THE WORKS OF SIR WILLIAM JONES.

WITH THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, BY LORD TEIGNMOUTH.

IN THIRTEEN VOLUMES.

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CHAPTER THE NINTH.

On Judicature; on Law, Private and Criminal; and on the Commercial and Servile Classes.

1. I NOW will propound the immemorial duties of man and woman, who must both remain firm in the legal path, whether united or separated.

2. Day and night must women be held by their protectors in a state of dependence; but in lawful and innocent recreations, though rather addicted to them, they may be left at their own disposal.

3. Their fathers protect them in childhood; their husbands protect them in youth; their sons protect them in age: a woman is never fit for independence.
4. 'Reprehensible is the father, who gives not his daughter in marriage at the proper time; and the husband, who approaches not his wife in due season; reprehensible also is the son, who protects not his mother after the death of her lord.

5. 'Women must, above all, be restrained from the smallest illicit gratification; for, not being thus restrained, they bring sorrow on both families:

6. 'Let husbands consider this as the supreme law, ordained for all classes; and let them, how weak soever, diligently keep their wives under lawful restrictions,

7. 'For he, who preserves his wife from vice, preserves his offspring from suspicion of bastardy, his ancient usages from neglect, his family from disgrace, himself from anguish, and his duty from violation.

8. 'The husband, after conception by his wife, becomes himself an embryo, and is born a second time here below; for which reason the wife is called jāyā, since by her (jāyate) he is born again:

9. 'Now the wife brings forth a son endued with similar qualities to those of the father; so that, with a view to an excellent offspring, he must vigilantly guard his wife.

10. 'No man, indeed, can wholly restrain
COMMERCIAL AND SERVILE CLASSES.

women by violent measures; but, by these expedients, they may be restrained:

11. 'Let the husband keep his wife employed in the collection and expenditure of wealth, in purification and female duty, in the preparation of daily food, and the superintendence of household utensils.

12. 'By confinement at home, even under affectionate and observant guardians, they are not secure; but those women are truly secure, who are guarded by their own good inclinations.

13. 'Drinking spirituous liquor, associating with evil persons, absence from her husband, rambling abroad, unseasonable sleep, and dwelling in the house of another, are six faults which bring infamy on a married woman:

14. 'Such women examine not beauty, nor pay attention to age; whether their lover be handsome or ugly, they think it is enough that he is a man, and pursue their pleasures.

15. 'Through their passion for men, their mutable temper, their want of settled affection, and their perverse nature (let them be guarded in this world ever so well) they soon become alienated from their husbands.

16. 'Yet should their husbands be diligently careful in guarding them; though they well
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17. Menú allotted to such women a love of their bed, of their seat, and of ornament, impure appetites, wrath, weak flexibility, desire of mischief, and bad conduct.

18. Women have no business with the texts of the Vēda; thus is the law fully settled: having, therefore, no evidence of law, and no knowledge of expiatory texts, sinful women must be as foul as falsehood itself; and this is a fixed rule.

19. To this effect many texts, which may show their true disposition, are chanted in the Vedas: hear now their expiation for sin.

20. "That pure blood, which my mother defiled by adulterous desire, frequenting the houses of other men, and violating her duty to her lord, that blood may my father purify!" Such is the tenour of the holy text, which her son, who knows her guilt, must pronounce for her;

21. And this expiation has been declared for every unbecoming thought, which enters her mind, concerning infidelity to her husband; since that is the beginning of adultery.

22. Whatever be the qualities of the man, with whom a woman is united by lawful
COMMERCE AND SERVILE CLASSES.

23. 'Acsrama'la', a woman of the lowest birth, being thus united to Vasishtha, and 'Sa'ragi', being united to Mandapa'la, were entitled to very high honour:

24. These, and other females of low birth, have attained eminence in this world by the respective good qualities of their lords.

25. Thus has the law, ever pure, been pronounced for the civil conduct of men and women: hear, next, the laws concerning children, by obedience to which may happiness be attained in this and the future life.

26. When good women, united with husbands in expectation of progeny, eminently fortunate and worthy of reverence, irradiate the houses of their lords, between them and goddesses of abundance there is no diversity whatever.

27. The production of children, the nurture of them, when produced, and the daily superintendence of domestick affairs, are peculiar to the wife:

28. From the wife alone proceed offspring, good household management, solicitous attention, most exquisite caresses, and that heavenly beatitude, which she obtains for the manes of ancestors, and for the husband himself.
ON THE SAME; AND ON THE

29. 'She, who deserts not her lord, but keeps in subjection to him her heart, her speech, and her body, shall attain his mansion in heaven, and, by the virtuous in this world, be called Sádhwì, or good and faithful;

30. 'But a wife, by disloyalty to her husband, shall incur disgrace in this life, and be born in the next from the womb of a shakal, or be tormented with horrible diseases, which punish vice.

31. 'Learn now that excellent law, universally salutary, which was declared, concerning issue, by great and good sages formerly born,

32. 'They consider the male issue of a woman as the son of the lord; but, on the subject of that lord, a difference of opinion is mentioned in the Véda; some giving that name to the real procreator of the child, and others applying it to the married possessor of the woman.

33. 'The woman is considered in law as the field, and the man as the grain: now vegetable bodies are formed by the united operation of the seed and the field.

34. 'In some cases the prolific power of the male is chiefly distinguished; in others, the receptacle of the female; but, when both are equal in dignity, the offspring is most highly esteemed:
35. 'In general, as between the male and female powers of procreation, the male is held superior; since the offspring of all procreant beings is distinguished by marks of the male power.

36. 'Whatever be the quality of seed, scattered in a field prepared in due season, a plant of the same quality springs in that field, with peculiar visible properties.

37. 'Certainly this earth is called the primeval womb of many beings; but the seed exhibits not in its vegetation any properties of the womb.

38. 'On earth here below, even in the same ploughed field, seeds of many different forms, having been sown by husbandmen in the proper season, vegetate according to their nature:

39. 'Riceplants, mature in sixty days, and those, which require transplantation, mudga, tila, másha, barley, leaks, and sugarcanes all spring up according to the seeds.

40. 'That one plant should be sown, and another produced, cannot happen: whatever seed may be sown, even that produces its proper stem.

41. 'Never must it be sown in another man's field by him, who has natural good sense, who has been well instructed, who
knows the *Vēda* and its *Angas*, who desires long life:

42. "They, who are acquainted with past times, have preserved, on this subject, holy strains chanted by every breeze, *declaring*, that "seed must not be sown in the field of another man."

43. "As the arrow of that hunter is vain, who shoots it into the wound, which another had made just before in the antelope, thus instantaneously perishes the seed, which a man throws into the soil of another:

44. "Sages, who know former times, consider this earth (*Pṛthivi*) as the wife of king *Pṛthu*; and thus they pronounce cultivated land to be the property of him, who cut away the wood, or who cleared and tilled it; and the antelope, of the first hunter, who mortally wounded it.

45. "Then only is a man perfect, when he consists of three persons united, his wife, himself, and his son; and thus have learned *Brāhmaṇa* announced this *maxim*: "The husband is even one person with his wife," *for all domestic and religious, not for all civil, purposes*.

46. "Neither by sale nor desertion can a wife be released from her husband: thus we fully acknowledge the law enacted of old by the lord of creatures.
47. "Once is the partition of an inheritance made; once is a damsel given in marriage; and once does a man say "I give:" these three are, by good men, done once for all and irrevocably.

48. "As with cows, mares, female camels, slave girls, milch buffalos, goats, and ewes, it is not the owner of the bull or other father, who owns the offspring, even thus is it with the wives of others.

49. "They, who have no property in the field, but, having grain in their possession, sow it in soil owned by another, can receive no advantage whatever from the corn, which may be produced:

50. "Should a bull beget a hundred calves on cows not owned by his master, those calves belong solely to the proprietors of the cows; and the strength of the bull was wasted:

51. "Thus men, who have no marital property in women, but sow in the fields owned by others, may raise up fruit to the husbands; but the procreator can have no advantage from it.

52. "Unles there be a special agreement between the owners of the land and of the seed, the fruit belongs clearly to the land-
ON THE SAME; AND ON THE

' owner; for the receptacle is more important
' than the seed:

53. 'But the owners of the seed and of the
' soil may be considered in this world as joint
' owners of the crop, which they agree, by
' special compact in consideration of the seed,
' to divide between them.

54. 'Whatever man owns a field, if seed,
' conveyed into it by water or wind, should
' germinate, the plant belongs to the land-
' owner: the mere lower takes not the fruit.

55. 'Such is the law concerning the off-
' spring of cows, and mares, of female camels,
' goats, and sheep, of slave girls, hens, and
' milch buffalos, unless there be a special agree-
' ment.

56. 'Thus has the comparative importance
' of the soil and the seed been declared to you:
' I will next propound the law concerning
' women, who have no issue by their husbands.

57. 'The wife of an elder brother is con-
' sidered as mother-in-law to the younger; and
' the wife of the younger as daughter-in-law to
' the elder:

58. 'The elder brother, amorously ap-
' proaching the wife of the younger, and the
' younger, caressing the wife of the elder, are
' both degraded, even though authorized by the
COMMERCIAL AND SERVILE CLASSES.

husband or spiritual guide, except when such wife has no issue.

59. On failure of issue by the husband, if he be of the servile class, the desired offspring may be procreated, either by his brother or some other sapinda, on the wife, who has been duly authorized:

60. Sprinkled with clarified butter, silent, in the night, let the kinsman thus appointed beget one son, but a second by no means, on the widow or childless wife:

61. Some sages, learned in the laws concerning women, thinking it possible, that the great object of that appointment may not be obtained by the birth of a single son, are of opinion, that the wife and appointed kinsman may legally procreate a second.

62. The first object of the appointment being obtained according to law, both the brother and the widow must live together like a father and a daughter by affinity.

63. Either brother, appointed for this purpose, who deviates from the strict rule, and acts from carnal desire, shall be degraded, as having defiled the bed of his daughter-in-law or of his father.

64. By men of twiceborn classes no widow, or childless wife, must be authorized to conceive by any other than her lord; for they,
ON THE SAME; AND ON THE

who authorize her to conceive by any other, 
violate the primeval law.

65. Such a commission to a brother or other
near kinsman is nowhere mentioned in the
nuptial texts of the Veda; nor is the marriage
of a widow even named in the laws con-
cerning marriage.

66. This practice, fit only for cattle, is re-
prehended by learned Brähmens; yet it is de-
clared to have been the practice even of men,
while Vē'na had sovereign power:

67. He, possessing the whole earth, and
thence only called the chief of sage monarchs,
gave rise to a confusion of classes, when his
intellect became weak through lust.

68. Since his time the virtuous disapprove
of that man, who, through delusion of mind;
directs a widow to receive the careffes of another
for the sake of progeny.

69. The damsel, indeed, whose husband
shall die after troth verbally plighted, but
before consummation, his brother shall take in
marriage according to this rule:

70. Having espoused her in due form of
law, she being clad in a white robe, and pure
in her moral conduct, let him approach her
once in each proper season; and until issue
be had.

71. Let no man of sense, who has once
'given his daughter to a sufferor, give her again
to another; for he, who gives away his
daughter, whom he had before given, incurs
the guilt and fine of speaking falsely in a
cause concerning mankind.

72. 'Even though a man have married a
young woman in legal form, yet he may aban-
don her, if he find her blemished, afflicted
with disease, or previously deflowered, and
given to him with fraud:

73. 'If any man give a faulty damsel in
marriage, without disclosing her blemish, the
husband may annul that act of her illminded
giver.

74. 'Should a man have business abroad,
let him assure a fit maintenance to his wife,
and then reside for a time in a foreign country;
since a wife, even though virtuous, may be
tempted to act amiss, if she be distressed by
want of subsistence:

75. 'While her husband, having settled her
maintenance, resides abroad, let her continue
firm in religious austerities; but, if he leave
her no support, let her subsist by spinning and
other blameless arts.

76. 'If he live abroad on account of some
sacred duty, let her wait for him eight
years; if on account of knowledge or fame,
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six; if on account of pleasure, three: after
those terms have expired, she must follow him.

77. "For a whole year let a husband bear
with his wife, who treats him with aversion;
but, after a year, let him deprive her of her separate property, and cease to cohabit with her.

78. "She, who neglects her lord, though addicted to gaming, fond of spirituous liquors,
or diseased, must be deserted for three months,
and deprived of her ornaments and household furniture:

79. "But she, who is averse from a mad husband, or a deadly sinner, or an eunuch, or one
without manly strength, or one afflicted with such maladies as punish crimes, must neither be deserted nor stripped of her property.

80. "A wife, who drinks any spirituous liquors, who acts immorally, who shows hatred to her lord, who is incurably diseased,
who is mischievous, who wastes his property, may at all times be superseded by another wife.

81. "A barren wife may be superseded by another in the eighth year: she, whose children are all dead, in the tenth; she, who brings forth only daughters, in the eleventh; she, who speaks unkindly, without delay;

82. "But she, who, though afflicted with
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...illness, is beloved and virtuous, must never be disgraced, though she may be superseded by another wife with her own consent.

83. If a wife, legally superseded, shall depart in wrath from the house, she must either instantly be confined, or abandoned in the presence of the whole family:

84. But she, who, having been forbidden, addicts herself to intoxicating liquor even at jubilees, or mixes in crowds at theatres, must be fined six rācīcas of gold.

85. When twiceborn men take wives, both of their own class and others, the precedence, honour, and habitation of those wives, must be settled according to the order of their classes:

86. To all such married men, the wives of the same class only (not wives of a different class by any means) must perform the duty of personal attendance, and the daily business relating to acts of religion;

87. For he, who foolishly causes those duties to be performed by any other than his wife of the same class, when she is near at hand, has been immemorially considered as a mere Chandāla begotten on a Brāhment.

88. To an excellent and handsome youth of the same class, let every man give his daughter in marriage, according to law; even
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though she have not attained her age of eight years:

89. But it is better, that the damsel, though marriageable, should stay at home till her death, than that he should ever give her in marriage to a bridegroom void of excellent qualities.

90. Three years let a damsel wait, though she be marriageable; but, after that term, let her chuse for herself a bridegroom of equal rank:

91. If, not being given in marriage, she chuse her bridegroom, neither she, nor the youth chosen, commits any offence;

92. But a damsel, thus electing her husband, shall not carry with her the ornaments, which she received from her father, nor those given by her mother or brethren: if she carry them away, she commits theft.

93. He, who takes to wife a damsel of full age, shall not give a nuptial present to her father; since the father lost his dominion over her, by detaining her at a time, when she might have been a parent.

94. A man, aged thirty years, may marry a girl of twelve, if he find one dear to his heart; or a man of twenty-four years, a damsel of eight: but, if he finish his studentship earlier, and the duties of his next order would
otherwise be impeded, let him marry immediately.

95. 'A wife, given by the gods, who are named in the bridal texts, let the husband receive and support constantly, if she be virtuous, though he married her not from inclination: such conduct will please the gods.

96. 'To be mothers were women created; and to be fathers, men; religious rites, therefore, are ordained in the Veda to be performed by the husband together with the wife.

97. 'If a nuptial gratuity has actually been given to a damsel, and he, who gave it, should die before marriage, the damsel shall be married to his brother, if she consent;

98. 'But even a man of the servile class ought not to receive a gratuity, when he gives his daughter in marriage; since a father, who takes a fee on that occasion, tacitly sells his daughter.

99. 'Neither ancients nor moderns, who were good men, have ever given a damsel in marriage, after she had been promised to another man;

100. 'Nor, even in former creations, have we heard the virtuous approve the tacit sale of a daughter for a price, under the name of a nuptial gratuity.

101. "Let mutual fidelity continue till death!"
this, in few words, may be considered as the supreme law between husband and wife.

102. 'Let a man and woman, united by marriage, constantly beware, lest, at any time disunited, they violate their mutual fidelity.

103. 'Thus has been declared to you the law, abounding in the purest affection, for the conduct of man and wife; together with the practice of raising up offspring to a husband of the servile class on failure of issue by him begotten: learn now the law of inheritance.

104. 'After the death of the father and the mother, the brothers, being assembled, may divide among themselves the paternal and maternal estate; but they have no power over it, while their parents live, unless the father abuse to distribute it.

105. 'The eldest brother may take entire possession of the patrimony; and the others may live under him, as they lived under their father, unless they abuse to be separated.

106. 'By the eldest, at the moment of his birth, the father, having begotten a son, discharges his debt to his own progenitors; the eldest son, therefore, ought before partition to manage the whole patrimony:

107. 'That son alone, by whose birth he discharges his debt, and through whom he
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attains immortality, was begotten from a sense of duty: all the rest are considered by the wife as begotten from love of pleasure.

108. Let the father alone support his sons; and the first born, his younger brothers; and let them behave to the eldest, according to law, as children should behave to their father.

109. The first born, if virtuous, exalts the family, or, if vicious, destroys it: the first born is in this world the most respectable; and the good never treat him with disdain.

110. If an elder brother act, as an elder brother ought, he is to be revered as a mother, as a father; and, even if he have not the behaviour of a good elder brother, he should be respected as a maternal uncle, or other kinsman.

111. Either let them thus live together, or, if they desire separately to perform religious rites, let them live apart; since religious duties are multiplied in separate houses, their separation is, therefore, legal and even laudable.

112. The portion deducted for the eldest is a twentieth part of the heritage, with the best of all the chattels; for the middlemost, half of that, or a fortieth; for the youngest, a quarter of it, or an eightieth.

113. The eldest and youngest respectively
take their just mentioned portions; and, if there be more than one between them, each of the intermediate sons has the mean portion, or the fortieth.

114. Of all the goods collected, let the first born, if he be transcendentally learned and virtuous, take the best article, whatever is most excellent in its kind, and the best of ten cows or the like:

115. But, among brothers equally skilled in performing their several duties, there is no deduction of the best in ten, or the most excellent chattel; though some trifle, as a mark of greater veneration, should be given to the first born.

116. If a deduction be thus made, let equal shares of the residue be ascertained and received; but, if there be no deduction, the shares must be distributed in this manner:

117. Let the eldest have a double share, and the next born, a share and a half, if they clearly surpass the rest in virtue and learning; the younger sons must have each a share: if all be equal in good qualities, they must all take share and share alike.

118. To the unmarried daughters by the same mother, let their brothers give portions out of their own allotments respectively, according to the classes of their several mothers:
let each give a fourth part of his own distinct share; and they, who refuse to give it, shall be degraded.

119. Let them never divide the value of a single goat or sheep, or a single beast with uncloven hoofs: a single goat or sheep remaining after an equal distribution belongs to the first born.

120. Should a younger brother in the manner before mentioned have begotten a son on the wife of his deceased elder brother, the division must then be made equally between that son, who represents the deceased, and his natural father: thus is the law settled.

121. The representative is not so far wholly substituted by law in the place of the deceased principal, as to have the portion of an elder son; and the principal became a father in consequence of the procreation by his younger brother; the son, therefore, is entitled by law to an equal share, but not to a double portion.

122. A younger son being born of a first married wife, after an elder son had been born of a wife last married, but of a lower class, it may be a doubt in that case, how the division shall be made:

123. Let the son, born of the elder wife, take one most excellent bull deducted from the inheritance: the next excellent bulls are
for those, who were born first, but are inferior on account of their mothers, who were married last.

124. 'A son, indeed, who was first born, and brought forth by the wife first married, may take, if learned and virtuous, one bull and fifteen cows; and the other sons may then take, each in right of his several mother; such is the fixed rule.

125. 'As between sons, born of wives equal in their class and without any other distinction, there can be no seniority in right of the mother; but the seniority ordained by law, is according to the birth.

126. 'The right of invoking Indra by the texts, called svabramhanyá, depends on actual priority of birth; and of twins also, if any such be conceived among different wives, the eldest is he, who was first actually born.

127. 'He, who has no son, may appoint his daughter in this manner to raise up a son for him, saying: "the male child, who shall be born from her in wedlock, shall be mine for the purpose of performing my obsequies."

128. 'In this manner Dacsha himself, lord of created beings, anciently appointed all his fifty daughters to raise up sons to him, for the sake of multiplying his race:

129. 'He gave ten to Dherma, thirteen to
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CASEAPA, twenty-seven to SÓMA, king of Brahmens and medical plants, after doing honour to them with an affectionate heart.

130. 'The son of a man is even as himself; and as the son, such is the daughter thus appointed: how then, if he have no son, can any inherit his property, but a daughter, who is closely united with his own soul?

131. 'Property, given to the mother on her marriage, is inherited by her unmarried daughter; and the son of a daughter, appointed in the manner just mentioned, shall inherit the whole estate of her father, who leaves no son by himself begotten:

132. 'The son, however, of such a daughter, who succeeds to all the wealth of her father dying without a son, must offer two funeral cakes, one to his own father, and one to the father of his mother.

133. 'Between a son's son and the son of such a daughter, there is no difference in law; since their father and mother both sprang from the body of the same man:

134. 'But, a daughter having been appointed to produce a son for her father, and a son, begotten by himself, being afterwards born, the division of the heritage must in that case be equal; since there is no right of primogeniture for a woman.
135. 'Should a daughter, thus appointed to raise up a son for her father, die by any accident without a son, the husband of that daughter may, without hesitation, possess himself of her property.

136. 'By that male child, whom a daughter thus appointed, either by an implied intention or a plain declaration, shall produce from an husband of an equal class, the maternal grandfather becomes in law the father of a son; let that son give the funeral cake and possess the inheritance.

137. 'By a son, a man obtains victory over all people; by a son's son, he enjoys immortality; and, afterwards, by the son of that grandson, he reaches the solar abode.

138. 'Since the son (trāyātē) delivers his father from the hell named put, he was, therefore, called puttra by BRAHMA' himself:

139. 'Now between the sons of his son and of his daughter thus appointed, there subsists in this world no difference; for even the son of such a daughter delivers him in the next, like the son of his son.

140. 'Let the son of such a daughter offer the first funeral cake to his mother; the second to her father; the third, to her paternal grandfather.

141. 'Of the man, to whom a son has been
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- given, according to a subsequent law, adorned with every virtue, that son shall take a fifth or sixth part of the heritage, though brought from a different family.

142. 'A given son must never claim the family and estate of his natural father: the funeral cake follows the family and estate; but of him, who has given away his son, the funeral oblation is extinct.

143. 'The son of a wife, not authorized to have issue by another, and the son begotten by the brother of the husband, on a wife, who has a son then living, are both unworthy of the heritage; one being the child of an adulterer, and the other produced through mere lust.

144. 'Even the son of a wife duly authorized, not begotten according to the law already pronounced, is unworthy of the paternal estate; for he was procreated by an outcast:

145. 'But the son legally begotten on a wife, authorized for the purpose before mentioned, may inherit in all respects, if he be virtuous and learned, as a son begotten by the husband; since in that case the seed and the produce belong of right to the owner of the field.

146. 'He, who keeps a fixed and moveable estate of his deceased brother, maintains the widow, and raises up a son to that brother,
must give to that son, at the age of fifteen, the whole of his brother's divided property.

147. 'Should a wife, even though legally authorized, produce a son by the brother, or any other sapinda, of her husband, that son, if begotten with amorous embraces, and tokens of impure desire, the sages proclaim baseborn and incapable of inheriting.

148. 'This law, which has preceded, must be understood of a distribution among sons begotten on women of the same class: hear now the law concerning sons by several women of different classes.

149. 'If there be four wives of a Brâhmen in the direct order of the classes, and sons are produced by them all, this is the rule of partition among them:

150. 'The chief servant in husbandry, the bull kept for impregnating cows, the riding horse or carriage, the ring and other ornaments, and the principal messuage, shall be deducted from the inheritance and given to the Brâhmen son, together with a larger share by way of preeminence.

151. 'Let the Brâhmen take three shares of the residue; the son of the Cṣatriya wife, two shares; the son of the Vaiṣya wife, a share and a half; and the son of the Śudra wife, may take one share.
152. 'Or, if no deduction be made, let some person learned in the law divide the whole collected estate into ten parts, and make a legal distribution by this following rule:

153. 'Let the son of the Brāhman take four parts; the son of the Cṣbatriyā, three; let the son of the Vaiṣyā have two parts; let the son of the Sūdra take a single part, if he be virtuous.

154. 'But whether the Brāhmaṇa have sons, or have no sons, by wives of the three first classes, no more than a tenth part must be given to the son of a Sūdra.

155. 'The son of a Brāhmaṇa, a Cṣbatriyā, or a Vaiṣyā by a woman of the servile class, shall inherit no part of the estate, unless he be virtuous; nor jointly with other sons, unless his mother was lawfully married: whatever his father may give him, let that be his own.

156. 'All the sons of twiceborn men, produced by wives of the same class, must divide the heritage equally, after the younger brothers have given the first born his deducted allotment.

157. 'For a Sūdra is ordained a wife of his own class, and no other: all, produced by her, shall have equal shares, though she have a hundred sons.

158. 'Of the twelve sons of men, whom
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'Menu, sprung from the Self-existent, has
'named, six are kinsmen and heirs; six, not
'heirs, except to their own fathers, but kinsmen.

159. 'The son begotten by a man himself
'in lawful wedlock, the son of his wife begotten
'in the manner before described, a son given to
'him, a son made or adopted, a son of concealed
'birth, or whose real father cannot be known, and
'a son rejected by his natural parents, are the
'six kinsmen and heirs:

160. 'The son of a young woman unmarried,
'the son of a pregnant bride, a son bought, a
'son by a twice married woman, a son self-
given, and a son by a Sudra, are the six kins-
'men, but not heirs to collaterals.

161. 'Such advantage, as a man would gain,
'who should attempt to pass deep water in a
'boat made of woven reeds, that father obtains,
'who passes the gloom of death, leaving only
'contemptible sons, who are the eleven, or at least
'the six, last mentioned.

162. 'If the two heirs of one man be the
'son of his own body and a son of his wife by
'a kinsman, the former of whom was begotten
'after his recovery from an illness thought incura-
'ble, each of the sons, exclusively of the other,
'shall succeed to the whole estate of his natural
'father.

163. 'The son of his own body is the sole
heir to his estate, but, that all evil may be removed, let him allow a maintenance to the rest;

164. And, when the son of the body has taken an account of the paternal inheritance, let him give a sixth part of it to the son of the wife begotten by a kinsman, before his father's recovery; or a fifth part, if that son be eminently virtuous.

165. The son of the body, and the son of the wife may succeed immediately to the paternal estate in the manner just mentioned; but the ten other sons can only succeed in order to the family duties and to their share of the inheritance, those last named being excluded by any one of the preceding.

166. Him, whom a man has begotten on his own wedded wife, let him know to be the first in rank, as the son of his body.

167. He, who was begotten, according to law, on the wife of a man deceased, or impotent, or disordered, after due authority given to her, is called the lawful son of the wife.

168. He, whom his father, or mother with her husband's assent, gives to another as his son, provided that the donee have no issue, if the boy be of the same class and affectionately disposed, is considered as a son given, the gift being confirmed by pouring water.
169. He is considered as a son made or adopted, whom a man takes as his own son, the boy being equal in class, endowed with filial virtues, acquainted with the merit of performing obsequies to his adopter, and with the sin of omitting them.

170. In whose mansions ever a male child shall be brought forth by a married woman, whose husband has long been absent, if the real father cannot be discovered, but if it be probable that he was of an equal class, that child belongs to the lord of the unfaithful wife, and is called a son of concealed birth in his mansion.

171. A boy, whom a man receives as his own son, after he has been deserted without just cause by his parents, or by either of them, if one be dead, is called a son rejected.

172. A son, whom the daughter of any man privately brings forth in the house of her father, if she afterwards marry her lover, is described as a son begotten on an unmarried girl.

173. If a pregnant young woman marry, whether her pregnancy be known or unknown, the male child in her womb belongs to the bridegroom, and is called a son received with his bride.

174. He is called a son bought, whom a
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man, for the sake of having a son to perform his obsequies, purchases from his father and mother, whether the boy be equal or unequal to himself in good qualities, for in class all adopted sons must be equal.

175. 'He, whom a woman, either forsaken by her lord or a widow, conceived by a second husband, whom she took by her own desire, though against law, is called the son of a woman twice married:

176. 'If, on her second marriage, she be still a virgin, or if she left her husband under the age of puberty and return to him at his full age, she must again perform the nuptial ceremony, either with her second, or her young and deserted, husband.

177. 'He, who has lost his parents, or been abandoned by them without just cause, and offers himself to a man as his son, is called a son selfgiven.

178. 'A son, begotten through lust on a Sūdra by a man of the priestly class, is even as a corpse, though alive, and is hence called in law a living corpse:

179. 'But a son, begotten by a man of the servile class on his female slave, or on the female slave of his male slave, may take a share of the heritage, if permitted by the other sons: thus is the law established.
180. "These eleven sons (the son of the wife, and the rest as enumerated) are allowed by wise legislators to be substitutes in order for sons of the body, for the sake of preventing a failure of obsequies;

181. "Though such, as are called sons for that purpose, but were produced from the manhood of others, belong in truth to the father, from whose manhood they severally sprang, and to no other, except by a just fiction of law.

182. "If, among several brothers of the whole blood, one have a son born, Menu pronounces them all fathers of a male child by means of that son; so that, if such nephew would be the heir, the uncles have no power to adopt sons:

183. "Thus if, among all the wives of the same husband, one bring forth a male child, Menu has declared them all, by means of that son, to be mothers of male issue.

184. "On failure of the best, and of the next best; among those twelve sons, let the inferior in order take the heritage; but, if there be many of equal rank, let all be sharers of the estate.

185. "Not brothers, nor parents, but sons, if living, or their male issue, are heirs to the deceased, but of him, who leaves no son, nor a
wife, nor a daughter, the father shall take the inheritance; and, if he leave neither father, nor mother, the brothers.

To three ancestors must water be given at their obsequies; for three (the father, his father, and the paternal grandfather) is the funeral cake ordained: the fourth in descent is the giver of oblations to them, and their heir, if they die without nearer descendants; but the fifth has no concern with the gift of the funeral cake.

To the nearest sapinda, male or female, after him in the third degree, the inheritance next belongs; then, on failure of sapindas and of their issue, the samáňdaca, or distant kinman, shall be the heir; or the spiritual preceptor, or the pupil, or the fellow-student, of the deceased:

On failure of all those, the lawful heirs are such Bráhmens, as have read the three Védas, as are pure in body and mind, as have subdued their passions; and they must consequently offer the cake: thus the rites of obsequies cannot fail.

The property of a Bráhmen shall never be taken as an escheat by the king: this is a fixed law: but the wealth of the other classes, on failure of all heirs, the king may take.

If the widow of a man, who died
without a son, raise up a son to him by one of his kinsmen, let her deliver to that son, at his full age, the collected estate of the deceased, whatever it be.

191. If two sons, begotten by two successive husbands, who are both dead, contend for their property, then in the hands of their mother, let each take, exclusively of the other, his own father's estate.

192. On the death of the mother, let all the uterine brothers, and the uterine sisters, if unmarried, equally divide the maternal estate: each married sister shall have a fourth part of a brother's allotment.

193. Even to the daughters of those daughters, it is fit, that something should be given, from the assets of their maternal grand- mother, on the score of natural affection.

194. What was given before the nuptial fire, what was given on the bridal procession, what was given in token of love, and what was received from a brother, a mother, or a father, are considered as the sixfold separate property of a married woman:

195. What she received after marriage from the family of her husband, and what her affectionate lord may have given her, shall be inherited, even if she die in his lifetime, by her children.
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196. 'It is ordained, that the property of a woman, married by the ceremonies called Bráhma, Daiya, Arśha, Gándharva, or Prá-jápatya, shall go to her husband, if she die without issue.

197. 'But her wealth given on the marriage called Aśura, or on either of the two others, is ordained, on her death without issue, to become the property of her father and mother.

198. 'If a widow, whose husband had other wives of different classes, shall have received wealth at any time as a gift from her father, and shall die without issue, it shall go to the daughter of the Bráhmani wife, or to the issue of that daughter.

199. 'A woman should never make a hoard from the goods of her kindred, which are common to her and many; or even from the property of her lord, without his assent.

200. 'Such ornamental apparel, as women wear during the lives of their husbands, the heirs of those husbands shall not divide among themselves: they, who divide it among themselves, fall deep into sin.

201. 'Eunuchs and outcasts, persons born blind or deaf, madmen, idiots, the dumb, and such as have lost the use of a limb, are excluded from a share of the heritage;

202. 'But it is just, that the heir, who
knows his duty, should give all of them food and raiment for life without stint, according to the best of his power: he, who gives them nothing, sinks assuredly to a region of punishment.

203. 'If the eunuch and the rest should at any time desire to marry, and if the wife of the eunuch should raise up a son to him by a man legally appointed, that son and the issue of such, as have children, shall be capable of inheriting.

204. 'After the death of the father, if the eldest brother acquire wealth by his own efforts before partition, a share of that acquisition shall go to the younger brothers, if they have made a due progress in learning;

205. 'And if all of them, being unlearned, acquire property before partition by their own labour, there shall be an equal division of that property without regard to the first born; for it was not the wealth of their father: this rule is clearly settled.

206. 'Wealth, however, acquired by learning, belongs exclusively to any one of them, who acquired it; so does any thing given by a friend, received on account of marriage, or presented as a mark of respect to a guest.

207. 'If any one of the brethren has a competence from his own occupation, and wants not the property of his father, he may debar
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himself from his own share, some trifle being given him as a consideration, to prevent future strife.

208. 'What a brother has acquired by labour or skill, without using the patrimony, he shall not give up without his assent; for it was gained by his own exertion:

209. 'And if a son, by his own efforts, recover a debt or property unjustly detained, which could not be recovered before by his father, he shall not, unless by his free will, put it into parcenary with his brethren, since in fact it was acquired by himself.

210. 'If brethren, once divided and living again together as parceners, make a second partition, the shares must in that case be equal; and the first born shall have no right of deduction.

211. 'Should the eldest or youngest of several brothers be deprived of his share by a civil death or his entrance into the fourth order, or should any one of them die, his vested interest in a share shall not wholly be lost;

212. 'But, if he leave neither son, nor wife, nor daughter, nor father, nor mother, his uterine brothers and sisters, and such brothers as were reunited after a separation, shall assemble and divide his share equally.

213. 'Any eldest brother, who from avarice shall defraud his younger brother, shall forfeit
the honours of his primogeniture, be deprived of his own share, and pay a fine to the king.

214. All those brothers, who are addicted to any vice, lose their title to the inheritance: the first born shall not appropriate it to himself, but shall give shares to the youngest, if they be not vitious.

215. If, among undivided brethren living with their father, there be a common exertion for common gain, the father shall never make an unequal division among them, when they divide their families.

216. A son, born after a division in the lifetime of his father, shall alone inherit the patrimony, or shall have a share of it with the divided brethren, if they return and unite themselves with him.

217. Of a son, dying childless and leaving no widow, the father and mother shall take the estate; and, the mother also being dead, the paternal grandfather and grandmother shall take the heritage on failure of brothers and nephews.

218. When all the debts and wealth have been justly distributed according to law, any property, that may afterwards be discovered, shall be subject to a similar distribution.

219. Apparel, carriages, or riding horses, and ornaments of ordinary value, which any of the heirs had used by consent before partition,
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dressed rice, water in a well or cistern, female slaves, family priests, or spiritual counsellors, and pasture ground for cattle, the wife have declared indivisible, and still to be used as before.

220. ‘Thus have the laws of inheritance, and the rule for the conduct of sons (whether the son of the wife or others) been expounded to you in order: learn at present the law concerning games of chance.

221. ‘Gaming, either with inanimate or with animated things, let the king exclude wholly from his realm: both those modes of play cause destruction to princes.

222. ‘Such play with dice and the like, or by matches between rams and cocks, amounts to open theft; and the king must ever be vigilant in suppressing both modes of play:

223. ‘Gaming with lifeless things is known among men by the name of dyūta; but sa-mabhaya signifies a match between living creatures.

224. ‘Let the king punish corporally at discretion both the gamester and the keeper of a gaming house, whether they play with inanimate or animated things: and men of the servile class, who wear the śring and other marks of the twiceborn.

225. ‘Gamesters, publick dancers and sing-
On the same; and on the same; and on the
ers, revilers of scripture, open heretics, men
who perform not the duties of their several
classes, and sellers of spirituous liquor, let him
instantly banish from the town:

226. 'Those wretches, lurking like unseen
thieves in the dominion of a prince, contin-
ually harass his good subjects with their viti-
ous conduct.

227. 'Even in a former creation was this
vice of gaming found a great provoker of en-
mity; let no sensible man, therefore, addict
himself to play even for his amusement:

228. 'On the man addicted to it, either pri-
vately or openly, let punishment be inflicted
at the discretion of the king.

229. 'A man of the military, commercial,
or servile class, who cannot pay a fine, shall
discharge the debt by his labour: a priest shall
discharge it by little and little.

230. 'For women, children, persons of crazy
intellect, the old, the poor, and the infirm,
the king shall order punishment with a small
whip, a twig, or a rope.

231. 'Those ministers, who are employed
in publick affairs, and, inflamed by the blaze
of wealth, mar the business of any person
concerned, let the king strip of all their pro-

232. 'Such, as forge royal edicts, etc.
fensions among the great ministers, or kill
women, priests, or children, let the king put
to death; and such, as adhere to his enemies.

233. Whatever business has at any time
been transacted conformably to law, let him
consider as finally settled, and refuse to un-
ravel;

234. But whatever business has been con-
cluded illegally by his ministers or by a judge,
let the king himself reexamine; and let him
fine them each a thousand panas.

235. The slayer of a priest, a soldier or
merchant drinking arak, or a priest drinking
arak, mead, or rum, he, who steals the gold of
a priest, and he, who violates the bed of his
natural or spiritual father, are all to be con-
sidered respectively as offenders in the highest
degree, except those, whose crimes are not fit to
be named:

236. On such of those four, as have not
actually performed an expiation, let the king
legally inflict corporal punishment, together
with a fine.

237. For violating the paternal bed, let the
mark of a female part be impressed on the fore-
head with hot iron; for drinking spirits, a vint-
ner's flag; for stealing sacred gold, a dog's
foot; for murdering a priest, the figure of a
headless corpse;
ON THE SAME; AND ON THE

238. 'With none to eat with them, with none to sacrifice with them, with none to read with them, with none to be allied by marriage to them, abject and excluded from all social duties, let them wander over this earth:

239. 'Branded with indelible marks, they shall be deserted by their paternal and maternal relations, treated by none with affection, received by none with respect: such is the ordinance of Mene.

240. 'Criminals of all the classes, having performed an expiation, as ordained by law, shall not be marked on the forehead, but condemned to pay the highest fine:

241. 'For crimes by a priest, who had a good character before his offence, the middle fine shall be set on him; or, if his crime was premeditated, he shall be banished from the realm, taking with him his effects and his family;

242. 'But men of the other classes, who have committed those crimes, though without premeditation, shall be stripped of all their possessions; and, if their offence was premeditated, shall be corporally, or even capitally, punished, according to circumstances.

243. 'Let no virtuous prince appropriate the wealth of a criminal in the highest degree;
for he, who appropriates it through covetousness, is contaminated with the same guilt:

244. Having thrown such a fine into the waters, let him offer it to Varuna; or let him bestow it on some priest of eminent learning in the scriptures:

245. Varuna is the lord of punishment; he holds a rod even over kings; and a priest, who has gone through the whole Veda, is equal to a sovereign of all the world.

246. Where the king abstains from receiving to his own use the wealth of such offenders, there children are born in due season and enjoy long lives;

247. There the grain of husbandmen rises abundantly, as it was respectively sown; there no younglings die, nor is one deformed animal-born.

248. Should a man of the basest class, with preconceived malice, give pain to Brâhmans, let the prince corporally punish him by various modes, that may raise terror.

249. A king is pronounced equally unjust in releasing the man, who deserves punishment, and in punishing the man, who deserves it not: he is just, who always inflicts the punishment ordained by law.

250. These established rules for administering justice, between two litigant parties, have
been propounded at length under eighteen heads.

251. 'Thus fully performing all duties required by law, let a king seek with justice to possess regions yet unpossessed, and, when they are in his possession, let him govern them well.

252. 'His realm being completely arranged and his fortresses amply provided, let him ever apply the most diligent care to eradicate bad men resembling thorny weeds, as the law directs.

253. 'By protecting such as live virtuously, and by rooting up such as live wickedly, those kings, whose hearts are intent on the security of their people, shall rise to heaven.

254. 'Of that prince, who takes a revenue, without restraining rogues, the dominions are thrown into disorder, and himself shall be precluded from a celestial abode;

255. 'But of him, whose realm, by the strength of his arm, is defended and free from terror, the dominions continually flourish, like trees duly watered.

256. 'Let the king, whose emissaries are his eyes, discern well the two sorts of rogues, the open and the concealed, who deprive other men of their wealth;

257. 'Open rogues are they, who subsist by
cheating in various marketable commodities;
and concealed rogues are they, who steal and
rob in forests and the like secret places.

258. ' Receivers of bribes, extortioners of mo-
ney by threats, debasers of metals, gamesters,
fortunetellers, imposters, and professors of pal-
mistry;

259. ' Elephant breakers and quacks, not per-
forming what they engage to perform, pre-
tended artists, and subtil harlots;

260. ' These and the like thorny weeds,
overspreading the world, let the king discover
with a quick sight, and others, who act ill in
secret; worthless men, yet bearing the out-
ward signs of the worthy.

261. ' Having detected them, by the means
of trusty persons disguised, who pretend to
have the same occupation with them, and of
spies placed in several stations, let him bring
them by artifice into his power:

262. ' Then, having fully proclaimed their
respective criminal acts, let the king inflict
punishment legally, according to the crimes
proved;

263. ' Since, without certain punishment, it
is impossible to restrain the delinquency of
scoundrels with depraved souls, who secretly
prowl over this earth.

264. ' Muchfrequented places, cisterns of
ON THE SAME; AND ON THE

water, bake houses, the lodgings of harlots, taverns and victualling shops, squares where four ways meet, large well known trees, assemblies, and publick spectacles;

265. 'Old courtyards, thick ts, the houses of artists, empty mansions, groves, and gardens;

266. 'These and the like places let the king guard, for the prevention of robberies, with soldiers, both stationary and patrolling, as well as with secret watchmen.

267. 'By the means of able spies, once thieves but reformed, who, well knowing the various machinations of rogues, associate with them and follow them, let the king detect and draw them forth:

268. 'On pretexts of dainty food and gratifications, or of seeing some wise priest, who could ensure their success, or on pretence of mock battles and the like feats of strength, let the spies procure an assembly of those men.

269. 'Such as refuse to go forth on those occasions, deterred by former punishments, which the king had inflicted, let him seize by force, and put to death, on proof of their guilt, with their friends and kinsmen, paternal and maternal, if proved to be their confederates.

270. 'Let not a just prince kill a man convicted of simple theft, unless taken with the
mainer or with implements of robbery; but
any thief, taken with the mainer, or with
such implements, let him destroy without he-
sitation;
271. 'And let him slay all those, who give
robbers food in towns, or supply them with
implements, or afford them shelter.
272. 'Should those men, who are appointed
to guard any districts, or those of the vicinity,
who were employed for that purpose, be neu-
tral in attacks by robbers and inactive in seiz-
ing them, let him instantly punish them as
thieves.
273. 'Him, who lives apparently by the
rules of his class, but really departs from those
rules, let the king severely punish by fine, as a
wretch, who violates his duty.
274. 'They, who give no assistance on the
plundering of a town, on the forcible breaking
of a dike, or on seeing a robbery on the high-
way, shall be banished with their cattle and
utensils.
275. 'Men, who rob the king's treasure, or
obstinately oppose his commands, let him de-
stroy by various modes of just punishment;
and those, who encourage his enemies.
276. 'Of robbers, who break a wall or
partition, and commit theft in the night, let
the prince order the hands to be lopped off, 
and themselves to be fixed on a sharp stake.

277. 'Two fingers of a cutpurse, the thumb 
and the index, let him cause to be amputated 
on his first conviction; on the second, one 
hand and one foot; on the third, he shall suffer 
death.

278. 'Such, as give thieves fire, such as give 
them food, such as give them arms and apart-
ments, and such as knowingly receive a thing 
floien, let the king punish as be would punish a 
thief.

279. 'The breaker of a dam to secure a pool, 
let him punish by long immersion under 
water or by keen corporal suffering; or the of-
fender shall repair it, but must pay the highest 
mulct.

280. 'Those, who break open the treasury, 
or the arsenal, or the temple of a deity, and 
those, who carry off royal elephants, horses, 
or cars, let him without hesitation destroy.

281. 'He, who shall take away the water of 
an ancient pool, or shall obstruct a watercourse, 
must be condemned to pay the lowest usual 
amercement.

282. 'He, who shall drop his ordure on the 
king's highway, except in case of necessity, 
shall pay two panas and immediately remove 
the filth;
COMMERCIAL AND SERVILE CLASSES.

283. "But a person in urgent necessity, a very old man, a pregnant woman, and a child, only deserve reproof, and shall clean the place themselves: that is a settled rule.

284. "All physicians and surgeons acting unskilfully in their several professions, must pay for injury to brute animals the lowest, but for injury to human creatures the middle, amercement.

285. "The breaker of a footbridge, of a publick flag, of a palisade, and of idols made of clay, shall repair what he has broken, and pay a mulct of five hundred panas.

286. "For mixing impure with pure commodities, for piercing fine gems, as diamonds or rubies, and for boring pearls or inferior gems improperly, the fine is the lowest of the three; but damages must always be paid.

287. "The man, who shall deal unjustly with purchasers at a fair price by delivering goods of less value, or shall sell at a high price goods of ordinary value, shall pay according to circumstances, the lowest or the middle amercement.

288. "Let the king place all prisons near a publick road, where offenders may be seen wretched or disfigured.

289. "Him, who breaks down a publick wall, him, who fills up a publick ditch, him,
who throws down a publick gate, the king shall speedily banish.

290. 'For all sacrifices to destroy innocent men, the punishment is a fine of two hundred panas; and for machinations with poisonous roots, and for the various charms and witcheries intended to kill, by persons not effecting their purpose.

291. 'The seller of bad grain for good, or of good seed placed at the top of the bag, to conceal the bad below, and the destroyer of known landmarks, must suffer such corporal punishment as will disfigure them;

292. 'But the most pernicious of all deceivers is a goldsmith, who commits frauds: the king shall order him to be cut piecemeal with razors.

293. 'For stealing implements of husbandry, weapons, and prepared medicines, let the king award punishment according to the time and according to their use.

294. 'The king, and his council, his metropolis, his realm, his treasure, and his army, together with his ally, are the seven members of his kingdom; whence it is called Septânga:

295. 'Among those seven members of a kingdom, let him consider the ruin of the first, and so forth in order, as the greatest calamity;
COMMERCIAL AND SERVILE CLASSES.

296. "Yet, in a sevenparted kingdom here below, there is no supremacy among the several parts, from any preeminence in useful qualities: but all the parts must reciprocally support each other, like the three staves of a holy mendicant:

297. "In these and those acts, indeed, this and that member may be distinguished; and the member, by which any affair is transacted, has the preeminence in that particular affair:

298. "When the king employs emissaries, when he exerts power, when he regulates publick business, let him invariably know both his own strength and that of his enemy,

299. "With all their several distresses and vices: let him then begin his operations, having maturely considered the greater and less importance of particular acts:

300. "Let him, though frequently disappointed, renew his operations, how fatigued soever, again and again: since fortune always attends the man, who, having begun well, strenuously renews his efforts.

301. "All the ages, called Satya, Trétd, Dvápára, and Cáli, depend on the conduct of the king; who is declared in turn to represent each of those ages:

302. "Sleeping, he is the Cáli age; waking
ON THE SAME; AND ON THE

the Dwāpara; exerting himself in action, the
Trété; living virtuously, the Satya.

303. 'Of Indra, of Su'rya, of Pavana,
of Yama, of Varuna, of Chandra, of
Agni, and of Prit'hivi, let the king emulate
the power and attributes.

304. 'As Indra sheds plentiful showers
during the four rainy months, thus let him,
acting like the regent of clouds, rain just grati-
fications over his kingdom:

305. 'As Su'rya with strong rays draws up
the water during eight months, thus let him,
performing the function of the sun, gradually
draw from his realm the legal revenue:

306. 'As Pavana, when he moves, per-
vades all creatures, thus let him, imitating
the regent of wind, pervade all places by his
concealed emissaries:

307. 'As Yama, at the appointed time,
punishes friends and foes, or those who revere,
and those who contemn, him, thus let the king,
resembling the judge of departed spirits,
punish offending subjects:

308. 'As Varuna most assuredly binds the
guilty in fatal cords, thus let him, represent-
ing the genius of water, keep offenders in
close confinement:

309. 'When the people are no less delighted
on seeing the king, than on seeing the full
COMMERCIAL AND SERVILE CLASSES. 53

moon, he appears in the character of Chan-

dra:

310. 'Against criminals let him ever be ar-
dent in wrath, let him be splendid in glory,
let him consume wicked ministers, thus
emulating the functions of Agni, regent of
fire.

311. 'As Prit'hivi supports all creatures
equally, thus a king, sustaining all subjects,
resembles in his office the goddess of earth.

312. 'Engaged in these duties and in others,
with continual activity, let the king above all
things restrain robbers, both in his own terri-
tories and in those of other princes, from which
they come, or in which they seek refuge.

313. 'Let him not, although in the great-
est distress for money, provoke Brahmens to
anger by taking their property; for they, once
enraged, could immediately by sacrifices and
imprecations destroy him with his troops, ele-
phants, horses and cars.

314. 'Who, without perishing, could pro-
voke those holy men, by whom, that is, by
whose ancestors, under Brahma', the allde-
vouring fire was created, the sea with waters
not drinkable, and the moon with its wane
and increase?

315. 'What prince could gain wealth by
oppressing those, who, if angry, could frame
ON THE SAME; AND ON THE

other worlds and regents of worlds, could give
being to new gods and mortals?

316. 'What man, desirous of life, would
injure those, by the aid of whom, that is, by
whose oblations, worlds and gods perpetually
subsist; those who are rich in the learning of
the Vêda?

317. 'A Brâhmen, whether learned or igno-ant, is a powerful divinity; even as fire is a
powerful divinity, whether consecrated or
popular.

318. 'Even in places for burning the dead,
the bright fire is undefiled; and, when pre-
sented with clarified butter at subsequent sacri-
fices, blazes again with extreme splendour:

319. 'Thus, although Brâhméns employ
themselves in all sorts of mean occupation,
they must invariably be honoured; for they
are something transcendently divine.

320. 'Of a military man, who raises his
arm violently on all occasions against the
priestly class, the priest himself shall be the
chastiser; since the soldier originally proceed-
ed from the Brâhmen.

321. 'From the waters arose fire; from the
priest, the soldier; from stone, iron: their all-
penetrating force is ineffectual in the places,
whence they respectively sprang.

322. 'The military class cannot prosper
without the facerdotal, nor can the facerdotal
be raised without the military: both classes, by
cordial union, are exalted in this world and
in the next.

323. 'Should the king be near his end through
some incurable disease, he must bestow on the
priests all his riches accumulated from legal
fines; and, having duly committed his king-
don to his son, let him seek death in battle, or,
if there be no war, by abstaining from food.

324. 'Thus conducting himself, and ever
firm in discharging his royal duties, let the king
employ all his ministers in acts beneficial to his
people.

325. 'These rules for the conduct of a mi-
ilitary man having been propounded, let man-
kind next hear the rules for the commercial
and servile classes in due order.

326. 'Let the Vaiśya, having been girt with
his proper sacrificial thread, and having mar-
rried an equal wife, be always attentive to his
business of agriculture and trade, and to that of
keeping cattle;

327. 'Since the lord of created beings, hav-
ing formed herd, and flocks, intrusted them to
the care of the Vaiśya, while he intrusted the
whole human species to the Brāhmen and the
Gṛḥatriya:

328. 'Never must a Vaiśya be disposed to say,
"I keep no cattle;" nor, he being willing to
keep them, must they by any means be kept
by men of another class.

329. "Of gems, pearls, and coral, of iron,
of woven cloth, of perfumes and of liquids, let
him well know the prices both high and low:

330. "Let him be skilled likewise in the time
and manner of sowing seeds, and in the bad or
good qualities of land; let him also perfectly
know th e correct modes of measuring and
weighing,

331. "The excellence or defects of commodi-
dities, the advantages and disadvantages of
different regions, the probable gain or loss on
vendible goods, and the means of breeding
cattle with large augmentation:

332. "Let him know the just wages of ser-
vants, the various dialects of men, the best
way of keeping goods, and whatever else be-
longs to purchase and sale.

333. "Let him apply the most vigilant care
to augment his wealth by performing his duty;
and, with great solicitude, let him give nou-
rishment to all sentient creatures.

334. "Servile attendance on Brāhmens
learned in the Vēda, chiefly on such as keep
house and are famed for virtue, is of itself the
highest duty of a Sūdra, and leads him to
future beatitude;
335. * Pure *in body and mind*, humbly serving the three higher classes, mild in speech, never arrogant, ever seeking refuge in *Brahmens* principally, he may attain the most eminent class in another transmigration.

336. * This clear system of duties has been promulgated for the four classes, when they are not in distress for subsistence; now learn in order their several duties in times of necessity.*
CHAPTER THE TENTH.

On the mixed Classes; and on Times of Distress.

1. 'Let the three twiceborn classes, remaining firm in their several duties, carefully read the Vedas; but a Brâhmen must explain it to them, not a man of the other two classes: this is an established rule.

2. 'The Brâhmen must know the means of subsistence ordained by law for all the classes, and must declare them to the rest: let himself likewise act in conformity to law.

3. 'From priority of birth, from superiority of origin, from a more exact knowledge of scripture, and from a distinction in the sacrificial thread, the Brâhmen is the lord of all classes.

4. 'The three twiceborn classes are the sacerdotal, the military, and the commercial; but the fourth, or servile, is onceborn, that is, has no second birth from the gâyatrî, and wears no thread: nor is there a fifth pure class.

5. 'In all classes they, and they only, who are born, in a direct order, of wives equal in
ON THE MIXED CLASSES, &c. 59

class and virgins at the time of marriage, are
to be considered as the same in class with their
fathers:

6. 'Sons, begotten by twiceborn men, on
women of the class next immediately below
them, wise legislators call similar, not the same,
in class with their parents, because they are
degraded, to a middle rank between both, by the
lowness of their mothers: they are named in
order, Mûrdhâbhîshîta, Māhîshya, and Ca-
rana, or Câyaft'ha; and their several employ-
ments are teaching military exercises; music,
astronomy, and keeping herds; and attendance on
princes.

7. 'Such is the primeval rule for the sons
of women one degree lower than their husbands:
for the sons of women two or three degrees
lower, let this rule of law be known.

8. 'From a Brâhmen, on a wife of the Vaisya
class, is born a son called Ambaft'ba, or
Vâidya, on a Sudra wife a Nîbâda, named
also Pârasâva:

9. 'From a Cshatriya, on a wife of the Sudra
class, springs a creature, called Ugra, with a
nature partly warlike and partly servile, fero-
cious in his manners, cruel in his acts.

10. 'The sons of a Brâhmen by women of
three lower classes, of a Cshatriya by women of
two, and of a Vaisya by one lower class, are
ON THE MIXED CLASSES; AND

called aṣafadāḥ, or degraded below their fathers.

11. From a Čṛṣṭa, by a Brāhmeni wife, springs a Sūta by birth; from a Vaiśya, by a military or sacerdotal wife, spring a Māgadha and a Vaidēha.

12. From a Śūdra, on women of the commercial, military, and priestly classes, are born sons of a mixed breed, called Āyogava, Čṛṣṭa, and Chandāla, the lowest of mortals.

13. As the Ambast'ba and Ugra, born in a direct order with one class between those of their parents, are considered in law, so are the Čṛṣṭa and the Vaidēha, born in an inverse order with one intermediate class; and all four may be touched without impurity.

14. Those sons of the twiceborn, who are begotten on women without an interval (Anantarā) between the classes mentioned in order, the wife called Anantarās, giving them a distinct name from the lower degree of their mothers.

15. From a Brāhmen, by a girl of the Ugra tribe, is born an Āvrita; by one of the Ambast'ba tribe, an Abhira; by one of the Āyogava tribe, a Dhīgavā.

16. The Āyogava, the Čṛṣṭa, and the Chandāla, the lowest of men, spring from a Śūdra in an inverse order of the classes, and
ON TIMES OF DISTRESS.

are, therefore, all three excluded from the performance of obsequies to their ancestors:

17. 'From a Vaisya the Magadba and Vaidbla, from a Cshatriya the Suta only, are born in an inverse order; and they are three other sons excluded from funeral rites to their fathers.

18. 'The son of a Nishada, by a woman of the Sudra class, is by tribe a Puccasa; but the son of a Sudra by a Nishadi woman, is named Cuccutaca.

19. 'One, born of a Cshattri by an Ugra, is called Swapaca; and one, begotten by a Vaidha on an Ambashthi wife, is called Vena.

20. 'Those, whom the twiceborn beget on women of equal classes, but who perform not the proper ceremonies of assuming the thread, and the like, people denominate Vrattyas, or excluded from the gavyatri.

21. 'From such an outcast Brahmen springs a son of a sinful nature, who in different countries is named a Bhurjacantaca, an Avantya, a Vatadhana, a Pushpadha, and a Saichha:

22. 'From such an outcast Cshatriya comes a son called a Thalla, a Malla, a Nichhivi, a Nata, a Carana, a Chasa, and a Dravira:

23. 'From such an outcast Vaisya is born a son called Sudhanwan, Charya, Carusba, Vijanman, Maitra, and Satwata.

24. 'By intermixtures of the classes, by their
marriages with women who ought not to be married, and by their omission of prescribed duties, impure classes have been formed.

25. Those men of mingled births, who were born in the inverse order of classes, and who intermarry among themselves, I will now compendiously describe.

26. The Sūta, the Vaidēha, and the Chan-dāla, that lowest of mortals, the Māgadha; the Cshattṛi by tribe, and the Āyogava,

27. These six beget similar sons on women of their own classes, or on women of the same class with their mothers; and they produce the like from women of the two highest classes, and of the lowest:

28. As a twiceborn son may spring from a Brāhmaṇ by women of two classes out of three, a similar son, when there is no interval; and an equal son from a woman of his own class, it is thus in the case of the low tribes in order.

29. Those six beget, on women of their own tribes, reciprocally, very many despicable and abject races even more foul than their begetters.

30. Even as a Sūdra begets, on a Brāhmaṇ woman, a son more vile than himself, thus any other low man begets, on woman of the four classes, a son yet lower.
31. The six low classes, marrying inversely, beget fifteen yet lower tribes, the base producing still baser; and in a direct order they produce fifteen more.

32. A Dasyu, or outcast of any pure class, begets on an A'ygavī woman a Sairindhra, who should know how to attend and to dress his master; though not a slave, he must live by slavish work, and may also gain subsistence by catching wild beasts in toils.

33. A Vaidēba begets on her a sweetvoiced Maitreyaca, who, ringing a bell at the appearance of dawn, continually praises great men:

34. A Nisbhāda begets on her a Margava, or Dāsa, who subsists by his labour in boats, and is named Caiverta by those, who dwell in A'ryāvera, or the land of the venerable.

35. Those three of a base tribe are severally begotten on A'ygavī women, who wear the clothes of the deceased and eat reprehensible food.

36. From a Nisbhāda springs by a woman of the Vaidēha tribe, a Cārāvara, who cuts leather, and from a Vaidēha spring by women of the Cārāvarā and Nisbhāda castes, an Andhra and a Méda, who must live without the town.

37. From a Chandāla, by a Vaidēha woman, comes a Pāndusśpāca, who works with cane
ON THE MIXED CLASSES; AND

... and reeds; and from a Nisyáda, an Abindica, who acts as a jailor.

38. From a Chandála, by a Puccarí woman, is born a Sópáca, who lives by punishing criminals condemned by the king, a sinful wretch ever despised by the virtuous.

39. A Nisyádi woman, by a Chandála, produces a son called Antyavasaíyaín, employed in places for burning the dead, contempt even by the contemptible.

40. These, among various mixed classes, have been described by their several fathers and mothers; and, whether concealed or open, they may be known by their occupations.

41. Six sons, three begotten on women of the same class, and three on women of lower classes, must perform the duties of twiceborn men; but those, who are born in an inverse order, and called lowborn, are equal, in respect of duty, to mere Súdras.

42. By the force of extreme devotion and of exalted fathers, all of them may rise in time to high birth, as by the reverse they may sink to a lower state, in every age among mortals in this inferior world.

43. The following races of CÒbatriyas, by their omission of holy rites and by seeing no Brāhmaṇas, have gradually sunk among men to the lowest of the four classes:
44. 'Pound'racas, Odras, and Drāviras; Cāmbjas, Yavanas, and Sacas; Pāradas, Pablavas, Chinas, Cirātas, Deradas, and C'bafas.

45. 'All those tribes of men, who sprang from the mouth, the arm, the thigh, and the foot of Brahma', but who became outcastes by having neglected their duties, are called Dasyus, or plunderers, whether they speak the language of Mlēchb'bas, or that of Āryas.

46. 'Those sons of the twiceborn, who are said to be degraded, and who are considered as lowborn, shall subsist only by such employments, as the twiceborn despise.

47. 'Sūtas must live by managing horses and by driving cars; Ambaśṭ'bas, by curing disorders; Vaidēbas, by waiting on women; Māgadhas, by travelling with merchandise;

48. 'Nīshādas, by catching fish; an Ayōgava, by the work of a carpenter; a Mēda, an Antarbra, and (the sons of a Brāhmen by wives of the Vaidēba and Ugra classes, respectively called) a Chunchu and a Madgu, by slaying beasts of the forest;

49. 'A Cbhattṛi, an Ugra, and a Puccasā, by killing or confining such animals as live in holes: Dbigvanas, by selling leather; Vēnas, by striking musical instruments:

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50. 'Near large publick trees, in places for burning the dead, on mountains, and in groves, let those tribes dwell, generally known, and engaged in their several works.

51. 'The abode of a Chandala and a Swapáca must be out of the town; they must not have the use of entire vessels; their sole wealth must be dogs and asses:

52. 'Their clothes must be the mantles of the deceased; their dishes for food, broken pots; their ornaments, rusty iron; continually they roam from place to place:

53. 'Let no man, who regards his duty religious and civil, hold any intercourse with them; let their transactions be confined to themselves, and their marriages only between equals:

54. 'Let food be given to them in potsherd, but not by the hands of the giver; and let them not walk by night in cities or towns:

55. 'By day they may walk about for the purpose of work, distinguished by the king's badges; and they shall carry out the corpse of every one, who dies without kindred: such is the fixed rule.

56. 'They shall always kill those, who are to be slain by the sentence of the law, and by the royal warrant; and let them take the
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57. 'Him, who was born of a sinful mother, and consequently in a low class, but is not openly known, who, though worthless in truth, bears the semblance of a worthy man, let people discover by his acts:

58. 'Want of virtuous dignity, harshness of speech, cruelty, and habitual neglect of prescribed duties, betray in this world the son of a criminal mother.

59. 'Whether a man of debased birth assume the character of his father or of his mother, he can at no time conceal his origin:

60. 'He, whose family had been exalted, but whose parents were criminal in marrying, has a base nature, according as the offence of his mother was great or small.

61. 'In whatever country such men are born, as destroy the purity of the four classes, that country soon perishes together with the natives of it.

62. 'Desertion of life, without reward, for the sake of preserving a priest or a cow, a woman or a child, may cause the beatitude of those baseborn tribes.

63. Avoiding all injury to animated beings, veracity, abstinence from theft, and from unjust seizure of property, cleanliness, and command
ON THE MIXED CLASSES; AND

over the bodily organs, form the compendious system of duty, which Menu has ordained for the four classes.

64. SHOULD the tribe sprung from a Brâhmen, by a Súdra woman, produce a succession of children by the marriages of its women with other Brâhmens, the low tribe shall be raised to the highest in the seventh generation.

65. As the son of a Súdra may thus attain the rank of a Brâhmen, and as the son of a Brâhmen may sink to a level with Súdras, even so must it be with him, who springs from a Cshatriya; even so with him, who was born of a Vaisya.

66. If there be a doubt, as to the preference between him, who was begotten by a Brâhmen for his pleasure, but not in wedlock, on a Súdra woman, and him, who was begotten by a Súdra on a Brâhmen,

67. Thus is it removed: he, who was begotten by an exalted man on a base woman, may by his good acts become respectable; but he, who was begotten on an exalted woman by a base man, must himself continue base:

68. Neither of the two (as the law is fixed) shall be girt with a sacred string; not the former, because his mother was low; nor the second, because the order of the classes was inverted.
ON TIMES OF DISTRESS.

69. "As good grain, springing from good soil, is in all respects excellent, thus a man, springing from a respectable father by a respectable mother, has a claim to the whole institution of the twice born.

70. "Some fages give a preference to the grain; others to the field; and others consider both field and grain; on this point the decision follows:

71. "Grain, cast into bad ground, wholly perishes, and a good field with no grain sown in it, is a mere heap of clods;

72. "But since, by the virtue of eminent fathers, even the sons of wild animals, as Rishi-yasringa, and others, have been transformed into holy men revered and extolled, the paternal side, therefore, prevails.

73. "Brahma himself, having compared a Sudra, who performs the duties of the twice-born, with a twiceborn man, who does the acts of a Sudra, said: "Those two are neither equal nor unequal," that is, they are neither equal in rank, nor unequal in bad conduct.

74. "Let such Brahmens as are intent on the means of attaining the supreme godhead, and firm in their own duties, completely perform in order, the six following acts:

75. "Reading the Vedas, and teaching others to read them, sacrificing, and assisting others to
70. ON THE MIXED CLASSES; AND

'sacrifice, giving to the poor, if themselves have
enough, and accepting gifts from the virtuous, if
themselves are poor, are the six prescribed acts
of the firstborn class;

76. 'But, among those six acts of a Brāhmaṇa,
three are his means of subsistence; assisting to
sacrifice, teaching the Veda, and receiving
gifts from a purehanded giver.

77. 'Three acts of duty cease with the Brāhmaṇa,
and belong not to the Cshatriya; teaching
the Veda, officiating at a sacrifice, and, thirdly,
receiving presents;

78. 'Those three are also (by the fixed rule
of law) forbidden to the Vaisya; since Menu,
the lord of all men, prescribed not those acts to
the two classes, military and commercial.

79. 'The means of subsistence, peculiar to
the Cshatriya, are bearing arms, either held for
striking or missile; to the Vaisya, merchandize,
attending on cattle, and agriculture: but with
a view to the next life the duties of both are
almsgiving, reading, sacrificing.

80. 'Among the several occupations for gain-
ing a livelihood the most commendable respect-
ively for the sacerdotal, military, and mercan-
tile classes, are teaching the Veda, defending
the people, and commerce or keeping herds
and flocks.

81. 'Yet a Brāhmaṇa, unable to subsist by his
duties just mentioned, may live by the duty of a soldier; for that is the next in rank.

82. 'If it be asked, how he must live, should he be unable to get a subsistence by either of those employments; the answer is, he may subsist as a mercantile man, applying himself in person to tillage and attendance on cattle:

83. 'But a Brāhmen and a Čśatriya, obliged to subsist by the acts of a Vaiśya, must avoid with care, if they can live by keeping herds, the business of tillage, which gives great pain to sentient creatures, and is dependant on the labour of others, as bulls and so forth.

84. 'Some are of opinion, that agriculture is excellent; but it is a mode of subsistence, which the benevolent greatly blame; for the ironmouthed pieces of wood not only wound the earth, but the creatures dwelling in it.

85. 'If, through want of a virtuous livelihood, they cannot follow laudable occupations, they may then gain a competence of wealth by selling commodities usually sold by merchants, avoiding what ought to be avoided:

86. 'They must avoid selling liquids of all sorts, dressed grain, seeds of tila, stones, salt, cattle and human creatures;

87. 'All woven cloth dyed red, cloth made of sana, of cśhumá bark, and of wool, even
though not red; fruit, roots, and medicinal plants;

88. Water, iron, poison, fleshmeat, the moonplant, and perfumes of any sort; milk, honey, buttermilk, clarified butter, oil of tila, wax, sugar, and blades of cus'a-grass;

89. All beasts of the forest, as deer and the like; ravenous beasts, birds, and fish; spirituous liquors, nīlī, or indigo, and lácśbā, or lac; and all beasts with unclawed hoofs.

90. But the Brāhmaṇ husbandman may at pleasure sell pure tīla seeds for the purpose of holy rites, if he keep them not long with a hope of more gain, and shall have produced them by his own culture:

91. If he apply seeds of tīla to any purpose but food, anointing, and sacred oblations, he shall be plunged, in the shape of a worm, together with his parents, into the ordure of dogs.

92. By selling fleshmeat, lácśbā; or salt, a Brāhmaṇ immediately sinks low; by selling milk three days, he falls to a level with a Śūdra;

93. And by selling the other forbidden commodities with his own free will, he assumes in this world, after seven nights, the nature of a mere Vaiśya.

94. Fluid things may, however, be bartered for other fluids, but not salt for any thing
ON TIMES OF DISTRESS.

liquid; so may dressed grain for grain undressed, and *tila* seeds for grain in the husk, equal weights or measures being given and taken.

95. A MILITARY man, in distress, may subsist by all these means, but at no time must he have recourse to the highest, or *jacerdotal*, function.

96. A man of the lowest class, who, through covetousness, lives by the acts of the highest, let the king strip of all his wealth and instantly banish:

97. His own office, though defectively performed, is preferable to that of another, though performed completely; for he, who without necessity discharges the duties of another class, immediately forfeits his own.

98. A MERCANTILE man, unable to subsist by his own duties, may descend even to the servile acts of a *Sūdra*, taking care never to do what ought never to be done; but, when he has gained a competence, let him depart from service.

99. A MAN of the fourth class, not finding employment by waiting on the twiceborn, while his wife and son are tormented with hunger, may subsist by handicrafts:

100. Let him principally follow those mechanical occupations, *as joinery and masonry*, or
those various practical arts, as painting and writing, by following which, he may serve the twiceborn.

101. Should a Brāhmaṇa, afflicted and pinning through want of food, choose rather to remain fixed in the path of his own duty, than to adopt the practice of Vaishyas, let him act in this manner:

102. The Brāhmaṇa, having fallen into distress, may receive gifts from any person whatever; for by no sacred rule can it be shown, that absolute purity can be fulfilled.

103. From interpreting the Veda, from officiating at sacrifices, or from taking presents, though in modes generally disapproved, no sin is committed by priests in distress; for they are pure as fire or water.

104. He, who receives food, when his life could not otherwise be sustained, from any man whatever, is no more tainted by sin, than the subtle ether by mud;

105. Ajīgartha, dying with hunger, was going to destroy his own son (named Sūnams'ep'ha) by selling him for some cattle; yet he was guilty of no crime, since he only sought a remedy against famishing:

106. Va'madeva, who well knew right and wrong, was by no means rendered impure, though desirous, when oppressed with hunger,
ON TIMES OF DISTRESS.

...of eating the flesh of dogs for the preservation of his life:

107. 'Bharadwa'ja, eminent in devotion, when he and his son were almost starved in a dreary forest, accepted several cows from the carpenter Vridhu:

108. 'Viswa'mitra too, than whom none better knew the distinctions between virtue and vice, resolved, when he was perishing with hunger, to eat the haunch of a dog, which he had received from a Chandala.

109. 'Among the acts generally disapproved, namely, accepting presents from low men, assisting them to sacrifice, and explaining the scripture to them, the receipt of presents is the meanest in this world, and the most blamed in a Brahman after his present life;

110. 'Because assisting to sacrifice and explaining the scripture are two acts always performed for those, whose minds have been improved by the sacred initiation; but gifts are also received from a servile man of the lowest class.

111. 'The guilt, incurred by assisting low men to sacrifice and by teaching them the scripture, is removed by repetitions of the gāyatrī and oblations to fire; but that, incurred by accepting gifts from them, is expiated only
by abandoning the gifts and by rigorous devotion.

