and Siun-tu (Sind) are inhabited by former Sai tribes” (Rémusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges*, i, pp. 205-6). Whether this account goes back to an earlier source I am not in a position to say. Sakastāna, though not mentioned, might be held to be included. But the whole story seems to me incorrect.]

⁴ The ‘German Empire’ and ‘Hindustan’ are rather later than the Germans and Hindus!

north the regions of (1) Aria (Herat), (2) the Paropamisadæ (Western Afghanistan, etc.), and (3) Gandhara, immediately south of which lie (4) Drangiana, and (5) Arachosia (the Helmund valley and the district between that river and the Indus), while the whole space between the two latter and the ocean is included under the term (6) Gedrosia. By these six territories the whole of Ariana, as is shown by the statements concerning their boundaries, is marked out with no gap. The Ikhthuophagoi with their rather more inland neighbours, the Mukoi, occupy the western part of Gedrosia, where it borders upon Karmania.¹

The names of these six districts, among which, however, Gedrosia or Gadrosia is not etymologically certain,² are all territorial, not ethnological, and they accordingly tell us nothing concerning the inhabitants.

With one exception these divisions are known to both Darius and Herodotus. We may note the following details:—Herodotus does not mention the Paropamisadæ; but there can be no reasonable doubt, in view of the geographical conditions, that the territory afterwards so named was occupied by his *Sattagudai*, the Thatagush of Darius. The latter has the word *Paruparaesana*, *Paruparanisanna*, in the ‘Scythian’ and Babylonian versions of his inscriptions, in place, however, not of the Thatagush, who are there mentioned, but of Gandhara. This substitution is so surprising that we must suspect an error in the drawing up of the text in question; but if that is not the case, the most likely supposition is that the name was applied to any part of the Hindu Kush and the mountains of Afghanistan which was not preoccupied by other terms. In any case the matter can cause no difficulty. Concerning the Dadikai, whom Herodotus twice mentions in connection with the Gandarioi, we need say nothing; whether they are the Dards or not, they do not come into the question. Similarly, it is of no importance whether the Aparutai (Zend

¹ Other Ikhthuophagoi and a people named Makai are placed by Ptolemy (vi, c. vii, 14) on the Arabian side of the Gulf of Oman.

² Cf. Zend *kadrva* = Skt. *kadru*, ‘brown,’ *kadrvaspa*, ‘a certain mountain,’ acc. to Brunnhofer, *Iran u. Turan*, pp. 109, 168.

Pouruta) were really inhabitants of the Σακαστανή Σακῶν Σκυθῶν ἢ καὶ Παραϊτακηνή of Isidor of Charax. As regards the Πάκτες of Herodotus, who are twice associated with the city of Kaspatturos, and from whose name is supposed to come the term Pashto, they also, being on the immediate confines of India, do not affect the problem.

The region not mentioned by Darius or Herodotus is Gedrosia, which, as we learn from Strabo and Ptolemy, adjoined Drangiana and Arachosia on the north, and stretched south as far as the ocean. That the land was in the possession of Darius cannot be doubted. His Arachosian Satrap Vivāna fought two battles, at Kāpisakānīsh¹ and Gandumava, with an army sent against him by the rebel Vahyazdata from Persis (*Behistūn*, iii, §§ 44–5), which army would no doubt pass through Gedrosia. Here also we find in Herodotus the tributary Αἰθίοπες οἱ ἐξ Ἀσίης, long identified with the Dravidian Brahui of the hills. Whether the Παρικάνιοι, whose name is exactly reproduced in the modern Farghūnah,² and the Θαμάναιοι, who may have been connected with the Arachosian city of Dammana (Ptolemy, vi, c. xx, 5), are to be placed here or further west, say in Karmania, it is impossible to say. But this much is certain, that by Darius, whose authority is far superior to any other in these matters, either this country, except the part occupied by the Makas, is not named at all, or it is included in Drangiana or Arachosia, or finally it is

¹ The second part of Kāpisakānīsh, 'a fort in Arachosia,' is supposed by Justi (*Grundriss*, ii, p. 430) to correspond to modern Persian *khānī*, 'spring' (= Sanskrit *khāni*, 'mine'), or *khāndaḥ*, 'ditch of a fort.' But, whether it is to be explained so or as a fusion of the two common suffixes *ka* and *āna*, at any rate it occurs in several names of towns noted by Ptolemy in this region and in Persia, e.g., *Artakāna* (Persis), *Sourogāna*, *Astakāna* (Bactria), *Sarmagāna*, *Zamoukhāna*, *Ortikāna* (Herat), *Daroakāna*, *Tarbakāna* (Paropamisadæ).

Kāpisakānīsh is therefore the Kāpisa in Ghorband, which was destroyed by Cyrus (Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, xiii (1893), pp. 97 and 99; Justi, *Grundriss*, ii, p. 420), although Cunningham seems to distinguish the two. The identity of *Kavisiye nagara* with Kāpisa, suggested by Marquardt (*Ērānshahr*, p. 280), is now vindicated by Professor Rapson (J.R.A.S., 1905, pp. 783–4). The Arachosian *Kāriṣa* of Ptolemy should surely (though I do not find it suggested) be the same, and perhaps the (Σάκαι καὶ) Κάριοι of Herodotus are really Κάριοι.

² Mentioned with ref. by Tomaschek, *Zur Historischen Topographie von Persien*, p. 188.

included in the country which he designates by the term *Sakā*. I will now indicate more precisely the reasons which incline me towards the last alternative.

(1) The *Σακαστανή Σακῶν Σκυθῶν* of Isidor of Charax comes between *Δαρρυμανή* and *Ἀραχωσία*. It therefore occupies exactly the position of the Sagistān and Sijistān of Sassanian and Muhammadan times. Thus the Bundahish¹ states (xiii, 16) that "of the small seas, that which was most "wholesome was the sea Kyānsih (i.e. the Kāmsava or "Zarrah), such as is in Sagastān," which at one (mythical) period was free from salt and again "when the renovation of "the Universe occurs" will be so, and (xx, 5) "Lake Frazdān "is in Sagastān," a lake identified by Justi with the Āb-Istādah, south of Ghazna. Sagastān therefore stretched away from the Hāmūn lake eastward in the direction of Ghazna, just as in Muhammadan times we find it stated² that "Sistān . . . is the lowland country lying round, "and to the eastward of, the Zarah lake, which more "especially includes the deltas of the Helmund and other "rivers which drain into the inland sea," while from the maps accompanying these statements a part of the (Gedrosian) desert to the south of this region appears to be reckoned in.

(2) When, therefore, in a grouping evidently geographical (see above, p. 184), Darius couples the Sakas and the Makas, it is as if in later times occurred a mention of Sistān and Makrān (see Mr. Le Strange's map No. 1). When he speaks of crossing the sea, and finds it necessary to add *that sea (darayam avam)*, we can understand that he was referring to what was indeed one of the *darayas*, namely, the Hāmūn lake, but being one of the "small seas" needed to be clearly indicated.

(3) An irruption of Sakas in the second century B.C. into the country called Sakastān is not stated by any ancient authority, and is in fact improbable. Its improbability is evident from the following considerations.

