

PREFACE.

ars there as the fiercest of the gods's ex-
ceiving his death wounds at her hands. In
Veda, however, the gods themselves are, all or
termed and accosted as *asuras*, and one of them,
roduced at the moment as the Creator of the
niverse, is called the *all-knowing and wise Asura*.
And yet the same Veda elsewhere gives an opposite
picture of the character indicated by the term, cor-
responding to the modern ideal of a demon and an
ogre, and the very same individuals are sometimes
represented as *asuras*, and again lauded as *destroyers*
of *asuras*.

The commentator Sáyanácharia felt no difficulty
in interpreting the term, where it occurred in the de-
moniacal sense. In truth, it required no elaborate
interpretation *there*. In that sense the word would
be familiar even to a child. But the commentator's
ingenuity was severely* taxed when he had to inter-
pret "asura" as a term applicable to the gods.
ad to fabricate novel derivations and etymolo-
often revolting to common

PREFACE.

re propounded, might have justified the apt
t the surname "Bonapartist" to the hero of W
by whom Napoleon was ruined.

Elsewhere, again, the commentator adopted
vation of the term (as applicable to *gods*) which
cautious Professor Wilson himself called, "an unusu
sense of the word," adding, however, "but it would
scarcely be decorous to call *Varuna* an *Asura*."¹ An
unusual derivation might be excused in the case of an
extraordinary term, *hapax legomenon*. But "asura" is
is a term constantly to be found in the Rig Veda,
and oftener in a divine than a diabolical sense. Here
then was the difficulty. Unless we allowed the in-
terpretation of the Rig Veda to receive light from
sources outside the limits of India, we must accept an
unpleasant position between the two horns of a dilem-
ma. We must either submit to unnatural derivations
d unusual interpretations ^{as a rule}, or confound
Indo-Arian gods with the Indo-Arian demons.

r himself, the author fails to understand why
themselves broached or admitted t

light. Would it have been fair criticism in England to restrict the interpretation of an old Anglo-Saxon document to ideals purely Druidical and insular, to the jealous exclusion of all light from the continent of Europe? In the case of the word Asura, we find that Varuna, held for the moment as the framer of the heavens and earth, is called "the all-knowing Asura." Is it fair criticism to fall back on "the unusual sense of the word" suggested by Sáyana to the exclusion of the obvious inference that the title appears as a translation of the Iranian term "Ahura-Mazda," applied to the Supreme Being, with which Indo-Arians must have been familiar before they crossed the Indus? The interpretation of the Iranian title is, according to Parsee doctors, "the wise Lord."² This itself supplies a clue to the meaning of Asura as generally applied to the gods in the Rig Veda. And in the case of Agni, the patronymic "Asura" was obviously owing to his being so called (Ahurine) in the Zend Avesta as the son of Ahura Mazda. The Rig Veda seems to recognize this filiation by representing

as the son of Power.

attached it to their respective deities, though the Indians afterwards gradually dropped its use in the sacred sense, and applied it exclusively to the abhorrent idea of ungodly ogres and demons. The Rig Veda as their earliest record continues a witness of both senses, but the later Vedas and all subsequent *sastras* give exclusively the odious sense of evil spirits, hostile to gods and Brahmins, and inimical to their long-cherished institution of Sacrificial ceremonies.

The light thus thrown on the solution of a long debated question stimulated the author to make further inquiry into the Cuneiform records of Assyria. If the "Asuras" were Assyrians, then some further light might naturally be expected from the same source on events with which *Asuras* were connected. The suggestion received curious confirmation from "Sanda," long known in Indian tradition as the *guru* of Asuras. The Rig Veda recognizes the same name in a sense which might be applicable to a *guru* as well as a god. Now Sanda is found to have been an Assyrian god, or the man-bull. And Sanda in Sanscrit also means a bull.⁴

The Cuneiform Inscriptions, again, disclosed ano-

⁴ See p. 75, *infra*.

ther name Anu,' as among the gods of Assyria. Anu is also found as a Vedic character, whom a Pauranic Legend describes as the parent of Mlecchas or aliens. We also find the A'navas, sons or followers of Anu, engaged in action with other characters that are referable to Assyrian regions. These facts raised a presumption that the Anu of the Veda was identical with the Anu of the Inscriptions. This remark is applicable to another individual named "Turvasu," a brother of Anu. Indian records styled him the father of "Yavanas," who were also aliens from Brahminical society. The Inscriptions supply us with a king Tubusu⁵ and a town Tarvazu.⁶

The story of the Asura Vritra slain by Indra is a further link which connects Assyrian with Indian legends. In the Rig Veda that arch enemy of the Arians is identified with the Serpent Ahi and styled a Dása (destroyer). Vritra seems therefore identical with "the snake Dahaka" of the Zend Avesta. And it was in Bawri (Babylon) that "the snake Dahaka," alias Vritra, appears before Ardvi-sura (a sacred character of the Zend Avesta) and asks as a boon that he might destroy the whole of Ariana. Vritra, was therefore an Assyrian combatant, by overthrowing whom Indra entitled himself to the thanks

⁵ See p. 73 *infra*.

⁶ *Smith's Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 255.

With reference to the theological part of the book, the author is content to leave it to speak for itself. He has hitherto abstained from a hortatory tone. A clergyman may be excused for one word of advice on taking leave of his readers. The Vedas persistently proclaim a mysterious fact—the *Lord of the creation offered himself a sacrifice for the benefit of gods*, or those who were once mortal, such as we are, but had since been promoted to celestial regions. The same Lord, “the giver of self,” also initiated the rites of Sacrifice, which is a “reflection” of Himself. Can the intelligent Hindu, so acute, so quick in all other respects, fail to see how the most ancient and revered of his national records thus acknowledge and bear testimony to the fundamental principles of the Faith of which the Sovereign of the empire is herself by her royal title “the Defender?” Is it too much to say that where the persuasions of our primitive ancestors thus concur with the rudiments of that Faith, piety to God, and loyalty to the Crown, allegiance to Truth, and Reverence for our Fathers, all combine to stimulate inquiry into the mystery suggested by the self-sacrifice of Prajapati, “whose shadow, whose death is immortality itself?”

Ballygunge, 15th December, 1875.

of the Iranians (who worshipped him as Verethraghna) as well as of the Indo-Arians.

The author must here acknowledge and correct a mistake incautiously committed in the *Introductory Essay* prefixed to his edition of a small portion of the Rig Veda published a few months ago. Adverting to "Kustaspi" of the Cuneiform Inscriptions, as possibly the same character as the Vistaspa of the Zend Avesta and Ishtaswa of the Rig Veda, he took Kustaspi to be a contemporary of Tiglath-pileser I. This was a mistake. The name of Kustaspi occurs in the Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser II. The synchronism attempted to be made out between the senior Tiglath-pileser and the Rig Veda does of course lose its ground as far as it was based on the error now corrected. But the synchronism itself does not absolutely fail. Its second ground founded on the story of "Sambara the son Kulitara" remains firm.

Nor is the theory of Zoroasterian teaching, having proceeded from Assyria, nullified by the failure of the ground about Kustaspi of the Cuneiform Inscriptions. It is expressly said in the Zend Avesta that Ardisura received in Bawri or Babylon the supplications of both friends and foes, complying with the former but rejecting the latter. And the very name *Ahura Mazda* was derived from "Asur", the Assyrian term for god or lord.

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THE ARIAN WITNESS.

INTRODUCTION.

The Christian scheme of salvation is thus epitomized by St. Paul: "Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God; and are built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone." (Ephes. ii. 19, 20). This household is a "kingdom," and it is a "kingdom prepared from the foundation of the world." (Matthew xxv. 34). It has also a roll or register in which all its members are noted down, the roll being otherwise called "the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." (Rev. xiii. 8). And this discloses that inscrutable ruling of our Creator and Supreme Governor that "without shedding of blood is no remission." (Heb. ix. 22.)

This rule or law is above human logic. Into the policy of Heavenly jurisprudence, it would be a presumption to pry. The finite can never grasp the Infinite, or examine it like a *berry in the hand*.¹ Once satisfied, that it is God's will and God's decree, and

¹ बहामसुख An Indian idiom.

that it meets a human difficulty and solves a spiritual problem, man's duty is to accept the solution.

To inquire into the *fact* of His decree and His declaration is only the exercise of a prerogative which has been vested in the human mind by the Author of our being. It is both a privilege and a duty, to examine the evidence of the fact, but the fact being found, and the decree being authenticated, that "the LORD has laid on him the iniquity of us all," and that "with his stripes we are healed," we must remember that a decree is intended for obedience and guidance, not for wrangling and disputation.

Such is the Christian scheme. It has for its cornerstone the Sacrifice of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. It involves the inscrutable law of Infinite Wisdom and Heavenly Counsel that without shedding of blood there is no remission. It was available for human salvation from the moment that it had become necessary for it. The principles of Adam's religion, in the primitive age, were thus the same as ours, now in the fulness of time. Reference was made to it on the Fall of our first parents, and the introduction of sin. The seed of the woman (Gen. iii. 15) was no other than the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. His sacrifice, though accomplished in time, was commemorated and typified from the beginning. The primeval institution of Sacrifices is evident from the practice of Abel, who "by faith offered a more excellent sacrifice than Cain, by which he obtained witness that he was righteous, God testifying of his gifts: and by it, he, being dead, yet

speaketh." (Heb. xi. 4). The same was again typified in the offerings which Noah presented on the altar he had builded, and they met with the same result of God's acceptance, for we are told, "the Lord smelt a sweet savour" (Gen. viii. 21). The identical practice under a similar persuasion we notice in the time of Job, who offered burnt offerings "continually," saying, "It may be that my sons have sinned and cursed God in their hearts." (Job i. 5). These are indisputable facts. They manifest the way in which pious souls betook themselves to "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world."² They indicate the hopes which inspired those "that looked for redemption in Israel."³

We may fairly presume from these recorded instances of Abel's, Noah's, and Job's offerings that they were consequent on the institution of such sacrifices from the beginning under divine direction, at once commemorative, and prefigurative, of the great Sacrifice of "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." Noah was not many generations distant from Adam, and he could have introduced and kept up in the post-diluvian world what he knew to have been ordained before the deluge. Speaking now from the Christian point of view, we can reasonably conclude that the sacrifices, acceptably offered by the patriarchs we have named, were typical of the Great Sacrifice accomplished on Mount Calvary which they foreshadowed. For "other foundation can no man lay than that is

² John i. 29.