112. 'It were better for a Brāhmēn, who could not maintain himself, to glean ears and grains after harvest from the field of any person whatever: gleaning whole ears would be better than accepting a present, and picking up single grains would be still more laudable.

113. 'Brāhmēns, who keep house, and are in want of any metals except gold and silver, or of other articles for good uses, may ask the king for them, if he be of the military class; but a king, known to be avaricious and unwilling to give, must not be solicited.

114. 'The foremost, in order, of these things may be received more innocently than that, which follows it: a field untilled, a tilled field, cows, goats, sheep, precious metals or gems, new grain, dressed grain.

115. 'There are seven virtuous means of acquiring property; succession, occupancy or donation, and purchase or exchange, which are allowed to all classes; conquest, which is peculiar to the military class; lending at interest, husbandry or commerce, which belong to the mercantile class; and acceptance of presents, by the sacerdotal class, from respectable men.

116. 'Learning, except that contained in the
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...sciptures, art, as mixing perfumes and the like, work for wages, menial service, attendance on cattle, traffick, agriculture, content with little, alms, and receiving high interest on money, are ten modes of subsistence in times of distress.

117. 'Neither a priest nor a military man, though distressed, must receive interest on loans; but each of them, if he please, may pay the small interest permitted by law, on borrowing for some pious use, to the sinful man, who demands it.

118. 'A military king, who takes even a fourth part of the crops of his realm at a time of urgent necessity, as of war or invasion, and protects his people to the utmost of his power, commits no sin:

119. 'His peculiar duty is conquest, and he must not recede from battle; so that, while he defends by his arms the merchant and husbandman, he may levy the legal tax as the price of protection.

120. 'The tax on the mercantile class, which in times of prosperity must be only a twelfth part of their crops, and a fiftieth of their personal profits, may be an eighth of their crops in a time of distress, or a sixth, which is the medium, or even a fourth in great publick adversity; but a twentieth of their gains on money, and...
other moveables, is the highest tax: serving
men, artisans, and mechanicks must assist by
their labour, but at no time pay taxes.

121. 'If a Sudra want a subsistence and
cannot attend a priest, he may serve a Cśa-
triya; or, if he cannot wait on a soldier by birth,
he may gain his livelihood by serving an opu-

cent Vaṣya.

122. 'To him, who serves Brāhmaṇs with a
view to a heavenly reward, or even with a
view to both this life and the next, the union
of the word Brāhmaṇ with his name of servant
will assuredly bring success.

123. 'Attendance on Brāhmaṇs is pro-
nounced the best work of a Sudra: whatever
else he may perform will comparatively avail
him nothing.

124. 'They must allot him a fit mainte-
nance according to their own circumstances,
after considering his ability, his exertions, and
the number of those, whom he must provide
with nourishment:

125. 'What remains of their dressed rice
must be given to him; and apparel which
they have worn, and the refuse of their grain,
and their old household furniture.

126. 'There is no guilt in a man of the
servile class, who eats leeks and other forbidden
vegetables: he must not have the sacred inven-
Titute: he has no business with the duty of making oblations to fire and the like; but there is no prohibition against his offering dressed grain as a sacrifice, by way of discharging his own duty.

127. "Even Súdras, who are anxious to perform their entire duty, and, knowing what they should perform, imitate the practice of good men in the household sacraments, but without any holy text, except those containing praise and salutation, are so far from sinning, that they acquire just applause:

128. "As a Súdra, without injuring another man, performs the lawful acts of the twice-born, even thus, without being censured, he gains exaltation in this world and in the next.

129. "No superfluous collection of wealth must be made by a Súdra, even though he has power to make it, since a servile man, who has amassed riches, becomes proud, and by his insolence or neglect, gives pain even to Bráhmans.

130. "Such, as have been fully declared, are the several duties of the four classes in distress for subsistence; and, if they perform them exactly, they shall attain the highest beatitude.
131. 'Thus has been propounded the system of duties, religious and civil, ordained for all classes: I next will declare the pure law of expiation for sin.'
CHAPTER THE ELEVENTH.

On Penance and Expiation.

1. HEIM, who intends to marry for the sake of having issue; him, who wishes to make a sacrifice; him, who travels; him, who has given all his wealth at a sacred rite; him, who desires to maintain his preceptor, his father, or his mother; him, who needs a maintenance for himself, when he first reads the Vedas, and him, who is afflicted with illness;

2. These nine Brâhmens let mankind consider as virtuous mendicants, called śnātacas; and, to relieve their wants, let gifts of cattle or gold be presented to them in proportion to their learning:

3. To these most excellent Brâhmens must rice also be given with holy presents at oblations to fire and within the consecrated circle; but the dressed rice, which others are to receive, must be delivered on the outside of the sacred hearth: gold and the like may be given any where.

4. On such Brâhmens, as well know the Vol. VI.
Vêda, let the king bestow, as it becomes him, jewels of all sorts, and the solemn reward for officiating at the sacrifice.

5. "He, who has a wife, and, having begged money to defray his nuptial expences, marries another woman, shall have no advantage but sensual enjoyment: the offspring belongs to the bestower of the gift.

6. "Let every man, according to his ability, give wealth to Brâhmens detached from the world and learned in scripture: such a giver shall attain heaven after this life.

7. "He alone is worthy to drink the juice of the moonplant, who keeps a provision of grain sufficient to supply those, whom the law commands him to nourish, for the term of three years or more;

8. "But a twiceborn man, who keeps a less provision of grain, yet presumes to taste the juice of the moonplant, shall gather no fruit from that sacrament, even though he taste it at the first, or solemn, much less at any occasional ceremony.

9. "He, who bestows gifts on strangers with a view to worldly fame, while he suffers his family to live in distress, though he has power to support them, touches his lips with honey, but swallows poison; such virtue is counterfeit:
10. 'Even what he does for the sake of his future spiritual body, to the injury of those, whom he is bound to maintain, shall bring him ultimate misery both in this life and in the next.

11. 'Should a sacrifice, performed by any twiceborn sacrificer, and by a Brāhman especially, be imperfect from the want of some ingredient, during the reign of a prince, who knows the law,

12. 'Let him take that article, for the completion of the sacrifice, from the house of any Vaiśya, who possesses considerable herds, but neither sacrifices, nor drinks the juice of the moonplant:

13. 'If such a Vaiśya be not near, he may take two or three such necessary articles at pleasure from the house of a Sūdra; since a Sūdra has no business with solemn rites.

14. 'Even from the house of a Brāhmen or a Cśatriya, who possesses a hundred cows, but has no consecrated fire, or a thousand cows, but performs no sacrifice with the moon-plant, let a priest without scruple take the articles wanted.

15. 'From another Brāhmen, who continually receives presents but never gives, let him take such ingredients of the sacrifice, if not
ON Penance

beftowed on request: fo fhall his fame be fpread abroad, and his habits of virtue increase.

16. Thus, likewise, may a Brâhmen, who has not eaten at the time of fix meals, or has fasted three whole days, take at the time of the seventh meal, or on the fourth morning, from the man, who behaves basely by not offering him food, enough to supply him till the morrow:

17. He may take it from the floor, where the grain is trodden out of the hufk, or from the field, or from the house, or from any place whatever; but, if the owner ask why he takes it, the cause of the taking must be declared.

18. The wealth of a virtuous Brâhmen must at no time be feized by a Câhatriya; but, having no other means to complete a sacrifice, he may take the goods of any man, who acts wickedly, and of any, who performs not his religious duties:

19. He, who takes property from the bad for the purpose before-mentioned, and beftows it on the good, transforms himfelf into a boat, and carries both the good and the bad over a sea of calamities.

20. Wealth, poffefted by men for the performance of sacrifices, the wise call the pro-
Property of the gods; but the wealth of men, who perform no sacrifice, they consider as the property of demons.

21. ‘Let no pious king fine the man, who takes by stealth or by force what he wants to make a sacrifice perfect; since it is the king’s folly, that causes the hunger or wants of a Brahmén:

22. ‘Having reckoned up the persons, whom the Brahmén is obliged to support, having ascertained his divine knowledge and moral conduct, let the king allow him a suitable maintenance from his own household;

23. ‘And, having appointed him a maintenance, let the king protect him on all sides; for he gains from the Brahmén, whom he protects, a sixth part of the reward for his virtue.

24. ‘Let no Brahmén ever beg a gift from a Súdra; for, if he perform a sacrifice after such begging, he shall, in the next life, be born a Chandála.

25. ‘The Brahmén, who begs any articles for a sacrifice, and disposes not of them all for that purpose, shall become a kite or a crow for a hundred years.

26. ‘Any evilhearted wretch, who, through covetousness, shall seize the property of the gods or of Brahmens, shall feed in another world on the orts of vultures.
27. 'The sacrifice *Vaishvanarī* must be constantly performed on the first day of the new year, or on the new moon of *Chaitra*, as an expiation for having omitted through mere forgetfulness the appointed sacrifices of cattle and the rites of the moonplant:

28. 'But a twice-born man, who, without necessity, does an act allowed only in a case of necessity, reaps no fruit from it hereafter; thus has it been decided.

29. 'By the *Vishvēdevas*, by the *Śādhyas*, and by eminent *Ṛṣbis* of the sacerdotal class, the substitute was adopted for the principal act, when they were apprehensive of dying in times of eminent peril;

30. 'But no reward is prepared in a future state for that ill-minded man, who, when able to perform the principal sacrifice, has recourse to the substitute.

31. 'A Priest, who well knows the law, needs not complain to the king of any grievous injury; since, even by his own power, he may chastise those, who injure him:

32. 'His own power, *which depends on himself alone*, is mightier than the royal power, *which depends on other men*: by his own might, therefore, may a *Brāhmaṇ* coerce his foes.

33. 'He may use, without hesitation, the powerful charms revealed to *At'hārvan*, and
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by him to Angiras; for speech is the weapon of a Brábmen: with that he may destroy his oppressors.

34. 'A soldier may avert danger from himself by the strength of his arm; a merchant and a mechanick, by their property; but the chief of the twiceborn, by holy texts and oblations to fire.

35. 'A priest, who performs his duties, who justly corrects his children and pupils, who advises expiations for sin, and who loves all animated creatures, is truly called a Brábmen: to him let no man say any thing unpropitious, nor use any offensive language.

36. 'Let not a girl, nor a young woman married or unmarried, nor a man with little learning, nor a dunce, perform an oblation to fire; nor a man diseased, nor one uninvested with the sacrificial fire;

37. 'Since any of those persons, who make such an oblation, shall fall into a region of torture, together with him, who suffers his hearth to be used: he alone, who perfectly knows the sacred ordinances, and has read all the Védas, must officiate at an oblation to holy fire,

38. 'A Brábmen with abundant wealth, who presents not the priest, that hallows his fire, with a horse consecrated to Praja'pati,
becomes equal to one who has no fire allowed.

37. 'Let him, who believes the scripture, and keeps his organs in subjection, perform all other pious acts; but never in this world let him offer a sacrifice with trifling gifts to the officiating priest:

40. 'The organs of sense and action, reputation in this life, a heavenly mansion in the next, life itself, a great name after death, children, and cattle, are all destroyed by a sacrifice offered with trifling presents: let no man, therefore, sacrifice without liberal gifts.

41. 'The priest, who keeps a sacred hearth, but voluntarily neglects the morning and evening oblations to his fires, must perform, in the manner to be described, the penance chánḍráyāna for one month; since that neglect is equally sinful with the slaughter of a son.

42. 'They, who receive property from a Súdra for the performance of rites to consecrated fire, are contemned as ministers of the base, by all such as pronounce texts of the Véda:

43. 'Of those ignorant priests, who serve the holy fire for the wealth of a Súdra, the giver shall always tread on the foreheads, and thus pass over miseries in the gloom of death.

44. 'Every man, who does not an act pre-
scribed, or does an act forbidden, or is guilty of excess *even* in *legal* gratifications of the senses, must perform an expiatory penance.

45. 'Some of the learned consider an expiation as confined to involuntary sin; but others, from the evidence of the *Vēda*, hold it effective even in the case of a voluntary offence:

46. 'A sin, involuntarily committed, is removed by repeating certain texts of the scripture; but a sin committed intentionally, through strange infatuation, by harsh penances of different sorts.

47. 'If a twiceborn man, by the will of God in this world, or from his natural birth, have any corporeal mark of an expiable sin committed in this or a former state, he must hold no intercourse with the virtuous, while his penance remains unperformed.

48. 'Some evil-minded persons, for sins committed in this life, and some for bad actions in a preceding state, suffer a morbid change in their bodies:

49. 'A stealer of gold from a *Brāhmen* has whitlows on his nails; a drinker of spirits, black teeth; the slayer of a *Brāhmen*, a ma-rasmus; the violator of his guru's bed, a deformity in the generative organs;

50. 'A malignant informer, fetid ulcers in his nostrils; a false detractor, stinking breath;
a thief of grain, the defect of some limb; a mixer of bad wares with good, some redundant member;

51. A thief of dressed grain, dyspepsia; a thief of holy words, or an unauthorized reader of the scriptures, dumbness; a thief of clothes, leprosy; a horsestealer, lameness;

52. The thief of a lamp, total blindness; the mischievous extinguisher of it, blindness in one eye; a delighter in hurting sentient creatures, perpetual illness; an adulterer, windy swelling in his limbs:

53. Thus, according to the diversity of actions, are born men despised by the good, stupid, dumb, blind, deaf, and deformed.

54. Penance, therefore, must invariably be performed for the sake of expiation; since they, who have not expiated their sins, will again spring to birth with disgraceful marks.

55. Killing a Brāhmen, drinking forbidden liquor, stealing gold from a priest, adultery with the wife of a father, natural or spiritual, and associating with such as commit those offences, wise legislators must declare to be crimes in the highest degree, in respect of those after mentioned, but less than incest in a direct line, and some others.

56. False boasting of a high tribe, malignant information, before the king, of a crimi-
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57. Forgetting the texts of scripture, showing contempt of the Vēda, giving false evidence without a bad motive, killing a friend without malice, eating things prohibited, or, from their manifest impurity, unfit to be tasted, are six crimes nearly equal to drinking spirits; but perjury and homicide require in atrocious cases the harshest expiation.

58. To appropriate a thing deposited or lent for a time, a human creature, a horse, precious metals, a field, a diamond, or any other gem, is nearly equal to stealing the gold of a Brāhmen.

59. Carnal commerce with sisters by the same mother, with little girls, with women of the lowest mixed class, or with the wives of a friend or of a son, the wife must consider as nearly equal to a violation of the paternal bed.

60. Slaying a bull or cow, sacrificing what ought not to be sacrificed, adultery, self-sacrifice, deserting a preceptor, a mother, a father, or a son, omitting to read the scripture, and neglect of the fires prescribed by the Dharmaśāstra only.

61. The marriage of a younger brother be-
fore the elder, and that elder’s omission to
marry before the younger, giving a daughter
to either of them, and officiating at their
nuptial sacrifice,

62. ‘Defiling a damsel, usury, want of per-
fect chastity in a student, selling a holy pool
or garden, a wife, or a child,

63. ‘Omitting the sacred investiture, aban-
donning a kinsman, teaching the Veda for hire,
learning it from a hired teacher, selling com-
modities, that ought not to be sold,

64. ‘Working in mines of any sort, engaging
in dykes, bridges, or other great mechanical
works, spoiling medicinal plants repeatedly,
substituting by the barlotry of a wife, offering
sacrifices and preparing charms to destroy the
innocent,

65. ‘Cutting down green trees for firewood,
performing holy rites with a selfish view
merely, and eating prohibited food once with-
out a previous design,

66. ‘Neglecting to keep up the consecrated
fire, stealing any valuable thing besides gold,
nonpayment of the three debts, application to
the books of a false religion, and excessive at-
tention to musick or dancing,

67. ‘Stealing grain, base metals, or cattle,
familiarity by the twiceborn with women, who
have drunk inebriating liquor, killing without
73. 'If a Brāhmen have killed a man of the
facerdotal class, without malice prepense, the
slayer being far superior to the slain in good qua-
lities, he must himself make a hut in a forest
and dwell in it twelve whole years, subsisting
on alms for the purification of his soul, placing
near him, as a token of his crime, the skull of
the slain, if he can procure it, or, if not, any hu-
man skull. The time of penance for the three
lower classes must be twenty four, thirty six, and
forty eight, years.

74. 'Or, if the slayer be of the military class,
he may voluntarily expose himself as a mark
to archers, who know his intention; or, ac-
cording to circumstances, may cast himself head-
long thrice, or even till he die, into blazing
fire.

75. 'Or, if he be a king, and slew a priest
without malice or knowledge of his class, he may
perform, with presents of great wealth, one of
the following sacrifices; an Aswamédha, or a
Swérijit, or a Góśava, or an Abhijit, or a Vé-
wajit, or a Trivrit, or an Agnishtut.

76. 'Or, to expiate the guilt of killing a
priest without knowing him and without design,
the killer may walk on a pilgrimage a hundred
yójanas, repeating any one of the Vedas, eating
barely enough to sustain life, and keeping his
organs in perfect subjection;

77. 'Or, if in that case the slayer be unlearned
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but rich, he may give all his property to some Brâhmen learned in the Vêda, or a sufficiency of wealth for his life, or a house and furniture to hold while he lives:

78. 'Or, eating only such wild grains as are offered to the gods, he may walk to the head of the river Saraswati against the course of the stream; or, subsisting on very little food, he may thrice repeat the whole collection of Vêdas, or the Rich, Yâjuṣ, and Sáman.

79. 'Or, his hair being shorn, he may dwell near a town, or on pastureground for cows, or in some holy place, or at the root of a sacred tree, taking pleasure in doing good to cows and to Brâhmens;

80. 'There, for the preservation of a cow or a Brâhmen, let him instantly abandon life; since the preserver of a cow or a Brâhmen atones for the crime of killing a priest:

81. 'Or, by attempting at least three times forcibly to recover from robbers the property of a Brâhmen, or by recovering it in one of his attacks, or even by losing his life in the attempt, he atones for his crime.

82. 'Thus, continually firm in religious austerity, chaste as a student in the first order, with his mind intent on virtue, he may expiate the guilt of undesignedly killing a Brâhmen, after the twelfth year has expired.
83. 'Or, if a virtuous Brāhmen unintentionally kill another, who had no good quality, he may atone for his guilt by proclaiming it in an assembly of priests and military men, at the sacrifice of a horse, and by bathing with other Brāhmens at the close of the sacrifice:

84. 'Brāhmens are declared to be the basis, and Cśatriyas the summit, of the legal system: he, therefore, expiates his offence by fully proclaiming it in such an assembly.

85. 'From his high birth alone, a Brāhmen is an object of veneration even to deities: his declarations to mankind are decisive evidence; and the Vēda itself confers on him that character.

86. 'Three at least, who are learned in the Vēda, should be assembled to declare the proper expiation for the sin of a priest, but, for the three other classes, the number must be doubled, tripled, and quadrupled: what they declare shall be an atonement for sinners; since the words of the learned give purity.

87. 'Thus a Brāhmen, who has performed one of the preceding expiations, according to the circumstances of the homicide and the characters of the persons killed and killing, with his whole mind fixed on God, purifies his soul, and removes the guilt of slaying a man of his own class:
88. 'He must perform the same penance for killing an embryo, the sex of which was unknown, but whose parents were sacerdotal, or a military or a commercial man employed in a sacrifice, or a Brâhmen woman, who has bathed after temporary uncleanness;

89. 'And the same for giving false evidence in a cause concerning land or gold or precious commodities, and for accusing his preceptor unjustly, and for appropriating a deposit, and for killing the wife of a priest, who keeps a consecrated fire, or for slaying a friend.

90. 'Such is the atonement ordained for killing a priest without malice; but for killing a Brâhmen with malice prepensfe, this is no expiation: the term of twelve years must be doubled, or, if the case was atrocious, the murderer must actually die in flames or in battle.

91. 'Any twiceborn man, who has intentionally drunk spirit of rice, through perverse delusion of mind, may drink more spirit in flame, and atone for his offence by severely burning his body;

92. 'Or he may drink boiling hot, until he die, the urine of a cow, or pure water, or milk, or clarified butter, or juice expressed from cowdung:

93. 'Or, if he tasted it unknowingly, he may expiate the sin of drinking spirituous liquor,
by eating only some broken rice or grains of tila, from which oil has been extracted, once every night for a whole year, wrapped in coarse vesture of hairs from a cow’s tail, or sitting unclad in his house, wearing his locks and beard uncut, and putting out the flag of a tavern-keeper.

94. ‘Since the spirit of rice is distilled from the Mala, or filthy refuse, of the grain, and since Mala is also a name for sin, let no Brāhmaṇa, Cśatriya, or Vaiśya drink that spirit.

95. ‘Inebriating liquor may be considered as of three principal sorts; that extracted from dregs of sugar, that extracted from bruised rice, and that extracted from the flowers of the Madhūca: as one, so are all; they shall not be tasted by the chief of the twiceborn.

96. ‘Those liquors, and eight other sorts, with the flesh of animals, and Aśava, the most pernicious beverage, prepared with nar- cotick drugs, are swallowed at the juncates of Yaschas, Raschas, and Pīchāchas: they shall not, therefore, be tasted by a Brāhmaṇa, who feeds on clarified butter offered to gods.

97. ‘A Brāhmaṇa, stupefied by drunkenness, might fall on something very impure, or might even, when intoxicated, pronounce a secret phrase of the Veda, or might do some other act, which ought not to be done.
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98. 'When the divine spirit, or the light of holy knowledge, which has been infused into his body, has once been sprinkled with any intoxicating liquor, even his priestly character leaves him, and he sinks to the low degree of a Sudra.

99. 'Thus have been promulgated the various modes of expiation for drinking spirits: I will next propound the atonement for stealing the gold of a priest to the amount of a suverna.

100. 'He, who has purloined the gold of a Brâhmen, must hasten to the king, and proclaim his offence; adding, "Inflict on me the punishment due to my crime."

101. 'Then shall the king himself, taking from him an iron mace, which the criminal must bear on his shoulder, strike him with it once; and by that stroke, whether he die or be only left as dead, the thief is released from sin: a Brâhmen by rigid penance alone can expiate that offence; another twiceborn man may also perform such a penance at his election.

102. 'The twiceborn man, who desires to remove by austere devotion the taint caused by stealing gold, must perform in a forest, covered with a mantle of rough bark, the penance before ordained for him, who without malice prepense has killed a Brâhmen.
103. By these expiations may the twiceborn atone for the guilt of stealing gold from a priest; but the sin of adultery with the wife of a father, natural or spiritual, they must expiate by the following penances.

104. He, who knowingly and actually has defiled the wife of his father, she being of the same class, must extend himself on a heated iron bed, loudly proclaiming his guilt; and there embracing the red-hot iron image of a woman, he shall atone for his crime by death.

105. Or, having himself amputated his penis and scrotum, and holding them in his fingers, he may walk in a direct path toward the southwest, or the region of Nirârûti, until he fall dead on the ground:

106. Or, if he had mistaken her for another woman, he may perform for a whole year, with intense application of mind, the penance prâjâpatya, with part of a bed, or a human bone, in his hand, wrapped in vesture of coarse bark, letting his hair and beard grow, and living in a deserted forest:

107. Or, if she was of a lower class and a corrupt woman, he may expiate the sin of violating the bed of his father, by continuing the penance cbândrâyana for three months, always mortifying his body by eating only forest herbs, or wild grains boiled in water.
108. 'By the preceding penances may sin-
ners of the two higher degrees atone for their
guilt; and the less offenders may expiate theirs
by the following austerities.

109. 'He, who has committed the smaller
offence of killing a cow without malice, must
drink for the first month barleycorns boiled
soft in water; his head must be shaved en-
tirely; and, covered with the hide of the slain
cow, he must fix his abode on her late pasture
ground:

110. 'He may eat a moderate quantity of
wild grains, but without any factitious salt,
for the next two months at the time of each
fourth repast, on the evening of every second
day; regularly bathing in the urine of cows,
and keeping his members under control:

111. 'All day he must wait on the herd,
and stand quaffing the dust raised by their
hoofs; at night, having servilely attended and
stroked and saluted them, he must surround
them with a fence, and sit near to guard
them:

112. 'Pure and free from passion, he must
stand, while they stand; follow them, when
they move together; and lie down by them,
when they lie down:

113. 'Should a cow be sick or terrified by
tigers or thieves, or fall, or stick in mud, he
must relieve her by all possible means:

114. 'In heat, in rain, or in cold, or while
the blast furiously rages, let him not seek his
own shelter, without first sheltering the cows
to the utmost of his power.

115. 'Neither in his own house, or field, or
floor for treading out grain, nor in those of
any other person, let him say a word of a
cow, who eats corn or grass, or of a calf, who
drinks milk:

116. 'By waiting on a herd, according to
these rules, for three months, the slayer of a
cow atones for his guilt;

117. 'But, his penance being performed,
he must give ten cows and a bull, or, his
stock not being so large, must deliver all he
possesses, to such as best know the Véda.

118. 'These preceding penances, or that called
chándráyana, must be performed for the abso-
lution of all twiceborn men, who have com-
mitted sins of the lower or third degree; ex-
cept those, who have incurred the guilt of an
avatírña;

119. 'But he, who has become Avatírña, must
sacrifice a black or a one-eyed ass, by way of a
meatoffering to Nirriti, patroness of the south-
west, by night in a place where four ways meet:
120. 'Let him daily offer to her in fire the
fat of that afs, and, at the close of the ceremony,
let him offer clarified butter, with the holy
text Sem and so forth, to PAVANA, to INDRA,
to VRĪHASPATI, and to AGNI, regents of
wind, clouds, a planet, and fire.

121. 'A voluntary effusion, naturally or
otherwise, of that which may produce a man
by a twiceborn youth during the time of his
studenthip or before marriage, has been pro-
nounced avacirna, or a violation of the rule
prescribed for the first order, by sages, who
knew the whole system of duty, and uttered
the words of the Veda.

122. 'To the four deities of purification,
MA'RUTA, INDRA, VRĪHASPATI, AGNI,
goes all the divine light, which the Veda had
imparted, from the student, who commits the
foul sin avacirna;

123. 'But, this crime having actually been
committed, he must go begging to seven
houses, clothed only with the hide of the sac-
crificed afs, and openly proclaiming his act:

124. 'Eating a single meal begged from
them, at the regular time of the day, that is,
in the morning or evening, and bathing each
day at the three savanas, he shall be absolved
from his guilt at the end of one year.
125. 'He, who has voluntarily committed any sin, which causes a loss of class, must perform the tormenting penance, thence called _śāntapana_; or the _prājāpatya_, if he offended involuntarily.

126. 'For sins, which degrade to a mixed class, or exclude from society, the sinner must have recourse to the _lunar_ expiation _cbāndrāyana_ for one month: to atone for acts, which occasion defilement, he must swallow nothing for three days but hot barleygruel.

127. 'For killing intentionally a _virtuous_ man of the military class, the penance must be a fourth part of that ordained for killing a priest; for killing a _Vaisya_, only an eighth; for killing a _Sūdra_, who had been constant in discharging his duties, a sixteenth part:

128. 'But, if a _Brāhmaṇa_ kill a _Cṣatriya_ without malice, he must, after a full performance of his religious rites, give the priests one bull together with a thousand cows;

129. 'Or he may perform for three years the penance for slaying a _Brāhmaṇa_, mortifying his organs of sensation and action, letting his hair grow long, and living remote from the town, with the root of a tree for his mansion;

130. 'If he kill without malice a _Vaisya_, who
had a good moral character, he may perform
the same penance for one year, or give the
priests a hundred cows and a bull:
131. 'For six months must he perform this
whole penance, if without intention he kill a Sú-
dra; or he may give ten white cows and a
bull to the priests.
132. 'If he kill by design a cat, or an ich-
neumon, the bird Cháśha, or a frog, a dog, a
lizard, an owl, or a crow, he must perform
the ordinary penance required for the death of
a Súdra, that is, the chándráyana:
133. 'Or, if he kill one of them undesignedly,
he may drink nothing but milk for three days
and nights, or each night walk a yógan, or
thrice bathe in a river, or silently repeat the
text on the divinity of water; that is, if he be
disabled by real infirmity from performing the
first mentioned penances, he may have recourse to
the next in order.
134. 'A Bráhmen, if he kill a snake, must
give to some priest a hoe, or ironheaded stick; if
an eunuch, a load of ricestraw, and a máśba of
lead;
135. 'If a boar, a pot of clarified butter; if
the bird tittiri, a drona of tila seeds: if a par-
rot, a steer two years old; if the waterbird
crauncha, a steer aged three years:
136. 'If he kill a goose, or a phenicopteros, a
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...beron, or cormorant, a bittern, a peacock, an
ape, a hawk, or a kite, he must give a cow to
some Brâhmen:

137. If he kill a horse, he must give a
mantle; if an elephant, five black bulls; if a
goat or a sheep, one bull; if an ass, a calf one
year old:

138. If he kill a carnivorous wild beast, he
must give a cow with abundance of milk; if a
wild beast not carnivorous, a fine heifer; and
a raftica of gold, if he slay a camel:

139. If he kill a woman of any class caught
in adultery, he must give as an expiation, in
the direct order of the four classes, a leathern
pouch, a bow, a goat, and a sheep.

140. Should a Brâhmen be unable to expiate by gifts the sin of killing a snake and the
rest, he must atone for his guilt by perform-
ing, on each occasion, the penance prâjâpatya.

141. For the slaughter of a thousand small
animals which have bones, or for that of
boneless animals enow to fill a cart, he must
perform the chândráyâna, or common penance
for killing a Sûdra;

142. But, for killing boned animals, he
must also give some trifle, as a pana of copper,
...
' the gadyatri with its bead, the pranava, and the vyábrítis.

143. ' For cutting once without malice trees yielding fruit, shrubs with many crowded items, creeping or climbing plants, or such as grow again when cut, if they were in blossom when he hurt them, he must repeat a hundred texts of the Véda.

144. ' For killing insects of any sort bred in rice or other grains, or those bred in honey or other fluids, or those bred in fruit or flowers, eating clarified butter is a full expiation.

145. ' If a man cut, wantonly and for no good purpose, such grasses as are cultivated, or such as rise in the forest spontaneously, he must wait on a cow for one day, nourished by milk alone.

146. ' By these penances may mankind atone for the sin of injuring sentient creatures, whether committed by design or through inadvertence: hear now what penances are ordained for eating or drinking what ought not to be tasted.

147. ' He, who drinks undesignedly any spirit but that of rice, may be absolved by a new investiture with the sacrificial string: even for drinking intentionally the weaker sorts of spirit, a penance extending to death must not (as the law is now fixed) be prescribed.
148. For drinking water which has stood in a vessel, where spirit of rice or any other spirituous liquor had been kept, he must swallow nothing, for five days and nights, but the plant *sanc'apushpi* boiled in milk:

149. If he touch any spirituous liquor, or give any away, or accept any in due form, or with thanks, or drink water left by a *Súdra*, he must swallow nothing, for three days and nights, but *cusa-grafs* boiled in water.

150. Should a *Bráhmén*, who has once tasted the holy juice of the moonplant, even smell the breath of a man who has been drinking spirits, he must remove the taint by thrice repeating the *gáyatré*, while he suppresses his breath in water, and by eating clarified butter after that ceremony.

151. If any of the three twiceborn classes have tasted unknowingly human ordure or urine, or any thing that has touched spirituous liquor, they must, after a penance, be girt anew with the sacrificial thread;

152. But, in such new investiture of the twiceborn, the partial tonsure, the zone, the staff, the petition of alms, and the strict rules of abstinence, need not be renewed.

153. Should one of them eat the food of those persons, with whom he ought never to eat, or food left by a woman or a *Súdra*, or
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any prohibited flesh, he must drink barleygruel only for seven days and nights.

154. If a Brâhmen drink sweet liquors turned acid, or astringent juices from impure fruits, he becomes unclean, as long as those fluids remain undigested.

155. Any twiceborn man, who by accident has tasted the dung or urine of a tame boar, an ass, a camel, a shakal, an ape or a crow, must perform the penance chândráyana:

156. If he taste dried fleshmeat, or mushrooms rising from the ground, or any thing brought from a slaughter-house, though he knew not whence it came, he must perform the same penance.

157. For knowingly eating the flesh of carnivorous beasts, of town-boars, of camels, of gallinaceous birds, of human creatures, of crows, or of assles, the penance taptacricb'bra, or burning and severe, is the only atonement.

158. A Brâhmen, who, before he has completed his theological studies, eats food at monthly obsequies to one ancestor, must fast three days and nights, and sit in water a day:

159. But a student in theology, who at any time unknowingly tastes honey or flesh, must perform the lowest penance, or the prâjâpatya, and proceed to finish his studentship.

160. Having eaten what has been left by a
cat, a crow, a mouse, a dog, or an ichneumon, or what has even been touched by a louse, he must drink, boiled in water, the plant brabhmuṣuverchālā.

161. By the man, who seeks purity of soul, no forbidden food must be tasted: what he has undesignedly swallowed he must instantly vomit up, or must purify himself with speed by legal expiations.

162. Such, as have been declared, are the various penances for eating prohibited food: hear now the law of penance for an expiation of theft.

163. The chief of the twiceborn, having voluntarily stolen such property, as grain, raw or dressed, from the house of another Brāhmaṇa, shall be absolved on performing the penance prājāpatya for a whole year;

164. But the penance cbándráyana must be performed for stealing a man, woman, or child, for seizing a field, or a house, or for taking the waters of an enclosed pool or well.

165. Having taken goods of little value from the house of another man, he must procure absolution by performing the penance śāntapana; having first restored, as the penitent thief always must, the goods that he stole.

166. For taking what may be eaten, or what may be fipped, a carriage, a bed, or a
feat, roots, flowers, or fruit, an atonement may be made by swallowing the five pure things produced from a cow, or milk, curds, butter, urine, dung:

167. 'For stealing grags, wood, or trees, rice in the husk, molasses, cloth or leather, fish, or other animal food, a strict fast must be kept three days and three nights.

168. 'For stealing gems, pearls, coral, copper, silver, iron, brass, or stone, nothing but broken rice must be swallowed for twelve days;

169. 'And nothing but milk for three days, if cotton, or silk, or wool had been stolen, or a beast either with cloven or uncloven hoofs, or a bird, or perfumes, or medicinal herbs, or cordage.

170. 'By these penances may a twiceborn man atone for the guilt of theft; but the following austerities only can remove the sin of carnally approaching those, who must not be carnally approached.

171. 'He, who has wasted his manly strength with sisters by the same womb, with the wives of his friend or of his son, with girls under the age of puberty, or with women of the lowest classes, must perform the penance ordained for defiling the bed of a preceptor:

172. 'He, who has carnally known the
daughter of his paternal aunt, who is almost equal to a sister, or the daughter of his maternal aunt, or the daughter of his maternal uncle, who is a near kinsman, must perform the chândrayâna, or lunar penance;

173. 'No man of sense would take one of those three as his wife: they shall not be taken in marriage by reason of their consanguinity; and he, who marries any one of them, falls deep into sin.

174. 'He, who has wasted, what might have produced a man, with female brute animals, with a woman during her courses, or in any but the natural part, or in water, must perform the penance sántapana: for a beast act with a cow the penance must be far more severe.

175. 'A twiceborn man, dallying lasciviously with a male in any place or at any time, or with a female in a carriage drawn by bullocks, or in water, or by day, shall be degraded, and must bathe himself publickly, with his apparel.

176. 'Should a Brâhmen carnally know a woman of the Chandâla or Mlech'ba tribes, or taste their food, or accept a gift from them, he loses his own class, if he acted unknowingly, or, if knowingly, sinks to a level with them.

177. 'A wife, excessively corrupt, let her husband confine to one apartment, and compel
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her to perform the penance ordained for a man, who has committed adultery:

178. 'If, having been solicited by a man of her own clafs, she again be defiled, her expiation must be the penance prajapatiya added to the chandrayana.

179. 'The guilt of a Brâhmen, who has dallied a whole night with a Chandâli woman, he may remove in three years by subsisting on alms, and incessantly repeating the gâyatâri with other mysterious texts.

180. 'These penances have been declared for sinners of four sorts, those who hurt sentient creatures, those who eat prohibited food, those who commit theft, and those who are guilty of lasciviousness: hear now the prescribed expiation for such, as hold any intercourse with degraded offenders.

181. 'He, who associates himself for one year with a fallen sinner, falls like him; not by sacrificing, reading the Vêda, or contracting affinity with him, since by those acts he loses his class immediately, but even by using the same carriage or seat, or by taking his food at the same board:

182. 'That man, who holds an intercourse with any one of those degraded offenders, must perform, as an atonement for such inter-
course, the penance ordained for that sinner himself.

183. 'The šapindas and samánódacas of a man degraded, for a crime in the first degree, must offer a libation of water to his manes, as if he were naturally dead, out of the town, in the evening of some inauspicious day, as the ninth of the moon, his paternal kinsmen, his officiating priest, and his spiritual guide being present.

184. 'A female slave must kick down with her foot an old pot filled with water, which had for that purpose been placed towards the south, as if it were an oblation for the dead; and all the kinsmen, in the nearer and remoter degrees, must remain impure for a day and a night:

185. 'They must thenceforth desist from speaking to him; from sitting in his company, from delivering to him any inherited or other property, and from every civil or usual attention, as inviting him on the first day of the year, and the like.

186. 'His right of primogeniture, if he was an elder brother, must be withheld from him, and whatever perquisites arise from priority of birth: a younger brother excelling him in virtue, must appropriate the share of the firstborn.
187. 'But, when he has performed his due penance, his kinsmen and he must throw down a new vessel full of water, after having bathed together in a pure pool:

188. 'Then must he cast that vessel into the water; and, having entered his house, he may perform, as before, all the acts incident to his relation by blood.

189. 'The same ceremony must be performed by the kindred even of women degraded, for whom clothes, dressed rice, and water must be provided; and they must dwell in buts near the family house.

190. 'With sinners, whose expiations are unperformed, let not a man transact business of any kind; but those, who have performed their expiations, let him at no time reproach:

191. Let him not, however, live with those, who have slain children, or injured their benefactors, or killed suppliants for protection, or put women to death, even though such offenders have been legally purified.

192. 'Those men of the twiceborn classes, to whom the gāyatrī has not been repeated and explained, according to law, the assembly must cause to perform three prājāpatya penances, and afterwards to be girt with the sacrificial string;
193. And the same penance they must prescribe to such twiceborn men, as are anxious to atone for some illegal act, or a neglect of the Veda.

194. If priests have accepted any property from base hands, they may be absolved by relinquishing the presents, by repeating mysterious texts, and by acts of devotion:

195. By three thousand repetitions of the gāyatrī with intense application of mind, and by subsisting on milk only for a whole month in the pasture of cows, a Brāhmaṇa, who has received any gift from a bad man, or a bad gift from any man, may be cleared from sin.

196. When he has been mortified by abstinence, and has returned from the pasturage, let him bend low to the other Brāhmaṇas, who must thus interrogate him: “Art thou really desirous, good man, of readmission to an equality with us?”

197. If he answer in the affirmative, let him give some grass to the cows, and in the place, made pure by their having eaten on it, let the men of his class give their assent to his readmission.

198. He, who has officiated at a sacrifice for outcasts, or burned the corpse of a stranger, or performed rites to destroy the innocent, or made the impure sacrifice, called Ābina, may
expiate his guilt by three \textit{prājāpatya} penances.

199. 'A \textit{twiceborn} man, who has rejected a suppliant for his protection, or taught the \textit{Vēda} on a forbidden day, may atone for his offence by subsisting a whole year on barley alone.

200. 'He, who has been bitten by a dog, a shakal, or an \textit{aś}, by any carnivorous animal frequenting a town, by a man, a horse, a camel, or a boar, may be purified by stopping his breath during one repetition of the \textit{gāyatrī}.

201. 'To eat only at the time of the sixth meal, or on the evening of every third day, for a month, to repeat a Sanbitā of the \textit{Vēdas}, and to make \textit{eight} oblations to fire, accompanied with \textit{eight} holy texts, are always an expiation for those, who are excluded from society at repafts.

202. '\textit{Should} a \textit{Brāhmen} voluntarily ascend a carriage borne by camels or drawn by asses, or designedly bathe quite naked, he may be absolved by one suppression of breath, while he repeats in his mind the most holy text.

203. 'He, who has made any excretion, being greatly pressed, either without water near him, or in water, may be purified by
bathing in his clothes out of town, and by touching a cow.

204. For an omission of the acts, which the *Vēda* commands to be constantly performed, and for a violation of the duties prescribed to a housekeeper, the atonement is fasting one day.

205. He, who says hush or pish to a Brāhmaṇ, or thou to a superior, must immediately bathe, eat nothing for the rest of the day, and appease him by clasping his feet with respectful salutation.

206. For striking a Brāhmaṇ even with a blade of grass, or tying him by the neck with a cloth, or overpowering him in argument, and adding contemptuous words, the offender must soothe him by falling prostrate.

207. An assaulter of a Brāhmaṇ, with intent to kill, shall remain in hell a hundred years; for actually striking him with the like intent, a thousand:

208. As many small pellets of dust as the blood of a Brāhmaṇ collects on the ground, for so many thousand years must the shedder of that blood be tormented in hell.

209. For a simple assault, the first or common penance must be performed; for a battery, the third or very severe penance; but
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210. 'To remove the sins, for which no particular penance has been ordained, the assembly must award a fit expiation, considering the ability of the sinner to perform it, and the nature of the sin.

211. 'Those penances, by which a man may atone for his crimes, I now will describe to you; penances, which have been performed by deities, by holy sages, and by forefathers of the human race.

212. 'When a twiceborn man performs the common penance, or that of Praja'pati, he must for three days eat only in the morning; for three days, only in the evening; for three days, food unasked but presented to him; and for three more days, nothing.

213. 'Eating for a whole day the dung and urine of cows mixed with curds, milk, clarified butter, and water boiled with cus'a-gräs, and then fasting entirely for a day and a night, is the penance called Sántapana, either from the devout man SANTAPANA, or from tormenting.

214. 'A twiceborn man performing the penance, called very severe, in respect of the common, must eat, as before, a single mouthful, or
a ball of rice as large as a hen's egg, for three times three days; and for the last three days, must wholly abstain from food.

215. 'A Brähmen, performing the ardent penance, must swallow nothing but hot water, hot milk, hot clarified butter, and hot steam, each of them for three days successively, performing an ablution, and mortifying all his members.

216. 'A total fast for twelve days and nights, by a penitent with his organs controlled and his mind attentive, is the penance named parrāca, which expiates all degrees of guilt.

217. 'If he diminish his food by one mouthful each day during the dark fortnight, eating fifteen mouthfuls on the day of the opposition, and increase it in the same proportion, during the bright fortnight, fasting entirely on the day of the conjunction, and perform an ablution regularly at sunris, noon, and sunset, this is the chandrayana, or the lunar penance:

218. 'Such is the penance called ant-shaped or narrow in the middle; but, if he perform the barley-shaped or broad in the middle, he must observe the same rule, beginning with the bright half-month, and keeping under command his organs of action and sense.

219. 'To perform the lunar penance of an
...anchoret, he must eat only eight mouthfuls of forest grains at noon for a whole month, taking care to subdue his mind.

220. 'If a Brâhman eat only four mouthfuls at sunrise, and four at sunset, for a month, keeping his organs controlled, he performs the lunar penance of children.

221. 'He, who, for a whole month, eats no more than thrice eighty mouthfuls of wild grains, as he happens by any means to meet with them, keeping his organs in subjection, shall attain the same abode with the regent of the moon:

222. 'The eleven Rudras, the twelve A'dityas, the eight Vâjis, the Maruts, or genii of the winds, and the seven great Rishis, have performed this lunar penance as a security from all evil.

223. 'The oblation of clarified butter to fire must every day be made by the penitent himself, accompanied with the mighty words earth, sky, heaven; he must perfectly abstain from injury to sentient creatures, from falsehood, from wrath, and from all crooked ways.

224. 'Or, thrice each day and thrice each night for a month, the penitent may plunge into water clothed in his mantle, and at no
time conversing with a woman, a Súdra, or an outcast.

225. 'Let him be always in motion, sitting and rising alternately, or, if unable to be thus restless, let him sleep low on the bare ground; chaste as a student of the Vēda, bearing the sacred zone and staff, showing reverence to his preceptor, to the gods, and to priests;

226. 'Perpetually must he repeat the gāyatrī, and other pure texts to the best of his knowledge: thus in all penances for absolution from sin, must he vigilantly employ himself.

227. 'By these expiations are twiceborn men absolved, whose offences are publickly known, and are mischievous by their example; but for sins not publick, the assembly of priests must award them penances, with holy texts and oblations to fire.

228. 'By open confession, by repentance, by devotion, and by reading the scripture, a sinner may be released from his guilt; or by almsgiving, in case of his inability to perform the other acts of religion.

229. 'In proportion as a man, who has committed a sin, shall truly and voluntarily confess it, so far he is disengaged from that offence, like a snake from his slough;

230. 'And, in proportion as his heart sin-
cerely loathes his evil deed, so far shall his vital spirit be freed from the taint of it.

231. 'If he commit sin, and actually repent, that sin shall be removed from him; but if he merely say, "I will sin thus no more," he can only be released by an actual abstinence from guilt.

232. 'Thus revolving in his mind the certainty of retribution in a future state, let him be constantly good in thoughts, words, and action.

233. 'If he desire complete remission of any soul act which he has committed, either ignorantly or knowingly, let him beware of committing it again: for the second fault his penance must be doubled.

234. 'If, having performed any expiation, he feel not a perfect satisfaction of conscience, let him repeat the same devout act, until his conscience be perfectly satisfied.

235. 'All the bliss of deities and of men is declared by sages, who discern the sense of the Veda, to have in devotion its cause, in devotion its continuance, in devotion its fullness.

236. 'Devotion is equal to the performance of all duties; it is divine knowledge in a Brâhmen; it is defence of the people in a Cshatriya; devotion is the business of trade and agriculture.
in a *Vaiṣya; devotion is dutiful service in a *Súdra.

237. *Holy sages; with subdued passions, feeding only on fruit, roots, and air, by devotion alone are enabled to survey the three worlds, *terrestrial, *ethereal, and *celestial, peopled with animal creatures, locomotive and fixed.

238. *Perfect health, or unfailing medicines, divine learning, and the various mansions of deities, are acquired by devotion alone: their efficient cause is devotion.

239. *Whatever is hard to be traversed, whatever is hard to be acquired, whatever is hard to be visited, whatever is hard to be performed, all this may be accomplished by true devotion; for the difficulty of devotion is the greatest of all.

240. *Even sinners in the highest degree, and of course the other offenders, are absolved from guilt by austere devotion well-practised.

241. *Souls, *that animate worms, and insects, serpents, moths, beasts, birds, and vegetables, attain heaven by the power of devotion.

242. *Whatever sin has been conceived in the hearts of men, uttered in their speech, or committed in their bodily acts, they speedily burn it all away by devotion, if they preserve devotion as their best wealth.

243. *Of a priest, whom devotion has puri-
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and expiation, the divine spirits accept the sacrifices, and grant the desires with ample increase.

244. Even BrahMa', lord of creatures, by devotion, enacted this code of laws; and the sages by devotion acquired a knowledge of the Vedas.

245. Thus the gods themselves, observing in this universe the incomparable power of devotion, have proclaimed aloud the transcendent excellence of pious austerity.

246. By reading each day as much as possible of the Vedas, by performing the five great sacraments, and by forgiving all injuries, even sins of the highest degree shall be soon effaced:

247. As fire consumes in an instant with his bright flame the wood, that has been placed on it, thus, with the flame of knowledge, a Brahmen, who understands the Vedas, consumes all sin.

248. Thus has been declared, according to law, the mode of atoning for open sins: now learn the mode of obtaining absolution for secret offences.

249. Sixteen suppressions of the breath, while the holiest of texts is repeated with the three mighty words, and the triliteral syllable, continued each day for a month, absolve even
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- the slayer of a Brāhmaṇ from his hidden faults.

250. Even a drinker of spirituous liquors is absolved by repeating each day the text apa used by the sage Cautsa, or that beginning with preti used by Vasiṣṭha, or that called mābitra, or that, of which the first word is suddhavatyaḥ.

251. By repeating each day for a month the text ṛṣyaṃya, or the hymn Sivāsancalpa, the stealer of gold from a priest becomes instantly pure.

252. He, who has violated the bed of his preceptor, is cleared from secret faults by repeating sixteen times a day the text bavīṣhyaṇtiya, or that beginning with na tamanbab, or by revolving in his mind the sixteen holy verses, called Pauruṣa.

253. The man, who desires to expiate his hidden sins, great and small, must repeat once a day for a year the text ava, or the text yatcinchida.

254. He, who has accepted an illegal present, or eaten prohibited food, may be cleansed in three days by repeating the text tarastāmandiya.

255. Though he have committed many secret sins, he shall be purified by repeating
for a month the text सोमाराउद्र or the three
texts अर्यमन, while he bathes in a sacred
stream.

256. A grievous offender must repeat the
seven verses, beginning with इंद्रा, for half
a year; and he, who has defiled water with
any impurity, must sit a whole year subsisting
by alms.

257. A twiceborn man, who shall offer
clarified butter for a year, with eight texts ap-
propriated to eight several oblations, or with
the text नमें, shall efface a sin even of an
extremely high degree.

258. He, who had committed a crime of
the first degree, shall be absolved, if he attend
a herd of kine for a year, mortify his organs,
and continually repeat the texts beginning
with पावमान, living solely on food given in
charity:

259. Or, if he thrice repeat a सांहीत of
the वेदas, or a large portion of them with all
the mantras and ब्राह्मणas, dwelling in a fo-
rest with subdued organs, and purified by three
पराकas, he shall be set free from all sins how
heinous forever.

260. Or he shall be released from all deadly
sins, if he fast three days, with his members
mortified, and twice a day plunge into water,
 thrice repeating the text अग्नमार्शणः:
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261. 'As the sacrifice of a horse, the king
of sacrifices, removes all sins, thus the text
aghamarshana destroys all offences.

262. 'A priest who should retain in his me-
'memory the whole Rigveda, would be absolved
'from guilt, even if he had slain the inhabitants
'of the three worlds, and had eaten food from
'the foulest hands.

263. 'By thrice repeating the mantras and
'brâbmanas of the Rich, or those of the Yajush,
'or those of the Sâman, with the upanishads, he
'shall perfectly be cleansed from every possible
'taint:

264. 'As a clod of earth, cast into a great
lake, sinks in it, thus is every sinful act sub-
merged in the triple Vêda.

265. 'The divisions of the Rich, the several
branches of the Yajush, and the manifold
strains of the Sâman must be considered as
forming the triple Vêda: he knows the Vêda,
'who knows them collectively.

266. 'The primary triliteral syllable, in
which the three Védas themselves are com-
prised, must be kept secret, as another triple
Vêda: he knows the Veda, who distinctly
knows the mystick sense of that word.'
CHAPTER THE TWELFTH.

On Transmigration and final Beatitude.

1. "O THOU, who art free from sin, said the devout sages, thou hast declared the whole system of duties ordained for the four classes of men: explain to us now, from the first principles, the ultimate retribution for their deeds.'

2. BHṚGU, whose heart was the pure essence of virtue, who proceeded from MENUM himself, thus addressed the great sages: 'Hear the infallible rules for the fruit of deeds in this universe.

3. 'ACTION, either mental, verbal, or corporeal, bears good or evil fruit, as itself is good or evil; and from the actions of men proceed their various transmigrations in the highest, the mean, and the lowest degree:

4. 'Of that threefold action, connected with bodily functions, disposed in three classes, and consisting of ten orders, be it known in this world, that the heart is the instigator.
5. 'Devising means to appropriate the wealth of other men, resolving on any forbidden deed, and conceiving notions of atheism or materialism, are the three bad acts of the mind:

6. 'Scurrilous language, falsehood, indiscriminate backbiting, and useless tattle, are the four bad acts of the tongue:

7. 'Taking effects not given, hurting sentient creatures without the sanction of law, and criminal intercourse with the wife of another, are the three bad acts of the body; and all the ten have their opposites, which are good in an equal degree.

8. 'A rational creature has a reward or a punishment for mental acts, in his mind; for verbal acts, in his organs of speech; for corporeal acts, in his bodily frame.

9. 'For sinful acts mostly corporeal, a man shall assume after death a vegetable or mineral form; for such acts mostly verbal, the form of a bird or a beast; for acts mostly mental, the lowest of human conditions:

10. 'He, whose firm understanding obtains a command over his words, a command over his thoughts, and a command over his whole body, may justly be called a tridantis, or triple commander; not a mere anchoret, who bears three visible slave.
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11. 'The man, who exerts this triple self-command with respect to all animated creatures, wholly subduing both lust and wrath, shall by those means attain beatitude.

12. 'That substance, which gives a power of motion to the body, the wise call āśbētra-jnaya, or jīvātman, the vital spirit; and that body, which thence derives active functions, they name bhūtātman, or composed of elements:

13. 'Another internal spirit, called mabat, or the great soul, attends the birth of all creatures im-bodied, and thence in all mortal forms is conveyed a perception either pleasing or painful.

14. 'Those two, the vital spirit and reasonable soul, are closely united with five elements, but connected with the supreme spirit, or divine essence, which pervades all beings high and low:

15. 'From the substance of that supreme spirit are diffused, like sparks from fire, innumerable vital spirits, which perpetually give motion to creatures exalted and base.

16. 'By the vital souls of those men, who have committed sins in the body reduced to asbes, another body, composed of nerves with five sensations, in order to be susceptible of torment, shall certainly be assumed after death;
17. 'And, being intimately united with those minute nervous particles, according to their distribution, they shall feel, in that new body, the pangs inflicted in each case by the sentence of Yama.

18. 'When the vital soul has gathered the fruit of sins, which arise from a love of sensual pleasure, but must produce misery, and, when its taint has thus been removed, it approaches again those two most effulgent essences the intellectual soul and the divine spirit:

19. 'They two, closely conjoined, examine without remission the virtues and vices of that sensitive soul, according to its union with which it acquires pleasure or pain in the present and future worlds.

20. 'If the vital spirit had practised virtue for the most part and vice in a small degree, it enjoys delight in celestial abodes, clothed with a body formed of pure elementary particles;

21. 'But, if it had generally been addicted to vice, and seldom attended to virtue, then shall it be deserted by those pure elements, and, having a coarser body of sensible nerves, it feels the pains to which Yama shall doom it:

22. 'Having endured those torments according to the sentence of Yama, and its taint being almost removed, it again reaches
"those five pure elements in the order of their natural distribution.

23. "Let each man, considering with his intellectual powers these migrations of the soul according to its virtue or vice, into a region of bliss or pain, continually fix his heart on virtue.

24. "Be it known, that the three qualities of the rational soul are a tendency to goodness, to passion, and to darkness; and, endued with one or more of them, it remains incessantly attached to all these created substances:

25. "When any one of the three qualities predominates in a mortal frame, it renders the imbodied spirit eminently distinguished for that quality.

26. "Goodness is declared to be true knowledge; darkness, gross ignorance; passion, an emotion of desire or aversion: such is the compendious description of those qualities, which attend all souls.

27. "When a man perceives in the reasonable soul a disposition tending to virtuous love, unclouded with any malignant passion, clear as the purest light, let him recognise it as the quality of goodness:

28. "A temper of mind, which gives uneasiness and produces disaffection, let him consider as the adverse quality of passion, ever agitating imbodied spirits:"
29. 'That indistinct, inconceivable, unaccountable disposition of a mind naturally sensual, and clouded with infatuation, let him know to be the quality of darkness.

30. 'Now will I declare at large the various acts, in the highest, middle, and lowest degrees, which proceed from those three dispositions of mind.

31. 'Study of scripture, austerer devotion, sacred knowledge, corporeal purity, command over the organs, performance of duties, and meditation on the divine spirit, accompany the good quality of the soul:

32. 'Interested motives for acts of religion or morality, perturbation of mind on flight occasions, commission of acts forbidden by law, and habitual indulgence in selfish gratifications, are attendant on the quality of passion:

33. 'Covetousness, indolence, avarice, detraction, atheism, omission of prescribed acts, a habit of soliciting favours, and inattention to necessary business, belong to the dark quality.

34. 'Of those three qualities, as they appear in the three times, past, present and future, the following in order from the lowest may be considered as a short but certain criterion.

35. 'Let the wise consider, as belonging to the quality of darkness, every act which a
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' man is ashamed of having done, of doing, or of going to do:

36. ' Let them consider, as proceeding from the quality of passion, every act, by which a man seeks exaltation and celebrity in this world, though he may not be much afflicted, if he fail of attaining his object:

37. ' To the quality of goodness belongs every act, by which he hopes to acquire divine knowledge, which he is never ashamed of doing and which brings placid joy to his conscience.

38. ' Of the dark quality, as described, the principal object is pleasure; of the passionate, worldly prosperity; but of the good quality, the chief object is virtue: the last mentioned objects are superior in dignity.

39. ' Such transmigrations, as the soul procures in this universe by each of those qualities, I now will declare in order succinctly.

40. ' Souls, endued with goodness, attain always the state of deities; those filled with ambitious passions, the condition of men; and those immersed in darkness, the nature of beasts: this is the triple order of transmigration.

41. ' Each of those three transmigrations, caused by the several qualities, must also be considered as threefold, the lowest, the mean,
and the highest, according to as many distinctions of acts and of knowledge.

42. 'Vegetable and mineral substances, worms, insects, and reptiles, some very minute, some rather larger, fish, snakes, tortoises, cattle, shakals, are the lowest forms, to which the dark quality leads:

43. 'Elephants, horses, men of the servile class, and contemptible Melch'bas, or barbarians, lions, tigers, and boars, are the mean states procured by the quality of darkness:

44. 'Dancers and fingers, birds and deceitful men, giants and bloodthirsty savages, are the highest conditions, to which the dark quality can ascend.

45. 'J'ballas, or cudgelplayers, Mallas, or boxers and wrestlers, Natas, or actors, those who teach the use of weapons, and those who are addicted to gaming or drinking, are the lowest forms occasioned by the passionate quality:

46. 'Kings, men of the fighting class, domestic priests of kings, and men skilled in the war of controversy, are the middle states caused by the quality of passion:

47. 'Gandharvas, or aerial musicians, Guhya-acas and Yaesbas, or servants and companions of CUVERA, genii attending superior gods, as the Vidyabaras and others, together with
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'various companies of *Apsaras*es or nymphs,
'are the highest of those forms, which the
'quality of passion attains.

48. 'Hermits, religious mendicants, other
'Brahmens, such orders of demigods as are
'wafted in airy cars, genii of the signs and
'lunar mansions, and *Daityas*, or the offspring
'of Diti, are the lowest of states procured by
'the quality of goodness:

49. 'Sacrificers, holy sages, deities of the
'lower heaven, genii of the *Vedas*, regents of
'stars *not in the paths of the sun and moon*, di-
'verities of years, *Pitris* or progenitors of
'mankind, and the demigods, named *Sadhyas*,
'are the middle forms, to which the good
'quality conveys *all spirits moderately endued*
'with it:

50. 'Brahma' with four faces, creators of
'worlds *under him*, as *Marichi* and others, the
'genius of virtue, the divinities presiding over
'(two principles of nature in the philosophy of
'Capila) *mahat*, or the *mighty*, and *asya*,
or *unperceived*, are the highest conditions, to
'which, by the good quality, souls are exalted.

51. 'This triple system of transmigrations,
in which each class has three orders, accord-
ing to actions of three kinds, and which com-
prised all animated beings, has been revealed
'in its full extent:
52. 'Thus, by indulging the sensual appetites, and by neglecting the performance of duties, the basest of men, ignorant of sacred expiations, assume the basest forms.

53. 'What particular bodies the vital spirit enters in this world, and in consequence of what sins here committed, now hear at large and in order.

54. 'Sinners in the first degree, having passed through terrible regions of torture for a great number of years, are condemned to the following births at the close of that period to efface all remains of their sin.

55. 'The slayer of a Brâhmen must enter according to the circumstances of his crime the body of a dog, a boar, an ass, a camel, a bull, a goat, a sheep, a stag, a bird, a Chandâla, or a Puccafa.

56. 'A priest, who has drunk spirituous liquor, shall migrate into the form of a smaller or larger worm or insect, of a moth, of a fly feeding on ordure, or of some ravenous animal.

57. 'He, who steals the gold of a priest, shall pass a thousand times into the bodies of spiders, of snakes and cameleons, of crocodiles and other aquatic monsters, or of mischievous blood sucking demons.

58. 'He, who violates the bed of his natural
or spiritual father, migrates a hundred times into the forms of grasses, of shrubs with crowded items, or of creeping and twining plants, of vultures and other carnivorous animals, of lions and other beasts with sharp teeth, or of tigers and other cruel brutes.

59. They who hurt any sentient beings, are born cats and other eaters of raw flesh; they, who taste what ought not to be tasted, maggots or small flies; they, who steal ordinary things, devourers of each other: they who embrace very low women, become restless ghosts.

60. He, who has held intercourse with degraded men, or been criminally connected with the wife of another, or stolen common things from a priest, shall be changed into a spirit, called Brabmarápsa.

61. The wretch, who through covetousness has stolen rubies or other gems, pearls, or coral, or precious things of which there are many sorts, shall be born in the tribe of goldsmiths, or among birds called hémacáras, or goldmakers.

62. If a man steal grain in the husk, he shall be born a rat; if a yellow mixed metal, a gander; if water, a plava, or diver; if honey, a great stinging gnat; if milk, a crow; if expressed juice, a dog; if clarified butter, an ichneumon weasel.
63. "If he steal fleshmeat, a vulture; if any sort of fat, the water-bird madgu; if oil, a blatta, or oildrinking beetle; if salt, a cicada or cricket; if curds, the bird valáca;

64. "If filken clothes, the bird tittiri; if woven flax, a frog; if cotton cloth, the waterbird crauncha; if a cow, the lizard gódhá; if molasses, the bird vágguda;

65. "If exquisite perfumes, a muskrat; if pot-herbs, a peacock; if dressed grain in any of its various forms, a porcupine; if raw grain, a hedgehog;

66. "If he steal fire, the bird vaca; if a household utensil, an ichneumon-fly; if dyed cloth, the bird chacóra;

67. "If a deer or an elephant, he shall be born a wolf; if a horse, a tiger; if roots or fruit, an ape; if a woman, a bear; if water from a jar, the bird chátaca; if carriages, a camel; if small cattle, a goat.

68. "That man, who designedly takes away the property of another, or eats any holy cakes not first presented to the deity at a solemn rite, shall inevitably sink to the condition of a brute.

69. "Women, who have committed similar thefts, incur a similar taint, and shall be paired with those male beasts in the form of their females.

70. "If any of the four classes omit, without
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urgent necessity, the performance of their several duties, they shall migrate into sinful bodies, and become slaves to their foes.

71. ‘Should a Brâhmen omit his peculiar duty, he shall be changed into a demon called Ulcamuc’ba or with a mouth like a firebrand, who devours what has been vomited; a Cśka-triya, into a demon called Cataplitana, who feeds on ordure and carrion;

72. ‘A Vaiśya, into an evil being called Maitrâcbojyotica, who eats purulent carcases; and a Sūdra, who neglects his occupations, becomes a foul imbodyed spirit called Chailā-faca, who feeds on lice.

73. ‘As far as vital souls, addicted to sensuality, indulge themselves in forbidden pleasures, even to the same degree shall the acuteness of their senses be raised in their future bodies, that they may endure analogous pains;

74. ‘And, in consequence of their folly, they shall be doomed as often as they repeat their criminal acts, to pains more and more intense in despicable forms on this earth.

75. ‘They shall first have a sensation of agony in Tâmisra or utter darkness, and in other seats of horror; in Asipatrawana, or the swordleaved forest, and in different places of binding fast and of rending:

76. ‘Multifarious tortures await them: they
shall be mangled by ravens and owls, shall swallow cakes boiling hot; shall walk over inflamed sands; and shall feel the pangs of being baked like the vessels of a potter:

77. They shall assume the forms of beasts continually miserable, and suffer alternate afflictions from extremities of cold and of heat, surrounded with terrors of various kinds:

78. More than once shall they lie in different wombs; and, after agonizing births, be condemned to severe captivity, and to servile attendance on creatures like themselves:

79. Then shall follow separations from kindred and friends, forced residence with the wicked, painful gains and ruinous losses of wealth; friendships hardly acquired and at length changed into enmities,

80. Old age without resource, diseases attended with anguish, pangs of innumerable sorrows, and, lastly, unconquerable death.

81. With whatever disposition of mind a man shall perform in this life any act religious or moral, in a future body endued with the same quality, shall he receive his retribution.

82. Thus has been revealed to you the system of punishments for evil deeds: next learn those acts of a Brâhmen, which lead to eternal bliss.

83. Studying and comprehending the Vêda,
'practising pious austerities, acquiring divine
knowledge of law and philosophy, command
over the organs of sense and action, avoiding
all injury to sentient creatures, and showing
reverence to a natural and spiritual father, are
the chief branches of duty which ensure final
happiness.'

84. 'Among all those good acts performed
in this world, said the sages, is no single act
held more powerful than the rest in leading
men to beatitude?'

85. 'Of all those duties, answered Bhrgu,
the principal is to acquire from the Upanishads
a true knowledge of one supreme God; that
is the most exalted of all sciences, because it
ensures immortality:

86. 'In this life, indeed, as well as the next,
the study of the Veda, to acquire a knowledge
of God, is held the most efficacious of those
six duties in procuring felicity to man;

87. 'For in the knowledge and adoration of
one God, which the Veda teaches, all the
rules of good conduct, beforementioned in order,
are fully comprised.

88. 'The ceremonial duty, prescribed by the
Veda, is of two kinds; one connected with this
world, and causing prosperity on earth; the
other abstracted from it, and procuring bliss
in heaven.'
A religious act proceeding from selfish views in this world, as a sacrifice for rain, or in the next, as a pious oblation in hope of a future reward, is declared to be concrete and interested; but an act performed with a knowledge of God, and without self love, is called abstract and disinterested.

He, who frequently performs interested rites, attains an equal station with the regents of the lower heaven; but he, who frequently performs disinterested acts of religion, becomes for ever exempt from a body composed of the five elements:

Equally perceiving the supreme soul in all beings and all beings in the supreme soul, he sacrifices his own spirit by fixing it on the spirit of God, and approaches the nature of that sole divinity, who shines by his own effulgence.

Thus must the chief of the twiceborn, though he neglect the ceremonial rites mentioned in the Sātras, be diligent alike in attaining a knowledge of God and in repeating the Veda:

Such is the advantageous privilege of those, who have a double birth from their natural mothers and from the gāyatrī their spiritual mother, especially of a Brāhmen; since the twiceborn man by performing this duty but
not otherwise, may soon acquire endless felicity.

94. To patriarchs, to deities, and to mankind, the scripture is an eye giving constant light; nor could the Vēda Sāstra have been made by human faculties; nor can it be measured by human reason unassisted by revealed glosses and comments: this is a sure proposition.

95. Such codes of law as are not grounded on the Vēda, and the various heterodox theories of men, produce no good fruit after death; for they all are declared to have their basis on darkness.

96. All systems, which are repugnant to the Vēda, must have been composed by mortals, and shall soon perish: their modern date proves them vain and false.

97. The three worlds, the four classes of men, and their four distinct orders, with all that has been, all that is, and all that will be, are made known by the Vēda:

98. The nature of sound, of tangible and visible shape, of taste, and of odour, the fifth object of sense, is clearly explained in the Vēda alone, together with the three qualities of mind, the births attended with them, and the acts which they occasion.

99. All creatures are sustained by the primeval Vēda Sāstrā, which the wise therefore
hold supreme, because it is the supreme source of prosperity to this creature, man.

100. Command of armies, royal authority, power of inflicting punishment, and sovereign dominion over all nations, he only well deserves, who perfectly understands the Védas.

101. As fire with augmented force burns up even humid trees, thus he, who well knows the Védas, burns out the taint of sin, which has infected his soul.

102. He, who completely knows the sense of the Védas, while he remains in any one of the four orders, approaches the divine nature, even though he sojourn in this low world.

103. They, who have read many books, are more exalted than such, as have seldom studied; they, who retain what they have read, than forgetful readers; they, who fully understand, than such as only remember; and they, who perform their known duty, than such men, as barely know it.

104. Devotion and sacred knowledge are the best means by which a Brāhmaṇ can arrive at beatitude: by devotion he may destroy guilt; by sacred knowledge he may acquire immortal glory.

105. Three modes of proof, ocular demon-
AND FINAL BEATITUDE.

...tration, logical inference, and the authority
of those various books, which are deduced
from the Vêda, must be well understood by
that man, who seeks a distinct knowledge of
all his duties:

106. 'He alone comprehends the system of
duties religious and civil, who can reason, by
rules of logic agreeable to the Vêda, on the
general heads of that system as revealed by
the holy sages.

107. 'These rules of conduct, which lead to
supreme bliss, have been exactly and compre-
hesively declared: the more secret learning
of this Mânava Sàstra shall now be disclosed.

108. 'If it be asked, how the law shall be
ascertained, when particular cases are not
comprised under any of the general rules, the
answer is this: "That, which well instructed
"Brahmens propound, shall be held incontestible
"law."

109. 'Well instructed Brahmens are they,
who can adduce ocular proof from the scripture
itself, having studied, as the law ordains,
the Védas and their extended branches, or
Vêdângas, Mîmânsâ, Nyâya, Dharma-sàstra,
"Purânas:

110. 'A point of law, before not expressly re-
vealed, which shall be decided by an assembly
of ten such virtuous Brahmens under one chief,
or, if ten be not procurable, of three such under one president, let no man controvert.

111. 'The assembly of ten under a chief either the king himself or a judge appointed by him, must consist of three, each of them peculiarly conversant with one of the three Védas, of a fourth skilled in the Nyáya, and a fifth in the Mimánsā philosophy; of a sixth, who has particularly studied the Niruśita; a seventh, who has applied himself most assiduously to the Dharmaśāstra; and of three universal scholars, who are in the three first orders.

112. 'One, who has chiefly studied the Rég-vēda, a second, who principally knows the Yajus, and a third best acquainted with the Sáman, are the assembly of three under a head, who may remove all doubts both in law and casuistry.

113. 'Even the decision of one priest, if more cannot be assembled, who perfectly knows the principles of the Védas, must be considered as law of the highest authority; not the opinion of myriads, who have no sacred knowledge.

114. 'Many thousands of Bráhmens cannot form a legal assembly for the decision of contests, if they have not performed the duties of a regular studentship, are unacquainted with scriptural texts, and subsist only by the name of their sacerdotal class.
115. 'The sin of that man, to whom dunces, pervaded by the quality of darkness, propound the law, of which they are themselves ignorant, shall pass, increased a hundredfold, to the wretches who propound it.

116. 'This comprehensive system of duties, the chief cause of ultimate felicity, has been declared to you; and the Brähmen, who never departs from it, shall attain a superior state above.

117. 'Thus did the allwise Menu, who possesses extensive dominion, and blazes with heavenly splendour, disclose to me, from his benevolence to mankind, this transcendant system of law, which must be kept devoutly concealed from persons unfit to receive it.

118. 'Let every Brähmen with fixed attention consider all nature, both visible and invisible, as existing in the divine spirit; for, when he contemplates the boundless universe existing in the divine spirit, he cannot give his heart to iniquity:

119. 'The divine spirit alone is the whole assemblage of gods; all worlds are seated in the divine spirit, and the divine spirit no doubt produces by a chain of causes and effects consistent with free will, the connected series of acts performed by im-bodied souls.

120. 'He may contemplate the subtil ether
in the cavities of his body; the air in his
muscular motion and sensitive nerves; the su-
preme solar and igneous light, in his digestive
heat and his visual organs; in his corporeal
fluids, water; in the terrene parts of his fa-
brick, earth;

121. 'In his heart, the moon; in his audi-
tory nerves, the guardians of eight regions;
in his progressive motion, Vishnu; in his
muscular force, Hara; in his organs of
speech, Agni; in excretion, Mitra; in pro-
creation, Brahma.'