¹ Trans. West, *Sacred Books of the East*, v.

² Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 334.

In order to reach Sistān it would have been necessary for the Sakas to pass through one or other of the two great states, the Parthian and the Greco-Bactrian, which together covered the whole frontier of north-eastern Iran.

The Bactrian kingdom, as is well established, extended southward until at the time of its greatest power it included a territory embracing Arachosia (where Demetrius founded a city named after him), and even Broach and Surat. What part of it was taken away by the Scythians, and when? The two often quoted passages from Trogus and Strabo leave no doubt upon this point:—

“In Bactrianis autem rebus ut a Diodoto rege constitutum est: deinde quo regnante Scythicæ gentes Saraucæ et Asiani Bactra occupavere et Sogdianos. Indicæ quoque res additæ, gestæ per Apollodotum et Menandrum, reges eorum.” (Trogus, 41.)

μάλιστα δὲ γνώριμοι γεγόνασι τῶν νομάδων οἱ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀφελόμενοι τὴν Βακτριανήν, Ἀσιοὶ καὶ Πασιανοὶ καὶ Τόχαροι καὶ Σακάραυλοι, καὶ ὀρμηθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς περαιίας τοῦ Ἰαξάρτου τῆς κατὰ Σάκας, ἣν κατεῖχον Σάκαι. (Strabo, xi, c. viii, 2.)

It was therefore Sogdiana and Bactria from which the Greeks were driven by the Scythians, and this event took place rather early in the history of their kingdom. If the Scythians had penetrated further, we should most certainly have learned the fact from Strabo on this occasion; and we should have heard nothing further of any Greek kingdoms beyond the confines of India. But we must suppose the Greeks to have occupied a part of Ariana long after this, for their final overthrow was the work, not, as is sometimes stated, of their Scythian, but of their Parthian enemies.

“Eodem ferme tempore, sicut in Parthis Mithridates, ita in Bactris Eucratidas, magni uterque viri, regna ineunt. Sed Parthorum fortuna felicior ad summum hoc duce imperi fastigium eos perduxit; Bactriani autem per varia bella iactati non regnum tantum,

“verum etiam libertatem amiserunt, siquidem Sogdianorum et Arachotorum et Drangarum et Areorum bellis fatigati ad postremum ab invalidioribus Parthis velut exsanguis oppressi sunt.”¹

After the Kushan occupation of Afghanistan there could have been no Greek power in touch with the Parthians, so as to be overthrown by them. And, in fact, the survival of a Greek kingdom in Kabul long after Eucratidas is generally assumed (*Grundriss d. Iran. Philologie*, ii, p. 489).

Was it, then, through the Parthian kingdom that Scythians penetrated into Sistān in the second century B.C.? This was the period of that great extension of the Parthian dominion which Strabo has described in terms significant for our purpose (xi, c. ix, 2):—

ἔπειθ' οὕτως ἰσχυσαν ἀφαιρούμενοι τὴν πλῆσιον αἰὲν διὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κατορθώσεις, ὥστε τελευτῶντες ἀπάσης τῆς ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου κύριοι κατέστησαν. Ἀφείλοντο δὲ καὶ τῆς Βακτριανῆς μέρος βιασάμενοι τοὺς Σκύθας, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον τοὺς περὶ Εὐκρατίδαν. καὶ νῦν ἐπάρχουσι τοσαύτης γῆς καὶ τοσούτων ἐθνῶν ὥστε ἀντίπαλοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τρόπον τινα γεγονάσι, κατὰ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς.

¹ Professor Rapson (*Indian Coins*, pp. 7, 16) and Mr. Vincent Smith, whom I name *honoris causa*, are therefore in contradiction with this, the latter very sharply: “The flood of barbarian invasion . . . finally extinguishing the “Hellenistic monarchy, which must have been weakened already by the growth of “the Parthian or Persian power” (*Early History*, p. 201). What Mr. Vincent Smith ascribes to the Sakas, Professor Rapson attributes to the Kushans. This latter view seems to me incorrect, though only slightly. I conceive that the Kushans conquered the Kabul valley not from the Greeks, but from the Parthians, who had themselves taken it from the Greeks. Nor is this a mere inference or conjecture. The Chinese History of the Second Hans (25–220 A.D.) states in a passage cited by M. Specht (*Études sur l'Asie Centrale*, i, p. 10) as follows:—“They” (the people of Kabul) “have been successively under the dominion of the Thièn-tchou (Hindus), of Ki-pin, and of the A-si (Parthians). These “three realms at the time of their greatness had conquered this country, and “they lost it at the moment of their decay. The book of the Han (Han-chou) “is therefore mistaken in counting Kao-fou among the five principalities of the “Yué-tchi. It had never belonged to these last, since it was at that time under “the dominion of the A-si. But when the Yué-tchi attacked the A-si, they “became in that way possessors of Kao-fou.” From the circumstances it is clear that the people of Ki-pin to whom reference is made in this extract must be the Greeks.

"Afterwards they grew so powerful, continually encroaching upon the neighbouring territory by reason of their successes in war, that finally they established themselves as masters of all within the Euphrates. They appropriated further a portion of Bactria by bringing force to bear upon the Scythians, and even before that upon Eucratides and his.¹ And now they rule over so much territory and so many nations, that they are become a match almost for the Romans in extent of dominion."

We know that this power lasted in eastern Persia until the rise of the Sassanians, and even the Indo-Scythian kingdom about the lower Indus was, as we learn from the author of the "Periplus," under Parthian rulers. During the last two centuries B.C. these were at various times in collision with the Scythians. Phraates was defeated and killed by the Tokharoi (B.C. 127), and his uncle Artabanus II met with the same fate (B.C. 124; Justin, xlii).² The son of the latter, Mithridates II, was more successful.

"Sed et cum Scythis prospere aliquotiens dimicavit ultorque iniuriæ parentum fuit" (Justin, xlii).

But these and other events took place on the northern and eastern frontier, where Ptolemy's *Geographia* still finds the Tokharoi, and we hear nothing of such an occurrence as the penetration of a horde into the south-eastern portion of their dominion. For this reason, as well as for every other, the Kushans too must have reached India over the Hindu-Kush.

It remains to add a word as to (1) special indications of the presence of a Saka population in Sīstān in early times and (2) the general probabilities of the case.

Among the former I think we may include the citation

¹ From another passage (xi, 2) we learn that it was two satrapies (τῆν τε Ἀσσιάνου καὶ τὴν Τουριοῦ) that they took from Eucratides.

² *Grundriss*, ii, pp. 488-9. It is at this period that von Gutschmid considers that the Scythians "must have" occupied Sakastan, although the "too favourable" accounts of the dealings of the Parthians with their disloyal Scythian allies do not mention the fact. (Encycl. Brit., 9th ed., vol. xviii, p. 5946.)

from Hecataeus (fragment 179) of *Κασπάτινος πόλις Γανδαρική, Σκυθῶν ἀκτή*, and the statements concerning the Ariaspi. The former, the city in the country of the Paktues from which Darius despatched Skulax on his voyage down the Indus and then westward to Egypt (Herodotus, iv, c. 44), was also known as that from the neighbourhood of which started the Indians who made expeditions into the desert in search of gold (iii, c. 102). But its exact situation remains after much discussion still undecided.¹ Not only the Indus, but several rivers of Afghanistan also, are gold-bearing, and gold has also been found in the neighbourhood of Kandahār.

