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MEMOIRS

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ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

VOL. III, No. 1, pp. 1—56.

RAMACARITA BY SANDHYĀKARA NANDI.

EDITED BY

MAHĀMAHOPĀDHAYA HARAPRASĀD SĀSTRĪ, M.A.



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Rāmacarita.

By SANDHYĀKARA NANDĪ. Edited by MAHĀMAHOPĀDHĀYA HARAPRASĀD SĀSTRĪ, M.A.

PREFACE.

The manuscript of *Rāmacarita* was acquired by me in 1897. It is a curious work. It is written throughout in double *en tendre*. It is written in imitation of the *Rāghava-Pāṇḍaviya*. Read one way, it gives the connected story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Read another way, it gives the history of *Rāmapāladeva* of the *Pāla* dynasty of Bengal. The story of *Rāmāyaṇa* is known, but the history of *Rāmapāla* is not known. So it would have been a difficult task to bring out the two meanings distinctly. But fortunately the MS. contained not only the text of *Rāmacarita*, but a commentary of the first canto and of 36 verses of the second. The commentary portion of the manuscript then abruptly came to an end. The commentary, as may be expected, gives fuller account of the reign of *Rāmpāla* than the text. The other portion of the text is difficult to explain, and I have not attempted to make a commentary of my own. But I have tried, in my introduction, to glean all the historical information possible by the help of the commentary and the inscriptions of the *Pāla* dynasty, and other sources of information available to me.

The author of the text is *Sandhyākara Nandī*, who composed the work in the reign of *Madanapāla Deva*, the second son of *Rāmapāla*, and the fourth king from *Rāmapāla*, for, he ends his work with a hearty wish for the long life of *Madanapāla*. The author enjoyed exceptional opportunities of knowing the events of *Rāmapāla*'s reign and those of his successors, as his father was the *Sāndhivigrahika*, or the Minister of Peace and War of *Rāmapāla*, and lived at *Paṇḍra-Vardhana*, if not the capital, a suburb of the capital of the *Pālas*. When the work was written the events narrated in it were recent and people understood them without difficulty, but the case is quite different now when all memory of the events is lost. The author was unwilling to publish it, but he often repeated stray *ślokas* in assemblies, and so in a short time it became known that he had written a book and his friends pressed him to publish it.

The author belonged to a very respectable family of *Vārendra Brāhmaṇas*, who derived their name from their residence in the *Vārendra* country, *i. e.*, North Bengal, the scene of the struggles of *Rāmapāla* for empire. The residential village from which *Sandhyākara*'s family derived their cognomen is *Nanda*, perhaps a contraction of *Nandana*. The family is still well known. His grandfather was *Pināka*

Nandi and his father Prajāpati Nandī. The author was not only a poet, but a linguist. As Rāmapāla was Rāma, so the poet calls himself Kalikāla Vālmiki.

The manuscript is written in Bengali character of the twelfth century, the commentary though written a few years later was written in the same character. Both are written in a bold and beautiful hand, the commentary is clearer than the text. A comparison with the dated Bengali MSS. of the 12th century, of which there are two available, leaves little doubt that the present MS. belongs to the same century. The scribe to the text was Śīlacandra, who, from his name, appears to have been a Buddhist by faith. But unfortunately he did not know Sanskrit. He wrote as he saw. He makes mistakes which a little knowledge of Sanskrit might have avoided. He often omits verses and portions of verses. In the commented portions these omissions have been supplied from the commentary, but in the uncommented portion they remain as they are.

The importance of this work for the history of Bengal in the first half of the twelfth, and the second half of the eleventh century can not be overrated. It is a contemporary record though obscured by double *en tendre*, and such records are so rare for India, and especially for eastern portion of it, that it may be pronounced as unique.

In the introduction I have attempted to write a connected history of the Pālas of Bengal from their election as kings in about 770 A.D. to the end of Madanpāla's reign which comes close upon 1119, the starting-point of the era of the Sena kings of Bengal.

The task of editing Rāmapālacarita from one single MS., and of writing the history of the Pālas from the meagre records available, is a very difficult task, and I am fully aware of the imperfections. I hope, however, my readers will look upon the work with indulgence.

I have but very rarely used the Bengal and Tibetan traditions, but I have made full use of the literary treasures of this period examined in Nepal.

INTRODUCTION.

The Pālas in their inscriptions do not claim descent from any mythical beings and even from the Kṣatriya race. Their first progenitor is Dayita Viṣṇu, a Hindu name. He is described as Sarva-vidyāvadāta, sanctified by all sorts of knowledge. He was not even a military man. His son was a soldier of fortune who seems to have played an important part in the troublous times which followed the fall of the king of Gauḍa at the hands of Yaśovarman Deva, the king of Kanauj, about 730 A.D.¹

In the Rāmacarita the Pālas are said to have been descended from the Ocean god. The Bengal tradition, as embodied in the Kāñurpālā of Ghanarāma's Dharmamaṅgala, describes how the Ocean God came in the guise of Dharmapāla to his banished wife, Vallabhā, and so a son was born to the king. This means that Devapāla was the son

¹ Stein's Introduction to *Rajatarāṅginī*, p. 49; and Gouḍa Vaho.

of the Ocean God, and not his uncle Vākpāla, whose descendants really reigned. How the subsequent kings of this dynasty belonged to the Samudrakula is a mystery. As time went on, their pretensions seem to have been on the increase, for Vaidya Deva in his Assam inscription describes his liege Lord, Madanapāla, as belonging to solar race.

Rāmpālacarita and the Vaidya Deva-praśasti are very late works. In none of the early inscriptions do the Pālas advance any such pretensions. They were Plebeians, and so they thought well to remain. A contemporary of Dharmapāla, however, calls him as Rājabhaṭa Vaṃśapatita, that is, the descendant of a military officer of some king [see *infra*].

They were made kings by election. The subjects forced Gopāla to accept the hands of the goddess of fortune. The words in Sanskrit can have two interpretations. They may also mean that the subjects forced him to accept revenue or tribute. This is a case of election. Mr. Tawney wrote a paper about elections in ancient India, but this is a historical instance of election; so the Pālas got the kingdom not by conquest, nor by inheritance, nor by marriage.

The reason is given thus: *Mātsyam Nyāyamapohitum*, to escape from being absorbed into another kingdom, or to avoid being swallowed up like a fish. The state of the country since 730 A.D. was deplorable. After the fall of the king of Gauḍa, the king of Assam conquered greater part of the Eastern India, and Gauḍa is mentioned by name as one of the countries held by him in subjection¹ at least up to the year 759 A.D. A banished king Jayā-Piḍa of Kāśmīr came to Pauṇḍra-Varddhana², obtained the hand of the daughter of a local chief, and freed him from the subjection of his liege Lord (760 or later). Vatsarāja, the Gurjara king, too, is said to have become very proud by acquiring the sovereignty of Gauḍa and Bengal; and by taking away the two Royal umbrellas of Gauḍa [*Ep. Ind.*, vol. vi, 243]. All this shows how the country was weak and how torn it was by dissensions. Any great power outside Bengal might easily have conquered it. But fortunately there were no such powerful kings near at hand, and so the Bengalis very wisely thought of electing the son of Vappata, a soldier of fortune, to the throne, and saved their independence. This event, I believe, took place shortly after the Kāśmīr raid (760 or later). For quarter of a century they had peace, and their country made a good deal of progress; at the end of this quiet time Dharmapāla found opportunities to conquer Kanauj [see *infra*].

The question may be asked, if they were not Kṣatriyas, how could they marry in Kṣatriya families, such as Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Chedis, and so on? The reason is not far to seek. The term Kṣatriya has undergone various changes of meaning. About 400 B.C. it meant a caste. But the purāṇas are unanimous in saying that the Kṣatriyas were all destroyed by Nandas, and this is borne out by a passage in Savara's

¹ Ind. Ant., vol. ix, p. 78.

² Kalhan puts him between 751—782. But this requires a correction, says Dr. Stein. It may be from 760 or 70 to 800.

authoritative commentary on the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras*.¹ He says that the word *Rājā* meant a *Kṣatriya* engaged under government or in the army in *Āryāvartta*, but in the *Andhra* country, others so engaged would be called a *Rājā*. So gradually *Rājā* and *Kṣatriya* became synonymous, and so, many powerful invaders have been included in the meaning of the term *Kṣatriya*. Under the circumstances it is no wonder that *Pālas* when they had ruled for two or three generations should be regarded as *Kṣatriyas*. But still *Siṃhagiri* in his *Vyāsa Purāṇa* imbedded in the *Vallālacarita* after recounting all the *Kṣatriyas* in *India* in the 12th century, speaks of the *Pālas* as the worst of *Kṣatriyas*.

Dharmapāla is the second king of the *Pāla* dynasty. It is not known when he began to reign and when his reign came to an end, but it is known that the *Khālimpur* grant (*J.A.S.B.*, 1894, p. 39 *et seq.*; and *Nachrichten*, Göttingen, 1903, p. 308) was made in the 32nd year of his reign, so he must have reigned at least 32 years or longer. But the question is, when did he reign? In *Vigrahapāla's* *Bhāgalpur* grant (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xv, p. 304) there is a statement that he conquered *Indra* of *Kanauj*, but at the request of old *Brāhmins* of *Pāñcāla* he conferred the crown of *Kanauj* on *Cakrāyudha*. So *Cakrāyudha* was his contemporary. In a *Gwaliār* inscription (*Nachrichten*, Göttingen, 1905, p. 300), while giving a history of the wars of *Nāgabhaṭa*, a *Parihāra* king, it is stated that *Nāgabhaṭa* humbled *Cakrāyudha* who was a dependant. It has been already said that *Cakrāyudha* was a dependant of *Dharmapāla*, so *Nāgabhaṭa* and *Dharmapāla* belong to the same time. And we know from another inscription that *Nāgabhaṭa* was ruling in the year 815 A.D. (*Epi. Ind.*, vol. ix, p. 198).

In an inscription not yet published, but extracts from which have been given by *S. Bhandarkar* in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1906 (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, No. lxi, p. 116), are described the military operations of *Govinda* the third, the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* king of *Mānyakheṭa*. He led a victorious army from the south to the foot of the *Himalayas*. *Dharma* and *Cakrāyudha* submitted to him, but he had to fight with *Nāgabhaṭa*. So all these four kings were contemporaries. *Govinda's* certain dates range from 794 to 813, and his son's dates range from 817 to 877 A.D. *Indra* whom *Dharma* replaced was reigning in 783 A.D. (*Kielhorn's* *List of Southern Inscriptions*, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. viii). So the order of events is this. *Indra* reigning in 783 A.D., *Indra* replaced by *Cakrāyudha*, *Cakrāyudha* defeated by *Nāgabhaṭa*, *Nāgabhaṭa* defeated by *Govinda*. All these events must have taken place between 783 and 816 A.D. So *Dharma's* conquest of *Kanauj* must be placed somewhere between 783 and 816.

But the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* prince, *Parabala*, whose daughter *Dharmapāla* married, constructed a temple at *Pāthāri* in 861 A.D. (*Epi. Ind.*, vol. ix, p. 248). This would appear rather inconsistent. But *Parabala* must have been a very old man when he constructed the temple, for young princes are not fond of such religious works. And it can be proved that *Parabala* and his father lived long.

¹ *Bibl. Ind.* edition, *Adhyāya* II, *Pada* II, अनेष्टिर्गाम्भारत्वाधिकरण

Nāgāvaloka, a prince of Guzrat, was very prosperous in the year 756 (Epi Ind., vol. ix, p. 251). The founder of Chāhumana family was one of his favoured officers (Epi. Ind., vol. ii, p. 121). But some time after this he was severely beaten by Karkarāja (Epi. Ind., vol. ix, p. 253), who sacked his capital, and Parabala was Karkarāja's son. So a century must have elapsed between Karkarāja and Parabala and it is not impossible for Dharmapāla to marry a daughter of Parabala.

The date of Dharmapāla, therefore, must fall between 783 A.D. when Indra was reigning at Kanauj, and 817 when Govinda's son became king on the death of his father, and in an early part of this period to allow so many wars to come in succession.

By the conquest of Kanauj, Dharmapāla made himself master of Northern India, with the kings of Bhoja (Malwa), Matsya (Jaypur), Madra (Punjab), Kuru (Sirhind), Jādu (Khāndes), Avanti (eastern Malwa), Gandhāra (Peshwar), and Kīra (the borderland), acknowledging his supremacy; practically he had imperial sway over the whole Āryāvarta about the year 800. How long the Pālas were able to keep this vast continent under their sway, there is no means of knowing. But it is sure that they held North-Western India through their dependant, the king of Kanauj. Nāgabhaṭa's conquest of Kanauj was a mere raid. He found the king to be dependent and he looted the capital. His raid produced no lasting result. So was Govinda's conquest a mere raid. To anticipate events, the fact that a Buddhist monk of Kaniška Vihāra near Peshwar was appointed the abbot of Nālanda by Devapāla, the successor of Dharmapāla, shows that even Devapāla enjoyed the sovereignty of the vast territory acquired by his father. The extent of Dharmapāla's empire and his influence on the whole of India is exemplified by the fact that his servants bathed not only in Kedāra in the Himālayas, at the mouth of the Ganges, but even at Gokarṇa on the Malabar coast.

The vast extent of the empire and the prosperity which it enjoyed, though disturbed by occasional raids, enabled Dharmapāla to undertake the reformation of religion. It is a well-known fact that Prajñā-pāramitā was written by Nāgārjuna about the middle of the second century A.D., and it was the great book of the Mahāyanists. But Maitreya, the founder of another sect, wrote a Kārikā in 8 chapters, entitled Abhisamayālaṅkāra, with the avowed object of giving a new interpretation to the Prajñā Pāramitā; and shortly after, the Prajñā Pāramitā was recast in 8 chapters with 25 thousand ślokas under the name of the Pañcaviṃśati-Sāhasrika Prajñā-pāramitā. The book became very popular. It was thrice translated into Chinese before Houen Tsang, twice between 265 and 316 A.D. The Prajñā Pāramitā underwent several recasts between the time of Nāgārjuna and Houen Tsang. In Dharmapāla's time it became absolutely necessary to simplify the study of this—pre-eminently *the* book of the Mahāyānist school, and so he encouraged a learned Buddhist scholar of his time, Haribhadra by name, to write a commentary on the Aṣṭa-Sāhasrikā, according to doctrines of Maitreya. The commentary embodied the ideas of Nāgārjuna as well as of Maitreya. It was written by Haribhadra at Trikūṭaka Vihāra under the protection of Dharmapāla some time after his

Reformation of Mahāyāna
School of Buddhism.

conquest of Kanauj Dharmapāla is described by Haribhadra as belonging to the family of a military officer of some king. From this it may perhaps be inferred that Dayita-Viṣṇu was descended from that family mentioned in the Iran stone Boar inscription of the first year of Torāmaṇa, in which mention is made of a Mahārājā, named Mātṛ Viṣṇu, brother of Dhanya Viṣṇu, the son of Hari Viṣṇu, grandson of Varuṇa Viṣṇu and great-grandson of Indra Viṣṇu. But after Dayita Viṣṇu, there is no name in the Pāla dynasty which ends in Viṣṇu. So it indicates either illegitimacy or a cross-breeding, for the Viṣṇus of Irān were Brahmaṇs. This is a conjecture thrown out for whatever it may be worth.

Haribhadra speaks of Dharmapāla as a great athlete, who by his prowess could restrain an infuriated elephant; also as a very pious man. Haribhadra was a monk belonging to the Tāntrika school of Asaṅga, and his preceptor was a very learned man, named Vairocana. The whereabouts of the Trikūṭaka-vihāra is as yet unknown. May it be in the Traikūṭaka city of the Cedis in the Sātpurā range ?

In the Khalimpur inscription, Dharmapāla is described as स्तूपमानावदतः, *i.e.*, he was fair and as high as a stūpa. He had a large army and large navy. He could easily throw a boat-bridge across the Ganges. Where his capital was is not known. The Khalimpur grant was issued from Pāṭaliputra, where he seems to have held a great Durbar and thrown a boat-bridge across the river. The grant was made in the 32nd year of his reign. The lands belonged to the Bhukti or province of Paundra-Varddhana. Four villages were endowed by the king himself at the request of Nārāyaṇa Varmā, his Mahāsāmantādhipati (the chief of his feudatories) and his Yuvarāja Tribhuvanapāla,¹ to meet the cost of the Temple of Nunya Nārāyaṇa, whose worshippers were Lāṭa Brāhmaṇas, *i.e.*, Brāhmaṇas from Gujrat where Vaiṣṇavism greatly flourished at the time, and which still remains a great place for Vaiṣṇavite worship. The name Nunya Nārāyaṇa may seem strange, but we have in Nepal four Nārāyaṇas, as Iṣannārāyaṇa, Viṣannārāyaṇa, Cangu-nārāyaṇa and Sikharnārāyaṇa. Nārāyaṇas of different localities had different names.

It may be asked why did a Buddhist king endow a temple of Viṣṇu. The Pālas were tolerant towards all religions, as will be shown in their subsequent history. In the case of Dharmapāla, he had a Hindu wife, Raṅṅā Devi, the daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince, Parabala, who in 861 erected a Vaiṣṇava temple at Pāthāri. The queen's influence must have been at work.

Dharmapāla was the real founder of the greatness of the Pāla dynasty. Though his father was elected king, we hear nothing more about him. Two short inscriptions were attributed to Gopāla's time by Cunningham, but Babu Nilmaṇi Chakravarti has shown that palæographically they cannot belong to that early period.² The only fact that is known about Gopāla, is that he had a wife named Deddā Devi, the mother of Dharmapāla.

¹ I have in this ventured to differ from Mr. Vatavyāla, for Nunya Nārāyaṇa Bhattaraka cannot mean Bhatta Natyara — the Brahman from whom Mr. Vatavyāla claimed his descent.

² J.A.S.B., 1908, p. 101 *et seq.*

Though the Khalimpur grant speaks of Tribhuvanapāla as Yuvarāja, Dharmapāla seems to have survived him.

Dharmapāla was very fortunate in his brother Vākpāla who was always loyal to him and helped him materially in building up the Pāla empire. In the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla he has been compared to Lakṣmaṇa, the faithful younger brother of Rāma.

In the 26th year of Dharmapāla's reign, a four-faced Mahādeva was consecrated and a big tank was excavated at the cost of 3000 Drammas by Keśava, the son of a sculptor named Ujjvala. From the very commencement of their reigns, the Pālas were great patrons of works of public utility, both religious and secular.

Dharmapāla was succeeded by his son Devapāla. He too was a pious but tolerant Buddhist. The extent of his empire too was vast. In his Mungir grant¹ he is said to have ruled the whole of India from the Himalayas to the Setubandha and from sea to sea. The grant was made to a Brāhmaṇ named Vihekarāta of the Aupamanyava gotra and Āsvalāyana-Sākhā, of a village in the province of Śrīnagar, by which Pāṭaliputra seems to have been meant.

The state of Buddhism in Devapāla's time may be inferred from the Ghosrawa stone inscription.² Viradeva, a learned Brāhmaṇa, in Buddhism in Devapāla's time. Nagarahāra near Jelālābād, in modern Afghanistan, received his education in Buddhism at the Kāṇiṣka Vihāra near Peshawar, entered the Buddhist order, was initiated by Sarvajña Śānti, a learned monk, travelled all over North India on pilgrimage, came to Budh Gayā, and lived at Yašovantapura or Ghosrāwa under the distinguished patronage of Devapāladeva. Viradeva erected a chaitya at Indraśila and was much respected for his learning. On the death of Satyabodhi, the chief of the Nālanda Vihāra, Viradeva was elected in that high office by the monks, and he lived there for many years, teaching and preaching Buddhism.

The Khālimpur grant is dated in the 32nd year of Dharmapāla, the Mungir grant is dated in the 33rd year of Devapāla, so these kings reigned during the greater part of the ninth century; and the flourishing state of Buddhism is shown by Haribhadra's commentary and Viradeva's career as a learned monk. This only relates to the higher sides of Buddhism.

Popular Buddhism, too, underwent a great change. Bengal tradition, as embodied in the works entitled Dharmamaṅgala, affirms that this was the time when Dharma Ṭhākure pūjā or the worship of Dharma, one of the Buddhist Trinity in the form of a god, was introduced in Bengal by Rāmāi Paṇḍit in the southern districts of western Bengal under the patronage of Lāusena, the son of Devapāla's sister-in-law, the ruler of Mayanā in the Midnapur district. Several works in Bengali are attributed to Rāmāi Paṇḍita, one of which, the Śūnyapurāṇa, has recently been published, but unfortunately it has suffered much in the process of modernization, and the

¹ Ind. Ant., vol. xxi, pp. 253—258.

² Ind. Ant., vol. xvii, pp. 307—312.

language of the work is not the language of Devapāla's time. It tries to create the world from void and evolve the phenomenal world from out of void. It is intensely Buddhistic in tone, but there is no secret worship and mysticism about it.

Lāusena was the favourite of the god Dharma, and though his maternal uncle Mahāmada, the prime-minister of Devapāla, tried several times to take his life, Lāusena invariably thwarted him by the grace of Dharma, whose messenger to his favourite was Hanūmān. Lāusena is said to have conquered Kāmarūpa and Kalinga countries for Devapāla.

Devapāla had a son named Rājyapāla who was charged with giving effect to the grant made by Devapāla from Mungir. But we do not hear anything of Rājyapāla.

Devapāla's cousin was Jayapāla, who was very loyal to the king. Jayapāla was a warrior and led several expeditions to Orissa and Kāmarūpa.¹ Though Buddhist, he performed his father's funeral ceremony according to Hindu rites, and Umāpati, a very learned Brāhmaṇa of Kanjivilvi, got the mahādāna in this ceremony.²

Jayapāla's son Śūrapāla or Vighrahapāla succeeded Devapāla on the throne. In his time the territory of the Pāla empire was much circumscribed in the west, as from 844 and onwards all the Parihāra Gurjjara grants were issued from Kanauj, and that city seems to have been made the capital of the Gurjjara empire. But the Buddal pillar inscription found in the district of Rungpur, of Gurava Miśra, the minister to his son Nārāyaṇapāla, speaks of his having wars with Utkalas, Hūnas, Draviḍas and Gurjjaras.

Utkala was at this time passing through a revolution. The Somavaṃśis of that country were oppressing the Brāhmaṇas, so the Brāhmaṇas were anxious to overthrow them³ and bringing in the Keśari dynasty; and as a neighbouring king of great power, under the influence of Brāhmaṇas, Vighrahapāla could not sit idle.⁴

The Huṇas were often mentioned in the history of this period as occupying some portion of Central India. They seem to have established themselves somewhere in Malwa and Bundelkhand, as they were constantly at war with the Paramāras, Pratihāras and others. As their country bordered on the Pāla empire they often came in conflict with it.

The Coḷas were at this time a rising power in the south, and they were always aggressive. They might have invaded the Pāla empire.

The Gurjjaras were now firmly established at Kanauj, and being of restless habits they often came into hostile contact with the Pālas. So the statement in the Buddal pillar inscription that Vighrahapāla long ruled the sea-girt earth, having eradicated the race of Utkalas, humbled the pride of the Huṇas and scattered the conceit of the rulers of Draviḍas and Gurjjaras, seems to be justifiable.

The family of the writer of the Buddal pillar inscription were the hereditary ministers to the Pāla dynasty. They belonged to the Sāṅḍilya gotra and were very learned in the Śāstras. Garga was the minister of Dharmapāla, and he boasted that his nīti made Dharma the lord of the

Hereditary Brāhmaṇ ministers.

¹ Ind. Ant., vol. xv, p. 304.

³ My third Report, p. 10

² I.O. Cat., vol. i, pp. 92-93.

⁴ Buddal pillar Inscription, Epi. Ind., vol. ii, p. 164.

world. The Pālas were shrewd enough to find that a purely Buddhist regimè was impossible in their days when Buddhism was declining and Brāhminism was rising into power in every quarter, and so they always tried to prop their empire by enlisting the power of the Brāhmaṇas on their side.

Garga's son Darbhapāṇi was the minister of Devapāla. He was greatly respected by the king for his learning and his Nīti. Kedāra Miśra, the grandson of the latter, was the minister of Vighrahapāla, called Śūrapāla, in the Buddal pillar inscription. The king attended his vedic sacrifices. Kedāra married Babbā whose father lived at Devagrāma in the Nadiā district. So at that time the Rāḍhiya and Vārendra Brāhmaṇas were not so exclusive as they are at present.¹

Vighrahapāla is the only king of the Pāla dynasty whose coins come down to us. There are obscure hints that Mahīpāla too coined. The Pāla coinage. currency in East India was cowries. The only coin was dramma or drachma. The people used dramma even in Dharmapāla's time.

Vighrahapāla married Lajjā, a princess of the Haihaya or Cedi race, who, establishing themselves at Tripurī at the sources of the Narmadā, were at this time making conquests in all directions.

By this queen he had a son named Nārāyaṇapāla who succeeded him. His minister was Gurava Miśra otherwise called Rāma, a good speaker and a great astronomer. This Gurava Miśra was the Dūtaka for the execution of a grant of land made by Nārāyaṇapāla from Munger at the Tīrabhukti-*viṣaya* to the Pāsupatas, the worshippers of Śiva for whom the king had himself erected thousand temples.²

A Hindu monastery was built by Bhāṇḍadeva in the seventh year of Nārāyaṇapāla. This king was celebrated for the dispensation of even-handed justice to his subjects.

His son Rājyapāla ruled the kingdom for some time and excavated many large tanks and built many temples of a towering height. He married Bhāgyadevī, the daughter of Tuṅga, a prince of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa race. His son was Gopāl for whom we have got two small inscriptions—one at Budhgayā and the other at Nalandā, one on an image of Buddha and the other on an image of Vāgīśvari.²

Gopala's son was Vighrahapāla II, who was noted for his munificence, and for his knowledge and patronage of Arts.

The next king was Mahīpāla, a son of Gopāla, the last king. Mahīpāla reigned during the first part of the 11th century. In 1026 A.D. he deputed two brothers, Sthirapāla and Basantapāla, supposed to be his sons, to Benares to repair Dhamek or the huge stūpa which still stands at Sāranātha, and also to repair *the* Dharmacakra, *i.e.*, the Dharmacakra where Buddha preached for the first time, and to construct a Gandhakuṭi or temple of

¹ Ind. Ant., vol. xv, pp. 304—310.

² J.A.S.B. (N.S.), vol. iv, pp. 102—105.

Buddha. The brothers were pious Buddhists and very learned, constructed hundreds of precious monuments for the glorification of their king at the holy city.¹

Mahīpāla seems to have reigned long, and many works of great public utility are associated with his name at different parts of Bengal.

Popularity of Mahīpāla.

He was so popular that songs were composed to celebrate the work of his life—songs which used to be sung in many parts of Bengal up to recent times, and which are still sung in remote corners like Mayūrabhañja and Kuch-Behar.

If a man, engaged in one work, pays attention to another unconnected with it, a proverb is often repeated “*Dhān bhānte Mahīpāler gīta,*” that is, singing the praises of Mahīpāla while engaged in thrashing corn.

At this time Rājendracōḍa, the king of Kāñcī invaded Bengal. The date of his invasion is about 1033 A.D. Rājendra found Raṇaśura in

Rājendracōḍa's raid.

southern Rāḍha, Mahīpāla in northern Rāḍha, Govinda-

candra in Baṅga and Dharmapāla in Daṇḍabhukti, the modern city of Behar in Patna district. Mahīpāla was the king, and the others were apparently his feudatories. The districts of Murshidabad and Burdwan are always known as northern Rāḍha. Not very far from the city of Murshidabad, there are extensive ruins of a city known as Mahīpāla. The kings of the Pāla dynasty had no fixed capital. Gauḍa was nominally their head-quarters. The kings were fond of pitching their camps wherever they pleased and of raising the place to a city. It is supposed that Mahīpāla principally resided at a place known by his name. Rājendracōḍa's boast, that he had conquered all these kings, does not seem to rest on the foundation of sure facts. For Ārya-Kṣemīśvara, the author of Caṇḍakauśika, a drama in five acts, gives the credit of destroying the Karnāṭakas to Śrī Mahīpāla Deva. The drama was enacted under orders of the king, and before him. The poet writes a verse in which Mahīpāla is compared to Candra Gupta, and the Karnāṭakas to the Nandas.

Raṇaśūra of southern Rāḍha seems to have belonged to the Śūra dynasty of Bengal who are said to have brought the five Brāhmaṇas from Kanauj. That they were dispossessed of the greater part of their dominions by the Pālas is also asserted by the Bengal genealogists.

Govindacandra is here said to be the king of Baṅga. But in the tradition of Raṅgapur we know of a dynasty of kings with their names ending in Candra. We have paleographic evidence of the existence of this family, and songs to glorify many of them are still to be heard in the districts of North Bengal.²

That Daṇḍabhukti is the district round the modern city of Behar in Patna district, is known from the fact that the city was known by the name of Oḍantapuri by the Singhalese, by Otantapuri by Tibetans, and the Odanan Behar by Mahomedans, and by Uddaṇḍapura in the inscription of the 2nd year of Śūrapāla Deva, p. 108, J.A.S.B., new series, vol. iv. Babu Nilamaṇi Cakravartī reads it Uddaṇḍa-cūḷa, which should be Uddaṇḍapura. In the Rāmapālacarita, too, Daṇḍabhukti is connected with Magadha and Piṭhi. Rājendracōḍa either came on pilgrimage to these

¹ Ind. Ant., vol. xiv, p. 130.

² Hunter's Gazetteer of Rangpur.

parts or led a raid dignified with the name of Digvijaya, which made but very little impression in this country.¹

During the whole of the 11th century, however, the Pālas had to contend against a formidable neighbouring power, the Cedis of Tripurī. The Cedi Empire. The Cedis held the whole of the tract between Behar and Bundelkhaṇḍ. Gāṅgeya Deva, in the first quarter of the century, crossed the Ganges and conquered much of the territory to the north of that river, and between that river and the Yamunā. The King of Kanauj was very weak. He submitted to Mahmud of Gazni without a struggle and was killed by the neighbouring Hindu Rājā for allying himself with an infidel. The Cedi king took advantage of the king's weakness to conquer much of his territory. Gāṅgeya Cedi seems to have conquered Mithilā from the Pālas. For Professor Bendal in his historical introduction to my Nepal Catalogue speaks of a Nepāl scribe writing a manuscript of the Rāmāyaṇa in Mithilā, acknowledging Gāṅgeya Deva as the reigning sovereign in 1029 A.D. Gāṅgeya Deva died under the celebrated fig tree in Prayāga about the year 1040. Even his great enemies, the Chaṇḍelas, style him as the conquerer of the universe. Mahīpāla had bad times with Rājendracoḍa on one side, and Gāṅgeya Deva on the other. Rājendra could not make much impression in the Pāla empire, but Gāṅgeya seems to have taken away Mithilā.

Gāṅgeya's son Karṇa was more formidable still. His reign was a long one, not less than 60 years, commencing from 1041. He held Karna Cedi. Pāṇdyas, Murulas, Kuṅgas, Baṅgas, Kīras and Huṅas in check; and he is said to have been waited upon by the Coḍa, Kuṅga, Hūṅa, Gauḍa, and Gurjjara kings. Joined by the Karṇāṭas he swept over the earth like a mighty ocean. The mention of the word Gauḍa shows that the Pālas had to propitiate him, but later on fortune seems to have turned her face against him. The Calūkyas of Gujrat, the Cālūkyas of Kalyāṇa, the Paramāras of Malwa seem to have held him in check, and his power was completely broken in 1080 by Kīrti Varmā, the king of Bundelkhand, whose general, Gopāla Rāya, defeated him and routed his army. The Prabodha-candrodaya was composed and enacted to welcome this victorious general at the Chaṇḍela capital.

During the reign of Mahīpāla flourished the great Atiṣa, or Dīpāṅkara Śrījñāna, at the well-known monastery of Vikrama Śīla. Dīpāṅkara Atiṣa, the Reformer of Tibet. was invited by the king of Tibet with a view to reform the system of Buddhism prevailing there. And he founded the Red-Cap sect of the Lāmas. He is the real founder of higher Buddhism in that country. He translated a large number of Sanskrit works in Tibetan, and he is still respected as an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara.

It is not known when the great monastery of Vikrama Śīla was founded, but during the 10th and 11th centuries it was a powerful rival to Nālanda. But Nālanda still flourished and still maintained its high position. A manuscript copied at Nālanda

¹ Epigraphia Indica, vol. ix, p. 229. South-Indian Inscriptions, vol. i, p. 97.

in the 6th year of Mahīpāla's reign is to be found in Asiatic Society's Library. Many manuscripts copied, during the reigns of Mahīpāla and Nayapāla and the 11th century generally, have found their way to Nepal where they are preserved in private and public collections.

Prajñākaramati, a Buddhist philosopher, seems to have flourished about this time.

Prajñākaramati. For the scribe, who copied his work in 1078, speaks of Prajñākara as his Tātapāda or Guru. A large number of Indian Buddhist Paṇḍitas seem to have migrated to Tibet, and to have translated Buddhist Sanskrit works into Tibetan with the help of the learned men of the country.¹

Vernacular Literature. But the most glorious work of this period is the rise of vernacular literature of Bengal. Not that there was no vernacular literature before this, but I believe a sound beginning had already been made. But this was the period in which it flourished exuberantly. The songs of Mahīpāla have already been spoken of. Buddhist songs in Bengali became the fashion of the day. This was, I believe, the beginning of Kīrtana songs. Kṛṣṇācārya or Kāhṇa wrote his celebrated Dōhās, his songs and his commentaries about this period. There were several other writers of Dōhās, and the Sāhajiyā sect of Buddhism used to sing Buddhist songs in Bengali throughout the country. Lui, Kukkuri, Biruā, Guṇḍari, Cāṭila, Bhūṣukru, Kahnā, Dombi, Mahinta, Saraha, Dhegūṇa, Śānti, Bhāde, Tāṇḍaka, Rāutū, Kaṅkaṇa, Jayanandī, Dhamma, and Śavara sang Kīrtana songs to the willing ears of Bengali peasants and Bengali artisans. What is known as Dākpuruṣera vacana was also composed and collected about this time. Collections of these songs and proverbs with Sanskrit commentaries copied in the Bengali character of the 12th century can still be had in the monasteries and libraries in Nepal. Popular Buddhism had undergone a great change. Tāntric gods and goddesses, Bhairavas and Bhairavīs had entered into the pantheon of popular Buddhism and were worshipped as incarnations or representations of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

Nathism. A class of men who attained success in their austerities and yoga-practices were regarded as superhuman beings or Nāthas.² They are objects of veneration and they had a large number of disciples. Adinātha, Matsyendranātha, Mīnanātha and others stuck to their Buddhism. But Gorakṣanātha, who was originally a Buddhist under the name Ramanavajra, became a Śaiva, and was hated by the Buddhists as a renegade. These introduced a form of secret and mystic worship, which, with political changes in eastern India, brought about the downfall of Buddhism in this country.