³ Luke ii. 38.

laid, which is Jesus Christ.”⁴ Nor is it possible “that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins,”⁵ in any age or country. It was, to use and adapt a Vedic expression, only a *fore-shadowing of the truly Saving Sacrifice*.⁶

Assuming, then, that the offering of Sacrifices was a recognized institution from the very days of Noah in the post-diluvian world, it might be reasonably expected that the practice would not immediately die away. If Noah and Job knew what they were about, and performed the offerings with the solemnity of religious ceremonies, each would instruct his own children and grand children in what he would necessarily consider as the first and most important duty of the human race. The practice would thus be transmitted to their posterity as a binding divine institution. The institution would, doubtless, be maintained with the tenacity with which men usually keep up practices derived from their immediate superiors and forefathers, and never allow any to fall into desuetude without valid reasons. They would indeed be cherished as heir looms out of respect for their parents, and nothing short of a mental or social revolution could account for their entire extinction. Such a revolution, again, might be expected to be a fact as notorious as that which originally caused the initiation of the practice which it overturned.

⁴ 1 Cor. iii. 11.

⁵ Heb. x. 4.

⁶ यज्ञो वा अयति तस्य वा वाया क्रियते। *Tāndia Mahā Brāhmana*, vol. i. p. 332 in *Bibliotheca Indica*.

The institution we are speaking of would *as a fact* be therefore capable of proof or disproof from the history of Noah's descendants, by which we mean the history of mankind. The perpetuation of the practice would be corroborative of the institution and of the principles which originated it, while its entire neglect, without a valid cause, would tend to damage the presumption of its divine origin. If the practice were found in vogue among mankind for countless generations, and never fallen into oblivion without such a counter movement as we have suggested, the fact would add no small weight to the reasons for which we have presumed its divine original. If, on the contrary, the practice were wholly lost sight of after the days of Noah, such an abrupt discontinuance must weaken those reasons.

We must here add that it is only the overt acts, the offerings and ceremonies, which, if true, we would expect to find in the history of mankind. The theology, or the doctrine involved, might be insensibly perverted, or even die away altogether, through ignorance or mental imbecility. In our own country, and before our own sight, we find many instances of the maintenance of festivals, epochs, and ceremonies, combined with total forgetfulness of the principles on which they were founded. We find the last day of Choitra still kept up as a festival, and publicly advertized as a holiday, under the name of the *Choit sankranti*. Probably not one in a thousand is aware of the meaning involved in the term—or of the fact of the sun's entrance into Aries, and the consequent contact of the ecliptic

and the equator on that day, many centuries ago. The precession of the equinox has long antiquated the congruity of the festival on the day it is held, but it still continues as an inviolate practice, valuable to the historian, only as an unerring clue to the date when the present Indian Calendar was first formed.

We find again an era prevailing in Bengal observed in all business transactions in the vernacular, and respected even in courts of justice. The present is the year 1282 of that era, but there seems to be no authentic record of the event which initiated it. The era is still kept up, though the history of its origin has been forgotten. We can only guess that it is the continuance, on the principle of the Indian Calendar, of the *Hegira* which was probably imposed on Bengal, centuries ago, by some of the earlier Mahometan rulers, but the *solar* principle of the Indian calendar being essentially different from the Mahometan lunar principle, the Bengalee *san* has long ceased to be identical with the *Hegira*, though, perhaps, coincident with it at some point in its past course.

Tradition may keep up a practice or festival involving overt acts, but it is not adequate for the perpetuation of the doctrine or idea which originated the practice. The perpetuation of a ceremony by imitating one's father's practice, patent to the eye, is easier than the psychological process of rightly comprehending and correctly teaching the dogma or sentiment which initiated the ceremony.

But while ignorance or misconception of the doctrine or event involved in, or supposed to be comme-

morated by, a practice, perpetuated as a visible ceremony, detracts nothing from the corroborative evidence we have mentioned before, and is therefore no disproof of that doctrine, its actual transmission, along with the practice, even in a distorted form, adds considerable strength to that evidence. The institution of sacrifices was, as we have already asserted, typical of Him who "was once offered to bear the sins of many." The continued prevalence of the practice among the families of men would itself be corroborative evidence of the original institution, and there could be no detraction from it, even if it appeared anywhere that it was maintained in ignorance of the doctrine it was intended to commemorate. For people might have perpetuated the visible ceremony without comprehending its psychological cause. But if we find in any place that, along with the perpetuation of the practice, there was a traditional teaching that the ceremony had the mysterious power of abolishing sin and depriving death of its terrors, the fact would add still greater force to our argument.

With these preliminary observations I now proceed to state the object aimed at in this Essay. It is, to borrow an expression from Milton :

" That to the height of this great argument
I may assert eternal Providence
And justify the ways of God to men."

Men have not been wanting, to assail, as far as they could, the integrity of God's Truth, and es-

pecially that portion of it, which is indeed its chief corner-stone, the *Sacrifice of the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world*. Their weapons of aggression have only been "theories, imperfect in their parts, and too often with hasty generalizations, but those settled results in which the body of philosophers agree," far from contradicting Scripture, "often confirm and illustrate the statements of the Inspired Volume."⁸ The direct evidences, on which all teaching of God's Revelation rests, are in themselves quite sufficient for giving an intelligent "reason for the faith" that is in us, as against high-sounding cavils. The palpable and unmistakeable tendency of infidelity, especially in a mixed community such as is found in India, to overturn the moral basis on which society is founded, and by virtue whereof it maintains its sacred institutions for the public weal, is also sufficient in itself to serve as a beacon and warning, which can only endear the doctrine of the Cross to all lovers of purity and order, and impel them to cling to their "Rock" of defence with greater tenacity than ever before. It is to corroborate the above evidence, and to strengthen the preventive force of the above beacon, that the present work is undertaken. ° °

We shall not anticipate our "Arian Witness" here, but we shall give a brief abstract of what we expect him to say when produced before the bar of a Truth-loving conscience. While we look for many things in his evidence calculated to moderate the infidelity of

⁸ Pratt's *Scripture and Science* not at variance, p. 371.

the times, generally, his voice will be entitled to especial deference among those in our own country who profess a religious veneration for antiquity and the *old paths*, and make a parade of their *Sanátan Dharma*. He will depose to the non-existence of caste in the primitive state of Brahminism, when the very idea of the present religious or social distinctions would have been stigmatized as revolutionary—as a sort of “*nova res*.” He will tell us that the “Lord, or rather the *Preserver*, of the Creation”⁹ offered himself a Sacrifice for the welfare of souls, that were born as “mortals,” but had attained to immortality in heaven by religious exercises duly performed on the earth, somewhat corresponding to our idea of “the spirits of just men made perfect.”¹⁰ We shall hear from him that “Sacrifice” was the authorized means for the remission of sins—that it was the way by which “Devas,” who were originally but “men,” had passed to celestial bliss, and that it still continues the beaten track for the same goal. The idea of the seed of the woman bruising the serpent’s head was also known to him with more or less of distinctness. He knew of “the great Dragon” “that old serpent, called the Devil and *Satan*”¹¹ whose subjugation and destruction has always been the great struggle of life with God-fearing men. He will strikingly confirm the Mosaic account of the Creation, and will likewise speak of various traditions

* प्रजापति Sayana almost invariably derives पति from वा to *preserve*, and interprets it accordingly.

¹⁰ Heb. xii. 23.

¹¹ Rev. xii. 9.

tending to corroborate some of the very points in Sacred history on which men in modern times have most frequently made shipwreck of their faith.

We look to our Witness also for the disproof of an idea often broached against Hindoo Christians that they are rebels against the *sandātana dharma* of the country, and apostates from the faith that has animated the Hindoo mind, and the rule of life that has governed Hindoo practice, from time immemorial. This essay aspires likewise to the patriotic honor of proving that while all Hindoos who have been instructed in Western literature, science, and history have departed from the faith derived from their immediate forefathers, Hindoo Christians can alone have the satisfaction of knowing that the fundamental principles of the Gospel were recognized, and acknowledged, both in theory and practice, by their primitive ancestors, the Brahminical Arians of India, and that if the authors of the Vedas could by any possibility now return to the world, they would at once recognize the Indian Christians, far more complacently as their own descendants, than any other body of educated natives. It may indeed be confidently asserted that such of our countrymen as have imbibed, along with the history and science of Europe, the sentiments of western infidelity, can, from the ancient Arian point of view, be described in no better light than those who were stigmatized in olden days as revilers of the Vedas,¹² neglecters of sacri-

¹² वेदविन्दकाः So Manu calls contemners of the Veda. It must be remembered that "Veda," as an abstract term, often stands for the *Word* or *Revelation*. This will be discussed in the sequel.

fices,¹³ and as men of no religion whatsoever. Resuscitated Rishis (if the idea of the possibility can be conceived for argument's sake) would find "the orthodox" Hindoo himself the greatest foe to the system they had bequeathed to their descendants.¹⁴ We do not say this censoriously. We only speak in self-defence, because we are often singled out and proscribed as

¹³ Neglecters or opposers of sacrifice are considered outlaws and traitors, and are classed with persons that do not deserve the name of men.

धनोरधि विषण्णे व्यायन्नयज्मानः सनकाः प्रेतिमीयुः
 पराचिच्छीषा बहजुस्त इन्द्रायज्मानो यज्मिः स्पर्धमानाः
 प्र यदिवो हरिवः स्यात्तद्य निरव्रता अधमे रोदसाः ।
 अन्यव्रतममीनुषमयज्मानमदेवयु
 खव सः सखा दुधुर्वीत पर्वतः सुह्राय दस्यु पर्वतः

Rig Veda, I. 33, 4, 5 viii 70. 11.

The Vedas are full of such denunciations in numerous places.

¹⁴ The learned and highly accomplished author of the *Antiquities of Orissa*, deservedly honoured as an authority by all orthodox Hindoos, himself remarks:

"At a time when the rituals of the Vedic worship deluged the country with the blood of thousands of animals slaughtered in the name of God, the universal benevolence of Sakya appealed to the feeling of the people with a force and directness of purpose, which proved irresistible. No man, who had seen a dozen heads of cattle killed by spikes driven into their chests, the usual mode of sacrifice at the time, could for a moment deny the superiority of a religion which preached mercy for all created beings, and absolutely prohibited slaughter of every kind. But the Brahmins were not slow in perceiving their weak points, they soon dropped the sacrifices of the Vedas; inculcated universal love and kindness even in the words of their rivals, &c."—*Antiquities of Orissa*, by Baboo Rájendra Lala Mitra.