The facts concerning the Ariaspi are known to us from the narratives of Alexander's expedition, in the course of which he passed through the country of Drangiana, then that of this people, continuing his march by way of Arakhosia and Kabul into Bactria. The Ariaspi therefore occupied exactly the region of the modern Sīstān, and it is here that we must locate the city Ariaspe mentioned by Ptolemy. That the name stands for Aγriaspi (with the Iranian spirant γ) we may be certain by reason of the variant form of the name Agriaspi, and because the epithet *αγρια*, 'best,' is applied to horses in the Avesta.² The name therefore means 'having excellent horses.' But for help rendered to Cyrus in the course of his Scythian expedition the people had received a new designation, which the Greeks render by Euergetai or 'benefactors,' the Persian equivalent of which we know from Herodotus to be *Orosangai*, perhaps a form corresponding to the Zend *verēzy-ayhvā*, 'energetic.' Arrian informs us (iii, c. 27) that they enjoyed a government unlike that of the other barbarians in that part of the world, and laid claim to justice equal with the best of the Greeks. From the time of Homer onwards the attribute of justice, based probably upon some social feature, was a commonplace in relation to Scythians,³ so that Herodotus,

¹ Megasthenes (ap. Strabo, xv, 44) places the scene among the *Δέρδαι* (Dards).

² See Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterbuch*, s.v. *αγρια*.

³ See Smith's *Dictionary of Ancient Geography*, s.v.

for instance, speaking of the Issedones (iv, 26), can say, though justice has not been mentioned,

ἄλλως δὲ δίκαιοι καὶ οὗτοι λέγονται εἶναι ἰσοκρατεῖς δὲ
ὁμοίως αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖσι ἀνδράσι.

"For the rest these also are said to be just: and the
"women enjoy rights equally with the men."

We may therefore reasonably understand the statements concerning the alien population named Ariaspi to point to a Scythian origin. The form in which the name appears in Diodorus, namely Arimaspi, may most probably be ascribed to a confusion with the story of the one-eyed Scythians of that name, dwelling beyond the Issedones, who carried off gold from the γρύπες. But may he not have stumbled upon a truth? The Indians near the city of Kaspatyros who fetched gold from the deserts infested by giant μύρμηκες, and the Arimaspi who snatched gold from the γρύπες, may not they represent two different versions of an account of the Ariaspi? Gold is mentioned as one of the products of Balūchistan.¹ History, as distinct from legend, knows nothing of a people named Arimaspi in Central Asia, and the distance of the Ariaspi from Farghāna, the seat of the Issedones, and its direction are not insuperable difficulties in view of the error of the early Greek geographers in regarding Central Asia as lying to the north of Europe.

As regards general probabilities, there can be, I imagine, no difficulty in the supposition that Scythians from Central Asia had penetrated in prehistoric times, by way of Herat and Drangiana, or by another route, into south-eastern Persia and Balūchistan. We know that Persia, like India, has always been exposed to irruptions from that quarter. The fact that Herodotus and the historians of Alexander's expedition make no explicit mention of Scythians in the region under consideration, is balanced by the other fact that Strabo and Ptolemy² maintain the same silence at a time when we know that the Scythians were already there.

¹ *Grundriss d. Iran. Philologie*, ii, p. 383.

² Unless Ptolemy's Τατακηνή in Drangiana is really Σακαστηνή.

But may we not make a more extended observation? What objection can we urge against the supposition that in ancient times the whole population of the mountainous country from the Σάκαι of the Greek narratives to Sakastāna was in fact 'Scythian'? No one any longer doubts that the Scythians of Europe and Asia were merely the outer, uncivilized belt of the Iranian family, and, though the observations of Hippocrates¹ may point to an ethnological difference, the close relation of the Scythian dialects to the Zend and Persian is beyond dispute. Justi regards the speech of the European Scythians as having been most nearly related to Ossetic.² Whether the peculiarities of the Pamir dialects and the Pashto and Balūchī are consistent with a Scythian origin, and whether the early names of places recorded in these regions are consistent with a Scythic extraction of the peoples, the Iranian scholars will perhaps decide. The feature by which the Greeks, and no doubt the Persians also, distinguished tribes as Scythian or Saka was their manner of living as nomads, and this may have been the peculiarity in virtue of which Darius applies the name Saka, if we have rendered it probable that he did so, to the neighbours of the Makas.³

The points in favour of our hypothesis, which is made with great deference, may therefore be summed up as follows:—

(1) First, and most important, the clearly geographical enumerations of Darius.

(2) The *daraya* = the Hāmūn lake or Zarrah.

(3) The very brief narrative of the campaign against the Sakas, which is inconsistent with a distant expedition beyond the Jaxartes, more especially as the rebellions in Arachosia and Hyrcania were repressed, not by Darius himself, who does not seem to have personally conducted campaigns in

¹ Regarding the European Scythians.

² *Grundriss*, ii, p. 400.

³ We may perhaps hope to learn something bearing on the subject of this paragraph from Dr. Grierson's forthcoming work on the Paisācī dialect.

the far east and north of his dominions, but by his lieutenants.

(4) The Ἀμύργιον πεδίων Σακῶν might well represent the Gedrosian desert or part of the Persian desert, and the name *Haumavarka*, which Justi interprets 'cooking the leaves (*varka*) of the Hauma plant,' and for which Bartholomae¹ suggests as an alternative that *varka* is the Persian form of *vehrka*, 'wolf,' seen in Darius' *Varkāna*, 'Hyrcania,' 'country of the Varkas,' may really mean 'the Hauma (using) Varka'; cf. the Βόργιοι, whom Ptolemy records as neighbours of the Αἰτῦμανδοι, 'Helmund people,' in the country of Herat. We may add—

(5) That while, in spite of Kureschata in Sogdiana, it remains wholly uncertain to what people belongs the distinction of the defeat and death of Cyrus (Justi, *Grundriss d. Iran. Philologie*, ii, p. 421: "More probable than this "legend sounds the statement of Ktesias, *Persica*, 6–8, that "Cyrus fell in a battle against the Derbiker, a people "bordering on India"²), it is difficult to see how the Ariasprians of Sīstān can have "assisted Cyrus, son of "Cambyses, in his invasion of Scythia" beyond Bactria or the Jaxartes (Arrian, iii, 26).

Probably we may not use as an argument the fact that the legend of Zal and Rustam belongs certainly to Sīstān and Arachosia, and represents perhaps an Arsacid sub-dynasty in that region (Nöldeke, *Grundriss d. Iran. Philologie*, ii, pp. 138–40), since this is no doubt consistent with a Scythian settlement of the later date. But against the current hypothesis we may certainly urge the silence of the classical writers. In the geography of Ptolemy we still find the Sakai with their tribes (named above, p. 187) in the mountains east of Bactria and Sogdiana, where Alexander fought with

¹ *Altiran. Wörterbuch*, s.v. *Haumavarka*. The old Persian form of the name need not, however, be more correct than the Ἀμύργιοι and the *Umurj Umamarga* (i.e. *Umavarga*) of the Greeks and of the Babylonian and Scythian versions of Darius' inscriptions. It may be due to popular etymology. What if the original form of the word was *Hāmavarka*, i.e. the *Varka* of the Hāmūn?