Nyayapāla. Mahīpāla was succeeded by Nyayapāla. He is better known in China and Tibet than in India. He seems to have enjoyed peace during his long reign and to have sent a large number of Paṇḍitas to Tibet. Cakrapāṇi, the nephew of his kitchen superintendent, wrote a large work on medicine and commented upon older medical works.

¹ See Sarat Chandra Das's work entitled 'Indian Paṇḍitas in the Land of Snow.'
J. R. A. S., vol. xviii, Old Series, p. 394.

Śūdraka, at this time, held a high office at Gayā; and his son Viśvarūpa erected a beautiful temple in that city. The inscription on this temple was composed by *Vaidya* Vajrapāṇi in the 15th year of Nayapāla's reign. (The inscription will soon be published by Babu R. D. Banerji). The reigns of Mahīpāla and Nyayapāla form, so to say, one great period of progress and degeneration. They were not great warriors, nor were they great conquerors. The military genius of Gāṅgeya and Karṇa seems to have overshadowed them, and they devoted themselves to arts of peace.

Nyayapāla was succeeded by Vighrahapāla III, who is best known to us by his

Vighrahapāla III. Āmgāchi copper-plate grant¹ issued in the 13th year of his reign for propitiating lord Buddha. Karṇa Deva of

Tripurī was still the most formidable power in northern India. Within a short time of the accession of Vighrahapāla, he came in conflict with Karṇa, who was very severely beaten. His kingdom lay at the mercy of Vighrahapāla. But Vighrahapāla spared both the king and his kingdom. Karṇa entered into a treaty with him, acknowledging his supremacy; and Karṇa's daughter Yauvanaśrī was married to

Mahīpāla II. Vighrahapāla. Vighrahapāla had three sons—Mahīpāla, Śūrapāla and Rāmapāla. Mahīpāla by his impolitic

acts incurred the displeasure of his subjects. He put Rāmapāla and Śūrapāla to prison bound in chains; but they were rescued by their friends. The Kaivartas were a very powerful and warlike people in northern Bengal. Dibyoka was their chief. He had a brother named Rudoka. The Kaivartas were smarting under oppression of the king. Bhīma, the son of Rudoka, taking advantage of the popular discontent, led his Kaivarta subjects to rebellion. Mahīpāla did not pay any heed to the cautious advice of his ministers, he hastily collected a large but ill-disciplined force, and advanced to meet the enemy. His force was routed. The soldiers fled in disorder and he was defeated and slain. The whole of northern Bengal, called Vārendrī in those days, fell into the hands of the Kaivartas. And Bhīma built a Ḍamara, a suburban city close to the capital of the Pāla empire.²

The Dinajpur inscription of Madanapāla mentioned Śūrapāla as the next king.

Surapāla. But the Rāmacarita is silent about him. We have, however, two identical inscriptions in the Indian

Museum, dated in the 2nd year of Śūrapāla, in which an old Buddhist monk Pūrṇadāsa consecrates images of Buddha at Uddanḍapurī.³

Rāmapāla and his son Rājyapāla travelled all over the empire and beyond it, collected together all his feudatories, and sent Śivarāja

Rāmapāla—his wars. of the Rāṣtrakūṭa race, who was the commander of his palace guards, to reconnoitre the Vārendra country. Śivarāja assured the people, Brāhmaṇas and others, that their property would be respected.

His Feudatories. His principal supporters were—

(1) Bhīmayaśā, the Rājā of Piṭhī in Magadha, who defeated the army of Kānyakubja.

¹ Ind. Ant., vol. xx1, p. 97.

² Second chapter of Rāmacarita.

³ J. and Proc. A.S.B., vol. iv, p. 108.

- (2) Viraguna, a king of Southern India, who was a lion in the forest of Kōṭā.
- (3) Jayasiṅha, the Rājā of Daṇḍabhukti or Bihar, who destroyed the army of Karṇa Keśarī, the Rājā of Utkala.
- (4) Vikrama Rāja, the Rājā of Devagrāma and the surrounding country, washed by the waves of the rivers of Bāla-Valabhī or Bagḍī, one of the five provinces into which Bengal was divided.
- (5) Lakṣmīśūra, the ruler of Aparā Mandāra, and the lord of all the forest feudatories.
- (6) Śurapāla, the lion in destroying the elephants of Kūjabāḍī.
- (7) Rudraśekhara of Tailakampa, the modern Telkupi near Pachet.
- (8) Mayagala Siṅha, the king of Ucchāla.
- (9) Pratāpa Siṅha, the king of Dhekkariya or Dhekura on the other side of the river Ajaya near Katwa.
- (10) Narasiṅhārjuna, the king of Kayaṅgala.
- (11) Caṇḍārjuna of Saṅkaṭagrāma.
- (12) Vijayarāja of Nidrāvala.
- (13) Dvorapabardhana of Kauśāmbi.
- (14) Soma, Rājā of Padubānvā or Pabnā (?).

But the warriors on whom Rāmapāla relied in this crisis were, Rāṣṭrakuṭa princes, Kāhnura Deva who was Mahāmāṇḍalika, and Śivarāja Deva who was Mahāpratihāra. These were son and nephew of Mahana or Mathana; his maternal uncle. This warrior, Mahana, riding on his famous elephant, Bindhya Māṅikya, defeated Devarakṣita, the Rājā of Pīḥī, in Magadha. Kāhnura Deva was his son, and Śivarāja was the son of his brother Suvarṇa Deva.

The allied army threw a bridge of boats on the Ganges, crossed the river and advanced and destroyed the Damara, and took Bhīma a captive while riding on his elephant in the battle-field. He was placed in charge of Vittapāla, who showed him all hospitality, and treated him very kindly

But Hari, a friend of Bhīma, rallied the scattered Kaivarta army and advanced to fight. It was a well-contested battle in which both sides lost much. Rāmapāla's son contested every inch of ground, and established his power. Hari at last found himself powerless, was captured, and led to the place of execution. Bhīma, too, seems to have been put to the sword.

Rāmapāla founded a city named Rāmāvati at the confluence of the Ganges and the Karatoyā in the Bārendrī country. In the choice of the site of the city, Rāmapāla seems to have taken the advice of Rājā Caṇḍeśvara of Śrīhaṭṭa Śrīhetu; and of Kṣemesvara. The city was in a short time beautified with the temples of various Hindu gods and goddesses, and Brāhmaṇas and Bhikṣus had their residences in it. A great Vihāra was erected under the name of Jāgaddalavihāra. The city contained an image of Avalokiteśvara, whose greatness consisted in saving all sentient beings. Near it was a place of pilgrimage called Apunarbhava. In a short time the

The foundation of Rāmāvati, the Rāmapāla in Dacca.

city was planted with many gardens, and many large tanks were excavated in it, and market places there contained merchandise from various quarters of the earth. The king himself excavated a tank as large as an ocean, with sides as high as chains of mountains on the seaside. An eastern potentate propitiated him with large elephants, chariots, and armour, for extending his protection to him. He conquered Utkala and restored it to the Nāgavaṃsīs ; and so he ruled all the countries down to Kālīnga. Māyana conquered Kāmarūpa and other countries for the king.

Rāmapāla tried to surround himself by men eminent in science and literature.

His Council.

His prime-minister was Bodhideva, the son of Yogadeva, the hereditary prime-minister of the Pāla family. His war minister was Prajāpati Nandī, the father of Sandhyākara Nandī, the author of the Rāmacarita, a Brāhmaṇa of Vārendra distribution in Bengal. Sandhyākara had the rare advantage of the position of his father to know fully and minutely the military strength of the Pāla empire. His book is, therefore, of a great value as a record of the contemporary history of the later Pālas.

His chief medical officer was Bhadreśvara, both a physician and a poet. The grandfather of Bhadreśvara, Devagaṇa by name, was the court physician of that Govinda Candra, contemporary of Mahipāla and Rājendra Coḍa, so well known in Bengali songs. Bhadreśvara's son was Sureśvara, the author of a Sanskrit dictionary of medical botany, who served under a king named Bhīma Pāla, the ruler of Pādi, perhaps the same Bhīma who wrested northern Bengal from the Pālas for a time.

Rāmapāla lived at Rāmāvati, leaving the cares of his government to his

The Death of Rāmapāla.

son. The country prospered greatly, and he was never disturbed by wicked people. Rājyapāla governed the kingdom with wisdom and tact, which much pleased his father Rāmapāla. Just at this time, Mathana, his friend, died. When residing at Munger, the king heard of his death, distributed much wealth to Brāhmaṇas and entered the sacred river with a view to proceed to heaven.

On his death, his enemies became very jubilant. But Kumārapāla, his son, put them down.

All except north Bengal revolted, but Vaidya Deva, his minister, with a strong navy restored peace to the whole empire ; when Kumārapāla was anxious to reward the merit of this useful minister, news was received that Tigmadeva, the king of Kāmarūpa, was meditating independence. He at once appointed Vaidya Deva the king of Kāmrūpa, and sent him with a strong army to dethrone Tigmadeva. Vaidya Deva easily overthrew the king and took his place.¹

Kumārapāla died shortly after, and Gopal III his son, too, after a short reign breathed his last. Madanapāla, the second son of Rāmapāla, now became king ; the short reigns of the

Gopala III.

¹ Epigraphia Indica, vol. ii, p. 347.

previous kings had so weakened the power of the Pālas that Madanapāla had to preserve the prestige of the Pāla empire by a close alliance with Candra Deva, the founder of the Gahaḍavāḍa kingdom of Kanauj. The alliance seems to have been an offensive and defensive one. For the Bengal army fought a battle against the enemies of Kanauj on the banks of the Yamunā. Candra Deva's inscriptions range from 1090 to 1104. Madanapāla lived about this time. One of his inscription was dated the 14th year of his reign.

There is an inscription commemorating a grant of land made by Madanapāla Deva in the 8th year of his reign¹ from the victorious camp at Rāmāvati to Baṭesvara Svāmī at Paunḍrabardhanabhukti for reciting the Mahābhārata before the chief queen Citramālikā.¹ Another inscription of the same king at Jayanagara near the Laksmīsarai station is dated in the 19th year of his reign.² The letter for 9 is doubtful. It is most likely 4. So instead of nineteen we should rather say fourteen. These two inscriptions plainly show that Madanapāla's empire included East Bengal, North Bengal, and Behar. The 14th year of Madanapāla would come close to the year 1119, the initial year of the Lakṣmaṇa Sena Era. It is a curious fact, however, that no inscription of the Pāla kings has yet been discovered in the Rāḍha country, that is, the Burdwan Division of Bengal. The first inscription comes from Pāḷaliputra, the second from Monghyr, the third and fourth from Bhāgalpur, some from Dinajpur, and the last one from Dacca.

There are two more inscriptions of a king named Mahendrapāla—one dated in the 8th, and the other in the 19th year of his reign. Both are from Gayā and its vicinity. He may have belonged to the Pāla dynasty, but there is nothing to show his connection with them. A second king, Govindapāla, is mentioned in a Gayā inscription dated 1175, which states that he lost his kingdom 14 years ago, *i.e.*, 1161. So the last vestige of the Pāla Empire seems to have come to an end in that year. There are some MSS. from Nepal dated in the 37th, 38th and 39th year after the loss of Govindapāla's kingdom, *i.e.*, 1198, 1199 and 1200 A.D.

The Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla records a grant of land at Tīrabhukti at Mithilā. With the rise of the Chedis under Gāṅgeya and Karṇa, they seem to have lost their hold on that country. It then formed a part of the Chedi Empire, north of the Ganges, and they passed into the hands of the Karṇātakas, who helped the Chedis in building up their empire. Nānya was the first Karṇāṭaka king. A manuscript copied during his reign is dated 1098 A.D. Nānya Deva's family reigned quietly at Mithilā, sometimes paying tributes to the Pālas, sometimes to the Chedies at Gorakhpur, sometimes to the Mahomedans at Delhi, till Harisiṅha of this family in 1325 rebelled against Emperor Ghyāsuddīn and defeated the Delhi troops. The event was signalised by

¹ J.A.S.B., vol. lxix, p. 68.

² C.A.S.R., vol. iii, p. 125, and plate xlv, No. 17.

³ Epi. In., vol. i, p. 318, Note 57.

the performance of an original drama entitled 'Dhūrta samāgama' by Jyotirīshvara Kavi Śekharācārya. Harisiṅha invaded Nepal, and since then the rājās of his family kept political connections with that kingdom, till about 1400 A.D. the descendants of Harisiṅha became, by marriage, the rulers of Nepal, and lost their position in Mithilā by the rise of the Brāhmaṇa Rājās under Kāmeṣa. The kings of Mithilā always patronised Sanskrit and vernacular literature; and it is possible to compile a connected literary history of Mithilā from Nānya Deva up to very recent times.

रामचरितं ।

श्रीघनाय नमः सदा ।

प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ।

श्रीः अयति यस्य कण्ठं कृष्णं तं विभ्रतं भुजेनागं ।
दधतं कं दामजटालम्बंशशिखण्डम[ण्ड]नं वन्दे ॥ १ ॥

श्रीघनाय नमः ।

श्रीरित्यादि । तं शशिखण्डमण्डनं महेश्वरं वन्दे । यस्य कण्ठं कृष्णं श्यामं शीर्णश्रवणज्वालयेत्यर्थात् ।
श्रीः शोभा अयति । भुजेन अगं शेषं विभ्रतं, कं दाम कपालमालां जटालम्बं जटालम्बि दधतं ।
एकः पञ्चः ॥

पुण्डरीकाक्षपत्ने तु तं कृष्णं वासुदेवं वन्दे । यस्य कण्ठं श्रीलक्ष्मीः अयति कण्ठालिङ्गनं करोतीति
यावत् । भुजेन बाहुना अगं पर्वतं गोबर्द्धनाख्यं विभ्रतं कं शिरः दामजटालं दाम्ना बालरज्जा जटालं
दधतं वंशो वाद्यवेणुः शिखण्डो मयूरपिच्छं तौ मण्डने यस्य इत्यपरः पञ्चः ॥ १ ॥

कंसहरः कम्बलिदमनपादः सहिमाविभू रचयतात् वः ।

येन प्राक् सुरसेना विषमाशुगदाहतोपकृता ॥ २ ॥

कंस इत्यादि । स हरः महेश्वरः । कं सुखं वो रचयतात् । कम्बली सास्त्रावान् बलीवर्द्धः । वाहनत्वात्
तस्य दमनं पदमङ्घ्रियस्य । अविः पर्वतः । अविर्मघे रवावद्रावित्यजयः । हिमाविर्हिमगिरिल्लम्बाद्भूतेति
हिमा[वि]भृगौरौ तथा सह वर्त्तत इति सहिमाविभूः सगौरौकः । विष[मा]शुगः कामदेवः तस्य दाहात्
भस्मीकरणात् । सुरसेना देवचमूः । येन प्राक् प्रथममपकृता पश्चादुपकृतैवेति प्राक्पदाभिप्रायः ।

अन्यत्र स कंसहरो वासुदेवः कं सुखं रचयतात्, वलिरसुरः स हि त्रिविक्रमरूपेण हरिणा
पदाक्रान्त्या दान्तः । हि हेतौ माविभूः लक्ष्मीपतिः । प्राक्सुराः पूर्वदेवाः असुराः । तेषां सेना चमूः ।
विषमा क्रूरा । आशु शीघ्रं येन गदाहता सती उपकृता ; “हता हि हरिणा दैत्याः प्राप्नुवन्ति परां
गतिं” ॥ २ ॥

श्रियमुन्मुद्रितलक्ष्मीयुगलं ^१कमलानामिनः स वस्तनुतां ।
 कृत्वालोकाहरणं महाक्षये यं विधुर्विशति ॥ ३ ॥

श्रियमित्यादि । इनः सूर्यः श्रियं वः तनुतां कमलानामरविन्दानां विकामितत्वात्^१ उन्मुद्रित^२-
 लक्ष्मीकः । उन्मुद्रिता प्रकाशिता लक्ष्मीः कमलालया वा येन महाक्षये महति क्षीणत्वे सति आलोकाहरणं
 कृत्वा उद्योतमाहृत्य यं सूर्यं विधुश्चन्द्रो विशति । कृष्णपक्षे हि क्रमेण चयातिशयमासाद्यन् इन्दुरद्योत-
 रहितो दर्शदिवसे सूर्यमण्डलमवलम्बते ॥

समुद्रपक्षे कमलानामिनः पतिः समुद्रः श्रियं वः तनुतां इत एव लक्ष्मीप्रादुर्भावात् उन्मुद्रितलक्ष्मीकः ।
 महाक्षये महाप्रलये लोकाहरणं कृत्वा लोकान् कुक्षौ निक्षिप्य यं समुद्रं विधु वांसुदेवो विशति ॥ ३ ॥

तत्कुलद्वीपो नृपतिरभू[त्] धर्मो धामवानिवेष्टाकुः ।
 यस्याब्धिं तीर्णाग्रावनौ रराजापि कीर्तिरवदाता ॥ ४ ॥

तत्कुलद्वीप इत्यादि । सूर्यकुलप्रद्वीप इच्छाकु नाम नृपतिरभूत् । धामवानिव धर्मः, यस्य कीर्ति-
 रब्धिं तीर्णा समुद्रपारं गता । अग्रा उक्तश्या । अवनौ रराजापि पृथिव्यामपि रराज । अवदाता^३ शुभ्रा ॥

अन्यत्र समुद्रकुलद्वीपो धर्मः धर्मनामा धर्मपाल इति यावत् । नृपतिरभूत् । एकदेशेन समुदायः,
 यथा भीमो भीमसेन इति । धामवान् तेजस्वी इव यथा इच्छाकुः कटुतुम्बी उत्प्लवते, तथा यस्य ग्रावनौः
 शिलानौका, अब्धिं तीर्णा समुद्रप्रासादादन्तरौचमिव तीर्णवती रराज, अपि शब्दात् कीर्तिरपि समुद्रं तीर्णा
 रराज ॥ ४ ॥

येन महीधरसारेणोर्व्वीपालान्वयावतंसेन ।
 लक्ष्मीपतिनाम्बुनिधेरूहे भूदाररूपेण ॥ ५ ॥

येनेत्यादि । येन इच्छाकुणा मही पृथ्वी आ अम्बुनिधेः आसमुद्रं ऊहे ऊढा, धरः पर्वतः, धरसार
 इव मारो यस्य यद्वा ईधरमारः लक्ष्मीधरसारः । उर्व्वीपालानां नृपाणां अन्वयस्य अवतंसेन भूषणेन अतएव
 लक्ष्मीपतिना श्रियःपत्या भूः पृथ्वी दारस्वरूपा प्रशस्तदारा वा यस्य । अत एव ऊहे (ढे) ऊढा ॥

अन्यत्र येन धर्मेण पालान्वयावतंसे[ने]ति विशेषणं ततश्च पालपद्धतिना धर्मपालेनेत्यर्थः । उर्व्वी
 पृथ्वी ऊहे महीधरसारेण महीधरः पर्वतः आदिवराहो वा शेषं पूर्व्ववत् । अपि च लक्ष्मीपतिनेति पदेन
 वासुदेवाभिधायिना श्लेषोपमालङ्कारमाकारयति । इवार्यो गम्यः यथा सिंहो मानवकः । यथा हरिणा
 भूदाररूपेण वराहरूपेण अम्बुनिधेः मकाशात् मही ऊढा । धरसारेण धरस्येव मारो यस्य । धरं वा गोवर्द्धनं
 मारयति अपमारयति । उर्व्वीपालान्वयस्य मौरस्य रामरूपेण सौम्यस्य कृष्णरूपेण अवतंमतां गतेन ॥ ५ ॥

^१ The comm. omits 'युगलं' and makes 'लक्ष्मीकः' ।

^२ The omission of 'त' makes better sense.

^३ Comm. उन्मुद्रित

^४ Comm. अवशता ।

वंशे तस्य वभ्रुवु भर्तुर्भुवनस्य भ्रु[पतयः ।

कौर्त्तिसुरसिन्धुधवलोल्लङ्घितजलधिश्चालितात्रिभुवनाः ॥ ६ ॥

वंश इत्यादि । उभयत्रापि ममं सुगमञ्च एकत्र कौर्त्तिश्च सुरसिन्धुश्चेति द्वन्द्वगर्भता भगौरथेन सुरसिन्धोरवतारणात् । अपरत्र कौर्त्तिः सुरसिन्धुरिवेति गर्भः । साधर्म्यन्तु धवलिमजलधिलङ्घनत्रिभुवन-
बालनलक्षणमिति विशेषः ॥ ६ ॥

ये वसुधां गोत्रभिदं ईशाहीनमुत्तोलयितारः ।

दधुरधर]यन्तः स्वरूपचितदोषमविभरुस्त्रिदिवम् ॥ ७ ॥

ये वसुध्यादि । ये भूपा ईशस्य प्रभोरलङ्कारभूतं अहीनं सज्जनमुत्तो(त्तु)लयितारः उन्नतिं नेतारः इति युक्तकारिणः । तथा गोत्रभिदं कुलाघातिनं स्वरूपचितदोषं स्वरूपेण सञ्चिता दोषा येन तमधरयन्तः अधः कुर्वन्त इत्यपि युक्तकारिणः । वसुधां दधुः, अध्वरविधिना च त्रिदिवं विभराम्भ्रुवुः, उक्त्वांतौ वा तथा कुर्युः शब्दच्छलमिलितमपरार्थमर्थान्तरमपि करतलमवतारयन्तः कवन्ते सन्तः ॥

तदयमर्थः । महेश्वरभूषणशेषं चेत् उपरिहृतवन्तः अतो धारकमपरमपश्यन्तः स्वयमेव धरित्रीधुरां दधुः । तथा दन्द्रं(दं) स्वरूपा वज्रेण उपचितवाज्ज्जेदधरितवन्तः अतः स्वयं स्वर्गं विभ्रति स्म । अपि च नाकाधिपतिं अधोभुवनाधिपतिं मर्त्यं मर्त्याधिपतिमात्मानं नाकाधिपतिमनुविदधानास्त्रिभुवनव्यवस्थिति-
मिति घटयत । ७ ॥

हरिणोपासितधामाविग्रहपालः किलाभवद्राजा ।

नतभ्रुमृत्यङ्गिरथो गोत्ररत्नाकरेऽमुष्मिन् ॥ ८ ॥

हरिणेत्यादि । अमुष्मिन् गोत्रे कुले रत्नाकरे पुरुषरत्नानां आकरे पङ्क्तिरथो दशरथो नाम राजाभूत् । हरिणोपासितधामा वासुदेवेन रामरूपेण उपासितमाश्रितं धाम गृहं यस्य अतएवाविग्रह-
पालः अस्य वासुदेवस्य विग्रहं मूर्त्तिं रामं पालितवान् यद्वा विग्रहपालः विग्रहं संग्रामं पालयति गच्छति संग्रामगतः सन् हरिणा दन्द्रेण उपासितधामा उपासितमूर्त्तितं धाम^१ शौर्यं यस्य । तेन हि दशरथेन देवकार्यानुरोधेन सङ्गराङ्गनप्रणयिना दूर्जयदनुतनुतनुजान् निर्जित्य विडोजाः स्वभुजशौर्यशौटीर्येण अग्राचार्यः कृतः । अथवा विग्रहान् त्यक्त्वायुधगर्वान् पालयति अतएव नतभ्रुमृत्यु नताः प्रणताः भ्रुमृतो-
राजानो यस्मै^२ यं वा ॥

अन्यत्र अधानन्तरं विग्रहपालो राजाभवत् हरिणा सिंहेन स्वधामतोऽप्यधिकतया उपासितमभ्यर्चितं स्त्रीकृतं धाम विक्रमो यस्य मिहृतोऽपि महाविक्रम इत्यर्थः । नतभ्रुमृत्यङ्गिः प्रणतराजराजिः शेषं पूर्ववत् । राजेति चन्द्राभिधायिपदेन श्लेषोपमा । यथा चन्द्रो गोत्रे गां पानीयं त्रायत इति अपां पत्यौ रत्नाकरे

१ The portion bracketted has been restored from the commentary.

२ Comm. नाम ।

३ Comm. यस्मिन् ।

ऽभूत् हरिणेन मृगेन अङ्गरूपेण उपासितं धाम वपुर्यस्य, अविग्रहोऽतनुः कामः तं पालयति तस्योदये तस्य प्रभावात् । नता न्यग्भूता पर्वतपङ्क्ति र्यस्मात् रथात् स तादृक् रथः स्यन्दनो यस्य ॥ ८ ॥

सहसावितरणजितकर्णः क्षौणीं यौवनश्रियोदूहे ।

अश्रान्तदानवारातिशयो योभूद्वृषानुचरः ॥ ९ ॥

महसेत्यादि । यो दशरथो यौवनश्रिया तरुणिमसंपत्त्या सह क्षौणीमुदूहे । सहसावितरणेनाविलम्बितदानेन जितः कर्णः कानीनो येन अश्रान्तोऽप्राप्तश्रमो दानवारातीनां देवानां शयः करो यस्मात् । अत एव हि असुरपराजयमिद्वेः विबुधैः करेण प्रहरणग्रहणश्रमोपि नासादितः । तथाहि वृषानुचरः शची-महचरानुचरोभूत् ।

अन्यत्र । यो विग्रहपालो यौवनश्रिया कर्णस्य राज्ञः सुतया सह क्षौणीमुदूदवान् । सहसा वलेनावितो रक्षितो रणजितः संग्रामजितः कर्णो दाहलाधिपति र्येन । रणजित एव परन्तु रक्षितो न उन्मूलितः । कपालसन्धिघ(म)टनात् । दानवारो दानसमुच्चयो भूमिकाञ्चनकरितुरगादिभिर्नानाप्रकारं दानं तस्यातिशयः प्राचुर्यं स चाश्रान्तोऽविच्छिन्नो यस्य अतएव 'वृषानुचरो धर्मानुगतः । ९ ॥

अथ तस्य महीपालः सुरपालोपि पुरुषोत्तमो रामः ।

स्फुरदृश्यशृङ्गसम्भावितरूपश्चारुभाग्यसम्पन्नः ॥ १० ॥

जगद्वनैकधुरीणः सामयिकमहोमहानलो भरतः ।

अपि लक्ष्मणोपि शत्रुघ्नलक्ष्मणो जज्ञिरे तनयाः ॥ ११ ॥

अथेत्यादि । श्लोकद्वयेन कुलकं । तस्य दशरथस्य तनयाः सुता जज्ञिरे । तत्र प्रथमं रामो रामभद्रो नाम । स च महीपालः महीं पालितवान् । सुरपालः सुरान् पालितवान् पुरुषोत्तमो हरिरवतीर्णः । स्फुरता ऋष्यशृङ्गेण मुनिना सम्भावितमुपेदितं रूपं स्वरूपं यस्य । अत्रैव विशेषः । चर्हव्यपाकस्तस्य भागोऽंशः चरुभागस्तस्य भावश्चारुभाग्यं तेन सम्पन्नः । तथाहि “ऋष्यशृङ्गचरोरंशः प्रथमोऽयं महाभुजः” ॥

अन्यत्र तस्य विग्रहपालस्य तनया जज्ञिरे तत्र महीपालो नाम, ततः सुरपालो नाम । अपि ममुच्चये । पुरुषोत्तमः पुरुषश्रेष्ठो रामो रामपालो नाम । स्फुरदृश्यं दर्शनीयं शृङ्गसम्भावितं प्रभावसमृद्धं रूपं यस्य, चारुणा भाग्येन सम्पन्नः ।

जगदित्यादि रामभद्रानन्तरं भरतो नाम जगद्वनैकधुरीणः महस्तेजो महानल इव पूज्यो वक्त्रिरिव सामयिको महोमहानलो यस्य । तथा च “ममये यश्च तनोति तिग्मतां” । अपि लक्ष्मणो नाम । अपि शत्रुघ्नलक्ष्मणः शत्रुघ्ननामा इति चत्वारः ।

अन्यत्र स रामपालः जगद्वनैकधुरीणः सामयिकेन महसा महान् अलोभरतोऽलुब्धः लक्ष्मणः श्रोमान् शत्रुघ्नलक्ष्मणः शत्रुघ्नं लक्ष्मणं चिह्नं यस्य इति त्रयः ॥ ११ ॥

१ The Comm. has वृत्तिसा० which is evidently a लिपिकरप्रमादः ।

२ Comm. महस्तेजो ।

ज्येष्ठस्तेषु विरेजे रामो लङ्केनभरनिमग्नायाः ।

उन्नमयिता धरायाः बलिधामस्त्रिदिव कादिषु मुखेषु ॥ १२ ॥

ज्येष्ठेत्यादि । तेषु रामादिषु चतुर्षु मध्ये ज्येष्ठः अग्रजो रामो विरेजे । लङ्काया इतो राव(म)णस्तस्य भरेण निमग्नाया धराया उन्नमयिता उच्छ्वासयिता ॥

अन्यत्र तेषु त्रिषु मध्ये रामो रामपालो ज्येष्ठः प्रशस्यतमो विरेजे । अलं शत्रौ अतएव केन सुखेन भरनिमग्नाया अतिशयनिमग्नायाः परेण कवलिताया धराया उन्नमयिता उद्धृता । केनः कं कुत्सित इतः कैवर्त्तनृपः तस्मिन् निमग्नाया वा । अत्रोपम[1] वलिनोऽसुरस्य^१ धाम प्रभावं क्षिणोति बलिधामक्षित्(तः) वासुदेवः । स यथा वराहरूपः कादिषु ब्रह्मादिषु मुखेषु प्रधानेषु ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वरमहेश्वरेषु चतुर्षु । अन्यत्र एकं विना त्रिषु राजते । कस्य पानौयस्य इतः समुद्रस्तस्मिन् भरनिमग्नाया धराया उन्नमयिता । अपि च बलिधामक्षित् बलिमद्यक्षित् शेषमहीक्षित् स यथा कं वातं अत्तुं शीलं येषां तेषु कादिषु पवनाशनेषु नागेषु प्रधानेषु शेषवासुकित्तक्षकेषु कर्कटकेषु चतुर्षु त्रिषु राजते । केन शिरसा धराया उन्नमयिता ॥ १२ ॥

यं बहुशोनागसमजमुच्चैर्वाजिब्रजं प्रजा दधतम् ।

ज्ञातनयं स्फुरदङ्गं मातानयदेत्य कोशलाभाच्च ॥ १३ ॥

यमित्यादि । वज्रशो वज्रधा यं राघवं अनागसं पापापराधरहितं(तां) अजं अजन्मानं उच्चैः वाजिब्रजं गरुडगामिनं इति पदद्वये वासुदेवावतीर्णमिति भावः । प्रजा लोकान् दधतं तनयं पुत्रं ज्ञात्वा विज्ञाय पुरुषातिशयत्वमस्य विदुषो माता जननी कोश(ष)ला नाम एत्य उपसृत्य अङ्गमनयत्(तम्) अङ्गमित्यर्थात् कोडं, स्फुरत् हर्षोपचीयमानमित्यङ्गविशेषणं । अतएवाभा^२च्च शोभितवत्यपि । यदा यच्च एत्य प्राप्य कोशला नाम पुरी अभात्^३ ।

अन्यत्र यं रामपालं वज्रशो वज्रसंख्यं नागसमजं हस्तिघटां उच्चैर्महान्तं वाजिब्रजं अश्वसेनां प्रजाः पदातिसेमां दधतं ज्ञातनयं विदितनौति(तं) स्फुरदङ्गं उपचित्रराज्याङ्गं मा लक्ष्मीः एत्य कोशलाभाच्च भाण्डागारलाभेनापि अतानयत् विस्तारितवती ॥ १३ ॥

भर्ता नाकस्य तरस्तत् विश्वविरोधिभूमृतां भिन्दन् ।

दानव्यग्रकरार्पितकुशतिलतोयोयमवलारिः ॥ १४ ॥

भर्त्त्यादिविरोधालङ्कारः । नाकस्य स्वर्गस्य भर्ता । भूमृतां पर्वतानां तत् जगविरोधि तरो वेगं पक्ष्छेदात् भिन्दन् । दानवीनां दानववधूनां अग्रहस्तेऽर्पितानि कुशतिल[तो]यानि येन वैधव्यं तासां कृतम् । एवमिन्द्रस्वरूपोऽपि अव(च)लारिः वलारिर्न भवतीति विरोधः । अविरोधे तु अकं पापे दुःखे च तस्य

द्वयस्यापि न भर्ता । सर्वेषां वैरिभूभुजां तरो बलं भिन्दन् । दानाशक्ते करे अर्पितानि कुश्र[ति]लानि येन
अवला असमर्था अरयो यस्थेत्युभयत्रापि ॥ १४ ॥

अभिदुरकरोक्षतबलो प्यमरुत्वानप्रभूतमन्युरपि ।

योभूद्गोत्रभिदपाकशास(नाश)नोपि च सुनाशौरः ॥ १५ ॥

अभिदुर इत्यादि । व्यतिरेकमु(सु)खेन विरोधः । अभिदुरकरो न वज्रहस्तः । न क्षतो हतो बल-
नामा दैत्यो येन । न मरुत्वान् । न प्रभूतमन्युः प्रचुरयज्ञः । न गोत्रभित् न पाकशासन इति इन्द्ररूप-
रहितोऽपि सुनाशौर इन्द्रः । अविरोधे यथा । अभिदुरा(रो) अजातगुरख्यागे शौर्ये च करा यस्य । अक्षतं
बलं सामर्थ्यं सैन्यं । वाह्यमदेन हि महान्तोपि विक्षिप्यन्ते, अयन्तु न मरुत्वान् न वातु(द्व)लो न विक्षिप्त-
इत्यर्थः । अप्रभूतः असंजातो मन्युः शोको यस्य । न गोत्रभित् कुलाघाती । अपाकं अगतपाकं शासनं यस्य
यथाधर्मतो दण्डधारी । सुनाशौरः शोभनाघेरः^१ ॥ १५ ॥

जिष्णुशुचिजीवितेशकलानिधिकमलेशपवनधनदेनम् ।

यं वेधा व्यधित समाहारं किल लोकपालानाम् ॥ १६ ॥

जिष्णुरित्यादि । जिष्णुरिन्द्रः शुचिरग्निः जीवि[ते]शो यमः कलानिधिः चन्द्रः कमलस्य जलस्य ईशो
वरुणः पवनो धनदः प्रसिद्धौ इन्द्रः सूर्यः इत्यमष्टानां लोकपालानां समाहारमेकरूपं । वेधा व्यधित
घटितवान् इति निगमार्थः । पदार्थस्तु क्रमेण जयशीलो विशुद्धः प्र[ि]णिनाथः कलानां चतुष्टये निधिः
कमलाया लक्ष्म्या ईशः लोकान् पुनीते धनं ददाति प्रभुः । इति कविरपि समाहारइन्द्रपदमेव
निर्दिष्टवानिव ॥ १६ ॥