122. 'But he must consider the supreme
omnipresent intelligence as the sovereign lord
of them all, by whose energy alone they exist; a
spirit, by no means the object of any sense, which
can only be conceived by a mind wholly ab-
stracted from matter, and as it were slumbering;
but which for the purpose of assisting his medi-
tation, he may imagine more subtil than the
finest conceivable essence, and more bright
than the purest gold.

123. 'Him some adore as transcendently
present in elementary fire; others, in Menu,
 lord of creatures, or an immediate agent in the
creation; some, as more distinctly present in
Indra, regent of the clouds and the atmosphere;
 others, in pure air; others, as the most High.
Eternal Spirit.
124. "It is He, who, pervading all beings in five elemental forms, causes them by the gradations of birth, growth, and dissolution, to revolve in this world, until they deserve beatitude, like the wheels of a car.

125. "Thus the man, who perceives in his own soul the supreme soul present in all creatures, acquires equanimity toward them all, and shall be absorbed at last in the highest essence, even that of the Almighty himself."

126. Here ended the sacred instructor; and every twiceborn man, who, attentively reading this Māṇava Sāstra promulgated by Bṛhad, shall become habitually virtuous, will attain the beatitude which he seeks.
GENERAL NOTE.

THE learned Hindus are unanimously of opinion, that many laws enacted by Menu, their oldest reputed legislator, were confined to the three first ages of the world, and have no force in the present age, in which a few of them are certainly obsolete; and they ground their opinion on the following texts, which are collected in a work entitled Mandana ratna pradipā:

I. CRATU: In the Cālī age a son must not be begotten on a widow by the brother of the deceased husband; nor must a damsel, once given away in marriage, be given a second time; nor must a bull be offered in a sacrifice; nor must a waterpot be carried by a student in theology.

II. VRIHASPATI: I. Appointments of kinsmen to beget children on widows, or married women, when the husbands are deceased or impotent, are mentioned by the sage Menu, but forbidden by himself with a view to the order of the
four ages: no such act can be legally done in this age by any others than the husband.

2. In the first and second ages men were endowed with true piety and sound knowledge; so they were in the third age; but in the fourth, a diminution of their moral and intellectual powers was ordained by their Creator:

3. Thus were sons of many different sorts made by ancient ages, but such cannot now be adopted by men destitute of those eminent powers.

III. Parāśara: I. - A man, who has held intercourse with a deadly sinner, must abandon his country in the first age; he must leave his town, in the second; his family, in the third age; but in the fourth he needs only desert the offender.

2. In the first age, he is degraded by mere conversation with a degraded man; in the second, by touching him; in the third, by receiving food from him; but in the fourth, the sinner alone bears his guilt.

IV. Naśada: The procreation of a son by a brother of the deceased, the slaughter of cattle in the entertainment of a guest, the repast on fleshmeat at funeral obsequies, and the order of a hermit are forbidden or obsolete in the fourth age.

V. Aदित्य दुर्गोन्नाति: 1. What was a duty in the
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GENERAL NOTE.

First age must not in all cases be done in the fourth; since, in the Cali yuga, both men and women are addicted to sin:

2. Such are a studentship continued for a very long time, and the necessity of carrying a waterpot, marriage with a paternal kinswoman, or with a near maternal relation, and the sacrifice of a bull,

3. Or of a man, or of a horse: and all spirituous liquor must in the Cali age be avoided by twiceborn men; so must a second gift of a married young woman, whose husband has died before consummation, and the larger portion of an eldest brother, and procreation on a brother's widow or wife.

VI. Smrīti: 1. The appointment of a man to beget a son on the widow of his brother; the gift of a young married woman to another bridegroom, if her husband should die while she remains a virgin;

2. The marriage of twiceborn men with damfels not of the same class; the slaughter, in a religious war, of Brāhmens, who are assailants with intent to kill;

3. Any intercourse with a twiceborn man, who has passed the sea in a ship, even though he have performed an expiation: performances of sacrifices for all sorts of men; and the necessity of carrying a waterpot;
4. Walking on a pilgrimage till the pilgrim die; and the slaughter of a bull at a sacrifice; the acceptance of spirituous liquor, even at the ceremony called Sautrámani;

5. Receiving what has been licked off, at an oblation to fire, from the pot of clarified butter; entrance into the third order, or that of a hermit, though ordained for the first ages;

6. The diminution of crimes in proportion to the religious acts and sacred knowledge of the offenders; the rule of expiation for a Bráhman extending to death;

7. The sin of holding any intercourse with sinners; the secret expiation of any great crimes except theft; the slaughter of cattle in honour of eminent guests or of ancestors;

8. The filiation of any but a son legally begotten or given in adoption by his parents; the desertion of a lawful wife for any offence less than actual adultery;

9. These parts of ancient law were abrogated by wise legislators, as the cases arose at the beginning of the Cali age, with an intent of securing mankind from evil.

On the preceding texts it must be remarked, that none of them, except that of Vṛihaspáti, are cited by Cullu'ca, who never seems to have considered any other laws of Menu as restrained to the three first ages; that the Smrīti,
or sacred code, is quoted without the name of the legislator; and that the prohibition, in any age, of self-defence, even against Bráhmins, is repugnant to a text of Súmantu, to the precept and example of Crishna himself, according to the Mahábhárat, and even to a sentence in the Védas, by which every man is commanded to defend his own life from all violent aggressors.
Calcutta, March 1, 1794.

SIR,

THE Institutes of Hindu Law have been very correctly printed, and the whole impression has just been sent to the Governor and Council, who will not fail to transmit copies for the King's library, for yourself, and for the Directors. If I had obtained his Majesty's leave to resign my office, nothing would now keep me here, but the Digest of Indian Laws, consisting of nine large volumes, two of which remain to be collated and studied with the learned Bráhmen, who assists me: he is old and infirm; but, should he be able to attend me another year, or two years at the very utmost, the whole work will be finished, and I shall copy it during my voyage, if the King shall graciously permit me to leave India.

I, therefore, intreat you, Sir, to lay before his Majesty, my humble supplication for his gracious permission to resign my judgeship in the year 1795, or (if the Digest should not then be completed) in 1796; it being my anxious wish to pass the remainder of my life in studious retirement, though devoted, as I ever have been,
to the service of my King and my Country, and of that recorded Constitution, which is the basis of our national glory and felicity.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your very obedient humble Servant.

The Right Hon. Henry Dundas, Esq.
THE

MAHOMEDAN LAW

OF

SUCCESSION

TO

THE PROPERTY OF INTESTATES.

IN

ARABICK,

ENGRAVED ON COPPER PLATES

FROM

AN ANCIENT MANUSCRIPT:

WITH

A VERBAL TRANSLATION, AND EXPLANATORY NOTES.
NOTHING more seems necessary, in order to explain the object of the following work, than barely to cite the late statute concerning the administration of justice in Bengal; by the seventeenth section of which it is enacted, "That the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William shall have full power to hear and determine all manner of actions and suits against the inhabitants of Calcutta, provided that their inheritance and succession to lands, rents, and goods, and all matters of contract and dealing between party and party, shall be determined, in the case of Mahomedans, by the laws and usages of Mahomedans, and, where only one of the parties shall be a Mahomedan, by the laws and usages of the defendant:" by the twenty-first section, the provincial courts of Adâlet, or Justice, are expressly recognized, and the powers of the governor and council, as the Sedr Adâlet, in determining civil
causes on appeals from those courts, are fully established in conformity to the old Mogul constitution.

But it may naturally be asked, how the judges of the Supreme Court, the provincial councils and council general, in India, or the great court of appeal in this kingdom, can justly exercise their several powers in suits between Mahomedan parties, without being at all acquainted with the law, by which they are bound to decide. Perpetual references to native lawyers must always be inconvenient and precarious; since the solidity of their answers must depend on their integrity, as well as their learning; and at best, if they be neither influenced nor ignorant, the court will not in truth bear and determine the cause, but merely pronounce judgement on the report of other men.

For these reasons it appears indubitable, that a knowledge of Mahomedan jurisprudence (I say nothing here of the Hindu learning,) and consequently of the languages used by Mahomedan writers, are essential to a complete administration of justice in our Asiatick territories; a knowledge I mean, though not equal to that of the Mufti at Constantinople, yet sufficient for the purpose of keeping a check over the native counsellors, of understanding and examining their opinion, and of rejecting or adopting it, as
it may be opposed or supported by their books of allowed authority, to which they should constantly refer.

A considerable number of those books have been brought to England by the curious in different ages, and are now reposited in our Academical libraries: in the Bodleian, especially, we have many treatises and dissertations in Arabick on wills, inheritances, contracts, and other important heads; particularly in the fine collection made at Aleppo by the learned Pocock, from one of whose most valuable manuscripts (n. 33.) this little work has been traced through transparent paper, and engraved with such accuracy, that the plates must have equal authority in Asia with the original pages, which are near five hundred years old.

The author, a native of Alrahaba, in Mesopotamia, was himself an Imam; and his decisions are, on that account, considered as binding by the sect of Ali, which the Indian, as well as the Persian, Mahomedans profess; but Ibn'Q£'MOTAKANNA informs us, that he drew his knowledge from the fountain head, and has epitomised the system of Zaid, who was recommended by Mahomed himself as the surest interpreter of his laws, and who had been implicitly followed by Shafiei, the first writer on Mahomedan jurisprudence, in the eighth cen-

M 2
tury of our era, and composer of the Osül, or Principles of law, with other tracts highly valued by the learned of his religion and country.

Hence it is certain, that the Bigyato'l bāhiḥ may be cited, as a book of authority, in all the Musliman courts; and the European reader must not be surprised to see such a work written in a kind of loose metre, and even in rhyme: a law tract in verse conveys, indeed, rather a ludicrous idea, since poetry belongs to imagination, which law, whose province is pure reason, wholly excludes; but verse, as numberless instances prove, is not always poetry; and a regular measure is so considerable an aid to the memory, that, if the metrical abridgement of Coke's Reports were more accurate, and the couplets a little fmother, every student should be advised to get it by heart. I may add, without enlarging upon the Agathyrs and the Turdetani, who, as we are told by Aristotle and Strabo, had laws in verse of the remotest antiquity, that the Alcoran itself, the great source of Mahomedan law, is composed in sentences not only modulated with art, but often exactly rhymed; so that in Asia this apology would have been needless. Verbal translations are generally naked and insipid, wholly destroying all the neatness and beauty of the original, yet retaining so much of the foreign idiom and manner, as to appear
PREFACE.

always uncouth, often ridiculous; but elegance, on a subject so delicate as law, must be sacrificed without mercy to exactness; and for this reason I have rendered the Arabian treatise, line for line, and word for word, with a fidelity almost religiously scrupulous.

As it was never my intention to compose a perfect work upon the law of inheritances among the Mahomedans, it cannot be reasonably expected, that I should subjoin a commentary, or prefix a long discourse: very few marginal notes were thought necessary; but, if the brevity of the original should make parts of it rather obscure, the British lawyers in India, for whose use chiefly this production was designed, will easily obtain a clear explanation both of the language and matter from native interpreters.

The fourth chapter of the Alcoran may throw light, if any be wanted, on the doctrine of the faruub or portions; and, as to the arithmetical part, it seems of little consequence, as our rules of three, and those for the reduction of fractions, are common and familiar to all.

The present publication will answer, I conceive, another purpose by no means unimportant; as it will habituate the student of eastern languages to the reading of old Arabian manuscripts; but, left the hand-writing of the very learned Saad Al Sivâfi, for that was the name
of the transcriber, should perplex beginners, I have printed the whole tract, for their sake, in Roman letters, distinguishing every consonant and long vowel (the short ones are too vague and indeterminate) by a character invariably appropriated to it; so as to give every full sound its own specifick symbol; an advantage, which hardly any alphabet has, but which all ought to have.
Bīgyah'o 'lbāhhithi 'ān jumali 'lmowārithi
nadh'mo 'lsfakhirî ‘álīmāmi 'álāālimi
mowāffīki 'ldeīnî ābeī 'abdillahi
moh̲āmm̲ēdi 'bni ālei ībnî 'l̲h̲hos̲aînî
‘− rahhabiyī ‘ālmārūfī bi 'bni 'l
motakannahî rahhamaho ‘alāho ta‘ālāī.
Bi‘mi ‘llahi álrahmaní álrahheími wabihí neiataéíno.

áfradh'acom zaídon wanáheíca behá
facaana áuláí be-ittibii 'itábií
lá fiyyamá wakad nakháhu 'lsháfií
dháca fëihi álkaúla bi'leijjázi
mobaraán min kas’mah'i 'lálgázi
ásbábo meiráthi 'lwaraí théaláthah
cullon yoféido rabbaho 'lwiráthah
waháí nicáhhon' waweláon' wanafáb
má bádahonna limmawáreíthi fábab.

[2]
wayamnaò 'lsñaaks'a min ámeiráthi
wáhhidah'on' min ilalin' théaláthi
rikkon' wakatlon' waákhtiláfo deíni
faáfham falaífa 'lshacco cályakeíni
wálwáríthúno feí 'lrijálí áshharah
ásmáwahom märíufah'on' mushtaharah
álíbno wa'bno 'lbni mahmá nazalá
wa'lábo wa'ljeddo leho wáï'n álá
wálákho min áyyi 'ljeháti cáná
kad ánzelä 'llaho bihi 'lkoráná
wábno 'lákhi 'lmodleí ilaíhi bi'lábi
fásfi mékálán' laífa bi'lmucadhdhabí
wa' lámmo wábno 'lammi min ábeíhi
fásícór lehéfi 'lejzázi wáltañbeíhi
wálzárújo wálmótiko dhú 'lweláí
fajumlah'o 'ldhucúrí hawoláí
wálwárítháto cullohinna febdó
lam yáth'í ónthéí gáírahonna 'lshéró
binton wabinto 'bnin waömmon' musifikah
wajaddah'ón wazaújah'ón wamôtikah
wál.khto min áyyi 'ljeháti cánat
fahadhihi iddatohá kad bánat
wáàlam biáanna 'lirtha naúááni homá
fardh'ón watâ'seibon' álai ma kósíma
fálfardho féi nas'sí 'lcitábi fittah
lá fardh'ó féi 'lirthi siwááhá bittah
nisfo' warubón' thomma niisfo 'lrubá
wálíthultho wálíudsó binas'sí 'lséri
wálíthultháni wahomá áltemámo
fáhhsadh" facullo hhásidh in' imámo

[3]
fálisfo fardh'ó khamfáh'in' áfrádi
álzaújo wálóntháí min álálúádi
wabinto 'libni índa fakdi 'lbinti
wálákhto féi medh-hebi culll múfteí
wabádahá 'lákhto 'llati min álábi
índa ánshirádihinna min moàssíbi
wálrubó fardhá 'lzaúji in cána máah
min waladí 'lzaújah'í-men kad menaâh
wahú leculli zaújah in' áú áctherá
mâ âdami 'láúlídi feîmá kadderá
wálthomno lilzaújahí wálzaújáti
má álbeneína áú mâ álbenáti
áú mâa áúládi 'lbeneíni faâlemeí
wábek le-ítkári 'ldurúfi wálílemeí
wálthultháni lilbenáti jemâá
mâ zâda ân wáhhidah'i fasemââ
wahúá cadháca lebenáti 'lîbni
fâfham mekâléi fahma s'âfeî 'ldhihni
wahúá liákhtaîni femâ yezeîdo
kadh'âi bihi 'láhhrâro wálâbeîdo
hadhá ídhá cunna liómmi waâbi
âú âiábi fââmel bihadhá tos'âbi
wâlthultho fardh'o 'lómmi hhaítho lá weled
wela mina 'lákhwah'i jemÔ waâded
cáthnaïni âú thintaîni âú thelâthi
hocmo 'ldhucúri feîhi câlínâthi
waî'n yecun zaújôn' waómon' waâbo
fathultho 'lbâkíyo lehá morattâbô
wahacadhai mâ zaújah'in' fas'âûdá
felá tecun mina 'lûlûmi kâidá

[4]
wâlthultho lîlâthnaîni âú thintaîni
min weledi 'lómmi bigâîri maini
wahacadhai ín catharuá fará dúâ
fema lehom feîmá fiwáho zâdo
wataftawai 'línâtho wâldhucúro
feîhi camá kad âûdh'âhho 'lmesf'húro
wálsufdo fardh'o febâk'in' mina 'làded
âbon' waómon' thomma binto'bni wajedd
wâlókhto binto 'lâbi thomma 'ljedda'h
waweledo 'lómmi temâmo 'lûddah
fâlábo yeftahhikko ho mââ 'lweled
wahacadhai 'lómmo betenzeîli 'ls'emed
wahú lehá áydhán' māa 'láthnaíni
min ìkhwah'í 'lmaíti fakis hadháíni
wáljeddó mithlo 'lábi ìnda fakdihi
féí jeza má yes'éíboho wameddihi
íllá ídhá cáná honáca ìkhwah
licaúnahom féí 'lkurbi wahú áfwah
wahhucmohim wahhucmoho feyátéí
mocammela 'lbyána féí 'lhháláti
wabinto 'líbni tákhodh álfudfa ídhá
cánat māá 'lbíntí mithálá yahhtadhaí
wahacadhaí 'lókhto máá 'lókhtí 'llataí
biálábawaíní yá ókhayyo ádlata
fái'n tefáwaí nesebo 'ljeddáti
wacunna cullahonna wáritháti
fálfudfo bainahonna biálfawiyyah
féí 'lkifmah'í 'láádilah'í 'lsheíyyah
wacullo men ádlat bigaíri wárithi
femá lehá hhadh'ídh'ón' mina 'lmawárithi.

[5]
watafkotho 'lbódaí bidháti 'lkurbi
féí 'lmedh-hebi 'láúlaí fakol leí hhaíbeí
wakad tenáhat kifmah'ó 'lforúdh'í
bigaíri íshcáli welá gómúdhí
wahhókka án neshraâ féí 'ltáséíbi
biculli kaúlin' mújizin' múseíbi
facullo men áhhraza culla 'lmáli
mina 'lkarábáti áú álmawaíléí
áú cáná má yafdh'ólo bâda 'lfardh'í leh
fahú ákhú 'lásúbah'í 'lmofadh'ídh'áleí
călabî wáljeddi wajeddî 'ljeddî
wálîñni ñnda kurbiñi wálbûdî
wálakhi wábni 'lákhi wálââmâmi
wálâyûidî 'lmûtki dhei 'lînââmi
wahacadhäî benûohom jemêjâän'
facun ëmâ adhcoroho fëmëjâän'
wamâ ledhei 'lbûdî màa 'lkareîbi
fêî 'lîrthi min hhadh'dhîn' wela nes'eîbi
wálâkho wálâmmo li'ommin' waâbî
áûlài mina 'lmodleî bi'lînthri 'lñafabî
wa'lîbno wálâkho màa 'lînâthi
yoâs'sûbûnahinna fêî 'lîmëràthi
wâlûsfa fêî 'lnisäî th'urrân' âs'abab
îllä 'llataî mennat bi êtki 'lrrakabâh
wálâkhawáto ìn yecun bënàto
fahonna bàdahonna âs'abûto
wâ'ljeddo mahhjûbon' âni 'lmejërâthi
bî'lâbi fêî âhhwálihi 'lthelâthi
wahacadhäî 'bno 'lîbni bî'lîbni fêlâ
tabig âni 'lhjâcîmi 'lshâheîhîhî màdîlâ

[6]
watafkoth'o 'ljedddûto min culli jiheh
bi 'lômmi fâhhfadh'-ho wakis mà âshbeheh
watafkoth'o 'lîkhwah'o bi'lîbeneînà
wabi'lâbi 'lädnaî camá ruweînà
áû bibeneî 'lîbeneînà hhaîtho cânûà
siyyâni feîhi 'ljemâ wa'lwaâhhdâno
wayafdh'olo'bno 'lômmi bi'lîskâthî
bi'ljeddî fâhhfadh'-ho âlàî ihhtiyâthî
wabi 'îbenâti wabenâti 'îlbni
facun bihhifdh'i 'îlmi jiddân' monei
thomma benâto 'îlbni yefkoth'na metai
hhâza 'îbenâto álthulthaïna ya fetai
illâ idhâ âss'abahonna âldhacaro
min welidi 'îlbni âlaï mâ dhacaruâ
wabdahonna 'lkawâto illâtaï
yodeïna bi'lkurbi min áljihâti
idhâ âkhâdna fardh'âhonna wáfiyâ
áskath'na âulâda 'lâbi 'lbawâciyâ
wâïn yecun âkho lehonna hhâdhâîrân'
âss'abahonna bâthinân' wadh'ahîrân'
walaïfa âbno'lakhi bi'lmoaâs's'abi
men mithlaho âû faûkaho feî 'lnasabi
wâïn tajid zaùjân' waômmân' wârithâ
wâëkhwah'ân' lilômmi hhâzûâ 'lthulothâ
wâakhwah'ân' âyd'hân' liômmi waâbi
waääftugrika 'lmâlo bifardh'i 'lnos'obi
fâjâlahomo cullohomli liômmi
waâhhfîb âbahom hhajarâîn' feî 'lyammî
wâkîm âlaï 'lkîkwahî thultha 'ltaricah
wahadhihi 'lmeselah'o 'lmushtaracah

[7]
wâlâna nebdâ bi'lladhai âradna
feî 'ljeddi wa'hîkhwah'i idh wâdnâ
faâlik nahhaú mâ ãkúlo 'lmismaââ
wâjmâ hhawâshei 'lcelamâti âjmaââ
wââlem biânna 'ljeddo dhû âhhwâli
ểnإئقة أنحوننا آلاف ’لتاءلةائ
فلافسفو ’ليكحواهي فئينننا إدحاء
لماء يوّدي ’لكسمو آلالي بينادهاء
فطاراحٍان’ يَكحودهو ثعلثان’ قاميلان’
وين كان بينكيننائاّي أنمو النازيلان’
وين لم يعكن فئهيم دحاوو فشامأي
فأكنا بناءدعلهئي أني فستفاي
واتراهان’ ياكحودهو ثولثا’ ’لبيكي
بادا دهوي’ ’فسرودح’و ونالارزاي
هدحاء إدحاء ما’ عدح’-فحتي ’لموكاسفامأي
متكوسحأ أني دهاي بينمزاشحامأ
واتراهان’ ياكحودهو فديدبا’ ’لمالي
والابأي أنمو النازيلان’ بيحالي
واهاع ماه ’لناثي أنداء ’لكسمي
ميثلو غكحين’ فئ فئحمي الوالينهيomi
واي وفدهب بنائي ’لابي لدآفي ’ةدأي
وايرفدوه’ بنائي ’لومي ماه’ ’لأيدايد
واي وحنمي آلآي ’ليكحواهي بادا ’لادي
هنوينماكا فئهيم أندأ فكدكي ’لوددي
واهوكتمو لث فاردو ماه ’لوددي لحا
فأية ’الآي ميسلاهان’ حاملاه
زاكيون’ واممون’ واموماً تماممها
فايم فاكهنوو أوممأو للاممها
توأفو يأ’ ساهحي بينلآعداريييأ
واهفي بيان تسوفادح’-حا حاريييأ

[8]
فأيوفرادح’و ’ليميفو لحا ولفصاحدفو لحا
لختاي تاعيّي بينفسرودح’ ’لموجمهلي
تممأو ياسوداني ’لأي ’لموكاسفامأي
wa'lthultho min thelethah'in' yecúno
wa'lrubó min árbaáh'in' mésnúno
wa'lthumno mün cāna famin themáníyah
fahadhihi hai 'lós'úlo 'ltháníyah
lá yedkholo 'látúlo aláíhá fáame mi
thomma ásloca 'ltás'-hheíhi feihi vákši:ni
fái'n tecun min ás'líhá tasíihhhho
fatarco tath'weíi 'lhhifábi ribbho
fááth'i cullán' sahmaho min ás'líhi
mocammilibn' aú ááyílan' min áúlíhi
waín terá 'lfiíháma laísa tankásim
áláí dhhwéi 'lmeíráthi fátbá má rufím
wáthlob th'áreíka 'líkhtis'ári fei 'lámal
bi'l'dhárbi wa'l'wafski yojánibca 'lzeele
wárdod iláí 'lwafski 'lladhaí yowáfíko
wádh'ribbo fei 'lás'li waánta 'lhhádiko
in cāna jinfin waáhhidán' aú áctherá
fahhfad'í wadá ánca 'ljidála wa álmirá
waín terá 'lcathra aláí ájnáfi
faí'nahá fei 'lhucmi índa 'lnáfi
tóhhs'aro fei árbaáh'in' ákámi
yářifohá 'lmáhiro fei 'lähcámí
momáthilón' min bádiho monášibo
wabádaho möwásíkon' mos'ahhibo
wa'lirábió 'lmóbáýíno 'lmokhálfíno
yonbeica án tafs'álihinna 'làárisó
fakhodh mina 'lmomáthilaini wáhhidá
wakhodh mina 'lmonásibaini 'lzayidá
wakhodh jemeifá 'lādadi 'lmoðáyini
wadh'reibho feí 'ltháneí welá todáhini

[10]
wadh'reibh jemeifá 'lwafki feí 'lmoʊafiki
waʃloc bidhaʃca ḍanhaʃa 'lth'arayiki
wadh'reibho feí 'lásli 'lladhaʃ taas's'ilá
waakhshi má āndh'amma wamá tahhas's'alá
waāksimho fa'lkasma ðdhá s'ahheʃho
yārisoʃo 'lājemo wa'lfaʃeʃho
fahadhihi mina 'lhhiʃábi jumalo
yáteí ālaʃ mithalihinna 'lámalo
min gairi tath'weilin' welá 'ātisáfi
fākná bimá feihinna fahú cáfi
waʃ'n yemut ākharo kabla 'lkiʃmah
fahhakkiki 'lsihámi wāarif kislah
wajal leho mesalah'an' ókhraʃ lema
kad bayyana 'ltafaʃeʃla feimá koddima
wándh'or fa'n wafakati 'lsihámo
fakhodh hodeita wafkohá temamó
wadh'reibho áu jemeiʃáfeí 'lsábikah
in lam yecun baʃnahomá mowafakah
fálás-homo 'lókhraʃ faʃeʃ 'lsihámi
todh'rebo áu feí wafkiha temámi
wacullo saḥmin' fei jemeiʃ 'lthántiyah
yodh'rebo áu feí wafkiha áláníyih
fahadhihi th'areifikho 'lmonásakah
fárka bihá rutbaʃ'á fadhli shámikah

N 2
waïn yecun fei mustahhakki 'lmâli
khonthain' s'ahhejhon bayyana 'lisheâli
fâkism âlalâ'la'kallli wa'lyekellî
tahhdh'a bihakki 'lkisjahâ' 'lmobeînî
wahacadhaî hucmo dhavâtî 'lhhâmlî
yobnail âlal 'lyekeînî wa'lakallî

[11]
wai'n yemut kaúmon' bihadmin' âû garâk
âû hhâdithin' âmma 'ljemîaî ca'lhhârak
walam yecun yôlemo hhâlo 'lfâbîkî
falâ yowarraw râfikon' min nâfiki
taôddohom caînnaîhom ájânibo
wahacadhai 'lrâyyo 'lfadédîdo 'ls'âyîbî
wakad âtaî 'lkaûlo âlâi mà fheînâ
min kisimahî 'lmeîráthi ca yêbînà
âlalî th'areîki 'lramzi wa'lisjahârâh
molakhkhas'ân' biâûjezi 'libârah
fâ'llhhâmdu lillahi màlî 'ltemâmî
hhâmînî' cathâîrân' tomma fey 'ldawâmî
wanafalo 'láfâwâ ârtî 'ltak's'éri
wakhaîrâ mà nâmolo fey 'lmes'éri
wagafra mà câna mina 'ldhonûbi
wasatara mà câna mina 'løyûbi
waâfdh'alo 'ls'alwâhî wa'tasjleîmi
âlalî 'lnèbîyî y 'lmus't'hafal 'lcereîmî
mohhammedîn' khâîri 'lânâmî 'lâákîbî
waâlîhi 'lgurri dhawef 'lmenäkîbî
was'ahhbihi 'lafadhiîli 'lárâri
السُفَاهَيْنِ ِلَمْ يَدْلُوا عَلَى ِلَكِيَّاءِ
لا حافونا ِلَلَّهُ وَانِمَة ِلَقَيْفِ
دُحُ ِلَيْزَيْنِ. ِوَلْكُدَرَاهُ ِوَلْلَّاَلْثَّاَسِيَّ
تَمْمَتُ ِوَلْهَمْدَو ِلِلَّهِ
رَبِيّ ِلِلَّامِلْمِيّنِ ِوَاسْلَكَوْحَٰهُ
وَإِلَّا ِلَمْ يَحْسُبُونِ ِلَكَيْفِ
مُهَمَّدٌ ِوَعِنْبَيْيِنِّي ِلَقَيْفِ
وَأَمَرَّاهُ ِوَلْلَّاَلْثَّاَسِيَّ
فَخَّرُ ِلِفَبِكَّهُ ِلَلَّهُ ِثَغْنِيّ
إِنَّهُ ِلِلَّهِ ِوَانِحُو.
THE DESIRED OBJECT OF THE INQUIRER

CONCERNING ALL THE RULES OF INHERITANCE:

Composed by the learned Shaikh, the Imám

Mowaffiko'ddein, father of Abdalla,

Mohammed, son of Ali, son of Hosain,

Al Rahabi, commonly called Ihno'l

Motakanna. May God be merciful to him!
لله الحمدالةitched:} 

أولًا: تصفح المقالة بحذر، ثم تتبع

الخطوات على ما ذكرنا، حيث يكملون بعض السيناريوهات

من المحتمل. بعد السلام على جميع دينه الإسلام في

相声]{بَ حَ ٌ 

وعلى الله إذا لا إله إلا هو، وما شاء من الإبانا.

عن ذهب الإمام رياض الفوقي، إذ كان من الجزاير عند

عُلِمْ بِنَ الأَعْلَمِ أَوَّل تَسْمَى فِي وَأَهَمَّةِ الْعَلِيْذِ ۖ كُل

وَالْعَلَمِ ۖ مَحَصُّ مَا تَشْتَعِبِ بِهِ عِنْدَ كَلَّ الْعُلَمِ

سَلَوْنِي فِي مَسَّهُ مِنْهَا أَفْصَحْ مَرْحُولٌ. يَزِيدُ نَاهِل

نَحْرٌ أَوْ لَآتِبَ نَابِيَةٌ لَّنْ يَسُبِّحَ وَقَدْ بَكَاهُاللَّهُ

فَهَكِمَ فِيهِ الْفُوْقِيَ الْأَطْرُفَيْنِ. أَوْ لَآتِبَ نَابِيَةٌ لَّنْ يَسُبِّحَ وَقَدْ بَكَاهُاللَّهُ

بَسْتَبِبٌ مَّا بَقَى مِنْهَا مَنْ بَعْدَهُ. وَهُدِيْهَا
لقصةِ الباجه عن جار الموارث
أنظر إلى نهج الإمام الغامدي وهو متوفر للرس
يل من كتبه في المذهب الشافعي العريق
بأي لغة من لغتي الترجمة البديع حالي
وَفَضَلَ الْإِلَهَ قَلِيلًا مِّنْهَا، وَأَخَذَهَا عَنْهَا مِنْ عَلَىٰ ثَلَاثِ رُطُبَ
رَوْنَاءَكَ، وَأَخَذَهَا عَنْهَا مِنْ عَلَىٰ ثَلَاثِ رُطُبَ
وَالْإِلَهَ قَلِيلًا مِّنْهَا، وَأَخَذَهَا عَنْهَا مِنْ عَلَىٰ ثَلَاثِ رُطُبَ
وَالْإِلَهَ قَلِيلًا مِّنْهَا، وَأَخَذَهَا عَنْهَا مِنْ عَلَىٰ ثَلَاثِ رُطُبَ
وَالْإِلَهَ قَلِيلًا مِّنْهَا، وَأَخَذَهَا عَنْهَا مِنْ عَلَىٰ ثَلَاثِ رُطُبَ
نالتصفح فضحت في الصورة، والروح، والنفس، ولا إله إلا الله.

وبرك الله في آخر براءته، وأنا كنت في ذلك.

وهكذا أرجو أن تكون هذه الأخبار التي أرسلت إليها من فقير

والدرب الذي نزلت فيه، فكيف؟ وهم مازالون، وهم مازالون.

هكذا كلاً الواقع والحاصل.

والثنايا، والشهادات، وما أبدا أن يكون فيها.

فهو لا يحتوي في شيء من فضله الأ贔س، والأجبار، والعزة.
وَالقَلْبِ اللَّهُ الْأَلْبَاضِ وَاللَّهُ رَبَّ الْأَمْيَلِينَ وَلَمْ يَأْتِ النَّاسُ مَعَهُ شَيْئًا عَلَى سَبَاطُهُ سَبَاطٍ...
و نسائل الساعين من أمر الله المحقق لأولى البعثين، وقد ساويت بين الهوية، الأقوال في الشكال الإنسان، و ما كفر من الصادقين، و ما كفر من المضطربين، و من أن يشرع في الفصلبين، بكل قول موج مقصود، و لكل من يذكر باكر من القرأنات أو الحفاظ عليه.
ولكل من يقصد لليعيصر القران والصحوة، ملقياً كالاب والنور، و خيرات الأئمة، و الحفظ لل صحيح والمعاصر للإمام، و السيد المعنوي للإمام، و وسيلة توم جمعًا و كونًا، كُرَّ السعي، أو ما أذن به من السعي، الذي أنتم من الفراءين، التي لا تنقطع، والإجوان لم يته إلى أذى من نواعير الشائر، والإيزان، والإخاء، والأنثا لفصا فص أرباء، أسر السخاء طرف، أعصي الناقة التي تسبت، واحدها عن غير المرات، وآخرها عن غير المرات بالأنثا، واحدها عن غير المرات بالأنثا أخذة القلاب، وهكذا إن أتت الاشرار لا يلبين عن أصل التجريف، للو
دُسْطُعِتُ الْخَلْقُ نَزْلًا مِّنَ الْأَمَامِمَ فَمَا حَفَظُ فَسَنَّتُ الْأَنْعِمُ نَزْلًا مِّنَ الْأَمَامِمَ فَمَا حَفَظُ فَسَنَّتُ الْأَنْعِمُ نَزْلًا مِّنَ الْأَمَامِمَ فَمَا حَفَظُ فَسَنَّتُ الْأَنْعِمُ نَزْلًا مِّنَ الْأَمَامِمَ فَمَا حَفَظُ فَسَنَّتُ الْأَنْعِمُ
والآن نذَّابُ الدِّينَ اللى أرَدَّنا في الحكَم والآخرة أذوِّدُنا
فأثْبِتُوا عَمَنْ أُولُو الشَّمْع أَوُلَّى جَوْهُرَ كَلِّي رَحْمَة
وأَعْمَلُ بُنُو بُنيانٍ مِّن أحَدِ واحْتُراَعُوْنَ انْبَصَّرُوا
تَعَالَمُ الْأَحْمَيْصُ لَيْسَ إِلَّا أَنْبَى الْقَمْرُ عَلَى الْيَوْمِ
إِذْ أَرَادُوهُ وَأَرَادُوهُ وَأَرَادُوهُ وَأَرَادُوهُ وَأَرَادُوهُ
فَهَلْ أَيْتَمُّ لَهُمْ ذُو شَكْرٍ بِالْقَطْسَةِ عِنْدَهُمْ إِنّا إِذْ
لَيْسَ لَهُمْ حَيْثُ دَوَّرَهُمْ مِّن بَابِ الضَّاحِي عَلَيْهِمْ
وَبُنَى بُنُو بُنيانٍ مِّن أحَدِ واحْتُراَعُوْنَ انْبَصَّرُوا
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لَيْسَ لَهُمْ حَيْثُ دَوَّرَهُمْ مِّن بَابِ الضَّاحِي عَلَيْهِمْ
في نع أعمال الله تعالى حين نرى للفهيض جَمْهُور
الصنع لا المثلية مثلاً على أن ينفع، وانتظر، ناطول
وعين نرى معرفة الجسد بسمه في الإصلاح في المزايا
وتوبيع البديع والإصلاح، نحو الص.XPATH
باستغناج الأصول المتناثرة ورثلا عن خطئها تأهيل
وعلى الإعاقة فيها القول، تلك بحرا، أو نهجها، أو أصلاءو
وانتهاء أتبعه عام أغلور بروها واسلاو،
فالسنين عماد أسماء نوا والذين والذين سمن تأويل
والتي في رضيع الفدين السدس بأحضرة الصيا، في جمه الألـ
رثما سهرا، دو بعبر هام فينوجات أجعود،
ففي الثلاثة أصول أركست نية لها، حوار،
فعل السنة، عفر العقل، درس حوار، متنوعة
وائرات كثيرة، يفتتن في الأورث العقول، فإنما جمع
والعفر الثالث قد يقر بعينها، يأجل علماً أقول
والجق، والبناء والنصب، رأضم، وحزم، نتائج
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
وذكرت جميع الروحي الموالي إسرائيل بل钱包 الطاعة، بل وظلمت في الأرض المريضة، واصحبا ما أصم، وما يحكم عما يحكم. واسمه فالنسمة: إذا كتبة بغير دو الأعمد والنصب، فليس له ما بقي من الهداية. وعذر إن طولها، إلا أنه الشديد خطر التهامج واعربت نسمه، وأجله مبدأ الغير لما قد تثيره العصبية في، تدع سا، فالذكر سأ رأفت التهيا مخلد هيئة وفقها ما لم واضحته، وجمعها في السياقة إل ين استكان بها موافقة كالأعمال، وآخر تبهيشا مرصع تل.+ ودعاها ما م وكدلهم 2 جميع الدعاية لتجربة + ونهاها علها. فهي طريفاً الساكون، فإذن فإنا رأيه صار ساحية، فإن كم التأي لحد صحيح ليس إلا شكل، فإن علها لا نزل للفينك خطين الفضيحة المبين، وردماً، بذات الجميل في التفخي ودلاً.
وان علّم أبو ناصر آخرين وعشرون دعا إلى دعاء جميع كلهن، وهم: دُوّلُ عليها السّابع فاز بوريت نا، ودفنت نافئة تلقيت نعل أبو ناصر، ودخيل القرن على وحدة الله تعالى وفقاً للخضرة فإذا الخضرة في كلتا نافتين الفوز على şüphe من رصد يهوداً، كنت في الباب على ستيني، وهو مفردة هيا من ميّز الجود في يدي، وعندما كان للفرود الإشا بلم يخضّرها وحلّها في موضعها لبندقية لى دوّم، ونسلت العذوبة في المجر وخير بداخل عطارد، وعلى القصر وخير بداخل عطارد، وعلى القصر وخير بداخل عطارد، وعلى القصر وخير بداخل عطارد، وعلى القصر وخير بداخل عطارد، وعلى القصر وخير بداخل عطارد، وعلى القصر وخير بداخل عطارد، وعلى القصر وخير بداخل عطارد، وعلى القصر وخير بداخل عطارد، وعلى القصر وخير بداخل عطارد، وعلى القصر وخير بداخل عطارد، وعلى القصر وخير بداخل عطارد، وعلى القصر وخير بداخل عطارد، وعلى القصر وخير بداخل عطارد، وعلى القصر وخير بداخل عطارد، وعلى القصر وخير بداخل عطارد، وعلى القصر وخير بداخل عطارد، وعلى القصر وخير بداخل عطارد، وعلى القصر وخير بداخل عطارد، وعلى القصر وخير بداخل عطارد، وعلى القصر وخير بداخل عطارد، وعلى القصر وخير 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In the name of God, the Clement, the Merciful; and from Him we seek assistance.

FIRST, we open the discourse
With pronouncing the praise of our Lord most High:
Praise then to God for what he hath bestowed,
Praise, by which we remove blindness from the sight!
Next, benediction afterwards and salutation
To the Prophet, whose religion is the ISLAM,
MOHAMED, seal of his Lord's messengers,
And his family, after him, and his friends!
And let us pray God for his aid to us
In what we have proposed to explain
From the system of the Imám, ZAID ALFARADIPI *
(Since this is among the noblest of purposes)
By learning; for learning is the most deserving of efforts
In it, and the worthiest vocation of the pious;
And this branch of knowledge peculiarly belongs to what
Has been openly declared among all the learned;
And ZAID has unquestionably a just title
To what the lord of the mission conferred on him,
By pronouncing his excellence, clearly saying,
"ZAID will teach you the law:" O glorious encomium!
He, therefore, best deserves to be followed by the student,
Especially since SHAFIEI takes him for a guide.
This then is his doctrine epitomised

* Faradhi, a man skilled in the faráidi, or sacred ordinances contained in the Alcoran.
Free from a particle of ambiguity.
The causes of inheritance among men are three;
(The possessor of any one has the advantage of succession)
And they are wedlock, collateral relation, and descent:
There is not besides them a single cause of inheritance.

[2]
And any one of three incapacities
Excludes a person from the succession;
Servitude, and homicide, and a difference of faith:
Understand then; since doubt is not like certainty.
And those, who inherit among males, are ten;
Their names are known, and every where mentioned:
The son, and the son's son, however they descend,
And the father, and his father, in the ascending line;
And the brother, on whichever side he stands,
Since God caused the Koran to descend in his favour;
And the son of a brother related by the same father,
(Hear now the discourse containing no falsehood)
And the paternal uncle, and such uncle's son,
(Be thankful to him, who explains concisely and clearly)
And the husband, and the emancipater nearly connected;
And all the males, who inherit, are these.
And all the inheriting females are seven,
(To no woman, but them, does the law give that title)
The daughter, and the son's daughter, and the tender mother,
And the grandmother, and the wife, and the emancipatress,
And the sister, on whichever side she stands:
And this their number thus appears.
And know, that inheritance is of two sorts, which are
The share, and the heirship of what is distributable.
Now the shares, by the declaration of the book, are six:
(Besides them is no share in the inheritance)

* Pronounced in India, ferz and ube. See the last words of the report by the Mahomedan doctors in the Patna cause.
A moiety, and a fourth; next, half a fourth, 
And a third, and a sixth, as the law declares, 
And two thirds; and these are the whole. 
Remember then; for "Every one, who remembers, is 
an imam." 

A moiety then is the share of five persons, 
The husband, and the female child, 
And the daughter of a son, on failure of daughters, 
And the whole sister, by the opinion of every mufti, 
And, after her, the sister, who has the same father; 
This when they stand alone without any heir. 
And a fourth is the share of the husband, if there be with 
him 
Any children of the wife, who deprive him of more; 
And this is for every wife, or more than one 
On failure of children, as it is ordained. 
And the eighth is for the wife, or the wives, 
Together with sons or with daughters; 
Or with children of sons: learn then, 
And remain firm in venerating study, and prosper. 
And two thirds are for the daughters all together, 
When there are more than one; (hear attentively) 
And the same portion is for the daughters of a son: 
(Comprehend my discourse with clear discernment) 
This also is for two sisters, and for what exceeds that 
number; 
The ingenuous and the pious have thus decided: 
This, whether they be by the father and the mother, 
Or by the father only. (Act by this rule; thou wilt be right) 
And the third is the mother's share, when there is no child, 

* A saying, I believe, of Mohammed: he meant a rememberer of his oral 
precepts. Hence the name of Hafizh, or Hafez, was assumed by many 
illustrious persons, and, among them, by the celebrated poet. 
† See the answer of Mohammed Kusin to the thirteenth question prop-
osed to him in the Puana cause.
Nor any assemblage or number of brethren,
As two brothers, or two sisters, or three;
The rule in this case regards males as well as females.
And, if there be a husband, and a mother, and a father,
A third of what remains is allotted to her;
And so with a wife: (advance then,
And be not seated apart from the sciences.)

[4]
And a third is for two males or two females
Of the mother’s children, without deceit;
And so, if there be more, and they seek their allotment,
There is no provision for them in what exceeds that share,
And females and males are held equal
In this distribution, as the written law declares.
And a sixth is the share of seven in number,
The father, and the mother, then the son’s daughter,
and the grandfather,
And the sister, daughter of the father, next the grand-
mother,
And the mother’s child: the number is complete.
And the father has a right to it with the children,
And so the mother, by the revelation of the Eternal:
And the same is for her with two
Of the dead man’s brothers: give those two a just allotment.
And the grandfather is like the father, on his death,
In the distribution of what accrues to him and relieves him,
Except when there are brothers living,
Since they are preferable to him in proximity;
And their due and his due shall be introduced
With a full explanation in the different cases.
And the son’s daughter takes a sixth, when
She is with a daughter, alike in descent.

* The margin has minho for mahde. From this verse it appears, that the degrees of consanguinity are computed by the Mahomedans in the same manner as by our common lawyers.
And thus a sister with a sister, who
Is related, O my brother, by the same father.
And, if the relation of the grandmothers be equal,
Both of them are called to the succession;
And a sixth is divided between them equally
By the just and the legal mode of partition.
And every female, who claims through one not inheriting,
Has herself no portion of the inheritance.

[5]
And the distant kinswoman is excluded by the near
By the better opinions: (say now to me, "Enough.")
And here ends the distribution of the shares,
Without perplexity or intricacy:
And it is just, that we propound the law of heirship
With every sentence concise and exact.
Now every one, who appropriates all the estate,
Among the near descendants or relations,
Or who takes what remains after the portions,
He is distinguished by the title of heir*,
As the father, and the grandfather, and his father,
And the son, in a near and a remote degree,
And the brother, and the brother's son, and the uncles,
And the master, who generously manumitted his slave.
And thus their sons, all of them:
(Be attentive then to what I pronounce).
And there is not to the distant, with the near, kinsman
Any share or portion in the inheritance.
And the brother and the uncle by mother and father
Are preferred to those descended by the half blood.
And the son and the brother with females
Have the heirship over them in the estate:

* See A Narrative of the Proceedings in the Patna Cause, p. 11. Note b.
The Arabic verb ʿaʾlʾabā primarily signifies to collect and bind together the branches of a tree: hence the secondary sense, to constitute the heir and head of a family.
And there is not among women any heiress
Except her, who kindly freed the enslaved neck.
And the sisters, if there be daughters,
Take the residue after their portions.
And the grandfather is precluded from inheriting
By the father in all his three cases;
And thus the grandson by the son: (do not then
Turn aside, in deviation from the clear rules).

[6]

And the grandmothers on each side are excluded
By the mother: (remember this rule, and decide conformably)

And brothers are excluded by sons
And by the nearest progenitor, as we are taught,
Or by sons’ sons, when there are any;
A number and one are in this respect alike.

And the mother’s son remains in exclusion
By the grandfather (remember this with care)
And by the daughters, and the son’s daughters:
(Be very assiduous in committing knowledge to memory)
Besides, the son’s daughters are excluded, when
The daughters take two thirds, O young man,
Except when a male has the heirship over them
Of the son’s children, by what they assert:
And, after them, the sisters, who
Descend in proximity from both sides,
When they take their complete portions,
Exclude the weeping daughters of the dead father;
And, if they have a brother present,
He has the heirship over them, in private and publick,
And the brother’s son is not the heir over
Whoever is equal to, or above, him in descent.
And, if thou find a husband and a mother inheriting,
And brothers by the mother, they take each a third;
And so if there be brothers by the mother and the father,
And the whole estate is comprised in the allotment of shares,
Place them all to the side of the mother,
And consider their father as a rock in the sea,
And divide among the brethren a third of the estate left,
And this is the case of mushtaraca, or parcenary.

[7]

And now we will enter upon what we desire
Concerning the grandfather and the brothers, as we promised.
Incline then thine ear to what I shall say,
And collect at once the whole purport of my words;
And know, that the grandfather has different cases;
I will inform thee of them successively:
And he has a share with the brothers in them, when
The division redounds not to any loss upon him.
And sometimes he takes an entire third,
If there be in the distribution any descendants from him,
And there be not among them any entitled to shares,
(Be content with my explanation without questions)
And sometimes he takes a third of the remainder
After those, who have portions and provisions;
This, when the dividend is become
Too diminished for the other share by the press of claimants.
And sometimes he takes a sixth of the property,
And there is no descendant from him in that case;
And he, with females in the division, is
Like the brother in his share and his right.
And reckon the father's children in the number,
(And leave the mother's children with the grandfathers)
And, after that number, give to the brethren
Thy just allotment among them on failure of the grandfather.
And the sister has no share with the grandfather
In what exceeds the case already concluded;
The consort and the mother, and these two are all of them,
Know then, for the best of the sect is he who knows best,
Are called, O friend, the āqāriyyah*;
And they deserve to be remembered by thee.

Half then is given to her, and a sixth to him;
Until there is a remainder after the entire shares,
Then they return to the distribution
As before-mentioned: (recollect it, and thank the author)
And, if thou desire a knowledge of computation,
Thou wilt by its means attain the right proceeding:
And thou wilt understand divisions and analysis;
And wilt be acquainted with integers and fractions;
Extract then the roots in solving problems†,
And be not remiss in committing them to memory;
Now they, when the discourse about them is precise,
Are three, to which a remainder belongs,
And, after them, four complete divisors,
To which no remainder belongs, nor any fraction‡.
Now the sixth, thou wilt see, is from six portions,
And the third and the fourth from twelve;
And if to an eighth a sixth be added,
The new root, concerning which the calculation is just,
Becomes four, which twenty follow,
As arithmeticians universally know.§
And these three roots,
If the shares be many, leave a remainder.
And let six come to the connexion of ten
In the known table commonly delineated‖.

* The Arabian lexicographers give this name to the husband or wife,
the mother, the grandfather, and the whole sister; possibly, because the rules
of succession are a little disturbed in favour of them.
† By dîl, or root, he must mean the denominator of a fraction.
‡ He, probably, considers the whole estate as twelve, which has four
divisors, besides unit.
§ In our notation (which the Arabic, if they are wise, will adopt),
ť + = ‡.
‖ This passage I do not understand, not knowing the table to which
And let that follow, which succeeds it in the series,
In the excess, by distinct progressions, to seventeen;
And the third number leaves a remainder
Of its eighth part: (proceed then, as I direct)
And half and what remains, or the two halves,
Their root, in the rule concerning them, is two.

[9]
And the third comes obviously from three;
And the fourth is formed from four;
And the eighth, if it be required, is from eight;
And these are the second roots,
To which no remainder belongs: know this;
Then pursue the method of verifying it, and distribute:
And, if thou hast verified the root,
The end of lengthened computation is clear gain.
Give then to each person his share, from his root,
Complete, or broken from its remainder.
And, if thou see that the shares cannot be distributed
To the partakers of the inheritance, follow what is prescribed,
And seek the way of compendiousness in the work
By multiplication and proportion: this will remove error
from thee,
And restore to the whole quantity what agrees with it,
And multiply it by the root, and be thou vigilant;
Whether there be one denomination or more,
Rememberwell, and dismiss from thee doubt and difficulty:
And, if thou see multiplicity in the kinds,
Then they, by the rule among men,
Are numerically ranged in four terms,
The skilful accountant will know them by the rules;
The similar term, after it the proportional,

it refers. The sesquinary table, which Wallis exhibits in the seventh chapter of his Algebra, is commonly used in Arith for multiplication and division. See Chardin, vol. III. p. 155.
And, after that, the concordant accompanying,
And the fourth is the discordant separated;
(The intelligent man will inform thee of their distinctions)
Take then from the similars one,
And take from the proportionals the rest,
And take the entire number of discordants,
And multiply them by the second term; and be not deceived.

[10]
And, mix the whole quantity with the concordant,
And pursue by it the plainest of ways;
And multiply it into the root, which thou hast investigated.
And compute what is the sum, and what it amounts to;
And divide it; and, if the division be just,
The illiterate and the eloquent man will equally know it*:
And this is the whole of the computation,
(The work thus proceeds in similar cases)
Without prolixity or digression;
Be satisfied then with what it contains; for it is sufficient†,
And if one person die before the distribution,
Make the shares just, and know his proper division;
And state for him a fresh question, as it
Has been distinctly explained, in what precedes:
And consider; and, if the shares agree,
Take them; thou art right; the quantity is complete;
And mix it, or all of them, into the preceding,
If there be not an agreement between them,

* The preceding verses contain an awkward rule of practice; but it hence appears, that Chardin was mistaken, when he asserted, that neither the Indians nor Persians of his time were at all acquainted with the common practical rules: see his chapter on the Persian Arithmetic.
† It can only be of use, as an artificial memory, to those who already know the rules, but is insufficient for the teaching of them. These two or three pages are very enigmatical; but I should not despair of explaining them, if I had leisure to read a few mathematical babbles of the Arab or Persians.
And the new shares into the former shares
Are blended, or into the entire quantity;
And every share into the aggregate of the second
Is mixed, or into the whole quantity, manifestly:
And this is the method of monásakhah*
Mount then by it the lofty degrees of excellence.
And, if there be among the claimants of the estate
A real hermaphrodite, removing all doubts,
Distribute to the less evident and to the certain;
Thou wilt allot with justice the clear portion;
And this is the rule of pregnant women,
Which is founded on the certain, and the less evident.

[11]
And, if many kinsmen die by ruin or drowning,
Or a calamity overwhelming all, as fire,
And the case of the survivor be not known,
And one deceased cannot be heir to another deceased,
Reckon them all, as if they were strangers;
And this is the sound and true determination.
And now the discourse has come to what we desired
Concerning the distribution of estates, so that it is made clear,
By way of short hint and allusion,
Explained in an abbreviation of the sense.
Praise then to GOD in perfection,
Praise, abundant, complete in eternity;
And let us ask forgiveness for our defects,
And the best of what we hope in the place aspired to,
And pardon for what is passed of our sins,
And a covering for what is passed of our faults;
And the fairest of salutations and benisons

* The grammarians, translated by Golius, thus explain the word te-
záwbh or monásakhah: “Mors et successio continua hæredum, quæ fit
 integrâ manente et indivísâ hæreditate;” but the last words convey
no adequate idea of the thing.
On the prophet, the pure, the illustrious, 
Mohammed, the best of created beings, the last of prophets; 
And on his family, bright with glorious qualities, 
And his companions, the excellent, the noble, 
The spotless, the exalted, the beneficent! 
And our sufficient help is God! O all-sufficient! 
Endued with greatness, and with power; and with clemency!

The work is ended. Praise be to God, 
The ruler of worlds! and his blessing 
And peace on our lord 
Mohammed, the Unlettered Prophet, 
And on his family and his companions, 
The excellent, the unblemished! 
On Friday night, one of the four nights, at the close of Shuval, in the year 
seven hundred and twelve.

The Transcriber, surnamed
Fakhro'ul Sa'ibka'ni
(or, Excelling his Predecessors)
confides in God Most High:
May God forgive his sins!

* F. C. 1312.
AL SIRĀJIYYAH:

OR,

THE MOHAMMEDAN LAW OF

INHERITANCE:

WITH

A COMMENTARY,

BY

SIR WILLIAM JONES.
THE two Muselman authors, whom I now introduce to my countrymen in India, are Shaikh Sira'ju'uddin, a native of Sejāvend, and Sayyad Shari'f, who was born at Jurjan in Khwarezm near the mouth of the Oxus, and is said to have died, at the age of seventy-six years, in the city of Shiraz: their compositions have equal authority in all the Mohammedan courts, which follow the system of Abu' Hanifa, with those of Littleton and Coke in the courts at Westminster; and there is, indeed, a wonderful analogy between the works of the old Arabian and English lawyers, and between those of their several commentators; with this difference in favour of our own country, that Littleton is always too clear to need a gloss, and with this difference in favour of the Arabs, that the sole object of Shari'f was to explain and illustrate his text, without an ostentatious dif-
PREFACE.

Play of his own erudition; but, when it is admitted, that a desire of extreme brevity has often made the Sirajyyah obscure, the reader should in candour allow, that every author must appear to great disadvantage in a literal translation, especially when his own idiom differs totally from that of his translator, when his terms of art must be rendered by new words, which use alone can make easy, and when the system, which he unfolds to his countrymen, has no resemblance to any other, that the world ever knew. In the Sharifyyah (for that is the popular title of the Arabian comment) we find little or no obscurity; and, if there be a fault in the book, it is a scrupulous minuteness of explanation, and a needless anxiety to remove every little cloud, which the reader himself might disperse by the slightest exertion of his intellect. Both works were translated into Persian by the order of Mr. Hastings; and the translation, which bears the name of Maulavi Muhammed Ka‘sim, must appear excellent, and would be really useful, to such as had not access to the Arabick originals; but the text and comment are blended without any discrimination, and both are so intermixed with the notes of the translator himself, that it is often impossible to separate what is fixed law from what is merely his own opinion: he has
also erred (though it be certainly a pardonable error) on the side of clearness, and has made his work so tediously perspicuous, that it fills, inclusively of a turgid and flowery dedication, about six hundred pages, and a faithful version of it in English would occupy a very large volume.

If the pains, which have been taken to render my own work as complete as possible, be measured by the size of it, they must be thought very inconsiderable; but in truth no greater pains could have been taken with any work; and it would have been a far easier task to have dictated or written a verbal translation of the two comments on my text, than to have made a careful selection of all that is important in them; for which purpose I perused each of them three times with the utmost attention, and have condensed in little more than fifty short pages the substance of them both, without any superfluous passage, that I should wish to be retrenched, and with as much perspicuity as I was able to give, in so short a compass, to a system in some parts rather abstract: lest men of business, for whom the book is intended, should be alarmed at first sight by the magnitude of it, I have omitted all the minute criticism, various readings, and curious Arabian literature; most of the anecdotes concerning old
lawyers, and all their subtil controversies with the arguments on both sides; together with the demonstrations of arithmetical rules and the very long processes, after the prolix method of the Arabs, in words instead of figures. Practical utility being my ultimate object in this work, I had nothing to do with literary curiosities, how agreeable soever they might have been in their proper places; but, in order to attain that object by a full explanation of every thing useful in my text, I was under a necessity of retaining the Arabian phraseology both in law and arithmetick, and must request the English reader to dismiss from his mind, while he studies the Sirdijiyab, those appropriated senses, in which many of our words, as heir, inheritance, root, and the like, are used in our own systems. One Arabian word I was at a loss to translate precisely in our language without circumlocution: the chief problem, in the distribution of estates among Muselman heirs, is to find the least number, by which an estate must be divided, so that all the shares and the residue may be legally distributed without a fraction: this they call integration; but, if I could have hazarded such a word in English, the frequent repetition of it would have been extremely harsh; and I have generally called it arrangement or verification, which are popular senses of the Arabian verbal noun;
but the number sought, or, to use the Arabian expression, the integrant of the case, I have usually named the divisor of the estate.

It will be seen in the Sirajiyah, that the system of Zaid, though in part exploded by Abu Haniyah, had very powerful supporters, and its author is always mentioned in terms of respect: it is the system, which I published at London above ten years ago; and I am not surprised, that, without a native assistant or even a marginal gloss, I could not then interpret the many technical words, which no dictionary explains, except in their popular senses; but, though my literal version of the tract by AlMutakanna seems for pages together like a string of enigmas, yet the following work makes every sentence in it perfectly clear; and the original, which was engraved from a very old manuscript, appears to be a lively and elegant epitome of the law of inheritance according to Zaid; but manifestly designed to assist the memory of young students, who were to get it by heart, when they had learned the rules from some longer treatise, or from the mouths of their preceptors. This may be no improper place to inform the reader, that, although Abu Haniyah be the acknowledged head of the prevailing sect, and has given his name to it, yet so great veneration is shown to Abu Yuwuf and the lawyer Muhammed, that, when
they both different from their master, the Musselman judge is at liberty to adopt either of the two decisions, which may seem to him the more consonant to reason, and founded on the better authority.

I am strongly disposed to believe, that no possible question could occur on the Mohammedan law of succession, which might not be rapidly and correctly answered by the help of this work; but it would be easy to confirm or invalidate my opinion by the following method. Let one capital letter, or more, if necessary, represent each of the sharers, residuaries, and distant heirs; and let those letters be the initials of the several words, in aid of the memory, but so chosen (as without difficulty they may be) that all may be different; let them be placed in alphabetical order, and connected by the sign of addition; let an enumeration be then made, by the known rule, of all the possible cases, in which they can occur, two and two, three and three, and so forth; let them accordingly be arranged in tables from the lowest number to the highest; and let the share or allotment of each be set above the letter, in the place of an exponent. If the question then were proposed, in what manner the property of HINDA must be distributed among her daughter, her sister by the same father only, and the daughter of her son, the table of the third...
class would exhibit this formula $D \frac{1}{\gamma} + DF \frac{\gamma}{z} + DS \frac{1}{\gamma}$; or, if Amru had left his wife, two daughters, and both his parents, the formula in the fourth table would be $2D \frac{1}{\gamma} + F \frac{1}{\gamma} + M \frac{1}{\gamma} + W \frac{1}{\gamma}$; where the denominator of the index would be the integrant, as the Arabs call it, of the case, and the numerator would point out the several allotments: thus might we construct a set of tables, mathematically accurate, in which the legal distribution, in every possible case, might be seen in a moment without thought and even without learning; and such a blind facility, though not very consistent with the dignity of science, would certainly be convenient in practice. We might also arrange the whole in a synthetical method (of all the most luminous and satisfactory) by beginning with the sentences of the Koran, as with indubitable axioms, followed by the genuine oral maxims of Mohammed; by subjoining the points, on which all the learned have at length agreed, and by concluding with cases deduced from those three sources of juridical knowledge, to which there should be constant references by numbers in the manner of geometricians: this method I propose to adopt in the Digest, from which I have separated the Sirdjyyah, because it seemed worthy of being exhibited entire, and may be considered as Institutes of Arabian Law on the important title, mentioned by the Britifb
Unless I am greatly deceived, the work, now presented to the public, decides the question, which has been started, whether, by the Mogul constitution, the sovereign be not the sole proprietor of all the land in his empire, which he or his predecessors have not granted to a subject, and his heirs; for nothing can be more certain, than that land, rents, and goods are, in the language of all Mohammedan lawyers, property alike alienable and inheritable; and so far is the sovereign from having any right of property in the goods or lands of his people, that even escheats are never appropriated to his use, but fall into a fund for the relief of the poor. Sharif expressly mentions fields and houses as inheritable and alienable property: he says, that a house, on which there is a lien, shall not be sold to defray even funeral expenses; that, if a man dig a well in his own field, and another man perish by falling into it, he incurs no guilt; but, if he had trespassed on the field of another man, and had been the occasion of death, he must pay the price of blood; that buildings and trees pass by a sale of land, though not conversely; and he always expresses what we call property by an emphatical word implying dominion. Such dominion, says he, may be acquired by the act of parties, as in the case of contracts, or, by the act of
law, as in the case of descents; and, having observed, that freedom is the civil existence and life of a man, but slavery, his death and annihilation; he adds, because freedom establishes his right of property, which chiefly distinguishes man from other animals and from things inanimate; so that he would have considered subjects without property (which, as he says in another place, comprises every thing that a man may sell, or give, or leave for his heirs) as mere slaves without civil life: yet Sharif was beloved and rewarded by the very conqueror, from whom the imperial house of Dehli boasted of their descent. The Koran allots to certain kindred of the deceased specified shares of what he left, without a syllable in the book, that intimates a shade of distinction between reality and personality; there is therefore no such distinction, for interpreters must make none, where the law has not distinguished: as to Mohammed, he says in positive words, that if a man leave either property, or rights, they go to his heirs; and Sharif adds, that an heir succeeds to his ancestor's estate with an absolute right of ownership, right of possession, and power of alienation. Now I am fully persuaded, that no Musselman prince, in any age or country, would have harboured a thought of controverting these authorities. Had the doctrine lately broached been suggested to the ferocious, but politic and religious,
Omar, he would in his best mood have asked his counsellor sternly, whether he imagined himself wiser than God and his Prophet, and, in one of his passionate fancies, would have spurned him as a blasphemer from his presence, had he been even his dearest friend or his ablest general: the placid and benevolent Ali would have given a harsh rebuke to such an adviser; and Aurangzi'b himself, the bloodiest of assassins and the most avaricious of men, would not have adopted and proclaimed such an opinion, whatever his courtiers and slaves might have said, in their zeal to aggrandize their master, to a foreign physician and philosopher, who too hastily believed them, and ascribed to such a system all the desolation, of which he had been a witness. Conquest could have made no difference; for, either the law of the conquering nation was established in India, or that of the conquered was suffered to remain: if the first, the Korân and the diâta of Muhammad were fountains, too sacred to be violated, both of public and private law; if the second, there is an end of the debate; for the old Hindustan assuredly were absolute proprietors of their land, though they called their sovereigns Lords of the Earth; as they gave the title of Gods on Earth to their Brahmens, whom they punished, nevertheless, for theft with all due severity. Should it be urged, that, although a
Indian prince may have no right, in his executive capacity, to the land of his subjects, yet, as the sole legislative power, he is above control; I answer firmly, that Indian princes never had, nor pretended to have, an unlimited legislative authority, but were always under the control of laws believed to be divine, with which they never claimed any power of dispensing.

I am happy in an opportunity of advancing these arguments against a doctrine, which I think unjust, unfounded, and big with ruin; for, in the course of nine years, I have seen enough of these provinces and of their inhabitants, to be convinced, that, if we hope to make our government a blessing to them and a durable benefit to ourselves, we must realize our hope, not by wringing for the present the largest possible revenue from our Asiatick subjects, but by taking no more of their wealth than the publick exigencies, and their own security, may actually require; not by diminishing the interest, which landlords must naturally take in their own soil, but by augmenting it to the utmost, and giving them assurance, that it will descend to their heirs: when their laws of property, which they literally hold sacred, shall in practice be secured to them; when the land-tax shall be so moderate, that they cannot have a colourable pretence to rack their tenants, and
when they shall have a well grounded confidence, that the proportion of it will never be raised, except for a time on some great emergency, which may endanger all they possess; when either the performance of every legal contract shall be enforced, or a certain and adequate compensation be given for the breach of it; when no wrong shall remain unredressed, and when redress shall be obtained at little expense, and with all the speed, that may be consistent with necessary deliberation; then will the population and resources of Bengal and Bahar continually increase, and our nation will have the glory of conferring happiness on considerably more than twenty-four millions (which is at least the present number) of their native inhabitants, whose cheerful industry will enrich their benefactors, and whose firm attachment will secure the permanence of our dominion.
AL SIRÁJIYYAH
THE

INTRODUCTION.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD!

PRAISE be to GOD, the Lord of all worlds; the praise of those who give Him thanks! And His blessing on the best of created beings, MUHAMMED, and his excellent family! The Prophet of GOD (on whom be his blessing and peace!) said: "Learn the laws of inheritance, "and teach them to the people; for they are "one half of useful knowledge." Our learned in the law (to whom GOD be merciful!) say: "There belong to the property of "a person deceased four successive duties to "be performed by the magistrate: first, his fune"real ceremony and burial without superfluity "of expense, yet without deficiency; next, the
"discharge of his just debts from the whole of
his remaining effects; then the payment of
his legacies out of a third of what remains
after his debts are paid; and, lastly, the distri-
bution of the residue among his successors, ac-
cording to the Divine Book, to the Traditions,
and to the Assent of the Learned." They
begin with the persons entitled to shares, who
are such as have each a specific share allotted
to them in the book of Almighty GOD; then
they proceed to the residuary heirs by relation,
and they are all such as take what remains of
the inheritance, after those who are entitled to
shares; and, if there be only residuaries, they
take the whole property: next to residuaries for
special cause, as the master of an enfranchised
slave and his male residuary heirs; then they
return to those entitled to shares according to
their respective rights of consanguinity; then to
the more distant kindred; then to the successor
by contract; then to him who was acknowledged as a kinsman through another, so as not
to prove his consanguinity, provided the de-
ceased persisted in that acknowledgement even
till he died; then to the person, to whom the
whole property was left by will; and lastly to
the publick treasury.
OF INHERITANCE.

On Impediments to Succession.

Impediments to succession are four; 1, servitude, whether it be perfect or imperfect; 2, homicide, whether punishable by retaliation, or expiable; 3, difference of religion; and 4, difference of country, either actual, as between an alien enemy and an alien tributary; or qualified, as between a fugitive and a tributary, or between two fugitive enemies from two different states: now a state differs from another by having different forces and sovereigns, there being no community of protection between them.

On the Doctrine of Shares, and the Persons entitled to them.

The furud, or shares, appointed in the book of Almighty GOD, are six: a moiety, a quarter, an eighth, two thirds, one third, and a sixth, some formed by doubling, and some by halving. Now those entitled to these shares are twelve persons; four males, who are the father and the true grandfather or other male ancestor, how high soever in the paternal line, the brother by the same mother, and the husband; and eight
females, who are the wife, and the daughter, and the son's daughter, or other female descendant how low soever, the sister by one father and mother, the sister by the father's side, and the sister by the mother's side, the mother, and the true grandmother, that is, the who is related to the deceased without the intervention of a false grandfather. (A false male ancestor is, where a female ancestor intervenes in the line of ascent.) The father takes in three cases: 1, an absolute share, which is a sixth, and that with the son, or son's son, how low soever; 2, a legal share, and a residuary portion also; and that with a daughter, or a son's daughter, how low soever in the degree of descent; 3, he has a simple residuary title, on failure of children and son's children, or other low descendants. The true grandfather has the same interest with the father, except in four cases, which we will mention presently, if it please GOD; but the grandfather is excluded by the father, if be be living; since the father is the mean of consanguinity between the grandfather and the deceased. The mother's children also take in three cases: a sixth is the share of one only; a third, of two, or of more: males and females have an equal division and right; but the mother's children are excluded by children of the deceased and by son's children,
how low soever, as well as by the father and the grandfather; as the learned agree. The husband takes in two cases; half, on failure of children, and son's children, and a fourth, with children or son's children, how low soever they descend.

On Women.

Wives take in two cases; a fourth goes to one or more on failure of children, and son's children how low soever; and an eighth with children, or son's children, in any degree of descent. Daughters begotten by the deceased take in three cases: half goes to one only, and two thirds to two or more; and, if there be a son, the male has the share of two females, and he makes them residuaries. The son's daughters are like the daughters begotten by the deceased; and they may be in six cases: half goes to one only, and two thirds to two or more, on failure of daughters begotten by the deceased; with a single daughter of the deceased, they have a sixth, completing (with the daughter's half), two thirds; but, with two daughters of the deceased, they have no share of the inheritance, unless there be, in an equal degree with, or in a lower degree than, them, a boy, who makes
them residuaries. As to the remainder between
them, the male has the portion of two females;
and all of the son's daughters are excluded by
the son himself.

If a man leave three son's daughters, some of
them in lower degrees than others, and three
daughters of the son of another son, some of
them in lower degrees than others, and three
daughters of the son's son of another son, some
of them in lower degrees than others, as in the
following table, this is called the case of tashbib.

FIRST SET.  SECOND SET.  THIRD Set.
Son,  Son,  Son,
|     |     |
Son, Daughter, Son,  Son,  |
|     |     |
Son, Daughter, Son, Daughter, Son,  |  |
|     |     |
Son, Daughter, Son, Daughter, Son, Daughter,  |  |
|     |     |
Son, Daughter, Son, Daughter, Son, Daughter,  |
|     |     |
Son, Daughter.

Here the eldest of the first line has none
equal in degree with her; the middle one of the
first line is equalled in degree by the eldest
of the second; and the youngest of the first line
is equalled by the middle one of the second,
and by the eldest of the third line; the youngest
of the second line is equalled by the middle one of the third line, and the youngest of the third set has no equal in degree.—When thou hast comprehended this, then we say: the eldest of the first line has a moiety; the middle one of the first line has a sixth together with her equal in degree to make up two thirds; and those in lower degrees never take any thing, unless there be a son with them, who makes them residuaries, both her who is equal to him in degree, and her who is above him; but who is not entitled to a share: those below him are excluded.

Sisters by the same father and mother may be in five cases: half goes to one alone; two thirds to two or more; and, if there be brothers by the same father and mother, the male has the portion of two females; and the females become residuaries through him by reason of their equality in the degree of relation to the deceased; and they take the residue, when they are with daughters, or with son’s daughters, by the saying of Him, on whom be blessing and peace! "Make sisters, with daughters, residuaries."