"*outlaws,*" *and rebels* against Brahminism. If we are so, we seem to be in good company.

In presenting the corroborative testimony of the Arian family to Biblical facts and principles, we shall labour in the first place to manifest the competence of our witness to speak on those subjects from his familiarity with the times and places to which they relate. We hope to show that from his age and original settlement, he would naturally know something of all facts and principles which were likely to be known in Palestine and its neighbourhood.

It will be no argument against us to refer to the Arian's want of consistency in his evidence. We do not profess to produce his testimony, as that of a friendly witness. We do not set him up as a select witness for ourselves, remarkable for his consistency or harmony of principles. Much less do we attach to him any authority. Our sole argument is, that his statements and ideas, whatever they be, may have to be accounted for as *facts*, and that, howsoever they may be accounted for, they will be found corroborative of the principles and events which underlie the gospel dispensation.

THE ARIAN WITNESS.

CHAPTER I.

The original settlement of the Arians—the Caspians and Kasiapas.

In presenting our contemplated *Arian Evidence*, we shall follow the well-known Indian method of inquiring into a Witness's *name, pedigree, home, age*, and his relation to the subject on which his testimony is proposed to be recorded. The first four questions in our present case, we shall consolidate into one—the question of the Witness's *original settlement*, which will itself involve the discussion of the other points. This will probably detain us somewhat longer than might be anticipated at first sight. Many eminent scholars have fixed his primitive seat in the vicinity of the Hindoo Kush. With this conclusion we have never been satisfied. To us it seems there is a mixture of an anachronism and a *non-sequitur* lurking in their argument. The name “Airyana Vaejo” of the Zend Avesta they refer to Manu's “Ariavarta.” The one, according to its own authorized interpreters, is an *un-*

geographical place,¹ the other is definitely placed between the Vindhya and Himalayan ranges. But, irrespective of the confusion of sites involved in this reference, Manu lived more than a thousand years *after* the Arians' entrance into India. He must have contemplated his ancestors' *Indian* residence, when he named it "Ariavarta." If he had any idea of their emigration from the other side of the Indus, he could not have identified the Indian Ariavarta with ~~their~~ home in Central Asia. *Ariavarta* or *Ariadesa*, is a term which was unknown before the age of Manu. The Rig Veda is altogether ignorant of it.

We shall therefore have to re-open the whole question and review every point connected with it. This will necessarily postpone for awhile the principal inquiry indicated by the title we have chosen for our work, but we hope this prolonged investigation

¹ Bunsen (cited by Bleek vol i, p 9) thus annotates on "Airyana Vaejo."

"The name of the first country is Airyanem Vaejo. By this is to be understood the original Arian home, the paradise of the Iranians. The ruler of this happy land was King Jima, the renowned Jemshid of Iranian legend. Ahura-Mazda and Zarathustra here adore the celestial source of water, the Ardvî çûrâ anâhitâ (It. 5, 17, 104). Here Zarathustra prays to the Drvâçpâ (the patroness of horses, It. 9, 25) and to Ashi (17, 245) Thus Airyana Vaejô becomes altogether a mythical country, the seat of gods and heroes where there is neither sickness nor death, frost nor heat, as is the case in the realm of Jima. In the chapter before us, however, we may still discover the historical background."

We do not deny there may be a "historical background," but this we shall discuss in a future chapter.

of the preliminary question will not be irrelevant as far as our main object is concerned, and our undertaking will perhaps in the end escape the charge of a *misnomer*.

Strabo cites Eratosthenes who gives the boundaries of Ariana to be the river Indus in the East, "the great sea" in the South, the Paropamisus and the further mountain range up to "the Caspian gates" in the North, and the same line in the West which separates Parthia from Media, Karmania from Paraetacene and Persia. Strabo himself, however, appears somewhat indistinct. Considering that India, which, long before his time, had become the most important of Arian countries, was ignored in the East, and that Media which, as we shall see afterward, was the original seat of the Arian family, was excluded in the West, the word Ariana used by the geographer must have been meant distinctively for Iania or "*Iran*," though Persia itself seems to have been put out of the enclosure. Aria, as noticed by Arrian, was of itself not so extensive, and there must have been some confusion in the terminal lines given. On the whole we believe that the Greek geographer intended to give the Iranian territory of the time under the name of Ariana.

The omission of India will not, however, affect the present inquiry after the *original* home of the Arians, which must, in any case, have been outside the limits of India. The boundaries given by Eratosthenes may be regarded as the limits of the Iranian influence, as the author conceived it, in his own age. Media had probably then ceased to be reckoned Arian, and

the immigration to India was evidently unnoticed and unthought of by Greek writers.

Before proceeding further, we feel it right to make a few observations suggested by the "Caspian gates" as among the boundaries of the Ariana of Eratosthenes. The Caspii, though living on the borders of Ariana, and otherwise an insignificant people, were, however, an integral portion of the Arian Family. In their primitive state, they could scarcely have been absolutely an unimportant nation, when they gave the name, with almost universal assent, to the great inland sea of Asia. Herodotus groups them twice in the satrapies of Darius, once with the Pausiæ, the Panti-mathi, and the Daritæ in the eleventh,² and again with the Sacans in the fifteenth.³ Some learned critics were puzzled at this double grouping, and had suspected the correctness of the reading in reference to the latter satrapy. The Caspii of the eleventh group they had no difficulty in referring to the people after whom the Caspian Sea was called. Those of the fifteenth satrapy, however, they conjectured to have been either the Casii or the Caspeiri, albeit both were people far too remote from the Persian empire, and from the nation with whom they were classed in the 15th satrapy, to justify the probability of the conjecture. Prof. Rawlinson considers the more Eastern Caspii as the original branch of the Arian stock, and the Westerns, who had given the name to the sea, as a colony from the Easterns. To

² Herod. iii. 92.

³ Herod. iii. 93.

us, however, the reverse appears probable, as we shall afterwards see in due course.

That the Caspii were of the Arian stock appears from their very name. "According to Pott (*Etymologische Forschungen*) that name is "derived from the Old Persian 'u (which is the Sanskrit *su*, the Zend *hu*, and the Greek εὔ) "good," and *appa*, a "horse." Prof. Rawlinson, who cites the above in a note,⁴ expresses a doubt whether in such a case a χ instead of a κ should not have been the initial of Caspii.

A χ might doubtless have been reasonably expected under the circumstances, for the κ, like the Latin *c*, is most frequently found to correspond to the Sanskrit palatal sibilant ऋ; but examples are not wanting of its answering to the dental sibilant च also. The word κήρυξ is derived from γήρυξ for "voice," which in Sanskrit is खर, and the word is often used in the Rig Veda in a *heraldic* sense, as in I. xviii. 1. And the Latin, *com* or *con* constantly stands for the Sanskrit *sum* or *san*.⁵

The substitution of a non-aspirated consonant for its corresponding aspirate is also frequently noticed among dialectic peculiarities in Greek, and therefore the absence of the aspirate in the word Caspii cannot vitiate the above etymology. We shall see presently that an aspirate *was* introduced in the name by certain parties.

⁴ Rawlinson's *Herod.* iii, p. 447.

⁵ As *complexus* and सम्पृक्तः *contactus* and संसर्गः.

A curious story, found in the Rig Veda, gives further confirmation to the above etymology, and points to a closer connexion of the Caspii with the Indian Arians. There is a certain similarity of sound between Caspia and Kasiapa, which by a *metathesis* may be considered as identical vocables. There is an Indian myth which makes Kasiapa, a progenitor of huge noxious animals⁶, singularly corresponding to the classical myth about the Caspian Sea producing similar specimens of animal monstrosity. This, however, is a single coincidence of myths on which alone no historical reliance can be placed. But there is also an Indian Pauranic legend that Kasiapa was the father of the sun, and among synonyms of the solar luminary is a patronymic signifying a "son of Kasiapa."

This patronymic is still used in ceremonial obeisances to the sun.* Now the Rig Veda relates an anecdote of a king, who was also a father of the sun†, and his name

* Rajah Radhakant's *Sabda Kalpa druma*, summarizes various legends, and makes Kasiapa father of serpents by his wife Krodhavasā, of wild beasts by Samā, of aquatic monsters by Timi, of nāgas by Kadru. Diodorus Siculus attributes a similar prolific power to the Caspian Sea. "In that sea are said to be produced many serpents of immense size and fishes of all kinds widely differing in color from those of our country," xvii. 75.

† कश्यपस्य जपत्यमिति काश्यपेयः श्येयः । काश्यपेयः सप्तान्नो मिहिरः खन इति शब्दरावली *Sabda-sakti-mahānava*.

* जवाकुसुमसकाश काश्यपेय सदाद्युतिं ।

‡ भ्रान्तादि सर्वपापघ्न प्रलोक्य दिवाकरं ॥

"I make obeisance to the maker of day, the great luminary, brilliant like the Hibiscus, the son of Kasiapa, the enemy of darkness, and the destroyer of all sin."

is, according to Pott, etymologically identical with Caspa. The Pauranic legend and the Vedic story may be fairly supposed to refer to the same individual as "father of the sun," and we shall now show how this consideration tends to confirm that etymology, and to connect Kasiapa with the Caspians.

The 15th mantra of the Rig Veda, I. 61, reads thus :

असा इह त्वदनुदाय्येवामेको यदने भूरेतीशानः ।

प्रेतश्च सूर्यो पशुपान सोमश्चो रुचिमावदिन्द्रः ॥

Rosen thus translates it :

"Illi utique istud compositum est horum *sacrificantium carmen*, quod ille elegit, unus multae *opulentiae dominus* : Etasam, cum Súrya, Suasvae filio, *dimicantem*, libamina parantem, adjuvit Indras."

Sayana's commentary on the same is to the following effect :

"The second hemistich refers to the following story. There was a king named Suaswa. He was desirous of having a son, and worshipped the sun with a view thereto. The sun himself became his son. With him a great Rishi named Etasa had a fight. That is here spoken of. This Indra, defying the sun who was the son of Suaswa, protected the Rishi of that name (Etasa), eminent for his libations of the soma."