वदनगतभारतीकः कमलासनतां दधत् प्रजानाथः ।

विधिरिव धाता जगतो यः श्रीपतिनाभिसम्भूतः ॥ १७ ॥

वदन इत्यादि । कमलायाः श्रि(प्र)य आम(श)नमाश्रयः । श्रीपतिः पार्थिवो यो नाभिः क्षत्रियस्तस्मात्
सम्भूतः विधिरिवेति श्लेषोपमा । अत्र श्रीपते वासुदेवस्य नाभितोऽवयवादुद्धृतः । शेषं सुगमं । उभयत्रापि
समं ॥ १७ ॥

यः शङ्करो गिरौशः सर्वज्ञः सर्वमङ्गलाधारः ।

हर इव मारहरोऽधात् वृषचारी राजशेखरताम् ॥ १८ ॥

य इत्यादि । शं चेमः । गीर्वाक् । मङ्गलं श्रेयः । मारो दैवहतः प्रतिपक्षतश्च प्रजास्वाघातः । वृषो धर्मः ।
राजा नृपतिः । हरइवेति श्लेषोपमात्र सर्वमङ्गला गौरी । मारः कामः । वृषो वृषभः । राजा चन्द्र इति ॥ १८ ॥

१ किं बहु हरिरवतीर्णः स यशोदानन्द[योरुचिचम् ।

प्रौढारि]वारिजगदानन्दकमुद्यद्विराजि धामास्य ॥ १९ ॥

इदानीमुपसंजिहीर्षुराह । यत् यस्माद्धेतोः अस्य उभयस्य रामस्य यशः कीर्त्तिर्दानं त्यागः दया कृपा उरु महत् चित्रं अद्भुतं । दयापक्षेऽपि नपुंसकशेषेण्यम् । तथा धाम तेजः प्रौढारिवारि प्रौढान् समृद्धान् अरीन् शत्रुन् वारयति खण्डयति । जगदानन्दकं जगतामानन्दकारि । उद्यदुदञ्चत् विराजि शोभमानमिति । अतो हरिरिवावतीर्णः । स उभयोऽपि^१ । तथा हि हरेरपि धाम वपुः प्रौढारिवारिजगदानन्दकं प्रकर्षेण ऊढानि अरि चक्रं वारिजं शंखं(संख) कौमुदी गदा नन्दकः खड्गो येन धाम्ना तत्तथा । २ विराजि वौ राजि गरुडे उद्यत् ऊर्द्धमारोहत् । अतो यशोदानन्दयो रुचिचं यशोदा च नन्दश्च यशोदानन्दौ तयोः रुचिचं रुचिमभिलाषं त्रायत इति रुचिचं अभिलषितमभिलषितार्थसम्पादकञ्च तद्वपुरिति भावः ॥ १९ ॥

अस्त्री समुत्कटभुजो भीत्यातुरगाधि^३भूपचरितश्च ।

अवहत्परतपोवनमवने रुचिमान् स लक्ष्मणोपेतः ॥ २० ॥

अस्त्रीत्यादि । स राघवः कटं शवं भुक्तं इति कटभुजो राक्षसाः । भीत्या भयेन आतुरगाधिभूपचरितः आतुरेण आविलेन गाधिभुवा गाधिपुत्रेण कौशिकेन उपचरितः उपगतः । यद्वा तुर त्वरणे दगुपधत्वात् कः । तुरेण त्वरमाणेन कौशिकेनोपगतः सन् परं दूरं तपोवनं ऋष्याश्रमं अवहत् चलितवान् । अस्त्री धनुर्द्धरः समुत्सर्षः अवने रक्षणे रुचिमान् साभिलाषः लक्ष्मणेन भ्रात्रा उपेतः ।

अन्यत्र स रामपालः अवनेः पृथिव्याः अवनं रक्षणमवहत् । अस्त्री धन्वी । अतः समुत्कटभुजः सम्यगुत्कटो भीषणो भुजो यस्य । अतो भीत्या तुरगाधिभुवा अश्वपतिना राज्ञा उपचरितः कृतनानादानोपचारः । परंतपः शत्रुतापकारी । लक्ष्मणा नृपलक्ष्मणा कनकदण्डादिना उपेतः । अतएव रुचिमान् ॥ २० ॥

रञ्जितविश्वामित्रात् महौजसोस्य विदितास्त्रविद्यस्य ।

जगदभिरक्षादक्षा शक्तिः शरदौर्णताडकस्याभूत् ॥ २१ ॥

रञ्जित इत्यादि । अस्य राघवस्य रञ्जितात् विश्वामित्रात् विदितास्त्रविद्यस्य विदितानि अस्त्राणि विद्ये च बलातिबले येन । अतएव महौजसः शरदौर्णताडकस्य शरेण दौर्णा ताडकानाम्नी राक्षसी येन (शने) । जगदभिरक्षायां दक्षा शक्तिरभूत् ।

अन्यत्र अस्य रामपालस्य मित्रात् सूर्यादपि महौजसः विदितास्त्रविद्यस्य शरदौर्णताडकस्य शरेण दौर्णाः ताडकास्तालवृक्षा येन । जगदभिरक्षादक्षा^४ रञ्जितविश्वा रञ्जितं विश्वं जगद्यथा एवंभूता शक्तिरभूत् ॥ २१ ॥

१ The portion bracketted has been restored from the commentary. The text repeats here the portion from नन्दक to धामास्य ।

२ The commentary has हरिरवर्णतीर्णः । स उभेऽपि ।

३ Comm. has दूडत् apparently for उद्यत् before विराजि which grammar does not require.

४ The text has तूरगाधिभू० ।

५ Comm. दरक्षा

लोकान्तरप्रणयिणो दुर्नयभाजोऽग्रजन्मनो व्यसनात् ।

पतितान्धकारवत्यनुभावादुदहारि गोतमी तेन^१ ॥ २२ ॥

लोकेत्यादि । राघवो हि अवतीर्णः । तस्य लोकान्तरं स्वर्गः तत्रत्यस्य अग्रजन्मनो ज्येष्ठभ्रातुरिन्द्रस्य व्यसनात् पतिता स्वामिशापभ्रष्टा अन्धकारप्रविष्टा गोतमी गोतमवधूरहत्या उदहारि उद्धृता ।

अन्यत्र परलोकगतस्य ज्येष्ठभ्रातुर्महीपालस्य युद्धव्यसनात् मिलिता गोः पृथिव्याः तमी रात्रिः । अन्धकारवती उन्मूलिता जगदन्धकार(रः)विध्वंसात् । “अस्तमपि गोतमोदारमहस्तदनेन पुनरुहे” इत्युत्तरार्द्ध-पाठान्तरे गोतमो मुनिः तत् पूर्वमिदं दारमहः कलत्रोत्सव इन्द्रस्य व्यसनात् अस्तं गतमपि पुनरनेन प्रापितः । अन्यत्र गोः[] पृथिव्याः तमोऽन्धकारं दारयतीति गोतमोदारं(रः) । अहस्तेजो अहर्दिनम्वा महीपाल-व्यसनादस्तं गतमपि पुनरनेन प्रापितः^२ । अनेन पुनरुठम् ॥ २२ ॥

परिकलितकुशिकनन्दनसदाश्रमसमृद्धसम्पदोरामः ।

कृतताडकोद्भवविधूननश्च वर्द्धितसुवाहुधामा च ॥ २३ ॥

परिकलितेत्यादि । परिकलितः कौशिकस्य सन् पूज्यमान आश्रमस्तेन समृद्धप्रमोदः । कृतं ताडकासुतस्य विधूननं येन । तथाहि वायस्यास्त्वयतिकरनिरालम्बनस्ताडकेन वर्द्धितं केदितं सुवाहुनाम्नो राक्षसस्य धाम वपुर्येन ।

अन्यत्र परिकलिता अभ्यस्ता कुशिकाः कुशी खड्गादिलोहविकारा यैर्नन्दनैः पुत्रैः राज्यपालादिभिः तेषां मदा सर्वदा श्रेणास्त्रगुणनिकया समृद्धसम्पदः । कृतः सुतः (कृतं सुतं) तस्य ताडकानां आघातकानां उद्भवस्य विधूननः चेन्ना वर्द्धितं शोभनयो भुजयोर्धाम तेजो येन ॥ २३ ॥

पृथुरश्लोनीकं धर्मविप्लवं विप्रहर्षकोर्यात्सः ।

^३मत्कृताध्वरोहितजगद्धदलयितज्यकोदण्डम् ॥ २४ ॥

पृथु इत्यादि । स राघवः बलयित[ज्य]कोदण्डं बलयितमौर्वीकं कोदण्डं दधत् रक्षोनीकं राक्षससैन्यं पृथु महत् । धर्मं विप्लवं इति धर्मविप्लवं अर्यात् संचिप्रवान् । अतएव विप्रहर्षकः विप्रान् ऋत्विजो हर्षितवान् मत्कृताध्वरः मत्कृतो यथाविधि सम्पादितोध्वरो येन । हितजगत् हितं भृतं जगत् येन ।

अन्यत्र स रामपालः दण्डं दधत् धर्मविप्लवं अनीकमलक्ष्मीकं अपवान् । पृथुरक्षः महती रक्षा यस्य । विप्रह(क)र्षकः विगतप्रह(क)र्षः जितारिषड्वर्गत्वात् । मत्कृताध्वरोहित[ज]गत् सङ्घिः कृतसन्धानं कृतेऽध्वनि वा रोहितं आरोहितं जगत् येन । बलयितज्यकः बलयिता वेष्टिता अवगूरिता यदा सामन्तचक्रोपक्रममेव चक्रावर्त्तनं पर्यटिता ज्या पृथ्वी येन ॥ २४ ॥

१ There is another reading अस्तमपि गोतमोदारमहस्तदनेन पुनरुहे ।

२ पुनरनेन प्रापितः is not needed here. It appears that the scribe simply repeated what he wrote a little before.

३ Comm. वायस्याकास्त्र ।

४ Text has स तु मत्कृता० ; स तु is superfluous.

इति तेन कौशिकीया क्रिया व्यधायि दधती बुधानमृतैः ।
 प्रैष्यसुमित्रापत्या क्षिप्तविपक्षेष्टभूमिरक्षेण ॥ २५ ॥

इतीत्यादि । तेन राघवेण इष्ट[भू]मिरक्षेण यज्ञभूमिरक्षेण कौशिकीया कौशिकस्य क्रिया यागः ।
 बुधान् देवान् अमृतै र्यज्ञशेषैः दधती प्रैष्यसुमित्रापत्या प्रैष्यः परिचारकः सुमित्रायाः अपत्यं लक्षणो यस्यां
 क्षिप्तविपक्षा क्षिप्ता विपक्षा राक्षसा यस्यां सा व्यधायि (व्यधायि) निर्वर्त्तिता ।

अन्यत्र । रामपालेन पत्या स्वामिना इष्टभूमिरक्षेण इष्टानां मित्राणां राज्यं भूमिं रक्षता ।
 (क्रियासत्)^१ बुधा(द्ध)न् पण्डितान् अमृतैरयाचितैर्दानै र्दधती प्रैष्यसुमित्रा प्रैष्याणि शोभनानि अगठानि
 मित्राणि राजानो यस्यां सा व्यधायि । कौशिकेन इन्द्रेणापि इयं क्रिया क्रियते इति कौशिकीयेति
 विशेषणं तथाहि इन्द्रेण पत्या अपेक्षितपृथ्वीपालेन बुधान् देवान् अमृतैर्दधती प्रैष्यसुमित्रा क्षिप्तविपक्षा
 क्रिया क्रियते इति ॥ २५ ॥

भीमज्याभृज्जीवाकर्षणकण्डूयमानभुजकाण्डः ।
 कौशिकसेनोऽयं जनपदान् विदेहानवाप्य मुदमूहे ॥ २६ ॥

भीमेत्यादि । अयं राघवः भीमस्य हरस्य ज्याभृद्वनुस्तस्य जीवा गुणः तस्याकर्षणाय कण्डूयमान-
 भुजः सेनः सप्रभुः सनाथः कौशिकनाथः ।

अन्यत्र अयं रामपालः भीमनामा ज्याभृद्वमिपतिः तस्य जीविताकर्षणाय कण्डूलभुजः । कुशी
 खड्गादि[ः] तथा जयङ्गिः कौशिकैः सेना यस्य कौशिका एव सेना यस्य अथवा इन्द्रसेना एव सेना यस्य ।
 विद[ः] ज्ञानेन ईहान् चेष्टमानान् विमृष्यकारिण इत्यर्थः ॥ २६ ॥

अपि चापदण्डमरमप्रतिमद्रविणोऽवधूतनिखिलनृपम् ।
 स भवस्यावितजनकः करपल्लवलीलयालावीत् ॥ २७ ॥

अपीत्यादि । अपि समुच्चये । स राघवः भवस्य हरस्य चापदण्डम् धनुर्दण्डम् अवधूतनिखिलनृपं
 अ(आ)रं अविलम्बित[ः] करपल्लवलीलया अलावीत् । अतएवा[प्रतिम]द्रविणः अतुलबलः अवितजनकः
 प्रीणितसीरध्वजः ।

अन्यत्र । अपि समुच्चये । स रामपालो भवस्य संसारस्यापदं विपदं डमरमुपपुरं शत्रुकृतमलावीत् ।
 वि[प]त्यक्षे अप्रतिमद्रविणं संसारविप्लवनात् अप्रतिमं द्रविणं धनं यस्य, अविताः प्री(प्र)णिताः जनाः प्रजा येन
 करपल्लवलीलयाष्टदानेन । डमरपक्षे द्रविणं धनं, अविता रक्षिता प्रजा येन करपल्लवलीलया आयुधचेष्टया
 अवधूतनिखिलनृपं यथा भवति ॥ २७ ॥

अनुजः सुरपालस्य क्षममयमुद्वहत् जानकीं लक्ष्मीम् ।
समहास्तसूनूनाञ्च तत्स्वसारोऽभवंललितजन्यः ॥ २८ ॥

अन्वित्यादि । अयं राघवः सुरपालस्य इन्द्रस्थानुजो हरिर्जानकीं सीतां लक्ष्मीमवतीर्णां उद्वहत् । तत्सूनूनाञ्च राघवकनिष्ठानामपि त्रयाणां तत्स्वसारः सीताभगिन्यः समहा विवाहोत्सवसहिता ललितजन्यः प्रियवध्वोऽभवन् ।

अन्यत्र । अयं रामपालः सुरपालस्थानुजो जनकस्य पितुर्लक्ष्मीं ऊढवान् । तत्सूनूनां च रामपालपुत्राणां अपि तत्स्वसारस्तस्य पालस्यैव स्त्रीयाङ्कितकं सारो बलं समहाः सतेजाः ललितजन्य ईप्सितयुद्धोऽभवत् । मामर्थ्येन पिढतुल्यास्ते बभूवुरिति भावः ॥ २८ ॥

हत्वा राजप्रवरं [भूयो] भूमण्डलं गृहीतवतः ।
स निरास्यदस्त्रकलया सहस्रदोर्व्विद्विषः स्वास्थ्यम् ॥ २९ ॥

हत्वेत्यादि । स राघवः राजप्रवरं [च]त्रियसन्तानं हत्वा भूयः पुनः पुनरेकविंशतिवारान् भूमण्डलं गृहीतवतः सहस्रदोर्व्विद्विषः (षयः) कार्त्तवीर्य्यारातेः परशुरामस्य स्वास्थ्यं स्वर्गस्थितिमस्त्र(त्र)कलया निरास्यत् ।

अन्यत्र स रामपालोऽस्त्रकलया सहस्रदोः सहस्रबाहुः राजप्रवरं नृपतिश्रेष्ठं महीपालं हत्वा भूयः प्रचुरं भूमण्डलं गृहीतवतः द्विषः शत्रोः कैवर्त्तस्य नृपस्य स्वास्थ्यं अस्मिन् पक्षे शरिपरे (शरीरे) खरिलोपः^१ मौष्ठवं निरास्यत् ॥ २९ ॥

दुर्जननीकारपरोऽप्यनुपालितसज्जनीकृतश्रीकः ।
श्रूतमसूनुसहितोऽसाववहदण्डकारण्यम् ॥ ३० ॥

दुरित्यादि । अमौ राघवः दुर्जननी निन्दिता माता कैकेयी तस्याः कारो नियमः भरत-राज्याभिषेकादिः तत्परः । अनुपालितसज्जनीकृतश्रीकः अनुपालिता प्रतीक्षिता मती साध्वी जननी जाया मौता तथा कृता श्रीः गोभा यस्य । सूनुः कनीयान् भ्राता लक्षणः दण्डकारण्यं प्रसिद्धं अवहत् चलितवान् ।

अन्यत्र अमौ रामपालः दण्डकारण्यं दण्डस्योपाय[स्य]कारण्यं करण्यं साधकतमत्वं म[व]हत् । अतएव दुर्जनानां दृष्टजनानां नीकारे भर्त्सने तत्परः । यद्वा दुर्जनानां नीकारस्य साध्यस्य परः परः शत्रुः ग्रातयिता । अनुपालितसज्जनीकृतश्रीकः अनुपालिता सज्जना यथा करणभूतया सा अभूतत(स)ङ्गावात् अनुपालितसज्जनीकृता श्रीर्लक्ष्मी र्थेन । सूनुः पुत्रः ।

ददानौ कुलकं, ओकाष्टकेन मौता रावणेन हतेति वर्ण्यते । तदत्र कीदृशि समये, कस्मिन् सन्निवेशे कतरेण प्रकारेण हतेति कथाक्रमेणाह ॥ ३० ॥

^१ This grammatical rule seems to have been used to explain the other meaning of the word स्वास्थ्य

प्रथममुपरते पितरि महीपाले भ्रातरि क्षमाभारम् ।

विभ्रत्यनीतिका[रंभ]रते रामाधिकारितां दधति ॥ ३१ ॥

प्रथममित्यादि । प्रथमं दण्डकारण्यगम[न]काले राघवस्य शोकात् पितरि महीपाले पृथ्वीपतौ दशरथ उपरते सति भ्रातरि भरते क्षमाभारं पृथ्वीभारं अनैतिकारं अविद्यमान ईतिकार उपस्रवकारो यत्र तं विभ्रति सति । रामाधिकारितां रामस्य सिंहासनारोपित[त]त्पादुकाद्वयरूपेण अधिकारितां दध(धा)ति ।

तथा रामपालपक्षेप्यनेन कुलकक्षेपश्लोकाष्टकेन वरेन्द्री दिव्योकेन गृहीतेति व्याहरिष्यते । ननु च राज्यभारं विभ्राणस्य असीमशौर्यशालिनो रामपालस्य परेण भूमिरादीयत इति जीवतो^१ व्याघ्रस्य दंष्ट्रा-ङ्कुरोत्पाटनोत्साहसाहसिक्यमिदं कथङ्कारं आरम्भगोचरं इति शङ्कां निराचिकीर्षुः पूर्व्वकथामवतारयन्नाह ।

प्रथममित्यादि । प्रथमं पूर्व्वं पितरि विग्रहपाल उपरते सति महीपाले भ्रातरि क्षमाभारं भूभारं विभ्रति सति अनैतिकारंभरते अनैतिके नीतिविरुद्धे आरम्भे उद्यमे रते सति महीपालः षाड्गुण्य-शल्यस्य मन्त्रिणो गुणितमवगुणयन् उपष्टभारभट्टीमात्रादीषत्ग्रहणेन मिलित[र]न्तसामन्तचक्रचतुरचतुरङ्ग-बलबलयितबहलमदकलकरितुरगतरणिचरणचारुभटचमूसम्भारसंरम्भनिर्भरभयभीत(भिर)रिक्तमुक्तकुन्तलपला-यमानविकलसकलसैन्येन स्वतः क्षयातिशयमासेदुषा सह सहसैव बलद्विपर्य्ययोकोटिकष्टतरसमरमारभ्य निर-मञ्जत । रामाधिकारितां रामपालस्य तस्मिन् समये निगडबद्धस्य आधिष्ठािनी व्यथा तत्करणश्रीक्षतां दधति एतदग्रे स्फुटयिष्यति ॥ ३१ ॥

रामेतु चित्रकूटं विकटोपलपटलकुट्टिमकठोरम् ।

भूमौभृतमापतिते तपस्विनि महाशयेऽसहने ॥ ३२ ॥

^१राम इत्यादि । चित्रकूटं भूमिभृतं पर्व्वतं तपस्विनि गृहीतवानप्रस्यव्रते ।

अन्यत्र । चित्रकूटं अद्भुतमायं शिलाकुट्टिमवत् कर्कशं भूभृतं(त) महीपालं तपस्विनि अनुकम्पाहृत्व-दशापन्ने ॥ ३२ ॥

अपरभ्रात्राधिवसति कष्टागारं(र) महावनं घोरम् ।

हतविधिवशेन वायसकुशीलताभेद्यकुचजानौ ॥ ३३ ॥

अपरेत्यादि । अपरेण भ्रात्रा लक्ष्मणेन सह कष्टं कृच्छ्रं महावनं महारण्यं अधि[व]सति सति दुर्दैव-वशेन वाय(यय)सस्य काकस्य कुत्सितशौलतया दृष्टेष्टया [भेद्यौ] द्वौ विदीर्णौ कुचौ यस्याः सा तादृशी जा(या)या यस्य ।

अन्यत्र । अपरेण भ्रात्रा (ता) सुरपालेन सह कष्टागारं कारागृहं महदवनं रक्षणं यत्र दुर्दैवाधीने नवा नूतनायसी लोहसम्बन्धि[नी] कुशी निगडरूपा सा लतेव जंघातरुविदूरवेष्टनात् तथा भेदिनी विदीर्णो अकुचे अंसकोटनी जानुनी अष्टौवती यस्य ॥ ३३ ॥

शिष्टारिष्टैकदृशि विराधकबन्धापदञ्च दधमाने ।

दक्षिणका[ष्ठा]श्रिति गतपञ्चवटीसन्निवेशे च ॥ ३४ ॥

शिष्टेत्यादि । शिष्टा शेषीकृता अरिष्टस्य काकस्य तस्यैव एका दृष्टिर्येन विराधो (रोधि) नाम राक्षसः कबन्धश्च तयोरापदं मृत्युं दक्षिणामगस्यचरितां काष्ठां दिशं(म्) श्रितवति गतः प्राप्तः पञ्चवटी(टो)नामाश्रमः येन ।

अन्यत्र । शिष्टा अनुशिष्टा अरिष्टैकदृशोऽश्रुभैकदृश्यो दारुणकर्माणो यस्यै विराधिकां कदर्थयित्रीं बन्धापदं बन्धनविपत्तिं दक्षिणानां मरुतानां काष्ठां उत्कर्षं आश्रितेऽतिक्रान्तः पञ्चानामपि वराटानां म(श)भावेशो यस्य ॥ ३४ ॥

विग्रास्यतयास्तवति बहुस्वपलादिस्वसारं च ।

खरनिग्रहं दधाने विदधाने दूषणत्रिकोच्छेदम् ॥ ३५ ॥

विग्रेत्यादि । विग्रास्यतया विगतनासिकामुखतया लक्षितां वज्रखां वज्रसुजन्मनां पलादिनो राक्षसस्य रावणस्य स्वमारं भगिनीं शूर्पनखां अस्तवति निराकृतवति खरनाम्नो राक्षसस्य निग्रहं वधं दूषण-नामा राक्षसः त्रिकः त्रिगिराश्च राक्षसः तयोरुच्छेदं विनाशं ।

अन्यत्र विग्रास्यतया विगतभक्ष्यतया स्वस्यात्मनः पलादि मांसशोणितादिकं स्वस्य सारं सामर्थ्यञ्च वज्र यथाभवति तथान्तवति । खरो दुःसहः निग्रहोऽपकारः भक्तनिषेधादिकं दूषणत्रिकं ते दोषास्त्रयो रागद्वेषमोहा यदा का[यिकवा]चिकमानमाः तदुच्छेदः तत्परिहाणं ॥ ३५ ॥

विजनस्थानव्यूहे भूतनयाचाणयुक्तदायादे ।

विद्युद्विलासचञ्चलमायामृगवृष्णयान्तरिते ॥ ३६ ॥

विजन इत्यादि । विद्यु(?)तो जनस्थान इति ख्यातनाम्नि सन्निवेशे स्थितो रावणव्यूहो येन । भूतनयायाः सौतायास्त्राणे युक्तो दायादो भ्राता लक्ष्मणो येन । मायामृगः कनकमृगरूपो मारीचस्तस्य वृष्णया लुब्धत्वेन अन्तरिते व्यवधानहिते राघवे मति ।

अन्यत्र विजने स्थानमवस्थानं तेन व्यूहो विगत ऊहो यस्य तस्मिन् रामपाले भूतं सत्यं नयो नीतं तयोर(रर)क्षणे युक्तः प्रमत्तो दायादो महौपालो यस्य माया लक्ष्म्या मृगवृष्णया ममायं लक्ष्मीं ग्रहीष्यतीति मुग्धतया अन्तरिते तिरोहिते भूमौगृहादिगुप्तक्षिप्ते रामपाले मति ॥ ३६ ॥

मायिध्व(ध)निना शङ्कितविप(पा)दो भर्तुर्भुवः प्रभूतायाः ।

निकृतिप्रयुक्तितो रक्षितरि कनिष्ठे तथापन्ने ॥ ३७ ॥

मायीत्यादि । मायिनो मारीचस्य ध्वनिना लक्ष्मण त्रायस्वेत्यार्त्तनादेन भर्तुः रामस्य शङ्कित विपद्यया तस्याः शङ्कितविपदः भुवः पृथ्वीतः प्रभूता[याः] सौतायाः निकृतिप्रयुक्तितः भर्त्सन(नः)प्रयोगतः 'अनक्षरेण कनिष्ठे लक्ष्मणे रक्षितरि रक्षार्थं स्थापिते । तथा तेनाकारेण तामेव दिशं प्रपन्ने गते मति ।

अन्यत्र मायिनां खलानां ध्वनिना अयं रामपालः क्षमोऽधिकारी सर्वसम्मतः ततश्च देवस्य राज्यं ग्रहीष्यतीति सूचनया शङ्कितविपद्ः मामसौ हनिष्यतीति शङ्किता विपद्येन तस्य भुवोभर्तुर्महीपालस्य प्रभृताया बद्धतराया निराकृतिप्रयुक्तितः शाश्वप्रयोगात् उपायवधचेष्टया तथा त्वनाकारेणापन्ने दुर्गते कनिष्ठे भ्रातरि रामपाले रक्षितरि भाव्यर्थे ॥ ३७ ॥

मांसभुजोच्चैर्दशकेन जनकभू दस्युनोपधिव्रतिना ।

दिव्याह्वयेन सीता वासालंकृतिर(रा)हारि कान्तास्य ॥ ३८ ॥ कुलकम् ।

मांसेत्यादि । अस्य राघवस्य कान्ता प्रिया जनकभूर्जनकसुता दिव्या दिव्यनायिकाह्वयेन नाम्ना सीता रामस्य गृहस्थालंकृतिः मांसभुजा राक्षसेनोच्चैः महता दशकेन दशशिरसा रावणेन दस्युना चौरैणोपधिव्रतिना कैतवतपस्विना अहारि हता ।

अन्यत्र । अस्य रामपालस्य जनकभूः पैत्र(पत्य)भूमिर्वरेन्द्रौ सीतावासालङ्कृतिः लाङ्गलपङ्कतिवसत्यलंकारा चावामसंपन्नेत्यर्थः । अतएव कान्ता कमनीया दिव्याह्वयेन दिव्यनाम्ना दिव्योक्तेन मांस(श)भुजा लक्ष्या अंग(सं)भुञ्जानेन मृत्येनोच्चैर्दशकेन उच्चैर्महती दशा अवस्था यस्य अत्युच्छ्रितेनेत्यर्थः दस्यु(शु)ना शत्रुणा तद्भावापन्नत्वात् अवश्यकर्त्तव्यतया आरब्धं कर्म व्रतं क्वद्वनि व्रती । यदा आचारकिप् हेतुमण्डिज(य)न्तास्त्रिणि अहारि गृहीता ॥ ३८ ॥

वस्तानुजतनुजस्य च भीमस्य वि[व]रप्रहरकृतः ।

साभिख्यया वरेन्द्रौ क्रियाक्षमस्य खलु रक्षणीयाभूत् ॥ ३९ ॥

वस्त्येत्यादि । सा सीता अभिख्यया शोभया वरा श्रेष्ठा, अस्य रावणस्य, वस्ता अनुजाश्च तनुजाश्च यस्य भयङ्करस्य विवरस्य जटायुषः प्रहारं कृतवतः । अमुं प्रहृत्य सीतां असौ नीतवान् । इन्द्रौक्रियाक्षमस्य अनिन्द्रं इन्द्रं कर्त्तुं क्षमस्य रक्षणीयाभूत्, न पुनरूपभोग्या ।

अन्यत्र सा भूमिः अभिख्यया नाम्ना वरेन्द्रौ वस्ता अस्य दिव्योक्तस्य यो अनुजो रुदोकः तदीयतनयस्य भीमनाम्नः रभ्रप्रहारिणः क्रियाक्षमस्य अलंकर्मीणस्य यथोक्तक्रमेण रक्षणीयाभूत् । स तत्र भूपतिः वर्त्तमानः ॥ ३९ ॥

स विनाशितमारीचोपगतेऽष्टतमो भुजौ दधद्विकलौ^१ ।

धाम निजं परिकलयंचकार शून्यं ससूनुरथ रामः ॥ ४० ॥

स इत्यादि । इदानीं रामस्य चेष्टां प्रकटयति स राघवः विनाशितमारीचः अपगतप्रियतमः अतएव हि विफलौ भुजौ दधत् (तः) लक्षणसहितः । निजं धाम पर्णशालां शून्यं परिकलितवान् ।

अन्यत्र । अतिशयेन विनाशो विनाशितमः अरिर्याभ्यां ययोर्वा तौ च समुच्चये भुजौ विपक्षाक्षिप्त-

भुज्यमानभूमित्वात् विफलो दधत् । उपगता दृष्टतमा मित्राणि माहवन्धवो यस्य, मसुतः, धाम शौर्यं खं
ग्रन्थं मिथ्या कलितवान् ॥ ४० ॥

अपि चेष्टया विमुक्तः क्षमया गुरुमन्युदहनदीप्तोऽयं(सं) ।

अवनीपतितां तनुमपि न तदा सम्भावयामास ॥ ४१ ॥

अपीत्यादि । अपि समुच्चये स राघवः गुरुमन्युवह्निदीप्तः क्षमया सहिष्णुतया चेष्टया सह विमुक्तः
निश्चेष्टो मूर्च्छितः सन् अवनीपतितां तनुं देहं न सम्भावितवान् ।

अन्यत्र अपि समुच्चये क्षमया भूम्या दृष्टया विमुक्तः अवनीपतितां पृथ्वीपतितां तनुं अन्यमपि न
सम्भावितवान् ॥ ४१ ॥

सख्या सह विपदुदये न विनयविधिना सूनुना यत्नात् ।

कृतपरमोहापोहोऽलब्ध स्थिरसम्बिदुत्यानम् ॥ ४२ ॥

सखेत्यादि । राघवः सूनुना कनिष्ठभ्रात्रा सख्या द्वितीयेन यत्नतः पानीयसेचनव्यजनादिना
कृतः परस्मात्प्रियस्य मोहस्य अपोहः खण्डनं यस्य अतः स्थिरसम्बित् स्थिरचेतनः उत्थानं अलब्ध लब्धवान्
उत्थित इत्यर्थः ।

अन्यत्र । सख्या अमात्येन सूनुना सुतेन च सह कृतौ परमौ महान्तौ ऊहापोहौ इदं कर्त्तव्यं इदं न
कर्त्तव्यम् इत्यादिकौ येन स्थिरतत^१ स्थिरसम्बित् (तः) कृतनिश्चयः उत्थानं उद्यमं लब्धवान् ॥ ४२ ॥

विविधविशालव्यालाटविकाकीर्णावनिर्बह्वर्षीभृत् ।

दृष्टार्थाभिनिविष्टेन ततस्तेनाटि कष्टेन ॥ ४३ ॥

विविधेत्यादि । तेन दृष्टा प्रिया सीता तदर्थार्थाभिनिविष्टेन अग्निः विविधा विशाला व्याला हिंस्र-
पशुमर्परालमादयो यस्यां तथाटविकया आकीर्णा बह्वर्षता अ[टि]पर्यटिता ।

अन्यत्र । रामपाले[न] सामन्तचक्रं प्रणिनीषुणा पृथ्वी पर्यटिता । तत्र व्याला आग्रहारिका वैषयिका
आटविका अटवीयमामन्ताः उर्वीभद्राजा । दृष्टार्थाभिलषितार्थः ॥ ४३ ॥

अन्वयभवनं सहसामन्तव्रजमभ्युपेतसाहाय्यं ।

अनुमेने स महादो रवितनयं मित्रभावमापन्नम् ॥ ४४ ॥

अन्वय इत्यादि । स महादोर्महावाङ्गः रवितनयं सुग्रीवं सहसां बलानां अन्वयभवनं कुलगृह
अन्त(स्त)व्रजं ममीपमागतं मित्रभावाभ्यर्थनया प्रपन्नमनुमेने ।

अन्यत्र सह मन्वद्वार्यं सामन्तव्रजं वक्ष्यमाणनायकं अन्वयस्याभ्युदयस्य भवनं अरवितनयं गूढ(ढा)नीतिं
मित्रकोटिप्रविष्टं स रामपालोऽनुमेने ॥ ४४ ॥

देवेनभुवो विपुलद्रविणस्य च 'दानतः सुखाचक्रे ।

अमुना हरिनागपदातिलब्धवहलप्रभावोऽसौ ॥ ४५ ॥

देवेनेत्यादि । अमुना सुग्रीवः देवेनभुवः इन्द्रभुवः वालिनो विपुलबलस्य च दानतश्चेदात् हरिनागस्य वानरनायकस्य पदे राज्येऽतिशयेन लब्धः पुनरस्वलनात् वहलप्रभावो येन तथा सन् सुखाचक्रे अनुकूलितः ।

अन्यत्र । अमुना देवेन राज्ञाऽसौ सामन्तव्रजः हरयोऽश्वा नागा हस्तिनः पदातयः एभिर्लब्धो वहलः प्रभावो येन स ताटकभुवो भूमेर्विपुलस्य धनस्य च दानतस्त्यागात् अनुकूलितः ॥ ४५ ॥