² In Badakshān acc. to Justi, but in Margiana acc. to Ptolemy (vi, c. x, 2).

them. To the presence of Scythian tribes in Bactria, Ptolemy may be held to testify by his mention of the Khomaroi, Komoi, and Tokharoi. But, except for the Indo-Scythians, the classical writers supply no evidence of Scythian tribes south of the desert of Margiana.

It may be pointed out that the theory here sketched is not, except in its method and point of view, exactly a new one. An early presence of Sakas in Sakastān is explicitly included among the Indo-Iranic speculations of Brunnhofer,¹ and would no doubt harmonize with the theories of Hillebrandt concerning a knowledge of Arachosia and Drangiana by Indians of the Vedic age.² Cuno (*Die Skythen*, pp. 76-7) quotes the passage from Hecataeus concerning Kaspатыrus and the Scyths which we have noted above.

But even if the supposition is not new or were not true, it may not be useless to lay before students of Indian history a statement of the facts from a point of view outside the north-west frontier. For Indian history the importance of the question under discussion lies in the fact that an early presence of Sakas in Sīstān or Balūchistān renders the *chronology of the Indian Sakas entirely independent of the question of the Kushans*, as indeed must be the case if Maues is to be placed in the second century B.C. It also has a bearing on the illuminating suggestion of Dr. Fleet, that the Saka rule belonged properly to Western India, and not at all to Hindustan (*v. infra*, p. 216).

2. ISSEDONES, KUSHANS, PASIANOI, THE RIVER SILA.

Concerning the position of the country of the Issedones the statements of the ancient geographers are sufficiently clear, and modern writers are agreed in placing them in

¹ *Aral bis zur Gāngā*, p. 120. "So müssen die Čaka schon einmal in der Urzeit, nicht erst im zweiten Jahrhundert vor Christus, die mittelliranische Tiefebene besetzt haben."

² *Vedische Mythologie*, i, pp. 101 sqq., questioned by Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 145, n. 1, and Foy, *Kuhns Zeitschrift*, xxxv, p. 51.

Farghāna. They came early to the knowledge of the Greeks.

Ἰσσηδόνες, ἔθνος Σκυθικόν, Ἑκαταῖος Ἀσία. Ἀλκμάν δὲ μόνος Ἑσσηδόνας αὐτοὺς φησιν. εὐρίσκεται δὲ ἡ δευτέρα παρ' ἄλλοις δια τοῦ ἑ. λέγονται καὶ Ἰσσηδοὶ τρι-συλλάβως. ἔστι καὶ Ἰσσηδῶν πόλις. (Stephanus of Byzantium.)

“Issedones, a Scythian tribe—Hecatæus in his ‘Asia.’
 “Alcman is alone in calling them Hessedones. The
 “second syllable is found with *ei*. They are also
 “called Issedoi, in three syllables. There is further
 “a city Issedon.”

No one seems to have connected the name with the statement of Albīrūnī¹ that the rulers of Farghāna were called *Ikhšād*, while those of Srughna were *Afšin*. Ṭabarī mentions a king *Ikhšād* of Farghāna, son of *Afšin*, and for further evidence we may refer to Justi's *Iranisches Namenbuch*, s.vv. *Ikhšād* and *Pisina*. *Ikhšād* is the Avestan *khšaeta*, ‘brilliant,’ and a later form is *šedah*; for the origin of *Pisina* we may refer to Bartholomae's *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. Is it not a plausible suggestion that the Issedones were really named after an Iranian *Ikhšād* dynasty in Farghāna? The representation of Iranian *khš* by Greek *σσ* can cause no difficulty.² As regards the meaning of the name, if that should be considered, it is noticeable that the antithesis of white and black in proper names, whether referring to a difference of costume or to some religious or social feature, is found over the whole Iranian area. We need refer here only to the *Syāmak*, *Spitāma* of the Persian legend, and the name ‘White India’ applied to Ariana.³

It is noticeable that the same dynasty in Farghāna seems to be named by the Chinese in the form *Ali-thsi*,⁴ which

¹ *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, trans. Sachau, p. 109.]

² Cf. *σατράπης* (*ξαστράπης*, *ἐξαστράπης*), the initial vowel in Ἰσσηδόνες being, no doubt, prothetic, whence its variation.

³ See also below.

⁴ Rémusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, i, p. 203.

suggests an Arabic source. Another point common to Albīrūnī¹ and the Chinese accounts² of Farghāna is the longevity ascribed to its inhabitants. This must be an ancient feature of Central Asian legend,³ since it stands in evident connection with the fable of the Uttara Kurus, 'Οττοροκόρραι, located by Ptolemy, vi, c. xvi, 5.

Another ancient fable⁴ belonging to the same region is that of the river Silias, on which nothing would float. Brunnhofer⁵ found the name of it in the modern Syr Daryā or Jaxartes, and the Iranian *Grundriss* (ii, 392) agrees. But by Ktesias the river is named Side⁶ and placed in the country of the Uttara Kurus. This is a very interesting fact: for not only is the legend seen to be based on a popular etymology of the name (Sanskrit *śīdati*, 'sink'), but the change of earlier *d* to later *l* (and *r*) is common to the Pamir and Afghan dialects and in part to the Pahlavī. *Side*, *Silis*, and *Syr Daryā* form an interesting parallel to *Haetumant* (*Haedumant*), *Helmund*, *Hirmand*.

In the Persian legend Pisina and Waeška, the two sons of Zaeška, are the progenitors of the dynasties of Turān.⁷ The family of Kavi Pisina (Kai Fāshīn) ruled in Bactria. The Pišin or Pashang gave their name to the valley of Kabul, and the Pahlavī Pēšyānsai belong to the same quarter.⁸ When, therefore, history also supplies through Albīrūnī an Afšīn dynasty in Srughna, we must recognize a family or dynastic name having a very long history. Under these circumstances it seems difficult to follow Marquardt in his interpretation of the passage in Trogus—

¹ Op. cit., p. 94.

² Op. cit., i, p. 203.

³ Cf. Lucian, *Macrobioi*, § 5. His Omanoi, § 17, will be the *Yamāma* of Albīrūnī, loc. cit.

⁴ Ancient enough to be disputed by Democritus (Strabo, xv, 38). For the Chinese account of the 'weak water' see Rémusat, op. cit., i, pp. 216–17.

⁵ *Iran u. Turān*, p. 139. For the Chinese version see Rémusat, op. cit.

⁶ Megasthenes, xxi–xxiii (trs. McCrindle), has *Silas*.

⁷ For the genealogy see Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 394.

⁸ *Zendavesta*, trans. Darmesteter, ii, p. 62 and note; *Bundahiš*, trans. West, xxix, p. 5, note.