Sisters by the same father only are like sisters by the same father and mother, and may be in seven cases: half goes to one, and two thirds to two or more on failure of sisters by the same father and mother; and with one sister by
the same father and mother, they have a sixth, as the complement of two thirds; but they have no inheritance with two sisters by the same father and mother, unless there be with them a brother by the same father, who makes them residuaries; and then the residue is distributed among them by the sacred rule "to the male what is equal to the share of two females." The sixth case is, where they are residuaries with daughters or with son's daughters, as we have before stated it.

Brothers and sisters by the same father and mother, and by the same father only, are all excluded by the son and the son's son, in how low a degree soever, and by the father also, as it is agreed among the learned, and even by the grandfather according to ABU HANIFAH, on whom be the mercy of ALMIGHTY GOD! And those of the half-blood are also excluded by the brothers of the whole blood.

The mother takes in three cases: a sixth with a child, or a son's child, even in the lowest degree, or with two brothers and sisters or more, by whichever side they are related; and a third of the whole on failure of those just-mentioned; and a third of the residue after the share of the husband or wife; and this in two cases, either when there are the husband and both parents, or the wife and both parents: if there be a
grandfather instead of a father, then the mother takes a third of the whole property, though not by the opinion of Abu Yusuf, on whom be God's mercy! for he says, that in this case also she has only a third of the residue. The grandmother has a sixth, whether she be by the father or by the mother, whether alone or with more, if they be true grandmothers and equal in degree; but they are all excluded by the mother, and the paternal female ancestors also by the father; and in like manner, by the grandfather, except the father's mother, even in the highest degree; for she takes with the grandfather, since she is not related through him. The nearest grandmother, or female ancestor, on either side, excludes the more distant grandmother, on whichever side she be; whether the nearer grandmother be entitled to a share of the inheritance, or be herself excluded. When a grandmother has but one relation, as the father's mother's mother, and another has two such relations, or more, as the mother's mother's mother, who is also the father's father's mother, according to this table,

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<th>Mother</th>
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then a sixth is divided between them, according to 
ABU YUSUF, in moieties, respect being had to their persons; but, according to 
MUHAMMED (on whom be GOD's mercy!) in thirds, respect being had to the sides.

On Residuaries.

Residuaries by relation to the deceased are three: the residuary in his own right, the residuary in another's right, and the residuary together with another. Now the residuary in his own right is every male, in whose line of relation to the deceased no female enters; and of this sort there are four classes; the offspring of the deceased, and his root; and the offspring of his father and of his nearest grandfather, a preference being given, I mean a preference in the right of inheritance, according to proximity of degree. The offspring of the deceased are his sons first; then their sons, in how low a degree for ever: then comes his root, or his father; then his paternal grandfather, and their paternal grandparents, how high for ever; then the offspring of his father, or his brothers; then their sons, how low for ever; and then the offspring of his grandfather, or his uncles: then their sons, how low for ever. Then the strength
OF INHERITANCE.

of consanguinity prevails: I mean, he, who has two relations is preferable to him, who has only one relation, whether it be male or female, according to the saying of Him, on whom be peace! "Surely, kinsmen by the same father and mother shall inherit before kinsmen by the same father only:" thus a brother by the same father and mother is preferred to a brother by the father only, and a sister by the same father and mother, if she become a residuary with the daughter, is preferred to a brother by the father only; and the son of a brother by the same father and mother is preferred to the son of a brother by the same father only; and the rule is the same in regard to the paternal uncles of the deceased; and, after them, to the paternal uncles of his father, and, after them, to the paternal uncles of his grandfather.

The residuaries in another's right are four females; namely, those whose shares are half and two thirds, and who become residuaries in right of their brothers, as we have before mentioned in their different cases; but she who has no share among females, and whose brother is the heir, doth not become a residuary in his right; as in the case of a paternal uncle and a paternal aunt.

As to residuaries together with others: such is every female who becomes a residuary with
another female; as a sister with a daughter, as we have mentioned before. The last residuary
is the master of a freedman, and then his residu-
ary heirs, in the order before stated; according
to the saying of Him, on whom be blessing
and peace! "The master bears a relation like
that of consanguinity;" but females have
nothing among the heirs of a manumittor,
according to the saying of Him, on whom be
blessing and peace! "Women have nothing
from their relation to freedmen, except when
they have themselves manumitted a slave; or
their freedman has manumitted one, or they
have sold a manumission to a slave, or their
vendee has sold it to his slave, or they have
promised manumission after their death, or
their promisee has promised it after his death,
or unless their freedman or freedman's freed-
man draw a relation to them."

If the freedman leave the father and son of
his manumittor, then a sixth of the right over
the property of the freedman vests in the father,
and the residue in the son, according to ABU
YUSUF; but, according to both ABU HANI-
FAH and MUHAMMED, the whole right
vests in the son; and, if a son and a grandfather
of the manumittor be left, the whole right over
the freedman goes to the son, as all the learned
agree. When a man possesses as his slave a
kinman in a prohibited degree, he manumits him, and his right vesta in him; as if there be three daughters, the youngest of whom has twenty dinars, and the eldest, thirty; and they two buy their father for fifty dinars; and afterwards their father die leaving some property; then two thirds of it are divided in thirds among them, as their legal shares, and the residue goes in fifths to the two who bought their father; three fifths to the eldest and two fifths to the youngest; which may be settled by dividing the whole into forty-five parts.

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On Exclusion.

**Exclusion** is of two sorts: 1. *Imperfect*, or an exclusion from one share, and an admission to another; and this takes place in respect of five persons, the husband or wife, the mother, the son's daughter, and the sister by the same father; and an explanation of it has preceded. 2. *Perfect* exclusion: there are two sets of persons having a claim to the inheritance: one of which sets is not excluded entirely in any case; and they are six persons, the son, the father, the husband, the daughter, the mother, and the wife; but the other set inherit in one case and in another case.
are excluded. This is grounded on two principles; one of which is, that "whoever is related to the deceased through any person, shall not inherit, while that person is living;" as a son's son, with the son; except the mother's children, for they inherit with her; since she has no title to the whole inheritance: the second principle is, "that the nearest of blood must take," and who the nearest is, we have explained in the chapter on residuaries. A person incapable of inheriting doth not exclude any one, at least in our opinion; but, according to IBNU MASUUD (may GOD be gracious to him!) he excludes imperfectly; as an infidel, a murderer, and a slave. A person excluded may, as all the learned agree, exclude others; as, if there be two brothers or sisters or more, on which ever side they are, they do not inherit with the father of the deceased, yet they drive the mother from a third to a sixth.

On the Divisors of Shares.

Know, that the six shares mentioned in the book of Almighty GOD are of two sorts: of the first are a moiety, a fourth, and an eighth; and of the second sort are two thirds, a third, and a sixth, as the fractions are halved and
doubled. Now, when any of these shares occur in cases singly, the divisor for each share is that number which gives it its name (except half, which is from two), as a fourth denominated from four, an eighth from eight, and a third from three: when they occur by two or three, and are of the same sort, then each integral number is the proper divisor to produce its fraction, and also to produce the double of that fraction, and the double of that, as six produces a sixth, and likewise a third, and two thirds; but, when half, which is from the first sort, is mixed with all of the second sort or with some of them, then the division of the estate must be by six; when a fourth is mixed with all of the second sort or with some of them, then the division must be into twelve; and when an eighth is mixed with all of the second sort, or with some of them, then it must be into four and twenty parts.

On the Increase.

Aul, or increase, is, when some fraction remains above the regular divisor, or when the divisor is too small to admit one share. Know, that the whole number of divisors is seven, four...
of which have no increase, namely, two, three, four, and eight; and three of them have an increase. The divisor, six, is, therefore, increased by the āid to ten, either by odd, or by even, numbers; twelve is raised to seventeen by odd, not by even, numbers; and twenty-four is raised to twenty-seven by one increase only; as in the case, called Mimeriyya (or a case answered by ALI when he was in the pulpit), which was this, “A man left a wife, two daughters, and both his parents.” After this there can be no increase, except according to IBN MASŪŪD (may GOD be gracious to him!) for, in his opinion, the divisor twenty-four may be raised to thirty-one; as if a man leave a wife, his mother, two sisters by the same parents, two sisters by the same mother only, and a son rendered incapable of inheriting.

On the Equality, Proportion, Agreement, and Difference of two Numbers.

The temáthul of two numbers is the equality of one to the other; the tedákkul is, when the smaller of two numbers exactly measures the larger, or exhausts it; or we call it tedárkhul, when the larger of two numbers is divided ex-
adly by the smaller; or we may define it thus, when the larger exceeds the smaller by one number or more equal to it, or equal to the larger; or it is, when the smaller is an aliquot part of the larger, as three of nine. The ta-
wayfuk, or agreement, of two numbers is, where the smaller does not exactly measure the larger, but a third number measures them both, as eight and twenty, each of which is measured by four, and they agree in a fourth; since the number measuring them is the denominator of a fraction common to both. The tabáyun of two numbers is, when no third number whatever measures the two discordant numbers, as nine and ten. Now the way of knowing the agreement or disagreement between two different quantities is, that the greater be diminished by the smaller quantity on both sides, once or oftener, until they agree in one point; and if they agree in unit only, there is no numerical agreement between them; but, if they agree in any number, then they are (said to be) mu-
tawáfik in a fraction, of which that number is the denominator; if two, in half; if three, in a third; if four, in a quarter; and so on, as far as ten; and, above ten, they agree in a frac-
tion; I mean, if the number be eleven, the fraction of eleven, and, if it be fifteen, by the fraction of fifteen. Pay attention to this rule.
On Arrangement.

In arranging cases there is need of seven principles; three, between the shares and the persons, and four between persons and persons. Of the three principles the first is, that, if the portions of all the classes be divided among them without a fraction, there is no need of multiplication, as if a man leave both parents and two daughters. The second is, that, if the portions of one class be fractional, yet there be an agreement between their portions and their persons, then the measure of the number of persons, whose shares are broken, must be multiplied by the root of the case, and its increase, if it be an increased case, as if a man leave both parents and ten daughters, or a woman leave a husband, both parents, and six daughters. The third principle is, that, if their portions leave a fraction, and there be no agreement between those portions and the persons, then the whole number of the persons, whose shares are broken, must be multiplied into the root of the case, as if a woman leave her husband and five sisters by the same father and mother. Of the four other principles the first is, that, when there is a fractional division between two classes or more, but an equality between the numbers.
of the persons, then the rule is, that one of the numbers be multiplied into the root of the case; as if there be six daughters, and three grandmothers, and three paternal uncles. The second is, when some of the numbers equally measure the others; then the rule is, that the greater number be multiplied into the root of the case; as, if a man leave four wives and three grandmothers and twelve paternal uncles. The third is, when some of the numbers are mutawāfik, or composit, with others; then the rule is, that the measure of the first of the numbers be multiplied into the whole of the second, and the product into the measure of the third, if the product of the third be mutawāfik, or, if not, into the whole of the third, and then into the fourth, and so on, in the same manner; after which the product must be multiplied into the root of the case: as, if a man leave four wives, eighteen daughters, fifteen female ancestors, and six paternal uncles. The fourth principle is, when the numbers are mutābdāyan, or not agreeing one with another; and then the rule is, that the first of the numbers be multiplied into the whole of the second, and the product multiplied by the whole of the third, and that product into the whole of the fourth, and the last product into the root of the case; as, if a
man leave two wives, six female ancestors, ten daughters, and seven paternal uncles.

Section.

When thou desirest to know the share of each class by arrangement, multiply what each class has from the root of the case by what thou hast already multiplied into the root of the case, and the product is the share of that class; and, if thou desirest to know the share of each individual in that class by arrangement, divide what each class has from the principle of the case by the number of the persons in it, then multiply the quotient into the multiplicant, and the product will be the share of each individual in that class. Another method is, to divide the multiplied number by whichever class thou thinkest proper, then to multiply the quotient into the share of that set, by which thou hast divided the multiplied number, and the product will be the share of each individual in that set. Another method is by the way of proportion, which is the clearest; and it is, that a proportion be ascertained for the share of each class from the root of the case to the number of per-
On the Division of the Property left among Heirs and among Creditors.

If there be a disagreement between the property left and the number arising from the arrangement, then multiply the portion of each heir, according to that arrangement, into the aggregate of the property, and divide the product by the number of the arrangement, but, when there is an agreement between the arrangement and the property left, then multiply the portion of each heir, according to the arrangement, into the measure of the property, and divide the product by the measure of the number arising from the arrangement: the quotient is the portion of that heir in both methods. This rule is in order to know the portion of each individual among the heirs; but, in order to know the portion of each class of them, multiply what each class has, according to the root of the case, into the measure of the property left, then divide the product by the measure of the case, if there be an agreement be-
tween the property left and the case; but, if there be a disagreement between them, then multiply into the whole of the property left, and divide the product by the whole number arising from the verification of the case; and the quotient will be the portion of that class in both methods. Now, as to the payment of debts, the debts of all the creditors stand in the place of the arranging number.

On Subtraction.

When any one agrees to take a part of the property left, subtract his share from the number arising by the proof, and divide the remainder of the property by the portions of those who remain; as if a woman leave her husband, her mother, and a paternal uncle: now suppose that the husband agrees to take what was in his power of his bridal gift to the wife; this is deducted from among the heirs: then what remains is divided between the mother and the uncle in thirds, according to their legal shares; and thus there will be two parts for the mother, and one for the uncle.
OF INHERITANCE.

On the Return.

The return is the converse of the increase; and it takes place in what remains above the shares of those entitled to them, when there is no legal claimant of it: this surplus is returned to the sharers according to their rights, except the husband or the wife; and this is the opinion of all the Prophet's companions, as Ali and his followers, may God be gracious to them! And our masters (to whom God be merciful!) have assented to it: Zaid, the son of Tha'bit says, that the surplus doth not revert, but goes to the publick treasury; and to this opinion have assented Úrwaḥ and Alzuhrī and Málic and Alsha'fī, may God be merciful to them!

Now the cases on this head are in four divisions: the first of them is, when there is in the case but one sort of kinship, to whom a return must be made, and none of those who are not entitled to a return: then settle the case according to the number of persons; as, when the deceased has left two daughters, or two sisters, or two female ancestors; settle it, therefore, by two. The second is, when there are joined in the case two or three sorts of those, to whom a return must be made, without any of those, to
whom there is no return: then settle the case according to their shares; I mean by two, if there be two sixths in the case; or by three, when there are a third and a sixth in it; or by four, when there are a moiety and a sixth in it; or by five, when there are in it two thirds and a sixth, or half and two sixths, or half and a third. The third is, when in the first case, there is any one to whom no return can be made: then give the share of him or her, to whom there is no return, according to the lowest denominator, and if the residue exactly quadrature with the number of persons, who are entitled to a return, it is well; as if there be a husband and three daughters; but, if they do not agree, then multiply the measure of the number of the persons, if there be an agreement between the number of persons and the residue, into the denominator of the shares of those, to whom no return is to be made: as if there be a husband, and six daughters; if not, multiply the whole number of the persons into the denominator of the share of those, to whom there is no return; and the product will set the case right. The fourth is, when, in the second case, there are any to whom no return is made: then divide what remains from the denominator of the share of him or them, who have no return, by the case of those, to whom a re-
turn must be made, and, if the remainder quadrate, it is well; and this is in one form; that is, when a fourth goes to the wives, and the residue is distributed in thirds among those entitled to a return; as if there be a wife, and a grandmother, and two sisters by the mother's side: but, if it do not quadrate, then multiply the whole case of those, who are entitled to a return, into the denominator of the share of him or her, who is not entitled to it; and the product will be the denominator of the shares of both classes; as if there be four wives, and nine daughters, and six female ancestors: then multiply the shares of those, to whom no return must be made, into the case of those, who are entitled to a return, and the shares of those, to whom a return is to be made, into what remains of the denominator of the share of those, who are not entitled to a return. If there be a fraction in some, adjust the case by the before-mentioned principles.

On the Division of the Paternal Grandfather.

Abubecr the Just (on whom be the grace of GOD!) and those, who followed him, among the companions of the Prophet, say, "the bre-
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"threen of the whole blood and the brethren by the father's side inherit not with the grand-
father:" this is also the decision of ABU HANİFA (on whom be GOD's mercy!) and judgments are given conformably to it. ZAID the son of THÁBIT, indeed, afferts, that they do inherit with the grandfather, and of this opinion are both ABU YUSUF and MUHAMMED, as well as MÁLIC and ALSHAFIÍ. According to ZAID, the son of THÁBIT (on whom be GOD's mercy!) the grandfather, with brothers or sisters of the whole blood and by the father's side, takes the best in two cases, from the mukásamah, or division, and from a third of the whole estate. The meaning of mukásamah is, that the grandfather is placed in the division as one of the brethren, and the brethren of the half blood enter into the division with those of the whole blood, to the prejudice of the grandfather; but, when the grandfather has received his allotment, then the half blood are removed from the rest, as if disinherited, and receive nothing; and the residue goes to the brethren of the whole blood; except when among those of the whole blood there is a single sister, who receives her legal share, I mean the whole after the grandfather's allotment; then, if any thing remains, it goes to the half blood; if not, they have nothing;
and this is the case, when a man leaves a grandfather, a sister by the same father and mother, and two sisters by the same father only: in this case there remains to those sisters a tenth of the estate, and the correct denominator is twenty; but, if there be, in the preceding case, one sister by the same father only, nothing remains for her; and if one, entitled to a legal share, be mixed with them, then, after he has received his share, the grandfather has the best in three arrangements: either the division, when a woman leaves her husband, a grandfather, and a brother; or a third of the residue is given, when a man leaves a grandfather, a grandmother, and two brothers, and a sister by the same father and mother. Or a sixth of the whole estate is given, when a man leaves a grandfather and a grandmother, a daughter, and two brothers; and, when a third of the residue is better from the grandfather, and the residue has not a complete third, multiply the denominator of the third into the root of the case. If a woman leave a grandfather, her husband, a daughter, her mother, and a sister by the same father and mother, or by the same father only, then a sixth is best for the grandfather, and the root of the case is raised to thirteen, and the sister has nothing. Know, that ZAID, the son of THABIT (on whom be GOD's grace!) has
not placed the sister by the same father and
mother, or by the same father, as entitled to a
share with the grandfather, except in the case,
named acdariyyah, and that is, the husband, the
mother, a grandfather, and a sister by the same
father and mother, or by the same father only;
in which case the husband ought to have a moi-
ty; the mother, a third; the grandfather, a
sixth; and the sister, a moiety; then the grand-
father annexes his share to that of the sister,
and, a division is made between them by the
rule "a male has the portion of two females;"
and this is, because the division is best for the
grandfather. The root is regularly six, but is
increased to nine; and a correct distribution is
made by twenty-seven. The case is called ac-
dariyyah, because it occurred on the death of a
woman belonging to the tribe of ACDAR. If,
instead of the sister, there be a brother or two
sisters, there is no increase, nor is that case an
acdariyyah.

On Succession to Vested Interests.

If some of the shares become vested inher-
itances before the distribution, as if a woman
leave her husband, a daughter, and her mother,
and the husband die, before the estate can be distributed, leaving a wife and both his parents, if then the daughter die leaving two sons, a daughter, and a maternal grandmother, and then the grandmother die leaving her husband and two brothers, the principle in this event is, that the case of the first deceased be arranged, and that the allotment of each heir be considered as delivered according to that arrangement; that, next, the case of the second deceased be arranged, and that a comparison be made between what was in his hands, or vested in interest, from the first arrangement, and between the second arrangement, in three situations; and if, on account of equality, what is in his hands from the first arrangement quadrature with the second arrangement, then there is no need of multiplication; but, if it be not right, then see whether there be an agreement between the two, and multiply the measure of the second arrangement into the whole of the first arrangement; and, if there be a disagreement between them, then multiply the whole of the second arrangement into the whole of the first arrangement, and the product will be the denominator of both cases. The allotments of the heirs of the first deceased must be multiplied into the former multiplicand, I mean into the second arrangement or into its measure; and the allotments
of the heirs of the second deceased must be multiplied into the whole of what was in his hands, or into its measure; and, if a third or a fourth die, put the second product in the place of the first arrangement, and the third case in the place of the second, in working; and thus in the case of a fourth and a fifth, and so on to infinity.

On Distant Kindred.

A distant kinsman is every relation, who is neither a sharer nor a residuary. The generality of the Prophet's companions repeat a tradition concerning the inheritance of distant kinsmen; and, according to this, our masters and their followers (may God be merciful to them!) have decided; but Zaid, the son of Thabit (on whom be God's grace!) says: "there is no inheritance for the distant kinsman, but the property undisposed of is placed "in the publick treasury," and with him agree Malic and Alshafii, on whom be God's mercy! Now these distant kindred are of four classes: the first class is descended from the deceased; and they are the daughter's children, and the children of the son's daughters. The second sort are they, from whom the deceased descend; and they are the excluded grand-
fathers and the excluded grandmothers. The third fort are descended from the parents of the deceased; and they are the sister's children and the brother's daughters, and the sons of brothers by the same mother only. The fourth fort are descended from the two grandfathers and two grandmothers of the deceased; and they are, paternal aunts, and uncles by the same mother only, and maternal uncles and aunts. These, and all who are related to the deceased through them, are among the distant kindred.

Abū Sulaimān reports from Muḥammad the son of Alḥasan, who reported from Abū Hanīfah (on whom be God's mercy!) that the second fort are the nearest of the four forts, how high soever they ascend; then the first, how low soever they descend; then the third, how low soever; and lastly, the fourth, how distant soever their degree: but Abū Yusuf and Alḥasan the son of Ziyad, report from Abū Hanīfah (on whom be the mercy of God!) that the nearest of the four forts is the first, then the second, then the third, then the fourth, like the order of the residuaries; and this is taken as a rule for decision. According to both Abū Yusuf and Muḥammad, the third fort has a preference over the maternal grandfather.
THEMohammedan Law

On the First Class.

The best entitled of them to the succession is the nearest of them in degree to the deceased; as the daughter's daughter, who is preferred to the daughter of the son's daughter; and, if the claimants are equal in degree, then the child of an heir is preferred to the child of a distant relation; as the daughter of a son's daughter is preferred to the son of a daughter's daughter; but, if their degrees be equal, and there be not among them the child of an heir, or, if all of them be the children of heirs, then, according to Abu Yusuf (may God be merciful to him!) and Alhasan, son of Ziyad, the persons of the branches are considered, and the property is distributed among them equally, whether the condition of the roots, as male or female, agree or disagree; but Mohammed (on whom be God's mercy!) considers the persons of the branches, if the sex of the roots agree, in which respect he concurs with the other two; and he considers the persons of the roots, if their sexes be different, and he gives to the branches the inheritance of the roots, in opposition to the two lawyers. For instance, when a man leaves a daughter's son, and a daughter's daughter, then, according to Abu Yusuf and Alhasan, the property is distributed between them, by the rule "the male has the portion of
two females," their persons being considered; and, according to MUHAMMED, in the same manner; because the sexes of the roots agree: and, if a man leave the daughter of a daughter's son, and the son of a daughter's daughter, then, according to the two first mentioned lawyers, the property is divided in thirds between the branches, by considering the persons, two thirds of it being given to the male, and one third to the female; but, according to MUHAMMED (on whom be GOD's mercy!) the property is divided between the roots, I mean those in the second rank, in thirds, two thirds going to the daughter of the daughter's son, namely, the allotment of her father, and one third of it to the son of the daughter's daughter, namely, the share of his mother. Thus, according to MUHAMMED (to whom GOD be merciful!) when the children of the daughters are different in sex, the property is divided according to the first rank that differs among the roots; then the males are arranged in one class, and the females in another class, after the division, and what goes to the males is collected and distributed according to the highest difference that occurs among their children, and, in the same manner, what goes to the females; and thus the operation is continued to the end according to this scheme:
Thus MUHAMMED (to whom GOD be merciful!) takes the sex from the root at the time of the distribution, and the number from the branches; as, *if a man* leave two sons of a daughter's daughter's daughter, and a daughter of a daughter's daughter's son, and two daughters of a daughter's son's daughter, in this form:

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The Deceased,

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<td>Daughter</td>
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<td>Two Daughters</td>
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In this case according to ABU YUSUF (on whom be GOD's mercy!) the property is divided among the branches in seven parts, by considering their persons; but, according to MUHAMMED (to whom GOD be merciful!) the property is distributed according to the highest difference of sex, I mean in the second rank, in sevenths, by the number of branches in the roots; and, according to him, four sevenths of it go to the daughters of the daughter's son's daughter; since that is the share of their grand-
father, and three sevenths of it, which are the allotment of the two daughters, are divided between their two children, I mean those in the third rank, in moieties; one moiety to the daughter of the daughter's daughter's son, which is the share of her father, and the other moiety to the two sons of the daughter's daughter's daughter, being the share of their mother: the correct divisor of the property is, in this case, twenty-eight. The opinion of MUHAMMED (on whom be GOD's mercy!) is the more generally received of the two traditions from ABU HANIFAH (to whom GOD be merciful!) in all decisions concerning the distant kindred; and this was the first opinion of ABU YUSUF; then he departed from it, and said that the roots were by no means to be considered.

A Section.

Our learned lawyers (on whom be the mercy of GOD!) consider the different sides in succession; except that ABU YUSUF (may GOD be merciful to him!) considers the sides in the persons of the branches, and MUHAMMED (on whom be GOD's mercy!) considers the sides in the roots; as, when a man leaves two daughters of a daughter's daughter, who are also the two daughters of a daughter's son, and the son of a daughter's daughter, according to this scheme:
The Deceased.

In this case, according to ABU YUSUF, the property is divided among them in thirds, and then the deceased is considered as if he had left four daughters and a son; two thirds of it, therefore, go to the two daughters, and one third to the son: but, according to MUHAMMED (to whom GOD be merciful!) the estate is divided among them in twenty-eight parts, to the two daughters twenty-two shares (sixteen in right of their father and six shares in right of their mother) and to the son six shares in right of his mother.

On the Second Class.

He among them, who is preferred in the succession, is the nearest of them to the deceased, on which side soever he stands; and, in the case of equality in the degrees of proximity, then he, who is related to the deceased through an heir, is preferred by the opinion of ABU SUHAIL, surnamed ALFERÁIDI, of ABU FUDAIL ALKHASSAF, and of ALI, the son of ISA ALBASRI; but, no preference is given to him.
according to ABU SULAIMAN ALJURJÁNI, and ABU ALI AL BAIHATHI ALBUSTI. If their degrees be equal, and there be none among them, who is related through an heir, or, if all of them be related through an heir, then, if the sex of those, through whom they are related, agree, and their relation be on the same side, the distribution is according to their persons, but if the sex of those, to whom they are related, be different, the property is distributed according to the first rank that differs in sex, as in the first class; and, if their relation differ, then two thirds go to those on the father’s side, that being the share of the father, and one third goes to those on the mother’s side, that being the share of the mother: then what has been allotted to each set is distributed among them, as if their relation were the same.

On the Third Class.

The rule concerning them is the same with that concerning the first class; I mean, that he is preferred in the succession, who is nearest to the deceased: and, if they be equal in relation, then the child of a residuary is preferred to the child of a more distant kinsman; as, if a man leave the daughter of a brother’s son, and the son of a sister’s daughter, both of them by the same
father and mother, or by the same father, or one of them by the same father and mother, and the other by the same father only: in this case the whole estate goes to the daughter of the brother’s son, because she is the child of a residuary; and, if it be by the same mother only, distribution is made between them by the rule, “A male has the share of two females,” and, by the opinion of Abu Yusuf (to whom God be merciful!) in thirds, according to the persons, but, by that of Muhammad (may God be merciful to him!) in moieties according to the roots; and, if they be equal in proximity, and there be no child of a residuary among them, or if all of them be children of residuaries, or if some of them be children of those entitled to shares, and their relation differ, then Abu Yusuf (to whom God be merciful!) considers the strongest in consanguinity; but Muhammad (may God be merciful to him!) divides the property among the brothers and sisters in moieties, considering as well the number of the branches, as the sides in the roots; and what has been allotted to each set is distributed among their branches, as in the first class; thus, if a man leave the daughter of the daughter of a sister by the same father and mother, she is preferred to the son of the daughter of a brother by the same father only, accord-
ing to ABU YUSUF (to whom GOD be merciful!) by reason of the strength of relation; but, according to MUHAMMED (may God be merciful to him!) the property is divided between them both in moieties by consideration of the roots. So, when a man leaves three daughters of different brothers, and three sons and three daughters of different sisters, as in this figure:

The Deceased.

Sister Sister Sister Brother Brother Brother

by the same

Mother Father Father Mother Father Father

and Mother and Mother

Son Son Son Daughter Daughter Daughter Daughter Daughter.

In this case, according to ABU YUSUF, the property is divided among the branches of the whole blood, then among the branches by the same father, then among the branches by the same mother, according to the rule, "the male has the allotment of two females," in fourths, by considering the persons; but, according to MUHAMMED (to whom GOD be merciful!) a third of the estate is divided equally among the branches by the same mother, in
thirds, by considering the equality of their roots in the division of the parents, and the remainder among the branches of the whole blood in moiety, by considering in the roots the number of the branches; one half to the daughter of the brother, the portion of the father, and the other between the children of the sister, the male having the allotment of two females, by considering the persons; and the estate is correctly divided by nine. If a man leave three daughters of different brothers' sons, in this manner:

The Deceased.

Daughter — Daughter — Daughter

of a Son of a Brother by the same

Father and Mother — Father — Mother

all the property goes to the daughter of the son of the brother by the same father and mother, by the unanimous opinion of the learned, since she is the child of a residuary, and hath also the strength of consanguinity.

On the Fourth Class.

The rule as to them is, that, when there is only one of them, he has a right to the whole property, since there is none to obstruct him;
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and, when there are several, and the sides of their relation are the same, as paternal aunts and paternal uncles by the same mother with the father, or maternal uncles and aunts, then the stronger of them in consanguinity is preferred, by the general assent; I mean, they, who are related by father and mother, are preferred to those, who are related by the father only, and they, who are related by the father, are preferred to those, who are related by the mother only, whether they be males or females; and, if there be males and females, and their relation be equal, then the male has the allotment of two females; as, if there be a paternal uncle and aunt both by one mother, or a maternal uncle and aunt, both by the same father and mother, or by the same father, or by the same mother only: and if the sides of their consanguinity be different, then no regard is shown to the strength of relation; as, if there be a paternal aunt by the same father and mother, and a maternal aunt by the same mother, or a maternal aunt by the same father and mother, and a paternal aunt by the same mother only, then two thirds go to the kindred of the father, for they are the father’s allotment, and one third to the kindred of the mother, for that is the mother’s allotment; then what is allotted to each set is divided among them, as if the place of their consanguinity were the same.
On their Children; and the Rules concerning them.

The rule as to them is like the rule concerning the first class; I mean, that the best entitled of them to the succession is the nearest of them to the deceased on whichever side he is related; and, if they be equal in relation, and the place of their consanguinity be the same, then he, who has the strength of blood, is preferred, by the general assent; and, if they be equal in degree and in blood, and the place of their consanguinity be the same, then the child of a residuary is preferred to whoever is not such; as, if a man leave the daughter of a paternal uncle, and the son of a paternal aunt, both of them by the same father and mother, or by the same father, all the property goes to the daughter of the paternal uncle; and, if one of them be by the same father and mother, and the other by the same father only, then all the estate goes to the claimant, who has the strength of consanguinity, according to the clearer tradition; and this by analogy to the maternal aunt by the same father, for though she be the child of a distant kinsman, yet she is preferred, by the strength of consanguinity, to the maternal aunt by the same mother only, though she be the child of an heir; since the weight which prevails by itself, that
is, the strength of consanguinity, is greater than the weight by another, which is the descent from an heir. Some of them (the learned) say, that the whole estate goes to the daughter of the paternal uncle by the same father, since she is the daughter of a resdiary; and, if they be equal in degree, yet the place of their relation differ, they have no regard shown to the strength of consanguinity, nor to the descent from a resdiary, according to the clearer tradition; by analogy to the paternal aunt by the same father and mother, for though she have two bloods, and be the child of an heir on both sides, and her mother be entitled to a legal share, yet she is not preferred to the maternal aunt by the same father; but two thirds go to whoever is related by the father; and their regard is shown to the strength of blood; then to the descent from a resdiary; and one third goes to whoever is related by the mother, and there too regard is shown to strength of consanguinity: then, according to ABU YUSUF (may GOD be merciful to him!) what belongs to each set is divided among the persons of their branches, with attention to the number of sides in the branches; and, according to MUHAMMED (may GOD be merciful to him!) the property is distributed by the first line, that differs, with attention to the number of the branches and of the sides in
the roots, as in the first class; then this rule is applied to the sides of the paternal uncles of his parents and their maternal uncles; then to their children; then to the side of the paternal uncles of the parents of his parents, and to their maternal uncles; then to their children, as in the case of residuiaries.

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On Hermaphrodites.

To the hermaphrodite, whose sex is quite doubtful, is allotted the smaller of two shares, I mean the worse of two conditions, according to ABU HANI'FAH (may GOD be merciful to him!) and his friends, and this is the doctrine of the generality of the Prophet's companions (may GOD be gracious to them!) and conformable to it are decisions given; as, when a man leaves a son, and a daughter, and an hermaphrodite, then the hermaphrodite has the share of a daughter, since that is ascertained: and, according to ÂÁMIR ALSHÂBI (and this is the opinion of IBNU ÂBBÁS, may GOD be gracious to them both!) the hermaphrodite has a moiety of the two shares in the controversy; but the two great lawyers differ in putting in practice the doctrine of ALSHÂBI: for ABU YÚSUf says, that the son has one share, and the daughter half a...
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share, and the hermaphrodite three fourths of a share, since the hermaphrodite would be entitled to a share, if he were a male, and to half a share, if he were a female, and this is settled by bis taking half the sum of the two portions; or, we may say, he takes the moiety which is ascertained, together with half the moiety which is disputed, so that there come to him three fourths of a share; for he (ABU YÚSUF) pays attention to the legal share and to the increase, and he verifies the case by nine: or, we may say, the son has two shares, and the daughter one share, and the hermaphrodite a moiety of the two allotments, and that is a share and half a share. But MUHAMMED (may GOD be merciful to him!) says, that the hermaphrodite would take two fifths of the estate, if he were a male, and a fourth of the estate, if he were a female, and that he takes a moiety of the two allotments, and that will give him one fifth and an eighth by attention to both sexes; and the case is rectified by forty; since that is the product of one of the numbers in the two cases, which is four, multiplied into the other, which is five, and that product multiplied by two (which is the number of the) cases; and then he, who takes any thing by five, has it multiplied into four, and he, who takes any thing by four, has it multiplied into
five; so that thirteen shares go to the hermaphrodite, and eighteen to the son, and nine to the daughter.

On Pregnancy.

The longest time of pregnancy is two years, according to ABU HANIFAH (may GOD be merciful to him!) and his companions; and according to LAITH, the son of SÂD ALFAHMÍ (may GOD be merciful to him!) three years; and, according to ALSHÁFIÍ (may GOD be merciful to him!) four years: but according to ALZUHRI (may GOD be merciful to him!) seven years: and the shortest time for it is six months. There is reserved for the child in the womb, according to ABU HANIFAH (may GOD be merciful to him!) the portion of four sons, or the portion of four daughters, whichever of the two is most; and there is given to the rest of the heirs the smallest of the portions; but, according to MUHAMMED (may GOD be merciful to him!) there is reserved the portion of three sons or of three daughters, whichever of the two is most: LAITH, son of SÂD, (may GOD be gracious to him!) reports this opinion from him; but, by another report, there is reserved the portion of two sons; and one of
the two opinions is that of ABU YÚSUF (may GOD be merciful to him!) as HISHÁM reports it from him; but ALKHAS'SÁ'F reports from ABU YÚSUF (may GOD be merciful to him!) that there should be reserved the share of one son or of one daughter; and, according to this, decisions are made; and security must be taken, according to his opinion. And, if the pregnancy was by the deceased, and the widow produce a child at the full time of the longest period allowed for pregnancy, or within it, and the woman hath not confessed her having broken her legal term of abstinence, that child shall inherit, and others may inherit from him; but, if she produce a child after the longest time of gestation, he shall not inherit, nor shall others inherit from him: and if the pregnancy was from another man than the deceased, and the, the kinswoman, produce a child in six months or less, he shall inherit; but, if she produce the child after the least period of gestation, he shall not inherit.

Now the way of knowing the life of the child at the time of its birth, is, that there be found in him that, by which life is proved; as a voice, or sneezing, or weeping, or smiling, or moving a limb; and, if the smallest part of the child come out, and he then die, he shall not inhe-
rit; but if the greater part of him come out, and then he die, he shall inherit: and, if he come out straight (or with his head first) then his breast is considered; I mean, if his whole breast come out, he shall inherit; but if he come out inverted (or with his feet first) then his navel is considered.

The chief rule in arranging cases on pregnancy is, that the case be arranged by two suppositions, I mean by supposing, that the child in the womb is a male, and by supposing, that it is a female: then, compare the arrangement of both cases; and, if the numbers agree, multiply the measure of one of the two into the whole of the other; and, if they disagree, then multiply the whole of one of the two into the whole of the other, and the product will be the arranger of the case: then multiply the allotment of him, who would have something from the case, which supposes a male, into that of the case, which supposes a female, or into its measure; and then that of him, who takes on the supposition of a female, into the case of the male, or into its measure, as we have directed concerning the hermaphrodite; then examine the two products of that multiplication; and whether of the two is the less, that shall be given to such an heir; and the difference between them must be reserved from the allotment of that
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heir; and, when the child appears, if he be entitled to the whole of what has been reserved, it is well; but, if he be entitled to a part, let him take that part, and let the remainder be distributed among the other heirs, and let there be given to each of those heirs what was reserved from his allotment: as, when a man has left a daughter and both his parents, and a wife pregnant, then the case is rectified by twenty-four on the supposition, that the child in the womb is a male, and by twenty-seven on the supposition, that it is a female: now between the two numbers of the arrangement there is an agreement in a third; and when the measure of one of the two is multiplied into the whole of the other, the product amounts to two hundred and sixteen, and by that number is the case verified; and, on the supposition of its male sex, the wife takes twenty-seven shares, and each of the two parents, thirty-six; but, on the supposition of its female sex, the wife has twenty-four, and each of the parents, thirty-two; and twenty-four are given to the wife, and three shares from her allotment are reserved; and from the allotment of each of the parents are reserved four shares; and thirteen shares are given to the daughter; since the part reserved in her right is the allotment of four sons, according to ABU HANİFAH (may GOD be
merciful to him!) and when the sons are four, then her allotment is one share and four ninths of a share out of four-and-twenty multiplied into nine, and that makes thirteen shares; and this belongs to her, and the residue is reserved, which amounts to an hundred and fifteen shares. If the widow bring forth one daughter or more, then all the part reserved goes to the daughters; and, if she bring forth one son or more, then must be given to the widow and both parents what was reserved from their shares; and what remains must be divided among the children: and, if she bring forth a dead child, then must be given to the widow and both parents what was reserved from their shares, and to the daughter a complete moiety, that is, ninety-five shares more, and the remainder, which is nine shares, to the father, since he is the residuary.

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On a Lost Person.

A lost person is considered as living in regard to his estate; so that no one can inherit from him; and his estate is reserved, until his death can be ascertained; or the term for a presumption of it has passed over: now the traditional opinions differ concerning that term; for, by the clearer tradition, "when, not one of his equals in age remains, judgement may
"be given of his death;" but HASAN, the son of ZIYAD, reports from ABU HANÍFAH (may GOD be merciful to him!) that the term is an hundred and twenty years from the day on which he was born; and MUHAMMED says, an hundred and ten years; and ABU YÚSUF says, an hundred and five years; and some of them, the learned, say, ninety years; and according to that opinion are decisions made. Some of the learned in the law say, that the estate of a lost person must be reserved for the final regulation of the Imám, and the judgement suspended as to the right of another person, so that his share from the estate of his ancestors must be kept, as in the case of pregnancy; and, when the term is elapsed, and judgement given of his death, then his estate goes to his heirs, who are to be found, according to the judgement on his decease; and, what was reserved on his account from the estate of his ancestor, is restored to the heir of his ancestor, from whose estate that share was reserved; since the lost person is dead as to the estate of another.

The principle in arranging cases concerning a lost person is, that the case be arranged on a supposition of his life, and then arranged on a supposition of his death; and the rest of the operation is what we have mentioned in the chapter of pregnancy.
On an Apostle.

When an apostate from the faith has died naturally, or been killed, or passed into a hostile country, and the Kādī has given judgement on his passage thither, then what he had acquired, at the time of his being a believer, goes to his heirs, who are believers; and what he has gained since the time of the apostasy is placed in the publick treasury, according to ABU HANĪ-FAH (may GOD be merciful to him!) but, according to the two lawyers (ABU YŪSUF and MUHAMMED) both the acquisitions go to his believing heirs; and, according to AL-SHĀFIĪ (may God be merciful to him!) both the acquisitions are placed in the publick treasury; and what he gained after his arrival in the hostile country, that is confiscated by the general consent; and all the property of a female apostate goes to her heirs, who are believers, without diversity of opinion among our masters, to whom God be merciful! but an apostate shall not inherit from any one, neither from a believer nor from an apostate like himself, and so a female apostate shall not inherit from any one; except when the people of a whole district become apostates altogether, for then they inherit reciprocally.
OF INHERITANCE.

On a Captive.

The rule concerning a captive is like the rule of other believers in regard to inheritance, as long as he has not departed from the faith; but, if he has departed from the faith, then the rule concerning him is the rule concerning an apostate; but, if his apostasy be not known, nor his life nor his death, then the rule concerning him is the rule concerning a lost person.

On Persons drowned, or burned, or overwhelmed in Ruins.

When a company of persons die, and it is not known which of them died first, they are considered, as if they had died at the same moment; and the estate of each of them goes to his heirs, who are living; and some of the deceased shall not inherit from others: this is the approved opinion. But Ali and Ibnu Masûûd say, according to one of the traditions from them, that some of them shall inherit from others, except in what each of them has inherited from the companion of his fate.
IN our administration of justice to Mobamme-
dans according to their own laws, it will be of
no use to inquire, what their legislator meant
by declaring, that the law of inheritances con-
tituted one half of juridical knowledge*: if he in-
tended any thing more than a strong assertion
of its importance, he probably had in contem-
plation the two general modes of acquiring pro-
erty, contracts and succession, or the agreement
of parties and the operation of law; and this
explanation of the phrase, which had occurred
to me on my first perusal of it, is also suggested
by Sayyad SHARĪF, together with a more
fanciful interpretation, which Māulavi KĀSIM
has adopted, that, life and death being incident
to our probationary state in this world, and the

* Page 213.
law of succession manifestly relating to the dead, it is properly opposed to all other laws, which prescribe the duties and ascertain the rights of the living; but we merely take notice of the sentence, that no part of the Sirājiyyah may be unexplained, and proceed to the four acts, which, on the decease of a Mohammedan, are to be successively performed by the magistrate, or under his authority.

I. A regard to public decency and convenience, as well as to publick religion and health, seems in all nations to require, that the bodies of deceased persons be removed out of sight, with all due speed and solemnity, at a moderate expense to be defrayed, even before the payment of their just debts, out of the property left by them, on which no legal claim, from hypothecation or otherwise, had previously attached: but the Muselman lawyers, who admit, that the funeral charges must in the first place be defrayed, assign a very whimsical reason for such a priority; because, they say, the winding-sheet and other clothes of the dead are analogous to suitable apparel worn by the living, and consequently should not be liable to the claims of a creditor. The legal expenses of burying a Mohammedan are very moderate, both in the number and value of the clothes, in which the deceased is to be wrapped: as more than three pieces of
cloth for a man, or than five pieces for a woman, would be held a prodigal superfluity, and less than those, a niggardly deficiency, of expense, so, if the funeral clothes of AMRU or HINDA were dearer than the vesture usually worn by them, when alive, it would be a culpable excess; and if cheaper, a blameable defect; but, if in fact they had been used to wear one sort of apparel on solemn festivals, another in visiting their friends, and a third, in their own houses, the value of their visiting dress must regulate that of their burial, and either extreme would be too prodigal or too parsimonious. Should their debts, indeed, cover the whole of their property, the legal expense of the funeral must be reduced to the sufficient expense, as it is called; that is, to two pieces of cloth for AMRU and to three for HINDA: the names, dimensions, and uses of all the cloths used in funerals, both for men and for women, are enumerated in Persian by Māulavī Kāsim; but it would be useless to mention them; and it seems only necessary to add on this article, that if deceased persons leave no property whatever, or none without a special lien on it, the funeral expenses must be paid by such of their relations, as would have been compellable by law to maintain them, when living; and, if there be no such relations, by the publick trea-
fury, in which there is always an ample fund arising from forfeitures and escheats.

II. After the burial, all the just debts of the deceased must be paid out of his remaining assets, as far as they extend; and, if there be many creditors, they must be satisfied in equal proportion, except that a debt of health, to use the Arabian phrase, must be discharged before a debt of sickness; that is, a debt contracted or acknowledged, while the party was of sound understanding and body, is preferred, when legally proved, to one acknowledged in sickness, but of which no other evidence is produced. A religious vow, or promise of a charitable donation, as an atonement for sin, constitutes a debt in conscience only; and the sum thus promised must be paid out of a third part of the assets, after the legal creditors have been satisfied, provided that it was bequeathed by will; but, if no will was made, the temporal estate shall not be charged with a mere debt of religion.

III. The legacies of a Muselman, to the prejudice of his heirs, must not exceed a third part of the property left by him, and remaining after the discharge of his debts: over a third of such residue he has absolute power; and his legatee shall receive it immediately, whether a specific thing or certain sum of money, or only a fractional part of his estate, was be-
queathed. This is the opinion of Sharif; though a distinction, which the text by no means implies, has been taken between a determinate and an indeterminate legacy.

IV. We come now to the distribution of his estate, remaining after the payment of debts and legacies, among his heirs (for so we may call them, although real and personal property are undistinguished in the laws of the Arabs) according to certain rules derived from three sources, the Koran, the genuine system of oral traditions from the legislator, and those opinions in which the learned and orthodox have generally concurred*: the order, and proportions, in which the property of AMRU or HINDA must be distributed, constitute the principal subject of the work, which we have undertaken to explain.

1. The first class of heirs are they, who may be called sharers, because a certain share of the estate is expressly allotted to each of them in the Koran, and particularly in the fourth chapter of it.

2. Next come they, who may be distinguished by the name of residuaries, because they take the residue after the shares have been duly distributed; and they are of two sorts, residu-
aries by consanguinity and residuaries for special cause, the former of whom are preferred in the order of succession; the latter are the masters or mistresses of enfranchised slaves, or their male residuary heirs. If no sharers be living, the residuaries take the whole; but, if there be sharers by consanguinity and no residuaries, a farther portion of the inheritance reverts to them, though never to the widower or to the widow, while any heirs by blood are alive.

3. On failure of the two preceding classes, the distribution is made among those next of kin, who are neither sharers nor residuaries: they may be called the distant kindred.

4. Should none of the distant kindred be living and capable of inheriting, the estate goes (unless there be a widow or a widower, who is first entitled to a sharer) to him, who may be called the successor by contract; and of that succession it is necessary to give an example: if Amru, a man of an unknown descent, say to Zaid, "Thou art my kinsman, and shalt be my successor after my death, paying for me any fine and ransom, to which I may become liable," and Zaid accept the condition, it is a valid contract by the Arabian law; and, if Zaid also be a man whose descent is unknown, and make the same proposal to Amru, who likewise accepts it, the contract is mutual and
similar, and they are successors by contract reciprocally.

5. If no such agreement had been made, but if Amru in his life time had acknowledged Zaid, a man of an unknown pedigree, to be his brother or his uncle, that is, to be related to him by his father or by his grandfather, though in truth he had no such relation, and the bare acknowledgment of Amru cannot be admitted as a proof of it, yet, if Amru die without retracting his declaration, Zaid is called the acknowledged kinsman by a common ancestor, and stands in the fifth class of successors, but takes the estate before the general divisee.

6. Last of all comes the person, to whom the deceased had left the whole of his property by a will duly made and proved; for, though the law secures to his heirs of the five preceding classes two thirds of his estate, yet it so far respects his dominion, while he lived, over his own property, and his will as to the disposal of it after his decease, that it will rather give effect to an intention not strictly conformable to law (for the Korán seems to allow pious bequests only), than suffer his estate to escheat; which must be the consequence of his dying without a representative. All such escheats to the sovereign go towards a fund for charitable uses; and according to the system of Zaid, the son of Tha-
BIT, which has been shortly explained in a former publication, that fund, if it be regularly established, is entitled to the whole estate on failure of residuary heirs, without any return to the sharers, and to the entire exclusion of the four last classes; but this doctrine seems quite exploded.

Before we proceed to the law of shares, it is proper to take notice of the four impediments to succession; which are slavery, homicide, difference of religion, and difference of country, or of allegiance; the last of which disabilities relates only to such as are not Muslims.

1. Slavery, by the Mohammedan law, is either perfect and absolute, as when the slave and all, that he can possess, are wholly at the disposal of his master, or imperfect and privileged, as when the master has promised the slave his freedom on his paying a certain sum of money by easy instalments, or, without any payment, after the death of the master: a female slave, who has borne a child to her master, is also privileged; but in both sorts of slavery, as long as it continues, the slave can acquire no property, and consequently cannot inherit. The Arabian custom of allowing a slave to cultivate a piece of land, or set up a trade, on his own account, so that he may work out his manu-

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mission by prudence and industry, and by degrees pay the price of his freedom, may suggest an excellent mode of enfranchising the black slaves in our plantations, with great advantage to our country and without loss to their proprietors.

2. Homicide is either with malice prepense and punishable with death, or without proof of malice, and expiable by redeeming a Muselman slave, or by fasting two entire months, and by paying the price of blood; or, thirdly, it is accidental, for which an expiation is necessary. Malicious homicide, or murder (for, by the best opinions, the Arabian law on this head nearly resembles our own) is committed, when a human creature is unjustly killed with a weapon, or any dangerous instrument likely to occasion death, as with a sharp stick or a large stone, or with fire, which has the effect, says Ka'sim, of the most dangerous instrument, and, by parity of reason, with poison or by drowning; but those two modes of killing are not specified by him; and there is a strange diversity of opinion concerning them: killing without proof of malice is, when death ensues from a beating or blow with a slight wand, a thin whip, or a small pebble, or with any thing not ordinarily dangerous: accidental death is, when it was neither designed nor could have been prevented.
by ordinary care, as if Amru were to shoot an
arrow at a wild beast, and the arrow by acci-
dent were to kill Zaid, or if Mazin were to
fall from his terrace upon Zuhaire and kill
him by his fall; in which cases the slayer
would not be permitted to inherit from the slain.

If, however, a man were to dig a pit, or fix
a large stone, on the field of another, and the
owner of the field were to be killed by falling
at night into the pit, or running against the
stone, the doer of the illegal act, which was
the primary occasion (but not the cause) of the
death, must pay the price of blood, but would
not, it seems, be disabled from succeeding to
the property of the deceased, whom he could
not in strictness be said to have killed.

3. An unbeliever shall never be heir to a be-
liever, nor conversely; but infidel subjects may
inherit from infidels.

4. The difference between two states or
countries consists in the difference of sove-
reigns, by whom protection is given to their
respective subjects, and to whom allegiance is
respectively due from them: this difference is
particularly marked between a country govern-
ed by a Mohammedan power and a country ruled
by a prince of any other religion; for they are
always, virtually at least, in a state of warfare,
the first being called by lawyers the state of peace,
and the second, the seat of hostility. A difference of country, therefore, which excludes from the right of inheriting, is either actual and unqualified, as when an alien enemy resides in the seat of hostility, or when an alien has chosen his domicil in the seat of peace, and pays the tribute exacted from infidels, in which case the tributary shall not be heir to the alien enemy dying abroad, nor conversely, because each of them owed a separate allegiance; or the difference is qualified*, as when a fugitive enemy seeks quarter, and obtains a temporary residence in the seat of peace, or when two alien enemies are fugitives from two different hostile countries: now, although the tributary and the fugitive actually live in the same kingdom, yet, since the fugitive continues a subject of the hostile power, he remains, as it were, under a different government, and there is no mutual right of succession between him and the tributary; nor, by similarity of reason, between two fugitives, who leave two distinct hostile governments, and obtain quarter for a time in the land of believers, but without any intention of making it their constant abode.

If none of these four incapacities preclude the heirs of Amru from the legal succession to his estate, which we will suppose already sold and

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reduced to money of one denomination, the magistrate, or his officer, must proceed to the distribution of the shares; and, as they are a moiety, a fourth, an eighth, two thirds, one third, and a sixth, of the aggregate sum, it will be convenient at first to consider that sum as consisting of twenty-four equal parts, so that the shares will be, in whole numbers, twelve, six, three, sixteen, eight, and four.

The sharers are twelve persons, four males and eight females; but, before we specify their respective allotments, it is necessary to premise that a grandfather and a grandmother, according to the Arabian idiom, signify a male, and a female, ancestor in any degree; that a true grandfather is he, between whom and the deceased no female ancestor intervened; that a false grandfather is, where the paternal line of ascent was broken by the intervention of a female; and that a grandmother also is called true, when no false grandfather intervened between her and the deceased: in short, the only true line of ancestry, according to the Arabs, is an uninterrupted succession of paternal forefathers. The male sharers then are the father, the true grandfather, the brother by the same mother only, and the widower: the females are the widow, the daughter, the female issue of the son, the sister of the whole blood, the sister by the same father only,
the sister by the same mother only, the mother herself, and the true grandmother.

We begin with the males in the order of the shares before enumerated; and, 1. The father of AMRU or HINDA takes a sixth absolutely, though a son of the deceased be living, or any male descendant, who claims wholly through males; but, if there be no such male descendant, he becomes a residuary heir; and, if there be only a daughter of the deceased, or a female descendant from the son, he first has his legal share, or a sixth, and, when her share also has been allotted, he claims the residue. 2. The true grandfather is excluded from any share by the living father, through whom alone the grandfather bore a relation to the deceased; and, although a similar reason might afterwards be applied to the mother, and operate to the exclusion of her children, yet the father has the additional strength of a double title, both as a bearer and a residuary: but, if the father also be dead, his father, or true paternal ancestor, has exactly the same interest, except in four cases, which will be presently mentioned. 3. A single half-brother, by the same mother only, takes a sixth, and two or more such half-brothers, a third; provided that the deceased

* Page 26.
left neither children, nor male issue of a son, nor a father, nor a true grandfather; by any of whom the brothers by the same mother are excluded; and this article brings us necessarily to one class of female sharers; for, in this instance, there is no distinction of sex; both brothers and sisters by the same mother only having an equal right and an equal share in the distribution.

4. A moiety of Hinda's estate, if she die without children, or the issue of a deceased son, goes to her widower Amru, who, if she leave such issue, has no more than a fourth.

As examples of the father's rights, let us suppose Amru to have died worth two thousand four hundred pieces of gold, leaving his father Zaid, and either a son or a son's son, Omar: in this case the four hundred pieces are the share of Zaid, and Omar takes the remaining two thousand; but, if Amru leave only his father Zaid and either a daughter, or son's daughter, Laila, the father is first entitled to the four hundred pieces, or sixth part; and, after Laila has received twelve hundred, or a moiety of the estate (which, as we shall see, is her share in this case), he takes, as residuary, the eight hundred pieces, which remains; so that the property of Amru is equally divided between them. Should no relation be left but Zaid the father, and Lebid the brother, of the
deceased, Lebid is excluded; and the whole estate goes to Zaid. If, in the three preceding cases, the paternal grandfather Salim had been left instead of Zaid, his rights would have been precisely the same; and the only difference between Zaid and Salim will appear from the four following examples. 1. The paternal grandmother would be excluded by Zaid her son, but not by his father, her husband, Salim. 2. If Amru or Hinda leave a father Zaid, a mother Solma, and a widow Zaineb, or widower Hareth, the mother takes a third part of what remains after Zaineb or Hareth has received the legal share; but, if Salim be substituted for Zaid, she would have a right to a third of the whole estate, according to the prevailing opinion, although Abu Yusuf thought her entitled, even in that case, to no more than a third of the remainder. 3. The brothers of the whole blood, and those by the same father only, are excluded from the inheritance by Zaid the father, but not by the grandfather Salim, as the best lawyers agree, dissenting on this point from their master Abu Hanifah. 4. If Amru had manumitted his slave Yasmin, and died, leaving his father Zaid and a son Omar, a sixth part
of the right of succession to YA'SMÄN would have vested, according to AB'U YU'SUF, in ZAID, but, if the paternal grandfather SA'LIM had been left instead of the father, the whole interest would have vested in the son; in this case that illustrious lawyer ultimately dissented from his master and from his fellow-student MUHAMMED, who were both very justly of opinion, that, whether ZAID or SA'LIM were alive on the death of the manumittor, the whole right of succession to the manumittee vested in OMAR.

Let us proceed to the shares of the females; and 1. If AMRU die without children, and without any issue of a deceased son, his widow HINDA must receive a fourth of his assets; but her share is an eighth only *, if any such issue be living: should he leave more widows than one, they take equal parts of such fourth or eighth; so that the legal share of the widower is always in a double ratio to that of the widow or widows: as, if HINDA die worth twenty-four thousand zecchins, her surviving husband AMRU must be entitled either to twelve or to six thousand; and if AMRU die with the same estate, his widow HINDA must have either six or three thousand for her sole share; or, if ZAINEB and ABLA had also been legally married to AMRU, the three widows must receive

* Page 217.
either two or one thousand zecchins each, as the case may happen. 2. One daughter takes a moiety, and two or more daughters have two thirds, of their father's estate; but, if the deceased left a son, the rule, expressed in the Korân, is this: "to one male give the portion of two "females;" and the daughters in that case are not properly sharers, but residual heirs with the son, their part of the inheritance being always in a subduple ratio to his part. Thus, if Amru die worth twenty-four thousand pieces of gold, his only child Fatima takes twelve thousand as her share; but, if she have three sisters, Azza, Latî'fa, and Zubaïda, two thirds of the assets, or sixteen thousand pieces, are equally divided between the four girls; and if there be a son Omar, he must receive, in the first case, sixteen thousand, while Fatima has eight; and, in the second, eight thousand, while she and her sisters take each four thousand, pieces. 3. If Omar had died before his father, leaving female issue, and his father had then died without any daughter of his own, the daughters of Omar would have had precisely the same shares, to which those of Amru himself would have been entitled; but, had Fatima been living, she would have taken half the estate, or twelve thousand pieces of gold, and a sixth only, or four thousand, the complement of two thirds or sixteen thousand, would have
been equally distributed among her nieces. Had Fa'tima and Azzā been at that time alive, they would have taken their legal share, to the exclusion of their brother's female issue, unless the right of that issue had been sustained by a male in an equal, or a lower degree, who would have made them residuaries, "the male taking, by the rule, the portion of females;" but a male in a higher degree would not have given them that advantage; and, if Omar himself had survived, his daughters would have been wholly excluded. The six cases, therefore, or different situations, of the female issue of Omar may be thus recapitulated: 1. A single female takes a moiety. 2. Two or more have two thirds. 3. A male in the same, or a lower, degree than themselves, gives them a residuary right in a subduple ratio to his own. 4. With a daughter of Amru, who is entitled to half, they would have only a sixth, to make up the regular share of the female issue. 5. They are excluded, if Amru left more daughters than one, but no male issue in any equal, or a lower, degree. 6. A son also of Amru wholly excludes them. In the three first cases, their legal claims correspond with those of daughters: but in the three last their rights are weaker, because they are in a remoter degree from the deceased.
The pedigree exhibited in the text* is called by the *Arabs* the *tasbib*, because, in their opinion, it sharpens the understanding, and captivates the fancy as much as the *composition of an elegant love-poem*, which the word literally signifies; but, without adopting so wild a metaphor, we may truly say, that it is very perspicuous, and that no comment, after what has been premised, could render it clearer. An example, however, will show more distinctly than an abstract rule, in what manner an estate is divisible, when a *male* descendant gives a *residuary* title to a *female* in the same, or in a *higher*, degree. Call the only surviving male descendant *Omar*, and suppose him to be the brother of *Amina*, who stands lowest in the first set of females: here the highest female in that set must receive a *moiety* of the assets; the next below her takes a *sixth* together with the highest of the second set, as the complement of *two thirds*; and the *residue* must be divided into *five* portions, of which *Omar* claims *two* and each of the females in the same degree, one; but the three females below them are excluded. If *Omar* be the brother of *Zarifa*, whom we suppose the lowest of the middle set, the remaining *third* of the estate must be distributed in *sevenths*,

Page 218.
because there are five females, three in a higher, and two in an equal, degree with Omar, who must always have a double portion; and, if he be the brother of Unaiza, the lowest female of the third set (who, on the former supposition, would have been excluded), there will be six female residuaries entitled to portions with Omar, but in a subduple ratio; so that, if Amru died worth twenty-four thousand ducats, the daughter of his son takes twelve thousand of them; the two daughters of his sons' sons receive each two thousand; and, the residue being eight, Omar is entitled also to two thousand ducats, while Unaiza and the five women, who remain, have each one thousand, which they owe to the fortunate existence of Omar. 4.* The rights of sisters by the same father and mother, and (5.) those of sisters by the same father only, are explained in the text with sufficient clearness, but it is proper to observe, that the fifth case of the first class is comprised in the seventh case of the second; and that (6.) the sisters by the same mother have been mentioned in a former section. There will be no use in repeating the ingenious arguments of Ibnu Abbas in support of his different on many points from other old lawyers, nor the

* Page 219.
solid answers, which have been given to his objections; but a story, told by Sharif, may here be repeated, because it conveys an idea of the traditionary Arabian law, and shows from what sources our excellent author derived his doctrine: 'Hudhail used to relate, that Abu Musa, being consulted on the distribution of an heritage among a daughter, a son's daughter, and a sister, answered, the first must have a moiety; the second a sixth; and the third, what remains; but "Consult Ibnu Masūud, added he, and apprise me of his answer?" when Ibnu Masūud, was consulted, he said, that he was present, when Muhammad himself gave the same decision; and, when that answer was reported to Abu Musa, he said, "you must put no questions to me, as long as that illustrious lawyer remains with you." 7. *Although the different rights of the mother in different cases be very clearly explained, yet her title to a third of the residue may be illustrated by two examples: first, if Adhra leave only her husband Wāmik, her mother Sōāda, and her father Māzin, half of her estate goes to Wāmik, a third of the other half, or a sixth of the whole, to Sōāda, and the remainder to

* Page 220.
Mazin; but, secondly, if Wāmik leave only
his wife Adhra, his mother Zaineb and his
father Lebid, the widow takes a quarter of his
property, while Zaineb has a third, and Le-
bid two thirds, of the remaining three quarters.
8. In giving an example of the division between
two great grandmothers *, we may anticipate in
some degree the arithmetical part of the work,
which will be found extremely clear and inge-
nious. The pedigree exhibited by Sharif is
in this form:

Now the paternal grandmother's mother, and
the mother of the paternal grandfather, are to-
gether entitled to a sixth, and the paternal
grandfather's father to the residue, of the estate,
which ought, by the general rule, to be divided
into six parts, because six is the denominator of
the share; but, to avoid a fraction, we must

* Page 221.
observe the proportion of one, or the sixth part, to two, or the number of persons entitled to it; and, since one and two are prime to each other, we must multiply two into six, and the product is the number of parts into which the property must be divided; so that of twelve cows or horses the great grandfather will have ten, and each of the great grandmothers, one.

The great grandfathers are called ancestors in the second, and their fathers, ancestors in the third, degree, and so forth; and it must be remarked that in these tables the number of female ancestors, who inherit with the males, is equal to the number of such degrees: thus in the following,

```
F    M    M    M
F    M    M
F    M
```

there are three great great grandmothers, and the estate must be divided into eighteen parts, because one and three are prime to each other. We suppose in both pedigrees, that the highest line only are left by the deceased Amru; for, by the text, the nearest female ancestor excludes the more distant; and, if he leave his father Zuhair, and his paternal grandmother Azza, with Laila his maternal grandmother's mother,
Zuhair takes the whole inheritance; for he excludes Azza, and she, being nearer in degree, excludes Laila.

Let us conclude the subject with a case put by Sharif in illustration of the pedigree in the text: Zubaida gave her daughter's daughter Mayya in marriage to her son's son Bashar, and the young pair had a son Amru, who acquired an estate, and died: now Zubaida was both paternal and maternal great grandmother of Amru, and had, therefore, a double relation to him; but another woman, named Zuhra, had married her daughter Solma to Fared, who was the son of Zubaida, brother of Abla, and father of Bashar; so that Zuhra was Amru's paternal grandmother's mother, and had only a single relation; as it will appear by the following arrangement of the family:

```
Zuhra       Zubaida
    /\      /\  
 Solma — Fared — Abla
    /\      /\  
 Bashar ———— Mayya
```

The case of a triple relation will be no less evident from the following pedigree:
For, if Amru, whom in the former case we supposed to be dead without issue, had lived and married his cousin Fátima, by whom he had a son Zaid, who died leaving property, Zubaïda would have a triple relation to the deceased; first, as his maternal great grandmother's mother; secondly, as his paternal grandmother's grandmother; and thirdly, as the mother of his paternal great grandfather; but Zuhra has only a single relation to Zaid, as grandmother of his paternal grandfather Bashar.

In both these cases a sixth of the assets is divided equally between the two female ancestors, by the opinion of Abu Yusuf, and, according to one authority, by that of his great master also; but his fellow-student Muhammad (whose arguments, and the answers to them, it is needless to add) contended, that
ZUBAIDA would be entitled in the first case to two-thirds, and in the second, to three-fourths, of that sixth part, according to the number of modes, in which she was related to AMRU or ZAID.

No comment could add perspicuity to the chapter on residuary heirs *, until we come to the cases of inheritance from enfranchised slaves †, where a short elucidation of the text appears necessary. If AMRU enfranchise NERGIS, and die, leaving a son BECR, and a daughter LAILA; then, on the death of NERGIS without residuary heirs by blood, his property goes wholly to BECR, and LAILA, by the traditional rule, takes nothing; but, suppose LAILA herself to manumit her black slave, SUSEN, who then purchases a slave MISC, and gives him freedom; and suppose SUSEN first, and MISC afterwards, to die without residuary heirs, in this case the estate of MISC goes to LAILA; nor would there be any difference, if the two manumissions had been conditioned to pay a certain sum of money at a certain time.

The case of a manumission promised on the death of the mistress, has rather more difficulty; but an example will make it clear: LAILA promises NERGIS, that, on her death, he shall

* Page 222.
† Page 225.
be free; but, by the persuasion of a Christian friend, she renounces her faith, and seeks refuge in a hostile country: now a believer cannot be the slave of an infidel; and the Mohammedan judge pronounces accordingly, that Nergis has gained his freedom; but Laila, repenting of her apostasy, returns to her native country and her former belief; after which Nergis dies without heirs: Laila succeeds as residuary to her promissee, as she would have succeeded to a slave of Nergis purchased after the decision of the judge, if a similar promise of manumission at his death had been made by the master; and if that second promissee had died without heirs after her repentance and return. Should Cafur, a slave of Laila, marry, with her consent, Merjana, the freedwoman of Amru, the son of that couple would be born free, because, in respect of freedom or slavery, a child has the condition of its mother, and he bears a relation to Amru her manumittor; but should Laila give Cafur his freedom, he would draw that relation from Amru, through himself, to Laila, so that she would succeed to the son of Cafur and Merjana, if he died after his parents and without other heirs of the first or second class: the case would be similar, if Cafur being enfranchised, had
bought a slave Misc, and given him in marriage to the freedwoman of Zaïd; for, if the issue of that marriage had been a son, born free, but with a relation to Zaïd, and if Câfûr had then given Misc his liberty, he would have drawn from Zaïd the relation of his freedman's child, and transferred it, through himself, to Lailâ his former mistres. This doctrine of a relation (as the Arabs call it) first vested through the mother and then devested through the father, is founded on a decision of Othman in the case of Zûbair and Rafî.

We had occasion before, to mention the difference (according to Abu Yusuf) between the father, and the grandfather, of the manumittor in regard to their succession, with his son, to the property of a freedman; nor can any thing of moment be added here; but it will be proper to explain at large the concluding case in the chapter of residuaries, which proves, that the relation of enfranchisement may arise by the act of law as well as by the act of the party. Let it be premised, that marriage is prohibited between kindred of two classes; first, between all those in ascending or descending lines of consanguinity, who are called near; secondly, between brothers and sisters, and their issue, or between nephews or nieces and aunts or uncles, paternal
or maternal, who are called intermediate; but, between those of the third, or distant, class, as the first or other cousins, there is no prohibition: now, if Amru or Hinda purchase a kinswoman or kinsman within either of the prohibited degrees, the slave becomes instantly free, and a right of succession vests in the purchaser, though the mastership began and ended in one moment. Call the three daughters of Hâreth a slave, Zubaïda, Safiya, Amina, who derived freedom from their mother, and two of whom, the first and third, purchase Hâreth for fifty pieces of gold: he becomes in that instant free; and, if he die leaving property, two thirds of it go to his three daughters as their legal shares, and the residue belongs to the two, who procured him liberty; three fifths of it to Zubaïda, who contributed her thirty, and two fifths to Amina, who added her twenty, pieces. To arrange the distribution without fractions, begin with three, the denominator of the legal share: now two, its numerator, is prime to the number of sharers; and one is prime also to five, the number of residuary portions; but thirty and twenty are composed to one another, since ten measures thirty by three and twenty by two; and five, the sum of those tenths, may be considered as standing in the place of the
number of residuaries: again, five and three are prime to each other, and their product is fifteen, which, being multiplied into three, the first-mentioned denominator, produces forty-five, the number of equal parcels, into which Hareth's estate must be divided; so that thirty, or two thirds, may be distributed in tens to the three daughters, and fifteen or the residue, in threes to the two, who redeemed their father; Zubaida taking in all nineteen, Amina sixteen, and Safiya, only ten, portions of the inheritance.

This is the calculation of Sharif, and the grounds of it will presently appear; but the operation might have been shortened thus: multiply the denominator of the legal share into the number of sharers, and then multiply the product into the denominator of the residuary portions.

The chapter of exclusion* is very perspicuous; but the case of an unbelieving heir having really occurred in the time of Ali, we may insert it as a monument of early Arabian jurisprudence. Solma had embraced the new faith, and died, leaving her husband, and two brothers by the same mother, who were all three believers, with a son, who continued an infidel: on a dispute concerning the inheritance, Ali and Zaid

* Page 225.
gave a moiety to the widower, considering the son as actually dead, a third to the half-brothers, and the rest to such of the residuaries as believed in the Korân; while Ibnu'l Masuûd insisted, that the son was dead as to the right of inheriting, but alive as to the power of excluding, and thought that he drove the widower from a moiety to a fourth part only of Solma's estate; but the former opinion has prevailed, and in a curious book (for which there must have been abundant materials) entitled The Defensions of the Learned, it is admitted, that, by universal assent, if Amru leave a father, who is either a slave or an infidel, and a paternal grandfather, who is both free and a believer, the father is considered as dead in law to all purposes, and the grandfather is heir to Amru.

We come now to the Arabian method of ascertaining the smallest number of parcels, into which an estate can be divided, so as to avoid fractions in the legal distribution of it: that number we call the denominator, or divisor, of the estate, though the Arabick word mean literally the place of coming out; and the problem is easily solved by the following rules: if the two numbers in question be prime, multiply one of them into the other; if they be composìt to each other, multiply the measure of one into the second, and the product will be the number
fought. The whole section * is as clear as it could be made in a verbal translation; and it would be superfluous to add examples of all the cases, which must occur to every one, who has attentively perused the preceding parts of the work.