अथ तरसाशिवराजेनास्य हितान्वेषिणाज्ञया भर्तुः ।

आशुगजेन बलवता वाजिवरख्यातधाम्ना च ॥ ४६ ॥

खरगुरुचारणविक्रमदीर्णमहेन्द्रेण केशरिसुतेन ।

उद[ल]ङ्घि महातटिनी शोभान्वीतेन दुस्तरमहोर्मिः ॥ ४७ ॥ युग्मम् ।

अथेत्यादि । अग्रिमश्लोकेन सह कुलकमतस्तत्रैव योजयिष्यते । खरेत्यादिपूर्वश्लोकेन समं कुलकं । अथानन्तरं केशरिणो वानरवरस्य पुत्रेण क्षेत्रजेनाशुगात् पवनात् जातेन हनूमता तरसाशिनां रक्षसां वरान् श्रेष्ठान् अजता क्षिपता । भर्तुः सुग्रीवस्याज्ञया अस्य राघवस्य हितान्वेषिणा प्रियान्वेषिणा बलवता महाबलेन वाजिवरख्यातधाम्ना पक्षिणोखरेण संपातिना इयं सा समुद्रपारेऽशोकवनिकाच्चैव सा सीता प्रतिवसतीति ख्यातं(नं) कथितं धाम स्थानं यस्य खरो दुःमहो गुरुर्महान् चारणश्वरणभवो विक्रमो विमर्दस्तेन विदीर्णो विदारितो महेन्द्रनामा पर्वतो येन । भया(भा) दीप्या अन्वीतेन यद्वा उद्गमाद्भानुं इतेन तटिनीशो महाजलनिधिः दुस्तरमहोर्मिः उदलङ्घि ।

अन्यत्र तरसाबलेन शिवराजेन शिवराजनाम्ना महाप्रतीहारेण राष्ट्रकूटमाणिक्येन अस्य रामपालस्य भर्तुराज्ञया हितैषिणा आशु ग्रीवः गजेन बलवता सैन्यवता तुरङ्गपुङ्गवैः ख्यातं शौर्यं यस्य । खरगुः तीक्ष्ण-रश्मिस्तस्मैव रुग् दीप्तिर्यस्य सूर्यवत्तेजस्विनेत्यर्थः ॥ रणो युद्धं तत्रत्यविक्रमेण दीर्घः भीतः इन्द्रो यस्मात् केशरिकिशोरसदृशेन शोभान्वीतेन पञ्चाङ्गप्रमादालङ्कारेण महातटिनी गङ्गा लंघिता ॥ ४७ ॥

आपन्नभीमरक्षा विषयग्रामाकुलत्वदुःखा या ।

चस्तानुसृतावसुमत्यमुना सीतेनतेजसाभाजि ॥ ४८ ॥

आपन्न इत्यादि । अमुना हनूमता इनतेजसा सूर्यतेज इव तेजो यस्य । अनुसृतौ मत्यां अनुसारेण सीता आपन्नभीमरक्षा प्राप्तानि भीमानि रक्षांसि यां आपन्ना भीमानि रक्षांसि या वा । अतएव चस्ता (दस्ता) रूपादिविषयग्रामाकुलतया दुःखा असु(शु)मतौ जीवितमात्रशेषा अभाजि सेवाञ्जलिना बोधिता ।

अन्यत्र अमुना शिवराजेनासौतेनामिगतेन तेजसा खड्गदर्पेण सा वसुमती भूमिर्वरेन्द्रौ आपन्ना
व्यस्ता भीमस्य रक्षा यस्यां अतो विषयाणां च ग्रामाणाञ्चाकुलतया दुःस्था त्रस्ता देवब्राह्मणादिभूमिरक्षा-
निमित्तं कोऽयं विषयः, क एष ग्रामः, कस्य भुक्तिरियमिति प्रश्नपुरःसरं अनुसृता सती अभाजि
भग्ना ॥ ४८ ॥

तस्यामाश्वस्तायां सन्दिष्टेन सह रक्षकव्यूहैः ।

भग्नं परितोवनमुषितालङ्का नामचास्य पूद्भिषतः ॥ ४९ ॥

तस्यामित्यादि । सन्दिष्टेन संदेशेनांगुरीयकादिना करणभूतेन तस्यां सीतायामाश्वस्तायामाश्वस-
युक्तायां सत्यां अमुना हनूमता अ[रि]हारविहारव्यपदेशेन तस्य द्विषो रावणस्य वनं क्रीडावनं परितः सर्वतः
रक्षार्थनियुक्तराक्षसव्यूहैः सह भग्नम् । तथा लङ्का नाम पूः पुरी उषितां दग्धा ।

अन्यत्र अमुना शिवराजेन समादिष्टेन तस्यां वरेन्द्र्यां भीमनियुक्तरक्षकव्यूहैः महाशू ग्रीध्रं अस्त[रि]यां
क्षिप्तायां सत्यां तस्य द्विषो भीमस्यावनं रक्षणं सर्वतो भग्नं अतः का नाम पूः पुरी अलं यथेष्टमुषिता
वसतिं गता अपि तु न कापि ॥ ४९ ॥

इति कृत्वाज्ञामागत्य चितां (ताता) भूमिं स जानकीं निजभर्त्रे ।

अक्षान्तकरः प्रथिताभिज्ञोऽचकथन्मिथस्तथाभृतां दशां ॥ ५० ॥

आरम्भरामो नाम प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ।

इतीत्यादि । स हनूमान् अक्षान्तो रावणसुतस्य वधकारी प्रथिता प्रकटिता सीतासन्दिष्टाऽभिज्ञा-
ऽभिज्ञानं चूडामणि र्येन तथा सन् निजभर्त्रे राघवाय जानकीं भूमिं चितां व्याप्तां वा अत्यस्त(न्त)चेतनां
तथाभृतां मिथो रहमि अचकथत् ।

अन्यत्र । स शिवराजो देवोऽक्षान्तः केनापि न मोढः करो हस्तो यस्य प्रथितः (ता) ख्यातोऽभिज्ञः
कुशलः अभिज्ञा स्मृतिः प्रकटिता येन वा^१ तथा सन् निजभर्त्रे रामपालाय जानकीं भूमिं चितां परिचितां
व्याप्ताम्वा तथाभृतामचकथत् ॥ ५० ॥

इति रामचरितटीकायां आरम्भरामो नाम प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ।

१ This word spoils both sense and metre.

२ There is a redundant ते after 'वा' ।

द्वितीयः परिच्छेदः ।

अथ धृत्यमर्षगर्वोच्छलदुत्साहोऽयमुन्मिलत्पुलकः ।
रामो महानुभावो र्ऱिपुनिर्जयोद्यमच्चक्रे ॥ १ ॥

अथेत्यादि । विभावादिसामग्रीपरिग्रहेण काव्यस्य वीररसप्रधानतां आतनोति । तदत्र उभयोऽपि जिगीर्षुर्महानायको राम इति आलम्बनविभावः । सत्त्वातिशयोदयादुदञ्चनमहापुरुषकारो हि उद्दीपन-विभावः स च वैरिविजयोद्यमपदेनैवोपपादितः । पुरुषार्थसम्प्राप्त्यादनप्रणिधानलक्षण उत्साह इति स्थायी-भावः । धृत्य(ध्व)मर्षगर्वः व्यभिचारिणः । पुलकः सात्त्विकः, रागाद्यारम्भगम्भीरावष्टम्भोऽनुभावः इत्येवं परि-पोषमासादयन्नुत्साहः स्थायी भावो वीररसत्वेन परिणत इति काव्यसर्वस्वभूतवीररसोल्लेखाविष्कारः यदाहुः ।

धर्मानुरोधशीलस्य विजिगीर्षोर्मनस्विनः ।
आलम्बाद् जायते यत्नः पुरुषार्थसमाप्तये ॥
स्थायी भाव उत्साहो दीप्तसत्त्वद्विजन्मना ।
महापुरुषकारेण रोमाञ्चैरथ सात्त्विकैः ॥
अथमर्षेण गर्वेण वेगेनोद्यतया तथा ।
स्रुत्या मत्या च धृत्या च सप्तभिर्व्यभिचारिभिः ॥
रागाद्यारम्भगम्भीरावष्टम्भैरनुभावकैः ।
परिपुष्टो भवेद्वीरो दाने धर्मे युधि त्रिधा ॥
खरे विशेषलेशः पुनरग्रे निगदिष्यते ।

स्पर्शनजोत्साहात् द्विगुणितप्रभा वानरप्रवीरास्ते ।
स(सा)म(मा)हा नीलाङ्गद्वलयामलिताः कुमुदमादधतः ॥ २ ॥
उरुतरसोऽनलसहिताः पृथुनारम्भेण सह रभसमेताः ।
सहतारपुष्करगजादिव(वा)लाः सांराविणं दधदुत्तालाः ॥ ३ ॥
क्रूरकरबालधीराः कुलिशसमाननखरायुधप्रकराः ।
स्फुरदृक्षपतिमुखास्तं न्यविशन्त धुरन्धरा धरोद्भरणे ॥ ४ ॥

स्पर्शनजेत्यादि । श्लोकत्रयेण कुलकं । ते वानरप्रवीराः स्पर्शनजः पवनतनयः तस्योत्साहेन द्विगुणिता प्रभा दौप्रियेषां समहा सोत्सवाः नीलोऽङ्गदश्च प्रसिद्धौ एतयोर्युथपत्योर्बलञ्च एभिर्यामलिताः कुमुदो नाम कपिसेनापतिस्तं दधतः राघवं न्यविशन्त इति तृतीयेन श्लोकेन समं सम्बन्धः ।

अन्यत्र ते नरप्रवीराः चतुर्थश्लोके वक्ष्यमाणनामानः दानजनितोत्साहद्विगुणप्रभावाः, समहानीलैरिन्द्र-
नीलमणिखचितैः अङ्गदैः केयूरैः वलयैः कङ्कणैश्चामलिताः प्रोज्ज्वलिताः पृथ्वीहर्षं दधतः पूर्ववत्क्रियासम्बन्धः ।

उरुदत्यादि । ते वानरप्रवीराः उरुतरसस्तरोबलं वेगश्च नलः प्रसिद्धस्तेन सहिताः । पृथुनाम्नः
रम्भनाम्ना च वानरेण सह रभसमायाता र[भ]सनाम्ना कपिना समेताः तथा तारनाम्नः पुष्करनाम्नश्च कपो
गजादीनाञ्च गजगवयगवाञ्चप्रभृतीनां कपिभटानां सह वर्तन्त इति साराविणं समूहोत्थः कोलाहलः ।
उत्ताला उद्गतकरतालाः ।

अन्यत्र ते नरप्रवीराः उरुतरसोऽनलसहिताः अनलसाः दक्षाश्च हिताश्च महता आरम्भेण सह
(^१मुपगतवत्) रभसमायाताः तारैरित्युच्चैः पुष्करैः वाद्यैः सह वर्तन्ते गजादिवलानि येषां गजादयो
हस्यश्चमहिषादयः उत्तालाः उदग्राः ।

क्रूर इत्यादि । ते वानरवीराः क्रूरान् खरान् करान् हस्तान् बालधीन् लाङ्गूलानि इतरे क्षिपन्ति
वज्रभृश्रनखायुधप्रकराः । स्फुरन् ऋक्षपतिर्जाम्बवान् मुखं येषां धरोद्धरणे पर्वतोत्पाटने धुरन्धराः
तं राघवं न्यविशन्त ।

अन्यत्र । ते नरप्रवीराः क्रूरकरबालाः धीराः अकातराः वज्रसमं आननं मुखं येषां अतएव खराः
तीक्ष्णाः आयुधप्रकरा येषां ऋक्षपतिश्चन्द्रः स्फुरच्चन्द्रवदनाः धराया भूमेर्वरेन्द्र्या उद्धरणे धुरन्धराः
तं रामपालं न्यविशन्त ॥ ४ ॥

वन्द्यगुणसिंहविक्रमशूरशिखरभास्करप्रतापैस्तैः
समहाबलैरुपेतो जेतुं जगतीमलभूषुः ॥ ५ ॥

वन्द्य इत्यादि । तैर्हनूमत्प्रभृतिभिर्वन्दनीयशौर्यादिगुणैः सिंहविक्रमैः शूरशिखरैः शूराणां शिखरै-
रग्रे माणिक्यै वा भास्करप्रतापमदृशप्रतापैः । भास्करः सूर्यः प्रतापः प्रभावः ।

अन्यत्र मिलितमामन्तचक्रस्य नामाङ्कनं न कृतमिति तद्विखति वन्द्य इति । कान्यकुजराजवाजिनी-
गण्टनभुजङ्गो भौमयशोऽभिधानोमगधाधिपतिः, पीठीपतिः ; गुण इति नानारत्नकूटकुट्टिमविकटकोटाटवी-
कण्ठीरवो दक्षिणसिंहामनचक्रवर्ती वीरगुणो नामः सिंह इति दण्डभुक्तिभूपतिरद्भुतप्रभावाकरकरकमल-
मुकुलतुलितोत्कलेशकर्णकेशरीमरिद्वन्द्वभकुम्भसम्भवो जयसिंहः ; विक्रम इति देवयामप्रतिबद्धवसुधाचक्रबाल-
वान्बलभौ भि)तरङ्गवहलगलहस्तप्रगस्तहस्तविक्रमो विक्रमराजः ; शूर इति अपरमन्दारमधुसूदनः समस्ताट-
विक्रामामन्तचक्रचूडामणि'र्लक्ष्मीशूरः ; कुजवटीयप्रतिभटकरिकूटकषणकेशरी शूरपालश्च । शिखर इति
ममरपरिमरविमरदरिराजराजिगण्डगर्वगहनदहनटावानलः तैलकस्योयकल्पतरुद(तरुद्र)शिखरः । भास्कर
इति खरतरकरबाललोलाविहणवेरिवाहिनीरुधिरप्रवाहविहितापरलोहितार्णवबलयितोच्छालभूपालो मयगल-

मिंहः प्रताप इति प्रतापमिंहः प्रतिपक्षकचोनिभृद्चौहिणीदारुणद्रवणभूणविभ्रंसभीषणप्रयाणढक्कारवो
डेक्करीयराजः एभिर्महाबलैरूपेतो रामपालः ॥ ५ ॥

प्राप्तप्रवर्द्धितार्जुनविजयोऽर्थितवर्द्धनः [सोममुखश्च] ।

अनुगतमातुलसूनु-प्रबलभुजालम्बनो रामः ॥ ६ ॥

प्राप्तेत्यादिः । प्राप्तः प्रवर्द्धितार्जुनस्य प्रच्छन्नकार्त्तवीर्यस्य भार्गवस्य विजयो येन अर्थितस्य अनुगतस्य
सुग्रीवस्य बालिवधात् वर्द्धनो वर्द्धयिता । एतत्पदद्वयाविष्कारेण लङ्कापरिरीषञ्जय इति । प्रसन्नत्वात् सोमेन
चन्द्रेण सदृशं जगदाह्लादकं मुखमस्येति अनुगतम[स्थिति]शयेनानुगतस्य अतुलस्य सूनोर्लम्बणस्य भुज
आलम्बनं यस्य स तादृक् रामः ।

अन्यत्र प्राप्तो मिलितः प्रवर्द्धितो(को) देशकोषादिप्रसादेन स्फीतीकृतः अर्जुन इति कयङ्गलौयमण्ड-
लाधिपतिः नरसिंहार्जुनः सङ्कटग्रामौयचण्डार्जुनश्च विजय इति निद्राबलीयविजयराजो येन । वर्द्धन इति
कौशाम्बीपतिर्द्वारपवर्द्धनः सोम इति पदुवन्वाप्रतिबद्धमण्डलाप्रतिबल्लभः(व) सोम[ः] तन्मुखा अपरे च सामन्ताः
तैः सहितोऽनुगतानां मातुलपुत्राणां राष्ट्रकूटानां वक्ष्यमाणानां भुजालम्बनं यस्य ॥ ६ ॥

अपि चण्डधामनन्दनविरचितहरिकुञ्जरव्यूहः ।

तुमुलमतुलरणरङ्गचतुरङ्गयदरौन् बलं कलयन् ॥ ७ ॥

अपौत्यादि । चण्डधामनन्दनेन सुग्रीवेण विरचितो हरिकुञ्जराणां बानरश्रेष्ठानां व्यूहो बल-
विन्यासो यस्य । चतुरं दक्षं अरौन् शत्रून् बलं कलयन् ।

अन्यत्र चण्डधामभिरुग्रप्रतापैर्नन्दनै राज्यापालादिभिर्विरचितो हरीणामश्वानां कुञ्जराणां गजानां
व्यूहो यस्य चतुरङ्गं करितुरगतरणिपदातिमयं अरौन् जयत् बलं कलयन् ॥ ७ ॥

सतु [दुग्ध]सिन्धुराजमथनगोत्र[भवमुभयभुजदण्डं] ।

परराष्ट्रकूटसुभटजेतारमजौगणन्निजं बन्धुं ॥ ८ ॥ कुलकम् ।

स त्वित्यादि । एतेषु बहलाहङ्कारलहरिलम्बिताभूतपूर्वाहंपूर्विकारम्भरभसभरोदञ्चदुच्चण्डचण्डि-
माङ्गलचलरणविक्रमसमसमयमौलिलोलकेरालबालधिवलयेषु त्रिभुवनविजययोग्यसञ्जातसम्पदोपासितेषु
कौशिकेशरिक्किशोरनिकरेषु किङ्करेषु महत्सु मत्सु राघवः परराष्ट्रस्य लङ्कायाः कूटसुभटं रावणं जेतारं
निजमुभयं भुजदण्डं महाबन्धुं अजौगणत् । पुनः किम्भूतं दुग्धमयसिन्धुराजस्य चौरोदस्य मथनो गोत्रः
पर्वतोमन्दरः तस्यैव प्रभवः प्रभावो यस्य भुजदण्डस्य तं यथा मन्दरेण चौरोदमुन्मथ्य लक्ष्मीरमृतादिकमुद्धृतं
तथा राघवः भुजदण्डेन राक्षसार्णव(न्तर)मुन्मथ्य सीतालक्ष्मीरध्वरविरोधेरविरोधात् यज्ञशेषलक्षणं अमृतं
अपरापरञ्च रत्नमभ्युद्धृतमिति साधर्म्यम् ।

१ The text had to be restored from the commentary as in the MS. of the text we have, after the word गोत्रप्र०, a portion of the next verse. The word दुग्ध is omitted in the text.

अन्यत्र एतेषु समस्तमामन्तेषु तथाविधेषु विविधेषु विद्यमानेषु च रामपालः दुग्धसिन्धुराज-
मथनगोत्रप्रभवं दुग्धो निर्दुग्धो गालितगर्ब्वत्वात् गृह्यैतवङ्गतरकरितुरगद्रविणपणत्वाच्च सिन्धुराजः पौठीपति-
दैवरचितो नाम येन तेन मथनेन मथननाम्ना महनइति प्रसिद्धाभिधानेन राष्ट्रकूटकुलतिलकेन उपलक्षितं
यद्गोत्रं कुलं तत्प्रभवं तदौयनन्दनमहामाण्डलिककाङ्कुरदेवसुवर्णदेवभ्रातृजमहाप्रतीहारशिवराजदेवप्रभृति-
मु(म)भयभुजदण्डमुत्कृष्टराष्ट्रकूटसुभटं निजं बन्धुं मातुलसन्तानं जेतारमजगणत् । तथाहि महनेन विन्ध्य-
माणिक्यं करेणुराजमारुह्य ममरसीमन्यु(सु)क्लासितशल्यशतकोटिपाटितोद्भटसुभटं शङ्कटमरदृमन्दोत्कटकरि-
घटाघोटकपटलः स पौठीपतिर्मगधाधिपो निर्दुद्गुहे । नागाधिराजमवरुह्य समृद्धसिन्धुराजोर्मिजाल-
कवलीकृतमेक एव भूपालभोग्यवसुधावल्लयं वराहजन्माविभुः स महनः परमुज्जहार । अपि च भुजदण्डं
निजं राष्ट्रकूटसुभटं बन्धुमित्युभयं जेतारमजगणदिति यथासंख्येन सम्बन्धः तदत्र निजभुजदण्डपक्षे दुग्धे-
त्यादिपदं ऐच्छाकुपचवत् योज्यम् ॥ ८ ॥

गमयन् स महासेनामेनामतिचित्रविक्रमो विश्रत् ।

शक्तिमथतारकारी रामः शुशुभेऽभ्यमित्रीणः ॥ ९ ॥

गमयन्नित्यादि । अतीवचित्रोऽद्भुतो विक्रमो यस्य शक्तिं सामर्थ्यं तारः तरणम् समुद्रे गङ्गायाञ्च
इत्युभयत्रापि समम् । तारकारीराम इति । रेफलोपदीर्घत्वाभ्यां तारकारिः कार्तिकेय इति श्लेषोपमा ।
अत्र चित्रो नानावर्णविचित्रो विःपक्षी मयूरस्तेन क्रमते । शक्तिं अस्त्रविशेषं । श्लेषः सर्वत्र समः ॥ ९ ॥

तस्य म(मा)हावाहिन्यां गुप्तायां तरणिसम्भवेनाभूत् ।

द्विपमभिसेनयतोमुखरितदिकोलाहलः समुत्तारः ॥ १० ॥

तस्येत्यादि । महावाहिन्यां महासेनायां तरणिसम्भवेन सुग्रीवेण गुप्तायां रक्षितायां कोलाहलः
मसुत्सर्हर्षः । तारोऽत्युच्चः अतो मुखरितदिगभृत् ।

अन्यत्र महावाहिन्यां गङ्गायां तरणिसम्भवेन नौकामेलकेन गुप्तायां चक्रान्नायां समुत्तारः सम्यगुत्तरणं
मुखरितदिकोलाहलो यस्मिन् ॥ १० ॥

आवासयन् स विघ्नद्रीचीरुचैश्चमूरमूर्विरचयन्(तन्) ।

उत्तरकूलं परितस्तरे तरस्वी महासिन्धोः ॥ ११ ॥

आवासयन्नित्यादि । उत्तरकूलं महासिन्धोः समुद्रस्य आवारं ।

अन्यत्र गङ्गायाः तीर्णयाः पारं आच्छादितवान् ।

इदानीं राघवस्य शैलश्रेणीभिः सेतुबन्धं रामपालस्य भीमेन समं समरं नवशोकीकुलकेन समा-
रचयति । तत्र नवशोकेन राघवेणागतोरणं पर्वतपङ्क्तिग्रथनां सेतुबन्ध इति प्रसिद्धं रचयता समुद्रोऽबन्धि,

१ The text has अथ in addition, which mars the metre.

रामपालेन रणं संग्रामं रचयता भीमो नृपतिरबन्धीति सम्बन्धः । तत्र किम्भूतम् अगतोरणं रणं वेति द्वितीयश्लोके तेर्महावीरैः आवद्धं, एकं हनूमत्प्रभृतिभिः, अपरं वन्द्यगुणप्रभृतिभिः । किम्भूतैः तैः इत्याह ॥ ११ ॥

प्रवरकरकुलिशकन्दल^१निस्कन्दोदस्तविपुलपरगोचैः ।
कठिनज्याधरकर्षणनीरोषितनिर्जरप्रकोष्ठतटैः ॥ १२ ॥

प्रवर(ल) इत्यादि । पराव्यवहिताः गोत्राः पर्वताः न पुनः सन्निहिताः समुद्रोदरवर्तिनः ।
ज्याधरः पर्वतः ।

अन्यत्र परेषां शत्रूणां गोत्रं कुलं । ज्याधरं धनुः ॥ १२ ॥

धुतनागवलालोकावरणैराश्वाहितप्रयत्नतरैः ।
सुविहित[रक्षोपायै]^२रारब्धन्तेर्महावीरैः ॥ १३ ॥

धुत इत्यादि । धुतं स्फोटितं नागबलस्य काद्रवेयकुलस्य आलोकावरणं यैः । आपातालनिमग्न-
मूलानां गिरीणां उत्पाटनात् नागलोकोऽप्यवालक्ष्यते आशु शीघ्रं आहितप्रयत्नातिशयैः । सुष्ठु विहितो
रक्षसां अपायो यैः ।

अन्यत्र धुतं स्फोटितं नागबलयस्य हस्तिघटायाः आलोकावरणं अन्धपटो यैः । आश्वं अश्वसमूहः
तत्राहितप्रयत्नैः^३ संयोगेन घोटकं ठटुठकुरैः रक्षायाः उपायः गूढ^४प्रखरसन्नाहवाङ्गरक्षणीर्षरक्षतलीरक्षक
पदातिपाणिर्रक्षाप्रकारः । किम्भूतं अगतोरणं सेतुं रणञ्च रचयता इत्याह ॥ १३ ॥

अविदूरान्दोलितभूमीनं तरसा^५पतन्महासत्वम् ।
क्षिप्तखगावलि^६संकुलमविरलशङ्कुप्रहारञ्च ॥ १४ ॥

अवीत्यादि । अविभिः^७ पर्वतैः अश्विकुक्षिप्रक्षिप्तैर्दूरमत्यर्थमान्दोलिता भूः स्थानं येषां ते तादृशा
मीना मत्स्या येन सेतुना तरसा वेगेन पतन्ति महान्ति सत्तानि यादांसि येन खगावलिः जलचरपक्षिश्रेणी
ताभिः संकुलं अविरलः शङ्कुषु यादोविशेषेषु प्रहारो यस्य ।

अन्यत्र अविदूरौ सन्निहितौ परस्परान्दोलनमनसौ^८ भूमीनौ भूमीश्वरौ रामभीमौ यस्मिन् रणे
तरसा आपतन्तो महासात्त्विका भटा यत्र खगावलिः वाणावलिः शङ्कुः शल्यं अस्त्रं ॥ १४ ॥

१ The text here inserts समुत्तारः । कन्दल which words are not in the comm., and they spoil the metre. २ रक्षोपायैः restored from the commentary. ३ Com. प्रपणेः ।

४ The text of the comm. गुड़ । ५ Text has तरसारसा which is evidently wrong.

६ Text has खगावरणैः which is evidently wrong.

७ The commentary has अचीभिः which is wrong.

८ Comm has मनोसौ ।

विकटास्याडम्बरचलनक्रमकरपालिघोरसंघट्टम् ।
उल्लामितकुन्तीर्णास्कन्दितसैन्धवमहोर्मिभरम् ॥ १५ ॥

विकटेत्यादि । भयङ्करवक्त्राडम्बराणां (अ)चलानां नक्राणां मकराणाञ्च पालिषु पङ्क्तिषु घोरः संघट्टो विमट्टो यस्य सेतोः उल्लामिता गौः पृथ्वी^१ येन रावणवधोपायभूतत्वात् । तीर्णोऽमज्जनात् आस्कन्दितो यन्वितः सैन्धवः सामुद्रो महोर्मिभरो येन ।

अन्यत्र भयङ्करः असेः खड्गस्य आडम्बरः कम्पनक्रमणश्च येषां तेषां करपालिनां खड्गिणां घोरः महट्टः खड्गमेलको यस्मिन् रणे । उल्लामितैः कुन्तिभिः कुन्तकरैः दतोऽभियुक्तः आस्कन्दितश्च सैन्धवानां घोटकानां महोर्मिभरः उत्सवगतिविशेषातिशयो यत्र ॥ १५ ॥

विदितजितानिलरंहोहरिबलमाहतपदातिमन्दोहम् ।
दलितगलदानजलद्विरदं निर्भिन्नबहुवौरम् ॥ १६ ॥

विदित इत्यादि । विदितं ज्ञातं जितपवनवेगानां हरीणां वानराणां बलं मामर्थं यस्मिन् सेतौ आहतपदानां व्याहतस्थानानां आतीनां श्रवालिपक्षिणां मन्दोहो येन । दलिता गलन्मदा जलहस्तिनो येन । निर्भिन्ना विवज्ज वज्जपक्षिका इरा पानीयं येन ।

अन्यत्र विशेषेण दितं द्विन्नं खण्डखण्डीकृतं जितपवनवेगानां हरीणां अश्यानां बल्यं सैन्यं यस्मिन् रणे । आहताः पदातिमन्दोहा यत्र दलिता गलन्मदजला द्विरदा येन ॥ १६ ॥

मह(हा)साविघटनया जीवग्राहग्राहिताहितप्रवरम् ।
स्फुरदसमधामसम्पत्तिमीयमानबलसंवाधम् ॥ १७ ॥

महमेत्यादि । महसा अविलम्बिता अविघटनया पर्वतमङ्गटेन अजीवा निर्जीवा ग्राहा जलजन्तवो येन सेतुना ग्राहितोऽहितप्रवरो राक्षसाधिपतिर्येन महाकायत्वादतुलदेहसम्पत्तिरतएव स्फुरद्गिरिध्ववमाय गालिभिन्निभिर्महाजलजन्तुभेदैरीयमाणो गम्यमानः बलस्य मामर्थस्य सम्यक् बाधो यस्मात् ते हि तिमयः प्रथमतः स्वप्रमाणमौटैर्यपर्युत्सुकाः समौपमभ्ययुक्त[त]स्तेऽपि कपिसुभटमुजदण्डदम्भोलिलीलोत्खातक्षिप्रगुरु-तरुगिरिप्रारम्भारभग्रवीवाकाण्डतुण्डमुण्डा[ः] चूर्णपेषमपिष्य(स)न्त ।

अन्यत्र महसा बलेन विधिविघटनया जीवग्राहं गृहीतोऽहितवरो भीमो येन रणे मीयमानं हन्यमानमपि यद्वलं सैन्यं (सैन्यं) अतुलतेजःसम्पत्ति अतएव स्फुरत् तेन बलेन सन्वाधं मङ्गीणं प्रतियोधैः वध्यमाना अपि केऽपि तत्र न किमपि कातर्यं भेजुः ॥ १७ ॥

१ This should be कः पृथ्वी ।

२ The text has •ग्राहिताहिताहित• ।

३ The text has बामं वाधाम् ।

संशुषं च पर्वताघातविघट्टितशंखकन्धरम् ।

शैलास्फालसमुच्छलनाटितककबन्धकीलालम् ॥ १८ ॥

सन्शुषमित्यादि । शङ्खः कम्बुः कन्धरो मेघः ते हि जलजिघृक्षया समुद्रमासेदिवांसः पर्वताघातेन विघट्टिताः । शैलास्फालसमुच्छलत् । कम्बोलकवलितदिक्चक्रवालतया नाटितं विकटकबन्धं पानीयं येन कीलालं पानीयम् ।

अन्यत्र रणे शङ्खो ललाटास्थि कन्धरो ग्रीवा कं शिरः क्रवन्धश्चित्रमस्तकः कायः कीलालं रक्तं ॥ १८ ॥

कृतविश्वशिवावृत्तिं लुभसितवसुमेरुमुपनतरजतगिरिम् ।

हराहूतरत्नाकरं वृषोपकल्पिताम्बरोदत्तकान्तम् ॥ १९ ॥

कृत इत्यादि । कृता विश्वस्य जगतः कल्याणस्य आवृत्तिर्येन सेतुना । वसु मुक्तादिरत्नं । वृषा इन्द्रः । मन्दोदरीदधितवन्दीकृतानां वृन्दारकसुन्दरीणां दत्तकान्तः सम्भोगो येन ।

अन्यत्र कृता पश्चिगुनकष्टगालानां वृत्तिर्वर्त्तनं येन रणेन वसु धनं इह हि सकलजनसुलभसमस्त-वस्तुसम्भारोपलभविजृम्भमानलोभलोभितैरुत्तममध्यमैरपि किं पुनरधमैरुद्दामधामभिदुर्दुर्द्वैर्द्रागजतिकलोकैः लुभसितं । हौरकमाणिक्यमौक्तिकाद्यनन्तानारत्नराजिराजितोज्ज्वलविशालकाञ्चनचयरजतपुञ्जाद्यपर्यन्त-विचित्रकस्तूरिकाकर्पूरकुङ्कुमचन्दनागुरुगहनवहलतराखण्डभाण्डागारं मेरुमिव विपन्नगोत्रोन्मूलनाकर्णनजनित-भयेन सपन्नतामुपेत्यो(त्या)पनतं(तां) रजतगिरिमिव चिरविरहविहरदङ्गलोद्वाकुलकेन भीमभूपतिहृदयपरि-हाणभीरुणा हरेण आहूतम् रत्नाकरमिव निजतनुभूपालकुलावलोकनकौटूहलमीलनात् । महौपालविग्रहोप-ग्रहीकृतमतुलं तुल्यितुं तल्लिनेयं अस्मादृशां रसा सहसा माहसिकी “यातु” । वृषोधर्मः सम्प्रहारसङ्घट्ट-पाटितसुभटपटलोपकल्पितामरवाराधौशसम्भोगं रणं ॥ १९ ॥

सम्यगनुगतरसाशेनाप्रथमसहोदरेण रामेण ।

भीमः स सिन्धुरगतोरणं रचयता किलाबन्धि ॥ २० ॥ कुलकम् ।

सम्यगित्यादि । राघवेण सम्यगकैतवेन अनुगोऽनुगतः तरसाग्निनां पलभुजां इनस्य रावणस्या(स्य) प्रथमो द्वितीयः सहोदरः विभीषणो यस्मिन् । राघवः तेन हि भ्रातृभर्त्सितेन आगत्यानुगतः । अगतोरणं पर्वतमालां रचयता भीमो भयङ्करः स सिन्धुः समुद्रोऽबन्धि ।

अन्यत्र रामपालेन सम्यगनुगता समासादिता रसाया भुवः आशा येन रणं युद्धं रचयता स भीमो भूपतिः आप्रथं आख्याति यथा भवति तथा दरेण भयेनासहः कातरः सिन्धुरगतो हस्तिगतो वारणश्रेष्ठपृष्ठावतिष्ठमानः शारिकुहरस्थित एव अबन्धि ॥ २० ॥

इदानीं कीदृशोऽसौ सिन्धुर्भीमश्चेति आदिकुलकेन तावुभौ वर्णयन्नाह ।

१ This verse and the following have been restored from the commentary.

यमनुप्रविश्य पानीयानां पातारमेकमात्मियाम् ।
श्लौणीमृतः सपक्षा रक्षां जिष्णोरधुर्द्विषतः ॥ २१ ॥

यमित्यादि । यं अपां पतिं एकं अनुप्रविश्य पर्वताः सपक्षा मैनाकप्रभृतयः जिष्णोरिन्द्रादात्मियां
रक्षामधुः ।

अन्यत्र यं भीमं रक्षणीयानां रक्षितारं प्रविश्य सपक्षा भूपालाः द्विषतः शत्रोः जित्वरात्
स्वरक्षां दधुः ॥ २१ ॥

यत्र विपक्षाणामपि मृतां वाहिनीसहस्राणि ।
निरमज्जन् दुर्ब्बाराण्यभितः सर्वौघमिलितानि ॥ २२ ॥

यत्रेत्यादि । पर्वतानां नदीसहस्राणि ओघः प्रवाहः ।

अन्यत्र राज्ञां चमूहसहस्राणि सर्वौघः सर्वसन्नाहिका ॥ २२ ॥

यस्मिन् रत्नानामाश्रये सरस्वत्यपि^१ स्वयं लक्ष्मीः ।
ते पारिजातवाजिप्रवरकरीन्द्राद(दा)योऽप्यासन् ॥ २३ ॥