The word "Suaswa," the name of the above king,

* उपरार्द्धसोममाश्रायिका । सूर्यो नाम कश्चिन्नामा । स च पुंलकारः सूर्य-
मुपाधावस्ये । तस्य च सूर्य एव पुत्रो वसुव । तेन सप्रेतश्चामेको अर्धं युद्धं काल-
मिति तदेतद्विदोच्यते । अयमिन्द्रः सोमश्चो रुचिमावदिन्द्रः पशुपान सूर्यमात्रं रुचिं सोमा-
माश्रायित्वानामेतेषां रुचिं कल्पिं प्रापन् प्रावचत ।

father of the sun, is compounded of "su," *good*, and "aswa," *horse*. The Zend *sp* is always represented in the Sanskrit by *sw*, as *vispa* and *viswa*, and "aspa" itself is well known to be synonymous with "aswa." "Su-aswa" is therefore equivalent to "Suaspa," and by eliminating the *u* and substituting *C* for *S* in Romanizing the name "Suaspa, father of the sun," we get "Caspas," or the same that Pott's Etymology gives us. If we add to this the legend of Kasiapa already mentioned, the two characters may be fairly identified, and we can need no further apology for connecting the Caspii, or if we may Arianize the word, the *Caspas*, with our ancient Rishi Kasiapa.

We may make bold to add that the Puranas appear to identify Kasiapa, still more circumstantially, with the Vedic character "Suaspa" or Kaspas. They relate the same story with reference to Kasiapa¹⁰ which

- ¹⁰ तसुवाच हरिः प्रीतः कश्यप भूतकल्पसु ।
 वरं वरय भद्रं ते वराहोऽसि सतो मम ॥
 तच्छ्रुत्वा वचनं तस्मात्प्राप्तो कश्यपोऽब्रवीत् ।
 पुत्रं गच्छ भगवन्नदित्या मम ज्ञानवत् ॥
 भ्राता मम यवोयांस्त्वं शक्रस्यासुरसूदन ।
 विरोधनस्य बलवान् बलिः पुत्रो महासुरः ॥
 अथवाः सर्वलोकानां सदेवासुररक्षसां ।
 भविष्यति सः शक्रश्च सखायाचारयिष्यति ॥
 वैलोकीप्रसिद्धिं तेन विसुखे च शचीपते ।
 कदित्याम् हृद्भादित्याः सख्यविध्यानि कश्यपात् ॥
 सम्पन्ने तु सम्पन्ने तस्या वैवस्वते दिव्यः ।
 कामनः कश्यपाद्विष्णुरादित्यां सम्भूय च ॥
 विभिः क्रमैरिभं लोकं जित्वा देव महात्मना ।
 दुरन्दराय जलोक्तं दत्तं विजितकण्ठकम् ॥

"Then Hari, gratified, spake to Kasiapa, whose taint of sin had been purged away: 'Ask a boon.' Hearing these words of his,

~~Sayana~~ relates about Suaspa—Vishnu being only substituted for the sun. This story, again, is connected with the subjugation of Bali, an "Asura" or Iranian, perhaps Assyrian, by means of three strides, thus extending Kasiapa's connection to the very neighbourhood of Caspia, where conflicts may be easily conceived to have taken place between "the devas," who were chiefs of the future emigrants to India, and "the Asuras" i. e. Iranian, or, more probably, Assyrian followers of Ahura Mazda.

It must be remembered that the Vedic word Bali is different from the ordinary Sanskrit "Balin," or Balī with a long ī. And as the individual, indicated by it in the Satapatha Brahmana, is called an Asura, the mind is involuntarily led to the quarter where both those vocables are found like household

Kasiapa, son of Marichi, replied : Sinless lord, become the son of Aditi and myself. Slayer of the Asuras, become the younger brother of Indra." *Ramayana* (Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv. p. 116.

(Vishnu says to Narada) "The great Asura Bali, the strong son of Virochana, shall be indestructible by all beings, including gods, Asuras, and Raxasas. He shall oust Sakra (Indra) from his kingdom. When the three worlds have been taken by Bali, and the lord of Sachi (Indra) has been put to flight, I shall be born as the twelve Adityas, the son of Kasiapa and Aditi." *Mahabharata Santsparva*.

"So when the Vaiwasvata manvantara was arrived, Vishnu was born as a dwarf, the son of Aditi and Kasiapa. By this great being after he had conquered these worlds by three paces, the three worlds were given to Purandara (Indra), their enemy being destroyed." *Vishnu Purana* iii. Wilson's translation (Muir's Sanskrit texts, vol. iv. p. 118).

words. Barring pronouns and particles, no two words occur so often in the Cuneiform Inscriptions, as "Assur biliya," or "Assur bil-ya," *Assur my lord*.¹¹ "Bili" comes evidently from *Bel*, which is found in the Inscriptions in the varying senses of a *god*, a *king*, a *lord*. "Bali" may be easily compared with either, and clearly appears to be an Assyrian prince.

The "three strides" of Vishnu are noticed in the Rig Veda, in language which clearly points to the place whence the Arians commenced their migratory march to India, perhaps under the guidance of Vishnu himself. The Hymnist deprecates a return to the *quarter of the world from whence Vishnu made his start with his three strides*. "May the gods save us," says he, "from that place of the earth from whence Vishnu made his start! Thrice did he take a step."¹²

We thus find that an important branch of the Arian stock, noticed in the Vedas, and connected with, if not descended from, a patriarch of great Indian celebrity, lived on the south-western coasts of the great inland sea of Asia, called after their own name. The myth about Kasiapa or Caspa, being father of the sun, probably meant nothing more than that he had originated or patronized the worship, or peculiar glorification, of the solar luminary in Asia. Perhaps this was also the secret of the Indian *solar* dynasty of yore.

¹¹ Norris's Assyrian Dictionary pp. 20, 40, 45, 85, 95, 96, 138, 151, 154, 301, 424, 541, 589, 620, 695, 703.

¹² अतो देवा अचंतु मे सतो विष्णुर्विचक्रते । इतिहाः सप्तधासमिः ॥
इहं विष्णुर्विचक्रते मेधा मिदमे इहं । समुत्सवस पांडुरे ॥

Rig Veda I. 1. 22.

There is in the book of Ezra a curious reference to the place "Casiphia," which the Vulgate and the Syriac versions had evidently identified with Caspia, each reading it *Chasphia*. "And I gathered them together to the river that runneth to Ahava; and there abode we in tents three days: ... And I sent them with commandment unto Iddo, the chief at the place Casiphia, and I told them what they should say unto Iddo, and to his brethren the Nethinims, at the place Casiphia, that they should bring unto us ministers for the house of our God." (Ezra viii. 15, 17.)

Many eminent authors have followed the same identification, but later scholars of equal or even greater weight have rejected that idea, because Caspia is not in the direct route from Babylon to Jerusalem. They have not, however, found any other place or river corresponding to those mentioned in Ezra. We do not know whether Ahava can be the same as the river Azaba of the Cuneiform inscriptions. (*Norris* p. 22.)

The argument for rejecting the identification suggested by the Vulgate and the Syriac versions is (1) that Ezra must have taken the direct route from Babylon to Jerusalem, and (2) that as he had reached Ahava in only nine days from Babylon (vii. 9, viii. 15, 31,) his halting stage must have been too far from Caspia to allow a deputation to have travelled to and fro within three days. There is doubtless great force in this argument, but we are still not quite satisfied that it is conclusive as against the above versions.

In the first place there is no absolute necessity for holding that Ezra went straightway to Jerusalem

without any detour for picking up stragglers or persons who may have, by eluding the vigilance of guards, escaped from captivity, to places which might have been known to their own countrymen, though of course unknown to the officers of Babylon. The time that Ezra took in his journey to Jerusalem would probably allow such detours. The question of a journey from Babylon to Ahava, and of a deputation from thence to Caspia and back, within three days, is undoubtedly beset with almost insuperable difficulties. Ezra, however, was not in want of money and other resources for quick journeys, and we are not satisfied that in the mouth of a Jew the word Babylon could never have a wider sense than the hundred-gated city itself, especially as the record of the decree of Cyrus, which Artaxerxes renewed and which Ezra was going to enforce, was "found at Achmetha (Ecbatana) in the palace that is in the province of the Medes." (Ezra vi. 2). A "province of Babylon" is also mentioned in vii. 16.

But whether Casiphia stood for Caspia or not, whether its situation was nearer to Babylon than to the Caspian mountains, it is clear that the Vulgate and the Syriac identified it with Caspia, reading it Chasphia. This confirms Pott's etymology and supplies the desideratum of an aspirate felt by Professor Rawlinson. Supposing, however, that the identification is wrong, and that there was another place called "Casiphia" within a moderate distance from Babylon, the word thereby assimilates with our Kasiapa still more closely, and in either case we find two other expressions in the Scriptural narrative corroborative of our view of

Arian connexion, south-west of the Caspian. These are the original Hebrew words, (1) for "ministers," and (2) for the name of the chief himself, "Iddo." They seem to be both connected with Arian vocables. The word for "ministers," is *musharathim*. Radically it is "sharath," the "mu" and the "im" being respectively the verbal prefix, and the plural affix, of the Hebrew grammar. Now "sharath" is the same as the Zend "zarath" (the initial element in Zoroaster's own name), and the Sanskrit "jarata" or "jarita," constantly used in the sense of a *minister of the choral service* at the Altar.¹⁵ The Septuagint renders *Musharathim* ᾄδοντες or "singers" for the house of God, and the Arabic version, (to use the words of its Latin translator) *lectores ad domum Dei nostri*. The Vulgate and the Syriac both render it "ministers." And the name for the chief "Iddo" is a remarkable expression here. The name itself, as represented in the Roman character, is not uncommon in Hebrew. But it is generally spelt with an initial *Ain*—once with a *Yod*, and once with a *Yod* followed by an *Ain*—and thrice with a terminal *Alif*.¹⁶ In the instance before us, however, it is spelt without any *Ain* or *Yod*.

¹⁵ Professor Max Muller's Index to the Rig Veda gives the following references to passages where "jarita" occurs in the Nom. Sing. alone, to say nothing of its other cases and numbers. I, 38, 5; 46, 12, 63, 2, 165, 14, III 52, 5; IV 17, 9, V. 36, 3, 4; 43, 1; VIII. 44, 28; X 6, 1 190, 6, 11; 142, 1. All these we have verified for ourselves.

¹⁶ 1 Kings iv. 14; 1 Chron. vi. 6, 2 Chron. xxvii. 21, Zec. i. 1, 7; Ezra v. 1; vi. 14.