A case, which arose in the reign of Omar, has given occasion to some debate †: Laila died, leaving only Amru her husband, Hinda her mother, and Abla her sister of the whole blood. Now the husband and sister were each entitled to a moiety, and the mother, to a third, of Laila's property, which, by the rule then established, could be divided into six parts only; but Abbas, a companion of Mohammed, being consulted by the Caliph, proposed, that the regular divisor should be so increased, that of eight parts Amru and Abla might each take three, and Hinda two. The son of Abbas, whose opinions were always rather ingenious than solid, was present at the decision; but, fearing the bad temper of the Caliph, suppressed at that time his own sentiments: he thought, that the sister, having (as we have seen) a weaker right, should bear the loss, because, where different rights concur, the weakest invariably yields; and he said, that if an arithmetician

* Page 226. † Page 227.
could number the sands, yet he could never make two halves and a third equal to a whole; but his opinion has never been adopted, because, although the sister may in some cases be removed into a distinct class of heirs, yet, with a husband and a mother of the deceased, her share is fixed by positive law, and she cannot by any means be deprived of it; so that the shares of all the claimants must be diminished in exact proportion; for instance, if the property had been twenty-four pieces of gold, the mother would claim eight, and each of the other heirs, twelve; now those claims cannot all be satisfied, but eight is to twelve, as six to nine, which will be the respective shares, according to the decision of Abbas.

Examples of the divisor six increased to seven and to nine, or of twelve to thirteen, fifteen, and seventeen, would appear equally ingenious, but would swell this commentary to an immoderate size: there are two decisions, however, deserving particular notice, because they were made in real causes, and have been universally approved. Zubaida left her husband Adnan, with two sisters of the whole blood, two sisters by the same mother only, and the mother herself; whose legal shares, in order as they are mentioned, were a moiety, two thirds, a third, and a sixth: it was impossible, therefore, to distribute them out of
thirty pieces, for instance, divided into six equal parcels; but the judge, named Shuraih, divided the whole estate into ten parcels, each consisting of three pieces, and allotted them to the claimants in the proportion of their shares; that is, to the husband, three parcels, to the sisters of the whole blood, four; to the half-sisters, two; and to the mother, one; assuring Adnán, who at first complained of the judgement, that Omar had made a similar decision; and this case acquired celebrity among the Arabs by the name of Shuraihiyya. The next case, which was answered at once by Ali, while he was haranguing the people in the mimbar, or pulpit, at Cufa, is fully stated in the text: the share of the widow was, regularly, an eighth; that of the daughters, two thirds; and that of each parent, a sixth, all which cannot be distributed out of twenty-four parcels; but Ali pronounced, that the property of the deceased should be divided into twenty-seven equal parts, of which the widow should have three; the daughters sixteen; and the two parents, eight. It is recorded, that, when the person, who consulted Ali, was much dissatisfied with his answer, and asked whether the widow was not legally entitled to an eighth, the Caliph said rapidly, "it is become a ninth," and proceeded in his harangue with his usual eloquence.
The arithmetical part of the Sirājiyya * is very simple, and may be found in the first pages of all our elementary books; but the difference of the Arabian idiom occasions a little obscurity. The chapter on primes and measures is founded on a simple analysis: when two numbers are compared, they are either equal or unequal; if unequal, either the smaller is an aliquot part of the greater, or they have a common measure, which must either be unit alone, or some number, which the Arabs define a multitude composed of units. When the greatest common measure is found by the rule, they consider the two numbers as agreeing in a fraction, which has that common measure for its denominator and unit for its numerator; but the nature of the Arabic language makes it impossible to express in a single word the fractions less than a tenth: thus twenty-seven and twenty-four agree, as they express it, in a third; and a third of each number is called its wafk, or measure, as nine of twenty-seven, and eight of twenty-four. After this explanation of the word, which is translated the measure, there will be no difficulty in the following cases.

I. † Amru leaves only his father and mother and ten daughters: now, by the rule, his estate

* Page 228.  † Page 230.
should be divided into six parts, because the share of each parent is a sixth, and that of all the daughters two thirds; but four parts cannot be distributed, without a fraction, among ten persons; for which reason we must multiply five, which is the measure of ten, into six, which is the first number of parcels, and the product thirty is the number of lots, into which the property of Amru must in fact be divided; each of his parents taking five lots, and each of his daughters two.

II. Hinda leaves her husband, both her parents, and six daughters; whose legal shares are a fourth, two sixths, and two thirds, of the inheritance: now the regular denominator of the lots would be twelve, but it is raised to fifteen; and since eight parcels cannot be distributed equally among six daughters, the measure of six, or three, is multiplied by fifteen; so that of forty-five lots nine may go to the husband, twelve to the parents, and twenty-four to the daughters, in exact proportion to their first distributive shares.

It will be very easy to apply the remaining rules to all the other examples given by Sirajuddin*; but since, in the two last cases, which are not likely to occur, the inheritance

* Page 230.
must be divided into 4320 and 5040 parcels, the calculation, after the Arabian mode, in words at length, would be insufferably tedious, and the reader may make it in figures with little or no trouble. The latter of those two cases* is, however, subjoined; because it will fully explain the section, in which no examples are given. S\(\text{AA}\)D leaves two wives, six female ancestors, capable of inheriting together, ten daughters, and seven paternal uncles, whose shares of twenty-four (the root, as they call it, of this case) are three, four, sixteen, and one; for the uncles can only take what the others leave. Now by observing the primes and measures, and working according to the rule, we come to 210, which must be multiplied by twenty-four, and the product gives the smallest number of parcels, into which S\(\text{AA}\)D's estate can be duly divided: the products of that multiplicand (210) by 3, 4, 16, give 630, 840, 3360, which are the allotments of the wives, female ancestors, and daughters; and the allotment of each sharer appears at once from the following proportions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>First Shares</th>
<th>Multicand</th>
<th>Shares of Each</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Page 232.
The last act of the Muselman judge is to make an actual division of the state; and we will suppose that Laila, in the case answered by Abbas, had left Zaineb and Abla, two sisters of the whole blood, with Amru, her husband, and Hinda, her mother; and that her property amounted only to twenty-five gold mobrs: now the root of the case is increased, as we have seen, from six to eight, which is prime to twenty-five; and the products of two, the share of each sister, of three, the share of the husband, and of one, the share of the mother, multiplied by the number of gold mobrs, are 50, 75, and 25, which, divided by eight, give the following shares: to each sister, 6 mobrs, 4 rupees; to Amru, 9 m. 6 r.; to Hinda, 3 m. 2 r. Had Laila's estate been fifty gold mobrs, the distribution would have been thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M.</th>
<th>R.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zaineb</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abla</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amru</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinda</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems needless to give examples of the simple rules for ascertaining the dividends of each class; but the passage concerning creditors,

* Page 233.
at the close of the chapter, is made obscure by extreme brevity, and requires a short illustration. Suppose the assets of Amru to be nine pieces of gold; his debts, five pieces to Sa'ad, and ten to Ahmed; here the aggregate of the debts, fifteen, is composit to nine, and their measures are five, and three; so that, by the rule before-mentioned of distribution among heirs, Ahmed will receive six, and Sa'ad, three pieces; but, had the debtor left thirteen, which would have been prime to the amount of both debts, then fifteen, standing in the place of the verification, as they call it, must be the divisor of the several products, arising from the multiplication of ten and five into thirteen, and the quotients $8\frac{1}{2}$ and $4\frac{1}{2}$ will be the respective dividends of Ahmed and Sa'ad.

The practice of subtraction* arose from the case of Abdur'rahman and his four wives, decided in the reign of Othman; and the section concerning it will be made clear by a fuller explanation of the example in the text. We have seen, that the widower is entitled to a moiety, the mother to a third, and the uncle, to the residue; so that, if Laila's estate be divided into six parcels, the distribution may be made without a fraction: but if the widower agree to

* Page 234.
keep the mahār, or nuptial present to his wife, which he had never actually paid, instead of his three sixths of the whole, the remainder, after deducting the mahār, must be divided into three parts, of which the mother will have two, and the uncle one. So, if the mother agree to take a jewel, or other specific thing, in lieu of her two sixths; or the uncle, a slave or a carriage, in the place of his sixth part, the remainder, which would be four parts in the first case, and five in the second, must go to the other claimants in proportion to their shares. Again; if Amru leave his mother Fatima, two sisters by the same mother, Latifa and Solma, and the son of a paternal uncle, Selim; here also the inheritance must be divided, by the rule, into six parts: now, if the deceased left a female slave and thirty gold mohrs, and, if Solma consented to keep the slave instead of her legal share, or a sixth, the remainder of the property must then be divided into five parcels, six gold mohrs in each, of which Fatima and Latifa must receive each one parcel, and Selim, the three parcels, which remain. It is obvious, that, if the first calculation were made, in the preceding cases, on a supposition, that the taker of the specific thing was dead or incapable of inheriting, there would be either a defect or an ex-
ces in some of the allotments to the other claimants.

There is no difficulty in the chapter on the return*, except what arises from the Arabick idiom, to which the reader is probably by this time habituated; but it is necessary to remark, that, although, by the letter of the Korán and the strict rules of law, no return can be made to the widower or widow, yet an equitable practice has prevailed, in modern times, of returning to them on failure of sharers by blood and of distant kindred. The last case in the chapter can rarely occur; and the result of the calculation (which fills ten pages in the Persian work of Maulavi Kasim) is, that, of 1440 parcels, the four widows take \(36 \times 5 = 180\); the nine daughters \(36 \times 28 = 1008\); and the six female ancestors \(36 \times 7 = 252\); so that 45 parts go to each widow, 112 to each daughter, and 42 to each female ancestor.

* The rights of the paternal grandfather have been more disputed than any other point of Arabian law; no fewer than seventy contradictory decisions having been made concerning them in the reign of Omar; but the dispute is now settled among the Sunnis according to the opinion of Abu Hanifa; and the chapter on

* Page 235—237.
division seems to have been inserted merely from respect to Abu Yusuf and Muhammad, who dissented on this point from their master*: it is one of the clearest chapters in the Sirajiyyah, and will be useful to us, if the question should arise in a family of Shishas, who follow, no doubt, the opinions of Ali and Zaid. The case called acdariyya, which was decided by the son of Thabit, and has acquired such celebrity in Irak, that it is distinguished among the lawyers of that country by the epithet of algharrà, or the luminous, is a perspicuous example of the grandfather's division in a double ratio with the sister: the conjecture, formerly hazarded by myself, that it was named acdariyya, because the rules of inheritance are disturbed by it in favour of the grandfather, had occurred, I see, to some Arabs, and is mentioned by Sharif without disapprobation.

It will be necessary to illustrate by examples the chapter on succession to vested hereditary interests †: and, first, we may suppose, that Zaid had two wives, named Zaineb and Latifa, and that Zaineb died possessed of separate property, leaving her husband, her mother Zuhra, and Hinda, her daughter by her former husband: now the legal shares, in order as the

Sharers are named, would be a fourth, a sixth, and a moiety; so that regularly the estate should be divided into twelve parts, but it is here divided into four, because there must be a return to Zuhra and Hinda, in the proportion of their shares, that is as one to three; but, when Zaid has taken his fourth, the three fourths, which remain, cannot be distributed in that proportion; and, since three and four are prime to each other, we therefore multiply four, considered as the number of persons entitled to a return, into four, the denominator of the husband's share, and the square number answers the purpose of integral distribution; for of sixteen parcels Zaid will be entitled to four, Zuhra to three, and Hinda to nine.

Suppose next, that Zaid himself dies, before any distribution actually made, leaving only Latifa before-mentioned, his mother Basira, and his father Abid: here four parts of the former inheritance having vested in him, the distribution is easy; one part going to Latifa, as her fourth, one also to Basira, as her third of the residue, and two parts to Abid; in exact proportion to their several claims on his own estate.

Thirdly, suppose Hinda to die before any actual distribution, leaving the before-named
Zuhra, her grandmother, Zubaida her daughter, and two sons, Hartif and Bashar: now she had a vested interest in nine parts out of the sixteen, and, her own estate being divisible into six parts, we observe, that nine and six are composit to each other, or agree, as the Arabian phrase is, in a third; so that a third of six, or two, must be multiplied into sixteen, and the product thirty-two will be the denominator for both cases; for of thirty-two parts nine will vest in Zuhra (six as mother to Zaineb, and three as grandmother to Hinda), twelve in the two sons, three in Zubaida, and eight in Zaid's representatives; since, to ascertain the share of each individual, the just-mentioned shares out of sixteen must be multiplied by two, and those out of six, by three, which is here called the measure of Hinda's vested interest.

Let us fourthly suppose, that Zuhra also dies before any distribution, leaving her husband Caab, and two brothers Calib and Tarif. Now her own estate is arranged by four, the husband taking a moiety, and each of the residuaries one fourth; but four and nine are prime to each other; and four, therefore, multiplied by thirty-two, produces an hundred and twenty-eight, the denominator of both cases: we must then multiply by four the shares out of thirty-two, and by nine the shares out of four,
and the products will be lots of the several claimants; eight parcels going to Latifa, sixteen to Abid, eight to Basira, forty-eight in moiety to Hatif and Bashar, twelve to Zubaida, eighteen to Caab, and eighteen in moiety to Calib and Tarif.

We need only add, that, although the conclusion of the chapter before us be obscured by its extreme conciseness, yet it plainly means, that, "when any number of heirs die successively before the distribution, if the shares vested in the last deceased do not quadrat with the arrangement of his own estate, we must consider all those, who died before him, as one deceased heir, and himself as the second, and then work by the preceding rules;" to give more examples would be very easy, but the reader would find them insupportably tedious.

All controversies on the claims of the next of kin, who are neither sharers nor residuaries, are now at an end *; for it seems to be settled, that they succeed according to the order prescribed in our text.

I. On the first class of distant kindred the doctrine of Abu Yusuf has far more simplicity.

* Page 242, 243.
than that of Muhammed, in which there is an appearance of intricacy; but an attentive reader will find no difficulty in the case reduced to the form of a table, in which the lowest of the six ranks are supposed to be the claimants of Amru's estate*: he will see, that Abu Yusuf would divide that estate into fifteen parts, giving one to each of the female, and two, by the rule in the Koran, to each of the male, descendants; but that Muhammed would arrange it in sixty parcels, twenty-four of which would go to the representatives of the three sons, and thirty-six to those of the nine daughters; due regard being paid to the double portion of the male descendants, so as to bring the shares of the twelve claimants to the following order from the left hand, twelve, eight, four; nine, three, six; six, two, four; three, two, one. The correctness of this method has, it seems, obtained it a preference over that of Abu Yusuf, whose practice, however, is followed, on account of its facility, in Bokhara and some other places; although of the two different traditions from Abu Hanifa, that reported by Muhammed be the more publicly known and the more generally believed.

The reader would be unnecessarily fatigued,
if we were to exhibit every step of the arithmetical process, by which the estate of Amru must be distributed, according to the opinion of Muhammad, between his great grandson by females only, and his two great granddaughters, who have the advantage of a male in the line of descent*; nor does the section concerning the difference of sides require elucidation.

II. On the second class, or the grandfathers and grandmothers, who are excluded from shares, we need only sum up the doctrine of our author in the words of Sharif:—"The degrees in this case are either equal or unequal; if unequal, the nearer is preferred; if equal, the preference is given to the person claiming through a sharer; if there be an equality in that respect, the sides must be the same or different; if different, the distribution must be made in thirds, the paternal side having a double allotment; if the same, the sexes of the roots, or ancestors, must agree, or not; if they agree, the estate must be distributed according to the persons of the branches, or claimants; if not, according to the first rank that differs, as in the preceding class †.

III. There seems no difficulty in the chapter ‡ on the third class of distant kindred; but

* Page 247, 248.  † Page 249.  ‡ Page 250.
it must be remarked, that although the brothers and sisters by the same mother only take equally, according to the Korân, without any distinction of sex, yet that exception to the general rule by no means extends to the issue of such brothers and sisters.

IV. Although the claims of uncles and aunts, in three cases, be clearly explained in the text *, yet it may not be improper to subjoin an example from the commentary of Maulavi Kâsim, which the following pedigree will make more intelligible than his dry state of the case:

HINDA—AMRU—Sulma(—SUHAIL)—UMAR

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LEBID</td>
<td>Zaineb</td>
<td>Azza</td>
<td>BECR</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

ZAID.

AMRU, having had by HINDA a son, named LEBID, married Sulma, by whom he had a daughter, named ZAINEB: after AMRU's death, Sulma married SUHAIL, to whom she produced AZZA, and after his death, she married UMAR, by whom she became the mother of BECR: now ZAID was the son of LEBID and AZZA; and he died, leaving no heirs but

* Page 253.
Becr the brother, by the same mother, of his mother Azza, and Zaineb, who was his paternal aunt by the same father Amru, and his maternal aunt by the same mother Sulma. In this case, the property of Zaid must be divided into nine parcels, of which the paternal aunt will have two thirds; and the remaining third will go to the maternal uncle and aunt in the ratio of two to one; so that Zaineb, in her two characters, will be entitled to seven ninths.

There seems no necessity to expatiate on the children of uncles and aunts, or on the cousins, as we should call them, in different degrees; because the text will be sufficiently perspicuous to those, who perfectly understand the preceding sections: but, since a curious case is put by Sharif, I am unwilling to suppress it; especially as it will throw light on the whole subject before us. The father of Amru had a brother, Zaid, and two sisters, Zaineb and Aishha, by the same father only: his mother also had a brother, Hareth, and two sisters by the same father, named Hinda and Asima: first, his father and mother died; then, all his uncles and aunts, leaving the following issue: Zaid left two daughter's daughters, who were also the daughters of Zaineb's sons; Aishha, two sons.

* Page 255.
of her daughter; Hāreth, two daughter's sons, who were also the sons of the son of Hinda; and Asima, two daughter's daughters; as in this pedigree:

D. S. D. S. D.

D. D. S. S. S. S. D. D.

Amru himself afterwards died, with no heirs but the grandchildren of his uncles and aunts: In this case Abu Yusuf would have divided the inheritance into thirty parts; twenty for the paternal side; that is, five for each of the sons, and as many for each of the daughters, who have a double relation; and ten for the maternal side, or four for each of the sons, who are doubly related, and one for each of the daughters: but Mohammed, having divided Amru's estate into thirty-six allotments, would have given twenty-four to the paternal, and twelve to the maternal side; that is, six to each of Zaid's granddaughters, as such, and four to each of them, as granddaughters of Zaineb; two to each of Aa'isha's grandsons; three to each grandson of Hāreth, as such; and two more to each of them, as grandsons of Hinda;
A COMMENTARY ON

while one thirty-sixth part would have gone to each of Asima's female descendants. The reason of these different distributions will appear from what has preceded; but the arithmetical processes would fill many pages, and would be thought, I am persuaded, unnecessarily prolix.

On the chapter concerning hermaphrodites*, I shall make no particular observation; since monstrous births are, I trust, extremely rare in all countries, and the subject is too shocking to be discussed without actual necessity; nor will it answer, I imagine, any useful purpose to relate the old Arabian stories, and strange opinions of some lawyers, concerning the longest possible time of gestation†; which is now limited, on the authority of Aaisha, one of Mohammed's wives, to two years; and, though the Muselmans have traditionary accounts of three, four, or even five children produced at one birth, yet the practice, we find, is to reserve the share of one son; or that of one daughter, if, on supposition of her birth, the sum reserved would be larger‡. The practice of reservation for the unborn child is well explained by the case in the text, to which we may now proceed, since the rest of the chapter needs no illustration; unless it be necessary to inform

* Page 255. † Page 258. ‡ Page 259, 260.
the reader, that a widow ought by law to ab¬

tain for a certain time after her husband’s death, from the careffes of any other man; and, if she freely confesses that she has not abstained, it cannot be certain, that her husband was the father of a child born more than six months after his death. Let us then suppose AMRU to die, leaving a daughter ZAINEB, his mother ASUMA, his father LEBID, and his wife HINDA enfeint*. So that, if a male child be born, AMRU’s estate ought regularly to be divided into twenty-four parts, but, on the birth of a female, into twenty-seven; because, in the first case, the shares are an eighth, for the widow, and a sixth for each of the parents; but, in the second, besides the shares just mentioned, the daughters would have two-thirds between them, and it would be the case of Mimberiyya†. Now three is the common measure of twenty-four and twenty-seven, and the several measures of those numbers are eight and nine, either of which, multiplied into the other whole number, gives two hundred and sixteen for the product; and that, according to what has preceded, is the number of shares into which the inheritance must be actually divided. In the first case HINDA would have twenty-seven shares; LEBID

and Asuma, each thirty-six; the posthumous son seventy-eight, and Zaineb, his sister, thirty-nine; but, in the second, the widow would have twenty-four; and each of the parents, thirty-two; while the posthumous daughter and her sister would divide the remainder between them, each taking sixty-four shares. Should four posthumous sons be born, ninety-nine shares would go to the widow and both parents; while the remainder would be divided among the children by the rule before mentioned, Zaineb receiving thirteen parts, and each of her brothers twenty-six; but, in the case of a miscarriage, the daughter would be entitled to a hundred and eight parts, or a moiety of the whole estate, and the nine parts remaining would go to Lebid as residuary heir.

The time, at which an absent person is presumed in law to be dead, has varied, we see, in different ages*; but the modern practice I understand to be this: if Zaid has been so long absent, that no man can tell whether he be dead or alive, and if seventy years have elapsed from the day of his birth, he is presumed to be dead, as to his own property, from the end of that term, but, as to his hereditary claims on the property of another, from the day of his absence;

* Page 262.
so that, in the first case, no person, dying within the seventy years, could have inherited any part of his estate; nor, in the second, could he inherit from any one, who died after the day, when he first was missed. Though the arrangement of an inheritance, on which an absent person may have a claim, be sufficiently clear from what has just preceded, yet a feigned case in illustration of it will not, perhaps, be thought wholly superfluous. If HINDA then die at Murfbedabad, leaving AMRU her husband, with two sisters of the whole blood, NA'DIRA and SAC'NA, all residing in that city, and a whole brother ZAID, who has long been absent and unheard of, we must consider what effect his life or his death would have on the inheritance: if he be dead, AMRU must have a moiety of the estate, and the sisters two thirds between them; and, if he be living, the widower will still have a right to his half, but ZAID will take twice as much as either of the sisters. Now, on the first supposition, the assets of HINDA must be divided, as we have shown, into seven shares, of which AMRU must have three, and each of the sisters, two; but, on the second, into eight parts, four of which go to the husband, and two to the brother, while NA'DIRA and SAC'NA can only have one a piece; so that the widower has an interest in supposing ZAID alive, and the sisters, in supposing him dead: fifty-six, therefore, or the
product of seven and eight, which are prime to one another, is the number of shares, into which the estate must be divided; twenty-four of them being delivered to Amru, and seven to each of the females, as the least shares to which they can in either event be severally entitled; if Zaid then return to the city, four shares more go to Amru, and fourteen are the right of the brother; but, if his death be proved, or presumed by lapse of time, the eighteen reserved shares must be divided equally between Sacina and Nadira, to complete their two sevenths, which the law gives, in that case, to each of them. The Persian commentator has added three cases, in one of which the two first divisors of the assets are composit to each other; but the operation in all of them is too easy to require an example.

In the sections concerning apostates and prisoners of war*, there seems to be no obscurity; but it is proper to add, that, as the law is now settled, the heirs of an apostate, who were in being at the time of his death, are entitled to their legal shares, whether they were born before or after his apostasy; though a husband or wife cannot succeed to an apostate, because a change of religion is an immediate dissolution of the marriage.

* Page 264.
We are now come to the concluding section, which cannot be better illustrated than by two feigned cases from the *Persian* and *Arabian* comments. 1. *Zaid* and his daughter *Abla* were at sea in the same ship, together with *Bashar*, his brother's son, and his great nephew *Amru*, son of *Bashar*: the ship was lost, and all, who were in it, perished; so that which of them first died, could never be clearly ascertained. Now *Amru* left behind him a wife and a daughter; and *Abla* had an only son: in this case, by the opinion of *Abu Hanifah* and his followers, the four drowned persons are supposed to have perished in the same instant, and their several estates go to their surviving heirs respectively, according to the rules, which have been already explained; but by one of two traditions from *Ali*, the assets of *Zaid* being equally divided, and *Abla* being supposed to have outlived her father, the son takes one moiety in her right, while the other moiety is conceived at first to have vested in *Bashar*, and then in *Amru*, between whose widow and daughter it is distributable according to law. 2. *Kasim* and his younger half-brother *Hasan* were drowned in the same boat, each leaving a mother, a daughter, and a patron, by whom each of them had been manumitted: then, if each of them left *ninety* pieces of gold on shore, the pro-

*THE SIRAJIYYAH.*
perty of each must be severally distributed, according to the Hanifeans; the daughter of each taking half, or forty-five pieces; the mother a sixth, or fifteen, and the manumittor, as residuary, the thirty pieces which remain; but according to Ali, the younger brother Hasan being first considered as the survivor, that residue vests in him, and is then distributed, in the just mentioned ratio; half of it, or fifteen, going to his daughter; a sixth, or five pieces, to his mother; and ten, the residue, to his patron; next, Kasim being supposed to have survived, the same rule is applied to him; so that the daughter of each takes on the whole sixty; the mother, twenty; and the manumittor, ten pieces of gold.
تصحيح الكتاب

عدد الأورات. صحيح... السئم...

أولهم... أولهم...

فإنها... فاتها...

أوكان... أوكان...

صعة... صعة...

اثنتان... اثنتان...

لقد.. لقد...

رحبة الله... رحبة الله...

اثنتان... اثنتان...

ونائتان...

وإناث... وإناث...
تصحيح الكتاب

بد الأوراق. تصحيح. السقيم...

أعتني. اعتنى...

مالك. مالك...

إن وانف. إن وانف...

ثم أضرب. ثم أضرب...

أخت. أخت...

أبوي. أبو...

الرابع. الرابع...

إن أضرب. إن أضرب...

الأخوة. الأخوة...
ما توامعا فيّ الله علل واحد منّهم لوزنه الأحياء ولا يضر
بعض الأموات من بعض هذا هو اختاراً قال على
و ابن مسعود ففي إحدى الروايتين عنها بعم
يرك من بعض الأنيباورت علل واحد منّهم من صلى
تثبت القران السراجية بعون
الله تعالى
بأب الأسير

كم الأسير كحكم سائر المسلمين في البيرات سالم

فأقر دينه فنذار دينه فحكم حكم الهرتد فن لم يعلم

فاته ولا حياته ولا موته فحكمه حكم البحوق

فصل في الغرتي والحرقي والهدهمي

أمات جهاعة ولا يدري أيهم مات أولئك جعلوا غلتهم
من مالك النحو الدائم في مال غير والاسلام في تصريح مسئول النحو على تقدير حياة

مسائل النحو

نصح البسيلة على تقدير ونافة وناتي العلا

ماذ ك نانى الحبل

فصل في الحبل

اذامات الحبل أو نزل أو تحف بدار الحرف وحكم الغامض

بلغوه فأكتسبة في حال إسلامه فهولORIZAPEY

وما اكتسبة في حال الولادة يوضع في بيته الهلال عند

أبي حنيفة رجاه الله وعند ها الكبابش جماعًا لورثه

البيضيين وعند الشافعي رجاه الله الكبابش يوضعان

في بيته الهلال وما اكتسبة بعد الحفظ بدار الحبارا.
لم يبق أحد من أُثرانِه.

وَكَمْ بِهِ تَوْرُى الْحَسَنُ بْنِ زِيَادٍ عَنْ الْبَكْرِي ِرِجْحَ اللّهِ

وَلَكِنْ الْهَدَى مَوْتَى وَعَشْرَةَ سَنَةً مِنْ يَوْمِ ولْدِهِ وَقَالَ أُبُوْسَفْ مَوْتَى وَخَمْسَ سَنِينَ

إِذَا بَعْضُهُمْ تَسَعَى سَنَةً وَعَلَى الْعَنْوَى وَقَالَ بِعَضْمَهُ

إِنَّ الْبِفْقُودَ مَوْتِي الْإِجْتِهَادُ الْإِلَّامُ وَمَوْتِي الْحَكَمُ

يَفْتَنُ النَّفْسَةَ حَتَّى يَفْتَنَّ نَسَبَةً مِنْ مُّلُوْقَةَ كُلٍّ

فَهْوَلِ نَذَا مَضَتِّ الْهَدَى وَحَكَمُ بِهِ تَهَوْيَ ذِهَّ نُهَالُهُ

إِلَی وَأَرْضُ مَورَثَهُ الَّذِي وَفَّى ذَلِكُ الْهَوْتِفُ
بَابُ الْهَغْقُودِ
الْهَغْقُوْدُ الْحَرَّ نِيَ المَحْتَقِيَ لَتُرثُ مَنْ حَدَّوْنَوْنَهُ بِالْعَمْرِ
حِدِّي من الورثة ما كان موقتاً من نصيبه كما إذا تزوجت
أبوين وأمّة حاملة ثلاث شُنَّة من أربعة وعشرين عليّ
نعيّن أن الحبل ذكره من سبعاً وعشرين علي تقريره
فهي وبين عددٍ يجيء بين الستينين يتوافق بالثلث
بإلاضرب ونقّاحدها ففي جميع الأ الشرار الحاصل مائتين
سَنَة عشرين ومثّ مشي إنها تسنى السجناء وعلى تقرير ذكرته
بفَرّاء سبعة وعشرون ولكل واحد من الأبوين ستين
ثلاثون وعلى تقرير الأثنتين للمرة أربعة وعشرون وكل
أحد من الأبوين إثنا عشرة وثلاثين فيعطي للمورة أربعة
عشرون ويوجّف من نصيبه ثالثة اسم ويرتفع من نصيب
إلى واحدٍ من الأبوين أربعة اسم ويعطي للبنين ثلاثين مشير

VOL. VI. H
N.B. The Arabic sheets must be placed according to the signatures (from the left hand to the left) so as to begin where an English book would end, and to end that would begin. To follow page 322, vol. vi.
تصحيح الكتاب

عدد الأوزار: الصحيح

السقيم: الصحيح

أواحدها: أواحدها

من أبيه: من أبيه

من أبي: من أبي

الآخر: الآخر

الله كله: الله كله

ونصف سيَّم إن كان. ونصف انها

ذكرته: ذكرته

ذكرته: ذكرته

الآخر: الآخر

قد صحيح هذا الكتاب بعون الله تعالى الهيكل الإله

عهد الأوزار: الصحيح

السقيم: الصحيح

أواحدها: أواحدها

من أبيه: من أبيه

من أبي: من أبي

الآخر: الآخر

الله كله: الله كله

ونصف سيَّم إن كان. ونصف انها

ذكرته: ذكرته

ذكرته: ذكرته

الآخر: الآخر

قد صحيح هذا الكتاب بعون الله تعالى الهيكل الإله
تصحيح الكتاب

بَنْتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْنِيِّ بْنَتُ ابْн...
الجهل ذكرنا على تقدير إناثنا ثم تنظر بين تغيير
الهزلتين فإن تواجهنا فاصرب وفق احديها في جنب
الآخر وإن تبانيها فاصرب كل إحديها في جميع
الآخر.

فالحصال تغيير البسلمة ثم أضرب نصيب من كان لهشي
من مسلة كورته في مسلة أنتونته او في وقها من كان
لهشي من مسلة أنتونته في مسلة كورته او في وقها.

كما كراني الخنشي ثم انظر في الحاصلين من الفريرة
أيها أتيل يعطي لذلك الوارث ولفضل بينه وبينه موطوف من
نصيب ذلك الوارث فأذا ظهر الجهل فإن كان مستحقا
لجميع الهوثوف منها وإن كان مستحقا للبعض نيله
ذلك البعض والباقي متسومن بين الوترية يعطي للكلا
ولم تكن المرأة اكرة بانقضاء العدة يبرت ويرث عنه و إن جاءت بالولد لاكثر من أكثر مدة الحمل لا يبرت ولا يورث
عندما كان الحمل من غير بوجاء ت بالولد لستة أشهر أو
أيئ برت و إن جاءت بالولد لاكثر من أقل مدة الحمل
لا يبرت و طريقة معرفة حياء الحمل وقت الولادة إن يوجد
منه ما يعلم به الحيوة كروت أو عطاس أو كاب أو ضحك او
لحرق اعضوان نخرج أهل الوطن ثم مات لا يبرت و إن خرج
أيئر ثم مات برت فإن خرج الوطن مستقيما فالأجنب
سردة عني إداخرج صدره كله يبرت و إن خرج متكونا
لا يعبر سرته الأصل في تصميم مسايل الحمل إن
كما هي تنسلة علي تقدير اعني علي تقدير أن
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي في الصورة.
حمد الله الرحمن الرحيم

كانت ريح الله ميلادًا للخنثى في قضاء البادية.

كان ريح الله يعبأ فانشأ نصف النصين وذلك وذلك في النصف باعتبار الحالتين.

وهو أجتمع من ضرب أحد البخلتين، وهم الآربعة في الأخر، وهي الخمسة.

ثم البلغ في الحالتين فين

ان لمشيي من الخمسة فيضرب في الآربعة ومن كان له

في من الآربعة فيضرب في الخمسة فيصار للخنثى

الثمانية عشر والثلاثون ثانية عشر وليلت تسعة اسم

باب في الحبل

كتاب حالة الحبل سنان على أبي جنيفة رجاء الله

للحبل وعند الليث بن سعد الفهري رجاء الله ثلاث
رضي الله عنه وعليه الغنوث كأذاترك أبناويننا وختني
فلختني نصيب بنت لانه متيقن وعند عامر الشعبي
وهو قول ابن عباس رضي الله عنه لختني نصف
النصبين بالهنا زعوقا اختلفان قلتخ تقول الشعبي تال
ابو يوسف للابن سهم وللبنت نصف سهم ولختني ثلاثة
اربع سهم لان الخنتي يستحق سهما ان كان ذكي
نصف ان كان اثني وها لستي في اخذ نصف مجمع
النصبين أو تقول يأخذ النصف الينقي مع نصف
النصب الينقراع فيه فصار له ثلاثة اربع سهم لانه يستحيل
البنت والعول ونص من تسعة اونقول للابن سهان وللبنت
سهم ولختني نصف النصيبين وهو سهم ونصف سهم وثعل
باب الخنثى

الخنثى الشكل اثنان النصابين عني اسوة البالتيين

قدرب جنيفية رفعة الله وإصابة وهو قول عامة الصابرة
العم والابن العمة سكناهما لأب وأم أولاد البال سكنة بين
العم وإن كان أحد هلا لأب ولم الأخبار كان البال ك
لبي سكنه في قوة القرابة في ظاهر الرواية قياساً على
خالل لأب مع كونها ولد ذي الرحم تكون هي أولي
قوة القرابة من خالل لاب مع كونها ولد الوارث لأن الترميم
يفهدن نبوههم قوة القرابة الأولى من الترميم في غير
الأب لاب الوارث وقال بعضهم البال سكنة لِبَنَتِ العَمِ لأب
ولد العصبة وإن استواوي القراب ولكن مختلف حيزتهم
لا اعتبار هما قوة القرابة ولا لولد العصبة في ظاهر الرواية
قياساً على عهدا لأب ولم كونهات القرابين ولد الوارث
من الجهتين وامهات فرض ليست هي باولي من الأباء
في ولد أولادك، فإن مكان خيتي ترابتهم مختلفًا فلا ت❄ رقيّة القرابة كبعض الربح وحَا للفهم أو عَلَة للربح وحَا ﻋِـيَّا لِم فالتقتان لقرابتهما، وهو نصيب الأم والثلث قاربة الأم وهو نصيب الأم سماصاب كل قريب يقسم بينهم.

علي وحد خيتي ترابتهم

فصل في أولادهم وانشادهم

حكم فيهم كحكم في الصفقة الأول Unity أولهم

ليبراث أتربهم إلى البيت من أي جهة كان وإن استروا في السرب وكان خيتي ترابتهم سامانين مكانه قوة مزلد وولٍّ بالعجم وإن استوى في السرب والرابهة كأن

الرباطة مناسبة أولي مهن لايكون كنلت

VOL. VI. G

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بنت ابن أهلاء وأم بنت ابن أهلاء بنت ابن أهلاء
الله كله بنت ابن أهلاء وأم بالاتفاق لأنها أولاد العصر
وكانا أيضاً قوة القرابة

فصل في الصنف الرابع

لاحكم فيهم إنه إذا انفردت واحد منهم استحق البال كا
لعدم البزاحم وإذا اجتمعوا وكأنه جيز ترا بتي بتعه
كالعبات والأعمال لم بأو الخواص والكالات فالاتwo من
أولى بالإجابة أعني من كان لأب وأم أولي مين كان
لاب ومن كان لأب أولي مين كان لأما ذكر كأنوا لانها
وإن كانوا كأنوا وانها واستوت ترابهم فلذكروعما
حذالاثنين كسم وعدها كلا هو الأم أخاه وخالة كلام

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لا يقال إخلام إخلام اختلافاً اختلافاً بنت بنت ابن بنت ابن بنت

نوداء يوسيف يقسم كل الهال بين فروع بني الأعيان ثم
ين فروع بني العالات ثم بين فروع بني الأخياَف للذكر

ثل حظائيان ار باصابع اعتبار الأبدان وعند محمد رجاء

لم يقسم ثلاث الهال بين فروع بني الأخياَف على التسوية

تلا تا اعتبار استواً أصولهم في قصة الآباء والناتي بين

روع بني الأعيان أنصافاً اعتبارًا عدد الفروع في الأصول

معنة لبنت الأخ تصيب أبيها والنصف المحرَبيين ولذي

لخت للذكر مثل حظي الأنتنيين باعتبار الأبدان وتصح

س سعة و لأترك ثلاث بنات بني إخو متفرقين

 إنها الصورة
باعتبار لأصول وآن استوايتي الغرب وليس فيهم ولغتم
وكان كليم أولاد العصابات أو كان بعضهم أولاد العصاب
وبعضهم أولاد أصحاب الفرابض واختلقت ترابهم
نابي يوسف رجب اللديعتبر الأقوى ومحمد رجبة المديق
النال عليهم الأخوة والأخوات نصفهم مع اعتبار عدد الغرب
والجحيم في الأصول نها صالب كل ذريع يقسم بين فرزم
كهاني الصنم الأول كبنت بنات الأخت لأب وأم أولي من
ابن بنت الأخت لأب عند أبي يوسف رجبة الله لقوة الغرب
وعند محمد رجبة الله يقسم النال بينها نصفين باعتبار
الأصول فكها إذا تك ناث بنات أخوات منغر تين وتلما
بنيين وثلاث بنات أخوات منغر تات بهذه الصورة
أولًًَ وإن اختلقت ترابتهم فالثلانى لقراءة الأب وهو نصيب
لاب والثلث لقراءة الأم وهو نصيب الأم ثم ما أصاب كله
ريق يقسم بينهم كحال الوحدة ترابتهم
فصل في الصفن الثالث
لحكم فيهم كحال الحكم في الصفن الأول عنى أولاهم
البهائم أقر بهم أبي الهمت وإن استواوي الغرب تولد
لخصبة أولى من ولدنا وي الأرحام كنبنت ابن آخ وأبن
بيت أخت كلا هلالاب وأم أولاب أواحد هلالاب وأم والآخر
راب الهلال كله لبنت ابن الآخ لدن ولد العصة ولوء كان
لم ينبه الله كرمه مثل حثال الانتهاء عندنا يوصف رحمة
للله أتلا ثا باعتبار إلا بدوان وعند مجهد رحمة الله أنصانا
فصّل في الصِّنف الثاني

أو لاهبُ بالبيّرات أتربٌ بِه إِلي الهيّة مِن أي جِهة كَأ

وَعند الأَسْتوَاء في درَجات الغِرب فِي سَكان يَدِ لي إِلِي إِلَيْهِت بُوارَتْ نَهُو أَو لَيِّ عند أَبي سَهيل الغَر أَبضِي

أَبي فُضيلة الخِصاف وعلي ابن عِيسى البِصْري وَلاَنفَقُ

لمَعندِ صالح السَليهان الجِرجاني وعلي البَيْهَني البِسْر

وَإِن استَوَتْ منا زِلَّهم وَلَيس نِعيم مِن يَدِي بُوارَت أَو كَالِبه جُدِّيَ بُوارَتْ فَانفَقت صَغيرة يَدِي لَوَاحد

قَرَابِيم نَالَقُسِّمْهُ علِي أَبِدانِهِم وَأَن اخْتُلِفَت صَغيرة مِن يَدِيهِ مِن الْهَال علِي أَو لَبَطٍّ اخْتُلِفَت صَغيرة فِي الصَّنف
الله يُعَتِّبُ الجُهَاتُ في الأصولِ كما إذا تركت بنتين وهمها أيضًا بنتاً ابنًا بنتًا وابنًا بنتين.

هذه الصورة:

بنت
بنت
ابن
ابن
بنتين

نادى يوسف الكامل بينهم ثلاثة فص الخبيت كأنه ترك بنتين وأبنا فأصبح ثلاثة للبنتين وثلث للابن وثلث للابن وثلث للابن وثلث للابن وثلث للابن وثلث للابن وثلث للابن وثلث للابن وثلث للابن وثلث للابن وثلث للابن.

عبد رجاء الله الكامل بينهم على ثمانية وعشرين سنة، لبنتين أبنان وعشرون سنة ستة عشر سنة قبل أبيهم، ستة أسم من قبل أمهما وأربعة أسم من قبل أبيهم.
ابن الابنة إذا نصيب جدها و نالتهما سباعه و هنالك نصيب الابنون يقسم علي و لذيها اعني في البطلة.

الثالث اتصافا نصفه ابنة ابن بنت الابنة نصيبه أربعا أو النصف الآخر بما بنت بنت الابنة نصيبه من تنصم من ثمانية و عشرين وتول محمد رجيه الله اشهار الروايتين عن الببتة رجيه الله في جمهير أهلها.

دوي الراحام وهو قول أبى يوسف الأول ثم رجع نتاز لا عبرة للاصول أبنت

فصل

علي ونا رجيه الله يعتبرون الجهات في التوريب غبار

ابن يوسف رجيه الله يعتبر الجهات في أبدان الغراب.
لكن تلك رجاء الدهم تأخذ الصفة من الأصل حالة
فساء والعدد من الفروع كذا إذا تدرك بنى بنت بنى
تبنيه بنت بنت بنت بنت بنت بنت بنت بنت بنت بنت بنت بنت

وينسي يعس رجاء الدهم يقسم والي بين الفروع سبعة
باعتبار إبادائهم وعند مكحول رجاء الدهم يقسم والي على
في الخلاف عني في البطن الثاني سبعة باعتبار
نثا الفروع في الأصول فعند أربعة سبعة بنى بنت

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النص العربي غير قابل للقراءة بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
غير أبدان الغرور إن اتقنت قصة الأصول مولناً لها
يعبّر أبدان الأصول إن اختلطت صفاتهم وبعثي الغرور
يراث الأصول مخالفة لها كذا ترك ابن بنت وشبت
ندىها الهال بينها للذكر مثل حُض الأثنين بعثبار
لابدان وعند حميد رحمة الله كذلك لأن قصة الأصول
مشتقة ولمرك بنت ابن بنت وابن بنت مندها
الهال بين الغرور اثناً باعتبار الأبدان ثلثاء للذكر
يرثه للانثى وعند حميد رحمة الله عليه الهال بين
دُلولة أثني في البطن الثاني اثناً ثلثاء بنت ابن
لبت نصيب أبيها وثلثة لابن بنت البنت نصيب أمها
نُصْلَ فِي الصَّنْفِ الأوَّلَ
أولهم بالهبرات أقصريهم إلى البيت كبينت البيت نائلاً
أولي من بنت ابن الابن وإن استوافي الدرجة نولة
الوارة أولي من ولد دوي الراحام كبينت بنت الابن
أولي من ابن بنت البنات وإن استوالي درجاتهم ولم يدرك
فيهم ولد الوارة أو كان صلهم ولد الوارة نُفقاً
ابي يوسف رجع الله وأحسن بين زباد يعتبر أباد
الفروع و يقسم الباب عليهم سواء تفقت صفة الأصول
في الذكرية والأنوثة أو اختلفت وهود رجع الله
نبيّي إِلَيْنَا جَدّيُّ الْهَيْطَ أَوْ جَدَتِهُ وَهِيُّ العَهُّاتِ وَالْأَعْطَاءِ وَالْحَوَالِ وَالْحَالَاتِ فَهُوَ لَوْلَا كَمْ مِنْ يَدُّ إِلَيْنَا الْهَيْطَ

فِي مَنْ ذُوِّي الأُمَا، رَحْمًةُ أَبُو سُلَيْمَ، يُهْلِكُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ أَقْرَبُ الْأَصْنَافِ

كَسَنْ عَنِّ الْبَحْنِيْغَةِ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ إِنَّ أَقْرَبَ الْأَصْنَافِ

ْكَسَنُ الْثَانيَّ وَإِنْ عُلِّيْنَ نَأَوَّلَ وَإِنْ سُعِلَّنَ نَالْثَاتِ

إِنْ نُؤَلَّمُ الْرَابِعُ وَإِنْ بَعْدُ وَاوَرَيْنَا إِبْوَيْسَفَ وَالْحَسَنَ

ْزِبَأً عَنِّ الْبَحْنِيْغَةِ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ إِنَّ أَقْرَبَ الْأَصْنَافِ

ْؤَلَّ نَدْثَانِيَّ وَنَالْثَاتِ نَأَوَّلُ الْرَابِعُ كَثِرْتِيْبَ العَضُّاتِ

فَهُوَ الْأَخْوَانُ لِلَّمْعَنَّ وَعِنْدَ هِيْ الْشَّنْفُ النَّالْثُ مَتَعَمَ

في اجْدَابِ الْأَمَ لَنْ عِنْدَ هِيْاَكُلٍ وَأَحْدَمَنِهِمْ أُولِيَّ مِنْ
باب ذو الرحمان
ودأب الرحم أن كل قريب ليس بذي سهم ولاعصبة كان
وأما الصحابة برون توريث ذو الرحمون قال أصحابنا
ومن تابعهم رحمهم الله تعالى وقال رضي الله عنه لا ميراث لذو الرحمان ويوسع الهال في بيت الهال
وين قال مالك والشامعي رحمهم الله تعالى وكو يري الرحم
أصناف أربعة الصنف الأول ينتهي إلي البيت وهم أولاد
البنات أو لأببنات أب وألي الصنف الثاني ينتهي إليم
البيت وهم الأجداد الساطرون والجادات الساترات
و الصنف الثالث ينتهي إلي أبي أبي البيت وهم أولاد
الأخوات وبنات الأخوة وبنوات النواخة لم و الصنف الرابع
الهيئة ماني ينه من التصميم الأول على التصميم الثاني فلا حاجة إلى الضرب وإن لم يستمع فانظر أن يكون بينها موانعة فاضرب ونقّ التصميم الثاني في جميع التصميم الأول وان كان بينها مباينة فاضرب كل التصميم الثاني في كل التصميم الأول فالbellion مخرج البستين نسهام ورثة البيت الأول يضرب في البصروب اعني في التصميم الثاني أوفى ونفع وسهام ورثة البيت الثاني يضرب في كحل ماني يده أوفى ونفع وان مات ثلاث أورابع فاجعل الbellion الثاني مقام الأول والثالث مقام الثاني في العهل ثم في أرابع والخامس كذلك إلى غير النهاية
ولتصبح مسندلاً الهيت الأول وتعطي
سهام حَلْ وارث من هذه التصريح ثم تصميم
الهيت الثاني وتنظير بين ماني يده من التصريح الأول
وبين التصريح الثاني الي ثالثة حوالى نان استقام بسبب
لمائة وأما سدس جزء الهلال، وجد وجد، ونقت دونه، ونقت دونه، إذا كان ثلث الباطن خيراً للجد وليس للباني ثلث.

كحيل نافر مخرج الثلاث في اصل الهيئة فإن تركت نافر يوجد وينت وينت أسا وأختالاً وأم أولاد فالسند خير.

وجد وعلو الهيئة إلي ثلاث عشر ولاشي للاخت.

أعلم أن زيد بن ثابت رضي الله عنه لا يجعل الاخت

بأ وأم أولاد صاحبة فرض مع الجد الأدبي الهيئة

كذا ي🏗جه زوج وأم وجدنا أخت قلاب وأم أولاد للزوج

نصف ولأم الثلاث ول الجد السدس ول الاخت النصف

أتم الجد نصيبه إلى نصيب الاخت فيهمان للاستقر

لحكا لنا نحن لان يقاسه خير للجد أصلها في سنة

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بنو العائلات يد خلو في القصيدة مع بنى الاعيان
إضرا للجد فأذا اخذ الجد نصيبه بنو العائلات بهجر
من البنين خاليين بغير شيء وألمت قتي لبني الاعيان
اللأ إذا كانت من بنى الاعيان أخت وأحدة أختت
فرضها اعني الكل بعد نصيب الجد فان بغي شيء
نلبني العائلات والانلاشي لم وذن ذلك كجذب واعت
لأب وأم وأختين لأب نبغي للأخرين لأب عشر البال و
تصح من عشرة ولو كانت في هذاله السبالة أخت لأب
لم يبق لهاشي وإذا اخطط لهم نورهم كلف الجد همها اتصل
الأمور الثلاثة بعد فرض ذي سم سهم أما ل메اسية كفر
وجد وان وأما ثلاث مابغي كجد وجد وباوية واختان
لن يرد عليه فأين انكسر علي البعض صاحب
لسبطة بالأصول البديهية
باب مغاسة الجد
الآب يدرك الصديق رضي الله عنه و من تابعة من
لمهاية بناء الأعيان و بنو العلائل لا يرثون مع الجد هذا
ولأبي حنيفة رحمة الله و به يعتني وقال زيد بن ثابت
رثون مع الجد و هو توليه وتول مالك و الشافعي
جميع الله تعالى و عنده زيد بن ثابت رحمة الله تعالى
ليه للجد مع بني الأعيان و العلائم أفصل الأعراب
ن الإغاسة و من تلك ظهير الهلال و تفسير الإغاسة
يجعل الجد في القصة سكاح من الأخوة و
عند رؤيهم في خرج فرض من لا يرد عليه فالبلغ منها نص الحسيلة والرابع أن يكون مع الثاني من لا يرد عليه فانهم ما بقي من خرج فرض من لا يرد عليه على مسجدة من يرد عليه فإن استعم البائتي فيها وهداني صورة واحدة وهي أن يكون للزوجات الرابع وollection البائتي بين أهل البيت نادين كزوجة وجدة وأختين لهم وإن لم يستعم فأضرب جميع مسجدة من يرد عليه في خرج فرض من لا يرد عليه فالبلغ خرج فرض الزيتين كأربع زوجات ونص بنات وست جماع تم أضرب سمى من لا يرد عليه في مسجدة من يرد عليه وسمى كل من يرد عليه فيها بقي من خرج فرض
والثاني إذا اجتمع في الحيلبنة جنسان أو ثلاثة أجناس
من بره عليه عند عدم من لبره عليه فاجعل الحيلبنة
س ن ح م أعني من أثنيين إنكما في الحيلبنة سدسان
أو س ن ح م إذا كان فيها ثلاث وسدس أوفم أربعة
ذا كان فيها نصف وسدس أومن خمسة إذا كان فيها
ثلث وسدس أو نصف وسدس أو نصف وثلث والثالث
ل يكون مع الأول من لا بره عليه فأعطى ضمن لا بره
عليه من أثلي خارجه فان استقام الباقى على روس
من بره عليه فيها كروج وثلاث بنات وإن لم يستقم فاضرب
روفه في مخرج فرض من لا بره عليه أن وافق
روس الباقى كروج وست بنات و إلا فاضرب كذلك
باب الرد الراقيض للهول

وهو نية فصل عن فرض ذوي الغروض ولا مستحق له
بَدِعُ دُلْكٌ عَلَى ذُوي الغروض بعذر حقوقهم إلا على
الوزوجه وهو تول عامة الصحا به كعلي ومن تابه
رضي الله عنهم وله اخذ اصرحا بننا رجحهم الله وقائل زيد
بن ثابت لا يرد القاضي بل هو لبيت الهلال وله أخذ
حروة والزهري ومالك والشامعي رجحهم الله تعالى

ثم مسابل الباب اتسم اربعة احدها يكون في
الهبلة جنس واحده به بنع برع عليه عند عدم من لاير
عليه ناجعل الهبلة من زوبهم كهما إذا ترك البيت
بنين أو أختين أو وجدنتين ناجعل الهبلة من أثنتين
بينها مباينة فاضرة في محلة التربة ثم اتسم الحاصل
علي جميع تصحيح البسيلة فأخبر نصيب ذلك
الريح قب في الوجهين و آمني قضاء الدينين
كل غريم بهذة

فصل في النخرج

من صالح علي شيء من الشرطة فطرح نس مو من
لتصحح ثم اقسم باتي التركة علي نسهم الباقين
كروج وام ومصلحة الزوج علي باتي ذمته للزوجة
من البيين وخرج من البيين فقسم باتي التركة بين
لم وعم اثنان بقدر سماها وح يكون سهمان للامو

موم واحد للتعليم
فصل في تسهيل الشرع بين الورقة و البسطة.
إن كان بين الشركة و الشركة مشابهة فتباعهما بنفس نسبة وارد من الشركة في جميع الشركة ثم أقسم البسطة على الشركة و إذا كان بين الشركة و الشركة مؤتمة فإضرب فيها وارد من الشركة ف👸 حسب ما ذكر.
ثم أقسم البسطة على وفق ما شملت بين الشركة و البسطة من الشركة في الوارث في الوجهين هذا أن لها هو للبسطة نصيب كل
فهى من الورقة و أما لبسطة نصيب كل ورفق من
فليب ما كانت للكل وافق من أصل البسطة في
ووفق الشركة ثم أقسم البسطة كل حاصل علي ووفق البسطة إن كان بين الشركة و الشركة و البسطة موانعة و إن كان
إذا أردت أن تعرف نصيب كل واحد من أحاد ذلك لفريق من القسم فانقسم لكل فريق من كل الورقة علي عدد روشم ثم اضرب الخارج في لفروع فالفائز نصيب كل واحد من أحاد ذلك لفريق ووجه آخر تقسم الورقة علي أي شبكت مضرب الخارج في نصيب الفريق الذي تسوته لفروع فالفائز نصيب كل واحد من أحاد ذلك الفريق ووجه آخر هو نصيب النسبة وهو النسبة أر أن ينسب سهما ككل فريق من أصل الورقة الى دارو سهما مفردا ثم يعطي به البست تلك النسبة من بفروع لكل واحد من أحاد ذلك الفريق.
ملك في أصل الهسلة كاربع زوجات وثاني عشرة بنات
وخمس عشرة جدة وستة أعبام والرابع ان تكون الاعداد
متباهتة لا يوافق بعضها ببعض فأنا لكم فيها ان يضرب احد
الأعداد في جميع الثانى لم يضرب ما بلغ في جهة
الثانية لم ما بلغ في جميع الرابع لم يضرب ما اجتهد
في أصل الهسلة كل من أثني عشرة الجددات وعشرة بنات
وسبعة أعبام
تصل
وإذا أردت ان تعريف نصيب لكل ذريعة من الأعيان
فاضر يمكن ان لكل ذريعة من أصل الهسلة في نهاية
في أصل الهسلة بما حصل من نصيب ذلك الغريب
صل الدهليزة كرُوج و خمس أَخوات لَب و أَم و أَما الأربعة.

أحدها ان يكون الكسر علي طانقين أو أكثر ولكن

بين أعداد رسمهما مثلاً ثلاثة فاصلكم فيها ان يضرب أحد

الأعداد في أصل الدهليزة مثل ست بنتات وثلث جدات

ثلثة اعماطم وإثنان ان يكون بعض الأعداد في بعضها

قد اختار فالفحكم فيها ان يضرب اثنا عشر الأعداد في

مل الدهليزة صارع زوجات و ثلث جدات و اثنين

ازهمها و الثالث ان يوافق بعض الأعداد بعضها فالحكم

بها ايت يضرب وفق أحد الأعداد في جميع التأني ثم

بلغ فيها وقيق الثالث ان وافق الدهليز الثالث و الإل

ببلغ فيها جميع التأني ثم في الرابع كذلك يضرب...
باب التصريح

يحتاج نبي تصريح الإنساني الي سبعة أصول ثلاثة من
بين السهم والروس وأربعة من بين الروس و السهم أيضا
التالية نحندها إن كان سهم ضعيف طريق مناسبة عليه
بلا كسر قل حاجة إلي الصرب كابوبين وينتيني الثاني
هو أن ينكسر علي طالبتواحده نصيبهم وليبي بين سهم
ومروهم موافقة فيضرب وتلت عدد رووس من أنكسر
عليهم السهم في أصل الهسيلة وعولها ان كانت غالبنة
كابوبين وعشر بنات أوزوج وابوبين وستبنات وثالث
أن ينكسر سهامهم ولا يكون بين سههم ومرههم مواننة
فيضرب سكول عدد رووس من أنكسر عليهم السهم في
لدِنَ الحادِثة مُخْرِج لَجِزِّ الْوَفْقِ وَثَبَابِيْنِ الْعِدَدِينَ
لا يعْدُ الْعِدَدِينَ الْمَخْتَلِفِينَ مَعَا عَدَدٌ ثَلَاثٌ أَصَلٌ
لَتَصِمَّمُ الْعَشَرَةُ وَطُرِيقُ مُعَرِّفَةِ الْهَوَائِةِ وَالْمِبَانِيَةِ بِبِنِينَ
بِكَادِرِينَ لَمَخْتَلِفِينَِّ مِنْ يَنِقُصُ مِنْ الْأَكْثَرِ بِبِنِينَ
فَنَلْ مِنْ النَّحْيِينَ مَرَّةً وَأَوْرَافًا اِحتُي اِنْطَقًا فِي دِرَجَةٍ
اَحْدَةٌ فَاَنْطَقَانِي وَإِحْدَيْنِ وَفُنَفَّ بِنِينَهَا وَأَنْطَقَانِي
نَظَرًا مِنْ نَصْرِيَّنِ فِي ذِلِّكَ الْعَدَدِ فَغَيْ الأَنْتِيَنَ
الْبِنْصُفْ فِي الْثَلَاثَةِ بِالْبَلَيْتٍ وَفِي الأَرْبَعَةِ بِالْرُّبْعٍ وَكَذَا
يْنَصْرَةُ وَنِيَّهَا وَرَأْيَ الْعَشَرَيْنَ فَقَانِ بِجَرْرٍ عَالِيٍّ فِي
حَدِ عَشَرَ بِحَرَّ مِنْ أَحْدَ عَشَرَ وَفِي خَسَائِسِ عَشَرَ بِحَرَّ مِنْ
خَسَائِسِ عَشَرَ فَعَلْيُنِي هَذَا
باب معرفة الذهانئ والتدخلي و التوازن و التباني بين العددين
تهانئ العددين يكون أحدهما مساويًا للآخر.
و تدخلي العددين أن يبعد أتلتهما ألا يكتر أي ينضٌ أنتقال تدخلي العددين هو أن يكون أكثر العددين
من قِبَلها على الاقل تسمى صحيحة أنتقال هو إن زيادة الاقل مثل أمانة فيهما الأكتر أنتقال أن يكون
الأقل جز الأكتر مثل ثلاثه و تسعه وتوازن العددين أن
لا يبعد أتلتهما الأكتر ولكن يبعدها عدد ثالث كالتاليه
مع العشرين يبعدها أربعة نهيا متوانين بأربع ل
باب العول

العول أن يران علي لمحرج شيء من أجزائه إذا ضاقت

لمحرج عن فرض إعلم أن مجموع المخارج سبعة أربعة

منها لا تعول وهي الأثنان والثامنة وألف ربعه والثمانية

وثلاثة منها تتعول أ ما السنة تعول إلي عشرون و أ شفعا

أ ما اثنين عشرون ن تعول إلي سبعة عشرة و ترا لا شفعا

وأ ما أربعة و عشرون فإنها تعول إلي سبعة و عشرون و عشرون

واحدا في السبعة اللهم أ بريقة وهي امرأة و بنان و أبوان

و لا يراذ علي هذا إلا عند ابن مسعود رضي الله عنه

 فإن عند أ تعول أربعة و عشرون إلي إحدى و ثلاثين
فَإِذَا جَاءَنَّي نَيٍّ الْهُسَائِلِ مِنْ هَذِهِ الْعُرُضَ أَحَدُ أَحَدٍ
مُّخْرِجٍ كُلُّ كُلِّ فَرْضٍ سَيِّئٍ الْأَنْفُسُ الْكُلَّاكُلِ
كَالْرِّيْعِ مِنْ أَرْبَعَةٍ وَالْبِنَّى مِنْ نَافَعِيَةٍ وَالْأَنْقَلَبُ مِنْ
تَلْكَ أَرْبَعَةٍ وَإِذَا جَاءَ الْمَنِيَّ أُوْذَانُهُ وَهَذَا مِنْ نَوْعٍ وَأَحْدَ ثُقَالٍ
عَدُدٍ يُكْنَوْنَ مُّخْرِجًا لْجُبْرِيٍّ فَذَلِكُ الْعَدُدُ اِبْنَاءٌ مُّخْرِجٍ
لْصِفَةِ ذَلِكَ الْجُبْرِيٍّ وَلْصِفَةِ ضِعْفَهُ كَالْسَّنَّةِ هِيُ
مُّخْرِجُ الْسَّنَّةِ وَلْصِفَةُ وَإِذَا اِخْتَلَلَ الْمُنْصُفُ مِنْ الْنَوْعِ
الْأَوَّلُ بِشَكْلِ الْثَّانِي أَوْ بِخَيَبًتِهِ نَهُوٌ مِنْ سَبِيلٍ وَإِذَا اِخْتَلَلَ
الْثَّانِي بِشَكْلِ الْثَّانِي أَوْ بِخَيَبَتِهِ نَهُوٌ مِنْ اثْنِيَّةٍ عَشَرٍ وَإِذَا
اِخْتَلَلَ الْثَّمَانِيُّ بِشَكْلِ الْثَّانِي أَوْ بِخَيَبَتِهِ نَهُوٌ مِنْ أَرْبَعُٰ
عِشْرِينٍ
في الله عنه حجاب حجاب النفسان سا لكا لئ

القاتل وا لر تيف وا محجوب حجاب با لنفاتح

لكا لتين من الأخوة والاخوات نصداعادامن أي حجكة

لكا مما عليها لا يبر ثان مع الاب لكن محجبان الام من

الثلث إلى السدس

باب مخارج الغروف

أعلم أن الغروف السنة البذ كفرة في يحنا ببالله

تقال للعوان لازول النصف والربع والثلث والثاني

الثلثين والثلثين والسدس على التنصيف والتصعيد

VOL. VI. C
باب الحجاب

الحجاب علي نوعين حجاب نقصان و.isoحجاب عن
إلى سهم و ذلك لخمسة نفر للزوجين والأم و زوجة
والأخ حدب يا و قد مربناه و حجاب حربين والوردة و
فريقان قريب للاحجبه بحال البنت و فهم ستة الاب
والاب وأبوه وابنته و الأم والزوجة و قريب بور
بحال و حجاب مبا حال و هذا منب في علي أصلين أحا
هذى هو في كل سب يدل إلى البنت بحجاب لكره
وجد ذلك الشخص كابين الأبن مع الأبن سوى
أولاد الآم فاتهم يرون معها لا يوجد استحقاها جهًا
لا أعتقد من أعتقد أوقنا تبين أونا تبين من كأن تبين
أولى من أوثن من ذكر أوجولا معنفه ولذرل أبا
العبنف وابنه سدس الوالد الب الب قي للابن
عند هيا كله إلا ابن ولذرل ابن البعف وجدته
إبى الله إلا ابن بالانفاق ومن ملك دارج محر
نعف عليه ويكون ولاه له كنائم بناه للصغري
ورون دينارا وللكرير نلا نون دينارا فاشترتنا أبا هما
الخيسن ثممات الأب وترك شيئا من المال فالخليان
عدن أثاثا بالعرض والباتي بين مسترني الأب
ما سا نلا نجد أخاه لليكرى وخماسه للصغري
نعم من خمسة وأربعين
الحكم في أفعال القيادة ثم في أعمال أبيه ثم في أعمال جده أمه العصبة بغيره فأقر بع نقطع من النسوة وهكذا لا تفرق بين النصف والثلثان ينفرون عصبة بإخوة يفتحها كما نفي حالاته من أفراد لها من الذكور وأخوها عصبة لأنصر عصبة بأخاهها كما لعمر والمعاوية وأما العصبة مع غيره نكمل أني نصبر عصبة مع أنبيائي أخرى شكا لتحقيق مع البلدية سكينة دار آخر العصا مولى العناء ثم عصبة على الترتيب الذي ذكر له توليه عليه الصلاة والسلام لولا إناث من ورثة البعث فلقد له عليه السلام وكثيرون لنساء من الوليد شيخ إلا ما اعتمده
وصله وجزء ابنه وجزء جده الأثرب فالأثرب يبر جحون
بثراء الد راجه أعني ابنه أولاهم يا لبرز جزئ البيت
اي السموه نبزههم وإن سقروا ثم أصله أي الديهم الجد
لاب وان علاه ثم جزاء ابنه أي الدها ثم نبزههم
وإن سقروا ثم جزاءه اي الأعمام ثم نبزههم وإن سقروا
لم يبر جحون بغوية القراءة أعني به كالقراء بتثنين أولي
من ذي قرآ واحدا ركزا كان أو نفي لقوله
قلبه السلام ان أعثاب بنى الأب واتم ينوار تون دون
في العالات كعالا لاب ولاب أولي من الخلاب وأناضلت
ليوابة إذا تصرفت عصبة مع البيت أو لي من الخلاب
إبن الخ لأب ولاب أولي من ابن الخلاب وكذا لين
يُقَسَمُ السَّدَّةُ سَبَعَةً تِنَاسِقًا يُوسُفُ رَحْمَةَ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ

أَنَّىٰ فَا بَيْنَ ابْتَبَارِ الْبَدْنِ وَعَنْدِي سَمْحَةٌ مِّرْحَبَةٌ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ

أَثْلَاثَا بَيْنَ ابْتَبَارِ الْبَدْنِ

بَابُ العَصِبَاتِ

العَصِبَاتُ النَّسِبِيَّةُ ثَلاَثَةُ عَصِبَةٌ بِنْفِسِهَا وَعَصِبَةٌ بِغَيْرِهَا

وَعَصِبَةٌ مَّعَ غَيْرِهَا أَوَّلَ العَصِبَةِ بِنْفِسِهَا فَنَّذِيَّ كَذَّبَ لَكَيْدَ خَلَّ.

فِي نِسْبَتِهَا الْجَهَّةُ أَثْلَاثَةُ وَهِيَ أَرْبَعَةُ أَصَابُعَ جَرَاحِ الْبَيْنِ التَّلَانِ
إبنُي ا وزوجُة وأبويني ولو كان مكان الأب جدًّا فلا م
لك جميع الاهل الأندادي يوسف رجاء الله فان لها
يفما ثالت الباتي والجدة السد س لم كانت أولاً
ا حدة كانت واكثر إذا كان ثابتات متاحات
في الدار حية ودعت قبلت بالأم والأبو يات أيضا
الاب وكذالك بالجدل الباتب وأين علت فانها ترث
مع الجدلانها ليست من تبله والجدة القربي من أي
هيا كانت بسبب الجدة البعدي من اي جزء
للت و اثبتت القربي أو محجوبة وإذا كانت
الجدة ذات قرانية واحدة كامل بالاب والخرى ذات
ر اثنين أو أكثر كامل بالوم وهي أيضا أم الأب
هذه الصورة
لَبِّي وَأَمِّي وَلَهُنَّ السَّدَسُ مَعَ الَّذِينَ لَبِّي وَأَمِّي تَكَلَّبُوا
لِلتَّلِينِ وَلَكِنْ ثُمَّ مَعَ الَّذِينَ لَبِّي وَأَمِّي أَلَّا يُكْرِهُنَّ مَعْنِى أَحُلِّ لِبِّي فِي عِصْبِهِنَّ وَيَكُونُ الْبَاطِيَ بَينَهُمِّ لِلَّذِى
مِثْلُ حَجَّازِ أَنْبِيَيْنِ وَالسَّا دَسَأَلَنَّ يَصِرُّ عَصْبَةٌ مَعَ الْبَنَاتِ
أَوَّلَمْ بُنَاتِ الْاِبْنِيَ لِهَا ذَكَرَ نَا وَبُنَوِّ الْأَعْيَانِ وَبُنَوِّ الْعَلَْدِ
كَلُّهُمْ يَسْطِفُونَ بِلِبَابِ وَبَيْنِي الْاِبْنِي وَبَيْنِ الْاِبْنِي وَأَمِّي سَعَى وَبَلَابِ
بِالْإِنْفَائِ وَبَالْجَدِ دُنِدُي بِحَنِيفَةٍ رَجُعَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَ
وُسَطَّ بِلَا الْعَلَّةِ أَيْضًا بَالْاِنفَائِ لَبِّي وَأَمِّي أَمَّا للّهِ نَحْوُ
كَبَّادُ السَّدَسُ مَعَ الْوَلُّدِ أَوْلَدُ الْاِبْنِي وَأَمِّي وَأَمِّي سَعَى وَأَمِّي
تَبَنُّ فيّ مِنَ الْإِخْوَةِ وَالْأَخْوَاتِ قَصَدًا مِّنْ أَيْدِي جَهَةٍ كَنَا
وَثِلَّتُ الكلِّ عِنْدَ عِدْمِ هُوَلاَ الْيَوْمِ وَالْيَوْمِ وَثِلَّتُ مَابِيَّ
بَعْدَ دُنِدُيْ ثُمَّ أَحَدُ الْتَوْجِينِ وَذَاكَ لِنَا مَسْتَلَّنِينَ زُجً
لا و ل الي سم السطي في العريف الكول مع
من يُو ار يها السدس تكيلة للمثنى و لا شيء
للملآيا ت أصلاً الآن يكون معه في علم فيصبغ
سيتمPETA أبدا و من صا نت ثقة ليس يمكن
ذا تسم و يسقط من ذو نه و أمان للحوات ك ل و
أو أحوال خمس النصف للواحدة والمثنى للا تنين
هامدا و مع ألاخ لأب و أت للذ كرثمل خطالا تنين
لصرين به عصب لا سترأ تيم في القرا بع الي البيت
أثن الباتي مع البنات أوثنت الأبي لقعلا عليه الصلوة
والسلم إجعلوا الأحوات مع البنات عصبة وأناحوات
أب ملاحا حوات لأيواب و لهن أحوال سبع النصف
للواحدة للمثنى للا تنين قضا واحد عمدا عدد المها حوات
ابنُ بنتٍ . . . . . . . . 
ابنُ بنتٍ . . . . . . . . 
ابنُ بنتٍ . . . . . . . . 
ابنُ بنتٍ . . . . . . . . 
ابنُ بنتٍ . . . . . . . . 
ابنُ بنتٍ . . . . . . . . 
ابنُ بنتٍ . . . . . . . . 
ابنُ بنتٍ . . . . . . . . 
ابنُ بنتٍ . . . . . . . . 
ابنُ بنتٍ . . . . . . . . 
ابنُ بنتٍ . . . . . . . . 