यस्मिन्नित्यादि । सरस्वति समुद्रे, अपि समुच्चये, लक्ष्मीस्ते पारिजात उच्चैश्रव ऐरावत प्रभृतयः
स्थिताः ।

अन्यत्र सरस्वती भारती लक्ष्मीस्ते अपगता रिजाता अश्वप्रवराः करीन्द्राः सुभटाश्च ॥ २३ ॥

विश्वम्भरेण लक्ष्मीर्लेभेऽमृतमप्यलम्भि सुमनोभिः ।
किञ्च लभते स्म शम्भू राजानं यं समासाद्य ॥ २४ ॥

विश्वेत्यादि । यं मिन्धुं प्राप्य कृष्णेण लक्ष्मीः देवैरमृतं लब्धं शम्भुः शिव[ः] राजानं चन्द्रं लभतेस्म
(लब्धं) लब्धवान् ।

अन्यत्र यं राजानं प्राप्य विश्वं जगत् भरेणातिशयेन लक्ष्मीः सम्यदो लेभे । सज्जनैः अथाचितदानं
शं कन्याणं भूः पृथ्वी लेभे ॥ २४ ॥

अजौजिवन् जगदखिलं दधतः पारार्थ्यमर्थिनो घ(घा)नाः ।
अच्युतपदमधिरुह्य यस्य च कल्पद्रुमप्रकृतेः ॥ २५ ॥

अजौजिवन्नित्यादि । यस्य मिन्धोः कल्पद्रुमजन्मभूवः अर्थिनो घना मेघा अच्युतपदमाकाशं ।

अन्यत्र यस्य भौमस्य कल्पद्रुमस्वभावस्य सेवकाः याचकाश्च घनाः अविरला अच्युतपदं अस्वलितपदं ॥ २५ ॥

स भवानीसमुपेतो भुजङ्गमविभूषितः स्वयं देवः ।
द्विजराजकेतुरासौन्मुक्तापुण्यस्य यस्थान्तः ॥ २६ ॥

स भवानीत्यादि । यस्य सिन्धोर्मुक्ताभिश्चास्तरस्य अन्तः द्विजराजकेतुर्गुरुध्वजः स भवान्पूज्यः ।
ईर्लक्ष्मीस्तत्सहितः भुजङ्गमविभौ शेषे उषितः ।

अन्यत्र यस्य भीमस्य त्यक्तं अपुण्यमधर्मं येन द्विजराजकेतुश्चन्द्रशेखरः गौरीसहितः सर्पा-
लङ्कृतः ॥ २६ ॥

योऽत्यन्ततोयशोभौ राजितदिग्भित्तिरहतमर्यादः ।
सुकृतपदव्यालोभेन कृतोत्साहोवहन् महाशयतां ॥ २७ ॥ कुलकम् ? ।

य इत्यादि । यः सिन्धुः अत्यन्तं तोयेन शोभितुं शीलं यस्य ईरया पानीयेन जिता दिग्भित्तिर्येन
सुष्ठुकृतपदो व्यालः सर्पो यत्र भेनश्च[न्द्र]स्तेन कृत उत्साहो यस्य महानागः पद्माश्रयः महाशय इति
प्रसिद्धएवायं ।

अन्यत्र यो भीमः अत्यन्ततः अतिशयेन यशोभिः कीर्त्तिभिः राजिता दिग्भित्तिर्येन लोभेन कृतो
न^१ विहित उत्साहो येन सुकृतपदव्या धर्मवर्त्मना महाशयतां महेच्छ्वं अवहत् ॥ २७ ॥

तेनावालम्बि परो वित्तीर्णरत्ननिधिना धरित्रीभृत् ।
स सुवेलोऽपगताया जनकभुवो वार्त्तयोत्सवं दधता ॥ २८ ॥

तेनेत्यादि । तेन राघवेण अविभिः पर्वतैः सेतुपर्व(च)तैः तीर्णै रत्ननिधिः समुद्रः येन अस्त्र(श्च)नयैव
वार्त्तया जनकभुवः सीताया अपगताया विमुक्तायाः उत्सवं दधता स सुवेलो नाम धरित्रीभृत् पर्वतः परः
पारीणः अवा(वाव)लम्बि अध्यासितः ।

अन्यत्र रामपालेन कृतकार्यैः सेवकेभ्यः वित्तीर्णानि रत्नानि नानाविधानि निधयश्च येन तथाहि

“कृतापवर्गेष्वनुजीविसात्कृताः

कृतज्ञतामस्य वदन्ति सम्पदः”

सुवेलोपगतायाः शुभक्षणप्राप्तायाः जनकभुवः पितृभूमेर्वरेन्द्रा वार्त्तया जनाभ्युदयलक्षणया अजा-
जीवनरूपया वा उत्सवं दधता स परः शत्रुर्भूमिभूपतिर्वद्धो गजयूथादवालम्बि अवतारितः ॥ २८ ॥

उद्दामरामसैनिकसंघट्टोत्पिष्टविकटकटकस्य ।
अपसरशरणचरणचारभट्टीकाः करेणवो यस्य ॥ २९ ॥

उद्दामेत्यादि । सप्तभिः श्लोकैः सुवेलस्य भीमस्य द्वयो(रु)रवस्थां प्रथयति राघवसैनिकानां वानर-

भटानां मङ्गलैर्न उत्पिष्टो विकटो विषमः कटको नितम्बो यस्य सुबेलस्य अतएव अतुलपराक्रमदुर्निवारवानर-
वलविमर्दनदलितत्वात् अपसरणं शरणं यस्याः सा तादृशी चरणानां चारभटी वेगशक्तिर्येषां करियूथानां ।

अन्यत्र यस्येति भौमस्य विकटो रमणीयः कटकः स्कन्दावारः करिघटा(ट)श्चास्यभृयिष्ठा
विनिष्ठयुताः पलायाम्बभूवुः ॥ २९ ॥

हरिपरिहृतोपमहिषोविधृतपादाविकोऽभिहतशृङ्गः ।

यः परिभवभर[भ]ङ्गुरविगतश्रीकाननाभोगः ॥ ३० ॥

हरीत्यादि । तथा हरिभिः सिंहैः परिहृतः । अपगता महिषयूथा विधृताः पादाव(ध)यः पाद-
पर्वता अभिहतं शृङ्गं शिखरं यस्य परिभवो विमर्दःकाननाभोगो वनाभोगः ।

अन्यत्र हरयोऽश्वा वाहिनिकवलवाहनानि महिषाः पादाविकाः पदातयः शृङ्गं प्रभुत्वं परिभवो-
भङ्गुरः आनतो विगतश्रीको मलिनः आननाभोगः बन्नाभोगः ॥ ३० ॥

भृगिति विकुरङ्गसङ्गतिरहितोविहतेक्षणश्रवणः(तः) ।

विश्वाप(पा)दाश्रयोऽभू^१द्विकीर्णखङ्गादिरपदभूदा(ता)रः ॥ ३१ ॥

झगीत्यादि । वयः पचिणः कुरङ्गाः मृगाः ईक्षणश्रवणः सर्पाः श्वापदाः व्याघ्रादयः खङ्गादयो
गण्डकगवयप्रभृतयः अपदा अविद्यमानस्थानाः भूदाराः शूकराः ।

अन्यत्र विकुः विगतपृथ्वीकः अङ्गानि राज्याङ्गानि ईक्षणं चक्षुः श्रवणं श्रुतिः विकलेन्द्रियत्वात्
तदुभयमपि विहतं विश्वापदाश्रयः समस्तविपदाश्रयः विकीर्णखङ्गादिः अपास्तनिस्त्रिंशादिशस्त्रजातः । अपद-
भुवो अविद्यमानपादारोपणस्थाना दाराःकलत्राणि यस्येति यथायथं नेयं ॥ ३१ ॥

^२विहितगुरुगण्डमण्डलनिर्भरभरकुञ्जराजिवैतथ्यं ।

मुखरितगुहाबलिवलन्निर्घोषोऽधिकन्दरशुभितः ॥ ३२ ॥

विहितेत्यादि । विहितं गुरुणां गण्डानां गण्डगौला(वा)नां मण्डल[स्य]समूहस्य तथा निर्झराणां
भरस्य मम्भारस्य तथा कुञ्जानां राजेः पङ्केः वैतथ्यमन्यथाभावो यस्य गिरेः प्रतिध्वनिभिः मुखरितासु
गुहाबलीषु वलन् वानरवलस्य निर्घोषो यत्र अधि अधिकं कन्दरेषु चुभितं चोभो यत्र ।

१ Here is a redundant वि in the text.

२ The text is corrupt; nearly two pādas of the last verse have entered into this. The verse is completely restored from the commentary.

अन्यत्र विहितं गुरूणां गण्डस्यलस्य निर्झरं मदप्रवाहं विभ्रतां कुञ्जराणां आजैः सङ्गरस्य वैतथ्यं वैफल्यं यस्य मुखरितगुभिः मुखरितदिग्भिः चावलिभिः हाहाकारैः बलन् सेन्यस्य निर्घोषो यस्य दरेण भयेन चुभितः अधिकं यथा भवति ॥ ३२ ॥

अपि विफलपत्रपल्लव^१ तदभ्यासगहनमद्राश्रीत् ।

बहुधातुरञ्जितं यमवसन्ननानाकरं लोकः ॥ ३३ ॥

अपीत्यादि । विगतानि फलपत्रपल्लवानि येषां तानि तादृशि अभ्यासगहनानि उपवनानि यस्य गिरेः बद्धभिर्धातुभिः गैरिकहरितालकठिन्यादिभिः रञ्जितं अवसन्ना नाना अनेके आक(का)राः खनयो यस्य ।

अन्यत्र विफलः पत्राणां करितुरगमहिषाणां पल्लवो विस्तारः तथा काण्डादीनामस्ताणां अभ्यासगहनं अभ्यसनकष्टं यस्य भीमस्य बहुधा बहुभिः प्रकारैः शोकभयादिभिरातुरं जितं पराजितं अवसन्नो नाना उभयः करो हस्तो यस्य “नानानेकोभयान्वयोः” ॥ ३३ ॥

कूटप्रस्थविभागैः सौवर्णै राजतैर्मणिमयैयः ।

द्रागदयाटिकपीनपरिग्रहविहतैः विगतश्रीः ॥ ३४ ॥

कूटप्रस्थेत्यादि । द्राक् शीघ्रं अदयं निर्दयं अटितुं शीलं येषां तैः कपीनस्य वानरपतेः परिग्रहैः परिवारैः सैनिकैः कर्तृभूतैः विहतैः चुल्लैः कूटानां^२ शिखराणां प्रस्थानां सानूनां विभागैः सुवर्णादिमयैर्हेतु-भूतैर्विहीना श्रीः शोभा यस्य ।

अन्यत्र द्राक् अदयाटिकानां दण्डदियावर्गाणां (?) पीनेन स्थूलेन परिग्रहेण विहतैर्विभावितैः कूटेन राशिना प्रस्थेन परिमाणविशेषेण कृतैर्विभावितैर्भागैः सुवर्णादिमयैर्हेतुभिः विहीना श्रीः सम्पत्तिः यस्य भीमस्य ॥ ३४ ॥

इति यत्र विबुधविद्याधरगन्धर्व्वाङ्गनाभुजङ्गास्ते ।

कल्याप्तमारधारितसुरता अपि दुरमनायन्त ॥ ३५ ॥

इतीत्यादि । इत्यनन्तरोदितविमर्द्व्यतिकरेण यत्र सुवेले विबुधादीनां अङ्गनानां भुजङ्गास्ते वानरादयः कल्पया मदिरया उद्दीप्तत्वात् आप्तो मारो मन्त्रयस्तेन धारितं सुरतं येषां ते तादृशा अपि दुर्मनायिताः ।

अन्यत्र इत्यनन्तरोदीरिततदंश्रावमाने सति यस्मिन् भीमे ते सुभटा भीमसहायाः ॥ ३५ ॥

अथ बहुतरसा हत्या युक्तो रामेण वित्तपालस्य ।

सूनोरभ्यासे^३ सहसा सौरेशितनयः प्रैषि ॥ ३६ ॥

१ The text has गडाद्य after पल्लव, which is evidently wrong.

२ The last page of the MS. of the Comm. commencing here has been retraced with ink and so is very unreliable.

अथमातिथ्यकृतार्थो लभताभिमतं न पुण्यजनतोऽस्मात् ।
 सपरिणतिरङ्गदोरीहितमस्यन् कमबहदकंभुवः ॥ ३७ ॥
 अथ भौमानीकं तेन महातरसाशनैरमेयबलम् ।
 समचीयत हरिसुहृदा सुविहतपर[म]ण्डलावरोधेन ॥ ३८ ॥
 क्षिप्तविपश्चावनिना कौशबलेनेत्सैतं महोत्साहात् ।
 उन्मूलितेरितपरस्परकृतसङ्घट्टनागचयम् ॥ ३९ ॥
 सम्भ्रमददङ्कर(रु)क्षोभिरुचितमुरुवाजिराजिदीर्णधरम् ।
 व्यस्तदशमस्तकापत्यसार्थमौरिततरोत्थितमनोरथकम् ॥ ४० ॥
 दैवेन[न]र(व)जीवितमभिजिघांसुनापत्यपत्तिपटलेन ।
 विहितान्योन्यप्रतिबन्धेनोपर्युपरि स(स्व)म्बाधम् ॥ ४१ ॥
 बद्धरुधिरस्रोतोबहमवधूतकबन्धमूर्द्ध-चय-निचितम् ।
 कासरवाहनकबलक्षिप्तमहाशरकलापमिति (कुलकम्) ॥ ४२ ॥
 विग्रहदानप्रावितमहाद्रविणकुम्भकर्णमहिमासौ ।
 शुशुभे शुभंयुसूनुर्विश्वाहितरक्षसामन्तः ॥ ४३ ॥
 शक्तिर्जगद्विजयिनी^१(वृषजयिनी) वृषजयिनस्तस्य सूनुमप्यसजत ।
 स मूर्च्छितोऽयमनया धाम धरायां निवेशयास ॥ ४४ ॥
 उरुतरतरसोपक्रम्योत्पाद्याकृष्टविपुलभूमिभृता ।
 तदनु जगत्प्राणभुवा सम्पादितपरमहौषधीकेन ॥ ४५ ॥
 तेन प्रतिहतमोहेन लक्ष्मणेनारिराकलितमायः ।
 निन्द्ये मृत्युस्थानं जेता स पराक्रमेण हरेः (युग्मकम्) ॥ ४६ ॥
 रामेणोचितरूपा कापि दशास्यो[प]हिता विपद्दोरा ।
 स्वशिरश्छेदव्यतिकरमदर्शद्रेष स्वयं हि दृशा ॥ ४७ ॥
 अथ तेन गगनं खेत्स्वगमण्डलिकाविलासविषयस्य ।
 उत्कृत्तकण्ठकाण्डव्रजनिर्व्यद(ज)सृक्कटाजटालस्य ॥ ४८ ॥
 निहतकुटुम्बस्य पुरो दारुणमास्कन्दनं किमपि दधतः ।
 धृतचन्द्रहामधाम्ना लङ्काराजः कृतोऽस्य वधः (युग्मकम्) ॥ ४९ ॥

इति रामचरिते नामको द्वितीयपरिच्छेदः ।

१ Seems to be redundant.

अथ तृतीयपरिच्छेदः ।

कर्षन् धनञ्जयात्ता^१ शुचिमयोनिजा^२ प्रजाजननीम् ।
 स चिराय चरितरश्लोभुवमिष्ट[त]मामु(न्न)रीचक्रे ॥ १ ॥
 कुर्व्वङ्घ्रिः शं(श)देवेन श्रीहेत्वीश्वरेण देवेन ।
 चण्डेश्वराभिधानेन किल श्लेश्वरेण च सनाथैः ॥ २ ॥
 स्फुरदुच्चदेवमुखैः सश्लेचद्वादशादित्यैः ।
 साक्षात्संप्रत्ययविधिपरमाधिष्ठानमान्यतमैः ॥ ३ ॥
 स्कान्देन तेन सविनायकेन मिलितैः प्रकाशरूपैस्तैः ।
 रुद्रैरेकादशभिर्वसुभिर्विततास्पदैर्विश्वैः ॥ ४ ॥
 अकृतंभयसद्म(द्व)पुरप्रांशुप्रासादचेदी(दि)वास्तव्यैः ।
 उपनमदाशापालैर्देवैः^३ सम्भाविताकलुषभावाम् ॥ ५ ॥
 भगवद्भिरपि विप्रवरैरपि प्रशान्ततमैरपि चानूचानैः ।
 ... परमर्षिभिरुपापादितव्रतोत्कर्षाम् ॥ ६ ॥
 मन्द्राणां स्थितिमूढां जागद्वलमहाविहारचितरागाम् ।
 दधती^४ लोकेशमपि महत्तारोदीरितोरुमहिमानम् ॥ ७ ॥
 अपरिमितपुण्यभूमिं(मि) सत्याचारैककेतनमभेद्यम् ।
 विपुलतरपुण्यकौत्तिभिरभिहित(तः)शुचिभावमुपजा[ता]म् ॥ ८ ॥
 ब्रह्मकुलोद्भवां^३ स्कन्दनगरेण मूर्च्छितामितापचिति[म्] ।
 तैरतिगुरुत्प[ला]वासैरस्वप्नैर्वभरि[त]शोणितपुराञ्च ॥ ९ ॥
 अप्यभि^४तो गङ्गाकरतोयानघप्रवाह(हा)पुण्यतमाम् ।
 अपुनर्भवाह्वयमहातीर्थविकलुषोज्वलामन्तः ॥ १० ॥
 अपि पृथुकच्छबलभीरुशतरकालीकृतोत्थानम् ।
 अपि विश्रुतफलाशिवतामशोकवन्धाप्ताम्^४ ॥ ११ ॥
 परमविरलकन्दाबलिमयमविरलकलकण्ठकूज^५न्मुखम् ।
 पृथुककुचश्रीफलकम्पनसहितं लोलमञ्जुलवनीकम् ॥ १२ ॥

१ Text ताव ।

२ Text तो ।

३ T. कुलद्भवा ।

४ T. वि ।

५ Metre does not come out at all.

६ T. जि ।

प्रबलद्विक्रमकन्दलशोभाधरमौक्षणामृतौघमुचम् ।
 तरलध्रमरकमुरुगन्धवहानिललहरीलीनम् ।
 किञ्च बहुनागरङ्ग(ङ्क)ञ्जितवन्तं वासवोद्यानम् ॥ १३ ॥
 व्यभिचारिभिरालस्यग्लानिश्रमदीनताविषादयुतैः ।
 उन्मादमोहचिन्तोत्सुकतानिर्वेदनादिभिर्भावैः ॥ १४ ॥
 अघसंस्तुचकचेतोबुद्धिव्याहारविग्रहारम्भैः ।
 विपुलकसात्त्विकभावैरुपपादित(रुपपदि)सम्प्रयोगञ्च ॥ १५ ॥
 निदधानं मनसि प्रियममृतादिभिरघितं स(सा)दा रामम् ।
 करुणमहितमगन्धं प्रियाशया बद्धजीवनं दधतीम् ॥ १६ ॥
 बहुधान्यराजसं(स)हतिसम्भावितकाम्यरूपया लक्ष्म्या(श्रमा) ।
 सदंशास्तारि[त]या प्रस्फुरदिष्वाकुशेखराभरण[ि]म् ॥ १७ ॥
 प्रबलबलजाक्रमसमुद्भवधनलाभाम[ि]पन्नोर्व्वीम् ।
 धात्रीमपि प्रियङ्गोरतनु^१सदेलोद्भवक्षेत्राम् ॥ १८ ॥
 फलरसमितसुधाशनपूगोद्यानप्रसाधनैकदिशम् ।
 फलिताञ्च नारिकेलावासिन्येषेति जगति सा^२र्द्रमुखाम् ॥ १९ ॥
 पृथुसुमनःपरनागापरकेसरमालभारिणीं दधतीम् ।
 प्रबलमधुपारिजातलवङ्गमितामोदसम्पत्तिम् ॥ २० ॥
 करकमलापाटलमतिसुरभितया केसरं नदद्भ्रमरम् ।
 दधतीं मधुराणां वाचामे^३यानां यथाक्रमाद्रेखाम् ॥ २१ ॥
 दरदलित-कनक-केतककान्तिमध्यशेषकुसुमहिताम् ।
 अरविन्देन्द्रीवरमयसलिलसुरभिशीतलश्वसनाम् ॥ २२ ॥
 अपि धवलधामलेखालक्ष्मीभाराभिरामपुरलीलाम् ।
 निरूपरि कनक^४कलसमेलकारपीवर-पयोधराभोगाम् ॥ २३ ॥
 सुकलापायितकुन्तलरुचिमाविललाटकान्ति^५मवनमदङ्ग[ि]म् ।
 अधरितकर्णाटेश्णलीला^६धृतमध्यदेशतनिमानमपि ॥ २४ ॥

१ T. र

५ Text म्ने

२ T. लि ।

६ T नकक

३ T. शा ।

७ T माविलनाटकान्ति ।

४ सा ।

सद्रुचिरोमाबलिमहितामव्यस्ता बलीदधतीम् ।
 दोषं विसन्धाना^[१] बहुलतरारोहपरिणाहाम् ॥ २५ ॥
 पृथुतरपुष्करिणीप्रियगतिमतिकदप्रकाण्डजघनाच्च (च) ।
 पुण्य^[१]वदानाहक्षणदेशङ्कुवलयजितच्च दृशा ॥ २६ ॥
 क्रूरकरापीडितासाविति भर्तुर्मृदुकरग्रहात् कृपया ।
 कृष्टोपचितां सपदि खलितप्रतिपक्षमारदहनशुचम् ॥ [कुलकम्] २७ ॥
 अभिजनजातैरपि साधुभिः सहसा लोकैः कृतबहुपदोपनतिम् ॥ २८ ॥
 अमरावतीसमानाने^[क]वरेन्द्रीकृतातङ्काम् ।
 सुमनोभिरभिव्याप्ता^[१] निष्प्रत्यूहामृतस्य परिपूर्णेः ॥ २९ ॥
 पुण्यजनानां वसतिमसाधुव्यवहारसङ्गथाशून्याम् ।
 स कथाविपुलमानवाभय(र)दा(ज)मुदग्रदेवकुलजाताम् ॥ ३० ॥
 दधती^[१] रत्नानां पटल^[१] पृथुलं कामितां सुरेश्व^[र]पुरीम् ।
 रामावतीमतिशुभां सविभीषणशासनामृतस्नाताम् ॥ ३१ ॥
 अकुरुत महाद्रविणवेष्टितप्रतिष्ठाधिरोपितहरीशः ।
 कनकमयधामलेखाधिकरणमपि मेरुशिखरमिव ॥ कुलकं ३२ ॥
 वज्रविदूरज-मुक्तामरकत^१माणिक्यनीलरत्न(चम)खचितैः ।
 सुरधामचारुचञ्चन्मरीचिमञ्जरीजालैः ॥ ३३ ॥
 आभरणैरुपकरणैर्भूरिभिरभिराम-हेमनिर्माणैः ।
 वृत्तोत्तारतरलैर्हारैरपि हारिभिर्वहुभिः ॥ ३४ ॥
 विविधैर्महाधनैरपि दिव्याङ्गैरंशुकैरतिविचित्रैः ॥ ३५ ॥
 कस्तूरीकालागुरुमलयजकाश्मीर^[ज]कर्पूरैः ॥ ३५ ॥
 उन्मुद्रमन्द्रमधुरातोद्यव्यतिभेदमेदुरोद्धारैः ।
 गीतिलयलब्धिसुभरैरधरीकृततुमुलतुम्बुरुध्वनितैः ॥ ३६ ॥
 परमारविकाराभिर्युवतिभिरपि देववारवनिताभिः ।
 क्वणितमाणिक्यिङ्गिणीकं कृतनेपथ्योद्घटनटन्तीभिः ॥ ३७ ॥

सरभसविहरन्महिषीहृष्यदृपगोसहस्रहाबलिभिः ।
 समयोपभुज्यमानैर्भृदिष्टोत्पादकैर्विषयविसरैः ॥ ३८ ॥
 इति राजोपनिवेदितनानाविधरत्नरङ्गरसरभसैः ।
 आनन्दैकनिदाने शोभासम्पत्तिभाजि निव्य[१]जे ॥ ३९ ॥
 इह विश्वकर्मनिर्मितकर्त्वरमयमन्दिरे मिथो मिलितौ ।
 चिरमभिदुरपरिरम्भमरुचतां वलि++माश्विनौ देवौ (कुलकम्) ॥ ४० ॥
 अ[१]टिषत सुमनसामासारै रष्टान्दष्टैः ।
 रोचिष्णुणामुनोपरि ध(धा)रणिभृदालैः शिवालयस्त्रितये ॥ ४१ ॥
 स विशालशैलमालितालीवद्वमम्बुधि[१] साक्षात् ।
 अपि पृत्तै^२ पुष्करिणीभूतं रचयाम्बभूव भूपालः ॥ ४१ ॥
 तुङ्गमहाभोगालिर्धरालघिमभाक् महावनस्वास्थः (स्थाम्भः) ।
 तेन व्यधाय्य(जा)नागा नाकस्याहेलया भरभृत् ॥ (?) ४३ ॥
 स्वपरिचाणनिमित्तं पत्या यः प्राग्दिशौयेन ।
 वरवारणेन च निजस्यन्दनदानेन वर्मणाराधे ॥ ४४ ॥
 भवभूषणसन्ततिभुवमनुजग्राहजितमुत्कलत्रं यः ।
 जगदवतिस्म समस्तं कलिङ्गतस्तान् निशा(षा)चरान् निघ्नन् ॥ ४५ ॥
 यो वाजिनामधिभुवा नागाबलिसंयतेरितस्कन्धः ।
 कृतमाहायकविधिना देवः (नः)प्रियकारिणाप्रौणि ॥ ४६ ॥
 तस्य जितकामरूपादिविषयविनिवृत्तः मानसम्पाद्यः ।
 महिमानमायनन्टपो यतमानस्य प्रजाभिरक्षार्थम् ॥ ४७ ॥
 इति राजराजभोग्यामलकामिव विविधश्रेबधिभरसमृद्धां ।
 रामावतीं गृहीत्वामृमयोध्यामसौ पुरीं तामगमत् ॥ ४८ ॥

इति रामप्रत्यागमनं नाम तृतीयः परिच्छेदः ॥

१ T. विना

२ Some letters seem to be lost as the metre does not come out.

३ T. ऊँ ।

अथ चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ।

तत्र स राजा निवसन्नानाविषयसन्निवेशेन ।
 सूनुसमर्पितराज्यो रामः कान्तासखश्चिरं रेमे ॥ १ ॥
 अमुना सती वरेन्द्री याताथदिव्यविषयोपभोगसुखं ।
 क्वचिदपि कदापि दुर्जनदू(भू)षितचर्या^[१] न सा सेहे ॥ २ ॥
 कच्छ्रेण रत्नगभा^[२] सूनुस्तस्याज्ञयाशु चातुर्यात् ।
 जनकभुवमसुमन्त्राश्रितसौतविधिस्ततो वनं निन्द्ये ॥ ३ ॥
 नृपशासनश्रुतिश्रितमूर्च्छा प्रतिपत्तिमियमवाप्य ततः ।
 [अन्तः] स्थिति^[३] प्रजाया घननेचागत[तो]यभराभिदधे ॥ ४ ॥
 अभयदमना विलापोदितमन्युक्तसमस्तलोका
 विग्रहनिर्जितकामरूपमृत् ॥ ५ ॥^१
 तं गीतरामचरितं सहजेन समं प्रतीतसुतभावं ।
 परमवनस्तमसेचनक^[४] रामो राज्यपालमनैषीत् ॥ ६ ॥
 उन्मुद्रयता कुमुदं विभावयता शिलान्तरं गोभिः ।
 लूनारातिमर्म च कलालिना भुवनाधिपोऽमुना मुमुदे ॥ ७ ॥
 प्राप्ते काले सरिति(य) दुर्व्वाससा दिताश्रवसेतुः ।
 वृषजिन्मथनोऽस्ततनुर्निःश्रेणिकयाद्रिसुतपुरान्तरया ॥ ८ ॥
 इत्यधिमुद्गिरि कलयन् ब्रह्मभुवः स्वं बहुप्रदाताऽसौ ।
 कृतनिश्चयः कृत[१]र्थः प्रास्थित पृथ्वीपति मं(र्मा)हासरितं ॥ ९ ॥
 जनजाते रु(र)दति शुचा सारवम[व]गाह्य तज्जलं पुण्यं ।
 विरहसहपरिजनैदुर्विषहं (दूहं) रामो जगाम स स्वभुवं ॥ १० ॥
 अथ रक्षता(!)कुमारोदितपृथुपरिपन्थिपार्थिवप्रमदः ।
 राज्यमुपभुज्य भरस्य सूनुरगमद्विव^[५] तनुत्यागात् ॥ ११ ॥
 अपि शत्रुघ्नोपायाज्ञो(ज्ञो)पालः स्वजंगाम तत्सूनुः ।
 हन्तु[ः] कुम्भीनस्यास्तनयस्यैतस्य सामयिकमेतत् ॥ १२ ॥

१ A portion of the sixth verse has been repeated here. The scribe seems to have omitted many verses after this.

अथ तस्य रामनृपतेर्दनुस्त्वर्दनावतारस्य ।

अपरः प्रजाप्रमोदाङ्कुरकन्दो नन्दनोऽयमनुरूपः ॥ १३

निखिलनृपलक्षणधरः पुरुषातिशयो जितारिषड्वर्गः ।

विधुतजगदन्धकारो धृतधीरोदात्तनायकप्रकृतिः ॥ १४ ॥

कुशलो कुशोकशल्यं रामविरामविद्भवं निराकुर्वन् ।

अभोधिमेषालाया भुवः प्रभुरभूद्भिषा मदनः ॥ १५ ॥ (कुलकम्)

अभिषेकसम्भारवितानैर्विश्वाशापूरणपुरा

दिशतात्यर्थमनाथावनात् जनयता जनानन्दं ॥ १६ ॥

हेलाविलूनबलवत्पद्मा(न्द्रा)वलिवलदमिचचक्रेण ।

राजावत[स]लक्ष्मीभारैकधुरीणतां दधानेन ॥ १७ ॥

दोषास्पर्शात्कर्षितममहिमातिशयप्रकाशमानेन ।

द्विजपरिकरपरिपालनरुचिनोच्चैर्मण्डलाधिपतिना च ॥ १८ ॥

सख्याच शस्त्रभालक्ष्म्याशाभूतेन चारुवृत्तेन ।

सुहितपरमश्रमेण च सुवर्णजातेन विधिवदर्घ्येण^१ ॥ १९ ॥

सिंहोसुतविक्रान्तेनार्जुनधाम्ना भुवः प्रदोषेन ।

कमलाविकाशभेषजभिषजा चन्द्रेण बन्धुनोपेतम्(ताम्) ॥ २० ॥

चण्डीचरणसरो[ज]प्रसादसम्पन्नविग्रहश्रीकं ।

न खलु मदनं साङ्गेशमीशमगाद् जगद्विजयलक्ष्मीः ॥ २१ ॥

स तथा सिन्धुद्वेषुमभीका भर्तुं प्रजा अलम्भूषुं ।

कुमुदस्वसारमुररीकुर्वन्[१]सौदसीमसामाक्षः ॥ २२ ॥

स मनोभूरनिरुद्धप्रभवो विषमायुधो रतिप्रणयी ।

सुमनःसमयं [प]रमयुज्यत क्षमापतिं^२माकुलग्रामः ॥ २३ ॥

धुतमानप्रमटेनानेन न कोपोहितः सहजधैर्यात् ।

प्रकटितवलाहिताशौलोभञ्जितवान(ना)हिताविद्वाम(इम्) ॥ २४ ॥

मदनस्त्व(त्वा)मिति वितथञ्चिन्त[न]ममारात्मकोष्यकामोपि ।

अपि शम्बराभ्युद्यमप्यङ्गमकल^३ दधाति निरपायम् ॥ २५ ॥

अमु[ना] शङ्करनयनाशिताङ्गजातः क्रियेत पर एव ।
 अगणेशा वाणाबलिरस्य परस्यैव पञ्चतां तनुते ॥ २६ ॥
 उद्यन्महाबल ईर(रा)य(या)ति च जन्यास्यतो [बलम] रौणाम् ।
 कालिन्यामुत्सेका^१ दमुदनासीरोहितौघनुदबाहि ॥ २७ ॥
 अपरो रामः सम्यक्कृतकालाच्छादनामुक्तिः ।
 इत्येष मदन(ना)पालोऽपि न वाम[र]लम्बितः प्रजापालः ॥ २८ ॥
 दाता विपक्षभिदुरः समादानरतो वृषाध्वरतः ।
 विलसज्जय(या)न्ततनयं सहस्रदृष्टिर्दधाति पदमैन्द्रम् ॥ २९ ॥
 काष्ठान्तानुगतेजा आज्यारूढ(दा)प्रकर्षहेतिरयम् ।
 अर्धकुसुमायितोप[ला]लिको(वो) नलोहितोच्चरु(र)चिः ॥ ३० ॥
 महिषीपत्यवतंसितपादाभोजः प्रमोदयन्मित्रम् ।
 साक्षात् स धर्मराजः समवर्ती जगति दण्डधरः ॥ ३१ ॥
 सहित-कुमुदारोहो दोषा[च]र[स]ञ्चारवाञ्छः ।
 अतिबहलकटकबलनोल्बणभीकारौ रमेत पुण्यजनः ॥ ३२ ॥
 अपि के रतिपरमया स(श)मवति वरमाशामनाश्रितं लोकम् ।
 अपि च कविचक्रवर्त्युद्भवभूरेष प्रचेताः स्यात् ॥ ३३ ॥
 स्पर्शन एष ख्यातः सुमनोवर्त्म व्रजन् कुरङ्गवरः ।
 भङ्गान्दोलनतरलाकारि मदारा(वा)रिसन्ततिस्तेन ॥ ३४ ॥
 विहितावदातगोत्रस्थितिरर्घितगुणनिधिः शिवप्रणयी ।
 अयमेव सार्वभौमस्कन्धोपरि राजति सौदन्^२ ॥ ३५ ॥
 या भोग[व]ती या सुरणदीक्षिता मर्त्यमश्रुते या ताम् ।
 रमयति कपर्दकरोटिभृतां महावाहिनीमीशः ॥ ३६ ॥
 पातालस्येनो मिलितः स म(मा)हानागवाहिनीनेता ।
 स विभर्त्ति भूतधात्रीमधिप्रेते तं हरिः श्रिया सहितः ॥ ३७ ॥
 अवनतह^३सश्रेणिर्विवुधज्येष्ठः पिताम(मा)हो धाता ।
 कीर्त्तित एष ब्रह्माण्डगताखिललोकचित्रकम्महिमा ॥ ३८ ॥