Its initial is only an *Alif* with a *hiruck*, representing a simple vocal *i*, without any guttural or semivowel, and being exactly equivalent to the Sanskrit *i*. And "Iddo," thus spelt, stands probably for "Indo," on the same principle on which "Hoddu" stands indisputably for "Hondu" (Esther i. 1). Now "Indo" is certainly an Arian and a Brahminical name, whether we compare it with "Indu" (moon) or "Indra," in which (according to the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*) the *r* is an *arbitrary* interpolation.¹⁷ "This breath which is in the midst is Indra. He by his might kindled these breaths in the midst: inasmuch as he kindled them, he is the kindler (*Indha*). They call Indha "Indra" imperceptibly [*paroksham*] for the gods love that which is imperceptible. (Dr. Muir's translation, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. iv., p. 20.)

We have already seen that the name "Suaswa" (Zendice *Suaspā* or rather *Huaspā*) etymologically corresponds with "Caspa." We must now add that the same character is celebrated in the Khordah-Avesta in the following terms: "The Fravashi of the pure *Hvaspa* praise we."¹⁸ And the same vocable is also in the Rig Veda constantly used as an adjective, or attributive, in the sense of *connected with*, or *possessed of good horses*, and applied to gods, Rishis, men, and things.

¹⁷ स सोऽथं सधो प्राण एव इवन्द्रः । तान् एव प्राणां सधत इन्द्रियेन्द्रः सदेव । सखाद् इन्द्रः । इन्द्रो ज वै तं इन्द्र इत्याचक्षते परोक्षं । परोक्षकामा हि वेदाः ।

¹⁸ Bleek iii. 97.

We often find in its pages *well-horsed chariots, well-horsed men, well-horsed Indra, well-horsed Rishis, well-horsed Agni*.¹⁹ We also find pious men praying for *well-horsed* sons.²⁰ Sometimes, again, the word is "*Suaswia*" corresponding exactly with *Caspia*, in the same or a similar sense. We have *suaswia wealth, suaswia Indra, suaswia boons*.²¹ In one place we actually have "*suaswia sindhu*" or *Caspia Sea*.²² Sayana makes it a "*river rich in horses*," but the word "*sindhu*" also stands for a *sea*.²³ Its present signification is

¹⁹ Rig V. iv. 45 Speaking of the chariot of the Aswins, the hymnist says : रथः सखो अजरो यो अस्ति । "It is well-horsed and undecaying." R. V. 117-2 यो वासश्चिन् । मनसो जवीयावयः सखो विश आजिगति । "The car that is swifter than thought and *well-horsed* &c."

Rig V. i. 84-6 न किः सखः "No one, O Indra, is *well-horsed* like thee" हा नरः सखा वाजयन्तः Rig Veda iv. 42. 5 "Let *well-horsed* heroes eager for a fight follow me."

Rig V. iv. 29-2 सखो यो अभीमन्यमानः "Indra who is *well-horsed*, fearless &c." R. V. v. 33. 3 रयिं देव यजसे सखः "O lord Indra, *well-horsed* thyself, thou tightenest the reins."

Rig V. v. 65-2 सखासः "We (Rishis, sons of Atri) being *well-horsed*."

Rig V. iv. 2. 4 सखो अग्ने "O Agni, thou being *well-horsed*, &c."

²⁰ Rig V. vi. 33-1 सैवसा यो वनवत्सखा इवा समस्तु सासदमिहान् O Indra give us such a son "as, being *horsed* himself, may overcome a troop of horses and overthrow all adverse opponents."

²¹ Rig V. ii. 1-5 तमाशुहमा ररिसे सखा "thou shalt grant *well-horsed* boons."

²² Rig V. x. 75-8 सखा सिन्धुः सुरया सुवासा "the *Suaswa Sindhu* &c."


²³ Rig V. x. 43-7 आपो न सिन्धुमसि यन् समररग्मोमास इमं कुला इव खदं.

"When the soma liquors flow into Indra like waters into the sea or canals into a lake &c."

almost exclusively a *sea* or *ocean*. Its primary meaning in the Veda is *flowing water*, and, as it applies to a river, because it is a stream, so it is applicable to a sea because of its tidal rise under the influence of the moon.²⁴ "Suaswa sindhu" may therefore stand for the Caspian sea, or a river of the name of Sindon which falls into the Caspian.²⁵

²⁴ Rig V. ix. 86-19 सोम . क्राणा सिन्धुनां "The moon is the cause of the flowing of waters."

²⁵ The presence of "Sindicus" and some other maritime places bearing similar names beyond the Caspian and on the Euxine has been noticed by historians. Bean gives in his Classical Atlas a river "Sindone" falling into the Caspian. The Assyrian inscriptions also inform us of a city Hindanu on the banks of the Euphrates, Norris's Assyrian Dictionary, pp. 345 and 434. We likewise read of a Hayanu, son of Gabbar, who was chief of "Hindan" near the Euphrates. Ibid, p. 417.



CHAPTER II.

Arians' Original Settlement, Vedic Testimony, Assyrian Inscriptions.

Proceeding now with our inquiry into the primitive seat of the Arian family, the *pratna okas* as the Rig Veda calls it, the first difficulty which stares us in the face is the obscurity in which its early history is enveloped. The Brahmins and the Iranians were for a long period the only guardians of Arian honor and dignity in Asia. Both were, doubtless, races up to any effort requiring intellectual vigour and activity. But History or Chronology had never been a favourite study with either. The one considered it undignified to write anything but verse and poetry, and the other disdained to instruct posterity except through the puzzles of Cuneiform Inscriptions. History was thus left to the tender mercies of Poetry and Sculpture. And each of these chroniclers of events had on it shackles, hard to be borne, in the discharge of its office, so far as it related to the instruction of posterity. Poetry was bound by the dictum which declared its very life to consist in "*rasa*," which means *flavour*. Unless facts are themselves *flavorous* or *sensational*, the historian-

poet must be between two fires. He must supply both *truth* and *flavour*, or he must forfeit his character for the consolidated office. But departures from truth cannot be quickly discovered. Like travellers' tales they may pass muster for the moment. Even where ground is found for suspicion, the process of detection is tardy. Want of flavour on the other hand is perceived *instantly*. It is a *sensation*, and the operation follows immediately on the presentation of the object. The conviction of the offender becomes simultaneous with the commission of the offence. The historian-poet, like most other men, provides against the evil of the moment, and leaves his character for truthfulness to the contingencies and chances of the future. He seasons a small modicum of *truth* with a liberal dose of *spicy* inventions.

And as to the Cuneiform inscriptions, they can only give detached lessons—isolated bits of facts—and these again may remain veiled for ages, secure from the prying looks of posterity, like “gems of purest ray,” and pearls of the highest value, which repose undisturbed in “the dark unfathomed caves of oceans.” Posterity's fruition of them must be dependent on sheer chance or lucky venture.

To add to the misfortunes of Archæology, the Brahmins, as descendants of Arian emigrants, had from the beginning so isolated themselves from “Ariana,” as to have lost all sympathy for their cousins in Asia, in a very short space of time. They did indeed for some time recognize them as *quasi-brothers*, (*Bhratrivyā*), but they soon turned that endearing vocable into a term

of reproach, and it became subsequently a word for an enemy.¹

Consanguinity or any connection with Asiatic Arians or Iranians was in the end altogether ignored. It is difficult to form a clear conception of the causes which induced such an unaccountable estrangement. There are no formal records on the subject. Neither the Brahmins nor the Iranians have given any consecutive narratives of their quarrel. They had no Thucydides on either side to chronicle their differences, or to preserve a record of their eventful conflicts from the oblivious effects of time. It is only from glimpses of light which incidentally shoot forth through the pages of the Vedas and the Zend Avesta that we are able to form any idea on the subject. Comparing the notes of these two sets of authorities, the respective sacred books of the two branches of Asia's great family, we are led to the inference that both parties originally recognized the same objects of worship, viz. the Sun,

¹ भ्रातृव्यः This word literally means a quasi-brother, a step brother, a brother-in-law, or a first cousin, just as *pratrivya* means a quasi-father, an uncle. The following passage shows how this word was used in the Vedas. एतया वै देवा असुराद्वत्यक्रामन्नतिपाप्मानं भ्रातृव्यं क्रामन्ति य एतया क्षुते । *Tandya-mahā-Brahmāna* vol. i. p. 105. The commentator says : एतया दशसप्तया विद्युत्या क्षुते देवाः पूर्वं असुरानत्यक्रामन् अतिक्रामन्वन्तः तिरस्कृतवन्त इत्यर्थः । तस्मादप्योऽपि यो यजमान एतया क्षुते सोऽपि पाप्मानं पापकृपं भ्रातृव्यं यजन् अतिक्रामन्ति अतिक्रामन्तो भवन्ति । The following is a consolidated translation of the Vedic verse and its commentary. "By this sacrificial hymn the devas had, aforetime, overcome the Asuras (Assyrians?) Therefore whatever other sacrificer makes worship by means of the same, he also overcomes that incarnation of sin, the Bhratrivya, a (quasi-brother) i. e. the enemy.

Fire and the elements of Nature. What the exact import of that worship was we cannot confidently declare, but whatever the theological character of their adoration might have been, neither condemned the other for it—both allowed and practised it. Both also theoretically allowed the primitive institution of Sacrifices, though, probably, they differed widely as to the mode of conducting them.

The distinctive feature of the Zoroastrian doctrine of *two* eternal principles of Good and Evil respectively, appears in the Sacred Records of both. “Ahura-mazda,” which in the Zend Avesta was often abbreviated into the simple initial “Ahura,” and “Anghro-mainyus,” were also acknowledged in the Rig Veda. Varuna, to whom the same sort of creative agency is attributed which the Vendidad ascribed to “Ormuzd,” is, in the 24th Sūkta of the first Mandal, addressed as the *eminently wise* “Asura” (Zendice Ahura), and Anghro-mainyus, the principle of Evil, appears in the same Hymn under the style of “Nir-riti,” which is synonymous with his Zendic appellation. “Nir-riti” literally means *un-righteous*, and is, according to Sayana, equivalent to “Pápa-devatá” or the *deity of sin*.² But notwithstanding all these coincidences of faith, it appears that the two parties could not agree on the mode of conducting their sacrifices. The seceding party, which emigrated to India, seems to have been

अथ हि राजा वयसश्चकार सूर्याय पन्थामन्थेनवा ।

बाधसि दूरे निर्वर्तिं पराधिः कृतं चिदेनः प्रमुमुग्धप्रफल् ।

अथब्रह्मभ्यमदुर प्रचेता राजद्वेर्वासि शिशवः कृतानि ।

opposed to the teaching of Zoroaster, as it was maintained by his successors, and hurled defiance against those who contemplated its forcible imposition on their belief or practice.