العليا من الفريق ألٌّ و لا يُوزُر بها أحدٌ و الوسطي
من الفريق الكُل تُوزُر بها العلياء من الفريق الثاني
و السفلي من الفريق الثانية و ل تُوزُر بها الوسطي
من الفريق الثالث و العليا من الفريق الثالث
و السفلي من الفريق الثاني تُوزُر بها الوسطي
من الفريق الثالث والسفلي من الفريق الثالث
لarmingها أحد ادعى نتهذانفقول للعليا من الفريق
عجبات الصليب ولَهُنُ أَحَوالٌ سَتَّ النَّصف لِلْوَاءِ جَدَةٌ
إِلَيْنَا لِلأَثَنِينُ فَصَّا عِداً عِندَ عَدِمِ بِنَاتِ الصَّلِيَب
فَهُنَّ السَّدَسُ مِعَ الْوَاحِدَةِ الصَّلِيَبِيَّةِ تَكْمِلُا لِمَا ذَلِكَ
لَبِينِهَا مَعَ الصَّلِيَبيَّيْنِ إِلَّا يَكُوَنُ بِحَدِيْشَيْنِ اسْتَغْفِرَ
فِي غَلَامِ نَيْصَابِيْنِ وَالَّذَايِ بِبَنِيْنِ لِلْذَّيْ كَرَمْثَ
طَالِثَيْيْنِ وَبِسْطِنَ طَلَحَيْنِ بَلَيْنِ وَلَوْتَرَ تَلِثَ
بَنَاتِ ابْنِ بعَضُهَا اسْتَفْلَ مِنْ بَعْضٍ وَثَلَّتْ بَنَاتِ ابْنَ
إِلَى أَخْرُ بعَضُهَا اسْتَفْلَ مِنْ بَعْضٍ وَثَلَّتْ بَنَاتِ ابْنَ
إِلَى ابْنِ أَخْرُ بعَضُهَا اسْتَفْلَ مِنْ بَعْضٍ بِهِذَا الصُّوْرَةِ
وَعَدِيَّ مِسْتَلِمُ التَّشَبِيبِ

المَرْيَفُ الْأَوْلى والمَرْيَفُ الثَّانِي والمَرْيَفُ الثَّانِي
ابْنَ أَبِيّ . . . . . . . . . أَبِيّ
نُحَوَّل ثلث السدس للحادٍ ثلث للثانيين.

وَحُرَّم رَهْمَتِهِمْ فِي الْقَسْبَةِ وَلَا سَبَعُاتِ سُؤَا

وَيُسْتَطِعُونَ بِالْوَلَدَ وَلَدَائِلِهِ وَأَنْ سَعَلَ وَبَالْأَبٍ

وَأَنَا لَجِد بِالْإِثْنَافِ وَأَمَّا لِلزَّوِّجِ فَحَا لَتَانِ النَّصْنَدِ

عَتَد عَدَمْ الْوَلَدَ وَوَكَدَ الْأَبِ وَأَنْ سَعَلَ وَأَرْيَبَ

مَعَا لَا لَدَأٌ وَأَوْلَى لَا بَيْنَ وَأَنْ سَعَلَ

فَصَّل فِي النَّسَاءِ

لِلزَّوَّجَاتِ حَالَاتِنِ اللَّبْعِ لِلْواحِدَةِ فَصَّا عَدَّا عَنْدَ عَدَم

الْوَلَدَ وَوَلَدَائِلِهِ وَأَنْ سَعَلَ وَالْبَيْنِ مَعْ الوَلَدَ وَأُولَدَاءِ

أَوْلَدَاءِ الْأَبِ وَأَنْ سَعَلَ وَفِي الْأَبِينِ الصَّدْبِ فَلََحْوَلَ نَصْبِ

النَّصْبِ لِلْواحِدَةِ وَالْثَّانِيَانِ لِلْثَّانِيِ نَصْبٌ أَوْمَمَ الأَبَرِ

لِلذَّكَّرَ مِثْلِ حَتَّى الْثَّانِيِ وَهُوَ يُعْصِبُهُ وَبَيْنَ الْأَبِ
لئن أربعة من الرجال وهم الأب والجد والدleston
إن عل وخلا الزوجة وتهان من النساء وهن الزوجة
والبنك وبنات الابن وإن سُفِّلَتِ والدleston وام
والخت لاب والاخت لأموال والجدة الصالحة
وفي التي لا يدخل في نسبتها اليالي حيث جذفان
ثمار ب فاحوثلاثة الفرض الهبلف وهو السدس
ذلك مع ابن اوابن الابن وإن سُفِّلَ الفرض
التعصب معذلوك مع ابنته أبنته الابن وإن سُفِّلَ
التعصب البحج ذو البحج عندهم الولد الابن
إنسفل والجد للدleston كالاب الاب في اربع مسافل
سند كهرا انشاء الله تعالى ويستطاع بالاب
والاب أصل في ترابة لجدالي البيت وامام ولدالام
مصراً على اثر إثر ثم الهوسي لم تجميع الباب ثم بيت الباب
فصل في الهوا نع من الأثر
الهانئ من الأثر أربعة الفرق وإنزالاً أوناتسا والشتر
الذي يتعلق به وجوب القصاص أو الكفارة واختلاف
الدينيين واختلاف الدارين. لاحقة كالكرب
والدمي أواهقا كالهينتا من والد مي أواكر بين
من دارين مختلفين والد إلا أرا نا تختلف
باختلاف الهبلغة والبلك لانقطاع العصة فيها بينم
باب معرفة الفرض ومستحقتها
الفرض المقدر في مكتب اللّه تعالى سنة التصف
والربع والثاني والثلاث والثالث والسنس على
التصريف والتصنيف وأصحاب هذة السهام اثنين عشر
تنبئه بالتبني والتنبت ثم يقضي نبوته بنجع مادي من مائه ثم تنفد وصيائه من تلك الباقين بعد الذين يقسم الباقين بين ورثه الكتاب والسنة وإجماع الأمة فينداً بإحباب الفرض وهو الذين لهم سهام مقدمة في كتاب الله تعالى ثم بالعصابات من جهة النسب والعقبة كل من يأخذ من الترافة ما أبلغنه أصحاب الفرين وعند الانفراد يحرز جميع أهلهم ثم بالعصابات من جهة السبب وهؤلاء العنانة ثم عصبته ثم الردة على ذوي الفروض النسبية بعد حقوقي ثم كنزي لرحم تم مولي الهواة ثم البغر للنسبة على الغير حيث لم يثبت نسبة من ذلك الغير إذا مات البغر.
الحمد لله رب العالمين  حدث الشاكرين  والضي
عليَّ خبر البرية محبٍّ والطالبيين قال رسول الله
صلى الله عليه وسلم تعلموا القرآن وعلموا القرآن
فانها نصف العلم قال علها ونا رحمه الله يعلمه
بتاريخ البشير حقوق أربعة مرتبة الأولى بيد، بجدها
AN

ESSAY

ON

THE LAW OF BAILMENTS.

In tutelis, societatis, fiducis, mandatis, rebus emptis-venditis, conductis-lo-catis, quibus vita societatis continetur, magni est judicis statuere (præsentim cum in plures sine judicia contraria), quid quemque cuique prestare oportet.

Q. Scevola, apud Cic. de Offic. lib. III.
HAVING lately had occasion to examine with some attention the nature and properties of that contract, which lawyers call *bailment*, or, *A delivery of goods on a condition, expressed or implied, that they shall be restored by the bailee to the bailor, or according to his directions, as soon as the purpose, for which they were bailed, shall be answered*, I could not but observe with surprise, that a title in our English law, which seems the most generally interesting, should be the least generally understood, and the least precisely ascertained. Hundreds and thousands of men pass through life, without knowing, or caring to know, any of the numberless niceties, which attend our abstruse, though elegant, system of real property, and without being at all acquainted with that exquisite logick, on
which our rules of special pleading are founded; but there is hardly a man of any age or station, who does not every week and almost every day contract the obligations or acquire the rights of a hirer or a letter to hire, of a borrower or a lender, of a depositary or a person depositing, of a commissioneer or an employer, of a receiver or a giver, in pledge; and what can be more absurd, as well as more dangerous, than frequently to be bound by duties, without knowing the nature or extent of them, and to enjoy rights, of which we have no just idea? Nor must it ever be forgotten, that the contracts above-mentioned are among the principal springs and wheels of civil society; that, if a want of mutual confidence, or any other cause, were to weaken them or obstruct their motion, the whole machine would instantly be disordered or broken to pieces: preserve them, and various accidents may still deprive men of happiness; but destroy them, and the whole species must infallibly be miserable. It seems therefore astonishing, that so important a branch of jurisprudence should have been so long and so strangely unsettled in a great commercial country; and that, from the reign of Elizabeth to the reign of Anne, the doctrine of bailments should have produced more contradictions and confusion, more diversity of opinion and inconsistency of argument, than any
other part, perhaps, of juridical learning; at least, than any other part equally simple.

Such being the case, I could not help imagining, that a short and perspicuous discussion of this title, an exposition of all our ancient and modern decisions concerning it, an attempt to reconcile judgments apparently discordant, and to illustrate our laws by a comparison of them with those of other nations, together with an investigation of their true spirit and reason, would not be wholly unacceptable to the student of English law; especially as our excellent Blackstone, who of all men was best able to throw the clearest light on this, as on every other, subject, has comprised the whole doctrine in three paragraphs, which, without affecting the merit of his incomparable work, we may safely pronounce the least satisfactory part of it; for he represents lending and letting to hire, which are bailments by his own definition, as contracts of a distinct species; he says nothing of employment by commission; he introduces the doctrine of a distress, which has an analogy to a pawn, but is not properly bailed; and, on the great question of responsibility for neglect, he speaks so loosely and indeterminately, that no fixed ideas can be collected from his words*. His commentaries are

the most correct and beautiful outline, that ever was exhibited of any human science; but they alone will no more form a lawyer, than a general map of the world, how accurately and elegantly forever it may be delineated, will make a geographer: if, indeed, all the titles, which he professed only to sketch in elementary discourses, were filled up with exactness and perspicuity, Englishmen might hope at length to possess a digest of their laws, which would leave but little room for controversy, except in cases depending on their particular circumstances; a work, which every lover of humanity and peace must anxiously wish to see accomplished. The following essay (for it aspires to no higher name) will explain my idea of supplying the omissions, whether designed or involuntary, in the Commentaries on the Laws of England.

I propose to begin with treating the subject analytically, and, having traced every part of it up to the first principles of natural reason, shall proceed historically, to show with what perfect harmony those principles are recognised and established by other nations, especially the Romans, as well as by our English courts, when their decisions are properly understood and clearly distinguished; after which I shall resume synthetically the whole learning of bailments, and expound such rules, as, in my humble appre-
hension, will prevent any farther perplexity on this interesting title, except in cases very peculiarly circumstanced.

From the obligation, contained in the definition of bailment, to restore the thing bailed at a certain time, it follows, that the bailee must keep it, and be responsible to the bailor, if it be lost or damaged; but, as the bounds of justice would in most cases be transgressed, if he were made answerable for the loss of it without his fault, he can only be obliged to keep it with a degree of care proportioned to the nature of the bailment; and the investigation of this degree in every particular contract is the problem, which involves the principal difficulty.

There are infinite shades of care or diligence from the slightest momentary thought, or transient glance of attention, to the most vigilant anxiety and solicitude; but extremes in this case, as in most others, are inapplicable to practice: the first extreme would seldom enable the bailee to perform the condition, and the second ought not in justice to be demanded; since it would be harsh and absurd to exact the same anxious care, which the greatest miser takes of his treasure, from every man, who borrows a book or a seal. The degrees then of care, for which we are seeking, must lie somewhere between these extremes;
and, by observing the different manners and characters of men, we may find a certain standard, which will greatly facilitate our inquiry; for, although some are excessively careless, and others excessively vigilant, and some through life, others only at particular times, yet we may perceive, that the generality of rational men use nearly the same degree of diligence in the conduct of their own affairs; and this care, therefore, which every person of common prudence and capable of governing a family takes of his own concerns, is a proper measure of that, which would uniformly be required in performing every contract, if there were not strong reasons for exacting in some of them a greater, and permitting in others a less, degree of attention.

Here then we may fix a constant determinate point, on each side of which there is a series consisting of variable terms tending indefinitely towards the above-mentioned extremes, in proportion as the case admits of indulgence or demands rigour: if the construction be favourable, a degree of care less than the standard will be sufficient; if rigorous, a degree more will be required; and, in the first case, the measure will be that care, which every man of common sense, though absent and inattentive, applies to his own affairs; in the second, the measure will be that
attention, which a man remarkably exact and thoughtful gives to the securing of his personal property.

The fixed mode or standard of diligence I shall (for want of an apter epithet) invariably call Ordinary; although that word is equivocal, and sometimes involves a notion of degradation, which I mean wholly to exclude; but the unvaried use of the word in one sense will prevent the least obscurity. The degrees on each side of the standard, being indeterminate, need not be distinguished by any precise denomination: the first may be called less, and the second, more, than ordinary diligence.

Superlatives are exactly true in mathematicks; they approach to truth in abstract morality; but in practice and actual life they are commonly false: they are often, indeed, used for mere intensives, as the most diligent for very diligent; but this is a rhetorical figure; and, as rhetorick, like her sister poetry, delights in fiction, her language ought never to be adopted in sober investigations of truth: for this reason I would reject from the present inquiry all such expressions as the utmost care, all possible, or all imaginable, diligence, and the like, which have been the cause of many errors in the code of ancient Rome, whence, as it will soon be demonstrated,
they have been introduced into our books even of high authority.

Just in the same manner, there are infinite shades of default or negligence, from the lightest inattention or momentary absence of mind to the most reprehensible supineness and stupidity: these are the omissions of the before-mentioned degrees of diligence, and are exactly correspondent with them. Thus the omission of that care, which every prudent man takes of his own property, is the determinate point of negligence, on each side of which is a series of variable modes of default infinitely diminishing, in proportion as their opposite modes of care infinitely increase; for the want of extremely great care is an extremely little fault, and the want of the slightest attention is so considerable a fault, that it almost changes its nature, and nearly becomes in theory, as it exactly does in practice, a breach of trust—and a deviation from common honesty. This known, or fixed, point of negligence is therefore a mean between fraud and accident; and, as the increasing series continually approaches to the first extreme, without ever becoming precisely equal to it, until the last term melts into it or vanishes, so the decreasing series continually approximates to the second extreme, and at length becomes nearer to it than any assignable difference: but the last terms be-
ing, as before, excluded, we must look within them for modes applicable to practice; and these we shall find to be the omissions of such care as a man of common sense, however inattentive, and of such as a very cautious; and vigilant man, respectively take of their own possessions.

The constant, or fixed, mode of default I likewise call ORDINARY, not meaning by that epithet to diminish the culpability of it, but wanting a more apposite word, and intending to use this word uniformly in the same sense: of the two variable modes the first may be called GREATER, and the second, LESS, THAN ORDINARY, or the first GROSS, and the other, SLIGHT neglect.

It is obvious, that a bailee of common honesty, if he also have common prudence, would not be more negligent than ordinary in keeping the thing bailed: such negligence (as we before have intimated) would be a violation of good faith, and a proof of an intention to defraud and injure the bailor.

It is not less obvious, though less pertinent to the subject, that infinite degrees of fraud may be conceived increasing in a series from the term where gross neglect ends, to a term, where positive crime begins; as crimes likewise proceed gradually from the lightest to the most atrocious; and, in the same manner, there are infinite degrees of accident from the limit of extremely slight ne-
gleæt to a *force irresistible* by any human power. Law, as a practical science, cannot take notice of melting lines, nice discriminations, and evanescent quantities; but it does not follow, that *neglect, deceit*, and *accident*, are to be considered as indivisible points, and that *no degrees whatever* on either side of the standard are admissible in legal disquisitions.

Having discovered the several modes of *diligence*, which may justly be demanded of contracting parties, let us inquire in what particular cases a bailee is by natural law bound to use them, or to be answerable for the omission of them.

When the contract is *reciprocally beneficial to both parties*, the obligation hangs in an even balance; and there can be no reason to recede from the standard: nothing more, therefore, ought in that case to be required than *ordinary diligence*, and the bailee should be responsible for no more than *ordinary neglect*; but it is very different, both in reason and policy, when *one only* of the contracting parties derives advantage from the contract.

If the *bailor only* receive benefit or convenience from the bailment, it would be hard and unjust to require any particular trouble from the *bailee*, who ought not to be molested unnecessarily for his obliging conduct: if more, therefore, than
good faith were exacted from such a person, that is, if he were to be made answerable for less than gross neglect, few men after one or two examples, would accept goods on such terms, and social comfort would be proportionably impaired.

On the other hand, when the bailee alone is benefited or accommodated by his contract, it is not only reasonable, that he, who receives the benefit, should bear the burden, but, if he were not obliged to be more than ordinarily careful, and bound to answer even for slight neglect, few men (for acts of pure generosity and friendship are not here to be supposed) would part with their goods for the mere advantage of another, and much convenience would consequently be lost in civil society.

This distinction is conformable not only to natural reason, but also, by a fair presumption, to the intention of the parties, which constitutes the genuine law of all contracts, when it contravenes no maxim of morals or good government; but, when a different intention is expressed, the rule (as in devises) yields to it; and a bailee without benefit may, by a special undertaking, make himself liable for ordinary, or slight, neglect, or even for inevitable accident: hence, as an agreement, that a man may safely be dishonest, is repugnant to decency and morality, and, as no
man shall be presumed to bind himself against irresistible force, it is a just rule, that every bailee is responsible for fraud, even though the contrary be stipulated, but that no bailee is responsible for accident, unless it be most expressly so agreed.

The plain elements of natural law, on the subject of responsibility for neglect, having been traced by this short analysis, I come to the second, or historical, part of my essay; in which I shall demonstrate, after a few introductory remarks, that a perfect harmony subsists on this interesting branch of jurisprudence in the codes of nations most eminent for legal wisdom, particularly of the Romans and the English.

Of all known laws the most ancient and venerable are those of the Jews; and among the Mosaick institutions we have some curious rules on the very subject before us; but, as they are not numerous enough to compose a system, it will be sufficient to interweave them as we go along, and explain them in their proper places: for a similar reason, I shall say nothing here of the Attick laws on this title, but shall proceed at once to that nation, by which the wisdom of Athens was eclipsed, and her glory extinguished.

The decisions of the old Roman lawyers, collected and arranged in the sixth century by the order of Justinian, have been for ages, and in
some degree still are, in bad odour among Englishmen: this is an honest prejudice, and flows from a laudable source; but a prejudice, most certainly, it is, and, like all others, may be carried to a culpable excess.

The constitution of Rome was originally excellent; but, when it was settled, as historians write, by Augustus, or, in truer words, when that base dissembler and cold-blooded assassin C. Octavius gave law to millions of honester, wiser, and braver men than himself by the help of a profligate army and an abandoned senate, the new form of government was in itself absurd and unnatural; and the lex regia, which concentrated in the prince all the powers of the state both executive and legislative, was a tyrannous ordinance, with the name only, not the nature, of a law*; had it even been voluntarily conceded, as it was in truth forcibly extorted, it could not have bound the sons of those who consented to it; for "a renunciation of personal rights, especially rights of the highest nature, can have "no operation beyond the persons of those, who "renounce them." Yet, iniquitous and odious as the settlement of the constitution was, Ulpian only spoke in conformity to it, when he said that "the will of the prince had the force

* D. i. 4. 1.
"of law;" that is, as he afterwards explains himself, in the Roman empire; for he neither meant, nor could be mad enough to mean, that the proposition was just or true as a general maxim. So congenial, however, was this rule or sentence, ill understood and worse applied, to the minds of our early Norman kings, that some of them, according to Sir John Fortescue, "were not pleased with their own laws, but exerted themselves to introduce the civil laws of Rome into the government of England*;" and so hateful was it to our sturdy ancestors, that, if John of Salisbury be credited, "they burned and tore all such books of civil and canon law as fell into their hands:" but this was intemperate zeal; and it would have been sufficient to improbable the publick, or constitutional, maxims of the Roman imperial law, as absurd in themselves as well as inapplicable to our free government, without rejecting the whole system of private jurisprudence as incapable of answering even the purpose of illustration. Many positive institutions of the Romans are demonstrated by Fortescue, with great force, to be far surpassed in justice and sense by our own immemorial customs; and the rescripts of Severus or Caracalla, which were laws, it seems, at Rome,  

* De Laud. Leg. Angl. c. 33. 34. † Seld. in Fort. c. 33.
have certainly no kind of authority at Westminster; but, in questions of rational law, no cause can be assigned, why we should not shorten our own labour by resorting occasionally to the wisdom of ancient jurists, many of whom were the most ingenious and sagacious of men. What is good sense, in one age, must be good sense, all circumstances remaining, in another; and pure unsophisticated reason is the same in Italy and in England, in the mind of a Papinian and of a Blackstone.

Without undertaking, therefore, in all instances, to reconcile Nerva with Proculus, Labeo with Julian, and Gaius either with Celsus or with himself, I shall proceed to exhibit a summary of the Roman law on the subject of responsibility for neglect.

The two great sources, whence all the decisions of civilians in this matter must be derived, are two laws of Ulpian; the first of which is taken from his work on Sabinus, and the second from his tract on the Edict: of both these laws I shall give a verbal translation according to my apprehension of their obvious meaning, and shall then state a very learned and interesting controversy concerning them, with the principal arguments on each side, as far as they tend to elucidate the question before us.

"Some contracts, says the great writer on Sabinus,
"make the party responsible for deceit only; some, for both deceit and neglect. Nothing more than responsibility for deceit is demanded in deposits and possession at will; both deceit and neglect are included in commissions, lending for use, custody after sale, taking in pledge, hiring; also in portions, guardianships, voluntary work: (among these some require even more than ordinary diligence). Partnership and undivided property make the partner and joint proprietor answerable for both deceit and negligence*."

"In contractus, says the same author in his other work, we are sometimes responsible for deceit alone; sometimes, for neglect also; for deceit only in deposits; because, since no benefit accrues to the depository, he can justly be answerable for no more than deceit; but, if a reward happened to be given, then a responsibility for neglect also is required; or, if it be agreed

*Contractus quidam dolum malum sunt taxat recipiunt; quidam, et dolum et culpam. Dolum tantum depositum et precarium; dolum et culpam, mandatum, commodatum, venditum, pignori acceptum, locatum; item dotisdatio, tutela, negotia gesta: (in his quidam et diligentiam). Societas et rerum communio et dolum et culpam recipit. D. 50. 17. 23.
at the time of the contract, that the depositary shall answer both for neglect and for accident: but, where a benefit accrues to both parties, as in keeping a thing sold, as in hiring, as in portions, as in pledges, as in partnership, both deceit and neglect make the party liable.

Lending for use, indeed, is for the most part beneficial to the borrower only; and, for this reason, the better opinion is that of Q. Mucius, who thought, that he should be responsible not only for neglect, but even for the omission of more than ordinary diligence.

One would scarce have believed it possible, that there could have been two opinions on laws so perspicuous and precise, composed by the same writer, who was indubitably the best expositor.

In contractibus interdum dolum solum, interdum et culpam, praestamus; dolum in deposito; nam, quia nulla utilitas ejus versatur, apud quem deponitur, merito dolus praestatur solus; nisi sortae et mercis accessit, tum enim, ut est et constitutum, etiam culpa exhibetur; aut, si hoc ab initio convenit, ut et culpam et periculum praestet is, penes quem deponitur: sed, ubi utriusque utilitas vertitur, ut in empto, ut in locato, ut in dote, ut in pignore, ut in societate, et dolus et culpa praestatur. Commodatum autem plerumque solam utilitatem continet ejus, cui commodatur; et ideo verior est Q. Mucii sententia exigitantis et culpam praestandam et diligentiam. D. 13. 6. 5. 2.
of his own doctrine, and apparently written in illustration of each other; the first comprising the rule, and the second containing the reason of it; yet the single passage extracted from the book on Sabinus has had no fewer than twelve particular commentaries in Latin*, one or two in Greek†, and some in the modern languages of Europe; besides the general expositions of that important part of the digest, in which it is preserved. Most of these I have perused with more admiration of human sagacity and industry than either solid instruction or rational entertainment; for these authors, like the generality of commentators, treat one another very roughly on very little provocation, and have the art rather of clouding texts in themselves clear, than of elucidating passages, which have any obscurity in the words or the sense of them. Campanas, indeed, who was both a lawyer and a poet, has turned the first law of Ulpian into Latin hexameters; and his authority, both in prose and verse, confirms the interpretation, which I have just given.

The chief causes of all this perplexity have been, first, the vague and indistinct manner in which the old Roman lawyers, even the most

* Bocerus, Campanus, D'avezan, Del Rio, Le Conte, Rittershusius, Giphanius, J. Godefroi, and others.

† The scholium on Harmenopulus, l. 6. tit. de Reg. Jur. n. 15. may be considered as a commentary on this law.
OF BAILMENTS.

eminent, have written on the subject; secondly, the loose and equivocal sense of the words DILIGENTIA and CULPA; lastly and principally, the darkness of the parenthetical clause IN HIS QUIDAM ET DILIGENTIAM, which has produced more doubt, as to its true reading and signification, than any sentence of equal length in any author Greek or Latin. Minute as the question concerning this clause may seem, and dry as it certainly is, a short examination of it appears absolutely necessary.

The vulgate editions of the pandects, and the manuscripts, from which they were printed, exhibit the reading above set forth; and it has accordingly been adopted by Cujas, P. Faber, Le Conte, Donellus, and most others, as giving a sense both perspicuous in itself and consistent with the second law; but the Florentine copy has quidem, and the copies, from which the Basilica were translated three centuries after Justinian, appear to have contained the same word, since the Greeks have rendered it by a particle of similar import. This variation in a single letter makes a total alteration in the whole doctrine of Ulpian; for, if it be agreed, that diligentia means, by a figure of speech, a more than ordinary degree of diligence, the common reading will imply, conformably with the second law before cited, that "some of the pre-
"ceding contracts demand that higher degree;" but the Florentine reading will denote, in contradiction to it, that "ALL of them require more than ordinary exertions."

It is by no means my design to depreciate the authority of the venerable manuscript preserved at Florence; for, although few civilians, I believe, agree with Politian, in supposing it to be one of the originals, which were sent by Justinian himself to the principal towns of Italy*, yet it may possibly be the very book, which the Emperor Lotharius II. is said to have found at Amalfi about the year 1130, and gave to the citizens of Pisa, from whom it was taken, near three hundred years after, by the Florentines, and has been kept by them with superstitious reverence †: be that as it may, the copy deserves the highest respect; but, if any proof be requisite, that it is no faultless transcript, we may observe, that, in the very law before us, accedunt is erroneously written for accidunt; and the whole phrase, indeed, in which that word occurs, is different from the copy used by the Greek interpreters, and conveys a meaning, as Bocerus and others have remarked, not supportable by any principle or analogy.

* Epist. x. 4. Miscell. cap. 41. See Gravina, lib. i. § 141.
† Taurelli, Præf. ad Pand. Florent.
This, too, is indisputably clear; that the sentence *in bis quidem et diligentiam*, is ungrammatical, and cannot be construed according to the interpretation, which some contend for. What verb is understood? *Recipiant*. What noun? *Contractus*. What then becomes of the words *in bis*, namely *contractibus*, unless *in* signify *among*? And, in that case, the difference between *quidem* and *quidam* vanishes; for the clause may still import, that "*among* the preceding contracts (that is, *in some of them*), more than *usual diligence is exacted*:" in this sense the Greek preposition seems to have been taken by the scholiast on *Harmenopulus*; and it may here be mentioned, that *diligentia*, in the nominative, appears in some old copies, as the *Greeks* have rendered it; but *Accursius*, *Del Rio*, and a few others, consider the word as implying no more than diligence *in general*, and distinguish it into various *degrees* applicable to the several contracts, which *Ulpian* enumerates. We may add, that one or two interpreters thus explain the whole sentence, "*in his contractibus qui*dam jurisconsulti et diligentiam requirunt," but this interpretation, if it could be admitted, would entirely destroy the authority of the clause, and imply, that *Ulpian* was of a different opinion. As to the last conjecture, that only *certain cases* and *circumstances* are meant by the word *quidam*, it scarce de-
serves to be repeated. On the whole, I strongly incline to prefer the vulgate reading, especially as it is not conjectural, but has the authority of manuscripts to support it; and the mistake of a letter might easily have been made by a transcriber, whom the prefaces, the epigram prefixed, and other circumstances, prove to have been, as Taurelli himself admits, a Greek.—Whatever, in short, be the genuine words of this much-controverted clause, I am persuaded, that it ought by no means to be strained into an inconsistency with the second law; and this has been the opinion of most foreign jurists from Azò and Alciat down to Heineccius and Huber; who, let their disension be, on other points, ever so great, think alike in distinguishing three degrees of neglect, which we may term gross, ordinary, and slight, and in demanding responsibility for those degrees according to the rule before expounded.

The law then on this head, which prevailed in the ancient Roman empire, and still prevails in Germany, Spain, France, Italy, Holland, constituting, as it were, a part of the law of nations, is in substance what follows.

Gross neglect, lata culpa, or, as the Roman lawyers most accurately call it, dolo proxima, is in practice considered as equivalent to dolus, or fraud, itself; and consists, according to the best interpreters, in the omission of that care,
which even inattentive and thoughtless men never fail to take of their own property: this fault they justly hold a violation of good faith.

Ordinary neglect, levís culpa, is the want of that diligence, which the generality of mankind use in their own concerns; that is, of ordinary care.

Slight neglect, levíssima culpa, is the omission of that care, which very attentive and vigilant persons take of their own goods, or, in other words, of very exact diligence.

Now, in order to ascertain the degree of neglect, for which a man, who has in his possession the goods of another, is made responsible by his contract, either express or implied, civilians establish three principles, which they deduce from the law of Ulpian on the Edict; and here it may be observed, that they frequently distinguish this law by the name of Si ut certo, and the other by that of Contraetus*; as many poems and histories in ancient languages are denominated from their initial words.

First: In contracts, which are beneficial solely to the owner of the property holden by another,

* Or l. 5. § 2. ff. Commod. and l. 23. ff. de reg. jur. Instead of ff, which is a barbarous corruption of the initial letter of παράβλαι, many write D, for Digest, with more clearness and propriety.
no more is demanded of the holder than good faith, and he is consequently responsible for nothing less than gross neglect: this, therefore, is the general rule in deposits; but, in regard to commissions, or, as foreigners call them, mandates, and the implied contract negotiorum gestorum, a certain care is requisite from the nature of the thing; and, as good faith itself demands, that such care be proportioned to the exigence of each particular case, the law presumes, that the mandatary or commissioner, and, by parity of reason, the negotiorum gestor, engaged at the time of contracting to use a degree of diligence adequate to the performance of the work undertaken*.

Secondly: In contracts reciprocally beneficial to both parties, as in those of sale, hiring, pledging, partnership, and the contract implied in joint-property, such care is expected, as every prudent man commonly takes of his own goods; and, by consequence, the vendor, the hirer, the taker in pledge, the partner, and the co-proprietor, are answerable for ordinary neglect.

Thirdly: In contracts, from which a benefit accrues only to him, who has the goods in his

* Spondet diligentiam, say the Roman lawyers, gerendo negotiio parem.
custody, as in that of lending for use, an extraordinary degree of care is demanded; and the borrower is, therefore, responsible for slight negligence.

This had been the learning generally, and almost unanimously, received and taught by the doctors of Roman law; and it is very remarkable, that even Antoine Favre, or Faber, who was famed for innovation and paradox, who published two ample volumes De Erroribus Interpretum, and whom Gravina justly calls the boldest of expositors and the keenest adversary of the practisers*, discovered no error in the common interpretation of two celebrated laws, which have so direct and so powerful an influence over social life, and which he must repeatedly have considered: but the younger Godefroi of Geneva, a lawyer confessedly of eminent learning, who died about the middle of the last century, left behind him a regular commentary on the law Contractus, in which he boldly combats the sentiments of all his predecessors, and even of the ancient Romans, and endeavours to support a new system of his own.

He adopts, in the first place, the Florentine reading, of which the student, I hope, has

formed by this time a decided opinion from a preceding page of this essay.

He censures the rule comprised in the law *Si ut certo* as weak and fallacious, yet admits, that the rule, which He condemns, had the approbation and support of *Modestinus*, of *Paulus*, of *Africanus*, of *Gaius*, and of the great *Papinian* himself; nor does he satisfactorily prove the *fallaciousness* to which he objects, unless every rule be fallacious, to which there are some exceptions. He understands by *diligentia* that care, which *a very attentive and vigilant man* takes of his own property; and he demands this care in *all* the eight contracts, which immediately precede the disputed clause: in the *two*, which follow it, he requires no more than *ordinary* diligence. He admits, however, the *three* degrees of neglect above stated, and uses the common epithets *levis* and *levissima*; but, in order to reconcile his system with many laws, which evidently oppose it, he ascribes to the old lawyers the wildest mutability of opinion, and is even forced to contend, that *Ulpian* himself *must have changed his mind*.

Since his work was not published, I believe, in his life-time, there may be reason to suspect, that he had not completely settled *his own mind*; and he concludes, indeed, with referring the decision of every case on this head to that most
dangerous and most tremendous power, the discretion of the judge.

The triple division of neglects had also been highly censured by some lawyers of reputation. Zasius had very justly remarked, that neglects differed in degree, but not in species; adding, "that he had no objection to use the words "levis and levissima, merely as terms of practice "adopted in courts, for the more easy distinction "between the different degrees of care ex-
"acted in the performance of different con-
"tracts†;" but Donellus, in opposition to his master Duaren, insisted that levis and levif-
slma differed in sound only, not in sense; and attempted to prove his assertion triumphantly by a regular syllogism‡; the minor proposition of which is raised on the figurative and inaccurate manner, in which positives are often used for superlatives, and conversely, even by the best of the old Roman lawyers. True it is, that, in the law Contradius, the division appears to be

* "Ego certè hac in re censentibus accedo, vix quidquam "generalius definiri posse; remque hanc ad arbitrium judicii," "prout res est, referendam." p. 141.
† Zas. Singul. Resp. lib. i. cap. 2.
‡ "Quorum definitiones eadem sunt, ea inter se sunt "eadem; levis autem culpa et levissima una et eadem de-
lib. xvi. cap. 7.
two-fold only, DOLUS and CULPA; which differ in species, when the first means actual fraud and malice, but in degree merely, when it denotes no more than gross neglect; and, in either case, the second branch, being capable of more and less, may be subdivided into ordinary and slight; a subdivision, which the law Si ut certo obviously requires: and thus are both laws perfectly reconciled.

We may apply the same reasoning, changing what should be changed, to the triple division of diligence; for, when good faith is considered as implying at least the exertion of slight attention, the other branch, Care, is subdivisible into ordinary and extraordinary; which brings us back to the number of degrees already established both by the analysis and by authority.

Nevertheless, a system, in one part entirely new, was broached in the present century by an advocate in the parliament of Paris, who may, probably, be now living, and, possibly, in that professional station, to which his learning and acuteness justly entitle him. I speak of M. Le Brun, who published, not many years ago, an Essay on Responsibility for Neglect*, which he

* Essai sur la Prestation des Fautes, à Paris, chez Saugrain, 1764.
had nearly finished, before he had seen the commentary of Godefroi, and, in all probability, without ever being acquainted with the opinion of Donellus.

This author sharply reproves the triple division of neglects, and seems to disregard the rule concerning a benefit arising to both, or to one, of the contracting parties; yet he charges Godefroi with a want of due clearness in his ideas, and with a palpable misinterpretation of several laws. He reads in his quidem et diligentiam; and that with an air of triumph; infinuating, that quidem was only an artful conjecture of Cujas and Le Conte, for the purpose of establishing their system; and he supports his own reading by the authority of the Basilica; an authority, which, on another occasion, he depreciates. He derides the absurdity of permitting negligence in any contract, and urges, that such permission, as he calls it, is against express law: "now, " says he, where a contract is beneficial to both " parties, the doctors permit slight negligence, " which, how slight soever, is still negligence, " and ought always to be inhibited." He warmly contends, that the Roman laws, properly understood, admit only two degrees of diligence; one, measured by that, which a provident and attentive father of a family uses in his own concerns; another, by that care, which
the individual party, of whom it is required, is accustomed to take of his own possessions; and he, very ingeniously, substitutes a new rule in the place of that, which he rejects; namely, that, when the things in question are the sole property of the person, to whom they must be restored, the holder of them is obliged to keep them with the first degree of diligence; whence he decides, that a borrower and a hiree are responsible for precisely the same neglect; that a vendor, who retains for a time the custody of the goods sold, is under the same obligation, in respect of care, with a man, who undertakes to manage the affairs of another, either without his request, as a negotiorum gestor, or with it, as a mandatory: "but, says he, when 'the things are the joint property of the parties contracting, no higher diligence can be required "than the second degree, or that, which the "acting party commonly uses in his own affairs; "and it is sufficient, if he keep them, as he keeps "his own." This he conceives to be the distinction between the eight contracts, which precede, and the two, which follow, the words in his quidem et diligentiam.

Throughout his work he displays no small sagacity and erudition, but speaks with too much confidence of his own decisions, and with too much asperity or contempt of all other interpreters from Bartolus to Vinnius.
At the time when this author wrote, the learned M. Pothier was composing some of his admirable treatises on all the different species of express, or implied, contracts; and here I seize with pleasure an opportunity of recommending those treatises to the English lawyer, exhorting him to read them again and again; for, if his great master Littleton has given him, as it must be presumed, a taste for luminous method, apposite examples, and a clear manly style, in which nothing is redundant, nothing deficient, he will surely be delighted with works, in which all those advantages are combined, and the greatest portion of which is law at Westminster as well as at Orleans*: for my own part, I am so charmed with them, that, if my undissimulated fondness for the study of jurisprudence were never to produce any greater benefit to the publick, than barely the introduction of Pothier to the acquaintance of my countrymen, I should think that I had in some measure discharged the debt, which every man, according to lord Coke, owes to his profession.

To this venerable professor and judge, for he had sustained both characters with deserved applause, Le Brun sent a copy of his little work;

* Oeuvres de M. Pothier, à Paris, chez Debure: 28 volumes in duodecimo, or 6 in quarto. The illustrious author died in 1772.
and M. Pothier honoured it with a short, but complete, answer in the form of a General Observation on his Treatises*; declaring, at the same time, that he would not enter into a literary contest, and apologizing for his fixed adherence to the ancient system, which he politely ascribes to the natural bias of an old man in favour of opinions formerly imbibed. This is the substance of his answer: "that he can discover no kind of absurdity in the usual division of neglect and diligence, nor in the rule, by which different degrees of them are applied to different contracts; that to speak with strict propriety, negligence is not permitted in any contract, but a less rigorous construction prevails in some than in others; that a hire, for instance, is not considered as negligent, when he takes the same care of the goods hired, which the generality of mankind take of their own; that the letter to hire, who has his reward, must be presumed to have demanded at first no higher degree of diligence, and cannot justly complain of that inattention, which in another case might have been culpable; for a lender, who has no reward, may fairly exact from the borrower that extraordinary degree of care, which a very

* It is printed apart, in fourteen pages, at the end of his treatise on the Marriage-contrait.
"attentive person of his age and quality would certainly have taken; that the diligence, which the individual party commonly uses in his own affairs, cannot properly be the object of judicial inquiry; for every trustee, administrator, partner, or co-proprietor, must be presumed by the court, auditors, or commissioners, before whom an account is taken, or a distribution or partition made, to use in their own concerns such diligence, as is commonly used by all prudent men; that it is a violation of good faith for any man to take less care of another's property, which has been intrusted to him, than of his own; that, consequently, the author of the new system demands no more of a partner or a joint-owner than of a depositary, who is bound to keep the goods deposited as be keeps his own; which is directly repugnant to the indisputable and undisputed sense of the law Contractus."

I cannot learn whether M. Le Brun ever published a reply, but am inclined to believe that his system has gained very little ground in France, and that the old interpretation continues universally admitted on the continent both by theorists and practitioners.

Nothing material can be added to Pothier's argument, which, in my humble opinion, is unanswerable; but it may not be wholly useless to
set down a few general remarks on the controversy: particular observations might be multiplied without end.

The only essential difference between the systems of GODEFROI and LE BRUN relates to the two contracts, which follow the much-disputed clause; for the Swiss lawyer makes the partner and co-proprietor answerable for ordinary neglect; and the French advocate demands no more from them than common honesty: now, in this respect, the error of the second system has been proved to demonstration; and the author of it himself confesses ingenuously, that the other part of it fails in the article of Marriage-portions*.

In regard to the division of neglect and care into three degrees or two, the dispute appears to be merely verbal; yet, even on this head, LE BRUN seems to be self-confuted: he begins with engaging to prove "that only two degrees of fault are distinguished by the laws of Rome," and ends with drawing a conclusion, that they acknowledge but one degree: now, though this might be only a slip, yet the whole tenor of his book establishes two modes of diligence, the omissions of which are as many neglects; exclusively of gross neglect, which he likewise admits, for the culpa levissima only is that, which he repu-

* See p. 71. note; and p. 126.
diates. It is true, that he gives no epithet or name to the omission of his second mode of care; and, had he searched for an epithet, he could have found no other than gross; which would have demonstrated the weakness of his whole system.

The disquisition amounts, in fact, to this: from the barrenness or poverty, as Lucretius calls it, of the Latin language, the single word culpa includes, as a generick term, various degrees or shades of fault, which are sometimes distinguished by epithets, and sometimes left without any distinction; but the Greek, which is rich and flexible, has a term expressive of almost every shade, and the translators of the law Contractus actually use the words ἐλθυμία and ἀμικτία, which are by no means synonymous, the former implying a certain easiness of mind or remissness of attention, while the second imports a higher and more culpable degree of negligence†. This observation, indeed, seems to favour the system of Godofroi; but I lay no great

* See pages 32. 73. 74. 149.
† Basilica, 2, 3, 23. See Demosth. 3 Phil. Reifet's edit. 1. 112. 3. For leuissima culpa, which occurs but once in the whole body of Roman law, ἐλθυμία seems the proper word in Greek; and it is actually so used in the Basilica, 60. 3. 5. where mention is made of the Aquilian law, in quod, says Ulpian, et leuissima culpa venit. D. 9. 2. 44.

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stress on the mere words of the translation, as I cannot persuade myself, that the Greek jurists under Basilius and Leo were perfectly acquainted with the niceties and genuine purity of their language; and there are invincible reasons, as, I hope, it has been proved, for rejecting all systems but that, which Pothier has recommended and illustrated.

I come now to the laws of our own country, in which the same distinctions and the same rules, notwithstanding a few clashing authorities, will be found to prevail; and here I might proceed chronologically from the oldest Year-book or Treatise to the latest adjudged Case; but, as there would be a most unpleasing dryness in that method, I think it better to examine separately every distinct species of bailment, observing at the same time, under each head, a kind of historical order. It must have occurred to the reader, that I might easily have taken a wider field, and have extended my inquiry to every possible case, in which a man possesses for a time the goods of another; but I chose to confine myself within certain limits, lest, by grasping at too vast a subject, I should at last be compelled, as it frequently happens, by accident or want of leisure, to leave the whole work unfinished: it will be sufficient to remark, that the rules are in general the same, by whatever means the goods are legally in the hands of
the possessor, whether by delivery from the owner, which is a proper bailment, or from any other person, by finding*, or in consequence of some distinct contract.

Sir John Holt, whom every Englishman should mention with respect, and from whom no English lawyer should venture to dissent without extreme diffidence, has taken a comprehensive view of this whole subject in his judgment on a celebrated case, which shall soon be cited at length; but, highly as I venerate his deep learning and singular sagacity, I shall find myself constrained, in some few instances, to differ from him, and shall be presumptuous enough to offer a correction or two in part of the doctrine, which he propounds in the course of his argument†.

His division of bailments into six forts appears, in the first place, a little inaccurate; for, in truth, his fifth fort is no more than a branch of his third, and he might, with equal reason, have added a seventh, since the fifth is capable of another subdivision. I acknowledge, therefore, but five species of bailment; which I shall now enumerate and define, with all the

* Doct. and Stud. dial. 2. ch. 38. Lord Raym. 909. 917. See Ow. 141. 1 Leon. 224. 1 Cro. 219. Mulgrave and Ogden.
† Lord Raym. 912.
Latin names, one or two of which lord Holt has omitted. 1. Depositum, which is a naked bailment, without reward, of goods to be kept for the bailor. 2. Mandatum, or commission; when the mandatary undertakes, without remuneration, to do some act about the things bailed, or simply to carry them; and hence Sir Henry Finch divides bailment into two sorts, to keep, and to employ*. 3. Commodatum, or loan for use; when goods are bailed, without pay, to be used for a certain time by the bailee. 4. Pignori acceptum; when a thing is bailed by a debtor to his creditor in pledge, or as a security for the debt. 5. Locatum, or hiring, which is always for a reward; and this bailment is either, 1. locatio rei, by which the hirer gains the temporary use of the thing; or, 2. locatio operis faciendi, when work and labour, or care and pains, are to be performed or bestowed on the thing delivered; or, 3. locatio operis mercium vebendarum, when goods are bailed for the purpose of being carried from place to place, either to a publick carrier, or to a private person.

I. The most ancient case, that I can find in our books, on the doctrine of Deposits (there were others, indeed, a few years earlier, which turned on points of pleading), was adjudged in

* Law, b. 2. ch. 18.
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the eighth of Edward II. and is abridged by Fitzherbert*. It may be called Bonion's case, from the name of the plaintiff, and was, in substance, this: An action of detinue was brought for seals, plate, and jewels, and the defendant pleaded, "that the plaintiff had bailed to him a chest to be kept, which chest was locked; that the bailor himself took away the key, without informing the bailee of the contents; that robbers came in the night, broke open the defendant's chamber, and carried off the chest into the fields, where they forced the lock, and took out the contents; that the defendant was robbed at the same time of his own goods." The plaintiff replied, "that the jewels were delivered, in a chest not locked, to be restored at the pleasure of the bailor," and on this, it is said, issue was joined.

Upon this case lord Holt observes, "that he cannot see, why the bailee should not be charged with goods in a chest as well as with goods out of a chest; for," says he, "the bailee has as little power over them, as to any benefit that he might have from them, and as great power to defend them in one case as in the other†." The very learned judge was

† Lord Raym. 914.
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dissatisfied, we see, with Sir Edward Coke's reason, "that, when the jewels were locked up
in a chest, the bailee was not, in fact, trusted
with them." Now there was a diversity of
opinion, upon this very point, among the great-
est lawyers of Rome; for "it was a question,
whether, if a box sealed up had been deposited,
the box only should be demanded in the ac-
tion, or the clothes, which it contained, should
also be specified; and Trebatius insists, that
the box only, not the particular contents of it,
must be sued for; unless the things were pre-
viously shewn, and then deposited: but Labæo
asserts, that he, who deposits the box, deposits the
contents of it; and ought, therefore, to demand
the clothes themselves. What then, if the depo-
sitary was ignorant of the contents? It seems to
make no great difference, since he took the
charge upon himself; and I am of opinion,
says Ulpian, that, although the box was
sealed up, yet an action may be brought for
what it contained†." This relates chiefly
to the form of the libel; but, surely, cases may
be put, in which the difference may be very
material as to the defence. Diamonds, gold, and
precious trinkets, ought, from their nature, to be
kept with peculiar care under lock and key: it

* 4 Rep. 84.  † D. 16. 3. 1. 41.
would, therefore, be gross negligence in a depositary to leave such a deposit in an open antechamber, and ordinary negligence, at least, to let them remain on his table, where they might possibly tempt his servants; but no man can proportion his care to the nature of things, without knowing them: perhaps, therefore, it would be no more than slight negligence, to leave out of a drawer a box or casket, which was neither known, nor could justly be suspected, to contain diamonds; and Domat, who prefers the opinion of Trebatius, decides, "that, in such a case, the depositary would only be obliged to restore the casket, as it was delivered, without being responsible for the contents of it." I confess, however, that, anxiously as I wish on all occasions to see authorities respected, and judgment held sacred, Bonjon's case appears to me wholly incomprehensible; for the defendant, instead of having been grossly negligent (which alone could have exposed him to an action), seems to have used at least ordinary diligence; and, after all, the loss was occasioned by a burglary, for which no bailee can be responsible without a very special undertaking. The plea, therefore, in this case was good, and the replication, idle; nor could I ever help suspecting a mistake in the last words ali quid non; although Richard de Winchendon, or whoever was the
compiler of the table to this Year-book, makes a distinction, that, "if jewels be bailed to me, and "I put them into a casket, and thieves rob me of "them in the night-time, I am answerable; not, "if they be delivered to me in a chest sealed "up;" which could never have been law, for the next oldest case, in the book of Affise, contains the opinion of chief justice Thorpe, that "a general bailee to keep is not responsible, "if the goods be stolen, without his gross negleft*;" and it appears, indeed, from Fitzherbert, that the party was driven to this issue, "whether the goods were taken away by "robbers."

By the Mosaiick institutions, "if a man delivered to his neighbour money or stuff to "keep, and it was stolen out of his house, and the "thief could not be found, the master of the "house was to be brought before the judge, and "to be discharged, if he could swear, that he "had not put his hand unto his neighbour's "goods†," or, as the Roman author of the Lex Dei translates it, Nibil se nequiter geffiffe †; but a distinction seems to have been made between a

† Exod. xxii. 7, 8.
‡ Lib. 10. De Deposito. This book is printed in the same volume with the Theodosian Code, Paris, 1586.
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stealing by day and a stealing by night*; and "if CATTLE were bailed and stolen (by day, I "presume), the person, who had the care of "them, was bound to make restitution to the "owner;" for which the reason seems to be, that, when cattle are delivered to be kept, the bailee is rather a mandatory than a depositary, and is, consequently, obliged to use a degree of diligence adequate to the charge: now sheep can hardly be stolen in the day-time without some neglect of the shepherd; and we find that, when JACOB, who was, for a long time at least, a bailee of a different sort, as he had a reward, lost any of the beasts intrusted to his care, LABAN made him answer for them "whether stolen by "day or stolen by night.""

Notwithstanding the high antiquity, as well as the manifest good sense, of the rule, a contrary doctrine was advanced by Sir EDWARD COKE, in his Reports, and afterwards deliberately inserted in his Commentary on LITTLETON, the great result of all his experience and learning; namely, "that a depositary is responsible, if the "goods be stolen from him, unless he accept "them specially to keep as his own," whence he advises all depositaries to make such a spe-

cial acceptance*. This opinion, so repugnant to natural reason and the laws of all other nations, he grounded partly on some broken cases in the Year-books, mere conversations on the bench, or loose arguments at the bar; and partly on Southcote's case, which he has reported, and which by no means warrants his deduction from it. As I humbly conceive that case to be law, though the doctrine of the learned reporter cannot in all points be maintained, I shall offer a few remarks on the pleadings in the cause, and the judgement given on them.

Southcote declared in detinue, that he had delivered goods to Bennett, to be by him safely kept: the defendant confessed such delivery, but pleaded in bar, that a certain person stole them out of his possession; the plaintiff replied, protesting that he had not been robbed, that the person named in the plea was a servant of the defendant, and demanded judgement; which, on a general demurrer to the replication, he obtained. "The reason of the judgement, says lord Coke, was, because the plaintiff had delivered the goods to be safely kept, and the defendant had taken the charge of them upon himself, by accepting them on such a delivery." Had the reporter stopped here, I do not see

* 4 Rep. 83. b. 1 Inst. 89. a. b.
what possible objection could have been made; but his exuberant erudition boiled over, and produced the frothy conceit, which has occasioned so many reflections on the case itself; namely, "that to keep and to keep safely are one and the same thing;" a notion which was denied to be law by the whole court in the time of chief justice Holt*.

It is far from my intent to speak in derogation of the great commentator on Littleton; since it may truly be asserted of him, as Quintilian said of Cicero, that an admiration of his works is a sure mark of some proficiency in the study of the law; but it must be allowed, that his profuse learning often ran wild, and that he has injured many a good case by the vanity of thinking to improve them.

The pleader, who drew the replication in Southcote's case, must have entertained an idea, that the blame was greater, if a servant of the depositary stole the goods, than if a mere stranger had purloined them; since the defendant ought to have been more on his guard against a person, who had so many opportunities of stealing; and it was his own fault, if he gave those opportunities to a man, of whose honesty he was not morally certain: the court, we find,

* Lord Raym. 911. margin.
rejected this distinction, and also held the replication informal, but agreed, that no advantage could be taken on a general demurrer of such informality, and gave judgement on the substantial badness of the plea*. If the plaintiff, instead of replying, had demurred to the plea in bar, he might have insisted in argument, with reason and law on his side, "that, although "a general bailee to keep be responsible for "gross neglect only, yet BENNET had, by a "special acceptance, made himself answerable "for ordinary neglect at least; that it was "ordinary neglect, to let the goods be stolen out "of his possession, and he had not averred, that "they were stolen without his default; that he "ought to have put them into a safe place, ac- "cording to his undertaking, and have kept "the key of it himself; that the special bailee "was reduced to the class of a conductor operis, "or a workman for hire; and that a tailor, to "whom his employer has delivered lace for a "suit of clothes, is bound, if the lace be stolen, "to restore the value of it†." This reasoning

* 1 Cro. 815.
† "Alia est furti ratio; id enim non cessit, sed levi culpae, fermè ascribitur." Gothofr. Comm. in L. Contractus, p. 145.
See D. 7. 2. 52. 3. where says the annotator, "Adversus latrones parum prodebit custodia; adversus furem prodesse postest, si quis advigilet." See also Potth. Contrat de Louage, n. 429. and Contrat de Pret d'usage, n. 53. So, by justice Cot-
would not have been just, if the bailee had pleaded, as in Bonion's cafe, that he had been 
robbed by violence, for no degree of care can in general prevent an open robbery: impetūs præ-
donum, says Ulpian, à nullo praesuntur.

Mr. Justice Powell, speaking of Southcote's cafe, which he denies to be law, admits, 
that, "if a man does undertake specially to keep " goods safely, that is a warranty, and will " oblige the bailee to keep them safely against " perils, where he has a remedy over, but not " against those where he has no remedy over*." One is unwilling to suppose, that this learned 
judge had not read lord Coke's report with at-
tention; yet the case, which he puts, is precisely 
that which he opposes, for Bennet did under-
take "to keep the goods safely;" and, with 
submission, the degree of care demanded, not the remedy over, is the true measure of the obliga-
tion; for the bailee might have his appeal of ro-
bery, yet he is not bound to keep the goods against robbers without a most express agree-
ment†. This, I apprehend, is all that was 
meant by St. German, when he says, " that,

tesmores, " Si jeo grante byens a un home a garder a mon oeps,
" si les byens per son mesgarde sont embles, il sera charge a moy 
" de mesmes les byens, mez s'il soit robbe de mesmes les byens, 
" il est excusable per le ley." 10 Hen. VI. 21.

* Ld. Raym. 912. † 2 Sho. pl. 166.
"if a man have nothing for keeping the goods ' bailed, and promise, at the time of the delivery, " to restore them safe at his peril, he is not re-
"responsible for mere casualties*;" but the rule extracted from this passage, "that a special ac-
"ceptance to keep safely will not charge the " bailee against the acts of wrongdoers†;" to
which purport Hobart also and Croke are cited, is too general, and must be confined to
acts of violence.

I cannot leave this point, without remarking, that a tenant at will, whose interest, when he has
it rentfree, the Romans called precarium, stands in a situation exactly parallel to that of a depo-
sitary; for, although the contract be for bis bene-
fit, and, in some instances, for bis benefit only,
yet he has an interest in the land till the will is
determined, "and, our law adds, it is the folly of " the lessee, if he do not restrain him by a special " condition:" thence it was adjudged, in the
Countess of Shrewsbury's case, "that an action " will not lie against a tenant at will generally, if " the house be burned through his neglect‡;" but, says justice Powell, "had the action been " founded on a special undertaking, as that, in " consideration that the lessor would let him live

* Doct. and Stud. dial. 2. chap. 38.
† Com. 135. Ld. Raym. 915.
‡ 5 Rep. 13. b.
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"in the house, he would deliver it up in as good
"repair as it then was in, such an action would
"have been maintainable."

It being then established, that a bailee of the
first sort is answerable only for a fraud, or for
gross neglect, which is considered as evidence of
it, and not for such ordinary inattentions as may
be compatible with good faith, if the depositary
be himself a careless and inattentive man; a
question may arise, whether, if proof be given,
that he is, in truth, very thoughtful and vigilant
in his own concerns, he is not bound to restitution,
if the deposit be lost through his neglect, either
ordinary or slight; and it seems easy to support
the affirmative; since in this case the measure of
diligence is that, which the bailee uses in his own
affairs. It must however be confessed, that the
character of the individual depositary can hardly
be an object of judicial discussion: if he be
slightly or even ordinarily negligent in keeping
the goods deposited, the favourable presumption
is, that he is equally negligent of his own pro-
PERTY; but this presumption, like all others, may
be repelled; and, if it be proved, for instance,
that, his house being on fire, he saved his own
goods, and, having time and power to save also
those deposited, suffered them to be burned, he

* Ld. Raym. 911.
shall restore the worth of them to the owner*. If, indeed, he have time to save only one of two chests, and one be a deposit, the other his own property, he may justly prefer his own; unless that contain things of small comparative value, and the other be full of much more precious goods, as fine linen or silks; in which case he ought to save the more valuable chest, and has a right to claim indemnification from the depositor for the loss of his own. Still farther; if he commit even a gross negligence in regard to his own goods as well as those bailed, by which both are lost or damaged, he cannot be said to have violated good faith, and the bailor must impute to his own folly the confidence which he reposed in so improvident and thoughtless a person†.

To this principle, that a depositor is answerable only for gross negligence, there are some exceptions.

First, as in Southcote's case, where the bailee, by a special agreement, has engaged to answer for less: "Si quid nominatim convenit," says the Roman lawyer, "vel plus vel minus in singulis contractibus, hoc servabitur quod initio convenit; legem enim contractui dedit;" but the

* Poth. Contrat de Dépôt, n. 29. Stertnh. de Jure Sueon, l. 2. c. 5.
† Bract. 99. b. Justin. Inft. l. 3. tit. 15.
‡ L. Contraction, 23. D. de reg. jur.
opinion of Celsus, that an agreement *to dispense with deceit* is void, as being contrary to good morals and decency, has the assent both of Ulpian and our *English* courts*.

Secondly; when a man spontaneously and officiously proposes to keep the goods of another, *he may prevent the owner from intrusting them with a person of more approved vigilance; for which reason he takes upon himself, according to Julian, the risk of the deposit, and becomes responsible at least for ordinary neglect, but not for mere casualties†.

Where things are deposited through necessity on any sudden emergence, as a fire or a shipwreck, M. Le Brun insists, "that the depositary must "answer for less than gross neglect, how careless "soever he may be in his own affairs; since the "preceding remark, that a man, who repose con-
"fidence in an improvident person, must impute "any loss to his own folly, is inapplicable to a "cafe, where the deposit was not optional; and "the law ceases with the reason of it‡;" but that is not the only reason; and, though it is an ad-
Additional misfortune, for a man in extreme haste and deep distress to light upon a stupid or inat-

* Doct. and Stud. dial. 2. chap. 38.
† D. 16. 31 I. 35.
‡ De la Prestation des Fautes, p. 77.
tentive depositary, yet I can hardly persuade myself, that more than perfect good faith is demanded in this case, although a violation of that faith be certainly more criminal than in other cases, and was therefore punished at Rome by a forfeiture of the double value of the goods deposited.

In these circumstances, however, a benevolent offer of keeping another's property for a time would not, I think, bring the case within Julian's rule before-mentioned, so as to make the person offering answerable for flight, or even ordinary negligence; and my opinion is confirmed by the authority of Labeo, who requires no more than good faith of a negotiorum gestor, when "affectione coactus, ne bona mea distrahantur, negotiis se meis obtulerit."

Thirdly; when the bailee, improperly called a depositary, either directly demands and receives a reward for his care, or takes the charge of goods in consequence of some lucrative contract, he becomes answerable for ordinary neglect; since, in truth, he is in both cases a conductor operis, and lets out his mental labour at a just price: thus, when clothes are left with a man, who is paid for the use of his bath, or a trunk with an innkeeper or his servants, or with a ferryman, the bailees are as much bound to indemnify the owners if the goods be lost or damaged through
their want of ordinary circumspection, as if they were to receive a stipulated recompense for their attention and pains; but of this more fully, when we come to the article of hiring.

Fourthly; when the bailee alone receives advantage from the deposit, as, if a thing be borrowed on a future event, and deposited with the intended borrower, until the event happens, because the owner, perhaps, is likely to be absent at the time, such a depositary must answer even for slight negligence; and this bailment, indeed, is rather a loan than a deposit, in whatever light it may be considered by the parties. Suppose, for example, that Charles, intending to appear at a masked ball expected to be given on a future night, requests George to lend him a dress and jewels for that purpose, and that George, being obliged to go immediately into the country, desires Charles to keep the dress till his return, and, if the ball be given in the mean time, to wear it; this seems to be a regular loan, although the original purpose of borrowing be future and contingent.

Since, therefore, the two last cases are not, in strict propriety, deposits, the exceptions to the general rule are reduced to two only; and the second of them, I conceive, will not be rejected by the English lawyer, although I recollect no de-
cision or dictum exactly conformable to the opinion of Julian.

Clearly as the obligation to restore a deposit flows from the nature and definition of this contract, yet, in the reign of Elizabeth, when it had been adjudged, consistently with common sense and common honesty, "that an action on "the case lay against a man, who had not per-
"formed his promise of redelivering, or deliver-
"ing over, things bailed to him," that judgement was reversed; and, in the sixth year of James, judgement for the plaintiff was arrested in a case exactly similar*: it is no wonder, that the profession grumbled, as lord Holt says, at so absurd a reversal; which was itself most justly reversed a few years after, and the first decision solemnly established†.

Among the other curious remains of Attick law, which philologers have collected, very little relates to the contracts, which are the subject of this essay; but I remember to have read of Demosthenes, that he was advocate for a person, with whom three men had deposited some valuable utensil, of which they were joint-owners; and the depositary had delivered it to one of them, of whose knavery he had no suspicion;

* Yelv. 4. 50. 128.
† 2 Cro. 667. Wheatly and Low.
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upon which the other two brought an action, but were nonsuited on their own evidence, that there was a third bailor, whom they had not joined in the suit; for, the truth not being proved, Demosthenes insisted, that his client could not legally restore the deposit, unless all three proprietors were ready to receive it; and this doctrine was good at Rome as well as at Athens, when the thing deposited was in its nature incapable of partition: it is also law, I apprehend, in Westminster-hall*

The obligation to return a deposit faithfully was, in very early times, holden sacred by the Greeks, as we learn from the story of Glaucus, who, on consulting the oracle, received this answer "that it was criminal even to harbour a thought of with-holding deposited goods from the-owners, who claimed them†;" and a fine application of this universal law is made by an Arabian poet contemporary with Justinian, who remarks, "that life and wealth are only deposited with us by our creator, and, like all other deposits, must in due time be restored."

II. Employment by commission was also known to our ancient lawyers; and Bracton, the best writer of them all, expresses it by the Roman

† Herod. VI. 86. Juv. Sat. XIII. 199.
word, Mandatum; now, as the very essence of this contract is the gratuitous performance of it by the bailee, and as the term commission is also pretty generally applied to bailees, who receive hire or compensation for their attention and trouble, I shall not scruple to adopt the word Mandate as appropriated in a limited sense to the species of bailment now before us; nor will any confusion arise from the common acceptation of the word in the sense of a judicial command or precept, which is in truth only a secondary and inaccurate usage of it. The great distinction then between one sort of mandate and a deposit is, that the former lies in seance, and the latter, simply in custody: whence, as we have already intimated, a difference often arises between the degrees of care demanded in the one contract and in the other; for, the mandatary being considered as having engaged himself, to use a degree of diligence and attention adequate to the performance of his undertaking, the omission of such diligence may be, according to the nature of the business, either ordinary, or slight, neglect; although a bailee of this species ought regularly to be answerable only for a violation of good faith. This is the common doctrine taken from the law of Ulpian; but there seems, in reality, to be no exception in the present case from the general rule; for, since good faith itself
obliges every man to perform his actual engagements, it of course obliges the mandatary to exert himself in proportion to the exigence of the affair in hand, and neither to do any thing, how minute soever, by which his employer may sustain damage, nor omit any thing, however inconsiderable, which the nature of the act requires*: nor will a want of ability to perform the contract be any defence for the contracting party; for, though the law exacts no impossible things, yet it may justly require, that every man shall know his own strength, before he undertakes to do an act, and that, if he delude another by false pretensions to skill, he shall be responsible for any injury, that may be occasioned by such delusion. If, indeed, an unskilful man yield to the pressing instances of his friend, who could not otherwise have his work performed, and engage reluctantly in the business, no higher degree of diligence can be demanded of him than a fair exertion of his capacity.

It is almost needless to add, that a mandatary, as well as a depositary, may bind himself by a special agreement to be answerable even for casualties; but that neither the one nor the other can exempt himself by any stipulation from responsibility for fraud, or, its equivalent, gross neglect.

* Lord Raym. 910.
A distinction seems very early to have been made in our law between the nonfeasance, and the misfeasance, of a *conductor operis*, and, by equal reason, of a mandatory; or, in other words, between a total failure of performing an executory undertaking and a culpable neglect in executing it; for, when an action on the case was brought against a carpenter, who, having undertaken to build a new house for the plaintiff within a certain time, *had not built it*, the court gave judgment of nonsuit; but agreed, that, if the defendant had built the house negligently and spoiled the timber, an action against him would have been maintainable*. However, in a subsequent reign, when a similar action was commenced against one Watkins for *not building* a mill according to his undertaking, there was a long conversation between the judges and the bar, which chief justice Babington at length interrupted by ordering the defendant's counsel either to plead or to demur; but serjeant Rolf chose to plead specially, and issue was taken on a *discharge* of the agreement.† Justice Martin objected to the action, because no tort was alleged; and he persisted warmly in his opinion,

* Yearb. 11. Hen. IV. 33.

* Accions sur le cas, pl. 20.*
which seems not wholly irreconcilable to that of his two brethren; for in the cases, which they put, a special injury was supposed to be occasioned by the non-performance of the contract.

Authority and reason both convince me, that Martin, into whose opinion the reporter recommends an inquiry, was wrong in his objection, if he meant, as justice Cokain and the chief justice seem to have understood him, that no such action would lie for nonfeasance, even though special damage had been stated. His argument was, that the action before them founded in covenant merely, and required a specialty to support it; but that, if the covenant had been changed into a tort, a good writ of trespass on the case might have been maintained: he gave, indeed, an example of misfeasance, but did not controvert the instances, which were given by the other judges.

It was not allledged in either of the cases just cited, that the defendant was to receive pay for the feasance of his work; but, since both defendants were described as actually in trade, it was not perhaps intended, that they were to work for nothing: I cannot however persuade myself, that there would have been any difference, had the promises been purely gratuitous, and had a special injury been caused by the breach of them. Suppose, for instance, that Robert's corn-fields are sur-
rounded by a ditch or trench, in which the water from a certain spring used to have a free course, but which has of late been obstructed by soil and rubbish; and that, Robert informing his neighbour Henry of his intention speedily to clear the ditch, Henry offers and undertakes immediately to remove the obstruction and repair the banks without reward, he having business of the same kind to perform on his own grounds: if, in this case, Henry neglect to do the work undertaken, "and the water, not having its natural course, overflow the fields of Robert and spoil his corn," may not Robert maintain his action on the case? Most assuredly; and so in a thousand instances of proper bailments, that might be supposed; where a just reliance on the promise of the defendant prevented the plaintiff from employing another person, and was consequently the cause of the loss, which he sustained*; for it is, as it ought to be, a general rule, that, for every damnum injurid datum, an action of some sort, which it is the province of the pleader to advise, may be maintained; and, although the gratuitous performance of an act be a benefit conferred, yet, according to the just maxim of Paulus, Adjuvari nos, non decipi, beneficio oportet†: but the special da-

† D. 13. 6. 17. 3.
mage, not the assumption, is the cause of this action; and, if notice be given by the mandatary, before any damage incurred, and while another person may be employed, that he cannot perform the work, no process of law can enforce the performance of it.

A case in Brook, made complete from the Year-book, to which he refers, seems directly in point; for, by chief justice Fineux, it had been adjudged, that, "if a man assume to build a house for me by a certain day, and do not build it, and I suffer damage by his nonseance, I shall have an action on the case, as well as if he had done it amiss:" but it is possible, that Fineux might suppose a consideration, though none be mentioned*.

Actions on this contract are, indeed, very uncommon, for a reason not extremely flattering to human nature; because it is very uncommon to undertake any office of trouble without compensation; but, whether the case really happened, or the reward, which has actually been stipulated, was omitted in the declaration, the question, "whether a man was responsible for damage to certain goods occasioned by his negligence in performing a gratuitous promise," came before the court, in which lord Holt presided, so lately as the second year of queen Anne; and

a point, which the first elements of the **Roman** law have so fully decided, that no court of judicature on the continent would suffer it to be debated, was thought in **England** to deserve, what it certainly received, **very great consideration**.

The case was this: **Bernard** had assumed **without pay** safely to remove several casks of brandy from one cellar, and lay them down **safely** in another, but managed them so negligently, that one of the casks was staved. After the general issue joined, and a verdict for the plaintiff **Coggs**, a motion was made in arrest of judgement on the irrelevancy of the declaration, in which it was neither alleged, that the defendant was to have **any recompense for his pains**, nor that he was a **common porter**: but the court were unanimously of opinion, that the action lay; and, as it was thought a matter of great consequence, each of the judges delivered his opinion separately.

The chief justice, as it has before been intimated†, pronounced a clear, methodical, elaborate argument; in which he distinguished bailments into **six** sorts, and gave a history of the principal authorities concerning each of them.

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* **Ld. Raym. 909—920.** **Salk. 26.** **Com. 133.** **Farr. 13. 131. 528.**
† **P. 361.**
This argument is justly represented by my learned friend, the annotator on the First Institute, as "a most masterly view of the whole subject of "bailment*"; and, if my little work be considered merely as a commentary on it, the student may perhaps think, that my time and attention have not been uselessly bestowed. For the decision of the principal case, it would have been sufficient, I imagine, to insist, that the point was not new, but had already been determined; that the writ in the Register, called, in the strange dialect of our forefathers, De pipa vini cariandis†, was not similar, but identical; for, had the reward been the essence of the action, it must have been inserted in the writ, and nothing would have been left for the declaration but the stating of the day, the year, and other circumstances; of which Rastell exhibits a complete example in a writ and declaration for negligently and improvidently planting a quickset hedge, which the defendant had promised to raise, without any consideration alleged; and issue was joined on a traverse of the negligence.

* Hargr. Co. Litt. 89. b. n. 3. The profession must lament the necessary suspension of this valuable work.

† Reg. Orig. 110. a. see also 110. b. De equo infirmo sanando, and De columbari reparando.
and improvidence*. How any answer could have been given to these authorities, I am at a loss even to conceive: but, although it is needless to prove the same thing twice, yet other authorities, equally unanswerable, were adduced by the court, and supported with reasons no less cogent; for nothing, said Mr. Justice Powell emphatically, is law, that is not reason; a maxim, in theory excellent, but in practice dangerous, as many rules, true in the abstract, are false in the concrete; for, since the reason of Titius may, and frequently does, differ from the reason of Septimus, no man, who is not a lawyer, would ever know how to act, and no man, who is a lawyer, would in many instances know what to advise, unless courts were bound by authority, as firmly as the pagan deities were supposed to be bound by the decrees of fate.

Now the reason assigned by the learned judge for the cases in the Register and Year-books, which were the same with Coggs and Bernard, namely, "that the party's special as- sumed and undertaking obliged him so to do the thing, that the bailor came to no damage by his neglect," seems to intimate, that the omission of the words salvo et secure would have made a difference in this case, as in that of a deposit; but I humbly contend, that those words are implied,

by the nature of a contract which lies in feance, agreeably to the distinction with which I began this article. As judgement, indeed, was to be given on the record merely, it was unnecessary, and might have been improper, to have extended the proposition beyond the point then before the court; but I cannot think, that the narrowness of the proposition in this instance affects the general doctrine, which I have presumed to lay down; and, in the strong case of the shepherd, who had a flock to keep, which he suffered through negligence to be drowned, neither a reward nor a special undertaking are stated*: that case, in the opinion of justice Townsend, depended upon the distinction between a bargain executed and executory; but I cannot doubt the relevancy of an action in the second case, as well as the first, whenever actual damage is occasioned by the non-feance†.