"Illi successit Prates, qui et cum Antonio [Mark Antony] bellum habuit et cum Tiridate. Additæ his res Scythicæ. Reges Thogarorum Asiani, interitusque "Saraucarum"—

and of the "Ἀσιοὶ καὶ Πασιανοὶ καὶ Τόχαροι καὶ Σακάραυλοι of Strabo. He suggests that "Ἀσιοὶ (or "Ἀσιανοὶ) and Πασιανοὶ both represent a Γασιανοί, which is to be identified with the Kushan. I think that, whether with Cunningham we regard the Tokharoi as the Kushans or with Marquardt (*Ērānšahr*, p. 204) as the Ta-hia subdued by these, we shall be far more inclined to find a connection between the Πασιανοὶ and the Pisina, Pashang, Fāshīn, Pēšyān(sai), and Afshīn of the Iranian legend and history. Perhaps the progress of Iranian studies will some day show us historical descendants of Waeška or Wisēh also.

This brings us naturally to the Kushans and the Chinese accounts of them, with which, however, we do not propose now to deal. It has been pointed out that long after the overthrow of the Kushans proper the name continued to be applied by the Persians to the barbarians, Huns and Turks, who threatened their north-eastern frontier.¹ But in no case can we expect that geography will ever point to a people of this name, since this also seems to have been a family or dynastic title. Otherwise we should not have an Indian inscription describing Kaniška as *Guṣaṇavamaśa-samvardhaka*, 'propagator of the Kushan stock'—for this rendering, suggested as an alternative by M. Senart,² will be generally approved by scholars.

¹ See Stein, *White Huns and Kindred Tribes*, etc., *Indian Antiquary*, vol. cdxviii, 1905, pp. 73 sqq.

² *Journal Asiatique*, sér. ix, vol. vii, p. 12. 'Ephthalite' also is stated by M. Specht (*Études sur l'Asie Centrale*, i, p. 33) to be properly a family name.

3. ETYMOLOGY OF 'INDO-PARTHIAN' AND 'INDO-SCYTHIAN' NAMES.

If we disregard the evidence of coins, with which I am incompetent to deal and which is set forth with such admirable clearness in Professor Rapson's work on "Indian Coins," we learn from the Indian side astonishingly little concerning the Śakas and other 'Scythian' invaders. From the fact that Śakas and Tukhāras, Tuḥkhāras, or Tuṣāras are frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata and other early works, we may infer that the peoples bearing these names were somewhat familiarly known. The Harivaṃśa informs us that the Śakas shaved one-half of their heads (*see* Böhtlingk and Roth *s.v.* Śaka), and the Jaina work *Kālakācārya-Kathānaka*, edited by Professor Jacobi in the *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft* for 1880 (vol. xxxiv, pp. 254-5)¹ states that their kings were called Śāhi. The Pahlavī title is in harmony with the constant association of Śakas and Pahlavas, and with the statement of the author of the "Periplus" (McCrindle, p. 108) that the capital of the Scythian kingdom on the Indus, Minnagar, was governed by Parthian princes. A relation between Śakas and Greeks is implied in the dvanda compound Śaka-Yavana recorded by Patañjali. The Turuṣkas seem to be mentioned first in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and *Rājatarāṅginī*, nor should we expect early references to a people who first acquired importance (and perhaps a common designation?) not earlier than the sixth century A.D.² Hence we must put aside the Kashmirian belief³ that Kaniṣka, Huṣka and Juṣka were Turuṣkas, as this is precluded by dates, and we shall also regard with suspicion the statement⁴

¹ Cited by M. Boyer, *Journal Asiatique*, sér. ix, vol. x, p. 150, and used by Cunningham. Cf. M. Lévi's note mentioned above, p. 187.

² We may refer to M. Chavannes' very valuable work, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue*, St. Petersburg, 1903.

³ *Rājatarāṅginī*, i, pp. 168-70, see Dr. Stein's observations in his translation, i, p. 31, and *Intro.*, p. 76. Dr. Stein, however, seems to hold that the Kushans were by race Turuṣka: see his paper on the 'White Huns' (*Ind. Antiquary*, 1905).

⁴ *Rājatarāṅginī*, iv, p. 179.

that the Turuṣkas shaved one-half of their heads, since this attribute may have been wrongly transferred from the Śakas.

In inscriptions there are, of course, passages where the Śakas are mentioned by the Guptas, and there are at least two references to them in the earlier records of Western India. Whether the *sakastana* of the Mathurā Lion Capital relates to Sīstān we may be permitted with Dr. Fleet¹ to doubt.

On the other hand, we have on coins considered to be of Śaka, or Pahlava, or Kuṣaṇa origin, and also in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, a number of proper names from which something may be learnt. Steps in this direction have been taken by M. Senart, who has some remarks upon the matter in his article on the Māpikiāla Vase inscription,² and by M. Boyer, who in the name *Miraboyana* of the Takht-i-Bahi inscription (*Journal Asiatique*, sér. x, vol. iii, p. 458) recognizes a Persian *Mithrabouzanēs*, the *y* (for *j*) representing a Persian *z*.³ We may add that this *boyana* or *bojana*, which is the Zend *baōšnah*, 'freeing,' 'salvation' (cf. *pouru-baukhšna*), occurs in the name *Athiyābaušna* of a cuneiform inscription. Two names inscribed on the Mathurā Lion Pillar, *Śauḍāsa* and *Hayuāra*, have been supposed by Professor Rapson⁴ to correspond to the Persian *Zodas* and *Hayour*.

Considering the linguistic affinities of the Śakas and our ignorance of the chronology and range of 'Middle Persian'

¹ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xxxvi, 1904, pp. 703 sqq., v. *infra*, p. 216.

² *Journal Asiatique*, sér. ix, vol. vii, pp. 12 sqq. Among other points he suggests that *Spala* in *Spalahora* is a Scythian word denoting 'victory.' Some etymologies are proposed by Cuno, *Die Skythen* (1871), p. 211.

³ The confusion of *y* and *j* between vowels is in the inscriptions of Aśoka rare and almost confined to the words *rājā*, *pūjā*, and *mayūra*. We have to distinguish between *y* for *j* as in *rājā* and *pūjā*, and *j* for *y* as in *majūla*. It is not likely that both changes took place in the same dialect at the same time, but the occurrence of either might lead to confusion in writing. For the early period the matter still needs investigation. But as regards the time and place of the Saka, Pahlava, Kushan dynasties, I am inclined to believe that the choice between *j* and *y* is not quite haphazard, and that the *y* properly represents the intermediate sound *ž* = French *j*.

⁴ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, n.s., xxvi, 1894, p. 549.