The seceders were, however, as zealous Fire-worshippers at the time of the separation, as the general bulk of the Arians whom they left behind in Central Asia, and who were subsequently stigmatized by the Mahometans as *Gebers* and *Atash-parasts*. The Vedas declare that Fire was as much an object of adoration with "modern" Rishis (*i. e.* probably, the post-immigration separatists) as with the "ancients" before the separation.³

Indeed the Iranian and Indian branches vied with each other in doing honor to Agni. Both claimed him as their own divine herald or *convener*. The one honoured him as the son of the supreme Ahura mazdao,⁴ the other as *their elected divine herald conversant with all things*.⁵ Both contended also for the monopoly of the

³ अग्निः पूर्वमिह ज्वलिमितीत्यो नूतनैवत । R. V I. 1, 2

⁴ The Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, we praise, the pure lord of purity, Bleek ii. 22. "Messenger of Ahura Mazda is Naryo Çanāa," (a name of Fire). Vendidad Farg. xix. 112.

⁵ अग्निं दूतं दक्षिमणे देतारं विश्व वेदसं ।

"We elect Agni, our herald and convener, conversant with all things." Rig Ved. i. 12.1.

अध्यात्मसु केवलः

"May he be *only ours*." i. 1310.

Agni was also honoured on the one hand by the Rig. Veda as "the navel of the earth" मानिरग्नि इत्येव i. 59-2, and on the other hand by the Zend Avesta as "the navel of the Kings." Bleek iii. 146.

Sun as their especial object of adoration.⁶ The same rivalry may be inferred with reference to Indra,⁷ whom the Iranians also worshipped under the title of Verethraghna. But the Indian branch, it would seem, declined to acknowledge a common *guru* or spiritual

⁶ देवासुराः संयत्ता आसन् । त आदित्ये व्यायच्छन् । तं देवाः समजयन् ।

"The Devas and Asuras were fighting. They were disputing about Aditya. [Each party claiming this divinity for itself, so the commentator explains it.] The devas won him." *Taittiriya Brahmana*.

देवास वा असुरा आदित्ये व्यायच्छन् देवा अभ्यजयन् ।

"The Devas and Asuras disputed about Aditya. The Devas won him." *Tandya Mahá Bráhmāna*, p. 275.

⁷ Indra is so well known as the prevailing god of the Vedas that we need not cite more than one sentence in which the authors express their desire of monopolizing him. "May he be ours only" *आत्माकमस्तु केवलः* Rig. Veda i. 7. 10.

And in the Zend, a whole "Yasht" with 63 paragraphs is devoted to the glorification of Verethraghna. A few sentences will suffice here: "Who among the heavenly Yazatas is the best armed? Then answered Ahura Mazda, "Verethraghna, created by Ahura, O holy Zarathrustra."

"Vərəθragna, created by Ahura, praise we; the worker of manhood, the worker of death, the worker of continuance; who stands of himself, averts by himself. To him offered the pure Zarathrustra, in the mind of Vərəθragna, in the speech of Vərəθragna, in the act of Vərəθragna, in the saying of Vərəθragna, in the answers of Vərəθragna.

"To him gave Vərəθragna, created by Ahura, the fountain of sight, strength of arms, health of the whole body, thriving of the whole body and strength of sight as Karô-macyô possesses it, who is under the water, who in Ranha, the far-to-step-over, deep, a thousand fathoms (deep), has (each) water drop of the size of a hair (always) in mind." *Bleek* iii. 106.

preceptor. The Brahmins recognized the seniority of some "Asura guru" or Iranian preceptor, but they refused to submit to the doctrine of Zoroaster.

The seniority which the Indians accorded to the preceptors of the Asuras appears from the very second verse of the Rig Veda, already cited. "Agni was an object of laudation with the ancient Rishis and is so with the moderns too." The "ancients" could be no other than the pre-emigration sages. Sāyana says in his commentary on the passage in question : "This Agni was an object of laudation or praise with the ancients, namely, with Bhrigu, Angiras, and other Rishis."^a Now Bhrigu was by universal Indian tradition reputed the father of Sukra, *preceptor of Asuras*, who was otherwise described by the patronymics "Usana" and "Bhargava," the honorific "Kavi" (sage), and the stellar distinction "Venas"—he being still held in Indian astronomy as the regent of Venus. The Vedic Usana is doubtless connected with the Zendic patriarch "Us," thus noticed in the Yaçna XXIX. "This one is known to me here, who alone heard our precepts: Zarathustra, the Holy, he asks from Us, Mazda and Asha, assistance for announcing, I will make him skilful of speech." (Bleeck ii. p. 84) He is called Kavi Usa in the Bahram Yast. It is probably he that is also extolled in the Khordah-Avesta under the names of Uçi-nemo and Uçnáka. "The Fravashi of the pure Uçi-nemo and Uçnáka praise we" (Bleeck iii. 96). And in the word "Bhar-

^a अग्निं हि ब्रुवात नैव जज्ञिरा प्रष्टति मि ऋषिभिर्दधीः कुंत्यः । Sāyana

gava," easily contracted into "Bhargao," we may detect the first element of the word "Farg-ard," the name given to the Chapters of the Vendidad. "Farg" must have the same relation to "Farg-ard" that "Visp" has to "Visp-erd," and "Farg" may be easily identified with "Bhargao." In the absence, as far as we know, of a better derivation of "Fargard," we cannot help referring it to "Bhargao," the "guru" of the Asuras.

But from some cause which we cannot divine at this distance of time, the Indian Arians refused to submit to the doctrine of Zoroaster's teachership, which was sought to be imposed on them, probably by force of arms.

We cannot say with any confidence or precision who Zoroaster's patron, bearing the name "Vistaspa" in the Zend Avesta, was. It appears that he was a zealous promoter of his prophetic protegee's doctrine. The Persians identify this Vistaspa* (whom they call Gustaspa), the patron of Zoroaster, with Hystaspes, the father of king Darius. It is true enough that Darius himself spells his father's name "Vishtaspa" in the cuneiform inscriptions of Behistan.⁹ But our difficulty in accepting this tradition consists in the mention of the same name in the Rig Veda. To suppose that the Rig Veda was written *after* the age of Darius Hystaspes would be preposterous. We are therefore driven to the conclusion that the Vistaspa of the Zenda Avesta, the promoter of the Zoroaste-

* Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. ii, p. 490,

rian doctrine, must have been a more ancient character, different from the father of Darius. And if Gustaspa be another form of the name of Vistaspa, the Assyrian inscriptions would favour the idea of a more ancient character of that name. We have a "Kustaspi," a *chief of Comukha who paid tribute to Tiglathpileser*.¹⁰ This would be in the 8th century before Christ. If such a name there was, some two hundred years anterior to Darius, there can be no difficulty in supposing the existence of a third person of the same name, still more ancient, who might correspond with the age of the Rig Vedas, and with the character noticed in the Zend Avesta. As a promoter of the Zoroasterian doctrine, he would doubtless, after the fashion of Oriental princes, and, even of Occidental princes too a few centuries ago, seek to impose it on the populace by means of the sword. But the seceding Arians hurled defiance at him and refused submission. "What can Ishtaswa", said they, "What can Ishtarasmi, rulers of the world as they are, do against our protecting men?"¹¹ That Ishtaswa was the same as the Vistaspa of the Zend Avasta, no one will dispute, especially as we learn from Dr. Hyde that the name was sometimes written with a *ya* (*يَسْتَاپی*) instead of a *wau*.

Whatever the actual points of difference may have been, the parties became very much embittered against each other. The Brahmins reviled the "Asuras," or

¹⁰ Norris' Assyrian Dictionary, p 628.

¹¹ किसिदाच बह्विहारेन ईशानासस्वय जज्ञने दृष्टम् । Rig. Veda i. 122.13.

chiefs of the Iranians, and the Iranians railed at "the devas" or chiefs of the Brahmins. Doubtless the Indian branch was the most intellectual of the Asiatic Arian stock, while those whom the separatists left behind were, on the other hand, conspicuous for courage and physical strength. The Iranians warned their followers against the guerilla warfare of the devas. The Indians were always betraying signs of anxiety and panic at the superior strength of their adversaries, and were, as fugitives, longing for a settled habitation and dwelling.

The Zend Avesta calls upon its followers to stand fast to their faith, and beware of sudden attacks from the Devas. "Every one, both men and women, ought to-day to choose his creed (between the Devas and the Ahura religion). Ye offspring of renowned ancestors, awake to agree with us (*i. e.* to approve of my lore, to be delivered to you at this moment)."

"You cannot belong to both of them: One of the Devas, against whom we are fighting, might overtake you, when in deliberation (what faith you are to embrace) whispering you to choose the naught mind."¹²

The Indians, on the other hand, as the Rig Veda itself shows, were invoking their chiefs not to leave them in the lurch, but join them in *this land of divine sacrifices*.¹³ Indra was especially accosted to abandon

¹² Haug's Essays, p. 142.

¹³ स नः पावक दीदिवोऽग्ने देवो ददा वर । Rig. V. i. 12. 10. On this Sayana says दद, देवयजनदेवे ।

"O thou illuminating purifier bring the Devas here [to this land of the worship of Devas.]"

their "pristine habitation," and come to the multitude of sacrificers awaiting his commands, and looking for his protection, with the same feeling of allegiance and affection with which, in former days and in their original settlement, they had called him father."¹⁴ His followers appear at times to have been somewhat uneasy about his perseverance and firmness, and offered to *provision him themselves*. They besought him to give up *parley with other people, passing them over*. They were constantly praying that Agni might be able "to conduct the Devas here," and that Indra, as he had killed the Asura Vritra of yore (probably an Assyrian character, real or imaginary) for which he was honoured in the Zend Avesta as "Verethraghna," would likewise arm himself against all "Vritras," or foes of Devas, and overcome their tricks by counter strategies.

नराग्रसमिह प्रियमस्त्रिन्यज्ञ उपकृये । Ibid I. 13. 3.

Again says Sayana ६४, देवयजनदेशे ।

"I invite the beloved Narasansa (Fire) to this sacrifice here [in this land of the worship of Devas]."

¹⁵ अन्नु प्रजस्यौकसे ऊवे तुविप्रति नरं ।

यं ते पूर्वं पिता ऊवे ॥ Rig Veda I. 30. 9.

सं ता वाजेषु वाजिम वाजयामः शतक्रतो । R. V. I. 4. 9.

सा नो अति एष आग्रहि ॥ Ibid I. 4. 3.