There seems little necessity after this, to mention the case of Powter and Walton, the reason of which applies directly to the present subject; and, though it may be objected that the defendant was stated as a farrier, and must be

* Yearb. 2 Hen. VII. 11.
† Statb. Abr. tit. Accions sur le cas, pl. 11. By justice Pafton,
"si un ferrour face covenant oye moy de ferrier mon chival, jeo die quil ne ferra mon chival, uncore jeo averai accion fur mon cas, qar en son default paraventure mon chival eft perie."
presumed to have acted in his trade, yet chief justice Rolle intimates no such presumption; but says expressly, that "an action on the case " lies upon this matter, without alleging any con-
"fideration: for the negligence is the cause of " action, and not the assumption.""

A bailment without reward to carry from place to place is very different from a mandate to perform a work; and, there being nothing to take it out of the general rule, I cannot conceive that the bailee is responsible for less than gross neglect, unless there be a special acceptance: for instance, if Stephen desire Philip to carry a diamond-ring from Bristol to a person in London, and he put it with bank-notes of his own into a letter-case, out of which it is stolen at an inn, or seized by a robber on the road, Philip shall not be answerable for it; although a very careful, or perhaps a commonly prudent, man would have kept it in his purse at the inn, and have concealed it somewhere in the carriage; but, if he were to secrete his own notes with peculiar vigilance, and either leave the diamond in an open room, or wear it on his finger in the chaise, I think he would be bound, in case of a loss by stealth or robbery, to restore the value of it to Stephen: every thing, therefore, that has been expounded

* 1 Ro. Abr. 19.
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in the preceding article concerning *deposits*, may be applied exactly to *this sort* of bailment, which may be considered as a subdivision of the second species.

Since we have nothing in these cases analogous to the judgements of *infamy*, which were often pronounced at *Rome* and *Athens*, it is hardly necessary to add, what appears from the speech of *Cicero* for *S. Roscius of America*, that "the ancient *Romans* considered a mandatary as *infamous*, if he broke his engagement, not only *by actual fraud*, but even by *more than ordinary negligence*.*"

As to exceptions from the rule concerning the degree of negligence, for which a mandatary is responsible, almost all, that has been advanced before in the article of *deposits*, in regard to a special convention, a voluntary offer, and an interest accruing to both parties, or only to the bailee, may be applied to mandates: an undertaker of a work for the benefit of an absent person, and without his *knowledge*, is the *negotiorum gestor* of the civilians, and the obligation resulting from

* "In privatis rebus, si quis rem *mandatam* non modo *ma-
  liosius* gestisset, sibi questus aut commodi caufid, verùmetiam
  *negligentius*, eum majores sumnum admississe dedecus exifti-
  mabant: itaque *mandati* constitutum est judicium, non minus
his implied contract has been incidentally mentioned in a preceding page.

III. On the third species of bailment, which is one of the most usual and most convenient in civil society, little remains to be observed; because our own, and the Roman, law are on this head perfectly coincident. I call it, after the French lawyers, loan for use, to distinguish it from their loan for consumption, or the mutuum of the Romans; by which is understood the lending of money, wine, corn, and other things, that may be valued by number, weight, or measure, and are to be restored only in equal value or quantity*: this latter contract, which, according to St. German, is most properly called a loan, does not belong to the present subject; but it may be right to remark, that, as the specific things are not to be returned, the absolute pro-

* Doct. and Stud. dial. 2. ch. 38. Braæt. 99. a. b. In ld. Raym. 916. where this passage from Bracton is cited by the chief justice, mutuum is printed for commodatam; but what then can be made of the words ad ipsam restituendum? There is certainly some mistake in the passage, which must be very ancient, for the oldest MS. that I have seen, is conformable to Tottel's edition. I suspect the omission of a whole line after the word precium, where the manuscript has a full point; and possibly the sentence omitted may be thus supplied from Justinian, whom Bracton copied: 'At is, qui mutuum accepit, obligatus remanet,' si forte incendio, &c. Infl. 3. 13. 2.
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Property of them is transferred to the borrower, who must bear the loss of them, if they be destroyed by wreck, pillage, fire, or other inevitable misfortune. Very different is the nature of the bailment in question; for a horse, a chariot, a book, a greyhound, or a fowling-piece, which are lent for the use of the bailee, ought to be readelivered specifically; and the owner must abide the loss, if they perish through any accident, which a very careful and vigilant man could not have avoided. The negligence of the borrower, who alone receives benefit from the contract, is construed rigorously, and, although slight, makes him liable to indemnify the lender; nor will his incapacity to exert more than ordinary attention avail him on the ground of an impossibility, "which the law, says the rule, never demands;" for that maxim relates merely to things absolutely impossible; and it was not only very possible, but very expedient, for him to have examined his own capacity of performing the undertaking, before he deluded his neighbour by engaging in it: if the lender, indeed, was not deceived, but perfectly knew the quality, as well as age, of the borrower, he must be supposed to have demanded no higher care, than that of which such a person was capable; as, if Paul lend a fine horse to a raw youth, he cannot exact the same degree of management and cir-
cumspception, which he would expect from a riding-master or an officer of dragoons.

From the rule, that a borrower is answerable for flight neglect, compared with the distinction before made between simple theft and robbery, it follows, that, if the borrowed goods be stolen out of his possession by any person whatever, he must pay the worth of them to the lender, unless he prove, that they were purloined notwithstanding his extraordinary care. The example, given by Julian, is the first and best that occurs: Caius borrows a silver ewer of Titius, and afterwards delivers it, that it may be safely restored, to a bearer of such approved fidelity and wariness, that no event could be less expected than its being stolen; if, after all, the bearer be met in the way by scoundrels, who contrive to steal it, Caius appears to be wholly blameless, and Titius has suffered damnum sine injuria. It seems hardly necessary to add, that the same care, which the bailee is bound to take of the principal thing bailed, must be extended to such accessory things, as belong to it, and were delivered with it: thus a man, who borrows a watch, is responsible for flight neglect of the chain and seals.

Although the laws of Rome, with which those

* Dumoulin, trac. De eo quod interesse, n. 185.
† See p. 370. and note†.
of England in this respect agree, most expressly decide, that a borrower, using more than ordinary diligence, shall not be chargeable, if there be a force which he cannot resist*, yet Pufendorf employs much idle reasoning, which I am not idle enough to transcribe, in support of a new opinion; namely, "that the borrower ought to indemnify the lender, if the goods lent be destroyed by fire, shipwreck, or other inevitable accident, and without his fault, unless his own "perish with them:" for example, if Paul lend William a horse worth thirty guineas to ride from Oxford to London, and William be attacked on a heath in that road by highwaymen, who kill or seize the horse, he is obliged, according to Pufendorf and his annotator, to pay thirty guineas to Paul. The justice and good sense of the contrary decision are evinced beyond a doubt by M. Pothier, who makes a distinction between those cases, where the loan was the occasion merely of damage to the lender, who might in the mean time have sustained a loss from other accidents, and those, where the loan was the sole efficient cause of his damage†; as if Paul, having lent his horse, should be forced in the interval by some pressing business to hire an-

* D. 44. 7. 1. 4. Ld. Raym. 916.
other for himself; in this case the borrower ought, indeed, to pay for the hired horse, unless the lender had voluntarily submitted to bear the inconvenience caused by the loan; for, in this sense and in this instance, a benefit conferred should not be injurious to the benefactor. As to a condition presumed to be imposed by the lender, that he would not abide by any loss occasioned by the lending, it seems the wildest and most unreasonable of presumptions: if Paul really intended to impose such a condition, he should have declared his mind; and I persuade myself, that William would have declined a favour so hardly obtained.

Had the borrower, indeed, been imprudent enough to leave the high road and pass through some thicket, where robbers might be supposed to lurk, or had he travelled in the dark at a very unseasonable hour, and had the horse, in either case, been taken from him or killed, he must have indemnified the owner; for irresistible force is no excuse, if a man put himself in the way of it by his own rashness. This is nearly the case, cited by St. German from the Summa Iosella, where a loan must be meant, though the word depositum be erroneously used*; and it is there decided, that, if the borrower of a horse will im-

* Do2. and Stud. where before cited.
prudently ride by a *ruinous* house in manifest danger of falling, and part of it actually fall on the horse's head, and kill him, the lender is entitled to the price of him; but that, if the house were in good condition and fell by the violence of a sudden hurricane, the bailee shall be discharged. For the same, or a stronger, reason, if *William*, instead of coming to *London*, for which purpose the horse was lent, go towards *Bath*, or, having borrowed him for a week, keep him for a month, he becomes responsible for any accident, that may befal the horse in his journey to *Bath*, or after the expiration of the week*.

Thus, if *Charles*, in a case before put†, wear the masked habit and jewels of *George* at the ball, for which they were borrowed, and be robbed of them in his return home at the usual time and by the usual way, he cannot be compelled to pay *George* the value of them; but it would be otherwise, if he were to go with the jewels from the theatre to a gaming-house, and were there to lose them by any casualty whatever. So, in the instance proposed by *Gaius* in the digest, if silver utensils be lent to a man for the purpose of entertaining a party of friends at supper *in the metropolis*, and he carry them *into the country*, there can be no doubt of his ob-

* Ld. Raym. 915.  
† P. 377.
ligation to indemnify the lender, if the plate be lost by accident however irresistible.

There are other cases, in which a borrower is chargeable for inevitable mischance, even when he has not, as he legally may, taken the whole risk upon himself by express agreement. For example, if the house of Caius be in flames, and he, being able to secure one thing only, save an urn of his own in preference to the silver ewer, which he had borrowed of Titius, he shall make the lender a compensation for the loss; especially if the ewer be the more valuable, and would consequently have been preferred, had he been owner of them both: even if his urn be the more precious, he must either leave it, and bring away the borrowed vessel, or pay Titius the value of that, which he has lost; unless the alarm was so sudden, and the fire so violent, that no deliberation or selection could be justly expected, and Caius had time only to snatch up the first utensil, that presented itself.

Since openness and honesty are the soul of contracts, and since "a suppression of truth is often as culpable as an express falsehood," I accede to the opinion of M. Pothier, that, if a soldier were to borrow a horse of his friend for a battle expected to be fought the next morning, and were to conceal from him, that his own horse was as fit for the service, and if the horse, so bor-
rowed, were slain in the engagement, the lender ought to be indemnified; for probably the dissimulation of the borrower induced him to lend the horse; but, had the soldier openly and frankly acknowledged, *that he was unwilling to expose his own horse*, since, in case of a loss, he was unable to purchase another, and his friend, nevertheless, had generously lent him one, the lender would have run, as in other instances, the risk of the day.

If the bailee, to use the *Roman* expression, be *in mora*, that is, if *a legal demand* have been made by the bailor, he must answer for any casualty that happens *after the demand*; unless in cases, where it may be strongly presumed, that the same accident would have befallen the thing bailed, even if it had been restored at the proper time; or unless the bailee have legally tendered the thing, and the bailor have put himself *in mora* by refusing to accept it: this rule extends of course to every species of bailment.

"Whether, in case of a *valued loan*, or, where "the goods lent are *estimated at a certain price*, "the borrower must be considered as bound *in all events* to restore either the things lent or "the value of them," is a question, upon which the civilians are as much divided, as they are upon the celebrated clause in the law *Contractus*: five or six commentators of high reputation enter
the lists against as many of equal fame, and each side displays great ingenuity and address in this juridical tournament. D'Avezan supports the affirmative; and Pothier, the negative; but the second opinion seems the more reasonable. The word *Periculum*, used by Ulpian, is in itself equivocal: it means *hazard* in general, proceeding either from *accident* or from *neglect*; and in this latter sense it appears to have been taken by the Roman lawyer in the passage, which gave birth to the dispute. But, whatever be the true interpretation of that passage, I cannot satisfy myself, that, either in the Customary Provinces of France, or in England, a borrower can be chargeable for all events without his consent unequivocally given: if William, indeed, had said to Paul alternatively, "I promise, on my return to Oxford, either to restore your horse or to pay you thirty guineas," he must in all events have performed one part of this disjunctive obligation*; but, if Paul had only said, "the horse, which I lend you for this journey, is fairly worth thirty guineas," no more could be implied from those words, than a design of preventing any future difficulty about the price, if the horse should be killed or injured through an omission of that extraordinary diligence, which the nature of the contract required.

*Palm. 651.*
OF BAILMENTS.

Besides the general exception to the rule concerning the degrees of neglect, namely, *Si quid convenit vel plus vel minus*, another is, where goods are lent for a use, in which the lender has a common interest with the borrower: in this case, as in other bailments reciprocally advantageous, the bailee can be responsible for no more than ordinary negligence; as, if Stephen and Philip invite some common friends to an entertainment prepared at their joint expense, for which purpose Philip lends a service of plate to his companion, who undertakes the whole management of the feast, Stephen is obliged only to take ordinary care of the plate; but this, in truth, is rather the innominate contract *do ut facias*, than a proper loan.

Agreeably to this principle, it must be decided, that, if goods be lent for the sole advantage of the lender, the borrower is answerable for gross neglect only; as, if a passionate lover of music were to lend his own instrument to a player in a concert, merely to augment his pleasure from the performance; but here again, the bailment is not so much a loan, as a mandate; and, if the musician were to play with all due skill and exertion, but were to break or hurt the instrument without any malice or very culpable negligence, he would not be bound to indemnify the amateur, as he was not in want of the instrument,
and had no particular desire to use it. If, indeed, a poor artist, having lost or spoiled his violin or flute, be much distressed by this loss, and a brother-musician obligingly, though voluntarily, offer to lend him his own, I cannot agree with Des-Peisses, a learned advocate of Montpellier and writer on Roman law, that the player may be less careful of it than any other borrower: on the contrary, he is bound, in conscience at least, to raise his attention even to a higher degree; and his negligence ought to be construed with rigour.

By the law of Moses, as it is commonly translated, a remarkable distinction was made between the loss of borrowed cattle or goods, happening in the absence, or the presence, of the owner; for, says the divine legislator, "if a man borrow aught of his neighbour, and it be hurt or die, the owner thereof not being with it, he shall surely make it good; but, if the owner thereof be with it, he shall not make it good": now it is by no means certain, that the original word signifies the owner, for it may signify the possessor, and the law may import, that the borrower ought not to lose sight, when he can possibly avoid it, of the thing borrowed; but, if it was intended, that the borrower should always.

* Exod. xxii. 14, 15.
answer for casualties, except in the case, which must rarely happen, of the owner's presence, this exception seems to prove, that no casualties were meant, but such as extraordinary care might have prevented; for I cannot see, what difference could be made by the presence of the owner, if the force, productive of the injury, were wholly irresistible, or the accident inevitable.

An old Athenian law is preferred by Demosthenes, from which little can be gathered on account of its generality and the use of an ambiguous word*; it is understood by Petit as relating to guardians, mandataries, and commissioners; and it is cited by the orator in the case of a guardianship. The Athenians were, probably, satisfied with speaking very generally in their laws, and left their juries, for juries they certainly had, to decide favourably or severely, according to the circumstances of each particular case.

IV. As to the degree of diligence, which the law requires from a pawnee, I find myself again obliged to dissent from Sir Edward Coke, with whose opinion a similar liberty has before been taken in regard to a depositary; for that very learned man

* Πηγήν οὐκ εσπερίνη τις, ομοίως ερμηνεύς, οὐσίατε οὖν πάντως ἵν. Reiske's edition, 855. 3. Here the verb ἀναφιάσας, may imply flight, or ordinary, neglect; or even fraud, as Petit has rendered it.
lays it down, that, "if goods be delivered to "one as a gage or pledge, and they be stolen, "he shall be discharged, because be hath a pro-
"perty in them; and, therefore, he ought to "keep them no otherwise than his own*. I
deny the first proposition, the reason, and the conclusion.

Since the bailment, which is the subject of the
present article, is beneficial to the pawnnee by se-
curing the payment of his debt, and to the pawnor
by procuring him credit, the rule, which natu-
ral reason prescribes, and which the wisdom of
nations has confirmed, makes it requisite for the
person, to whom a gage or pledge is bailed, to
take ordinary care of it; and he must consequently
be responsible for ordinary neglect†. This is
expressly holden by Bracton; and, when I rely
on his authority, I am perfectly aware, that he
copied Justinian almost word for word, and
that lord Holt, who makes considerable use of
his treatise, observes three or four times, "that
"he was an old author‡;” but, although he had
been a civilian, yet he was also a great com-
mon-lawyer, and never, I believe, adopted the
rules and expressions of the Romans, except
when they coincided with the laws of England

* 1 Inst. 89. a. 4 Rep. 83. b.
† Bract. 99. b.
‡ 1d. Raym. 915, 916. 919.
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in his time: he is certainly the *best* of our juridi-
cultural classicks; and, as to our *ancient* authors, if
their doctrine be *not* law, it must be left to mere
historians and antiquaries; but, if it remain un-
 impeached by any later decision, it is not only
equally binding with the most recent law, but
has the advantage of being matured and ap-
proved by the collected sagacity and experience
of ages. The doctrine in question has the full
affent of lord HOLT himself, who declares it to be "*sufficient*, if the pawnee use *true*, and ordi-
*nary*, diligence for restoring the goods, and
"that, so doing, he will be indemnified, and,
"notwithstanding the loss, shall resort to the
"pawnor for his debt." Now it has been
proved, that "*a bailee cannot be consi-
dered* as using *ordinary* diligence, who suf-
s the *goods* bailed to be taken by *steal*
out of his
"custody*;" and it follows, that "*a pawnee*
"shall not be discharged, if the pawn be simply
"*stolen* from him; but if he be forcibly *robbed*
"of it *without* his *fault*, his debt shall not be
"*extinguished.*

The passage in the Roman institutes, which
BRACTON has nearly transcribed, by no means
convinces M. LE BRUN, that a *pawnee* and a bor-
rrower are not responsible for *one and the same*
degree of negligence; and it is very certain, that

* P. 370. note†.
ULPIAN, speaking of the *Actio pignoratitia*, uses these remarkable words: "Venit in *bac actione* " et dolus et culpa ut in commodato, venit et cui- " todia; vis major non venit." To solve this difficulty, NOODT has recourse to a conjectural emendation, and supposes ut to have been inadvertently written for at; but, if this was a mistake, it must have been pretty ancient, for the Greek translators of this sentence use a particle of similitude, not an adversative: there seems, however, no occasion for so hazardous a mode of criticism. ULPIAN has not said, "*talis culpa qualis in commodato;*" nor does the word ut imply an exact resemblance: he meant, that a pawnee was answerable for neglect, and gave the first instance, that occurred, of another contract, in which the party was likewise answerable for neglect, but left the fort or degree of negligence to be determined by his general rule; conformably to which he himself expressly mentions PIGNUS among other contracts *reciprocally useful*, and distinguishes it from COMMODATUM, whence the borrower *solely* derives advantage*.

It is rather easier to answer the case in the book of *Affect*, which seems wholly subversive of my reasoning, and, if it stand unexplained, will break the harmony of my system†; for there, in

* Before, p. 370.  
† 29 Aeff. pl. 28.
an action of detinue for a hamper, which had been bailed by the plaintiff to the defendant, the bailee pleaded, "that it was delivered to him *in gage* for a certain sum of money; that he " had put it among his other goods; and that all " together had been *stolen* from him:" now, according to my doctrine, the plaintiff might have demurred to the plea; but he was *driven* to reply, "that he *tendered* the money before the *stealing*, and that the creditor refused to accept it," on which fact issue was joined; and the reason, assigned by the chief justice, was, that, "if a " man bail goods to me *to keep*, and I put them " among my own, I shall not be charged, if they " be *stolen*." To this case I answer: first, that, if the court really made no difference between a *pawnee* and a *depositary*, they were indubitably mistaken; for which assertion I have the authority of *Bracton*, lord *Holt*, and St. *German*, who ranks the taker of a pledge in the same class with a *bailer* of goods*; next, that in a much later case, in the reign of *Hen. VI.* where a *biring of custody* seems to be meant, the distinction between a *theft* and a *robbery* is taken agreeably to the *Roman law†; and, lastly, that, although in the strict propriety of our *English* language, to *steal* is to take *clandestinely*, and to *rob*

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* Doct. and Stud. dial 2. ch. 38.
† Before, p. 370. note†.
is to seize by violence, corresponding with the Norman verbs embleer and robber, yet those words are sometimes used inaccurately; and I always suspected, that the case in the book of Afsifie related to a robbery, or a taking with force; a suspicion confirmed beyond any doubt by the judicious Brook, who abridges this very case with the following title in the margin, "Que serra " al perde, quant les biens sont robbes:" and, in a modern work, where the old cases are referred to, it appears to have been settled, in conformity to them and to reason, "that if the pawn be laid " up, and the pawnee be robbed, he shall not be " answerable:" but lord Coke seems to have used the word stolen in its proper sense, because he plainly compares a pawn with a deposit.

If, indeed, the thing pledged be taken openly and violently through the fault of the pledgee, he shall be responsible for it; and, after a tender and refusal of the money owed, which are equivalent to actual payment, the whole property is instantly vested in the pledgor, and he may consequently maintain an action of trover: it is said in a most useful work, that by such tender and refusal the thing pawned "ceases to be a pledge and " becomes a deposit:" but this must be an error

* Abr. tit. Bailment, pl. 7.  † 2 Salk. 522.
† 29 Ass. pl. 28.  Yelv. 179.  Ratcliff and Davis.
§ Law of Nisi Prius, 72.
of impression; for there can never be a deposit without the owner's consent, and a depositary would be chargeable only for gross negligence, whereas the pawnee, whose special property is determined by the wrongful detainer, becomes liable in all possible events to make good the thing loft, or to relinquish his debt*.

The reason, given by Coke for his doctrine, namely, "because the pawnee has a property in the goods pledged," is applicable to every other sort of bailment, and proves nothing in regard to any particular species; for every bailee has a temporary qualified property in the things, of which possession is delivered to him by the bailor, and has, therefore, a possessory action or an appeal in his own name against any stranger, who may damage or purloin them†. By the Roman law, indeed, "even the possession of the depositary was holden to be that of the person depositing;" but with us the general bailee has unquestionably a limited property in the goods intrusted to his care: he may not, however, use them on any account without the consent of the owner, either expressly given, if it can possibly be obtained, or at least strongly presumed; and this presumption varies, as the thing is likely to be better, or worse, or not at all af-

* Ld. Raym. 917. † Yearb. 21 Hen. VII. 14. b. 15. a.
feeted, by usage; since, if Caius deposit a setting-dog with Titius, he can hardly be supposed unwilling, that the dog should be used for partridge-shooting, and thus be confirms in those habits, which make him valuable; but, if clothes or linen be deposited by him, one can scarce imagine, that he would suffer them to be worn; and, on the other hand, it may justly be inferred, that he would gladly indulge Titius in the liberty of using the books, of which he had the custody, since even moderate care would prevent them from being injured. In the same manner it has been holden, that the pawnee of goods, which will be impaired by usage, cannot use them; but it would be otherwise, I apprehend, if the things pawned actually required exercise and a continuance of habits, as sporting-dogs and horses: if they cannot be hurt by being worn, they may be used, but at the peril of the pledgee; as, if chains of gold, ear-rings, or bracelets, be left in pawn with a lady, and she wear them at a publick place, and be robbed of them on her return, she must make them good: “if she keeps them in a bag,” says a learned and respectable writer, “and they are stolen, she shall not be charged*;” but the bag could hardly be taken privately and quietly without her omission of or-

* Law of Nis Prias, 72.
binary diligence; and the manner, in which lord Holt puts the case, establishes my system, and confirms the answer just offered to the case from the Year-book; for, "if she keep the jewels," says he, "locked up in her cabinet, and "her cabinet be broken open, and the jewels taken "thence, she will not be answerable." Again; it is said, that where the pawnee is at any expense to maintain the thing given in pledge, as, if it be a horse or a cow, he may ride the horse moderately, and milk the cow regularly, by way of compensation for the charge; and this doctrine must be equally applicable to a general bailee, who ought neither to be injured nor benefited in any respect by the trust undertaken by him; but the Roman and French law, more agreeably to principle and analogy, permits indeed both the pawnee and the depositary to milk the cows delivered to them, but requires them to account with the respective owners for the value of the milk and calves, deducting the reasonable charges of their nourishment. It follows from these remarks, that lord Coke has assigned an inadequate reason for the degree of diligence, which is demanded of a pawnee; and the true reason is, that the law requires nothing extraordinary of him.

* Ld. Raym. 977.  † Ow. 124.  
† Poth. Dépôt, n. 47.  Nantissement, n. 35.
But, if the receiver in pledge were the only bailee, who had a special property in the thing bailed, it could not be logically inferred, "that, "therefore, he ought to keep it merely as his own:" for, even if Caius have an absolute undivided property in goods, jointly or in common with Septimius, he is bound by rational, as well as positive, law to take more care of them than of his own, unless he be in fact a prudent and thoughtful manager of his own concerns; since every man ought to use ordinary diligence in affairs, which interest another as well as himself: "Aliena negotia," says the emperor Constantine, "exaëto officio geruntur*.

The conclusion, therefore, drawn by Sir Edward Coke, is no less illogical than his premises are weak; but here I must do M. Le Brun the justice to observe, that the argument, on which his whole system is founded, occurred likewise to the great oracle of English law; namely, that a person, who had a property in things committed to his charge, was only obliged to be as careful of them as of his own goods; which may be very true, if the sentence be predicated of a man ordinarily careful of his own; and, if that was Le Brun's hypothesis, he has done little more than adopt the system of Gode-

* C. 4. 35. 21.
EROI, who exacts ordinary diligence from a partner and a co-proprietor, but requires a higher degree in eight of the ten preceding contracts.

Pledges for debt are of the highest antiquity: they were used in very early times by the roving Arabs, one of whom finely remarks, "that the "life of man is no more than a pledge in the hands of Destiny;" and the salutary laws of Moses, which forbade certain implements of husbandry and a widow's raiment to be given in pawn, deserve to be imitated as well as admired. The distinction between pledging, where possession is transferred to the creditor, and hypothecation, where it remains with the debtor, was originally Attick; but scarce any part of the Athenian laws on this subject can be gleaned from the ancient orators, except what relates to bottomry in five speeches of Demosthenes.

I cannot end this article, without mentioning a singular case from a curious manuscript preserved at Cambridge, which contains a collection of queries in Turkish, together with the decisions or concise answers of the Mufli at Constantinople: it is commonly imagined, that the Turks have a translation in their own language of the Greek code, from which they have supplied the defects of their Tartarian and Arabian jurisprudence*.

but I have not met with any such translation, although I admit the conjecture to be highly probable, and am persuaded, that their numerous treatises on Mabomedan law are worthy on many accounts of an attentive examination. The case was this: "Zaid had left with Amru divers "goods in pledge for a certain sum of money, "and some ruffians, having entered the house of "Amru, took away his own goods together "with those pawned by Zaid." Now we must necessarily suppose, that the creditor had by his own fault given occasion to this robbery; otherwise we may boldly pronounce, that the Turks are wholly unacquainted with the imperial laws of BYZANTIUM, and that their own rules are totally repugnant to natural justice; for the party proceeds to ask, "whether, since the debt became "extinct by the loss of the pledge, and since the "goods pawned exceeded in value the amount "of the debt, Zaid could legally demand the "balance of Amru;" to which question the great law-officer of the Othman court answered with the brevity usual on such occasions, Ol-Maz, It cannot be*. This custom, we must con-

* Publ. Libr. Cambr. MSS. Dd. 4. 3. See Wotton, LL. Hywel Dda. lib. 2. cap. 2. § 29. note x. It may possibly be the usage in Turkey to stipulate "ut amissio pignoris liberet de-
feis, of proposing cases both of law and conscience under 
feigned names to the supreme judge, whose answers are con-
sidered as solemn decrees, is admirably calculated to prevent partiality and to save the charges of litigation.

V. The last species of bailment is by no means the least important of the five, whether we consider the infinite convenience and daily use of the contract itself, or the variety of its branches, each of which shall now be succinctly, but accurately, examined.

1. Locatio, or locatio-conductio, rei, is a contract, by which the hirer gains a transient qualified property in the thing hired, and the owner acquires an absolute property in the stipend, or price, of the hiring; so that, in truth, it bears a strong resemblance to the contract of emptio-venditio, or sale; and, since it is advantageous to both contracting parties, the harmonious consent of nations will be interrupted, and one object of this essay defeated, if the laws of England shall be found, on a fair inquiry, to demand of the hirer a more than ordinary degree of diligence. In the most recent publication, that I have read on any legal subject, it is expressly said, "that the hirer is to take all imaginable care of the goods delivered for hire":"

words *all imaginable*, if the principles before established be just, are too strong for practice even in the strict case of *borrowing*; but, if we take them in the mildest sense, they must imply an *extraordinary* degree of care; and this doctrine, I presume, is founded on that of lord *Holt* in the case of *Cocos and Bernard*, where the great judge lays it down, “that, if goods are let out “for a *reward*, the *bailer* is bound to the *utmost* "diligence, such as the *most diligent father of "a family uses*.” It may seem bold to controvert so respectable an opinion; but, without insisting on the palpable injustice of making a *borrower* and a *bailer* answerable for precisely the *same* degree of neglect, and without urging, that the point was not then before the court, I will engage to show, by tracing the doctrine up to its real source, that the *dictum* of the chief justice was entirely grounded on a grammatical mistake in the translation of a single *Latin* word.

In the first place, it is indubitable, that his lordship relied *solely* on the authority of *Bracton*; whose words he cites at large, and immediately subjoins, “*whence it appears, &c.*” now the words, “*talis ab eo desideratur custodia, “qualem DILIGENTISSIMUS paterfamilias suis*

* Ld. Raym. 916.
"rebus adhibit," on which the whole question depends, are copied exactly from Justinian*, who informs us in the proem to his Institutes, that his decisions in that work were extracted principally from the Commentaries of Gaius; and the epithet diligentissimus is in fact used by this ancient lawyer †, and by him alone, on the subject of hiring: but Gaius is remarked for writing with energy, and for being fond of using superlatives, where all other writers are satisfied with positives‡; so that his forcible manner of expressing himself, in this instance as in some others, misled the compilers employed by the Emperor, whose words Theophilus rendered more than literally, and Bracton transcribed; and thus an epithet, which ought to have been translated ordinarily diligent, has been supposed to mean extremely careful. By rectifying this mistake, we restore the broken harmony of the pandects with the institutes, which, together with the code, form one connected work§, and, when properly understood, explain and illustrate each other; nor is it necessary, I conceive, to adopt the interpretation of M. De Ferriére, who ima-

* Bract. 62. b. Justin. Inst. 3. 25. 5. where Theophilus has
† D 19. 2. 25. 7. ‡ Le Brun, p. 93. § Burr. 426.

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gines, that both Justinian and Gaius are speaking only of cases, which from their nature demand extraordinary care.

There is no authority then against the rule, which requires of a hirer the same degree of diligence, that all prudent men, that is, the generality of mankind, use in keeping their own goods; and the just distinction between borrowing and hiring, which the Jewish lawgiver emphatically makes, by saying, "if it be an hired thing, it came for its hire," remains established by the concurrent wisdom of nations in all ages.

If Caius therefore hire a horse, he is bound to ride it as moderately and treat it as carefully, as any man of common discretion would ride and treat his own horse; and if, through his negligence, as by leaving the door of his stable open at night, the horse be stolen, he must answer for it; but not if he be robbed of it by highwaymen, unless by his imprudence he gave occasion to the robbery, as by travelling at unusual hours, or by taking an unusual road: if, indeed, he hire a carriage and any number of horses, and the owner send with them his postilion or coachman, Caius is discharged from all attention to the horses, and remains obliged only to

\* In\* vol. V. p. 138.  
\* Exod. xxii. 15.
take ordinary care of the glassses and inside of
the carriage, while he sits in it.

Since the negligence of a servant, acting under
his master's directions express or implied, is the
negligence of the master, it follows, that, if the
servant of Caius injure or kill the horse by rid-
ing it immoderately, or, by leaving the stable-
door open, suffer thieves to steal it, Caius must
make the owner a compensation for his loss*;
and it is just the same, if he take a ready-fur-
nished lodging, and his guests, or servants,
while they act under the authority given by
him, damage the furniture by the omission of
ordinary care. At Rome the law was not quite
so rigid; for Pomponius, whose opinion on
this point was generally adopted, made the
master liable, only when he was culpably negli-
gent in admitting careless guests or servants, whose
bad qualities he ought to have known †: but
this distinction must have been perplexing
enough in practice; and the rule, which, by
making the head of a family answerable indif-
criminately for the faults of those, whom he
receives or employs, compels him to keep a vi-
gilant eye on all his domesticks, is not only
more simple, but more conducive to the pub-
lick security, although, it may be rather harsh

* Salk. 282. Ld. Raym. 619. † D. 19. 2. 11.

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in some particular instances*. It may here be observed, that this is the only contract, to which the French, from whom our word *bailment* was borrowed, apply a word of the same origin; for the letting of a house or chamber for hire is by them called *bail à loyer*, and the letter for hire, *bailleur*, that is, *bailor*, both derived from the old verb *bailler*, to deliver; and, though the contracts, which are the subject of this essay, be generally confined to *moveable things*, yet it will not be improper to add, that, if *immoveable* property, as an orchard, a garden, or a farm, be letten by parol, with no other stipulation than for the price or rent, the lefsee is bound to use the same diligence in preserving the trees, plants, or implements, that *every prudent person* would use, if the orchard, garden, or farm, were his own.

2. *Locatio operis*, which is properly subdivisible into two branches, namely, *faciendi*, and *mercium vendendarum*, has a most extensive influence in civil life; but the principles, by which the obligations of the contracting parties may be ascertained, are no less obvious and rational, than the objects of the contract are often vast and important †.


† It may be useful to mention a nicety of the *Latin language* in the application of the verbs *locare* and *conducere*: the em-
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If Titius deliver silk or velvet to a tailor for a suit of clothes, or a gem to a jeweller to be set or engraved, or timber to a carpenter for the rafters of his house, the tailor, the engraver, and the builder, are not only obliged to perform their several undertakings in a workmanly manner*: but, since they are entitled to a reward, either by express bargain or by implication, they must also take ordinary care of the things respectively bailed to them: and thus, if a horse be delivered either to an agisting farmer for the purpose of depasturing in his meadows, or to an hostel for to be dressed and fed in his stable, the bailees are answerable for the loss of the horse, if it be occasioned by the ordinary neglect of themselves or their servants. It has, indeed, been adjudged, that, if the horse of a guest be sent to pasture by the owner's desire, the innholder is not, as such, responsible for the loss.

The player, who gives the reward, is locator operis, but conductor operarum; while the party employed, who receives the pay, is locator operarum, but conductor operis. Heinecc. in Pand. par. 3. § 320. So, in Horace,

"Tu secanda marmora
"Locas"—

which the stonehewer or mason conductit.

* 1 Ventr. 268. erroneously printed 1 Venr. 268. in all the editions of Bl. Comm. II. 452. The innumerable multitude of inaccurate or idle references, in our best reports and law-tracks, is the bane of the student and of the practiser.
of him by theft or accident*; and, in the case of Mosley and Fossett, an action against an agister for keeping a horse so negligently that it was stolen, is said to have been held maintainable only by reason of a special assumption†; but the case is differently reported by Rolle, who mentions no such reason; and, according to him, chief justice Popham advanced generally, in conformity to the principles before established, that, "if a man, to whom horses are "bailed for agistment, leave open the gates of "his field, in consequence of which neglect "they stray and are stolen, the owner has an "action against him:" it is the same, if the innkeeper send his guest's horse to a meadow of "his own accord, for he is bound to keep safely "all such things as his guests deposit within his inn, and shall not discharge himself by his own act "from that obligation; and, even when he turns "out the horse by order of the owner, and receives "pay for his grass and care, he is chargeable, "surely, for ordinary negligence, as a bailee for "hire, though not as an innkeeper by the general "custom of the realm. It may be worth while "to investigate the reasons of this general custom, "which in truth means no more than common law, "concerning innholders*. 

* 8 Rep. 32. Coyle's case. † Mo. 543. 1 Ro. Abr. 4. ‡ Reg. Orig. 105. a. Noy, Max, ch. 43.
Although a stipend or reward in money be the essence of the contract called locatio, yet the same responsibility for neglect is justly demanded in any of the innumerable contracts, or, whenever a valuable consideration of any kind is given or stipulated. This is the case, where the contract do ut des is formed by a reciprocal bailment for use, as if Robert permit Henry to use his pleasure-boat for a day, in consideration that Henry will give him the use of his chariot for the same time; and so in ten thousand instances, that might be imagined, of double bailments: this too is the case, if the absolute property of one thing be given as an equivalent for the temporary or limited property of another, as if Charles give George a brace of pointers for the use of his hunte during the season. The same rule is applicable to the contract facio ut facias, where two persons agree to perform reciprocal works; as if a mason and a carpenter have each respectively undertaken to build an edifice, and they mutually agree, that the first shall finish all the masonry, and the second all the wood-work, in their respective buildings; but, if a goldsmith make a bargain with an architect to give him a quantity of wrought plate for building his house, this is the contract do ut facias, or facio ut des; and, in all these cases, the bailees must answer for the omission of ordinary diligence in preserv-
ing the things, with which they are intrusted: so, when Jacob undertook the care of Laban's flocks and herds for no less a reward than his younger daughter, whom he loved so passionately, *that seven years were in his eyes like a few days*, he was bound to be just as vigilant, as if he had been paid in shekels of silver.

Now the obligation is precisely the same, as we have already hinted*, when a man takes upon himself the custody of goods *in consequence and consideration of another gainful contract*; and, though an innholder be not paid in money for securing the traveller's trunk, yet the guest *facit ut faciat*, and alights at the inn, not solely for his own refreshment, but also that his goods may be safe: independently of this reasoning, the custody of the goods may be considered as *accessary* to the principal contract, and the money paid for the apartments as extending to the care of the box or portmanteau; in which light *Gaius* and, as great a man as he, lord *Holt*, seem to view the obligation; for they agree, *"that, although a bargeman and a master of a ship receive their fare for the passage of travellers, and an innkeeper his pay for the accommodation and entertainment of them, but have no pecuniary reward for the mere custody of the goods be-*

* P. 375, 376.
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"longing to the passengers or guests, yet they
"are obliged to take ordinary care of those
"goods; as a fuller and a mender are paid for
"their skill only, yet are answerable, ex locato,
"for ordinary neglect, if the clothes be lost or
"damaged*.

In whatever point of view we consider this
bailment, no more is regularly demanded of the
bailee than the care, which every prudent man
takes of his own property; but it has long been
holden, that an innkeeper is bound to restitution,
if the trunks or parcels of his guests, committed
to him either personally or through one of his
agents, be damaged in his inn, or stolen out of it,
by any person whatever †; nor shall he discharge
himself from this responsibility by a refusal to
take any care of the goods, because there are
suspected persons in the house, for whose conduct
he cannot be answerable‡: it is otherwise, in-
deed, if he refuse admission to a traveller, be-
cause he really has no room for him, and the
traveller, nevertheless, insist upon entering, and
place his baggage in a chamber without the
keeper’s consent §.

Add to this, that, if he fail to provide honest
servants and honest inmates, according to the
confidence reposed in him by the publick, his

* D. 4. 9. 5. and 12 Mod. 487.
† Yearb. 10 Hen. VII. 26. 2 Cro. 189.
‡ Mo. 78. § Dy. 158. b. 1 And. 29.
negligence in that respect is highly culpable, and he ought to answer civilly for their acts, even if they should rob the guests, who sleep in his chambers*. Rigorous as this law may seem, and hard as it may actually be in one or two particular instances, it is founded on the great principle of publick utility, to which all private considerations ought to yield; for travellers, who must be numerous in a rich and commercial country, are obliged to rely almost implicitly on the good faith of innholders, whose education and morals are usually none of the best, and who might have frequent opportunities of associating with ruffians or pilferers, while the injured guest could seldom or never obtain legal proof of such combinations, or even of their negligence, if no actual fraud had been committed by them. Hence the Praetor declared, according to Pomponius, his desire of securing the public from the dishonesty of such men, and by his edict gave an action against them, if the goods of travellers or passengers were lost or hurt by any means, except damno fatali, or by inevitable accident; and Ulpian intimates, that even this severity could not restrain them from knavish practices or suspicious neglect†.

* 1 Bl. Comm. 430.  † D. 4. 9. 1. and 3.
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In all such cases, however, it is competent for the innholder to repel the presumption of his knavery or default, by proving that he took ordinary care, or that the force, which occasioned the loss or damage, was truly irresistible.

When a private man demands and receives a compensation for the bare custody of goods in his warehouse or store-room, this is not properly a deposit, but a hiring of care and attention: it may be called locatio custodii, and might have been made a distinct branch of this last sort of bailment, if it had not seemed useless to multiply subdivisions; and the bailee may still be denominated locator operœ, since the vigilance and care, which he lets out for pay, are, in truth a mental operation. Whatever be his appellation, either in English or Latin, he is clearly responsible, like other interested bailees, for ordinary negligence; and, although St. German seems to make no difference in this respect between a keeper of goods for hire and a simple depositary, yet he uses the word default, like the culpa of the Romans, as a general term, and leaves the degree of it to be ascertained by the rules of law*.

In the sentence immediately following, he makes a very material distinction between the two contracts; for, "if a man, says he, have

* Doct. and Stud. where before cited.
"a certain recompense for the keeping of goods,
and promise, at the time of the delivery, to
redeliver them safe at his peril, then he shall
be charged with all chances, that may befall;
but, if he make that promise, and have
nothing for keeping them, he is bound to no
"casualties, but such as are wilful, and happen
"by his own default." now the word peril,
like periculum, from which it is derived, is in
itself ambiguous, and sometimes denotes the
risk of inevitable mischance, sometimes the dan-
ger arising, from a want of due circumspetition;
and the stronger sense of the word was taken in
the first case against him, who uttered it; but, in
the second, where the construction is favour-
able, the milder sense was justly preferred*.
Thus, when a person, who, if he were wholly
uninterested, would be a mandatary, undertakes
for a reward to perform any work, he must be
considered as bound still more strongly, to use a
degree of diligence adequate to the performance of
it: his obligation must be rigorously construed,
and he would, perhaps, be answerable for flight
neglect, where no more could be required of a
mandatary than ordinary exertions. This is the
case of commissioners, factors, and bailiffs, when
their undertaking lies in fesance, and not simply

* See before, p. 370.
in custody: hence, as peculiar care is demanded in removing and raising a fine column of granite or porphyry, without injuring the shaft or the capital, Gaius seems to exact more than ordinary diligence from the undertaker of such a work for a stipulated compensation*. Lord Coke considers a factor in the light of a servant, and thence deduces his obligation; but, with great submission, his reward is the true reason, and the nature of the business is the just measure, of his duty; which cannot, however, extend to a responsibility for mere accident or open robbery†; and, even in the case of theft, a factor has been held excused, when he showed, "that he had laid up the goods of his principal in a warehouse, out of which they were stolen by certain malefactors to him unknown." Where skill is required, as well as care, in performing the work undertaken, the bailee for hire must be supposed to have engaged himself for a due application of the necessary art: it is his own fault, if he undertake a work above his strength; and all, that has before been advanced on this head concerning a mandatory, may be applied with much greater force to a conductor.

* D. 19. 2. 7. † 4 Rep. 84. Ld. Raym. 918.
‡ 1 Inst. 89. a. § 1 Vent. 121. Vere and Smith.
I conceive, however, that, where the bailor has not been deluded by any but himself, and voluntarily employs in one art a man, who openly exercises another, his folly has no claim to indulgence; and that, unless the bailee make false pretensions, or a special undertaking, no more can fairly be demanded of him than the best of his ability. The case, which Sadi relates with elegance and humour in his *Gulistan* or *Rose-Garden*, and which Pufendorf cites with approbation, is not inapplicable to the present subject, and may serve as a specimen of Mahomedan law, which is not so different from ours, as we are taught to imagine: A man, who had a disorder in his eyes, called on a farrier for a remedy; and he applied to them a medicine commonly used for his patients: the man lost his sight, and brought an action for damages; but the judge said, "No action lies, for, if the complainant had not himself been an ass, he would never have employed a farrier;" and Sadi proceeds to intimate, that, "if a person will employ a common mat-maker to weave or embroider a fine carpet, he must impute the bad workmanship to his own folly."* 

* Spondeo, say the Roman lawyers, *peritiam artis.*
† P. 381. † De Jure Nat. et Gent. lib. 5. cap. 5. § 3.
§ Rofar. Polit. cap. 7. There are numberless tracts in
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In regard to the distinction before-mentioned between the nonperfonce and the misperfance of a workman*, it is indisputably clear, that an action lies in both cases for a reparation in damages, whenever the work was undertaken for a reward, either actually paid, expressly stipulated, or, in the case of a common trader, strongly implied; of which BLACKSTONE gives the following instance: "If a builder promises, " undertakes, or assumes to Caius, that he will " build and cover his house within a time limited, and fails to do it, Caius has an action " on the case against the builder for this breach " of his express promise, and shall recover a " pecuniary satisfaction for the injury sustained " by such delay†." The learned author meant, I presume, a common builder, or supposed a consideration to be given; and for this reason I forbore to cite his doctrine as in point on the subject of an action for the nonperformance of a mandatory‡.

Before we leave this article, it seems proper to remark, that every bailee for pay, whether

Arabick, Persian, and Turkish, on every branch of jurisprudence; from the best of which it would not be difficult to extract a complete system, and to compare it with our own; nor would it be less easy, to explain in Persian or Arabick such parts of our English law, as either coincide with that of the Asiaticks, or are manifestly preferable to it.

* P. 382, &c. † 3 Comm. 157. ‡ P. 383, 384, 385.
conductor rei or conductor operis, must be supposed to know, that the goods and chattels of his bailor are in many cases distrainable for rent, if his landlord, who might otherwise be shamefully defrauded, find them on the premises; and, as they cannot be distrained and sold without his ordinary default at least, the owner has a remedy over against him, and must receive a compensation for his loss: even if a depositary were to remove or conceal his own goods, and those of his depositor were to be seized for rent-arrear, he would unquestionably be bound to make restitution; but there is no obligation in the bailor to suggest wise precautions against inevitable accident; and he cannot, therefore, be obliged to advise insurance from fire; much less to insure the things bailed without an authority from the bailor.

It may be right also to mention, that the distinction, before taken in regard to loans, between an obligation to restore the specific things, and a power or necessity of returning others equal in value, holds good likewise in the contracts of hiring and depositing: in the first case, it is a regular bailment; in the second, it becomes a debt. Thus, according to ALFENUS in his famous law, on which the judicious

Bynkershoek has learnedly commented, "if an ingot of silver be delivered to a silver-smith to make an urn, the whole property is transferred, and the employer is only a creditor of metal equally valuable, which the workman engages to pay in a certain shape." The smith may consequently apply it to his own use; but, if it perish, even by unavoidable mischance or irresistible violence, he, as owner of it, must abide the loss, and the creditor must have his urn in due time. It would be otherwise, no doubt, if the same silver, on account of its peculiar fineness, or any uncommon metal, according to the whim of the owner, were agreed to be specifically redelivered in the form of a cup or a standish.

3. Locatio operis mercium vehendarum is a contract, which admits of many varieties in form, but of none, as it seems at length to be settled, in the substantial obligations of the bailee.

A carrier for hire ought, by the rule, to be responsible only for ordinary neglect; and, in the time of Henry VIII. it appears to have been generally holden, "that a common carrier was chargeable, in case of a loss by robbery, only when he had travelled by ways danger-

"ous for robbing, or driven by night, or at any " inconvenient hour:" but, in the commer-
cial reign of Elizabeth, it was resolved, upon
the same broad principles of policy and conve-
nience that have been mentioned in the case of innholders, "that, if a common carrier be robbed
"of the goods delivered to him, he shall an-
"swer for the value of them."

Now the reward or hire, which is considered
by Sir Edward Coke as the reason of this de-
cision, and on which the principal stress is often
laid in our own times, makes the carrier liable,
indeed, for the omission of ordinary care, but
cannot extend to irresistible force; and, though
some other bailees have a recompense, as factors
and workmen for pay, yet, even in Woodliefé's
case; the chief justice admitted, that robbery
was a good plea for a factor, though it was a
bad one for a carrier: the true ground of that
resolution is the publick employment exercised by
the carrier, and the danger of his combining
with robbers to the infinite injury of commerce
and extreme inconvenience of society †.

The modern rule concerning a common carrier
is, that "nothing will excuse him, except the

* Doct. and Stud. where often before cited.
† 1 Inst. 89. a. Mo. 462. 1 Ro. Abr. 2. Woodliefé and Currier.
‡ Ld. Raym. 917. 12 Mod. 487.
"act of God, or of the King's enemies*;" but a momentary attention to the principles must convince us, that this exception is in truth part of the rule itself, and that the responsibility for a loss by robbers is only an exception to it: a carrier is regularly answerable for neglect, but not, regularly, for damage occasioned by the attacks of ruffians, any more than for hostile violence, or unavoidable misfortune; but the great maxims of policy and good government make it necessary to except from this rule the case of robbery, lest confederacies should be formed between carriers and desperate villains with little or no chance of detection.

Although the Act of God, which the ancients too called THUM and VIM DIVINAM, be an expression, which long habit has rendered familiar to us, yet perhaps, on that very account, it might be more proper, as well as more decent, to substitute in its place inevitable accident: religion and reason, which can never be at variance without certain injury to one of them, assure us, that "not a gust of wind blows, nor a flash of lightning gleams, without the knowledge and guidance of a superintending mind;" but this doctrine loses its dignity and sublimity by a technical application of it,

* Law of Nis Prius, 70, 71.
which may in some instances border even upon profaneness; and law, which is merely a practical science, cannot use terms too popular and perspicuous.

In a recent case of an action against a carrier, it was held to be no excuse, "that the ship was tight, when the goods were placed on board, but that a rat, by gnawing out the oakum, had made a small hole, through which the water had gushed;" but the true reason of this decision is not mentioned by the reporter: it was in fact at least ordinary negligence, to let a rat do such mischief in the vessel; and the Roman law has, on this principle, decided, that, "si fullo vestimenta polienda acceperit, eaque mures roserint, ex locato temperatur, quia debuit ab hae re cavere."

Whatever doubt there may be, among civilians and common-lawyers, in regard to a casket, the contents of which are concealed from the depository, it seems to be generally understood, that a common carrier is answerable for the loss of a box or parcel, be he ever so ignorant of its contents, or be those contents ever so valuable, unless he make a special acceptance: but gross fraud and imposition by the bailor will deprive

* 1 Wils. part 1. 281. Dale and Hall.
† D. 19. 2. 13. 6. † Before, p. 362, 364, 366.
§ 1 Stra. 145. Titchburn and White.
him of his action, and if there be proof, that the parties were apprized of each other's intentions, although there was no personal communication, the bailee may be considered as a special acceptor: this was adjudged in a very modern case particularly circumstanced, in which the former cases in Ventry, Alayne, and Carew, are examined with liberality and wisdom; but, in all of them, too great stress is laid on the reward, and too little on the important motives of public utility, which alone distinguish a carrier from other bailees for hire*.

Though no substantial difference is assignable between carriage by land and carriage by water, or, in other words, between a waggon and a barge, yet it soon became necessary for the courts to declare, as they did in the reign of James I., that a common hoyman, like a common waggoner, is responsible for goods committed to his custody, even if he be robbed of them †; but the reason said to have been given for this judgement, namely, because he had his hire, is not the true one; since, as we have before suggested, the recompense could only make

† Hob. ca. 30. 2 Cro. 330. Rich and Kneeland. “The first case of the kind, said lord Holt, to be found in our books.” 12 Mod. 480.
him liable for temerity and imprudence, as if a bargemaster were rashly to shoot a bridge, when the bent of the weather is tempestuous; but not for a mere casualty, as if a hoy in good condition, shooting a bridge at a proper time, were driven against a pier by a sudden breeze, and overfet by the violence of the shock*; nor, by parity of reason, for any other force too great to be refifted†: the publick employment of the hoyman, and that distrust, which an ancient writer juftly calls the fine of wisdom, are the real grounds of the law's rigour in making such a person responsible for a loss by robbery.

All, that has just been advanced concerning a land-carrier, may, therefore, be applied to a bargemaster or boatman; but, in case of a tempeft, it may sometimes happen, that the law of jetson and average may occafion a difference. Barcroft's case, as it is cited by chief justice Rolle, has some appearance of hardship: "a box of jewels had been delivered to a ferryman, who knew not what it contained, and, a sudden storm arising in the paffage, he threw the box into the sea; yet it was resolved, that he should answer for it †:"

* 1 Stra. 128. Amies and Stevens.
† Palm. 548. W. Jo. 159. See the doctrine of inevitable accident moft learnedly discussed in Defid. Heraldi Animadv. in Salmoji Observ. in Jus Att.-et Rom. cap. xv.
‡ All. 93.
suspecting, that there was proof in this case of culpable negligence, and probably the casket was both small and light enough, to have been kept longer on board than other goods; for, in the case of Gravesend barge, cited on the bench by lord Coke, it appears, that the pack, which was thrown overboard in a tempest, and for which the bargeman was holden not answerable, was of great value and great weight; although this last circumstance be omitted by Rolle, who says only, that the master of the vessel had no information of its contents.

The subtlety of the human mind, in finding distinctions, has no bounds; and it was imagined by some, that, whatever might be the obligation of a barge-master, there was no reason to be equally rigorous in regard to the master of a ship; who, if he carry goods for profit, must indubitably answer for the ordinary neglect of himself or his mariners, but ought not, they said, to be chargeable for the violence of robbers: it was, however, otherwise decided in the great case of Mors and Slew, where "eleven persons armed came on board the ship in the river, under pretence of impressing seamen, and forcibly took the chests, which the defendant had engaged to carry;" and, though the master was

* 2 Bulstr. 280. 2. Ro. Abr. 567.
entirely blameless, yet for Matthew Hale and his brethren, having heard both civilians and common-lawyers, and, among them, Mr. Holt for the plaintiff, determined, on the principles just before established, that the bailor ought to recover*. This case was frequently mentioned afterwards by lord Holt, who said, that "the declaration was drawn by the greatest pleader "in England of his time†."

Still farther: since neither the element, on which goods are carried, nor the magnitude and form of the carriage, make any difference in the responsibility of the bailee, one would hardly have conceived, that a diversity could have been taken between a letter and any other thing. Our common law, indeed, was acquainted with no such diversity; and a private post-master was precisely in the situation of another carrier; but the statute of Charles II. having established a general post-office, and taken away the liberty of sending letters by a private post‡, it was thought, that an alteration was made in the obligation of the post-master general; and, in the case of Lane and Cotton, three judges determined, against the fixed and well-supported opinion of chief justice Holt, "that the post-master was not

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* 1 Vent. 190. 238. Raym. 229.
† Id. Raym. 920.
‡ 12 Cha. II. ch. 35. See the subsequent statutes.
"answerable for the loss of a letter with exchange-quer-bills in it*;" now this was a case of ordinary neglect, for the bills were stolen out of the plaintiff’s letter in the defendant’s office†; and, as the master has a great salary for the discharge of his trust; as he ought clearly to answer for the acts of his clerks and agents; as the statute, professedly enacted for safety as well as dispatch, could not have been intended to deprive the subject of any benefit, which he before enjoyed; for these reasons, and for many others, I believe that Cicero would have said, what he wrote on a similar occasion to Trebatius, "Ego tamem scævolæ attentior†." It would, perhaps, have been different under the statute, if the post had been robbed, either by day or by night,

* Carth. 487. 12 Mod. 482.
† In addition to the authorities, before cited, p. 370. note (+), for the distinction between a loss by stealth and by robbery, see Dunowlin, tract. De eo quod interèsst, note 184. and Rosella casuum, 28. b. This last is the book, which St. German improperly calls Summa Rosella, and by misquoting which he misled me in the passage concerning the fall of a house, p. 396. The words of the author, Trovamala, are these: "Domus tua minabatur ruinam; domus corrupt, et in-" terficitequum tibi commodatum; certè non potest dici casus for-" tius; quia diligentissimus reparâisset domum, vel ibi non ha-" bitâisset; si autem domus non minabatur ruinam, sed impetu "temporâtis validæ corrupt, non est tibi imputandum."
‡ Epist. ad Fam. VII. 22.
when there is a necessity of travelling, but even that question would have been disputable; and here I may conclude this division of my essay, with observing, in the plain but emphatical language of St. German, "that all the former diversities be granted by secondary conclusions derived upon the law of reason, without any statute made in that behalf; and, peradventure, laws and the conclusions therein be the more plain and the more open; for if any statute were made there-in, I think verily, more doubts and questions would arise upon the statute, than doth now, when they be only argued and judged after the common law*."

Before I finish the historical part of my essay, in which I undertook to demonstrate, "that a perfect harmony subsisted on the interesting branch of jurisprudence in the codes of nations most eminent for legal wisdom†," I cannot forbear adding a few remarks on the institutions of those nations, who are generally called barbarous, and who seem in many instances to have deserved that epithet: although traces of sound reasoning and solid judgement appear in most of their ordinances.

By the ancient laws of the Wisigoths, which are indeed rather obscure, the "keeper of

* Doct. and Stud. dial. 2. chap. 38. last sentence.
† P. 335.
"A horse or an ox for hire, as well as a birer for use, was obliged, if the animal perished, to return another of equal worth:" the law of the Baiuvarians on this head is nearly in the same words; and the rule is adopted with little alteration in the capitularies of Charlemagne and Lewis the Pious*, where the Mosaick law before cited concerning a borrower may also be found†. In all these codes a depositary of gold, silver, or valuable trinkets, is made chargeable, if they are destroyed by fire, and his own goods perish not with them; a circumstance, which some other legislators have considered as conclusive evidence of gross neglect or fraud: thus, by the old Britifh tract, called the book of Cynaawg, a person, who had been robbed of a deposit, was allowed to clear himself by making oath, with compurgators, that he had no concern in the robbery, unless he had saved his own goods; and it was the same, I believe, among the Britons in the case of a loss by fire, which happened without the fault of the bailee; although Howel the Good seems to have been rigorous in this case; for the sake of publick security‡. There was

* Lindenbrog, LL. Wifigoth. lib. 5. tit. 5. § 1, 2, 3 and LL. Baiuvar. tit. 14. § 1, 2, 3, 4. Capitul. lib. 5. § 204.
† Capitul. lib. 6. § 22. Exod. xxii. 14, 15.
‡ LL. Hywel Dda, lib. 3. cap. 4. § 22. and lib. 3. cap. 3. § 40. See also Stiernb. De Jur. Sveon. p. 256, 257.
one regulation in the northern code, which I have not seen in that of any other nation: if precious things were deposited and stolen, time was given to search for the thief; and, if he could not be found within the time limited, a moiety of the value was to be paid by the depositary to the owner, "ut damnum ex medio uterque " suflineret*.

Now I can scarce persuade myself, that the phrase used in these laws, \( \text{si id perierit,} \) extends to a perishing by inevitable accident; nor can I think, that the old Gotbick law, cited by Stiernhock, fully proves his assertion, that "a de-
"positary was responsible for irresistible force;" but I observe, that the military law-givers of the north, who entertained very high notions of good faith and honour, were more strict than the Romans in the duties, by which depositaries and other trustees were bound: an exact conformity could hardly be expected between the ordinances of polished states, and those of a people, who could suffer disputes concerning bail-
ments to be decided by combat; for it was the Emperor Frederick II., who abolished the trial by battle in cases of contested deposits, and substituted a more rational mode of proof†.

* LL. Wisigoth. lib. 5. tit. 5. § 3.
† LL. Longobard. lib. 2. tit. 55. § 35. Consit. Neapol. lib. 2. tit. 34.
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I purposely reserved to the last the mention of the Hindu, or Indian code, which the learning and industry of my much-esteemed friend Mr. Halhed has made accessible to Europeans, and the Persian translation of which I have had the pleasure of seeing: these laws, which must in all times be a singular object of curiosity, are now of infinite importance; since the happiness of millions, whom a series of amazing events has subjected to a British power, depends on a strict observance of them.

It is pleasing to remark the similarity, or rather identity, of those conclusions, which pure unbiassed reason in all ages and nations seldom fails to draw, in such juridical inquiries as are not fettered and manacled by positive institution; and, although the rules of the Pundits concerning succession to property, the punishment of offences, and the ceremonies of religion, are widely different from ours, yet, in the great system of contracts and the common intercourse between man and man, the Poetee of the Indians and the Digest of the Romans are by no means dissimilar*.

* "Hae omnia, says Grotius, Romanis quidem con-
"grunt legibus, sed non ex illis primitus, sed ex aequitate na-
turali, veniunt: quare eadem apud alias quoque gentes
Thus, it is ordained by the sages of Hindustān, that "a depositor shall carefully inquire into the character of his intended depositary; who, if he undertake to keep the goods, shall preserve them with care and attention; but shall not be bound to restore the value of them, if they be spoiled by unforeseen accident, or burned, or stolen; unless he conceal any part of them, that has been saved, or unless his own effects be secured, or unless the accident happen after his refusal to redeliver the goods on a demand made by the depositor, or while the depositary, against the nature of the trust, presumes to make use of them:" in other words, the bailee is made answerable for fraud, or for such negligence as approaches to it*.

So, a borrower is declared to be chargeable even for casualty or violence, if he fail to return the thing after the completion of the business, for which he borrowed it; but not, if it be accidentally lost or forcibly seized, before the expiration of the time, or the conclusion of the affair, for which it was lent†: in another place, it is provided, that, if a pledge be damaged or lost by unforeseen accident, the creditor shall nevertheless recover his debt with interest, but the

* Gentoo Laws, chap. IV. See before, p. 373.
† Same chapter. See before, p. 397.
debtor shall not be entitled to the value of his pawn*; and that, if the pledgee use the thing pledged, he shall pay the value of it to the pledgor in case of its loss or damage, whilst he uses it†.

In the same manner, if a person hire a thing for use, or if any metal be delivered to a workman, for the purpose of making vessels or ornaments, the bailees are holden to be discharged, if the thing bailed be destroyed or spoiled by natural misfortune or the injustice of the ruling power, unless it be kept after the time limited for the return of the goods, or the performance of the work‡.

All these provisions are consonant to the principles established in this essay; and I cannot help thinking, that a clear and concise treatise, written in the Persian or Arabian language, on the law of Contracts, and evincing the general conformity between the Asiatick and European systems, would contribute, as much as any regulation whatever, to bring our English law into good odour among those, whose fate it is to be under our dominion, and whose happiness ought to be a serious and continual object of our care.

† Chap. I. Sect. II. Before, p. 409.
‡ Chap. IV. and Chap. X. Before, p. 418, 421.
Thus have I proved, agreeably to my undertaking, that the plain elements of natural law, on the subject of Bailments, which have been traced by a short analysis, are recognised and confirmed by the wisdom of nations; and I hasten to the third, or synthetical, part of my work, in which, from the nature of it, most of the definitions and rules, already given, must be repeated with little variation in form, and none in substance: it was at first my design, to subjoin, with a few alterations, the Synopsis of Delrio; but finding, that, as Bynkershoek expresses himself with an honest pride, I had leisure sometimes to write, but never to copy, and thinking it unjust to embellish any production of mine with the inventions of another, I changed my plan; and shall barely recapitulate the doctrine expounded in the preceding pages, observing the method, which logicians call Synthesis, and in which all sciences ought to be explained.

1. To begin then with definitions: 1. Bailment is a delivery of goods in trust, on a contract expressed or implied, that the trust shall be duly executed, and the goods redelivered, as soon as the time or use, for which they were bailed, shall have elapsed or be performed.

2. Deposit is a bailment of goods to be kept for the bailor without a recompense.

* Before, p. 328 and 337.
3. **Mandate** is a **bailment** of goods, **without** reward, to be carried from place to place, or to have some act performed about them.

4. **Lending for use** is a **bailment** of a thing for a certain time to be used by the borrower **without** paying for it.

5. **Pledging** is a **bailment** of goods by a debtor to his creditor to be kept till the debt be discharged.

6. **Letting to hire** is 1. a **bailment** of a **thing** to be used by the hirer for a compensation in money; or, 2. a letting out of **work** and **labour** to be done, or care and attention to be bestowed, by the bailee, on the goods bailed, and that for a **pecuniary** recompense; or, 3. of care and pains in carrying the things delivered from one place to another for a stipulated or implied reward.

7. **Innominate bailments** are those, where the compensation for the use of a thing, or for labour and attention, is not pecuniary, but either 1. the reciprocal use or the gift of some other thing; or, 2. work and pains, reciprocally undertaken; or, 3. the use or gift of another thing in consideration of care and labour, and conversely.

8. **Ordinary neglect** is the omission of that care, which every man of common prudence, and
capable of governing a family, takes of his own concerns.

9. Gross neglect is the want of that care, which every man of common sense, how inattentive forever, takes of his own property.

10. Slight neglect is the omission of that diligence, which very circumspect and thoughtful persons use in securing their own goods and chattels.

11. A naked contract is a contract made without consideration or recompense.

II. The rules, which may be considered as axioms flowing from natural reason, good morals, and sound policy, are these:

1. A bailee, who derives no benefit from his undertaking, is responsible only for gross neglect.

2. A bailee, who alone receives benefit from the bailment, is responsible for slight neglect.

3. When the bailment is beneficial to both parties, the bailee must answer for ordinary neglect.

4. A special agreement of any bailee to answer for more or less, is in general valid.

5. All bailees are answerable for actual fraud, even though the contrary be stipulated.

6. No bailee shall be charged for a loss-by
inevitable accident or irresistible force, except by special agreement.

7. Robbery by force is considered as irresistible; but a loss by private stealth is presumptive evidence of ordinary neglect.

8. Gross neglect is a violation of good faith.

9. No action lies to compel performance of a naked contract.

10. A reparation may be obtained by suit for every damage occasioned by an injury.

11. The negligence of a servant, acting by his master's express or implied order, is the negligence of the master.

III. From these rules the following propositions are evidently deducible:

1. A depositary is responsible only for gross neglect; or, in other words, for a violation of good faith.

2. A depositary, whose character is known to his depositor, shall not answer for mere neglect, if he take no better care of his own goods, and they also be spoiled or destroyed.

3. A mandatary to carry is responsible only for gross neglect, or a breach of good faith.

4. A mandatary to perform a work is bound to use a degree of diligence adequate to the performance of it.

5. A man cannot be compelled by action
to perform his promise of engaging in a deposit
or a mandate.

6. A reparation may be obtained by suit for
damage occasioned by the nonperformance of a
promise to become a depositary or a mandate.

7. A borrower for use is responsible for
slight negligence.

8. A pawnnee is answerable for ordinary
neglect.

9. The hirer of a thing is answerable for
ordinary neglect.

10. A workman for hire must answer
for ordinary neglect of the goods bailed,
and apply a degree of skill equal to his un-
dertaking.

11. A letter to hire of his care and
attention is responsible for ordinary neg-
ligence.

12. A carrier for hire, by land or by wa-
ter, is answerable for ordinary neglect.

IV. To these rules and propositions there are
some exceptions:

1. A man, who spontaneously and efficiously
engages to keep, or to carry, the goods of an-
other, though without reward, must answer for
slight neglect.

2. If a man, through strong persuasion and
with reluctance, undertake the execution of a
OF BAILMENTS. 453

Mandate, no more can be required of him than a fair exertion of his ability.

3. All bailees become responsible for losses by casualty or violence, after their refusal to return the things bailed on a lawful demand.

4. A borrower and a hirer are answerable in all events, if they keep the things borrowed or hired after the stipulated time, or use them differently from their agreement.

5. A depositary and a pawnnee are answerable in all events, if they use the things deposited or pawned.

6. An innkeeper is chargeable for the goods of his guest within his inn, if the guest be robbed by the servants or inmates of the keeper.

7. A common carrier, by land or by water, must indemnify the owner of the goods carried, if he be robbed of them.

V. It is no exception, but a corollary, from the rules, that "every bailee is responsible for a "loss by accident or force, however inevitable or irresistible, if it be occasioned by that degree of negligence, for which the nature of "his contract makes him generally answerable;" and I may here conclude my discussion of this important title in jurisprudence with a general and obvious remark; that "all the pre-
ceding rules and propositions may be diversified to infinity by the circumstances of every particular case;" on which circumstances it is on the continent the province of a judge appointed by the sovereign, and in England, to our constant honour and happiness, of a jury freely chosen by the parties, finally to decide: thus, when a painted cartoon, pasted on canvas, had been deposited, and the bailee kept it so near a damp wall, that it peeled and was much injured, the question "whether the depositary had been guilty of gross neglect," was properly left to the jury, and, on a verdict for the plaintiff, with pretty large damages, the court refused to grant a new trial*; but it was the judge, who determined, that the defendant was by law responsible for gross negligence only; and, if it had been proved, that the bailee had kept his own pictures of the same sort in the same place and manner, and that they too had been spoiled, a new trial would, I conceive, have been granted; and so, if no more than slight neglect had been committed, and the jury had, nevertheless, taken upon themselves to decide against law, that a bailee without reward was responsible for it.

Should the method used in this little tract be approved, I may possibly not want inclination,

* 2 Stra. 1099. Mytton and Cock.
if I do not want leisure, to discuss in the same form every branch of *English* law, *civil* and *criminal, private* and *public*; after which it will be easy to separate and mould into distinct works, the three principal divisions, or the *analytical*, the *historical*, and the *synthetical*, parts.

The great system of jurisprudence, like that of the Universe, consists of many subordinate systems, all of which are connected by nice links and beautiful dependencies; and each of them, as I have fully persuaded myself, is reducible to a few plain *elements*, either the wise *maxims* of national policy and general convenience, or the *positive* rules of our forefathers, which are seldom deficient in wisdom or utility: if *Law* be a *science*, and really deserve so sublime a name, it must be founded on principle, and claim an exalted rank in the empire of *reason*; but, if it be *merely* an unconnected series of decrees and ordinances, its use may remain, though its dignity be lessened, and He will become the greatest lawyer, who has the strongest habitual, or artificial, *memory*. In practice, law certainly employs *two* of the mental faculties; *reason*, in the primary investigation and decision of points *entirely new*; and *memory*, in transmitting to us the reason of sage and learned men, to which our own ought invariably to
yield, if not from a becoming modesty, at least from a just attention to that object, for which all laws are framed, and all societies instituted, THE GOOD OF MANKIND.
AFTER I had finished the preceding tract, to the satisfaction of several friends, but not to my own, I was informed, that the learned Christian Thomasius had published a dissertation on the same subject with the following title: "De Uso Practico Doctrinae difficillimae Juris Romani de Culparum Praestatione in Contractibus; Halæ, MDCCV." The fame of the author, and the high applause, which the very sensible Bynderboek bestows on him, impressed me with a most favourable idea of his work, and with a strong desire to procure it; but, to my extreme disappointment, I cannot find it in any library, publick or private, in the Metropolis or in either of our Universities: I have sent for it, however, to Germany, and, when I receive it, shall take a sincere pleasure, either in correcting such errors, as it may enable me to detect in my essay, or in confirming the system, which I have adopted, by so respectable an authority.
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AN INQUIRY
INTO
THE LEGAL MODE
OF
SUPPRESSING RIOTS,
WITH
A CONSTITUTIONAL PLAN
OF
FUTURE DEFENCE.

Res videas quo modo se habeant: orbem terrarum, imperiis distributis, ardere bello; urbem sine legibus, sine judiciis, sine jure, sine fide, reliquam direptioni et incendiis.

C I C. Epist. ad Fam. 4. 1.
AN INQUIRY

INTO

THE LEGAL MODE

OF

SUPPRESSING RIOTS.

It has long been my opinion, that, in times of national adversity, those citizens are entitled to the highest praise, who, by personal exertions and active valour, promote at their private hazard the general welfare; that the second rank in the scale of honour is due to those, who, in the great council of the nation, or in other assemblies, legally convened, propose and enforce with manly eloquence what they conceive to be salutary or expedient on the occasion; and that the third place remains for those persons, who, when they have neither a necessity to act, nor a fair opportunity to speak, impart in writing to their countrymen such opinions as their reason approves, and such knowledge as their painful researches have enabled them to acquire.
With these restrictions, the sword, the tongue, and the pen, which have too often been employed by the worst passions to the worst purposes, may become the instruments of exalted virtue; instruments, which it is not the right only, but the duty, of every man to use, who can use them; paying always a sacred regard to the laws of that country, which he undertakes to defend, to advise, or to enlighten.