(Pahlavī) sound changes, it must obviously be difficult to distinguish between names belonging to them and those which are pan-Iranian or proper to other Iranian tribes. For instance, we cannot easily establish with certainty whether Maues is really a Śaka name or, let us say, Old Afghan or Balūchi. It is well known that the old Persian and its descendant, the Pahlavī,¹ differ from the Eastern Iranian dialects in substituting *d* and *th* for the *z* and *s* (Indo-European *ǵ*, *ǵh*, and *k̥*) of this group, while the Pahlavī and modern Persian also fail to distinguish earlier *z* and *j*. Perhaps the latter feature is found also in European Scythian, where we find Spargapeithes corresponding to Asiatic Spargapises. So far as can be seen, the ancient trans-Oxian dialects in this respect agreed, as do the Pamir dialects and those of Afghanistan and Baluchistan, with the Avestan.² On the other hand, we may perhaps trace in this sphere a tendency towards two special sound changes. The one is the substitution of tenues for mediæ at the beginning of words. This seems to be exhibited in the name, Parni, of a tribe in Margiana,³ probably like its neighbours, the Massagetæ, originally from beyond the Oxus; for the name seems to recur in the Bactrian Varni. The Paskai, who dwelt in the Oxian mountains⁴ in Sogdiana, would very likely be Vākṣai, i.e. people of the Oxus (Vakṣu). Compare also the Bactrian town-name, Kourindra, with the Gouriane in Margiana. The other change, aspiration of initial tenues, may be traced in Trogus' Thogari (for Tokhari), and the Bactrian Khomari, doubtless related to the Komari on the Jaxartes.⁵ This change, which characterizes also the modern Pamir dialects,⁶ is also to be traced in the Scythic *foṭ* or *pot* (*Spargaphotos*, etc.) = *pai* and *phurtos* = *puthra*,

¹ Which was, of course, not the native, even if an official, language of the Parthians themselves.

² Geiger, *Grundriss d. Iran. Philologie*, i, pp. 205, 236, 300-1.

³ Ptolemy (McCrindle), pp. 263 and 269. Cf. Avestan *Varena*?

⁴ Ibid., p. 275.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 35 and 268.

⁶ Geiger, *Grundriss d. Iran. Philologie*, i, p. 299, § 19.

though in the latter example the neighbourhood of *r* may have co-operated, as in Persian. Further, some terminations, such as *-ūs* (*-ūt*), and some individual words, such as *avadi* or *odi*, 'intelligence,' are said to be specially Scythic. With the help of such indications and the actually recorded facts, we may perhaps in some cases be able to distinguish the provenance of the names, as is done in the following table, which contains (1) names occurring on coins, (2) names occurring on the Mathurā Lion Capital, (3) some names occurring in other inscriptions. Names familiarly known to be Parthian or Persian, as *Vonones*, *Gondophares*, are of course excluded.

I. NAMES OCCURRING ON COINS.

NAME.	ETYMOLOGY.	LANGUAGE. ¹	REMARKS.
1. Maues } Moga }	... ... ... ...	Scythic.	An Asiatic Śaka ruler is named by Arrian <i>Maurokes</i> . <i>Menakes</i> and <i>Moaphernes</i> are names of European Scythians, and <i>Mogetes</i> was a Phrygian tyrant: cf. <i>Mevaka</i> on the Mathurā Lion Capital. In all Iranian languages <i>ka</i> is a common <i>kose</i> -suffix, and in the Scythic names it is especially frequent in the form <i>ga</i> . No doubt <i>Moga</i> = <i>Mataka</i> .
2. Azes ...	Short form of <i>Azilises</i> , q.v.	...	This is the view of Justi, I.N., s.v., and is in agreement with the general system of Indo-European nomenclature (see Fick's <i>Griechische Personennamen</i> , 2nd ed., pp. 15 sqq.).
3. Azilises ...	= (a) <i>Aza</i> occurs in <i>Azas</i> , <i>Aziatios</i> , <i>Azius</i> , names of European Scythians, and also in <i>Azulos</i> , an Indo-Parthian king. It is therefore probably ... (b) <i>lises</i> is a form of <i>risēs</i> , found in <i>Spalirises</i> . It is connected with Zend <i>raēš</i> , <i>riš</i> , 'injure,' Sk. <i>riś</i> , 'tear,' <i>leśa</i> , 'fracture.' Pahlavi <i>reš</i> is <i>Satarešu</i> , etc.	Scythic. Pan-Iranic.	The form <i>āza</i> , 'impelling,' is found in Zend, also compounded with <i>ham</i> in <i>hamāza</i> = Sk. <i>samāja</i> . The Sanskrit <i>ājī</i> suggests that the meaning is 'warrior' or 'battle,' so that <i>Azilises</i> = 'wounding, or urging, in battle.' The <i>l</i> in <i>lises</i> may be either Scythic or Iranian (Pahlavi, etc.). As to <i>y</i> in <i>Ayilisa</i> , see p. 205, n. 4. On the whole the name is probably Scythic.

¹ Statements in this column are intended as purely positive. A name *found* in Old Persian only *may* have occurred also in the Avestan or the East Iranian area, and be therefore 'Iranic,' which term we also employ in cases of doubt in the sense of 'Old Persian' or Avestan, and an 'Iranic' name *may* have occurred in the Scythic dialects, and *vice versa*.

4. Spalirisos ...	= (a) <i>Spāta</i> might be a Pahlavi form of Pan- Iranic <i>spāda</i> , 'army' (= Pers. <i>spāh</i>), in <i>Spādapat</i> , etc., Scythic <i>Spādakes</i> , etc., etc. But more probably, in con- nection with <i>risos</i> , it is = <i>spāra</i> , 'shield', in Persian <i>Spārameīzos</i> , Scyth. <i>Spārē-</i> <i>thra</i> , <i>Spārōphōtos</i> (i.e. <i>Spārāpati</i>), etc., Persian <i>spār</i> . (b) <i>risos</i> : see <i>Azīlises</i> .	Pan-Iranic.	The Sanskrit <i>sphāra</i> also has the meaning 'a hump on a shield.' It would no doubt be possible to regard <i>spāta</i> as a form of <i>psāta</i> (Scythic = Sk. <i>psaras</i>) with the sense of 'success,' 'victory': cf. Bartholomae s.v. <i>Spāradāsta</i> .
5. Spalahora ...	= (a) <i>Spala</i> in <i>Spalirisos</i> . (b) <i>hora</i> = <i>Ahura</i> .	Pan-Iranic.	The meaning would be 'having Ahura for shield.' This name would seem to be non- Scythic.
6. Spaluris ...	= <i>Spāta</i> + Pan-Iranian termination <i>-ura</i> in <i>Spitiyura Tomuris</i> , etc.	Pan-Iranic.	
7. Spalagadama ...	= (a) <i>sparga</i> , 'scion' (Zend <i>spareya</i>) in <i>Spargapises</i> , etc. (b) Pahl. <i>tan</i> , 'strong' (Zend-Pers. <i>taxma</i> in <i>taxmā-spāda</i> , etc.), or <i>-dnyu</i> in <i>Ṭaryōdnyu</i> ?	Pan-Iranic.	
8. Zeionises ...	= (a) Zend <i>zaya</i> , 'weapon,' cf. <i>zaena</i> , and <i>zayotena</i> , 'having the best weapon,' or = Iranian <i>jaya</i> , 'victory' (Sk. <i>jaya</i>). (b) Zend <i>naeza</i> , 'point,' Pers. <i>nezh</i> , 'spear,' in <i>Bīreses</i> , name of a Persian noble.	Zend. Zend-Persian.	The long <i>o</i> in <i>Zeionises</i> , <i>Jihōnisa</i> is in favour of regarding this name as Persian rather than Scythic, and the occurrence of <i>Bīreses</i> tends in the same direction.