आयभिरिन्द्र सायिनं त्वं शुष्ममवातिरः । Ibid I. 11. 7.

"I call back our heroic man (Indra) from our pristine home whom i. e., thee (O Indra) in days of yore I used to accost our father and protector."

"We provision thee, the warrior, in war."

"Do not parley with others, passing over us. Come to us."

"O Indra, thou killedst Sushna, the crafty (Asura) by (counter) stratagems."

How long the encounter lasted, it is impossible to say, but it appears that when they settled down in their respective localities of Central Asia and India, the Iranians found sufficient occupation in martial conflicts with their immediate neighbours and with nations more to the West, while the Brahmins kept themselves resolutely within the confines of India, and solemnly prohibited even tours and pleasure excursions beyond the Indus. Their jealousy of any further intercourse with their trans-Indus brethren was parallel, in history, only with that of Jeroboam for any inter-communication between the ten revolted tribes and the two that continued faithful to the house of David. Like the Jews and Samaritans, the Brahmins and Iranians excluded each other from all social relations, so that even a cup of cold water would neither be offered nor accepted between themselves.

The Brahmins were desirous of considering themselves as dead to the Iranians, and the Iranians to themselves. Hence they formally recorded nothing about the ancient exploits or adventures of their forefathers in Central Asia. They seem even to have abstained from teaching their children the former history of their own race, which they were manifestly desirous of obliterating from human memory.

But notwithstanding the efforts of the Indian Arians to isolate themselves within the well defined and almost inaccessible boundaries of their new habitation, they could not, as lovers of learning, be so Vandalic as to destroy records. Nor could they obliterate, from the tablets of their own memory, the hymns and odes

which they had delighted to sing and chant as religious exercises. True it is, that they were anxious to ignore all trans-Indus events, and to put on the appearance of "autochthones" in India. But learning and letters prove dangerous accompaniments when the object is to suppress information. You cannot conceal live coals within your handkerchief, nor can the refulgence of Saraswati be so completely secreted as that no streaks of light should at all escape. The Arians had too much intellectual activity to drop at once into a state of mental stagnation. Nor was the time of a forced emigration from one's "pristine home," replete with a thousand pleasing associations, favourable for active intellects to remain dormant and torpid, or to submit, without a struggle or murmur, to a coerced banishment from the land of their birth. The authors of the Vedas could not under such circumstances cease from thinking, cogitating, chanting, and reciting. And they would necessarily think, cogitate, chant, and recite those things in which they had taken pleasure since their infancy. The human mind loves to dwell on past ideas, imbibed with a mother's milk. It cannot dismiss them summarily. The Indian Arians were no exception to this rule. We find accordingly that at the very time when their sense of injury was the strongest against their brethren in Ariana, when they seem to have renounced their allegiance to the representatives of Ahura Mazda, they involuntarily gave utterance to expressions and ideas, once dear to them, which, notwithstanding all efforts, they could not forget or ignore. The word Asura (or Ahura Sanscritized)

which became in a very short time a vocable for wicked spirits, and was practically identified in India with Anghro-Mainyus, expressive of the fulness of evil combined with lawless strength, still retained a solemn reverence which their minds could not renounce by a sudden revulsion. They knew that "Asura" did not mean an evil spirit, that it was a title of distinction corresponding to the idea of a "lord," and applied equally to gods and heroes. It was applied to one that was lately their common divinity, "Ahura Mazda," or the *great Asura*. They were now desirous of profaning the term against their inmost conviction. They knew that the term was connected with their own ideas of sanctity and dignity, and that it implied nothing unholy or unmanly. And they were spell-bound by their own minds. An old writer had given the epithet of *philalethes*¹¹ to the human soul. It is a *lover of truth*, and although a false tongue will often give utterance to an untruth, yet the mind can never turn such a traitor to itself, as to *think* that to be true which it knows to be false. And what a man decidedly *thinks* to be right and true, will often escape his lips in spite of himself. We find a striking illustration of this in the Indian Arian's case. He had been driven from home by differences with his Central Asiatic brethren. He was under a bitter sense of unmerited injury and wrong, suffered at their hands. He had determined to cut them altogether, with all their principles, ceremonies, and religious terminology. And yet we

¹¹ Simplicius in his commentary on Aristotle *de Anima*.

find him involuntarily applying to his own Devas and loaders, in his exile, the very term of respect and reverence to which he was accustomed in Ariana. Indra, his highest object of reverence, is himself invoked as "Asura."¹⁶ "Thou, O Indra, art king, do thou and all the gods protect men. Do thou, O Asura, save us." Varuna also is similarly addressed: "Remaining with us, do thou, O illustrious and eminently wise Asura, absolve the sins we have committed."¹⁷ The exiles wished for the protection of Varuna. They wished him "to remain" with them in their new habitation, and they involuntarily accosted him with the time-honoured title, which they were impelled to believe would be most acceptable to him. We also find the Maruts, Mitra, Twastri, Prajapati, Agni, Váyu, Saraswati, Pusha, Savitri, Parjania, similarly accosted or spoken of as *Asuras*.¹⁸ Mitra and Varuna, again, frequently linked in the Veda as *gods in the dual*, are also sometimes linked as *asuran*.¹⁹ The term

¹⁶ त्वा राजेन्द्र ये च देवा रक्षां नृन् पाश्यासुर त्वमस्मान् । Rig Veda I 174-1.

The term "Asura" is also applied to Indra in I. 54. 3, viii. 90. 6, x. 55. 4, 96. 11; 99; 2, 12, 105, 11

¹⁷ अथ ते हेलो वक्षन् नमोभिरव यज्ञेभिरासहे हविर्भिः ।

अवन्नक्षत्रमसुरं प्रचेता राजेन्द्रेनासि शिष्यः क्षत्रानि ॥ Rig Veda I. 24, 14.

Varuna is also called Asura in ii. 27. 10; 28. 7. iv. 53. 1. -

¹⁸ The Maruts are called Asuras in i. 64. 2 Twastri in i. 110. 3. Prajapati in x. 10. 2. Agni in v. 12-1; 15. 1, 27. 1 Saraswati in vii. 96. 1 असुरास्यै सरस्वत्यै । Vayu in v. 42. 1 Pusha in v. 51. 11. Savitri in v. 49. 2. Parjania in v. 63. 3, 7; 83. 6.

¹⁹ दत्ता वां मित्रावक्ष्या सुहृद्भिर्मित्रं न क्षण्ये असुरा नदीयः । Rig Veda vii. 36. 2.

अथ हि देवानामसुरा तावर्षा ता नः क्षिप्तिः करतमूर्ध्ववन्तीः । xii. 65. 2.

Asura is also solemnly applied to the Creator of the Heavens and the earth, and the Supreme Governor of all worlds. We have already cited a passage to that effect, and we shall add another here still more remarkable. "The all-knowing Asura established the Heavens and fixed the limits of the earth. He sat as the supreme Ruler of all worlds. These were the works of Varuna."²⁰ Notwithstanding the rider about Varuna, the author's mind here was evidently contemplating the Zoroastrian divinity Ahura Mazda. The "all-knowing Asura" may be considered as a translation of "Ahura Mazda" itself, the last word is doubtless the Zend vocable for the Sanscrit "Mahat." In the Zend "zota" for Sanscrit "hota," "Azis" for "Ahi," "Azen" for "Aham," "zemaka" for "hemaka," "zer" for "hiran," (*gold*), we detect the rule of the Sanscrit *h* being transliterated by *z* in the Zend. And therefore "mazd" is the same as *mahat*. But the same word appears to represent "magus" also, which

महता निनावयणा सचजा देवावसुरा । viii. 25, 4.

The titles "Asuras among Devas," "Devas and Asuras," and as in i. 131. 1. v. 41. 3. "Celestial Asuras" were like the adjective Asura in the sense of strong as in v. 12. 1; 27. 1, perhaps aptistically used to break the fall of the term "Asura" from a sacred to a diabolical sense.

²⁰ Rig Veda viii. 42 1 असम्राट्पुनसुरो विश्वेदेवो अग्निमीत वरिमांश्च पृथिव्या ।

आसीद्विद्वा भुवनानि सचाङ्गिरानि वरुणस्य व्रतानि ॥ Again in x. 177, 1 the word Asura is applied to the Supreme Being by whose "māyā" or mysterious influence the wise obtain a mental vision of the sun as if the luminary were actually within their hearts : यत इममङ्गिरस्य स्यादस्य हृद् यमग्निं मनसा विपश्चितः ।

signifies knowledge and wisdom. "Mazda" accordingly stands both for greatness and knowledge, and Ahura Mazda is aptly represented here by "the all-knowing Asura, who sat as the supreme ruler of all worlds."

These considerations tend to prove that the Arian ancestors of the Brahmins migrated to India from regions where Zoroaster's doctrine was the rule of human faith. The Vedic hymns we have already cited, themselves show that the minds of their authors were so saturated with the principles of that system, that at the very time, and in the very records, in which they contemplated the foundation of another and a different body of divinity, ideas and sentiments found utterance, positively at variance with their main object. We have in the same Veda the sacrificial ministers and hymnists themselves called Asuras,¹ and the very hymnists again invoking the destruction of Asuras.² We have almost all the Vedic gods worshipped, honoured and prayed unto under that title, and yet we find the same gods meditating the slaughter of Asuras, and complacently described as having accomplished their purpose.³ The identical *mandala* of the Rig Veda

¹ Rig V. i. 108. 6 यद्गन्धं प्रथमं वां दृष्टानोयं सोमो असुरैर्नो विषयः । ...
 "This soma has been offered by our priests (Asuras)."

² ii. 30. 4 दृष्टस्यते सपुषाद्येव विष्य दृक्दरसो असुरस्य वीरान् । "Pierce, O Brihaspati, with thy burning thunderbolt the sons of the Asura covering the gate."

³ x. 58. 4 तद्वत् वाचः प्रथमं मसीष येनासुरां अभि देवा अघाम । "I shall now recite that principal formula by which the gods and myself may overthrow the Asuras."

which attributed the creation of the heavens and earth to the "all-knowing Asura," denied the divinity of the Āsuras; and posted them as impious Rakshasas.²⁴ The very chief god of the Veda, the hope and refuge of the Arian emigrants, Indra himself, is, in numerous hymns, worshipped and accosted as an Asura, and, again, in other hymns, is complimented as the "destroyer of Vritras, Dasyus, enemies and Asuras," his dazzling brilliance being fixed in the air as the solar luminary.²⁵ This tissue of inconsistencies shows a strange mental conflict among the Arians when they separated from their brethren in Central Asia.