वृत्तं निस्तारेण विलीनो दोषाकरः सुकृतमुदितम् ।
 सति मिन्द्रे(!)ऽस्मिन् जगतां कृतकमलान्घेघकैरवक्लेशे ॥ ३६ ॥
 अपि स तनुते न राजीवमलङ्कुरुते सम्भावि[त][वि]वु[ध]वीथीम् ।
 शुचिपक्षैकप्रणयौ हरिणोपेतान्तरो [रा]जा ॥ ४० ॥
 इत्थं सर्वाशानां तासां परिपालकत्वमातन्वन् ।
 राजत्यसकृत्^१ सुकृतमुदितं चैषणो लोकपालानाम् ॥ ४१ ॥
 अथवा रामस्यार्यं साक्षात् पुरुषोत्तमावतारस्य ।
 पुत्रः पुरुषोत्तम एव आत्मा वै जायते पुत्रः ॥ ४२ ॥
 स तथा हि मदानन्दकरः परपाञ्चजन्यमुद्वहति ।
 सहितमुदर्शन एकः कलयति कैामोदकीं देवः ॥ ४३ ॥
 चाता दोषश्चतुरस्तु तादृक्शास्त्रधारिणो विभ्रत् ।
 सततं विनतानन्दन आरूढोऽयं विभुर्जयति ॥ ४४ ॥
 कलधौतच्छायाधारयशोभिरतिप्रकपंतः शश्वत् ।
 अयमम्बरं पिधत्ते हृदि विबुधरमोमा[म]पि ॥ ४५ ॥
 सरसीरुहनयनो विष्णुस्तेन(नः) सोदरः सुरेन्द्रस्ये[व] ।
 लक्ष्मीसरस्वतीभ्यां निश्चितो^२यमच्युतो भगवान् ॥ ४६ ॥
 अमुनोत्क्षिप्तो चामवता गोवद्धनो धरित्रीभृत् ।
 प्राप्य कलिङ्गफणभुजमपि कं स जीवयेन्नायम् ॥ ४७ ॥
 इति मदनोदितवृत्तान्त[ः] सन्देशतो^३ बन्कुशोदकशयः सततम् ।
 दाता चिराय राज्यं राजा कुरुतां चितोरुतरकीर्त्तिरयम् ॥ ४८ ॥

इति रामोत्तरचरितं नाम चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ।

१ T. राजव्यमः ।

२ T. निश्चितमयः ।

३ T. दन्वतो ।

कविप्रशक्तिः ।

वसुधाशिरोवरेन्द्रीमण्डलचूडामणिः कुलस्थानं ।
 श्रीपौण्ड्रबर्द्धनपुरप्रतिवद्धः पुण्यभूः वृहद्वटुः ॥ १ ॥
 तत्र विदिते विद्योतिनि नन्दिरत्नसन्ताने ।
 समजनि पिनाकनन्दी नन्दीव निधिर्गुणौघस्य ॥ २ ॥
 तस्य तनयो मतनयः करणानामग्रणीरनर्घगुणः ।
 सान्धिश्रीपदासम्भाविताभिधानतः प्रजापतिर्जातः ॥ ३ ॥
 नन्दिकुलकुमुदकाननपूर्णेन्दुनन्दनोऽभवत्तस्य ।
 श्रीसन्ध्याकरनन्दी पि(प्त)शुनास्कन्दी सदानान्दी ॥ ४ ॥
 काव्यकलाकुलनिलयो गुणमणिमेरुर्मणौषिणामौशः ।
 सौमा साहित्यविदामशेषभाषाविशारदः स कविः ॥ ५ ॥
 स्तोत्रैस्तोषितलोकैः श्लोकैरक्लेशनश्लेषैः ।
 घटनापरिस्फुटरसैः गम्भीरोदारभारतीसारैः ॥ ६ ॥
 कलिसौमि धर्मराजः कृतानुगम् तद्युगं विभूषयतः ।
 भर्तुः समस्तजगतामभिनवनारायणावतारस्य ॥ ७ ॥
 रामस्येदं चरितं रुचिर[मर]चि रचनाविरिञ्चिरतिचित्रम् ।
 अनवद्यशब्दविद्याकोविदवृन्दारकोऽवादीत् ॥ ८ ॥
 रामस्यास्तामास्थिरमाजलमाज्वलनमापवनमागगनं ।
 कीर्त्तिः सन्ध्याकरकविस्त्रुक्तिसुधासिन्धुराजमणिराजिरियं ॥ ९ ॥
 गौरौहितास्तु मुक्तावलिरधिगुणरूपजात्यलङ्कारासौ ।
 प्रियदृष्टिरघा(धा)धानकलाभङ्गिरीशकण्ठैकगतिः ॥ १० ॥
 अवदान(ना)म् रघुपरिवृद्धगौडाधिपरामदेवयोरेतत् ।
 कलियुगरामायणमिह कविरपि कलिकालवाल्मीकिः ॥ ११ ॥
 यः पुनरत्र खलोस्माद्भूततद्भावतः खलीकारः ।
 अखलस्येति विलसितम् साधुत्वस्यैव किमिह करवाम ॥ १२ ॥

सोऽस्तु खलोयदनुगमे विगुणेन ग(गा)वा कृतप्रबन्धानां ।
 बहुलौकते हितफलः मञ्चारी'लोकधान्यतो दृष्टः ॥ १३ ॥
 अवरच्चि' कौर्षत्यच्चैर्दीषाशयेन यो भान्तं ।
 उपरि कलानिधिमन्थः साक्षादेष स्वमेव मलिनयति ॥ १४ ॥
 कापि काप्यास्माभिर्जडमन्तरगाधं(धां) पङ्कमभिश्चङ्ग ।
 गुणनिवहनिविडवन्धा गुप्तासौत् गौ रसस्रवन्तीयं ॥ १५ ॥
 रसनागवशा च निरगात् पदगत्या चिचपाठबन्धेव ।
 तामुद्धर्तुमितस्ते शतशः स्वयमासते सन्तः ॥ १६ ॥
 एत सत एव(वा) हृदयाद् ये सारस्वतमवन्त्ये(न्ता)नं ।
 श्रूराः स्वरादपि सुधां यन्त्ररमनापूतेन सिञ्चन्ति ॥ १७ ॥
 शुचिरुचिरवक्रिमकलामयमिदमुदितं ग(गा)वामधिप ते रत्नं ।
 शब्द(ब्दा)गुणभूषणाद्भुतमुत्तंसयते सते गिरौशाय नमः ॥ १८ ॥
 योयं गदितो नागस्कन्धक्षितिभृन्मया विदितगोसारः ।
 परमविलासिनमेन' हरिमिव हरिकेतनम् कथमिव स्तौमि ॥ १९ ॥
 सारस्वतं किमपि तज्ज्योतिरूपाङ्गं बुधा यद्भ्यासमृतां किमिवोद्धारा[ः] ।
 द्वैतं चिति किमच किमच कामभिनते भावाः ॥ २० ॥

इति श्रीमन्ध्याकरनन्दिविरचितं रामचरित नाम काव्यं समाप्तम् ।

यथादृष्टेत्यादि श्रीशैलचन्द्रस्य ।

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AN ALCHEMICAL COMPILATION OF THE THIRTEENTH
CENTURY, A.D.

BY

H. E. STAPLETON, B.A. B.Sc. (OXON), M.R.A.S., *Indian Educational Service, and R. F. AZO,*
Instructor in Arabic, Board of Examiners' Office, Fort William.



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By H. E. STAPLETON, B.A., B.Sc. (OXON), M.R.A.S., *Indian Educational Service*,
and R. F. AZO, *Instructor in Arabic, Board of Examiners' Office, Fort William.*

A. INTRODUCTION.

In a previous paper an account was given of an Eleventh Century treatise on Alchemy that had been found at the end of a collection of manuscript tracts on this science in the Library of His Highness the Nawab of Rāmpūr (*Mem. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, Vol. I, No. 4, pp 47—70). Since then some considerable progress has been made in the study of the contents of the volume, but from a variety of reasons—chiefly the absence of one of us from Calcutta—our progress has been slow, and we have, therefore, considered it advisable to publish a preliminary statement regarding the various items of this important collection of alchemical treatises.

MS. No. 16 is a volume of 133 folios measuring in its present state 22·8 × 15·2 mm., the area of actual writing varying between 17·0 × 9·5 mm. and 14·5 × 7·5 mm. There are 19 lines to the page. For the first 52 folios the MS. is written in a 9th Century (A.H.) *Naskhī* hand, then follow 32 in neat *Nasta'liq* of the same date; after which follow 9 of the same *Naskhī* hand-writing as at the commencement of the book. The rest of the book seems to have suffered badly by replacement. Folios 94 to 100 are in a careless and very recent *Nasta'liq*, then follow 27 folios of the original *Naskhī* and the volume concludes in the middle of the treatise entitled the '*Ainu-ṣ-Ṣan'ah* with 6 folios of the careless *Nasta'liq* previously mentioned.

Only an incomplete index is found at the commencement of the MS., but it is sufficient to show that a considerable number of pages have disappeared from the end. The fragment runs as follows, omitting certain numbers which apparently have no connexion with either present or former pagination :—

- (1) The first process of the 'Great Gate' of the *Ta'wīdhu-l-Hākīm* (Amulet of Hākīm).
- (2) A Chapter from the Abridgment of the *Ta'wīdhu-l-Hākīm*.
- (3) A Chapter on 'the preparation of the 'Water of Eggs' by our Master, the holy Imām Ja'far Aṣ-Ṣādiq. Peace be on him!'
- (4) The Book (entitled) the '*Ainu-ṣ-Ṣan'ah*.
- (5) (Extract) from the Book *Mujarradāt* (Aphorisms) of Plato.'

¹ There is a *Kitābu-l-Mujarradāt* of Jābir recorded in the 10th Sect. of the *Fihrist* (Flügel's edition, p. 356, l. 8), and later there is mention of a monograph by Jābir, entitled *Kitāb Muṣaḥḥahāt Aflātūn*, the 'Beliefs of Plato,' presumably with reference to alchemy.

- (6) (Extract beginning) “ Jābir says in the *Kitābu-l-‘Ibar* ” (Book of Examples).
- (7) Treatise on the Exposition of the Book of [2 words illegible] on the compounding of ‘ Bodies ’ and the Elixir.
- (8) Treatise on the Making of the ‘ Black Stone ’ from the book of Abū ‘ Abdillāh Al-Bākawī (?)

As the first treatise on the list begins at the 6th line of Folio 116 *r.* of the MS., it will be seen that the index of 115 folios has been lost, but, on the other hand, what remains is sufficient to prove that four complete treatises or parts of treatises have disappeared from the end of the book. The treatise of the ‘ Black Stone, ’ however, has been preserved in another manuscript of the Rāmpūr Library (Arabic Alchemy, No. 17), so that with the exception of the treatises numbered 5, 6 and 7 in the list just given, the book is practically complete.

As previously stated, many of the treatises appear to have been the work of a copyist travelling in Asia Minor and in Mesopotamia in the year A.D. 1283 (682 A.H.), who seems in several cases to have utilized MSS. formerly in the possession of At-Ṭughrā’ī, the celebrated alchemist of the 11th Century of the Christian era, whose criticism of Ibn Sīnā’s views will be found in the Vol. III of the *Prolegomena* of Ibn Khaldūn (De Slane’s translation, pp. 255 and 256), but no part of the existing MS. can be said to be of an earlier date than the 15th Century.

The importance of the MS. chiefly lies in the range of alchemical treatises that are found in it. The more important of these, arranged in chronological order, are :—

- (a) The Treatise of Jāmās (Jāmāsp) for Ardashīr, who founded the Sassanian dynasty of Persia in A.D. 226.
- (b) An Arabic translation in 6 books of an extended work by Zosimus, the pseudo-philosopher of the 3rd Century A.D.

Both these Treatises promise to throw much light on the origins of Arabic alchemy.

- (c) Two Treatises ascribed to Khālīd ibn Yazīd, the Umayyad prince, who lived at the end of the 7th Century.
- (d) Two short Treatises ascribed to Ja‘far Aṣ-Ṣādiq, the Shī‘ite Imām, as well as several extracts from books by Jābir, Ja‘far’s reputed disciple in alchemy.

- (e) (Ar-Rāzī’s *Al-Madkhalu-t-Ta‘līmī*.
(Ar-Rāzī’s *Ash-Shawāhid*.

Two of the hitherto lost works on alchemy by this distinguished Persian philosopher who flourished c. 900 A.D. The first Treatise, as its name implies, is a general introduction to alchemy. The second is a volume of extracts from the works of more ancient authors, which Ar-Rāzī considered as the evidences on which the Art was

1. This book cannot be traced in the *Fihrist*.

based. Both treatises (which are without doubt authentic) afford the clearest idea of the alchemical beliefs of Western Asia in the 9th and 10th Centuries A.D.

(f) Lengthy extracts from a Treatise entitled *Ta'wīdhū-l-Ḥākīm* and ascribed to the Fāṭimid Khalifa who ruled in Egypt from A.D. 996--1020.

And (g) A short précis of practical alchemy by Ibn Sinā, the well-known philosopher of the 10th Century.

The work of preparing annotated translations of the more important of these treatises is proceeding, and we trust that their publication will not be long delayed.

B. ANALYTIC INDEX OF THE CONTENTS OF THE MS.

I. "The Treatise of Jāmās Al-Ḥākīm to Ardashīr the King, on the Hidden Secret: it is a wonderful treatise translated from Persian into Arabic" (Folio 1 v., top, to f. 7 v., l. 10). Begins: "From Jāmās, the Sage, to Ardashīr, the King, crowned with wisdom. O God, I ask Thee for truth in word and deed, and for bestowal of complete grace and the gift of thankfulness. Know, O King," etc

The treatise is an explanatory discourse, similar in phraseology to several of the Greek treatises published by Berthelot in his *Anciens Alchimistes Grecs*, but clearer in its treatment. In the middle occurs a saying of Democritos in which he refers to Ostanēs as his teacher. From internal evidence there can be little doubt that it is the treatise referred to on p. 354 of the *Fihrist*, nor is it improbable that the book actually dates from the time of Ardashīr.¹ Ḥājī Khalifa duly catalogues it in his *Kashfū-dh-Dhunūn* and quotes the first lines (Flügel's trans., III, p. 384, No. 6068).

Ends: "I have explained to you, O King, the work of the Sages in its fulness, stating what none other has ever ventured to state, for which I fear I may be cursed in the Council of the Sages. And God is the dispenser of mercy and the giver of success, the liberal and generous!

"Praise be to God alone, and His blessings be on Muḥammad, His Prophet, and on his pure family. And God is our support and best protector! I have transcribed this treatise from a copy in the handwriting of the Master Mu'ayyidu-d-Dīn Abū Ismā'il Al-Ḥusain ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad Aṭ-Ṭuḡhrā'i Al-Iṣfahānī.² May God sanctify his noble spirit! I transcribed it letter by letter and finished copying

¹ Another example of an authentic Persian work dating from the early years of the Sassanian dynasty is Mānī's *Shā-būrqān* composed for Shāpūr ibn Ardashīr (*vide* Al-Birūnī's *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, Sachau's trans., p. 121). For the connexion between Ostanēs and Democritos, *vide* p. 25 Note, *infra*.

² This is the Vizier of the Saljūq Sultan Mas'ūd of Mosul, who, according to Ibnu-l-Aṭhīr (Book X, Tornberg's edition, pp. 395 and 396) rebelled against his brother Maḥmūd of Hamadhān in 415 A.H. (=A.D. 1120), the same year in which Aṭ-Ṭuḡhrā'i became his Vizier. Aṭ-Ṭuḡhrā'i was put to death after being captured in a battle between the two sovereigns, the date, according to a contemporary historian As-Sam'ānī, being 515 A.H. (Ibn Khallikān, De Slane's trans., I, pp. 462-464). He was then about 60 years old. Ibnu-l-Aṭhīr remarks that he was much given to alchemy and composed "several alchemical works which have been the ruin of many." Among these the chief one appears to have been the *Ḥaqā'iqu-l-Istishhād*, in which he opposed the arguments of Ibn Sinā (in the *Shifā*) that, as we do not know the specific differences between the metals, successful alchemy is impossible (*vide* Ibn Khalidūn—*Prolegomena*—De Slane's trans., III,

it towards the end of Muḥarram of the year 682 *Hijræ* at Siwās¹—May God guard it! And to God be praise and thanks!”

II. Treatise entitled *Fi-ṣ-Ṣan‘ati-sh-Sharīfah wa-khawāṣṣihā* (On the Noble Art and its Principles), ascribed to Khālīd ibn Yazīd.² (Folio 7 *v.*, l. 13, to f. 12 *v.*, l. 4). Begins after the Basmalah :

“Khālīd ibn Yazīd says: ‘To proceed. God the Most High and Exalted has created everything in due proportion, and formed everything in pairs, lovely and varicoloured, some green, some black, some white, and some red, etc.’”

The treatise is written with the same extravagant phraseology of the Greek alchemists previously referred to, *e.g.*, “if the Moon, Saturn and Jupiter be placed on the tincture of the red chrysolite, the Jews will flee from that town; and were a Jew to enter he would swell up, his belly would burst and he would die.”³

The treatise, however, is a forgery, as the writer makes a statement that by a certain remedy “I treated Ṭalḥah ibn ‘Ubaidi-llāh.” Ṭalḥah however was killed at the Battle of the Camel in 656, *i.e.*, probably before Khālīd was born, as the latter was only a youth at the time that his kinsman Marwān usurped the throne in A.D. 683.

Other names mentioned in the treatise are Asmās, the maternal uncle of the son that Khālīd is addressing; Ptolemy, who killed enemies at the distance of a *parisang* by means of a mirror⁴; Hermes the alchemist; and one Budhail ibn Warqā’, whom the author states he also treated successfully.

Ends: “Understand that Saturn is the Ashes, and the Earth, and the Black Bile, and in it the philosophers have concealed the Secret. Hence for him who does not work thoroughly with it, everything that he takes up will be spoilt, while its rectification can only be brought about by (alchemical) operations. The Moon is Mercury, and Water, and Spirit. Jupiter is the Red Sulphur, and it is the Air, and the Soul. In it are all the various ingredients, so that he who does not employ it in the work, fire will consume him. The Sun is the Salt of Sal-Ammoniac, and it is Fire and Yellow Bile.

p. 35. Haji Khalifa's *Kashfudh-Dhūmūn*—Flügel's trans., V, p. 27). For other books by him, *vide* Brockelmann—*Ges. d. Arab.*—Vol. I, p. 248. From the fact that in the present collection of treatises (which was made 167 years after A. Tighrī's death) two out of the three references to his name are associated with Persian books, it is probable that he chiefly derived his alchemical beliefs from Persian authorities.

¹ The ancient Sebasteia, a town in Armenia, 170 miles S.W. of Trebizond. For Siwās being a literary centre at the time this collection was made, *cf.* the note in the Brit. Museum Addl. No. 7697, Al-Bīrūnī's *Taḥḥīm*, a treatise on the history of which states that a former owner purchased it at Siwās in 732 A.H.

² *See* also his life, *Fihri*, *l. cit.*, pp. 224 and 354, and Ibn Khallikān, *trans. cit.*, I, p. 481; also *Mem. A.S.B.*, I, 433.

وان وضع القمر وزحل والمشتري (في زبرجد احمر) هرب اليهود من ذلك البلد ولو دخله رذي القلج وسق
بطنه ومات *

³ A variation of the story of Archimedes and the Roman ships at Syracuse. For an account of other variations, *see* *Herodotus*, *Historia*, *l. cit.*, *l. cit.*, pp. 256 and 257.

⁴ *See* also the story of the burning of the ships of the Persians, but in the list of metals at the beginning of the *Maḥāṭibul-‘Ulūm* Saturn is stated to impart a red colour to the metal, and a people is certainly the same as that indicated in the *Ainu-ṣ-Ṣan‘ah*, *viz.*, the combination of the words “Sun” and “Spirit.” *l. cit.*, *Mem. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, I, 4, pp. 54 and 55).

“I have written this treatise on Friday, the 3rd of the 2nd Rabī‘, of the year 607 *Hijræ*. I have found it stated at the end of the copy from which this has been transcribed the following words:—‘At the end of the treatise from which this book has been copied, the following words occur. ‘Khālid ibn Yazīd ibn Mu‘āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān wrote this at Damascus at the house of Khālid ibn Maslamah ibn Zaid in the year 101.¹ He worked before me wonders of the kind described, and tested all the bodies in order that there might be formed new copper excellently made. Peace!’”

III. Another Treatise by Khālid ibn Yazīd Al-Umawī, similar to the preceding pamphlet, but expressed in more sensible language. (Folio 12 v., l. 5, to f. 16 v., bottom.) It apparently consists of two separate extracts, the first six and a half pages in length, describing how the author learnt from Stephanos, the Monk, and the knowledge he acquired from him; and the second an account, extending over two pages, of a process of manufacturing gold. There is nothing to show that the work is a forgery, and the couplet quoted at the commencement of the second part is a type of verse such as Khālid might be expected to have written.

Begins: “Saith Abū Hāshim Khālid ibn Yazīd ibn Mu‘āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān : ‘In the name of God I begin and on Him I rely. I saw that people have sought the Art of Wisdom [*i.e.*, Alchemy] in every age, but I observed that the Sages have ever been averse to publishing it, etc.’”

The following is the account given of Khālid’s visit to Stephanos²:—

“I had read many of the books of the philosophers and searched their writings and compared one with another, but I was perplexed and could not ascertain the meaning of their allusions. I was therefore forced to journey to Stephanos the Monk, out of desire for the Art and seeking to comprehend it. I went to him, but concealed my identity and acted as his servant. When he saw my knowledge and good address, he began to explain the Art to me in the simplest manner. After I had mastered everything I informed him that I was a Muslim and the son of the King of the Arabs.” Stephanos then sent him away, saying that he had attained his desire of learning the Art.

¹ There is nothing inherently impossible in the statements made in this colophon, as Khālid might have lived for 37 years after Marwān’s usurpation, while in 101 A.H. (A.D. 719) Yazīd II had just succeeded his cousin ‘Umar II as Umayyad Khālifa at Damascus. They are, however, contradicted by Ibn Khallikān’s statement (*trans. cit.*, I, p. 481) that Khālid died in 85 A.H. As the date given by the copyist differs from those of the other dated colophons in the collection a suggestion may be made that the year 607 (=A.D. 1210) indicates the date of the forgery of the treatise.

² This Stephanos must not be confused with the Alexandrian alchemist who wrote a short Greek treatise dedicated to Heraclius, Emperor of Constantinople from A.D. 610—641. The only definite statement made in the *Fihrist* regarding the teachers or assistants of Khālid is that Istifānūl-Qadīm (the Old) translated chemical and other works for him (*ed. cit.*, p. 244), but another Stephan “the Monk,” who was an alchemist, is referred to on p. 359. No date is given, but he is said to have been a priest at Mosul in the Church of St. Michael. An-Nadīm quotes the names of 7 of Stephan’s books, which were only published after the latter’s death. It would, therefore, appear likely (if the treatise be not a forgery) that the monk referred to by An-Nadīm is the teacher of Khālid, though it is somewhat strange that he makes no reference to this being the case. The phrase *ibnu Maliki-l-Arab* would confine the date of the meeting of Khālid and Stephanos to narrow limits, if it could certainly be translated “son of the king of the Arabs,” for Yazīd only reigned from A.D. 680-683. Seeing, however, that Khālid was speaking to a subject of the Khālifa (such as Stephan, the Monk of Mosul, presumably was) it is more likely to mean merely “a prince of the royal house,” as if his father had been alive he would probably have said *ibnu-l-Khālifa*.

The concluding portion of the first part and the couplet at the commencement of the second read as follows:—

“Finished. The beginning of the work is like its end, and the commencement is like the finishing. What spoils it is the very thing that mends it. Its work is two-fold. Let them begin by the second before the first. Everyone of them has referred to the way of entering into the work by mystical words. The finishing of the work in its most perfect degree comprises four operations in four years.

“And among his writings on the Art is the following:—

‘It is the stone of little value that is found in every country and is common in the market place.’²

‘Yet were a generous man to learn its real value, he would not part with it even to his own brother.’”

The treatise ends: “Then coagulate it in the Qar‘ah and Blind [Ambīq]³ by means of a gentle fire, if it please God, etc.” (the usual benedictions).

IV. “A Treatise ascribed to Shāh Razīn,⁴ transcribed from the autograph copy of the Master Mu‘ayyidu-d-Dīn Abū Ismā‘īl Al-Munshī. May God sanctify his noble spirit!” (Folio 17, *v.*, the whole). A secret of the Art is described in enigmatical language.

V. A Treatise ascribed to Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad Aṣ-ṣādiq.⁵ (Folio 17 *v.*, top, to f. 21 *v.*, l. 14). An incoherent compilation of receipts and quotations.

Begins: “Take of *talq* as much as you wish and add to it a like quantity of *qaḍīr* (tin) that has been purified by melting.”

Ends: “Then it is taken out and the process repeated, until the mercury becomes as red as blood.”

Incidentally the names of Heraclius,⁶ Ja‘far An-Naṣṣāb (the conjurer) of Baghdād “the master of the Art in our age,” and finally a contemporary of the copyist called the Imām Jamālu-d-Dīn Aḥmad (*cf.* No. IX later) are found. The mention of the second name suggests that the treatise, though ascribed to Ja‘far

² This phrase is ascribed by Olympiodorus, the 5th Cent. alchemist, to Agathodemon. (Berthelot, *Coll. des Alchimistes Grecs*, trans., I, p. 87).

³ A similar phrase is ascribed to Astus in Ar-Razī's *Shawāhid*, *vide infra*.

⁴ *cf.* the *Mechathul-Ulum* (Van Vloten's ed., p.257). “And among their experimental apparatus is the Qar‘ah and the Blind *ḥubbīq* (cup). These are the two instruments used by the makers of rose water. The lower the *ḥubbīq* and the upper, which is shaped like a cupping glass, is the *Ambīq*. The Blind *Ambīq* is that which possesses *ḥubbīq*.”

⁵ The name of Ja‘far can be found to this Persian alchemist, whose short treatise has been preserved by the care of the copyist.

⁶ The excellent al-Imām, who is also said to have been an alchemist. Ibn Khallikān (*trans. cit.*, I, p. 300) gives the following relation to Jabir: “He composed a discourse on alchemy, augury and omens, and the Sūfi Abū Mus. Jabir al-Harrāzī . . . compiled a work of 200 pages in which he inserted the problems of his master, Jaafar al-Bakrī, which are the . . . treatise . . . Jaafar was born in A.H. 80 A.D. 699) . . . or A.H. 83. He died . . . A.H. 148 (A.D. 765) and was buried in the Cemetery of al-Bakr at Medina.” From the absence of any reference in Brockelmann's *Geschichte der Arabischen Wissenschaften* to Jaafar's alchemical work has hitherto been recorded.

⁷ *cf.* *Supplement to the Journal*, Note (2), preceding page.

Aṣ-Ṣādiq is really a compilation from the writings of this more modern inhabitant of Baghdād.

VI. A Persian treatise, without title, and apparently in three parts. (Folio 21 *v.*, l. 15, to f. 35 *v.*, bottom. End of first part, f. 23 *v.*, l. 8; and of second part, f. 29 *v.*, l. 15, bottom.)

Begins (after cryptic figures and letters): "Of yellow Sulphur 30 dirhams" Similar cryptic figures occur at the end of several of the receipts. (*Vide* also below.)

Ends: "If you project 1 *mithqāl* over 500 of copper the latter will turn into pure gold, if it please God. *Kā, Sā, Mahmā, Lasā, 'Ajjā, Mā, Bābat, Ḥalha.* Finished.

The treatise is mainly one of prescriptions. The only names mentioned are Sa'du-l-Mulk, Bu-l-Khaṭṭāb, and Ḥākim—Peace be on him!

VII. An Arabic fragment on alchemy containing 2 prescriptions, the first on the making of Red Water, and the second on the Water of Immortality. (Folio 36 *r.* et *v.*).

VIII. A second Persian treatise, without title, containing prescriptions, and several accounts of operations (Folio 37 *r.*, top, to f. 45 *r.*, l. 6). No names occur.

Begins: "Chapters on Animal Waters, Water of Hair. When you distil hair with yellow Sulphur," etc.

Ends: "Here ends this treatise. It has been written with great care and I counsel that it should be kept hidden from the undeserving and that the work should be performed with due care, lest the reader should fall into error and blame the author."

IX. A Compendium in Arabic of many extracts and prescriptions. (Folio 45 *r.*, l. 8, to f. 55 *r.*, l. 15). There is no title or definite conclusion, but the whole is of great importance, both from the number of names mentioned, and from the various extracts quoted from works by Jābir. The following list includes all the persons and books referred to:—

- (a) Three-line quotation of a saying of Plato to his son.
- (b) Three-line quotation taken from the note-book of Al-Imām Jamālu-d-Dīn Aṭ-Ṭarqī.¹
- (c) Prescriptions of
 - Abu-l-Ḥasan ;
 - Al-Qarāṭīsī ;
 - Aḥmad (referring to Al-Anṭākī) ;
 - and Abū Ṭayyib.¹

¹ The alchemists mentioned in (b), (c) and (d) cannot be traced. Aḥmad and Al-Anṭākī appear, however, to be the same people as those mentioned later in the treatise called the *Ta'wīdhku-l-Ḥākim*, while both Jamālu-d-Dīn and Zainu-d-Dīn were evidently contemporaries of the 13th Century copyist.

- (d) Six lines of poetry " by the Imām Zainu-d-Dīn Abu-l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Abdi-r-Raḥmān ibn Ḥaidar Al-Ḥalabī. May God give us many like him He is the Master of the High Art!"
- (e) Two-and-a-half pages of extracts from the 'Second Book of the Blood' by Jābir. It includes references to Jābir's *Kitābu-sh-Sha'ar* (Book of the Hair), and the "Second Book of Eggs that precedes this."¹
- (f) Extract from the treatise of the Monk, the author of *Al-Farfīr* (*Ṣāhibu-l-Farfīr*).
- (g) Sayings of Rūsam (probably Zosimus);
Māria, the sister of Moses;
and Democritos.³
- (h) A 5-line "extract from a chapter written in the hand-writing of the Master Mu'ayyidu-d-Dīn who states that he copied it from an ancient MS.⁴ This reference, compared with the colophon of the first treatise in the Rāmpūr MS., appears to prove that the compilation now under discussion was made by the original 13th Century copyist of the whole MS.
- (i) Extracts "from the Great Book of *Tarākīb* (Combinations) on the Art by Jābir ibn Ḥayyān. May God sanctify his noble spirit!" The quotation is 4 pages in length, and includes a two-thirds of a page description of the Combination of Occidental and Oriental Mercury.⁵
- (j) Prescriptions from the writings of
Imām Mu'īnu-d-Dīn, "speaking on the authority of
'the Man' and believing in it (the reddening
process)"⁶;

1 وفي كتابنا البيض الثاني الذي قبل هذا الكتاب 1 The 23rd on the list of Jābir's largest collection of alchemical tracts is a *Kitābu-d-Dam* (Book of the Blood), but no Second Book is mentioned (*cf. Fihrist, ed. cit., p. 356, l. 1*). As however there are several Second Books included in the list, *e.g.*, Book of "Eggs," "Animals," "Salts," "Stones," etc., and only 104 treatises are catalogued out of the 112 making up the entire volume, it may have dropped out. The Second Book of Eggs is mentioned next to the *Kitābu-l-Mujarradāt* (*cf. p. 57, note, supra*) on l. 8 of the same page of the *Fihrist*, and the *Kitābu-sh-Sha'ar* in l. 1 follows next to the *Kitābu-d-Dam*, which in turn is preceded by the *Kitābu-l-Baidh* (*i.e.*, The First Book of Eggs). This may be the origin of the remark that the Second Book of Eggs precedes the Book of the Hair, or else the Second Book of the Blood has dropped out after the Second Book of Eggs.

2 or "the wearer of the purple," *i.e.*, a Bishop.

3 Zosimus, Mary and Democritos were constantly quoted together as authorities in the early centuries of the Christian era (W. C. Hill, *The Hymns, etc.*, *passim*), where also many works ascribed to first and last named will be found). Mary and Democritos were regarded by Zosimos himself as his chief authorities. An analysis of more extensive treatises from Syriac and Arabic MSS. is also given in Berthelot's *La Chimie au Moyen Age*, Tome III.

4 من فصل مكتوب بخط الأستاذ مريد الدين قال هو من رسالة قدامه.

5 There are two treatises on combination (*Tarākīb*) recorded among the 112 (*op. cit.*, ll. 5 and 10), but none with the precise title of *Kitābu-l-Tarākīb al-Kabir*. Berthelot, however, gives in Vol. III of his *La Chimie* the translation of two short treatises on Oriental and Occidental Mercury respectively, which may have been included in the work referred to.

6 التعمير الذي حكى الأعمام معين الدين عن الرجل معتدداً فيهم. The name of this alchemist cannot be traced.

Abu-l-Ma'ālī ;¹

Mihyār the Magian ;²

Kamāl Al-Judhānī (?) who quotes Ḥusām
the Jurist³ (Persian).

This Kamāl Al-Judhānī seems to have been a contemporary of the compiler.

(k) Short quotations of a few lines from a work of Heraclius, and the *Kitābu-l-'Ain* (Book of the Eye) of Jābir.⁴ In the latter Socrates is referred to.

X. The Book of Rīsamus Al-Ḥakīm (Zosimus).⁵ Folio 55 *v.*, l. 17, to f. 76 *v.*, l. 17).

Begins: "I have called these Sections 'the Sulphurs'⁶ because the precious secret is attained through them, since there is nothing in the world more potent than Red Sulphur."⁷

The following is an index of the entire treatise:—

BOOKS I AND II.

I. Introductory remarks.

2. Section on the Tin (*Raṣāṣ*) from *Kuḥl*,⁸ which is produced from the *Kuḥl* of

¹ Abu'l Ma'ālī, Imāmu-l-Ḥaramain, the celebrated Shāfi'ī professor of the Niḥhāmiyya College of Naisābūr, who lived from 419 to 478 A.H. (=A.D. 1028-1085)—*vide* Ibn Khallikān, *trans. cit.*, II, pp. 120-123. Ibn Khallikān says nothing about his being an alchemist, but the fact is mentioned by Ḥājī Khalifa (*trans. cit.*, V, p. 27) on the authority of Ṣafādī, a biographer who died in A.D. 1363.

² The celebrated Shī'ite poet of whom a long account will be found in Ibn Khallikān, III, pp. 317-320. He was a native of Dailam, a district on the S.-E. of the Caspian Sea, and in early life was a Zoroastrian. He died in A.D. 1037, the same year as Ibn Sinā.

³ Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn 'Umar ibn 'Abdī-l-'Azīz Aṣ-Ṣadr Aṣh-Shahīd Al-Bukhārī, a distinguished jurist who was born in 483 (1090) and died in 536 (1141); *cf.* Brockelmann, I, p. 374.

⁴ This is catalogued in the *Fihrist* as one of the 4 books written by Jābir on the Finding of Hidden Treasure by Divination (*Maṭālib*); *ed. cit.*, p. 357, l. 25.

⁵ According to Berthelot, the alchemist Zosimus of Panopolis (the modern Ikhmīm, a town 60 miles N.-W. of Thebes in Upper Egypt) probably flourished about the end of the 3rd Century A.D. The *Fihrist* (*ed. cit.*, p. 353) gives the following account of him: "Another alchemist was Dḥisimūs who pursued similar methods to Ostanēs. Among his books is one which he termed 'The Keys of the Art.' This treatise contains a number of books and essays arranged in numerical order, *e.g.*, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc. The book is known as 'The Seventy Treatises.'"

The treatise now brought to light is probably 'The Book of Dūsīmūs (Zosimus) to all wise men, on the Art,' catalogued on p. 354 of the *Fihrist*, as among the books still extant in An-Nadīm's time. It appears very similar in character to the original Greek treatises ascribed to Zosimus and published by Berthelot in Vol. II of his *Coll. des anciens Alchimistes grecs* as well as to the Syriac treatise of Zosimus (in 12 books) described by Berthelot (*La Chimie au moyen Âge*, II, pp. 210--266), but is not addressed, as the latter are, to a woman (Theosebia). An intimate connexion can also be traced between the contents of the new treatise now brought to light and the Greek and Syriac treatises ascribed to Democritos and published by Berthelot in Vol. I of his *Collection* and Vol. II of his *La Chimie* respectively (*vide* notes below).

⁶ A chapter entitled 'The Sulphurs' is also found in the Greek text of Zosimus (B., *Coll.*, *trans.*, p. 173).

⁷ *Cf.* the fabulous stories regarding Red Sulphur quoted by Ibnu-l-Baiṭār (Leclerc's *trans.*, III, p. 139): "IBN SAMJŪN (†A.D. 1001)—On dit que le soufre rouge est une pierre précieuse, qui se trouve derrière la montagne, dans la vallée des fourmis où a passé Salomon, fils de David, que ces fourmis creusent profondément le roc et en font sortir le soufre rouge. ARISTOTLE:—Le soufre rouge quand il est dans la mine, donne, la nuit, une lueur de feu, qui se voit à la distance d'une parasange. Enlevé de la mine il perd cette propriété. On le fait entrer fréquemment les ouvrages d'or, dont il modifie la couleur rouge en la tempérant de blanc." Muḥammad ibn 'Abdī-l-Malik in the 2nd Chap. of the *'Ain-u-s-Ṣan'ah* also refers to Red Sulphur being used in the making of Gold (*cf.* Stapleton and Azo in *Mem. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, I, 4, p. 56).

⁸ Ar-Rāzī in the *Madkhalu-t-Ta'limi* (*cf.* later in MS.) states that *Kuḥl* differs from other stones in being metallic in appearance and that it is the stone from which lead is extracted. Hence it was either lead sulphide or, in this case more probably, antimony sulphide.

Anṭākia (Antioch), an island (!) of Rūmia (Asia Minor) in the country of Qīṭa'ūn,¹ or the *Kuhl* of Iṣfahān.

3. Section on the whitening of *Martak* (litharge).² The writer quotes Democritos and Māria.

4. "Section on the copper that has no shadow, and this is the copper of physicians, that is, Burnt Copper. It is the Sulphur that enters into Tinctures."³

5. On Mercury.

6. On purified Iron.

7. On *Būrītīs* "which I think is *Marqashh̄thā*" (Pyrites).

8. On the *Athālī* (ἰθαλία, vapours) of sulphur.⁴

9. On the *Athālī* of *Arnūk* (lead).

10. On *Qalqand* (χίλκανθον).⁵

11. On Yellow Arsenic Sulphide.

12. On the preparation of the 'Mercury' of Arsenic Sulphide.

This is a preparation of metallic Arsenic, made by subliming an intimate mixture of Arsenic Sulphide and *Asīm*, which latter the copyist notes to be Tin (*Raṣāṣ*).⁶

13. On the whitening of Arsenic Sulphide.⁷

14. On *Kils* (Calx).

15. On the explanation of the term *Qinbārūn* (κινναβάρης, Mercuric Sulphide).⁸ The author mentions a method of his predecessors, "from India to Greece."

16. On the *Shahīrah* (?).

"I have now fully described for you the processes of Whitening, without however giving the relative weights, for these are written in the Fourth and Fifth books. Study therefore these books, and commit the Fifth to memory. Be obedient to your God and do what pleases Him, if you desire that the work should be successful. Now

¹ Cataonia, a district of the ancient province of Cappadocia in Asia Minor, the chief town of which was Tyāna. The district lay immediately to the north-west of the Anti-Taurus Mountains and was drained by the Sarus River.

² *Cf. B., Coll.*, tr., p. 239, where the method given is apparently to dissolve the litharage in vinegar.

باب النحاس الذي لا يكون له ظل وهو نحاس الاطباء وهو النحاس المحرق وهو الكبريت يدخل في الاصباغ

Zosimus (quoting Democritos): "Work therefore until the copper having become yellow and without shadow (ἄσκιος) tinctures everybody and becomes like the colour of gold" (*idem*, text, p. 126); also the Book of Sophe the Egyptian: "So that if you have made the copper without shadow, you whiten it with the drugs that whiten, and make it yellow with the drugs that produce yellowness, and tincture it with cadmia and cinnabar. (Thus) gold is made in the temples of Hephanstos (i.e. the Egyptian god Phtha)" (*idem*, p. 214). For Democritos' preparation of Burnt Copper, *cf. B., La Chimie*, II, trans., p. 31.

³ *Cf. Zosimus' chapter on the subject, B., Coll.*, trans., pp. 240-242; and Democritos *B., La Chimie*, II, trans., p. 2.

⁴ *cf. Mem. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, I, 4, p. 56, note (6).

⁵ The receipt found in the treatise ascribed to Democritos (Berthelot, *Coll.*, Trans., p. 53): "Fabrication de l'Asim. Fixez suivant l'usage le mercure tiré de l'arsenic ou de la sandaraque ou préparé comme vous l'entendrez; proprez pour le cuivre et le fer traité par le soufre et le métal deviendra blanc." Fuller discussions of this Mercury of the alchemist will be found in the Syriac treatises (*La Chimie*, II, Democritos, pp. 82-84, and Zosimus, pp. 244-250). Also *cf. B., Coll.*, p. 257: "Le mot asēm designait un alliage métallique particulier imitant l'or et l'argent et spécialement ce dernier métal. Il a été traduit en grec par les mots ἀρρησι, ἀσημιον, ἀσήμη, lesquels signifiaient d'abord l'argent sous titre, et ont pris en grec moderne, le sens complet de l'argent. La confusion entre ces mots est l'une des origines des idées de transmutation." Berthelot also earlier in his *Introduction* (pp. 62-92) gives an essay on *Asīm*, and the method of preparing it in the early centuries of the Christian era.

⁶ Its conversion into Arsenious oxide (*cf. Zosimus apud B., Coll.*, trans., p. 140).

⁷ For method ascribed to Democritos for making cinnabar, *cf. B., La Chimie*, II, trans., pp. 31 and 94.

I have fully completed for you the First and Second Books, and there follows the Third Book in which I shall explain to you, O philosophers, the reddening of substances that have been already whitened and will also reveal to you secrets in my explanation.¹

BOOK III (Folio 61 v., 1. 13).

1. The Reddening of *Raṣāṣ* (Tin).
2. Explanation of Red Arsenic.
3. On the preparation of *Arnūk*.
4. Mercury and its reddening.
5. On the explanation of Red Copper² (includes reference to *Abūlūn*—Apollonius³—and his ‘Precious Secret’). Also the following disconnected note as concluding sentence. “These books were translated during the Governorship of Mu‘āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān in the Second Rabī‘ of the year 38 *Hijræ*.”⁴
6. On reddened Iron, and its preparation.
7. ‘*Būrītīs*, which is *Marqashlītālā*.’ (Another reference to Apollonius, the Sage).
8. On Yellow Arsenic.
9. On the *Athālī* of Sulphur.

BOOK IV (Folio 64 v., 1. 15).

“The Fourth Book which deals with the ‘Water of Sulphurs’⁵ and the making of *Qinbārūn*.”

1. On the ‘Water of Sulphurs.’
2. On *Qinbārūn*.
3. Description of the proper strength of fires.⁶
4. Reddening of *Raṣāṣ*.
5. Conclusion of the section on Fires.
6. On *Farfīr* (preparation from urine).⁷

¹ For Arabic text, *cf.* later, X (b).

² *Cf.* for another preparation of red copper by Zosimus, B., *La Chimie*, II, p. 227.

³ Apollonius of Tyāna, who lived from B.C. 1 to c. A.D. 96, and who (according to the *Fihrist*, p. 312) was the first to give any account of talismans. Philostratus, who published a so-called life of Apollonius in A.D. 218, does not specially refer to Apollonius being an alchemist, but several quotations from his works are made by Ar-Rāzī in the *Shawāhid* (*vide infra*), including the aphorism quoted by Zosimus at the beginning of the 6th Book of the present treatise.

⁴ For Arabic text, *vide* later, X (c). Mu‘āwiyah was certainly Governor of Damascus in 38 A.H., but it is hardly probable that translation work into Arabic had started at such an early date. The fact may, however, be recalled that it was precisely at this time that Stephanos of Alexandria was composing his alchemical treatise for Heraclius (*vide* p. 5, note (2), *supra*).

⁵ Another 3rd Century receipt for the preparation of ‘Water of Sulphur’ (Calcium polysulphide) is to be found in Berthelot’s translation of the Leyden Papyrus X (*Introd.*, p. 46; and *Arch. et Hist. des Sciences*, pp. 299-301; *cf.* also *infra*, p. 20).

⁶ For another chapter by Zosimus on Fires, *cf.* *Coll.*, trans., p. 240. Olympiodorus also bears witness (B., *Coll.*, p. 85) to the importance Zosimus and Democritus paid to the proper strength of the fire in alchemical operations.

⁷ For early methods of making such purple solutions for alchemical use *cf.* B., *Introd.*, pp. 48 and 49 (quoting from the 3rd Century Leyden papyrus), and *Coll.*, trans., I, pp. 43 and 44 (quoting from a treatise assigned to Democritus). In the latter urine was also employed.

BOOK V (Folio 68 *r.*, top).

1. On the Duplication (تضعيف) ¹ of Gold.
2. On the Duplication of Silver.
3. On *Zinjār*.²
4. On a Wonderful Secret.
5. On the making of *Natryūn*.³

BOOK VI (Folio 72 *r.*, l. 8).

“The Sixth Book. In it are contained all the principal operations, and the crown of Princes. Fortunate therefore is he into whose hands this translation falls. This book is the crown of the five books previously given, and in it will be found the explanation of the Saying of the Sage,⁴ ‘Nature conquers nature, Nature confines nature, and Nature follows nature.’

1. Four processes for the making of silver from whitened drugs, to which a 5th section is added describing how the silver prepared in the last process is made to lose its brittleness. (Refers to the necessity of weighed quantities being used).

2. On Iron.
3. Two more processes for making silver from whitened drugs.
4. A process for making silver from whitened copper by means of Cadmia (قدميا).⁵
5. Whitening copper by Cadmia.
6. Four processes for making gold by combination.
7. Dissolution (*Hall*) of *Talq* (Mica), and the coagulation of Mercury.
8. Sublimation of Glass.

The book ends abruptly with “And it will become transparent water, clearer than tears. Then coagulate it. One dirham may be projected on to 700 dirhams of any body you desire, [and will turn it into gold] if it please God!”

XI. The *Kitābu-sh-Shawāhid* (Book of Evidences). One of the lost treatises of Muhammad ibn Zakariyyā Ar-Rāzī, the well-known Persian physician of the latter half of the 9th Century A.D. (Folio 76 *r.*, l. 17, to f. 92 *v.*, l. 14). (*Cf. Fihrist*, Flügel’s ed., p. 358).

¹ *Cf. B. C. Coll.*, p. 60: “(Parmi les orfèvres égyptiens) le mot *diplosis* impliquait autrefois, tantôt la simple augmentation de poids du métal précieux, additionné d’un métal de moindre valeur—qui n’en changeait pas l’apparence; tantôt la fabrication de toutes pièces de l’or et de l’argent, par la transmutation de nature du métal surajouté; tous les alliages obtenus ont un fond identiques, conformément aux théories platoniciennes sur la matière première. L’agent même de la transmutation est une portion de l’alliage antérieur, jouant le rôle de ferment.” For a similar reference by Zosimus

² *Cf. B. C. Coll.*, II, trans., p. 222.

³ *Ashtangasāstra, M. M. Islahī Soc. Bengal*, I, 4, p. 57, n.(9).

⁴ *Ashtangasāstra, M. M. Islahī Soc. Bengal*, I, 4, p. 57, n.(9). The ‘oil of Nitron’ is constantly referred to by Zosimus as being used in alchemical operations. *Cf. B. C. Coll.*, trans., pp. 130, 136 and 137.

⁵ *Ashtangasāstra*, according to Ar-Rāzī in the *Shawāhid* (present MS. *infra*), but from its occurrence in a work of Democritus (*B. C. Coll.*, I, trans., p. 45) it would seem to have been ultimately derived from Egypt.

⁵ For other references to Cadmia in works by Zosimus *cf. B. C. Coll.*, trans., p. 201; and *La Chimie*, II, pp. 297 and 300.

The preface, which may be quoted *in extenso*, fully describes the object of the book.

“ Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds,
And blessings be upon His messenger Muḥammad and all his family !

“ Saith Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā :— ‘ Seven books have already preceded this our Eighth Book, the First ¹ being *Kitābu-l-Itḥbāt* (Book of Confirmation), in which the truth of the Art has been confirmed. The Second, *Kitābul-l-Ḥajar* (Book of the Stone), in which is explained the thing by means of which the Work is done. The Third, *Kitābu-t-Tadbīr* (Book of the Operation), which shows whether or not any treatment of the Stone is necessary, and, if so, what is the proper treatment. The Fourth, *Kitābu-l-Iksīr* (Book of the Elixir), in which is shown how and what Elixir is. The Fifth, *Kitāb Sharaḥ-ṣ-Ṣinā‘ah* (Book of the Nobility of the Art), which treats of the Excellence of this Art and the superiority of its followers over all other men [and others]. It also contains a refutation of those who believe in the Unlawfulness of striving after Gain. The Sixth, *Kitābu-r-Rāḥah* (Book of Rest),² in which are stated the claims of the Principal men of the Art and their different views regarding it. It further contains the method of work that should be followed by Experimenters, and an elucidation of the phrases occurring in the *Kitābu-r-Raḥmah* (Book of Mercy).³ The Seventh, *Kitābu-t-Tadābīr* (Book of Operations), which describes the operations of which the Experimenter stands in need, such as those alluded to in the *Kitābu-r-Rāḥah*. As for this our Eighth Book which is entitled *Kitābu-ṣh-Shawāhid* (Book of Evidences), it contains a Selection of the Mystical and other sayings of the Sages, including those in which they spoke the deliberate truth. We did not undertake the labour of writing this book for the reason that previous books needed a supplement in order to complete the Work, but that we might make it a witness to prove the agreement of former Masters with ourselves and that we have not deviated from their path. These Mystical sayings are nothing but Evidences of the Art and in no wise impart instruction.

“ For the Sages themselves have borne witness that they have used obscure language in their books and filled them with superfluous words, the really essential matter being but little. They have also said, ‘ Let none of you imagine that when he has acquired some knowledge of the Art, the prolixity of our conversation will appear anything more than a detail compared with even a fragment of what he has learnt, for that is only intended as a confusion to the ignorant.’

“ Now that we have explained our object in compiling this book and also the character of the books of the Sages, we will proceed to quote the choicest of the

¹ The omission from this catalogue of the first two treatises of Ar-Rāzī’s *magnum opus*, viz., the *Madkhalu-t-Ta‘līmī* and *Madkhalu-l-Burhānī* (*vide Fihrist, loc. cit.*, and text *infra*), probably indicate that they were written by way of preface after the last 10 books mentioned in the *Fihrist* and the *Madkhalu-t-Ta‘līmī* had been completed.

² This is an alternative title, as both in the list given in the *Fihrist*, as well as in that found at the end of the *Madkhalu-t-Ta‘līmī* (*vide infra*), it is called *Kitābu-t-Tartīb* (Book of Progression).

³ For a translation of this book of Jābir, cf. B., *La Chimie*, III, pp. 163-190. Though mentioned in the *Fihrist* as being the only book acknowledged by all to be written by Jābir, it cannot be found in the list of his works subsequently given by An-Nadīm—a striking proof of the mutilation this special list has undergone.

sayings contained in them. These we shall divide into two classes, the first giving those which include an account of what the 'Stone' is, and the second giving those dealing with its Preparation. We shall select the clearest from amongst them, and those that least need annotation, to prevent our book from being overladen with explanations of the obscure. Nor shall we give many of these quotations, seeing that the few will dispense with the need for more. It should be noted, however, that owing to our not having been able to procure—much less read—all the works composed by alchemists, we have not found ourselves in a position to make a more thorough compilation of the obscure passages in which the Sages have faithfully revealed their mysteries.'''

The treatise includes excerpts from the writings of the following authors :—

Hermes ¹ (the Chief of the Sages).

Māria the Sage.³

Ostanes.²

Aristotle.⁴

¹ The author of the *Fihrist* (*ed. cit.*, p. 353) writes as follows regarding Hermes :—

“ The people who practise Alchemy, that is to say, the art of manufacturing gold and silver from other metals, state that the first who gave an account of the science of the Art was Hermes the Sage, a native of Babel (Babylon), who removed to Egypt after the dispersion of the peoples from Babel. He reigned in Egypt, and was a wise man and a philosopher. He succeeded in practising the Art and composed several books on the subject. He studied the properties of substances and their spiritual virtues, and thanks to his researches and work, he succeeded in establishing the Art of Alchemy. He also discovered how to make Talismans and wrote many books on the subject. Those, however, who ascribe to everything great antiquity allege that this science existed thousands of years before Hermes.

Hermes the Babylonian.

“ Opinions differ regarding this man. According to some he was one of the Seven High Priests appointed to guard the Seven Temples, and was in charge of the Temple of Mercury. Hence his name; for Mercury in the Chaldæan language is Hermes. According to others, he removed, for various reasons, to the land of Egypt and reigned over that country. He had several children Tāī, Ṣā, Aṣhmūn, Iṭhrīb, and Qufr, and he was the wisest man of his age. After his death he was buried in the monument in the town of Miṣr (Cairo), known under the name of Abū Hermes, which the common people call ‘ The Two Pyramids.’ One of them was his tomb, and the second that of his wife, or—as others say—of his son, who succeeded him after his death.

Books of Hermes on the Art.

“ The book of Hermes to his son on the Art; the Book of Liquid Gold; the Book for Tāī on the Work; the Book of the Making of the Bunch (of grapes); the Book of Secrets; the Book of Al-Hāriṭus; the Book of Al-Malātis; the Book of Al-Astamākhis; the Book of As-Salmātis; the Book of Arminūs, disciple of Hermes; the Book of Nilādūs, disciple of Hermes, on the opinion of Hermes; the Book of Al-Adkḥīqī; the Book of Dimanūs addressed to Hermes.”

Thanks to Egyptologists, *e.g.*, Maspero, we know now, however, that Hermes was simply the Greek name of the Egyptian God Thoth who was worshipped at Hermopolis (the present Eshmunén, north of Asyūt); *cf.* note (6), next page.

² The *Fihrist* (*loc. cit.*) gives the following account of this alchemist: “ Among the philosophers who practised the Art and who were celebrated as alchemists and who wrote books on the Art is Ostanes, the Greek, a native of Alexandria. He composed, as he mentions in one of his treatises, a thousand books and pamphlets, each with a separate name. The books of all these people are full of enigmas and riddles. Among the works of Ostanes is ‘ The Book of the conversation of Ostanes with Tauhir, King of India.’ ”

From An-Nadīm's silence, the books of Ostanes seem to have become very rare in Arabic times, and Berthelot only refers to one Arabic book ascribed to Ostanes as being now extant (*La Chimie*, III, pp. 116-123), while only the merest fragment attributed to him is found in the 9th Cent. Greek MS. collection of alchemical treatises in the St. Mark's Library, Venice, *B. C. M.*, III, pp. 250-252). For his relation to Democritus, *vide* p. 25, note, *infra*.

The woman alchemist was prior to the time of Zosimus, by whom she is constantly quoted (*cf.* *B., Coll., Trans.*, II, p. 100). An-Nadīm mentions the ‘ Great Book of Mary ’ (*loc. cit.*, p. 354), and the reference in the same place to the ‘ Book of Mary the Copt with the Sages, when they had met together,’ shows that in Islamic times she was confused with Arabic alchemists with one of the wives of Muḥammad, just as in Christian times she was called ‘ the sister of Moses.’

⁴ An-Nadīm apparently did not believe that Aristotle was an alchemist, as he quotes no books by him on the subject, while at the same time he indicates Ar-Razī as the author responsible for alleging that Pythagoras, Democritus,

Astūs.¹
 Alexander.²
 Baṭrūs¹ (addressing a King).
 Bālīnūs, (Apollonius)³—the quotation including a reference to Democritos.
 Bīlūs (?).⁴
 Sergius Rāsu-l-‘Ainī.⁵
 Aflāṭūn (Plato).
 The Wazīr (addressing the King in the *Kitābu-l-Wuzarā’*).

Khālīd, ‘one of the Moderns,’ in his poem beginning “O seeker after knowledge.”
 Hermes, in the “Book of Thoth.”⁶
 Rīsamūs (Zosimus).⁷
 Hiraql (Heraclius).⁸
 Jālīnūs (Galen).⁹
 Saqdīs the Sage.¹⁰
 Balākhus.¹¹
 Rūsam (? Zosimus).

Plato, Aristotle, and, in more modern times, Galen, practised the Art (*ed. cit.*, p. 352). Jābir may have aided the spread of the idea, as he wrote a series of treatises with the general title ‘Beliefs of Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Democritos,’ etc., (*id.*, p. 357), but the Latin alchemical treatises ascribed to Aristotle and Plato are almost certainly forgeries of the Middle Ages (*cf. B., La Chimie*, I, p. 248).

¹ Nothing is known about either of these alchemists, though the name of the first also occurs in the *Fihrist* among the philosophers who have spoken of the Art (p. 353, l. 23).

² Probably either Alexander Aphrodisiensis, the Carian philosopher who flourished *c.* 200 A.D., or Alexander Trallianus, the eminent physician of Lydia, who wrote in the 6th Cent. A.D.; the latter being more likely, as A. Trallianus laid great stress on the use of charms and amulets in medicine.

³ *Cf. p. ii, note (3), supra.*

⁴ A Greek treatise of an alchemist called Nilūs is found recorded in the Index to the St. Mark’s MS. (*vide B., Introd.*, p. 175). He was apparently a priest who lived at the same time as Zosimus (*B., Coll., Trans.*, II, p. 187).

⁵ The following brief account of this distinguished Syrian translator is quoted from B. Jungmann’s ed. of Fessler’s *Institutiones Patrologiæ* (1896, Innsbruck ed., II, p. 654).

“Memorandus etiam hic est illustris presbyter et medicus Sergius Rhæsinensis, qui primus inter monophysitas libros Aristotelis e græco syriacos fecit, et post multas peregrinationes in Antiocham et Romam, Constantinopoli obiit paulo post annum 535. Servantur in codd. M. Br. ejus translatio *Isagogis Porphyrii, categoriarum et logicæ Aristotelis et de mundo ad Alexandrum* quem tractatum edidit P. de Lagarde, *Analecta syriaca*, p. 134 sqq.; ejus tractatus *De Anima, De causis Universi, De genere, specie et individuo, De lunæ influvu* aliaque nonnulla (*vide W. Wright, Catalog.* 1154 sqq.; 1187-1188; et ‘A Short History,’ pp. 99-103).” Rāsu-l-‘Ain (lit. “the Spring Head”) is in Northern Mesopotamia on the Nahru-l-Khābūr, a branch of the Euphrates. An-Nadīm records an alchemical book by this Sergius, dedicated to Bishop Quiri of Edessa, as well as one by ‘the Monk Sergius’ (*loc. cit.*, p. 354).

⁶ *Cf. Sayce, Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, pp. 130 and 131.

⁷ “The god of Hermopolis was Thoth, the Egyptian Dehuti (= he who is attached to the ibis). Thoth seems to have been at the outset the Moon, which was thus, as in Babylonia, of the male sex The first month of the year was his, and he was the measurer of time, who had invented arithmetic and geometry, music and astronomy, architecture and letters. He knew the magic formulæ which could bind the gods themselves, and, as minister of the Pharaoh Thamos, had introduced writing and literature into Egypt. Henceforward he remained the patron of books and education, on which the culture of Egypt so largely rested. He was, in fact, the culture-god of the Egyptians to whom the elements of civilisation were due.”

See also previous note on Hermes *supra*.

⁸ *Cf. p. 65, note (5).*

⁹ The Index at the head of the St. Mark’s MS. ascribes four alchemical treatises (now unfortunately disappeared) to the Emperor Heraclius (*B., Introd.*, p. 174), and under the name of Hercules his opinions passed into the alchemical writings of the Middle Ages. An-Nadīm mentions (p. 354) the ‘Great Book of Heraclius in 14 books.’

¹⁰ The celebrated physician, A.D. 130-200.

¹¹ An-Nadīm refers to this man as Safīdas (*op. cit.*, p. 353), and perhaps also when he mentions the “Book of Saqras on his philosophy to the Emperor Adrian” (*op. cit. idem*). In the latter case, the writer’s date would lie between 117 and 138 A.D. On the other hand, this alchemist may be the same as Sophe the Egyptian, two of whose treatises are given by Berthelot in Vol. II of his *Coll.*, pp. 205-208. Another variation of the name is found on p. 129 of the same Volume, where Ostanēs is quoted by Zosimus as referring to Sophar, a former inhabitant of Persia.

¹² An-Nadīm (p. 354) mentions an Epistle of Balākhus on the Art, and the alchemist referred to may be Pelagius, one of whose works will be found at the beginning of Vol. III of Berthelot’s *Coll.*, and who is also quoted by

Afrāṭīs and Afrāṭun.¹Mahrārīs.²Sergius Rāsu-l-'Ainī, in his *Kitābu-l-'Adad* (Book of Numbers).Abū Zufair.³Sālim Al-Ḥarrānī.⁴Andria.⁵

In the majority of cases only short extracts are given, followed by a few explanatory remarks by Ar-Rāzī, but a conspicuous exception is the quotation from Sālim Al-Ḥarrānī which extends from f. 86 *v.*, l. 9, to f. 90 *v.*, l. 5. It is quoted by Ar-Rāzī without comment and appears to include the passage from Al-Ḥarrānī quoted by Ibn Khaldūn in his *Muqaddamah* (*vide* De Slane's trans., Vol. III, p. 218).

The following quotations will indicate sufficiently well the character of the treatise and its connexion with other alchemical writings, whether in Arabic, or the Latin of mediæval Europe.

(a) “*Aristātālīs* (Aristotle) said to *Zā'ūsh*, ‘Take the Egg, and cause separation between its ‘Soul,’ ‘Spirit’ and ‘Body.’ When you have brought about the separation of the water from the salt, the salt from the oil, and the oil from the earth, then the work will be possible.’⁶

“He then adds: ‘I do not mean, O *Zā'ūsh*, the Egg of the Hen—the name of which is deceptive—but I mean the Egg of the Philosophers wherein is found the Hot and the Cold, the Moist and the Dry. This is the ‘Black Stone,’ known to the Philosophers.’

“By the word ‘deceptive’ (*kādhībah*) he simply wishes to belittle the egg in comparison with the ‘Stone,’ not to reject it altogether.”

(b) “Sergius Rāsu-l-'Ainī says: ‘Look at the small mountain which has two caves, one on its right and the other on its left. Ascend it, for there is in it, and in a mountain that is opposite to it, all the ‘*Aqāqīr* (Substances).’ This points to the Hair, the two caves being the two ears.’”⁷

Olympiodorus, the Theban historian and alchemist who wrote in the first half of the 5th Cent. (*idem*, I, p. 96). It is noteworthy that Pelagius apparently differentiates between two alchemists of the name Zosimus, just as also there is a clear distinction in the *Shawāhid*.

¹ Perhaps only a variation of Aflarūn (Plato).

² An alchemist mentioned by An-Nadīm as Mahdārīs (p. 353), who was probably also a doctor. Leclerc (*Histoire de Médecine arabe*, p. 343) states he is quoted in Ar-Rāzī's *Ḥawī* as well; while Ibn Abī 'Uṣaibi'ah's ‘*Uyūnu-l-Anbā*’ (A. Müller's ed., p. 21) says he was a relative and disciple of Asclepios but denounces him as untrustworthy for alleging in his first book that he had once met David. Under the title *Tractatus Micreris suo discipulo Mirnefindo*, one of Mahrārīs' alchemical treatises passed into the hands of European alchemists (B. *La Chimie*, I, p. 236).

No reference can be found elsewhere to this alchemist.

³ The alchemist referred to in Flügel's ed. of the *Fihrist* as Ḥarbī. Flügel mentions on p. 190 that in the margin of the Leyden MS. of the *Fihrist*, a note is found stating that ‘Ḥarbī Yamānī’ was companion to Jā'far Aṣ-Ṣādiq and that Jabir ibn Hayyan before he entered Jā'far's service read philosophy under him.

⁴ An alchemist of perhaps the 9th Cent. A.D. (*Cf.* Stapleton and Azo in *Mem. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, I, 4, p. 52, note 2).

⁵ This is an exact epitome of the longer directions of Aristotle to Rūūs, son of Plato, quoted in the Arabic treatise of Ibn Khaldūn (*ibid.*, *La Chimie*, III, pp. 96 and 97).

⁷ The fact that a bad translation of this saying is found ascribed to Rasis in the treatise entitled *Rosinus ad Sarratan-tam Epistolam* on p. 7 of the *Arti Auriferæ* which was published in 1593, supplies a direct proof that the *Shawāhid* was translated into Latin or Greek in the Middle Ages.

(c) “ He (Apollonius) also says: ‘ In ‘ Bodies ’ the strength of the *Alif* grasps the *Jīm*, and thus the *Jīm* becomes a Male Power, and the spirit of the *Jīm* rejoices in the *Dāl*, and so the *Dāl* becomes a spiritual body.’¹

“ He means by all this that the Work is from a single ‘ Stone,’ and that the several constituents are derived from it. In ‘ the Male ’ there are three combinations, which is actually the case, the first being the combination of the Water and the Tincture, the second the combination of the Air and the Earth, and the third the combination of both Water and Tincture, with the Oil and the disaggregated (*mahlūl*) Body. These are therefore three combinations.’”

The value of the *Shawāhid* for the study of the origins of chemistry can hardly be over-estimated. It may be summed up by the same phrase as has been applied by Leclerc to the *Hāwī*, a similar compilation made by Ar-Rāzī for the science of medicine. Both are rightly defined as ‘ precious mosaics.’

The conclusion of the book is as follows: “ We have now mentioned as many of the principal Mystical Sayings as are sufficient to demonstrate what we set out to prove, and having attained our object, let our book come to an end. And God—Glory be to Him!—is all-deserving of praise. Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds, and His blessings and eternal peace on the best of created beings, Muḥammad, and on his pure family! Here ends the *Kitābu-r-Rumūz*.”

XII. The Chapter ascribed to the King of the Greeks, on the fixation of Yellow Fire, which is yellow Sulphur.² (Folio 92 v., l. 15, to f. 93 r., l. 16).

A solution of calcium and sodium arseno-sulphides is successively mixed with sulphur, urine of children,³ white of egg, colocynth, and water of sal-ammoniac. The resulting product, “ a beautiful white disc, which is unaffected by fire,” is so potent that if one *dirham* be thrown on a *ratl* of freshly prepared mercury, it turns it into refined silver.

XIII. The *Kitābu-l-Madkhali-t-Ta‘līmī* (Elementary Introduction), another of the lost alchemical works of Ar-Rāzī (Folio 93 r., l. 17, to f. 97 v., bottom). It appears in the *Fihrist*, as well as in the list given at the end of the treatise itself, as the first of an encyclopædia of 12 books on Alchemy written by the author. The treatise is in fact a complete introduction to the Art, all the substances and apparatus employed in alchemy being briefly described, while further interest attaches to its discovery from the fact that it appears (with perhaps the missing second volume of the encyclo-

¹ Cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomena*, De Slane’s trans., III, p. 189 (Section on ‘ *Les propriétés occultes des lettres de l’alphabet* ’), where it is stated that the Sūfis believe in the following equivalence and arrange all the letters under one or other of these 4 letters. *Alif*=Fire, *Jīm*=Water, *Bā*=Air, and *Dāl*=Earth.

² Cf. *infra* (*Ta’wīdh-u-l-Hākīm*), p. 79; and *supra*, p. 65, n 6). The three Emperors of the Greeks referred to in the St. Mark’s MS. as being interested in alchemy are Heraclius (610—641 A.D.), Justinian (I, 527—565; II, 658—711 A.D.), and Theodosius (II, 408—450; III, 716—717 A.D.). The title suggests a reference to the *Liber Ignium* of Marcus Graecus, described by Berthelot in Chapter V, Vol. I, of his *La Chimie*, but no such prescription is to be found in this mediæval work.

³ For this, cf. B., *Arch. et Hist. des Sciences*, p. 301, note (1).

to ward off the common herd, and especially his own family and dependents; and how to save himself if he is vexed either by the rulers or the common people. When he has become well-versed in all this, his initiation into the Art will be complete.

“ He who studies these our books must also have some skill in Dialectic, for without this, he can scarcely attain the highest limit of the Art, nor will his profit be complete.

“ Here ends *Al-Madkhalu-t-Ta'limi* (Elementary Introduction) which deals with Instruments and Substances. There follows it, forming the second Treatise, *Al-Madkhalu-l-Burhānī*, which is also called '*Ilalu-l-Ma'ādin*.'¹

“ To God alone be praise, and may blessings rest upon His messenger, Muḥammad, and upon his family, ' God is our support, and best Protector. He is an excellent Master and Aid.' ”

XIV. A duplicate Arabic prescription for making gold to one found previously at the end of some prescriptions ascribed to Ja'far An-Nassāb (*vide* No. V). From the copyist's note at the beginning it would seem that Jamālu-d-Dīn was a contemporary of the 13th Century copyist.