NAMES OCCURRING ON COINS (*continued*).

NAME.	ETYMOLOGY.	LANGUAGE.	REMARKS.
9. Manigula } Manniglos }	= (a) <i>Māna</i> , 'moon.' (b) <i>kula</i> or <i>gula</i> in <i>Mihirakula</i> ° <i>gula</i>.	...	This interpretation is supported by the parallelism of 'moon' and 'sun' in <i>Manigula</i> and <i>Mihirakula</i> . The latter name seems to be identical in sense with Georgian <i>Miravikul</i> , in which <i>gul</i> is regarded by Justi as the Persian word meaning 'rose' (cf. <i>Vologases</i> , etc.) and not = Turkish <i>güñ</i> , 'servant.'
10. Sanabares ...	= (a) <i>Zend sae-na</i> (Pers. <i>sān</i>), 'war equipment,' in Parth. <i>Sanatrūk</i> , etc. (b) <i>barā</i> , 'bearing.'	Pan-Iranic.	So Justi.
11. Sapaleizes ...	= (a) <i>aspa</i> , 'horse.' (b) <i>hises</i> , as above.	"	
12. Sapadbizes ...	= (a) <i>spāda</i> , as above. (b) <i>pises</i> in <i>Spargapises</i> , etc. = <i>Zend paesa</i> , <i>pisa</i> , Sk. <i>peśa</i> , etc.	"	
13. Hyrkodes ...	= (a) <i>Vehrkā</i> , 'wolf.' (b) <i>avadi</i> , <i>adi</i> , 'mind.'	Iranic. Seythic.	
14. Rañjubula } Rājubula } Rājula } Razu }	= (a) <i>Zend rañqu</i> (<i>rañšta</i>), Sk. <i>rañhu</i> , <i>lañhu</i> . (b) Seythic <i>bala</i> (Sk. <i>bala</i>) in <i>Oḡar(β)alos</i> , <i>Dekelatos</i> , etc.	Pan-Iranic. Seythio?	This name may be Seythic, as <i>Ῥαγροδῆν</i> , wife of <i>Σαυδάριος</i> (Cunningham, <i>Numismatic Chronicle</i> , ix, 1889, p. 305), seems to be a Seythian princess.

15. Śodāsa Saudāsa Sodisa	... }	= (a) Zend <i>syāva</i> , 'black' (Sk. <i>śyāva</i>), in <i>Syāvārjan</i> , <i>Syāvāspa</i> , Scyth. <i>Sianakes</i> , <i>Seuaktes</i> . (b) Zend <i>daesa</i> (Sk. <i>daśa</i>), 'sign,' Pahl. and Persian <i>des</i> , 'form, etc., or Pahl. <i>daśa</i> , 'doctrine.'	Pan-Iranic Zend-Persian.	Probably non-Scythic. If the second member is <i>daśa</i> , we may compare * <i>Syāndaśa</i> , 'black doctrine,' with Pers. <i>Sēdō</i> , 'white doctrine.' This antithesis of black and white recurs in European <i>Seuaktes</i> and <i>Sitalkes</i> . Mr. V. Smith has already commented on its occurrence in the Scythian sphere.
16. Cashtana	...	= (a) ^p (b) <i>stana</i> in <i>Bagistanes</i> , <i>Ustanos</i> , etc.	Iranic.	Or should this name be <i>Cištana</i> ?
17. Nahapana	...	= (a) <i>naha</i> , 'people' (Zend <i>Snaoāta</i>) in <i>Nabedes</i> , <i>Nahapei</i> , <i>Nahavarzan</i> . (b) <i>pāna</i> , 'protecting,' or <i>panāh</i> , 'protection,' in <i>Artabanos</i> , etc., or <i>Dārāpanāh</i> , etc.	Iranic and Armenian. Iranic.	
18. Ghsumotika	...	= (a) Zend <i>khsāyanna</i> , 'mighty,' Scythic <i>Ξαυ(φράκος)</i> ? (b) <i>avadi</i> , <i>odi</i> , as above.	... Scythic.	No doubt a Scythic name.

II. NAMES OCCURRING ON THE MATHURA LION CAPITAL.

NAME.	ETYMOLOGY.	LANGUAGE.	REMARKS.
19. Kharasta ...	= (a) Zend <i>khāstha</i> , 'sovereignty,' or <i>huāra</i> (with uncertain meaning). (b) Zend <i>ušta</i> , 'blessing,' in <i>Artostes</i> , <i>Argoste</i> .	Iranic. Iranic.	Probably non-Seythic.
20. Abuhola ...	= (a) Cf. <i>Aboulites</i> ? (b) <i>hora</i> in <i>Spalahora</i> , etc., above.	Iranic. ...	Female relative of Kharasta.
21. Ayasi Komusa	= (a) <i>Āya</i> (i.e. <i>Āza</i> , as in <i>Āzes</i> , etc.) + f. suffix -ss in <i>Zairiē</i> , etc. (b) <i>Komūs</i> + f. suffix <i>ā</i> .	Seythic. Seythic.	<i>Komūs</i> is no doubt a Seythic name in -ūs, cf. <i>Sāmūs</i> , <i>Kossūs</i> , etc., perhaps from the stem of <i>koma</i> (Persian = Sk. <i>kāma</i> ? Justī in <i>Abrokomas</i> , etc.). For the <i>y</i> in <i>Āya</i> see p. 205, n. 4. Ayasi Komusa is a female relative of Kharasta.
22. Ayimisa ...	= (a) <i>Āya</i> , as above. (b) Seythic <i>maza</i> , 'greatness,' in <i>Aviamazes</i> , etc., or Old Pers. <i>metzos</i> in <i>Sparametzos</i> , or Old Pers. <i>Mithra</i> .	Seythic?	Ayimisa is mentioned without particulars.
23. Hana ...	?		
24. Hayura ...	= (a) <i>Āza</i> , as above? (b) <i>wār</i> or <i>bāra</i> .		
25. Kalui ...	= Seythic <i>Kadonias</i> , Pers. <i>Qadāyeh</i> .	Pan-Iranic.	<i>l</i> for <i>d</i> and the termination in the form <i>ūi</i> , <i>oe</i> , seem to be Pahlavi.