A sense of this duty and a consciousness of this right have impelled me, with no views, as it will be readily believed, of ambition or interest, much less from any factious motive, to take up that instrument, which I have stated as the least honourable of the three, and to present the publick with a few considerations on a subject no less interesting at the present hour than important to all future ages.

Having unhappily been a vigilant and indignant spectator of the late abominable enormities; having seen the senate besieged, and the senators insulted; the laws of our country defied, and the law of nations violated; having beheld the houses of our truest patriots and most respectable magistrates either destroyed, assailed, or menaced; having passed a whole night encircled by the blazing habitations of unoffending individuals, and by the flames of those edifices which publick justice had allotted to various classes of of-
fenders; having lamented over a great metropolis exposed for many days to the fury of a licentious rabble; having believed the noblest commercial City in the world to be in danger of a second conflagration; having in vain sought access to the courts at Westminster in full term, and to the houses of parliament in full session; having, in a word, been witness to horrors, all the concurrent causes of which are not easy to be known, and all the consequences of which are less easy to be predicted; I could not but see at length, with a mixed sensation, between anguish and joy, the vigorous and triumphant exertions of the executive power; and I admitted the necessity of those exertions, whilst I deplored it.

Every well-disposed man, and lover of tranquility, must have rejoiced, that, on the ninth of June, the peaceable and terrified inhabitants of this noble capital might enjoy repose; that the valuable effects, which many had removed, and some had even buried, might be replaced; that the artisan might resume his implements, and the student, his books; that justice had reascended her seat; and that order was succeeding to confusion, harmony to discord; but every honest man and lover of his country must have grieved, that a whole week was then before us, in which the necessary adjournment of the Commons, who would otherwise have been deliberating on
the state of the metropolis and the kingdom, had left us under a power, which, whatever it might be in form and in effect, was in truth and substance, dictatorial.

In this awful interval a question occurred to me, which must naturally have presented itself to many others: "Whether the still-subsisting laws and genuine constitution of England had not armed the civil state with a power sufficient, if it had been previously understood and prepared, to have suppressed ever so formidable a riot without the intervention of the military."

If no such power legally existed in the state, our system, I thought, must be defective in a most essential point; since no people can be really and substantially free, whose freedom is so precarious, in the true sense of the word, as to depend on the protection of the soldiery; and even our protectors, who for several days possibly could not, but certainly did not, act at all, might have been necessarily called away, in the most dangerous moment, to defend our coasts and maritime towns: if, on the other hand, such a power of self-protection did exist, our laws, I concluded, must have been disgracefully neglected, and ought to be restored to full vigour and energy.

A very short inquiry enabled me to answer
the question, at least to my own satisfaction, *in the affirmative*; and it is the result of this in-
quiry, which I now request the public to accept
with the indulgence due to an occasional produc-
tion, and with the attention due to a subject of
general importance.

This then is the proposition, which I under-
take to demonstrate: "That the common, and " statute, laws of the realm, in force at this day, " give the *civil* state in every county a power, " which, if it were perfectly understood and " continually prepared, would effectually quell " any riot or insurrection, without assistance from " the *military*, and even without the modern " riot-act."

To this proposition I shall strictly, and, as far as I am able, logically confine myself; avoiding all parade of legal or antiquarian learning, and omitting all such disquisitions as might answer the purpose of ostentation, which I disdain, but not of utility, which alone I seek: should the curious and intelligent reader be desirous of in-
vestigating the powers of magistrates and of courts in recording riots and punishing rioters, and of tracing the history of our ancient and modern laws for the preservation of publrick tranquillity, from that of *king Ina* to that of *George the First*, he will receive ample information from the various books of authority, which I shall
have occasion to cite in the course of my argument.

It is in every one's mouth, that, on all violent breaches of the peace, the sheriff of the county is not only authorized but commanded to raise the *Posse Comitatus*, and forcibly to suppress the tumult; but, if most of those, who use this expression, will examine their own minds, they will presently perceive, that they utter words, which convey to them no distinct idea, and that the *power of the county*, like many other *powers* in nature and jurisprudence, is very ill ascertained, and very imperfectly comprehended. Logicians give us an admirable rule, "that we should seek after a clear, precise and complete conception of things, as they really exist in their own nature and in all their parts, and should not always imagine that there are ideas, because there are words": let us apply this rule to the case before us, and endeavour to form a luminous, fixed, comprehensive notion of the power in question; without supposing that we comprehend it, merely because we know, that, besides its *Latin* name, it is called in Norman French, *Poirar del Countee*, and sometimes, *Aide del pais*.

We cannot begin our investigation under a

*Watts, part I. chap. vi.*  
† Crompt. 124.
SUPPRESSING RIOTS.

more certain or more respectable guide, than Chief Justice Fineux, whose words I shall transcribe from that most venerable repository of genuine English wisdom, the Year books*:

"At the beginning," says that learned Judge, "all the administration of justice was in one hand, namely, in the Crown; then, after the multiplication of the people, that administration was distributed into counties, and the power was committed to a deputy in each county, namely, the Viscount, or Sheriff; who was the King's deputy to preserve the peace; and thus it is, that all people must, in obedience to him, be ready in defence of the realm, when enemies come: thus too was he assigned to be a conservator of the peace, to punish malefactors, to defend the realm when enemies invade it, to be attendant on the King in war-time, and to cause all people in his county to go with the King to defend the land against enemies."

Who the people are, that the laws of England required, and still require, to be ready and obedient to the sheriff on all occasions of publick disturbance, we learn from the judicious antiquary, Lambard, who cites and adopts the opinion of Mr. Marrow delivered in a work,


H H 2
which I suppose to have been a reading on the statute 13 Hen. IV. His opinion was, "that the justices of the peace, sheriff or under sheriff, ought to have the aid and assistance of all knights, gentlemen, yeomen, labourers, servants, apprentices, and likewise of wards, and of other young men above the age of fifteen years; because all of that age are bound to have harness, or armour, by the statute of Winchester*."

What effect the subsequent repeal of the statutes of armour might have on the reason assigned by Mr. Marrow for his opinion, it is needless to inquire; for it seems obvious, that the statutes of James I. removed the necessity only, and not the propriety, of having arms, or, to use the very words of the old act, armure pur la pees garder; and the doctrine in Lambard is generally understood to be law†. The passage above-cited appears, however, to have misled the great commentator on the laws of England, who seems to have collected from it, that none were bound to obey the summons of the sheriff, but persons under the degree of nobility‡; whereas the patent of assistance, cited by Dalton||, commands barons, earls, and dukes, to be auxiliantes et re-

* Lamb. Eiren. 316.
† Dalt. c. 95.
‡ 1 Comm. 344. 4 Comm. 122.
|| C. 1.
SUPPRESSING RIOTS.

Spoudentes to the sheriff in all things belonging to his office.

The power of the county, therefore, includes the whole civil state, from the duke to the peasant; while the military state, as such, forms no part of that power, being under a different command, and subject to a different law; but, as every soldier in England is at the same time a citizen, he is authorized and perhaps bound, when under no particular orders or at no particular station, to exert himself, like any other good subject, in the suppression of tumults, the prevention of felony, and the apprehension of the rioters or felons. This I mean: when the soldier, not being upon military duty, happen to be present at a riot, and in their civil capacity forcibly suppress it, their act is not only legal but laudable; and the colour of their clothes, or the nature of their arms, make no kind of difference; but, when they are in truth called out by the executive magistrate, and are in fact no more than instruments in the hands of their commanders, their acts can only be justified by that necessity which always defends what it compels, which for the time supersedes all positive law, but of the real existence of which their country must afterwards judge, unless the legislature should, in their wisdom, be pleased to declare it. For this distinction I can produce no written au-
This power of the county, of which we may now begin to form a distinct idea, is mentioned, as well known and well understood, in a variety of statutes, which were confirmatory of the common law; and some parts of which I shall cite in the original languages, how barbarous or inelegant soever they may appear to a classical eye.

The Stat. Westm. 1. c. 17. ordains "que le vis-
"counte ou le bailiff, prise ove luy payer de fon
"cuontee, ou de sa baille, voit essayer de faire le
"plevin des averes a celuy que prit les averes." And that of Westm. 2. c. 39. is more peremptory in cases of resistance to the execution of civil process: "Multoties etiam dant responsum,
"quod non potuerunt prosequi praecptum regis
"propter resistentiam potestatis alicujus magnas-
tis, de quo caveant vicecomites de cætero, quia
"hujusmodi responsio multum redundat in de-
decus domini regis; et, quam citò ballivi fui
"testificantur, quod invenerunt hujusmodi re-
"sistentiam, statim omnibus omittis, assumpto
"secum posses comitatús fui, eant in proprià per-
"sonâ ad faciendam executionem." By the 17 Rich. II. c. 8. it is enacted, that, in case of any
tumult or disorder, "a plus tost que visconste
"et autres ministres le roi poent ent avoir
"conissance, ove la force del countee et pais, ou
"tiel cas aviegne, ilz mettent deftourbance en-
"contre tiel malice ove tout leur poair, et
"preignent tielx melesours, et les mettent en
"prifone tanqe due execution de leie soit fait
"de eux, et qe touz seignurs et autres liges du
"roialme soient entendantz et aidantz, de tout
"lour force et poair, as viscontz et ministres avant
"ditz."

Again: by the 13 Hen. IV. c. 7. " Ordeign-
"nez eft et establiz, qe, si aucun riot assembelee
"ou rout des gentz encontre la loie fe face en
"aucune partie del roialme, les justices de paix,
"trois ou deux de eux a meyns, et le viscont
"ou south viscont del countee, ou tiel riot assem-
"blee ou rout se ferra enapres, veignent ove le
"poair del countee, si befoigne ferra, pur eux
"arefier, et eux areftent." In the construction
of this laft statute it has been holden*, that, al-
though it speake of three or two justices at leaft,
yet one justice may raife the power and suppress
a riot; for it is a benefical law, said Fineux, and
was enacted for the prevention of mischief, which
might ensue, if a justice were to wait for others.
It has also been adjudged, that, under the word
ministers, in the stat. 17 Rich. II. c. 8. justices
of peace are comprifed †; and so are constables,

* 14 Hen. VII. 10. Crompt. 46. b. † Crompt. 46. a.
by the opinion of Fitzherbert cited by Crompton, and confirmed by the Year book 1 Hen. VII. 10; where it is laid down, that "constabularii villæ super affraiam possunt levare populum."

We may therefore conclude, that, in all cases of tumult and insurrection, the sheriff, or other minister, may and ought to make proclamation, commanding all such persons, as constitute the power of the county, to assemble and assist him; or he may send a particular warning or summons, for the same purpose, to every individual of the posse, who must attend such summons under pain of a heavy fine and imprisonment; for, by the stat. 2 Hen. V. c. 8. it is provided, "qu’ils lieges du roi estantz sufficantz pur travailler en le countee, ou tielx routes assemblez ou riotes sont, soient assistanz as justices, commissioners, viscont, et soutz-viscont, de mesme le countee, quant ilz ferrerent reasonablement garniz, pur chivacher, ove les ditz justices, commisioners, et viscont ou soutz-viscont en aide de resisissance de tielx riotes-routes et assemblez sur peine demprisonement et faire syn et ranceon al roi:" And the offence of neglecting to join the power of the county, after such reasonable warning, is ranked by Sir William

* Dalt. c. 95.
Blackstone under the class of contempts against the king's prerogative.

Having fixed our ideas concerning the nature of this legal power, the mode of raising it, and the punishment of a criminal neglect to join it, let us consider, first, by the help of reason only, what corollaries necessarily follow the doctrine, which we have expounded; and, next, inquire whether authority and reason, which lord Coke justly calls the two faithful witnesses in matter of law,†, coincide on the question before us; as they indubitably will, unless either our previous ratiocination be illogical, or the minds of ancient and modern lawyers have taken a bent from the prejudices of their respective ages.

From the obligation of the sheriff, or other minister, to assemble the power of his county for the suppression of any rebellion, insurrection, riot, or affray, and for the repelling of invading enemies; from the duty incumbent on every man of sufficient years and strength to associate himself with the power so assembled, and from the principles of natural justice, which will neither require men to do impossible things, nor refuse them the means of performing what they are commanded to perform; from these obligations and these principles it instantaneously follows: First;

* 4 Com. 122.    † 1 Inst. Pref.
That the sheriff or other peace-officer is bound to raise such a power as will effectually quell the tumult either really existing or justly feared.

Secondly; That the power so raised may and must be armed with such weapons, and act in such order, as shall enable them totally to suppress the riot or insurrection, or to repel the invaders.

Thirdly; That, in the use of such weapons, the power may justify the charging, wounding, or even killing, the rioters or insurgents, who persist in their outrages, and refuse to surrender themselves.

Fourthly; That the power of every county ought at all times, but especially in times of danger, to be prepared for attending the magistrate, and to know the use of such weapons, as are best adapted to the suppression of tumults.

Fifthly; That, since the musket and bayonet are found by experience to be the most effectual arms, all persons, who constitute the power of a county, are bound to be competently skilled in the use of them.

Sixthly; That, since the only safe and certain mode of using them with effect is by acting in a body, it is the duty of the whole civil state to know the platoon-exercise, and to learn it in companies.
SUPPRESSING RIOTS.

As no authority, according to Charron, can stand without reason, so we find, by constant experience, that no reason can surmount the passions and prejudices of men without the aid of authority; and I am happy in believing, that both of them perfectly coincide in support of the foregoing propositions: first, therefore, I shall prove them by citing cases, which have been solemnly adjudged, together with the opinions of learned lawyers, whose works are much respected in our courts of justice; and, next, I shall inquire, whether those cases and opinions have been over-ruled or shaken by any subsequent decisions, or acts of the legislature.

The earliest resolution upon the subject, that has occurred to me, was in a case, which the very learned and judicious Brook thought worthy of note* in his time, and which, in the present time, deserves peculiar attention. It is reported in French in the first page of the Year book 3 Hen. VII. and it is manifestly the same with that afterwards abridged in an imperfect Latin note printed, out of its place, in the tenth page of the same book; though Brook seems to have considered them as different, or rather not to have observed their identity; for, in the title of his Abridgement just alluded to, he gives them

* Bro. Abr. tit. Office et Officer. 23.
LEGAL MODE OF

in separate articles, without melting both parts of the Year book together, as I propose to do; by which means I shall extract the whole case and form one consistent state of it.

John Deins had been outlawed in the county of Suffolk for felony; and, having brought a writ of error to reverse the outlawry, had obtained a Non Molestando, which he delivered to the escheator, John Lentborp; who, nevertheless, seised and took away his effects. Upon this, Deins reprieved; and Edmund Bedingfield, the sheriff, issued his precept to Thomas Gire, his bailiff, juris et conus, together with Roger Hopton, Edmund Heningham, and three other persons, directing them to take the goods of the plaintiff out of the escheator's possession: accordingly, the bailiff and his party took forcibly from Lentborp an hundred sheep, which they delivered to Deins; and, in order to make delivery of the goods and cattle which remained, they assembled all the inhabitants of five adjacent vills; who, in number three hundred, arrayed in a warlike manner, and armed with brigandines, jackets of mail, and guns, united and associated themselves, and marched* to the place where the cattle were detained; but did not proceed to any other act of violence.

* Modo guerrino arraiati se univerunt et associaverunt, et iter suum arripuerunt, 3 Hen. VII. 1. 10.
For this imagined breach of the peace, and military array, an indictment was preferred in the King's Bench against the plaintiff in replevin, the sheriff and his bailiff, and the persons who had assisted them; but the court unanimously adjudged, that the indictment was void; founding their judgement, as it seems, on the reasons advanced by serjeant Keble, whose argument it may be proper to state at large.

"As to the plaintiff in replevin, said he, no wrong was committed by him; for the escheator, when he took the goods, after the Non Molestando had been delivered to him, acted unlike an officer; since it was his duty, in that instant, to surcease his process: Deins, therefore, was perfectly justified in complaining to the sheriff, and must consequently be discharged from this indictment.

"Nor did the sheriff transgress his duty in executing the replevin; for, when the party came to him, he could not know, whether he was an outlaw or not; or whether or no the escheator had seised the cattle in the King's right; which ought to have been shown by the King's officer. The bailiff too must be discharged; for the servant is in the same condition with the master; and, as the sheriff cannot do every thing himself, his deputy must have the same power with him."
"In regard to his assembling three hundred men, that was no illegal act; for every man is bound to assist the sheriff and his bailiff; to support him in executing the King's writs; and to give him aid in all cases of need; and this by common law and common reason, notwithstanding the statutes of Westminster the first and second. So, if any man refuse to assist the sheriff at his request, he shall be fined, whether it be to execute process, or to apprehend felons."

The Court agreed, that the bailiff had as good a right to raise the power as the sheriff himself; because it is all one office and one authority.

It was urged, "that, if men assemble with arms and do nothing, it shall be intended, that they assembled with a bad design;" but it was answered, that in some cases the presumption might be just; in others, not: thus the use of armour on particular occasions, as on Midsummer eve in London, and at other times for sport, is not punishable; and, here, the cause of the assembly appears, namely to execute a replevin. Even if they had acted, yet their assembly was lawful in the beginning; and such assemblies are not illegal as are not to the terror of the people of

* Cea n'est incontre la ley: So Brook reports his words, tit. Riots, 2.
our lord the king; which words ought to be in every indictment for an unlawful assembly.

Another point was touched upon by the king's serjeants: "that the sheriff cannot take with him so many armed men, but only a reasonable party;" to which it was answered, that, if he were so restrained, he might be in great jeopardy and peril of his life; and for this reason, he may take as many as be pleases at his own discretion.

Lastly, it was argued on the statute of Westm. 2. c. 39*, that the sheriff might raise the power of his county after complaint made, and not before; but the judges held, that he might raise it before by the common law.

This case (which, for convenience in citation, I shall call Bedingfield's Case), is irresistibly strong in support of my first and second corollaries; for, although there seems to have been some doubt at first in the minds of the judges, as it was merely the execution of civil process, yet, if the armed men had marched in array for the purpose of apprehending felons, there would have been no debate on the legality of the act; and, after an argument at the bar, the former doubt was entirely removed.

* The statute of Marlbridge, c. 21. seems here to be meant; the words post querimoniam faciam not being used in stat. Westm. 2.
The next is the case of a riot at Drayton Baffet in Staffordshire, determined in the Star-chamber in the twenty-fourth of Elizabeth, and cited more than once by Crompton*; who says that the court resolved, 1. That, if the two justices, nearest to the place where the riot is committed, do not act as they are required by stat. 13 Hen. IV. c. 17. each of them shall pay an hundred pounds; and the other justices of the same county, where the tumult was, shall be fined for not suppressing it, if there was any default in them. 2. That the sheriff and justices of peace may take as many men in armour as are necessary, with guns, and so forth, and kill the rioters, if they will not yield themselves; for the stat. 13 Hen. IV. c. 17. says, that they must arrest them; and, if the justices, or any of their company, kill any of the rioters, who will not surrender themselves, it is no offence in them.

This case of Drayton Baffet, which is also cited and approved by Sir Matthew Hale†, incontestably demonstrates my third corollary.

In the 34th or 43d of Elizabeth (for the date is differently reported by some transposition of the figures) the doctrine in Bedingfield's case

* Crompt. 46. b. 124. b.  
† 1 H. P. C. 495.
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was fully recognized and established by the decision in the case of St. John*, or Gardener†; which, being subsequent to the stat. 33 Hen. VIII. c. 6. prohibiting the use of band-guns, clearly shows, that no alteration in the ancient law was made by that prohibition.

The case was this: Gardener had obtained a judgement against St. John, and procured a writ of execution directed to the sheriff of Bedford, who made a warrant directed to Gardener's own brother as a special bailiff; but, resistance being justly feared, the bailiff armed himself with a dagge, or short gun. It happened that St. John was a justice of peace for Bedfordshire, and seems to have had that little learning, which, in law rather more than in poetry, is a dangerous thing, especially when it is coupled with knavery; for, having notice how the bailiff was armed, he contrived to have him seized by his servants, and brought before himself as the next justice; when, by colour of his office and the statute of Henry VIII. he committed the officer, who came to arrest him, until he should pay ten pounds, one moiety to the queen, and another to the informant. The bailiff having removed himself by habeas corpus, and the whole matter being disclosed to the court, it was resolved, "that the sheriff or any of his mi-

† Cro. Eliz. 821, 822.

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nifters, in execution of justice, may carry "dagges or band-guns, or other weapons inva-
five or defensive, the same not being restrained
by the general prohibition of the statute; for,
"if it were, no justice would be administered."

By stronger reason such weapons may be car-
rried for the purpose of suppressing riots, appre-
hending felons, or repelling invaders. It may
here be observed, that the statute of Hen. VIII.
was enacted for the prevention of mischief, that
might be occasioned by the use of little band-
guns, which might be carried secretly and kill on
a sudden; but guns of a proper length were not
prohibited.

The Case of Arms, or Burton's case, next
presents itself to our examination: it is of very
high authority, and so apposite to the object of
our inquiry, that I shall make no apology for
citing it in the very words of the learned re-
porter*: "Upon an assembly of all the justices
and barons at Serjeants Inn this Easter term
(39 Eliz.), on Monday the 15th of April, this
question was moved by Anderson, Chief Jus-
tice of the Common Bench; Whether men may
arm themselves to suppress riots and rebellions,
or to resist enemies, and endeavour of themselves
to suppress or resist such disturbers of the peace
and quiet of the realm; and, upon good deli-

* Poph. 121, 122.
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"beration, it was resolved by them all, that every
"justice of peace, sheriff, and other minister, or
"other subject of the king, where such
"accident happens, may do it; and, to fortify
"this their resolution, they perused the statute of
"Northampton, 2 Edw. III. c. 3. which enacts,
"that none be so hardy as to come before the king's
"justices or other ministers of the king in the ex-
"ecution of their office with force and arms, nor to
"bring force in affray of the peace, or to ride or go
"armed by night or day, except the servants of
"the king in his presence, or the ministers of the
"king in the execution of his precepts, or of their
"office, and those who are in their company assist-
"ing them, or upon cry made for wea-
"pons to keep the peace, and this in
"places where accidents happen, upon the pe-
"nalty in the same statute contained; where-
"by it appeareth, that, upon cry made for wea-
"pons to keep the peace, every man, where
"such accidents happen, for breaking the peace,
"may by law arm himself against such evil-doers;
"but they took it to be the more discrete way for
"every one in such a case to be assistant to the
"justices, sheriffs, or other ministers of the king
"in the doing of it."

Highly as the authority of Sir John Popham
deserves to be respected, it is to be wished, that
Lord Anderson himself had given us a full account
of his own opinion with that of the other judges; but he has left us no more than a short note* to the same effect with the preceding report. This case also is cited by Hale†, and the very words in Popham are transcribed by Sir John Kelyng in his report of Lymerick's case‡. I think it a strong proof of my fourth corollary, respecting the necessity of being prepared at all times to keep the peace; but, if a particle of doubt on that head can remain, it will be dissipated at once by the statute of Westm. 1. c. 9. by which, as it is cited by Crompton§, "purveu eft, qe touz con-
" tinualment soient prestez et apparaillez al maun-
" dement et al somons des viscountes, et al crye
" del pais de suire et darester felons, qant meslier
" serra, auxibien dedeins fraunchifes come de-
" hors; et ceux, qe ceo ne ferront, et de ceo
" soient atteintz, le roi prendra a eux grave-
" ment;" whence it should seem, that all sub-
jects, who are not continually prest, or ready, for the orders of the sheriff on an alarm in the country, are exposed to the royal displeasure and to a severe penalty; and the word prest (which in modern times has been either ignorantly or intentionally confounded with the participle passive of the verb to press) is used for prepared by Chief Justice Finieux in a passage before cited:

* 2 And. 67. † 1 H. P. C. 53. ‡ Kel. 76. § 124- 3.
I am aware, however, that communialment is the usual reading; which will give a sense rather less forcible, "that all men generally shall be ready and accoutred at the summons of the sheriff;" but this amounts to the same thing; for how can a man be armed and appareled in an instant on a sudden alarm, unless his weapons and accoutrements were previously at hand?

The opinions of the learned, which form the second branch of my proofs, can add little weight to four cases of such authority, as those of Bedingfield, Drayton Basset, St. John, and the Case of Arms: indeed, these cases seem to have been the guides of Lambard and Dalton, Hale and Hawkins; who all agree, that "it is referred to the discretion of the sheriff, under-sheriff, or other person authorized to raise the posse, how many men they will assemble, and how they shall be armed, weaponed, or otherwise furnished for the business;" that "private persons may arm themselves in order to suppress a riot, and that all, who attend the justices in order to quell a tumult, may take with them such weapons as shall enable them to do it effectually;" that, lastly, in executing process or apprehending rioters, they may, by the common law,

* Lamb. Eiren. 317. Dalt. c. 95. † 1 Hawk. P. C. c. 65.
"beat, wound, or kill, any of the opponents or ‘insurgents, who shall resist them*;’ all which opinions are supported by solemn decisions, and are, in truth, the conclusions of natural reason from the simplest and surest premises.

The fifth and sixth propositions, which I consider as simple corollaries, are founded in part on extrinsec assumptions, drawn from history and experience: they may therefore, even by the rules of law, admit of proof from the authority of men, "quibus in arte suâ credendum est;" and the following citation from Mr. Windham's elegant introduction to his Plan of Discipline for the Norfolk Militia will be thought as convincing as any passage in Fitzherbert or Brook. "About the beginning of this century, says he, the troops in Europe were universally armed with firelocks; to which, much about the same time, the bayonet being added, pikes also were laid aside. When the use of fire-arms began to be generally established, the necessity of a great regularity and uniformity, in the manner of using those arms, became apparent: it was soon discovered, that those troops, which could make the briskest fire, and sustain it longest, had a great superiority over others less expert; and, likewise, that the efficacy and

* Lamb. Eiren. 318. 1 Hale, H. P. C. 495.
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"power of fire did not consist in random and scat-
tering shots made without order, but in the fire
of a body of men at once, and that properly timed
and directed. It was therefore necessary to ex-
ercise the troops in loading quick, and firing to-
gether by the word of command; but, as the
awkwardness, carelessness, and rashness, of
young soldiers (if left to themselves) must oc-
casion frequent accidents, and the loss of many
of their own party, by the unskilful manner of
using their fire-arms, especially in the hurry of
an engagement, it became a matter of indispen-
sable necessity to teach soldiers an uniform me-
method of performing every action that was to be
done with the musket, that they might all do
it in the most expeditious and safest manner."

Should any doubt be raised as to the legality of assembling for this purpose, and should the words of Sir Matthew Hale, whom of all men I respect the most, be opposed to me, that," where people are assembled in great numbers
armed with weapons offensive, or weapons of
war, if they march thus armed in a body, if
they have chosen commanders or officers, if
they march cum vexillis explicatis or with
drums or trumpets, and the like, it may be
considerable, whether the greatness of their
numbers, and their continuance together doing
these acts, may not amount to more guerrino
"arraiati, or a levying of war"," which may be construed an encroachment on the prerogative of the crown; the answer is no less obvious than decisive, in the language of Bracton, that, Voluntas et propositum distinguunt maleficia; that, the intent being good, the act cannot be bad; and that Bedingfield's case is an express authority for the legality of "marching armed in a body "more guerrino arraiati," even for the purpose of executing a civil process, to which there is just expectation of violent resistance. So necessary, indeed, is order and discipline in directing the exertions of an armed assembly, that the statutes 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 5. and 1 Mary, c. 12. (which are no longer in force, but were the models of the well-known riot-act) expressly authorize the sheriffs, justices, mayors, and bailiffs, "to raise power and array them in manner of war "against the rioters:" and here I may again apply those sound maxims, to which I before alluded: 1. That the law requires no impossible things; but it is impossible to join the power and suppress a riot effectually, without being at least moderately skilled in the use of fire-arms, and ready in the common evolutions. 2. That, when the law permits or enjoins the performance of any act, all the means of performing it are also

SUPPRESSING RIOTS.

permitted or enjoined; but the law doth permit and command every subject of this realm to arm himself and use his arms with effect for the suppression of tumults: the conclusion, in both forms of reasoning, follows too closely and too evidently to admit of a doubt.

That the four cases, on which I have relied, have never been shaken by any later decision, appears from the uniform recognition of their authority by the best modern writers: indeed, nothing less than an act of the legislature could justly over-rule unanimous and well-considered resolutions; but no act whatever has in any degree affected them; and the common law, which in general is the perfection of human wisdom, happily in this instance has stood like a rock amid the conflict of statutes rolling upon statutes.

Neither of the statutes of Westminster had any effect on the decision in Bedingfield's case; nor was that of St. John at all influenced by the subsequent prohibition of hand-guns; nor the Case of Arms by the statute of Northampton; and though the act of queen Mary was continued during the life of Elizabeth, yet Sir Matthew Hale observes, that, "the case of Drayton 'Baffet was not within that statute, nor depending on it'." In the same manner serjeant

* 1 H. P. C. 495.
Hawkins remarks, in conformity to Hale and to reason, which will very seldom be found at variance, "that the stat. 1. Geo. I. c. 5. commonly called the riot-act, being wholly in the affirmative, cannot be thought to take away any part of the authority in the suppressing of a riot, which was before that time given either to officers, or private persons, by the common law or by statute*.

Having shown the nature and extent of the Poje Comitatum, and proved that it is required by law to be equal in its exertion to a well-disciplined army, I have established the proposition, which I undertook to demonstrate+: "That the common and statute laws of the realm, in force at this day, give the civil state in every county a power, which, if it were perfectly understood and continually prepared, would effectually quell any riot or insurrection, without assistance from the military, and even without the modern riot-act."

One side, therefore, of the distressing alternative, to which I was reduced, concerning the precariousness of English Freedom†, is happily removed; but the other side remains, "that our laws have been disgracefully neglected, and ought to be restored to full vigour and energy."

* 1 P. C. c. 65. † P. 466. ‡ P. 464.
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To what fatal cause must we ascribe a neglect so shameful and so dangerous? I answer boldly, yet, I hope, without arrogance, since I use the very words of BLACKSTONE, "to the vast ac-
quifition of force arising from the riot-act and " the annual expedience of a standing army*;" which has induced a disposition, cherished by the indolence natural to man, and promoted by the excessive voluptuousness of the age, to look up solely for protection to the executive power and the soldiery; a disposition, which must instantly be shaken off, if any spark of virtue remain in our bosoms; for, although we are happy in a prince, who "will never harbour a thought or "adopt a persuasion in any the remotest degree "detrimental to the liberty of Britain†," yet in free states a military power must ever be an object of jealousy; and, since our excellent constitution will be claimed by our posterity as their best inheritance, we must act with a provident care, lest, two centuries hence, the fable of the horse should be verified in our descendants, who may be in need of protection against their protectors, and be forced to carry barness, notwithstanding the repeal of the statute of Winchester.

For the history of the riot-act, so laboured and

* 4 Comm. 434. † 1 Bh Comm. 337.
so ineffectual, I must refer my reader to the incomparable author, whom I so frequently cite, the commentator on the laws of England; who expresses his jealousy and disapprobation of it with no less delicacy than wisdom*: in respect to the number of capital felonies created by it, which Blackstone seems highly to have disapproved, I shall say nothing, as it is not my present subject; but I may, with all due reverence for the legislature in the first year of GEORGE the First, observe, that the act was a bad copy of a bad model, the statute of Mary; that there seems to have been no occasion to make it perpetual, much less to enlarge it; that it is in some parts liable to dangerous misinterpretation; that it has been found wholly inadequate to the end proposed by it; and that the third clause of it was in great measure unnecessary, as it only affirms "our ancient law, which had pretty well guarded "against any violent breach of the peace†." Confirmatory statutes are always attended with the danger of superseding the use, and obliterating the remembrance, of the common law, which they confirm, and which the wisdom of ages had before sufficiently established.

As to the best mode of restoring our laws to their full vigour and energy, and of providing for

* 4 Comm. 143.       † 4 Bl. Comm. 147.
our future defence, I shall certainly submit it to the discretion of my countrymen who are bound by those laws; and shall only suggest to them the following plan; after premising, in the words of serjeant Hawkins, "that, although "private persons may arm themselves in order to "suppress a riot, and may consequently use arms "in the suppressing of it, if there be a necessity "for their so doing; yet it seems to be extremely "hazardous for private persons to proceed to "those extremities in common cases, lest, under "the pretence of keeping the peace, they cause a "more enormous breach of it; and, therefore, "such violent methods seem only proper against "such riots as savour of rebellion, for "the suppressing of which no remedies can be "too severe.""

THE PLAN.

I.

Let all such persons in every county of England as are included in the power of that county, and are of ability to provide themselves with arms, and pay for learning the use of them, be furnished each with his musket and bayonet, and their necessary appendages.

* 1 Hawk. P. C. c. 65.
II.

Let several companies be formed, in every county, of sixty such men or more, voluntarily associated for the sole purpose of joining the power, when legally summoned, and, with that view, of learning the proper use of their weapons, street-firing, and the various evolutions necessary in action.

III.

Let the companies be taught, in the most private and orderly manner, for two or three hours early every morning, until they are competently skilled in the use of their arms: let them not, unnecessarily, march through streets or highways, nor make any the least military parade, but consider themselves entirely as part of the civil state.

IV.

Let each member of a company, when he has learned the use of his arms, keep them for the defence of his house and person, and be ready to join his company in using them for the suppression of riots, whenever the sheriff, under-sheriff, or peace officer shall raise the power, or there shall be a cry made for weapons to keep the peace.

V.

Let the caution, prefixed to this plan, be di-
SUPPRESSING RIOTS.

ligently observed, and the law, contained in the preceding citations, be held ever sacred: nor let any private person presume to raise the power of the county*, which is the province of the sheriff, under-sheriff or magistrate; although a cry for weapons to keep the peace may be made in cases of extreme necessity, and in them only, by private persons.

VI.

If any mark of distinction in dress shall be thought expedient, that the several companies may know each other, in the forcible suppression of a riot, let such a regulation be severally referred, with any other rules that may be necessary, to a committee chosen out of each company.

The great advantages of such associations are so apparent, that I shall forbear at present to expatiate on them; but shall be satisfied with applying to them what PULTON says of the old tilts and jufts, “that the cause, beginning, and end thereof do tend do the laudable exercise of true valour and manhood, and to the encouragement and enabling of the actors therein to defend the realm and the peace thereof†;” and with observing, in the words of the stat. 33.

* 1 Hale, II. P. C. 601. † De Pace, 25. b.
Hen. VIII. c. 6, that the musket may now be made, what the long bow was formerly, "the surety, safeguard, and continual defence, of this realm of England, and an inestimable dread and terror to the enemies of the same."

Objections will certainly be raised; for who can propose a measure, however salutary, to which no man will object? I expect them, however, chiefly from those, whose indolence may induce them rather to seek protection from a power able to crush them, than to protect themselves by joining a power provided by free and equal laws; or from those, who, as Milton says, "have betaken themselves to state-affairs with souls so unprincipled in virtue and true generous breeding, that flattery, and court-shifts, and tyrannous aphorisms, appear to them the highest points of wisdom." To such men it will be sufficient to give this general answer; that, as there is no necessity of applying either to the executive, or to the legislative, power for permission to obey the laws, we are not to debate on vague notions of expedience, groundless jealousies, or imaginary consequences: the sole question is, "whether the doctrine expressed in these pages be law;" if it be, there is no room for deliberation, since it is a maxim, that no man must think himself wiser than the law, which is the gathered wisdom of many ages; and
SUPPRESSING RIOTS.

fo favourable is the common law of England to the rights of our species, which it is unhappily become the fashion to deride and vilify, that, if any man will broach a position in favour of genuine, rational, manly freedom, I will engage to supply him with abundant authorities in support of it.

I persuade myself, that infinite good must result from the general adoption of my plan; and that no possible evil can be mixed with it, as long as the cautions and restrictions before suggested shall be duly observed, and our excellent constitution be kept in its just balance at that nice point, which is equally removed from the pernicious extremes of republican madness, aristocratical pride, and monarchical folly; nor have I any scruple to confess, that, as every soldier in England is at the same time a citizen, I wish to see every citizen able at least, for the preservation of publick peace, to act as a soldier: when that shall be the case, the liberty of Britain will ever be unassailable; for this plain reason—it will be unassailable.

The security, and consequently the happiness, of a free people do not consist in their belief, however firm, that the executive power will not attempt to invade their just rights, but in their consciousness that any such attempt would be wholly ineffectual.

VOL. VI. K K
SPEECH

TO

THE ASSEMBLED INHABITANTS OF

THE COUNTIES OF

MIDDLESEX AND SURRY,

THE CITIES OF

LONDON AND WESTMINSTER,

AND THE BOROUGH OF

SOUTHWARK.

XXVIII MAY, M.DCC.LXXXII.
ADVERTISEMENST.

HAVING been informed, that parts of my Speech on the 28th of May at the London Tavern were thought obscure, yet important, I have endeavoured to recollect what I then took the liberty to say, and have consented to let the argument go abroad in its rude and unpolished state. What offence this publication may give, either in parts or in the whole, is the least and least of my cares: my first and greatest is, to speak on all occasions what I conceive to be just and true.
A

S P E E C H

ON

THE REFORMATION OF PARLIAMENT.

My Lord Mayor,

So far am I from rising to intimate the slightest shade of dissent from this respectable and unanimous assembly, or the minutest disapprobation of the two resolutions proposed, that I despair of finding words sufficiently strong to express my joy and triumph at the perfect harmony, with which the first of them has already passed, and to which the second will, I trust, be thought equally entitled: but, on the last reading of the proposition now before you, it struck me, that, although it was in substance unexceptionable, yet it might easily be improved in form by the insertion of two or three words referring to the preceding resolution, and thus be rendered more conducive to our great object of generally declaring our concurrent sense, and avoiding any chance of disunion upon specifick points. Every
proposition, intended to meet with universal concurrence, ought to have three distinguishing properties; it should be just, simple, comprehensive: without justice, it will be rejected by the wise and good; without simplicity, it will involve complex matter, on which the wisest and the best may naturally differ; and without comprehensiveness, it will never answer any purpose of consequence and extent. The first resolution, "that petitions ought to be prepared for a more "complete representation of the people," has all of these properties in an eminent degree: it is so just, that, if this meeting had been ten times as large, there would not have been one dissentient voice on that ground; so simple, that it affords no scope or subject for cavil; so comprehensive, that, when the house of commons have the petitions before them, it will give room for every particular plan, which the ingenuity of any member, duly tempered by wisdom, yet actuated by true patriotism, can suggest.

Ought not the second proposition, "that the "sense of the people should be taken this summer in order to prepare their several petitions," to be somewhat restrained in the generality of the expression? It is just, but rather too comprehensive: the sense of the people is a phrase of measureless compass, and may include their several opinions, however specific, however diff-
cordant. This is the very evil, which we are anxious to prevent; since we all agree, that no particular mode of reformation should be prescribed to the house, left they should reject, for no other reason, some good plan, which, if left to the operation of their own minds, they may probably adopt. Might not the sentence be thus corrected, "that the sense of the people should "be taken on the preceding resolution?" But this I offer as a mere suggestion to wiser heads, and will not trouble the assembly by shaping it into a motion: indeed, if both resolutions be taken together, and it be understood, that we mean to recommend petitions on the general ground, in order to shun that fatal rock, diversity of sentiment on particulars, I desire no more, and am very little solicitous about accuracy of expression; hoping at the same time, although the five circles here assembled have no right or pretension to take the lead in the nation, yet that the other counties, districts, and towns in Great Britain will approve our idea, and not disdain to follow our example: in that event I smile at the thought of a miscarriage, and am confident, that, with concurrence, perseverance, and moderation, the people of England must prevail in a claim so essential to their liberty, and to the permanence of an administration, who profess to govern with their confidence.
Here I should regularly cease; especially, as I now labour under the pressure of the epidemic complaint, which alone can have prevented this meeting from being as numerous as it is respectable: it could not prevent my attendance, for, in health or in sickness, I am devoted to your service; and I shall never forget the words of an old Roman, Ligarius; who, when the liberties of his country were in imminent danger, and when a real friend to those liberties was condoling with him on his illness at so critical a time, raised himself on his couch, seised the hand of his friend, and said, If you have any business worthy of yourselves, I am well.

It was not in truth my design to have spoken at all this evening; but, since I have risen to explain a sudden thought, I will avail myself of your favourable attention, and hazard a few words upon the general question itself: on the smalllest intimation of your wishes, I will be silent. Numbers will have patience to hear, who have not time to read; besides, that it is always easier to speak than to write; and, as to myself, a very particular and urgent occasion, which calls me for some months from England, will deprive me of another opportunity to communicate my sentiments in either form, until the momentous object before us shall be made certainly attainable through the concord, or for ever lost.
and irrecoverable through the disagreement, of
the nation.

The only *specious* argument, that I have any-
where heard, against a change in the parlia-
mentary representation of the people, is, that,
"a constitution, which has stood for ages, ought
not to be altered."

This objection appears on a superficial view so
plausible, and applies itself so winningly to the
hearts of *Englishmen*, who have an honest preju-
dice for their established system, without having
in general very distinct ideas of it, that a detection
of the *opbiism*, for such I engage to prove it, be-
comes absolutely necessary for the promotion of
your glorious enterprize.

I will risk your impatience; for, though I am
aware, that allusions to history and interpretations
of old statutes are not very proper in addresses
to popular assemblies; yet, when popular as-
semblies take upon them, as they justly may, to
act and resolve upon constitutional points, they
are bound to seek or to receive information, lest
their actions should be rash and their resolutions
ill-founded. A power exerted through passion
or caprice, without a deep knowledge of the bu-
iness in hand, and a fair application of the in:
lectual faculties, is a *tyrannical* power, whether it
be regal, aristocratical, or *popular*; and the pre-
valence of any such power, by the overbearing
strength of king, nobles, or people, would form an immediate tyranny, and in a moment subvert the constitution.

That constitution, which, I persuade myself, will not be subverted, consists of form and spirit, of body (if I may so express myself), and of soul: but, in a course of years, the form is apt to deviate so widely from the spirit, that it becomes expedient almost every century to restore its genuine purity and loveliness. The objection, which I undertake to remove, is sophistical, either by design or through ignorance; for the proposition is true in one sense of the word constitution, and false in the other; and the sense, in which it is true, is inapplicable to the question. It is true, that the spirit of the constitution ought not to be changed: it is false, that the form ought not to be corrected; and I will now demonstrate, "that the spirit of our constitution requires a representation of the people, nearly equal and nearly universal." Such as cannot or will not follow me in the premises, both can and will (or I greatly deceive myself) bear away the conclusion in their memory; and it is of higher importance than they may imagine.

There has been a continued war in the constitution of England between two jarring principles; the evil principle of the feudal system with his dark auxiliaries, ignorance and false philo-
PHY; and the good principle of increasing commerce, with her liberal allies, true learning and found reason. The first is the poisoned source of all the abominations, which history too faithfully records: it has blenished and polluted, wherever it has touched, the fair form of our constitution, and for ages even contaminated the spirit. While any dregs of this baneful system remain, you cannot justly boast of general freedom: it was a system of niggardly and partial freedom, enjoyed by great barons only and many acced men, who were perpetually insulting and giving check to the king, while they racked and harrowed the people. Narrow and base as it was, and confined exclusively to landed property, it admitted the lowest freeholders to the due enjoyment of that inestimable right, without which it is a banter to call a man free; the right of voting in the choice of deputies to assist in making those laws, which may affect not his property only, but his life, and, what is dearer, his liberty; and which are not laws, but tyrannous ordinances, if imposed on him without his suffrage given in person or by deputation. This I conceive to have been the right of every freeholder, even by the feudal polity, from the earliest time; and the statute of Henry IV. I believe to have been merely declaratory: an act which passed in the seventh year of that prince, near
four hundred years ago, ordains, that, "all "they, who are present at the county court, as "well suitors duly summoned for the same cause, "as others, shall proceed to the election of their "knights for the parliament." All suitors, you see, had the right; and all freeholders were suitors in the court, however low the value of their freeholds. Observe all along, that one pound in those days was equal to ten at least in the present time. Here then is a plain declaration, that minuteness of real property created no harsh suspicion of a dependent mind; for a harsh suspicion it is, and, by proving too much, proves nothing.

What caused the absurd, yet fatal, distinction between property, personal and real? The feudal principle. What created another odious distinction between free and base holdings, and thus excluded copyholds of any value? The feudal principle. What introduced an order of men, called villains, transferable, like cattle, with the land which they stocked? The feudal principle. What excludes the holders of beneficial leases? The feudal principle. What made personalty, in those times, of little or no estimation? The feudal principle. What raised the silly notion, that the property, not the person, of the subject, was to be represented? The feudal principle. What prevented the large provision in
the act of *Henry IV.* by which *all freeholders* were declared electors, from being extended to *all holders of property,* however denominated, however inconsiderable? The same infernal principle, which then subdued and stifled the genuine equalising spirit of our constitution. Now, if we find that this demon was himself in process of time subdued, as he certainly was by the extension of commerce under *Elizabeth,* and the enlarged conceptions which extended commerce always produces, by the revival of learning, which dispelled the darkness of *Gothick* ignorance, and by the great transactions of the last century, when the true theory and genuine principles of freedom were unfolded and illustrated, we shall not hesitate to pronounce, that, by the *spirit* of our constitution, all *Englishmen,* having property of any kind or quantity, are entitled to votes in chusing parliamentary delegates. The *form* soon received a cruel blemish; for, in the *eighth* of *Henry VI.* the property of suitors qualified to vote, was restrained to "*forty shillings a year above all charges,*" that is, to twenty pounds at least by the present value of money. I agree with those, who consider this act as basely aristocratical, as a wicked invasion of clear popular rights, and therefore in a high degree unconstitutional: it is also a disgraceful confession of legislative weaknesses; for the evil,
pretended to be remedied by it, was, that the county elections were tumultuary. What! could not the wisdom of the legislature suggest a mode of preventing tumult, if the laws already subsisting had been insufficient for that purpose, without shaking the obligation of all future laws, by narrowing the circle of those, who, being affected by them, ought by natural equity to assist in framing them? Ridiculous and indefensible!

In the twelfth of Charles II. the mighty fabric of the feudal system was shaken from its basis; but, though its ramparts were overthrown, its connexions and covered ways destroyed, and its very foundations convulsed, yet the ruins of it have been found replete with mischief, and the mischief operates, even while I speak.

At the Revolution, indeed, the good spirit of the constitution was called forth, and its fair principles expanded: it is only since that auspicious event, that, although we may laugh, when lawyers call their vaft assembly of sense and subtility the perfection of human wisdom, yet we shall deride no man, who afferts the constitution of England to be in theory the most perfect of human systems—in theory, not in practice; for, although you are clearly entitled to all the advantages, which the principles of the constitution give you, while you claim those advantages by
cool and decent petition, yet, either from some unaccountable narrowness in the managers of the Revolution, or from the novelty and difficulty of their situation, they left their noble work so unfinished, and the feudal poison so little exterminated, that, to use the words of your favourite poet, "they scotched the snake, not killed it." Who could have imagined, that, in the eighteenth of George II. the statute of Henry VI. would have been adopted and almost transcribed? Who could have dreamed, that, in the thirty-first of the same king, the last act would have been recited and approved, with a declaration added, that no tenant by copy of court roll should vote at an election for knights of the shire under penalty of fifty pounds? It was the accursed feudal principle, which suggested these laws, when the fairest opportunity presented itself of renovating the constitution. Another gale has now sprung up; and, unless you catch it while it blows, it will be gone for ever.

I have proved, unless I delude myself, "that the spirit of our constitution requires a representation of the people nearly equal and nearly universal." Carry this proposition home with you, and keep it as an answer to those, who exclaim "that the constitution ought not to be changed." I said nearly universal; for I admit, that our constitution, both in form and spirit, requires some pro-
property in electors, either real or personal, in possession or in action; but I consider a fair trade or profession as valuable property, and an Englishman, who can support himself by honest industry, though in a low station, has often a more independent mind than the prodigal owner of a large encumbered estate. When Prynne speaks of every inhabitant and commoner, to whom he supposes that the right of voting originally belonged, I cannot persuade myself, that he meant to include such as, having nothing at all, and being unable or unwilling to gain any thing by art or labour, were supported by alms.

If modern authorities be demanded in aid of my opinions, I shall only mention the great judge, Sir William Blackstone, and I mention him the more willingly, because he never professed democratical sentiments, and, though we admire him as the systematical arranger of our laws, yet we may fairly doubt the popularity of his political notions: nevertheless, he openly allows in his Commentary, "that the spirit of our constitution is in favour of a more complete representation of the people." This too is allowed by the very man, who, in another tract, intimates an opinion, "that the value of freeholds themselves should be greatly advanced above what is now required by law to give the proprietor a voice in county elections." I told you, that
all reasoning from the statute of Henry VI. proved too much, and, consequently, nothing; for, who now would bear the idea of disqualifying those electors of Surry and Middlesex, whose freeholds were not of the annual value of twenty pounds?

I hear a murmur among you, and perceive other marks of impatience. Indulge me a moment, and I will descend; but let me not be misapprehended. I do not propose to conclude with a specific motion: it is my deliberate opinion, confirmed by my observations on the event of your associations to reduce the influence of the Crown, that your petitions and resolutions must be very general. In my own mind I go along with you to the full length of your wishes. If the present system of representation be justly compared to a tree rotten at the heart, I wish to see removed every particle of its rottenness, that a microscopick eye could discern. I deride many of the fashionable doctrines: that of virtual representation I hold to be actual folly; as childish, as if they were to talk of negative representation, and to contend, that it involved any positive idea. Substitute the word delegation or deputation, instead of representation, and you will instantly see the absurdity of the conceit. Does a man, who is virtually, not actually, re-
presented, delegate or depute any person to make those laws, which may affect his property, his freedom, and his life? None; for he has no suffrage. How then is he represented according to the principles of our constitution? As well might a Roman tyrant have urged, that all his vassals were represented in his person: he was augur and high priest; the religious state was, therefore, represented by him: he was tribune of the people; the popular part of the nation were, therefore, represented by him: he was consul, dictator, master of the horse, every thing he pleased; the civil and military states were, therefore, concentrated in him; the next deduction would have been, that the slaves of his empire were free men. There is no end of absurdities deducible from so idle a play upon words.

That there may be an end of my address to you, which has been too long for the place and occasion, but too short for the subject, I resume my seat with a full conviction, that, if united, and dependent on Yourselves alone, you must succeed; if disunited, or too confident in others, you must fail. Be persuaded also, that the people of England can only expect to be the happiest and most
glorious, while they are the freest, and can only become the freest, when they shall be the most virtuous, and most enlightened, of nations.
TO * * * *

London, May 14, 1782.

SIR,

I TAKE the liberty of submitting to your serious attention the Plan of National Defence lately suggested by government, compared with a different plan now approved, though subject to revision, by a Company of Loyal Englishmen, of which I have the honour to be One. You will instantly see, that the first plan was nobly conceived by some great mind, and intended for the noblest purposes; but that, in the detail, it appears to be innovating, harsh, unconstitutional, and big with alarming consequences; too expensive for the treasury, who have no treasuries to lavish, and too distrustful of a generous and spirited people, who would vigorously support a government that sincerely confided in them. The second plan you will find (and we pledge our honours to prove) already sanctioned, and even required, by Law, agreeable to the Constitution, and calculated to preserve it; not too expensive to real patriots, who will hardly be niggards at such a moment as this; and not at all dangerous to so wise and just a
government as the present. If nothing can raise a manly spirit, and excite a liberal emulation, in English gentlemen, yeomen, and traders, but the actual descent of three united armies on our coasts, they will then vainly solicit that protection for their houses and families, which they now have in their own hands, on a glorious invitation from the First and Best of Magistrates.

I am, &c.

A VOLUNTEER.

P. S. Give me leave to observe, that the Lords-Lieutenants, as such, have no more to do with this great business than the bench of Bishops.
HEADS OF A PLAN

For raising Corps in several principal Towns in Great Britain, inclosed in a Letter from the Earl of Shelburne to the Chief Magistrates of several Cities and Towns.

1st. THE principal towns in Great Britain to furnish one or more battalions each, or a certain number of companies each, in proportion to their size and number of inhabitants.

2d. The officers to be appointed from among the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, or the inhabitants of the said towns, either by commission from his Majesty, or from the Lord-Lieutenant of the County, upon the recommendation of the Chief Magistrate of the town in which the Corps are raised.

3d. They are to be possessed of some certain estate in land or money, in proportion to their rank.

4th. An Adjutant or Town-Major in each town to be appointed by his Majesty.

5th. A proper number of Serjeants and Corporals from the army to be appointed for the Corps in each town, in proportion to their numbers.

6th. The said Serjeants and Corporals, as well
as the Adjutant or Town-Major, to be in the Government pay.

7th. The men to exercise frequently, either in battalions, or by companies, on Sundays, and on Holidays, and also after their work is over in the evenings.

8th. Arms, accoutrements, and ammunition, to be furnished at the expense of Government, if required.

9th. Proper magazines, or storehouses, to be chosen or erected in each town, for keeping the said arms, &c.

10th. The arms and accoutrements to be delivered out at times of exercise only, and to be returned into the storehouses as soon as the exercise is finished.

11th. The Adjutant or Town-Major to be always present at exercise, and to see that the men afterwards march regularly, and lodge their arms in the storehouses.

12th. Proper penalties to be inflicted on such as absent themselves from exercises, as also for disobedience of orders, insolence to their officers, and other disorderly behaviour.

13th. The above Corps not to be obliged, on any account, or by any authority whatever, to move from their respective towns, except in times of actual invasion or rebellion.
14th. His Majesty shall then have power to order the said corps to march to any part of Great Britain, as his services may require.

15th. They are, on such occasions, to act either separately, or in conjunction with his Majesty’s regular forces, and be under the command of such General officers as his Majesty shall think proper to appoint.

16th. Both officers and men to receive full pay as his Majesty’s other regiments of foot from the day of their march, and as long as they shall continue on service out of their towns.

17th. They are to be subject to military discipline, in the same manner as his Majesty’s regular forces, during the said time of their being called out, and receiving government pay.

18th. All officers who should be disabled in actual service to be entitled to half-pay, and all non-commissioned officers and private men, disabled, to receive the benefit of Chelsea Hospital.

19th. The widows of officers killed in the service to have a pension for life.

20th. The time of service to be named.
SKETCH OF A PLAN

For raising a Constitutional Force in the Towns, Cities, and Counties of Great Britain; being an Answer, Article by Article, to the Plan annexed.

1st. AGREED, with this addition—And other Battalions, or Companies, to be also voluntarily formed out of the Hundreds, Tythings, and Hamlets, of each county, in proportion to its extent and populousness.

2d. The Officers, and, in some companies, the men, to enrol themselves, from among the Gentry, Yeomanry, and Substantial Householders, and the Officers to be commissioned respectively by the High Sheriff, and Chief Magistrate, of each county and town.

3d. The ranks of the Officers to be proportioned to their contributions to a fund raised for purposes mentioned in subsequent articles.

4th. An Adjutant or Town-Major in each county or town, to be elected by the Officers.

5th. Agreed, for the purpose of drilling the men, until a certain number of the volunteers can be qualified to act as Serjeants and Corporals.
6th. The said Drill-Serjeants and Corporals from the army to continue in the pay of government; but the Adjutants and Town-Majors to be paid, if they desire pay, out of a fund voluntarily raised for that purpose in the several counties and towns.

7th. Agreed.

8th. Arms, Accoutrements, and Ammunition, to be furnished at the expense of the counties and towns, if required; or of the officers, if they are generously disposed.

9th. The said arms, &c. to be kept by each man, in his own house, for his legal protection.

10th. Rejected.

11th. The officers to take care, after exercise, that the men march regularly, and return home with their arms.

12th. Agreed, with this addition—A set of Laws, or Articles, to be drawn up by the Officers, and subscribed or openly consented to by the men, after a distinct reading and explanation of each article. “Consensus facit Legem.”

13th. Agreed, the words counties or being inserted after the word respective.

14th. The high sheriff of each county, and chief magistrate of each town, shall then (on due notice to government) have power to order the said corps to march to any part of
Great Britain, as the publick service may require.

15th. Agreed, in case of actual invasion; but in riots the magistrates to call out their respective corps: and, as to rebellion, or civil war, (which God avert!) no specific provisions can be made for so dreadful and improbable an event.

16th. The counties and towns to pay the men who require it; but such, as enrol themselves without pay, to wear some mark of distinction, and the officers to serve at their own expense.

17th. Agreed, in case of actual invasion only; but the words, and receiving government pay, to be omitted.

18th. Officers disabled in actual service to be rewarded by a new order (as a star and ribband, orange coloured or mixed), or by an eulogium proclaimed and recorded by the sheriffs of their several counties, or the chief magistrates of their corporate towns; and the men to receive a comfortable subsistence at their own homes, with a fixed annuity for life out of the voluntary fund.

19th. The widows and children of Officers and Men killed in the service against invaders to have also pensions for life.
20th. The companies called out as above to be discharged *ipso facto*, as soon as the invaders are repelled, or the particular service terminated.

* A Company of Loyal English Gentlemen. 
THE

PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT,

IN

A DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

A GENTLEMAN AND A FARMER.
ADVERTISEMENT.

A SHORT defence hath been thought necessary, against a violent and groundless attack upon the FLINTSHIRE COMMITTEE, for having testified their approbation of the following Dialogue, which hath been publickly branded with the most injurious epithets; and it is conceived, that the sure way, to vindicate this little Tract from so unjust a character, will be as publickly to produce it.—— The friends of the Revolution will instantly see, that it contains no principle, which has not the support of the highest authority, as well as the clearest reason.

If the doctrines which it slightly touches, in a manner suited to the nature of the Dialogue, be “seditious, treasonable, and diabolical,” Lord Somers was an incendiary, Locke a traitor, and the Convention-parliament a pandæmonium; but, if those names are the glory and boast of England, and if that convention secured our liberty and happiness, then the doctrines in question are not only just and rational but constitutional and salutary; and the reproachful epithets belong wholly to the system of those, who so grossly misapplied them.
F. Why should humble men, like me, sign or set marks to petitions of this nature? It is better for us Farmers to mind our husbandry, and leave what we cannot comprehend to the King and Parliament.

G. You can comprehend more than you imagine; and, as a free member of a free state, have higher things to mind than you may conceive.

F. If by free you mean out of prison, I hope to continue so, as long as I can pay my rent to the squire's bailiff; but what is meant by a free state?

G. Tell me first what is meant by a club in the village, of which I know you to be a member.

F. It is an assembly of men, who meet after work every Saturday to be merry and happy for a few hours in the week.

G. Have you no other object but mirth?

F. Yes; we have a box, into which we con-
tribute equally from our monthly or weekly savings, and out of which any members of the club are to be relieved in sickness or poverty; for the parish officers are so cruel and insolent, that it were better to starve than apply to them for relief.

G. Did they, or the squire, or the parson, or all together, compel you to form this society?

F. Oh! no—we could not be compelled; we formed it by our own choice.

G. You did right—but have you not some head or president of your club?

F. The master for each night is chosen by all the company present the week before.

G. Does he make laws to bind you in case of ill temper or misbehaviour?

F. He make laws! He bind us! No; we have all agreed to a set of equal rules, which are signed by every new comer, and were written in a strange hand by young Spelman, the lawyer's clerk, whose uncle is a member.

G. What should you do, if any one member were to insist on becoming perpetual master, and on altering your rules at his arbitrary will and pleasure?

F. We should expel him.

G. What, if he were to bring a serjeant's guard, when the militia are quartered in your
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neighbourhood, and insist upon your obeying him?

F. We should resist, if we could; if not, the society would be broken up.

G. Suppose that, with his serjeant's guard, he were to take the money out of the box or out of your pockets?

F. Would not that be a robbery?

G. I am seeking information from you. How should you act on such an occasion?

F. We should submit, perhaps, at that time; but should afterwards try to apprehend the robbers.

G. What, if you could not apprehend them?

F. We might kill them, I should think; and, if the King would not pardon us, God would.

G. How could you either apprehend them, or, if they resisted, kill them, without a sufficient force in your own hands?

F. Oh! we are all good players at single stick, and each of us has a stout cudgel or quarter-staff in the corner of his room.

G. Suppose that a few of the club were to domineer over the rest, and insist upon making laws for them——

F. We must take the same course; except that it would be easier to restrain one man, than

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a number; but we should be the majority with justice on our side.

G. A word or two on another head. Some of you, I presume, are no great accountants.

F. Few of us understand accounts; but we trust old Lilly the schoolmaster, whom we believe to be an honest man; and he keeps the key of our box.

G. If your money should in time amount to a large sum, it might not perhaps be safe, to keep it at his house or in any private house.

F. Where else should we keep it?

G. You might choose to put it into the funds, or to lend it the squire; who has lost so much lately at Newmarket, taking his bond or some of his fields as your security for payment with interest.

F. We must in that case confide in young Spelman, who will soon set up for himself, and, if a lawyer can be honest, will be an honest lawyer.

G. What power do you give to Lilly, or should you give to Spelman in the case supposed?

F. No power. We should give them both a due allowance for their trouble, and should expect a faithful account of all they had done for us.
G. Honest men may change their nature. What, if both or either of them were to deceive you.

F. We should remove them, put our trust in better men, and try to repair our loss.

G. Did it never occur to you, that every state or nation was only a great club?

F. Nothing ever occurred to me on the subject; for I never thought about it.

G. Though you never thought before on the subject, yet you may be able to tell me, why you suppose men to have assembled, and to have formed nations, communities, or states, which all mean the same thing.

F. In order, I should imagine, to be as happy as they can, while they live.

G. By happy do you mean merry only?

F. To be as merry as they can without hurting themselves or their neighbours, but chiefly to secure themselves from danger, and to relieve their wants.

G. Do you believe, that any King or Emperor compelled them so to associate?

F. How could one man compel a multitude? A King or an Emperor, I presume, is not born with a hundred hands.

G. When a prince of the blood shall in any country be so distinguished by nature, I shall then, and
then only, conceive him to be a greater man than you. But might not an army, with a King or General at their head, have compelled them to assemble?

F. Yes; but the army must have been formed by their own choice. One man or a few can never govern many without their consent.

G. Suppose, however, that a multitude of men, assembled in a town or city, were to choose a King or Governor, might they not give him high power and authority?

F. To be sure; but they would never be so mad, I hope, as to give him a power of making their laws.

G. Who else should make them?

F. The whole nation or people.

G. What, if they disagreed?

F. The opinion of the greater number, as in our village-clubs, must be taken and prevail.

G. What could be done, if the society were so large, that all could not meet in the same place?

F. A greater number must choose a less.

G. Who should be the choosers?

F. All, who are not upon the parish. In our club, if a man asks relief of the overseer, he ceases to be one of us, because he must depend on the overseer.
G. Could not a few men, one in seven for instance, chuse the assembly of law-makers as well as a larger number?

F. As conveniently, perhaps; but I would not suffer any man to chuse another, who was to make laws, by which my money or my life might be taken from me.

G. Have you a freehold in any county of forty shillings a year?

F. I have nothing in the world but my cattle, implements of husbandry, and household goods, together with my farm, for which I pay a fixed rent to the 'quire.

G. Have you a vote in any city or borough?

F. I have no vote at all; but am able by my honest labour to support my wife and four children; and, whilst I act honestly, I may defy the laws.

G. Can you be ignorant, that the Parliament, to which members are sent by this county, and by the next market-town, have power to make new laws, by which you and your family may be stripped of your goods, thrown into prison, and even deprived of life?

F. A dreadful power! I never made inquiries, having business of my own, concerning the business of Parliament, but imagined, that the laws had been fixed for many hundred years,
G. The common laws, to which you refer, are equal, just, and humane; but the King and Parliament may alter them, when they please.

F. The King ought, therefore, to be a good man, and the Parliament to consist of men equally good.

G. The King alone can do no harm; but who must judge the goodness of Parliament-men?

F. All those whose property, freedom, and lives may be affected by their laws.

G. Yet six men in seven, who inhabit this kingdom, have, like you, no votes; and the petition, which I desired you to sign, has nothing for its object, but the restoration of you all to the right of choosing those law-makers, by whom your money or your lives may be taken from you. Attend, while I read it distinctly.

F. Give me your pen—I never wrote my name, ill as it may be written, with greater eagerness.

G. I applaud you, and trust, that your example will be followed by millions. Another word before we part. Recollect your opinion about your club in the village, and tell me what ought to be the consequence, if the King alone were to insist on making laws, or on altering them at his will and pleasure.

F. He too must be expelled.
G. Oh! but think of his standing army and of the militia, which now are his in substance, though ours in form.

F. If he were to employ that force against the nation, they would and ought to resist him, or the state would cease to be a state.

G. What, if the great accountants and great lawyers, the Lillys and Spelmans, of the nation were to abuse their trust, and cruelly injure, instead of faithfully serving, the publick?

F. We must request the King to remove them, and make trial of others, but none should implicitly be trusted.

G. But what, if a few great lords or wealthy men were to keep the king himself in subjection, yet exert his force, lavish his treasure, and misuse his name, so as to domineer over the people, and manage the Parliament.

F. We must fight for the King and ourselves.

G. You talk of fighting, as if you were speaking of some rustic engagement at a wake; but your quarter-staffs would avail you little against bayonets.

F. We might easily provide ourselves with better arms.

G. Not so easily; when the moment of resistance came, you would be deprived of all arms; and those who should furnish you with
them, or exhort you to take them up, would be called traitors, and probably put to death.

F. We ought always, therefore, to be ready; and keep each of us a strong firelock in the corner of his bed-room.

G. That would be legal as well as rational. Are you, my honest friend, provided with a musket?

F. I will contribute no more to the club, and purchase a firelock with my savings.

G. It is not necessary—I have two, and will make you a present of one with complete accoutrements.

F. I accept it thankfully, and will converse with you at your leisure on other subjects of this kind.

G. In the mean while, spend an hour every morning in the next fortnight in learning to prime and load expeditiously, and to fire and charge with bayonet firmly and regularly. I say every morning; because, if you exercise too late in the evening, you may fall into some of the legal snares, which have been spread for you by those gentlemen, who would rather secure game for their table, than liberty for the nation.

F. Some of my neighbours, who have served in the militia, will readily teach me; and, per-
haps, the whole village may be persuaded to procure arms, and learn their exercise.

G. It cannot be expected, that the villagers should purchase arms, but they might easily be supplied, if the gentry of the nation would spare a little from their vices and luxury.

F. May they turn to some sense of honour and virtue!

G. Farewell, at present; and remember, "that a free state is only a more numerous and more powerful club, and that he only is a free man, who is member of such a state."

F. Good morning, Sir! You have made me wiser and better than I was yesterday; and yet, methinks, I had some knowledge in my own mind of this great subject, and have been a politician all my life without perceiving it.
THE CHARACTER

OF

JOHN LORD ASHBURTON.

THE publick are here presented not with a fine picture, but a faithful portrait, with the character of a memorable and illustrious man, not in the style of panegyrick on a monument, but in the language of sober truth, which friendship itself could not induce the writer to violate.

JOHN DUNNING (a name to which no title could add lustre) possessed professional talents which may truly be called inimitable; for, besides their superlative excellence, they were peculiarly his own; and as it would scarcely be possible to copy them, so it is hardly probable that nature or education will give them to another. His language was always pure, always elegant; and the best words dropped easily from his lips into the best places with a fluency at all times astonishing, and, when he had perfect health, really melodious: his style of speaking consisted of all the turns, oppositions, and figures, which
the old Rhetoricians taught, and which *Cicero*
frequently practised, but which the austere and
solemn spirit of *Demosthenes* refused to adopt
from his first master, and seldom admitted into
his orations, political or forensic.

Many at the bar and on the bench thought
this a vitiated style; but, though dissatisfied as
criticks, yet, to the confusion of all criticism,
they were transported as hearers. That faculty,
however, in which no mortal ever surpassed him,
and which all found irresistible, was his wit.
This relieved the weary, calmed the resentful,
and animated the drowsy: this drew smiles even
from such as were the objects of it; scattered
flowers over a desert; and, like sun-beams
sparkling on a lake, gave spirit and vivacity to
the dullest and least interesting cause. Not that
his accomplishments, as an advocate, consisted
principally in volubility of speech or liveliness
of raillery. He was endued with an intelle&ct;
sedate, yet penetrating; clear, yet profound;
subtle, yet strong. His knowledge too was equal
to his imagination, and his memory to his know-
ledge. He was no less deeply learned in the sub-
lime principles of jurisprudence and the particu-
lar laws of his country, than accurately skilled in
the minute; but useful, practice of all our differ-
ent courts. In the nice conduct of a complicated
cause, no particle of evidence could escape his vigilant attention, no shade of argument could elude his comprehensive reason. Perhaps the vivacity of his imagination sometimes prompted him to sport where it would have been wiser to argue; and, perhaps, the exactness of his memory sometimes induced him to answer such remarks as hardly deserved notice, and to enlarge on small circumstances which added little to the weight of his argument: but those only who have experienced can, in any degree, conceive the difficulty of exerting all the mental faculties in one instant, when the least deliberation might lose the tide of action irrecoverably. The people seldom err in appreciating the character of speakers; and those clients who were too late to engage Dunning on their side, never thought themselves secure of success, while those against whom he was engaged were always apprehensive of a defeat.

As a lawyer, he knew that Britain could only be happily governed on the principles of her constitution, or publick law; that the regal power was limited, and popular rights ascertained by it; but that the aristocracy had no other power than that which too naturally results from property, and which laws ought rather to weaken than fortify: he was, therefore, an equal supporter of
just prerogative, and of national freedom, weighing both in the noble balance of our recorded constitution. An able and aspiring statesman, who professed the same principles, had the wisdom to solicit, and the merit to obtain, the friendship of this great man; and a connection, planted originally on the firm ground of similarity in political sentiments, ripened into personal affection which nothing but death could have dissolved or impaired. Whether in his ministerial situation he might not suffer a few prejudices insensibly to creep on his mind, as the best men have suffered because they were men, may admit of a doubt; but, if even prejudiced, he was never uncandid, and though pertinacious in all his opinions, he had great indulgence for such as differed from him.

His sense of honour was lofty and heroic; his integrity stern and inflexible; and though he had a strong inclination to splendour of life, with a taste for all the elegancies of society, yet no love of dignity, of wealth, or of pleasure, could have tempted him to deviate, in a single instance, from the straight line of truth and honesty. He carried his democratical principles even into social life, where he claimed no more of the conversation than his just share, and was always candidly attentive, when it was his turn to be a hearer. His enmities were strong, yet placable,
but his friendships were eternal; and if his affections ever subdued his judgment, it must have been in cases, where the fame or interest of a friend were nearly concerned. The veneration with which he constantly treated his father, whom his fortunes and reputation had made the happiest of mortals, could be equalled only by the amiable tenderness which he shewed as a parent. He used to speak with wonder and abhorrence of Swift, who was not ashamed to leave a written declaration, "that he could never be fond of children;" and with applause of the caliph, who, on the eve of a decisive battle, which was won by his valour and wisdom, amused himself in his tent with seeing his children ride on his scymitar, and play with his turban, and dismissed a general, as unlikely to treat the army with lenity, who durst reprove him for so natural and innocent a recreation.

For some months before his death, the nursery had been his chief delight, and gave him more pleasure than the cabinet could have afforded; but this parental affection, which had been a source of so much felicity, was probably a cause of his fatal illness. He had lost one son, and expected to lose the other, when the author of this painful tribute to his memory parted from him with tears in his eyes, little hoping to see him again in a perishable state.—As he perceives,
without affectation, that his tears now steal from him, and begin to moisten the paper on which he writes, he reluctantly leaves a subject, which he could not soon have exhausted; and when he also shall resign his life to the great Giver of it, he desires no other decoration of this humble grave-stone than this honourable truth:

With none to flatter, none to recommend,
DUNNING approv'd and mark'd him as a friend.

END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.