One psychological explanation of that mental phe-

x. 157. 4 इत्याय देवा असुरान्यदायन्देवा देवत्वमभिरक्षभाषाः । "When the gods returned after slaughtering the Asuras, then they maintained their position as gods."

" viii. 96. 9 अनायुधासो असुरा अदेवायक्रेण तौ अप वप ऋजीषिन् । "Therefore, O consumer of the soma, mow down the unarmed ungodly Asuras by means of thy discs."

viii. 97. 1 या इदं भुज आभर स्वर्वा असुरेभ्यः । "Enthroned in heaven all the wealth you have got, (you have obtained by killing) the Asuras (or mighty Rakshasas)" so Sayana interprets it.

" x 170, 2 विधाद्बृहत्सुभृतं वाजसातनं धर्मन्दिवा धरणे सत्यमर्षितं ।

अग्निवहा एवहा दस्युधनं व्यतिर्जते असुरहा सपत्नहा ।

"A great super-excellent light which giveth satisfying food^a was produced and placed in the upholder of the firmament (the sun) which was itself indestructible but was the destroyer of foes, the destroyer of Vritra, the exterminator of Dasyus, the destroyer of Asuras, the destroyer of enemies "

vi. 22. 4 कस्ते भागः किं वयो दुप्र खिडः पुरहृत फुल्लवोऽसुरहः ।

"O Indra, thou destroyer of Asuras, the scourge of thy foes, thou that art invoked by many and largely endowed with wealth. What share in sacrifice, what food is appropriated to thee."

nomenon may, however, be collected from the Vedas and the Zend Avesta themselves. Indra had evidently left an impression on the Iranian mind, scarcely fainter than his stamp on the emigrant Arian. In the Zend Avesta, he is at the same time both worshipped as an archangel, as *the best armed among the Yazatas*, and also condemned as a Deva. He was worshipped as the Destroyer of Vritra, and repudiated as a demon. We have already given a concise specimen of the encomiums passed on him in the "Bahram Yasht," composed especially in commemoration of the triumphs of "Verethraghna," or slayer of Vritra. And yet every true Zoroasterian had to protest against him by saying, "I combat Indra." (*Blüch's Zend Avesta* i, 93.) In the Indian Scriptures, however, Vritra is himself called an Asura,—an ungodly demon, who met at the hands of Indra a well-merited destruction. This "Asura" could not have been an Iranian chief, opposed exclusively to the seceding Arians. He must have been a common enemy of the whole Arian family of Asia, or both branches would not have chanted songs of congratulation on his death. His title or surname of Asura was probably an ethnic designation, and it naturally leads to the inference that he was an Assyrian. Conflicts between Assyrians and Arians are conceivable in themselves, and have actually been recorded both in History and the Zend Avesta. An Assyrian expedition against Arian regions under Ninus is mentioned by Justin and Diodorus, and the Zend itself represents "the snake Dahāka," asking a boon from Ardivi-sura in the region of Bawri (Babylon), that he

might desolate "the seven Karesvares" or the whole of Ariana. The Rig Veda appears to identify "the snake Daháka" with Vritra, describing him as a "snake," and a "Dása," which is synonymous with "Daháka," each having the same meaning as the "Abaddon" or "Apollyon" of the Apocalypse.²⁶ Asura itself, as an ethnic appellative, naturally points to Assyria.

Vritra is said to have restrained *the waters*, and Indra to have released the same by destroying him. The native commentator Sáyana construes it as an allegory, expressive of a liberal shower of rain, by

²⁶ The Aban Yasht says: "To her offered the Snake Daháka with three jaws, in the region of Bawri, a hundred male horses, a thousand cows, ten thousand small cattle. Then prayed he her for this favor: Grant me, O good, most profitable Ardvī-čūra, spotless, that I may make the seven Karesvares empty of men." Bleck iii. 34. And the Rig Veda thus describes the fall of Vritra:

अवध्वंस्मि पर्वते श्रिययाणं लटाकौ वचं स्वयं ततश्च ।

* * *
अपादश्चो अष्टान्यदिद्रसास्व वक्षसधिसामो जवान ।
इत्यो वग्निः प्रतिमानं बभूवन् पुष्ट्वा द्रवो अमयद्युक्षः ॥

* * *
दासपत्नीरहिगेपा अतिष्ठन्निरुद्धा आपः पश्चिनेव गावः । Rig Veda I. 32, 2, 7, 11.

"He (Indra) struck the serpent reposing in the mountain. Twastri made for him a brilliant thunderbolt. Without feet and hands he had challenged Indra, who discharged his thunderbolt at his head like the summit of a mountain.

Like an impotent person affecting the appearance of a vigorous man, he dropped, crippled in many a limb. The waters guarded by the Destroyer (Dása), the serpent, had remained shut up like the cows by Panis."

the action of thunder and lightning on the clouds. This would be no explanation, however, of the encomiums lavished on Verethraghna in the *Zend Avesta*, and the frequent doxologies in the *Rig Veda* to the honor and glory of *Vritrahá*. It is possible that *Vritra* might have attempted against an Arian town (but foiled by *Indra*) what *Cyrus* afterwards successfully accomplished against *Babylon*, by turning the waters of the *Euphrates* into an artificial channel and causing a ford for his army to effect the capture of the city.

But whether the story be a veritable narrative, or an allegory, the consentient ideas of the Iranian and Indian Arians on the subject become a great fact, on which may be fairly based any psychological considerations, explanatory of their notion of "Ahura" or "Asura." Can it be doubted that when the Arians from the plains or table lands of Central Asia gave utterance to the word "Ahura" or "Asura," in the palmy days of the Assyrian empire, that they would thereby mean either a native of Assyria, or a recognized prince, chief, or noble of that empire? In other words, the vocable "Asura" passing the Arian's lips must, at the time and place just mentioned, have stood for the identical ideas which the Cuneiform Inscriptions disclose.

Now *Asura*, we have seen, is found as a household word in the Inscriptions. We have already referred to some of the numerous places where it occurs in the sense of "Asur, my lord." We shall now add that the different senses in which the word "Assur" is used in

the Inscriptions correspond almost exactly with the various senses which it has in the Rig Veda, barring only the denunciatory notions, subsequently occasioned in India by the schism between the Iranians and Indians.

In the Inscriptions the word indicates, in the first place, a god, a great god, and the king of the gods, thus :

"In honour of Assur, king of gods and of the gods of Assyria all of them, in goodness of health (and) joy of heart, may tribute much, (and) plenty stored, in it for ever accumulate."²⁷

"In that day I elevated the hearts of the great gods, of Assur and the sun-god, &c."²⁸

"In honour of Assur (and) Istar, great deities, my lords."²⁹

"The power of Assur, of Istar, and of the great gods, &c."³⁰

"Assur and Istar his prayers shall hear."³¹

"Assur and Istar thy prayers shall hear."³²

The use of Asura in this same sense in the Rig Veda we have already noticed, and as those divinities

²⁷ Norris's Assyrian Dictionary, pp. 405 and 462, "Ina kibid Assur sar ili u ili Assur-ki-kali-sunu, &c.,

²⁸ "Ina yomme suma adlul labbut ili rabi sa Assur u Samas, &c." *Ibid* p. 643.

²⁹ "Ina kibid Assur Istar ili rabbi bili-a." *Ibid*, p. 486.

³⁰ "Danan Assur Istar va ili rabi bili-ya." *Ibid*, p. 255.

³¹ "Asur va Istar iqribi-su isintmu." *Ibid*, p. 192.

³² "Asur „ „ iqribi-ka „ „ *Ibid*, p. 504.

had wives, so the Assur divinities of the Cuneiform Inscriptions had also THEIR ladies.

"Before Ninkit, mother of the great gods, chosen wife of Assur."³³

"Ninkit (?) wife of Bel (?), mother of the great gods."³⁴

"For the sake of the temple of the great exalted wife of Assur my Lord."³⁵

"The great goddess wife of Bel."³⁶

We cannot readily see why there should have been some hesitation in translating the two last Inscriptions as they stand in the original. In the former we have "bit Ninkit hirtu Asur" *the house of Ninkit wife of Asur*, and in the latter (albeit marked with a query) "Ninkit hirti Bel," *Ninkit the wife of Bel*. The hesitation was probably owing to two names being given as husbands of Ninkit. But it appears "Bel" and "Asur" were names or surnames of the same divine individual, and therefore we need not blush at the idea of an act of *polyandria* committed by Ninkit.

We have made numerous references to passages containing the words "Assur my Lord" in a divine sense. We shall here add a few other citations on the signification, attached to the term, of a prince, a nobleman, and an Assyrian.

³³ "Mahar Ninkit ummi ili rabi hirtu naramti Assur" *Norris's Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 455.

³⁴ "Ninkit hirti Bel um ili rabi" *Ibid* 454.

³⁵ "Ana vatuhut bu Ninkit hirtu rabte namaddi Asur bil-ya." *Ibid* 801.

³⁶ "Ninkit (?) hirti Bel." *Ibid* p. 146.

"The decrees of Assur, the lord (and) prince, my Lord."

"The mighty weapons which Assur the lord furnished me."

"To the capture of Muzur, Assur the Lord urged me."⁷

"Assur" appears almost invariably with a double *s* in the English translation, but it frequently occurs in the original with a single horizontal arrow, and is Romanized with a single *s*. Such is the case with the passage last cited, notwithstanding the double *s* in the English version. Four more examples, where the originals have but one *s*, will suffice here:—

"Mighty son of Assur-dayan."

"By the high power of Assur my Lord."

"Whom Assur to the government of the land of Assyria (*Mat Asur*) vigorously proclaimed him."

"He has subdued the enemies of Assur."⁸

Assur or Asur stood also for the Assyrian empire and its capital.

"Who Padi their king, holding the creed and service of Assyria, had expelled," (p. 18).

"The men of Assyria," (p. 73).

"Plantations in Assyria I established." (*Mat Asur*, p. 388).

"Buildings in the extent of all Assyria, I caused construct, (*ina naphar Asur gabbi l'usarkis*, p. 392)."

⁷ Ibid, pp. 704, 568, 616. "Ana kasad Muzri *Asur* bilu, &c."

⁸ Ibid, pp 578, 579, 185. "Aplu kenu sa *Asur*-dayan." "Ina emuqi zinate sa *Asur* bili-ya." "Sa *Asur*... ana captu mat *Asur* kiniq ibbu-su." "Usanqitu gini *Asur*."