26. Kamuio	...	= <i>Kāma</i> in <i>Kanōpat</i> , <i>Kamōs</i> , etc. + termination as in the preceding.	...	The reading is doubtful.
27. Konina	...	?	...	
28. Khalama	...	= <i>Khara</i> , as above? + suffix <i>ma</i> , short for <i>manis</i> as in <i>Spitama</i> , etc.	...	Khalama is a princely person, and the name probably non-Seythic.
29. Khalasamuša	...	= (a) <i>Khala</i> , as above? (b) Seythic <i>samūs</i> .	Seythic.	Possibly Seythic <i>Sabodakos</i> , <i>Sambion</i> , and <i>Sambos</i> are related.
30. Khardaa	...	?	...	The reading is not quite certain.
31. Maya	...	Perhaps for <i>Maza</i> in <i>Mazaiois</i> , <i>Mazēnēs</i> .		
32. Mevaki Miyika	...	= (a) <i>Meuakes</i> , etc., as supra. (b) Seythic <i>Mādakhos</i> , i.e. <i>Mādhyaka</i> or <i>Mazdaka</i> , <i>Mazakes</i> .	Seythic.	Regarding the <i>y</i> in <i>Miyika</i> see p. 205, n. 4, or cf. Pahlavi <i>mēyān</i> ?
33. Nandasi	...	= <i>Nanda</i> in Persian <i>Nandakihya</i> + f. suffix <i>-si</i> .	Seythic.	
34. Nauluda	...	= (a) <i>nava</i> , 'new.' (b) Pahlavi <i>rōd</i> , 'growth,' in <i>Hurodes</i> , <i>Marod</i> , <i>Windarūd</i> , etc.	Iranic.	
35. Kusulaa Padika	...	= (a) <i>Kusilaka</i> ? (b) Pahlavi <i>Patak</i> , Pers. <i>Padeh</i> , 'shepherd.'	Iranic.	
36. Pipasi	...	= <i>Wigpa</i> + <i>si</i> f. suffix.	Iranic.	<i>Wigpa</i> (Sk. <i>viśva</i>) is a short form of some compound, e.g. <i>Wispānfrīgā</i> .
37. Pulista	...	?	...	The reading is not quite certain.
38. Tachila	...	= <i>Tazila</i> or Indian <i>Taziles</i> .	Iranic?	

III. SOME NAMES OCCURRING IN OTHER INSCRIPTIONS.

NAME.	ETYMOLOGY.	LANGUAGE.	REMARKS.
<i>Mankiāla</i> <i>Inscription.</i>	...	...	See M. Senart's edition, <i>Journal Asiatique</i> , sér. ix, vol. vii, pp. 1-25.
39. Vespasi ...	= (a) <i>Viśpa</i> , 'all.' (b) <i>zi</i> , 'conquering.'	} Iranic.	Name of a satrap.
40. Horamurta ...	= (a) <i>ašura</i> . (b) <i>burz</i> , 'high' (Zend <i>berezā</i>), in <i>Vahūburz</i> , etc. or <i>marzd</i> in <i>Siāmard</i> , etc.	} Iranic. Pahlavi, Pers. " " " " } Pahlavi.	So M. Senart, loc. cit. For <i>m</i> in place of <i>b</i> cf. <i>Merya</i> = <i>Barya</i> , etc.; <i>rd</i> (<i>rt</i>) for <i>rz</i> will not cause a difficulty in Pahlavi, where both ultimately became <i>l</i> .
41. Khudacia ...	= (a) <i>Khudā</i> , 'god.' (b) Suffix <i>ca</i> , <i>ci</i> in <i>Mance</i> , <i>Zairici</i>.	...	See M. Boyer's edition, <i>Journal Asiatique</i> , sér. x, vol. iii, pp. 457-65.
<i>Takht-i-Bahi</i>	...	...	So M. Boyer.
42. Miraboyana	= <i>Μιραβοῦσανης</i> .	Old Persian.	Name of a king: the reading is doubtful.
43. Eijšuna ...	= <i>ašaon</i> , 'pious' ?	Zend.	
<i>Wardak</i> ...			
44. Bagamarega ...	= (a) <i>Barya</i> , 'god.' (b) <i>bara</i> in <i>Sanabares</i> , etc.	Pan-Iranic. "	See Justi s.v. <i>Bagabara</i> .
45. Haštunamarega	= (a) <i>Histanes</i> , <i>Bisthanes</i> . (b) <i>bara</i> , as above.	Pan-Iranic ?	

It must be admitted that these etymologies are by no means all of equal certainty. We have to allow for the inaccuracy of ancient, as of modern, Indians in the representation of foreign names. But, on the other hand, the Iranian origin of practically all the names seems clear. To discriminate generally, however, between those which are Scythic and those which belong to the Zend-Persian group is hardly possible. Some, such as *Nahapana*, *Zeionises*, *Kalui*, certainly bear the latter character, and others, e.g., *Maues*, *Hyrkodes*, *Ghsamotika*, decidedly associate themselves with the former: probably the elements *Sparga-* and *Spala-* are rather Scythic than Persic. Considering that such a name as *Spalahora* is probably of mixed origin, and considering that in several instances (e.g., *Vonones* and his relatives *Spalahora*, *Spaluris*, *Spalagadama*, and *Kharaosta*, *Rañjubula*, *Šoḍāsa*) there appear to be names from both sources belonging to members of the same family, we must admit that it is hopeless to base any distinction of nationality upon such nomenclature. In fact, the evidence of these names, so far as it goes, is in agreement with the close association of Śaka and Pahlavas, which seems to be indicated by the Indian references, and with the statement quoted above (p. 195) from the *Periplus*. It would seem probable that the tribes from eastern Iran who invaded India included diverse elements mingled indistinguishably together, so that it is not possible to assert that one dynasty is definitely Parthian while another is Śaka. A regular invasion by the Parthian empire seems to be not recorded and *a priori* highly improbable. We must think rather of inroads by adventurers of various origin, among whom from time to time one or another, as Maues, was able to assert a temporary supremacy.

A special interest attaches to the Lion Capital of Mathurā, where only we find the names in question forming a fairly numerous group. It is to be expected, indeed, that some of them, e.g. *Kalui*, will hereafter be found of interest for the linguistic chronology of Persia. As regards the historical questions involved, whatever we may think of

the word *sakastana* occurring among the inscriptions,¹ it is certain that the names are in some instances of Scythian, in others of Persian, origin. Considering that Maues is also a specifically Scythic name, it is impossible to maintain literally the contention of Dr. Fleet (op. cit., pp. 643-5) that Sakas are not found at all in Hindustan. In essence, however, this contention seems to me to contain a valuable and indeed illuminating truth, namely, that, whatever Pahlava or Saka dynasties may have existed in the Punjab or India—for their coins are not found in Afghanistan²—reached India neither through Afghanistan nor through Kashmir, but, as Cunningham contended,³ by way of Sind and the valley of the Indus. For Mathurā, the Lion Capital itself seems to proclaim this fact aloud. For that it was really a capital may be seen from the plates in Mr. Vincent Smith's work on Mathurā⁴; but the manner in which it fitted into the building of which it formed a part, and the Persian character of that edifice, can be properly estimated only by a comparison with the originals in the tomb of Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam and other buildings of the Achæmenids.⁵

¹ For a discussion of the matter see Dr. Fleet's articles in this Journal, 1904, pp. 703 sqq. ; 1905, pp. 643 sqq.

² Professor Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 8, § 29.

³ For ref. see Professor Rapson, loc. cit.

⁴ *Archæological Survey of India*, New Imperial Series, vol. xx, pls. xliii-l.

⁵ See figures, pp. 48, 49, 68, 124, 134, of *Inscriptiones Palæo-Persicæ Achæmenidarum* by Dr. Cajetanus Kossowicz (St. Petersburg, 1872).