“ A good receipt for making gold from lead by projection. Copied from the MS. of Al-Imām Jamālu-d-Dīn Aḥmad. May his life be long! Before these treatises, a prescription was given corresponding to this one, but there it was ascribed to another man. Take of purified lead as much as you wish,' etc. (Folio 98 r., ll. 1-10).

XV. A Chapter from the Second Part of the *Sirru-l-Maknūn*² (Hidden Secret). Folio 98 r., l. 10, to f. 98 v., l. 15).

Begins: “ We therefore state that the oils which distil from all things are of various colours, red, yellow, green, blue, and other colours akin to these. The water that is obtained from the oil is what is called ' Spirit,' and the Tincture that is in the water thus obtained, whether it be red, yellow, green, or blue, is called ' Fire,' ' Tincture,' etc.' ”

Incidentally the author mentions that many hints for successfully conducting

¹ A useful comparison may be made between the lists of the treatises contained in Ar-Rāzī's *magnum opus*, as given in the first 2 books of the series, and the list given in the *Fihrist*, which runs as follows:—

1. *Kitābu-l-Madkhalu-t-Ta'limi*.
2. *K.-l-Madkhalu-l-Burhānī*.
3. *K.-l-Itḥbāt* (إتبات for Flügel's إبيات *abyāt*, verses).
4. *K.-t-Tadbīr*.
5. *K.-l-Hajar*.
6. *K.-l-Iksīr*.
7. *Kitāb Sharaf-ṣ-Ṣinā'ah*.
8. *K.-t-Tarīb*.
9. *K.-t-Tadābir*.
10. *Kitāb Nuḥati-r-Rumūz*
11. *K.-l-Miḥnah* (محنة for Flügel's محبة *maḥabbah*, affection).
12. *K.-l-Hiyal*.

The result of the comparison is to confirm the strict accuracy of Au-Nadīm's work, the only alterations being that No. 5 would seem more rightly to precede No. 4. Similarly in the *Madkhalu-t-Ta'limi* list, the sentence describing No. 11 has been misplaced in front of that describing No. 10.

² The author of this book cannot be traced.

the desired operations are to be found in the Books on Weights that form part of the *Sirru-l-Maknūn*. He also states that only a prophet could have discovered the operation he is describing, and that the members of the family of the Prophet have handed down this knowledge to each other. After mentioning Sal-ammoniac and Camphor as 'Spirits,' the extract ends: " Alchemists prefer the salt of alkali to all other salts for purifying the 'Spirits,' since this salt purifies but does not fall in love with them. 'The 'Spirits' alone are desired '" (etc., benedictions).

A disconnected prescription of 4 lines (apparently to fill up the remaining lines of the page) occurs after this.

XVI. An alchemical Treatise by Ibn Sinā, the well-known philosopher, for his master Al-Barqī (Folio 99 *r.*, top, to f. 100 *r.*, bottom).

The object of the treatise, and the circumstances under which it was written, are explained in the Title and Introduction.

" This is the treatise of the most excellent of the Moderns, Ash-Shaikh
Ar-Ra'is Abū 'Alī Al-Husain ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Sinā Al-Bukhārī—
May God give peace to his tomb and sanctify his spirit!
For the Imām Abū 'Abdillāh Al-Barqī—May God have mercy on him !

ON THE SUBLIME ART.

" In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Vouchsafe Thy aid, O Gracious One!

" May God incline thee to pious deeds, guide thee into the paths of righteousness, and protect thee from being led astray by the spirits of Evil, both in affairs of the world, and in matters of religion!

" You have asked—May you never cease to investigate the truth of things !—that I should explain to you the truth regarding the Elixir made from Yellow Sulphur. I have therefore answered as one who has your pleasure at heart, and who is ever zealous to comply with your desires.

" To begin. The chief aim of the process is to extract the Red Tincture from the Yellow Sulphur by strong water. After separating it from that water, you treat the Tincture in such a way that it shall not become corrupt and burnt. The Residue in a similar manner should be whitened to the highest degree, so that it may melt without combustion. Next you calcine the Gold or the Copper—but preferably Gold—and separately dissolve the reddened Mercury and the whitened Sulphur. Finally you compound the Tincture with the dissolved Mercury, and having mixed together all these dissolved substances, you coagulate them. The product is an Elixir, which imparts the properties of Gold, colouring and conferring density, while it is recovered (unchanged) when the work is accomplished."

Brief accounts of the following 12 operations are then given :—

1. The preparation of a certain Water which is employed in the Art.¹
2. The preparation of a certain Water called *Zādu-r-Ra ghwah*.²

¹ A solution of Sodium Hydrate.

² A solution of Calcium Polysulphide.

3. The method of coagulating Mercury for 'the Red.'
4. The method of carrying out the process of *Takhniq*¹ with the coagulated mercury that is employed in making 'the Red.'
5. The Calcination of Gold or Copper.
6. The dissolution of Vitriol and other salts.
7. The extraction of the Tincture from Sulphur.
8. The manipulation of the Tincture.
9. The treatment of the Dregs, or the preparation of White Sulphur.
10. The process of Dissolution.
11. The process of Coagulation.
12. How the work is finished.

Several of the processes are similar to those given in the mediæval Latin treatise '*De Re Recta*,'² ascribed to Ibn Sīnā, and though the present work is not mentioned by the 13th Century bibliographer, Ibn Abī 'Uṣāibi'ah, there appears no reason to doubt its authenticity, as Ibn Sīnā was a pupil of an Abū Bakr Al-Barqī, about the year 1005 A.D.,³ and is recorded to have written for his master a work of 20 volumes, in which this treatise might well have been included.

The text is found both in MS. No. 16 and MS. No. 17 of the Rāmpūr Library. In the former the conclusion runs as follows: "Finally the mixture is coagulated. If these dissolved substances are filtered before being combined, the greater will be the potency of the Elixir for the work. This is the Elixir prepared from Sulphur."

"Finished in the city of Mauṣil (Mosul)—
 May God guard it!—on the last day
 of the 2nd Jumāda in the year 682.
 Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds,
 the praise of those who are thankful!
 And May His blessings and everlasting peace
 be on Muḥammad and his holy family!"

In the more modern MS. No. 17, the colophon giving the date on which our 13th Century copyist finished his work, is replaced by several phrases of laudation to God and the Prophet.

XVII. A Persian extract, giving three prescriptions. No names occur. (Folio 100 v., top, to f. 101 r., bottom).

XVIII. The *Ta'wīdh-l-Ḥākīm*, ascribed to Al-Ḥākīm, Fāṭimid King of Egypt, who ruled from A.D. 996 to 1020 (Folio 101 v., top, to f. 120 r., l. 1). The story of how the *Ta'wīdh* is said to have come into the possession of one Aḥmad ibn Sa'dullāh Al-'Abbāsī, or Al-Hāshimī, as well as its prior history, is given at length in the two prefaces (of which the first, and the Introduction to the second, are quoted below),

¹ A variety of sublimation; cf. *Mem. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, I, 4, p. 62).

² Cf. *Theatrum Chemicum*, Vol. IV (Zetzner's 1659 Strasburg ed.), pp. 863-875.

³ *Op. cit.* (A. Müller's ed.), II, p. 4; Carra de Vaux's *Avicenne*, p. 136.

but from internal evidence it would appear that Aḥmad ibn Sa'dullāh is probably the real author. Dubais ibn Mālik, whose name is prominently introduced, is otherwise unknown to fame. The Testament and Admonitions of Al-Ḥākim's father Mu'izz (referred to below) appear moreover to be omitted, a fact which seems to have led the 13th Century copyist, by way of compensation, to quote another chapter he found elsewhere in an abridgment of the *Ta'wīdh*-*l-Ḥākim* (Folio. 120 v., l. 2, to f. 120 v., bottom).

(4). Prefaces (Folio 101 v., top, to f. 104 v., l. 6).

Begins after the Basmalah :

“ Saith Aḥmad ibn Sa'dullāh Al-'Abbāsī (May God's mercy be on him!). ‘ This is the copy of the *Ta'wīdh* which was in the amulet of Al-Ḥākimu-bi-amri-llāh, Commander of the Faithful and Ruler of Egypt. I discovered at Iṣfahān inside another book this copy in the handwriting of Dubais ibn Mālik. In the *Ta'wīdh* were found the two operations which Al-Ḥākim used to practise according to the actual words of Mu'izz, who related them on the authority of his ancestors and forefathers as far back as the Commander of the Faithful and the Chief of the Muslims, Ja'far ibn Muḥammad Aṣ-Ṣādiq—Peace be on him!’ In addition were found the Testament and Admonitions of Mu'izz. In the former he explains for Al-Ḥākim the principles of the Art, its rules, and observances, all this being plainly given in the very words of Mu'izz, without any allusion, or obscurity. At the beginning of the *Ta'wīdh* was the following chapter in the handwriting of Dubais ibn Mālik in his own words, giving the earlier incidents of his career, and how he came by the *Ta'wīdh* of Al-Ḥākim.’ ”

After the Basmalah “ Saith Dubais ibn Mālik Al-Anṭāki. I was living at Antioch, where I had settled, and there I had a friend, who was a jeweller by profession, to whose shop I often resorted. Now as we were talking together one day, a man came in, and having saluted, took his seat. After a while he removed from his arm an armlet which he handed to my friend. It was set with four jewels, and an amulet of red gold was fitted into it. On the amulet was inlaid a clear inscription in green emerald which read as follows: ‘ *Al-Ḥākimu-bi-amri-llāh yaṭū iqu bi-llāh* ’ ‘ Al-Ḥākimu-bi-amri-llāh puts his trust in God.’ I was astounded at the fineness of those jewels, the like of which I had never before seen, nor had I ever thought to see the like in the world, and it occurred to me that this amulet must have been stolen from the treasury of Al-Ḥākim, or it might have fallen from his arm, and this man had picked it up, since such jewels can only be found in the treasuries of Kings, or among their heirlooms.’ ”

It was ultimately purchased by Dubais for 3,000 *dīnārs* (2,000 red Greek *dīnārs*, and the other thousand, partly in worked silver made by himself—he was also a jeweller and partly in *dirhams* of the town, 50 or 60 to the *dīnār*). Inside the amulet was found a MS., pronounced by Dubais, who was acquainted with the shaky handwriting of Al-Ḥākim, to be the autograph of that King, containing an account of two

¹ The Isma'ili rulers of Egypt claimed a more than doubtful descent from Ismā'il, the son of Ja'far Aṣ-Ṣādiq (*vide* *editions of the History of Egypt*, I, p. 10, *Les Mohammedan Dynasties*). Al-Ḥākim claimed to be an incarnation of God and is often referred to as the *Qasr* of Syria, who owe their name to 'Al-Ḥākim's minister and abettor, the Persian Ḥamza Al-Mu'izzī (*editions of the History of Egypt*, I, p. 339, note 3). The Isma'ili doctrine, of which an exhaustive account will be found in Camp. II of Prof. Brown's *History* just referred to, has much resemblance to alchemy in its symbolism.

processes ('Gates') for making the Red Elixir, according to the method of Moses and the rest of the Prophets as handed down by Ja'far Aṣ-Ṣādiq, the forefather of Mu'izz. Dubais was successful in carrying out the operations both of the 'Small Gate,' whereby an elixir was made capable of converting 500 times its own weight of base metal into gold, and those of the 'Greater Gate,' whereby an elixir was prepared, of which only 1 *miṭṭiqāl* was required for the conversion of 3,000 *miṭṭiqāls* of base metal. This success led to correspondence with a certain King of the Greeks at Constantinople,¹ in whose letter the Greek methods of alchemy were detailed and to whom Dubais replied stating the substance of what is given in the *Ta'wīdh*, the letter being accompanied by the gift of a small quantity of the Elixir. Dubais states that copies of this correspondence, written in Hebrew, were made, and could be procured in Aleppo, and Shaizar,² another town of Syria. Three copies were also made, in Arabic, but Hebrew script,³ of the *Ta'wīdh*, one for his daughter, one for his son-in-law (a manumitted Greek slave), and the third for himself, to which copy alone the history of how the *Ta'wīdh* reached him was prefixed.

(B). The *Ta'wīdh-l-Hākīm* (Folio 104 v., l. 6, to f. 116 r., l. 6).

Begins: "This is the copy of the *Ta'wīdh* of Al-Hākīm, Ruler of Egypt, on the Sublime Art.

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Vouchsafe Thy aid, O Gracious One! In the name of God, the King, the Manifest Truth! Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds, and blessings be on the servants He has chosen, especially on the Chief of the Prophets and the elect, Muḥammad, and on his pure family. This copy Mu'izz publishes on the authority of his noble ancestors and great forefathers as far back as the Commander of the Faithful and the Leader of Pious men, Ja'far ibn Muḥammad Aṣ-Ṣādiq. The blessings of God be upon them all!

"Know, O my son, that this Art is not from a fixed thing unaccompanied by a thing that flies, nor from something that flies, unaccompanied by the fixed, nor from a Male without a Female, nor from a Female without a Male, etc."

The writer proceeds to state that the Art consists of the combination of the three 'Pillars,' 'Body,' 'Soul' and 'Spirit,' for in them are the four elements of which every created thing is formed. The following operations are described:

(1) Calcining the 'Body' (Gold is the 'body' chosen⁴) by heating repeatedly a mixture of the amalgamated metal with the distillate of vitriol, alum, and sal-ammo-

¹ Cf. p. 73, note (2). Constantine IX reigned from 976—1028 A.D. and was followed by Romanus III, who died in 1034 A.D.

² The ancient Larissa (founded by Seleucus Nicator), two marches N.W. of Hims (Emessa); cf. Le Strange, *Description of Syria* by Mukaddasi (Palestine Pilgrims Text Soc., 1896), p. 9.

³ Cf. the British Museum alchemical MS. described by Duval (B., *La Chimie*, II, pp. XLIV-XLVI) which are in the Arabic language, but Syriac script.

⁴ Cf. the *Ainu-ṣ-Ṣan'ah* (*Mem. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, I, 4, p. 59, note 3), of which the *Ta'wīdh-l-Hākīm* might well be regarded as the commentary. The processes adopted in the latter are evidently very similar to those followed by Ibn Sīnā, when working for Al-Barqī. The use of gold and silver was probably introduced into Arabic alchemy by Jabir, who also states in the 31st of the "Seventy Books" the reason why they were used. "Plerique dixerunt quod tinctura non est nisi ex auro et argento; et aurum est ad faciendum rubeum et argentum ad faciendum album. Et hoc est corpus quod dicitur fermentum" (Latin trans. quoted by B. in his *Arch. et Hist. des Sciences*, p. 341).

niac. in an *uẓẓāl*.¹ The metal is said to be thus robbed of its 'spirit,' the residue being 'dead like earth' and refusing to melt when heated. Subsequently the calcined 'body' is 'tortured' with a 'sharp water' in order to purify it further.

(2) Manipulation of the 'Spirit' of which the 'Body' is supposed to have been deprived (some remarks occur which tend to show that the copyist had more than one MS. before him of this treatise). The actual process is the reddening of the sublimate of Mercury, Sal-ammoniac, and Iron salt from the previous operation, by an impure solution of Calcium polysulphide. "This therefore is the method of treating the 'Spirit,' reddening, torturing, purifying, and refining it, precisely (or approximately) as you have done to the 'Body.' This, O my son, is the all-important process, by which the 'Spirit' is so treated as to be unaffected by fire. Generation after generation have failed to accomplish this. Realise therefore the value of what you have received. This is the 'Second Pillar,' and it is of this that *Dhu-n-Nūn Al-Miṣrī*²—May God's mercy be on him!—has spoken in his poem:

'This is one of the 'Pillars,' which gives rise to much labour in the Process:
'If you desire to complete the Work, then purify the 'Soul' from the diseases that affect it.
'Finally, if you are sufficiently expert, unite the whole in the bonds of matrimony.'³

"*Dhu-n-Nūn Al-Miṣrī* was undoubtedly aware of the method and the means of carrying it out. Now, O my son, I have taught you the proper treatment of the 'Body' and the 'Spirit,' the result being certain, and achieved without any trouble or labour of your own in the discovering of the process. There now remains the manipulation of the 'Third Pillar,' which is the 'Soul,'—its treatment, whitening, and purifying. When this is done, the union of the 'Three Pillars' can be easily effected, for the true weights which the Sages keep secret, as well as the method of combination, never alter."

(3) The Treatment and Whitening of the 'Soul' (apparently Sulphur). A mixture of substances is treated in various ways until the final product melts and flows over a heated sheet of silver without blackening it, or itself being vapourised.⁴ The silver is only coloured yellow.

(4) The combination of the 'Three Pillars' to form the 'Smaller Elixir' by means of the 'Red Water' subsequently described, together with a description of the signs by which the operation is known to have succeeded.

¹ *Mem. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, I, 4, pp. 62 and 63.

² A name well known alchemist and Sūfī. "His name was Abu'l Faidh *Dhū-n-Nūn* ibn Ibrāhīm. He professed Sūfīism and was famous in alchemy. He has written many books (on the latter science), among these being 'The Book of the Three Pillars'—'The Book of Certainty about the Art' " (*Fihrist*, ed. cit., p. 358). "Ibn Yūnus says in his History had been occupied with philosophy and spoke with elegance. His father who was a native of Nubia, or of *Ikhūmim* in Egypt, was a slave-infranchised and adopted by the tribe Koraish . . . He died in the month of Zu'l Kaada, A.H. 246 or 248, in Misr, and was interred in the lesser Karāfā (one of the cemeteries of Cairo)." *Ibn Klallikan*, I, pp. 291 and 295.

³ *Chemical Treatise of Marcellus* quoted by Olympiodorus (B., *Coll.* Text, p. 102): "Unite the male and the female and what thou shalt obtain shall be good. If thou without effecting this union, nothing can succeed. For Nature is charmed by Nature, etc."

⁴ *Mem. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, I, 2, p. 39.

(5) Coagulation of the Elixir, including a poetical description by one of the Sages of the Elixir.

(6) The method of Projecting the Elixir.

(7) The making of the 'Great Red Water' which unites the 'Three Pillars.' This is mainly a solution of Vitriol in acetic acid, reddened by the addition of small quantities of Iron oxide, Arsenic sulphide, etc.

Ends: "This is the 'Great Red Water,' which we use in the 'Smaller Gate.' It also occasionally enters into the works of the 'Great Gate', (as we shall mention) if it please the Great God!"

(C). The First Process of the 'Great Gate' of the *Ta'wīdh* of Al-Hākīm.
(Folio 116, l. 7, to f. 120 r., l. 1).

Begins: "Take of the calcined 'Body' 1 part, of the reddened and volatised 'Spirit' 9 parts, of the whitened and purified 'Soul' 3 parts. These weights are according to Ostances the Greek, and his pupil Democritos,¹ and the Egyptian Sages who came after them. They differ from our weights, especially in the 'Smaller Gate.'"

The operations described are :

- (1) The compounding of the 'Greater Elixir.'
- (2) Its coagulation.
- (3) How this Elixir is projected.
- (4) The making of the 'Divine Water,' which enters into the 'Great Gate,' and is known as the 'Water of Life.' (Apparently a solution of mercuric chloride).
- (5) The making of the 'Water of Alum' by which the Elixir is freed from unctuousity.
- (6) The making of the 'Oil of Eggs' which enters into this 'Gate.'

¹ The relation of Ostances to Democritos is thus described in the letter of Synesius of Cyrne, the Alexandrian contemporary of Hypatia, who flourished c. A.D. 400 (B., *Coll.*, trans., I, p. 61): "Démocrite était un très savant homme (d'Abdère, une ville de Thrace) qui venu en Égypte fut initié aux mystères par le grand Ostanès dans le sanctuaire de Memphis par lui et ses disciples, prêtres d'Égypte. Tirant de lui ses principes, il composa quatre livres de teinture, sur l'or et l'argent sur les pierres et sur la pourpre. Par ces mots 'tirant ses principes,' j'entends qu'il écrivit d'après le grand Ostanès. Car cet (écrivain) est le premier qui ait émis ces axiomes "la nature est charmée par la nature"; et "la nature domine la nature" et "la nature triomphe de la nature," etc.

The most authentic, as well as the earliest, account of Ostances and Democritos is found however in Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, Book XXX, Cap. II), from which the following is extracted. Pliny, it will be seen, differentiates between two magicians of the name Ostances, and does not appear to regard the more ancient one as having been the direct teacher of Democritos.

"Primus quod exstet, ut equidem invenio, commentatus de ea Osthanes, Xerxem regem Persarum bello, quod is Græcia intulit comitatus; ac velut semina artis portentosæ sparsisse, obiter infecto, quacumque commeaverat, mundo. . . . Quod certum est hic maxime Osthanes ad rabiem, non aviditatem modo scientiæ ejus, Græcorum populos egit. . . . Democritus Apollobechen Coptiten et Dardanum e Phœnice illustravit: voluminibus Dardani in sepulcrum ejus petitis; suis vero ex disciplina eorum editis: quæ recepta ab aliis hominum atque transiisse per memoriam, æque ac nihil in vita, mirandum est. In tantum fides istis fasque omne decet, adeo ut ii qui coetera in viro illo probant hæc ejus esse opera inficiuntur. . . . Non levem et Alexandri Magni temporibus auctoritatem addidit professioni secundus Osthanes, comitatu ejus exornatus, planeque, quod nemo dubitet, orbem terrarum peragravit." (Harduin's Paris ed., 1685). It may be added that Xerxes was defeated at the battle of Salamis in 480 B.C., while Democritos was born in 460. Alexander started for his conquest of Asia in 334 B.C.

Ends: "These are therefore the 'Three Waters' that enter into the 'Great Gate.' And God, the most High, knows best (what is true), Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds, the praise of those who are thankful, and may His blessings be on the best of created beings, Muḥammad and on his pure family! Finished at Madīnatu-s-Salām (Baghdād)¹ on the 15th of *Shawwāl* in the year 682, by the hand of Muḥammad ibn Abi-l-Faṭḥ ibn Abi Mansūr ibn Muḥammad Al-Kāshī.² May God pardon him and his parents!"

(D). "A Chapter I (the copyist) found in an Abridgment of the *Ta'wīdhū-l-Hākīm* at the end of the 'Smaller Gate.'"

(Folio 120 *r.*, l. 2, to 120 *v.*, l. 13).

Begins: "Know, O my son, that the Sages, one and all, have differed in no wise about the 'Three Pillars.' They only differ as regards" (14 operations are then mentioned).

The writer emphasises the importance of the 'Great Red Water' described at the end of the 'Smaller Gate,' which he states was first discovered by his ancestor Ja'far Aṣ-Ṣādiq.

Ends: "If you repeat the addition to it of water, and its roasting, and trituration, it becomes accustomed to torture, and you will have attained your object. Be also certain about changing the dung,³ for by this change, the 'Natures' are mollified. Peace!"

Four lists of reddening agents follow, which, the copyist points out, are given elsewhere in the book on the authority of Khālīd ibn Yazīd, and not Al-Hākīm. They occupy the remaining lines of f. 120 *v.*

XIX. Chapter on the preparation of the 'Water of Eggs' by our Master Ja'far Aṣ-Ṣādiq: Peace be on him! (Folio 121 *r.*, top, to 124 *r.*, l. 17).

Begins: "Take of eggs, as many as you desire, and boil them. When they are done, remove them and place them in cold water."

The title appears to be a misnomer, as the 'Water of Eggs' is only incidentally mentioned in the first process given (for making silver), while the rest of the treatise is taken up by descriptions of other operations. Towards the end a quotation is given from the 'Book of the Sun and Moon,'⁴ besides a story commencing as follows,

¹ The tour of the copyist during the year 682 A.H. is clear from this and previous dated colophons in the Rāmpūr MS.

(1) Completed the Risālah of Jāmāsp at *Sīwās* towards the end of *Muḥarram*, i.e., the first month of the year.

(2) Completed the Risālah of Ibn Sinā for Al-Barqī at *Mosul* on the last day of the 2nd *Jumāda* (Sixth month).

(3) Finished the *Ta'wīdhū-l-Hākīm* at *Baghdād* on the 15th of *Shawwāl* (Ninth month).

² The copyist was apparently a native of Kāhan, a town of Sistān, situated on the River Farah, N.-E. of the Zarah Lāh, and W. of Kandahar.

³ Used in the operation of *Hall* (Dissolution)—*vide* Stapleton and Azo, in *Mem. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, I, 4, p. 61: and *ibid.* p. 62.

⁴ The Great 'Book of the Sun' and a 'Great Book of the Moon' are mentioned among the 10 books written by Ja'far Ṣādiq, the disciples of Apollonius, the maker of talismans (*Fihrist*, ed. cit., p. 357, l. 22), but a direct reference to the 'Book of the Sun and the Moon' by Jabir is to be found in his 'Little Book of Balances,' a translation of which is included in Vol. III of *La Chimie* (*vide* p. 147). Two books on the Sun and the Moon respectively are also mentioned in the *Fihrist* as being written by Abu-l-Hasan Aḥmad Al-Khanshalīl, a contemporary of An-Nadīm, *l.c.* p. 311.

regarding some method for preparing silver. "The Prince of Poets, Al-Mashīdī known as *Khāqānī*,¹ relates as follows: 'Abdu-l-Masīh, the Monk, went in before Ja'far Al-Asbāṭī and said, 'I hear that you are interested in the Art. Have you ever succeeded in accomplishing anything?' 'Yes,' he answered, 'I melted silver with the like quantity of silvery *Marqashīthā*', etc."

XX. The '*Ainu-ṣ-Ṣana'ah wa 'Aunu-ṣ-Ṣana'ah*. (Essence of the Art and Aid to the Workers) by Abu-l-Ḥakīm Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi-l-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥī-al-Khwārazmī Al-Kāthī (Folio 124 *v.*, l. 17, to f. 133 *v.*, bottom—end of MS.)

Begins: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Vouchsafe Thy aid, O Gracious One!

"The first thing by which speech should be commenced, and the worthiest thing by which paper can be ornamented, and the best thing by which one's object may be attained, and the fittest thing with which to receive divine gifts, is the praise of God for His past benefits, and thankfulness for His customary favours, etc."

Chapter I (Folio 127 *v.*, l. 13, to f. 128 *v.*, l. 15).

Chapter II (Folio 128 *v.*, l. 16, to f. 130 *r.*, l. 7).

Chapter III (Folio 130 *r.*, l. 7, to f. 130 *v.*, l. 14).

Chapter IV (Folio 130 *v.*, l. 15, to f. 131 *v.*, l. 5).

Chapter V (incomplete. Ends abruptly at Folio 133 *v.*, bottom).

[*Vide Memoirs, As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 51-64).

XXI. "The Treatise on the making of the 'Black Stone,' copied from the Book of Abī 'Abdillāh Al-Bākawī."²

Begins, after the Basmalah: "You take in the name of God, and relying on His help and generous aid, some of the 'Black Stone,' and let it be of the 'Stone' of youths. Wash it clean with pure clay, *Ushnān*³ cooked with water, and soap, cold water being used in summer and tepid water in winter. Then dry it on a piece of cloth, protecting it from dust. Collect 10 or more *ratls* of it, and having cut it into very small pieces, store it in a jar to protect it from dust."

The author describes the treatment of the 'Black Stone,' by which Black Hair is apparently meant.⁴ It is first broken up by distillation into water, oil and residue. "This is the water which the Sages have named 'Spirit.' The oil they call 'Soul,' and the residue 'Body.'" The residue is calcined, and the oil coagulated, by the application of a gentle heat. The tincture is dissolved from the coagulated oil by the 'Spirit' (the water previously obtained), and the residue then extracted by acid waters to remove its unctuousity.

"The different products are separately dissolved by placing them in vessels buried in moist dung for 45 days. They are finally mixed, and a substance is

¹ Born at *Sh rwān* in the Caucasus A.D. 1106: died at *Tabriz* in A.D. 1185 (*vide* Browne, *Literary Hist. of Persia*, II, pp. 391-399). No reference to alchemy appears however to be found in any of *Khāqānī*'s extant poetry.

² No reference can be found elsewhere, either to this author, or his book.

³ Or rather the ashes of the plant, from which sodium carbonate can be extracted by water (*cf. Mem. A.S.B.*, 4, p. 53, note (5)).

⁴ *Cf. supra* p. (b).

produced which is not burnt by fire nor dissolved by water, and which possesses the power of imparting a colour. This is the desired Elixir.”

The whole treatise much resembles Chapters VII to X of the mediæval Latin treatise ‘*De Re Recta*’ ascribed to Ibn Sinā.¹

Ends: “Throw 1 *mithqāl* of it on 1,500 *mithqāls* (of silver) and it will tincture them by the Grace of God, the most High. Here ends the Chapter taken from the copy of Ash-Shaikh ‘Abdullāh [sic] Al-Bākawī—May his soul be sanctified, and may the peace and blessings of God be on Muḥammad and on his family, and may God honour and glorify them! Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds!”

C. ARABIC TEXT.

كيمياء عربي

نمبر ١٦

مجموعة رسائل للشيخ الرئيس وغيره

قلمي

Fragment of Index (Folio 1 r.).

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¹ Cf. *supra* p. 21, note (2).

I. (a) Folio 1 v., top to l. 7.

رسالة جاماس الحكيم الى اردشير الملك في السر المكتوم وهي
عجيبة [فيها] منقولة من الفارسية الى العربية

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

عونك يا لطيف من جاماس الحكيم الى اردشير الملك
المفتوح بالحكمة

اللهم اني اسالك الصدق قولاً وفعلاً وتمام الفعلاء وتمام الشكر اعلم ايها الملك المريد بالخيرات *

I. (b) Folio 7 v., ll. 2-10.

قد شرحت لك ايها الملك عمل الحكماء تاماً وقلت ما لم يجترئ عليه احد واخاف ان اكون
ملعوناً عند الحكماء والله ولي الرحمة ومسهل² الخير وهو الجواد الكريم والحمد لله وحده وصلواته على نبيه
محمد واله الطاهرين وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل نسخت هذه الرسالة من نسخة بخط الاستاذ مريد الدين
ابي اسمعيل الكسين بن علي بن محمد الطغراني الاصفهاني قدس الله روحه العزيز نقلتها حرفاً
بحرف وفرغت من نسخها في اواخر محرم سنة اثنتين وثمانين وستمائة هجرية بسيواس حماها الله تعالى
والله الحمد والمنة *

II. (a) Folio 7 v., ll. 13-17.

رسالة لخالد بن يزيد بن معاوية في الصنعة الشريفة وخواصها

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عونك يا لطيف

قال خالد بن يزيد اما بعد فان الله تبارك وتعالى خلق كل شيء بمقدار وجعل من كل زوج بهيج
مختلف الالوان فجعل منها الاخضر والاسود والابيض والاحمر *

II. (b) Folio 12 r., l. 9, to f. 12v., l. 4.

فانهم زحل هو الرماد وهو الارض وهو المرة السوداء وفيه كتمت الفلاسفة السر فمن لم يحكمه فسد عليه
كل شيء وصلاحه لا يكون ابداً الا بعمل - القمر هو الزبيق وهو الماء وهو الروح - المشتري [هو] الكبريت الاحمر
وهو الهواء وهو النفس وفيه الاجزاء كلها فمن لم يعمل بعمل اكلته الغار - الشمس هو الملح النوشاذري وهو النار
وهو المرة الصفراء وكذبت هذه الرسالة يوم الجمعة الثالث من ربيع الاخر سنة سبع وستمائة هجرية وقد وجدت

¹ Unnecessary.

² MS. has وتسهيل

في آخر المنتسخ منه وكان في الصحيفة التي منها نسخ هذا الكتاب في آخره وكذب خالد بن يزيد بن معاوية بن ابي سفيان بدمشق في دار خالد بن مسلمة بن زيد في سنة احدى ومائة وعمل قدامي العجائب من هذا الجففس سبر الاجسام كلها ان يكون نحاس جديد قد احكمت صنعتهما والسلام تمت - والنعمد للرب العالمين وصلواته على خير خلقه محمد واله الطاهرين الابرار وسلم تسليما دائما كثيرا *

III. (a) Folio 12 v., ll. 6-10.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عونك يا لطيف

رسالة اخرى لخالد بن يزيد الاموي

قال ابو هاشم خالد بن يزيد بن معاوية بن ابي سفيان

بسم الله ابتدئ وعليه توكلني وبه نستعين (استعين. l.) اني رايت الناس طلبوا صنعة الحكمة في كل عصر ورايت الحكماء قد كرهوا اذاعتها *

III. (b) Folio 12 v., l. 19 to f. 13 r., l. 5.

فاني قد قرأت كثيرا من كتبهم وفتشت كلامهم وقست بعضه ببعض فتخيرت وام اجد السبين ابي فهم ما اشاروا اليه حتى احوجني ذلك الى الخروج الى استغناس الراهب وغبة فيها والتمسا معرفتها فاتيت وكتمته نفسي ولزمت خدمته فلما راى معرفتي وحسن ادبي ابتداء¹ بكشف قريب والفاظ بيذة تقرب من الفهم فلما فعل ذلك وظهر لي معاني الفوز اخبرته² بانني مسلم واني ابن ملك العرب *

III. (c) Folio 15 v., ll. 12-17.

كملت اول العمل كاخرة وبدائته³ كتمامه والذي يفسده هو الذي يصلحه وعمله عمالان ليبدوا بالثاني قبل الاول وما مفهم الا من ذكر المدخل الى العمل الابر مزخفي⁴ وامر التمام على اتم الاعمال اربعة عمال اربعة اعوام *

ومن قوله في الصنعة

هو الحجر المصاب بكل ارض * وفي الاسواق قلناه حنيرا
يضن به الجواد على اخيه * اذا اضحى به يوما خبيرا

III. (d) Folio 16 v., l. 16 to bottom.

ثم اعقدها في القربة والعمياء بنار ليفة ان شاء الله تعالى وحدة وهو حسبنا زوم المعين والحمد لله رب العالمين وصلواته على نبي الرحمة محمد واله الطاهرين *

¹ MS. عد

² MS. اخبر

³ MS. وابدائه

⁴ Read خفي

IV. (a) Folio 17 r., top, to l. 7.

رسالة منسوبة الى شاه رزين نقلت من خط الامتاز مؤيد الدين
ابي اسمعيل المنشي قدس الله روحه العزيز

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عونك يا لطيف

قال بعد حمد الله والتشبيب قد رايت ايها المعتمدون ارشادكم *

IV. (b) Folio 17 r., ll. 17 and 18.

فاذتموه بالله عليكم من اهل الفجور والجهل والفسق والسلام تمت الرسالة *

V. (a) Folio 17 v., top to l. 3.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عونك يا لطيف

رسالة لجعفر بن محمد الصادق عليه السلام

خذ من الطلق ما شئت واضف اليه مثله قصديرا [وهو المشتري In margin] منقى بالسبك

V. (b) Folio 21 v., l. 14.

ثم يخرج ويفعل به مثل ما فعل حتى يحمر الزبدق مثل الدم *

VI. (a) Folio 21 v., ll. 15 and 16.

١٣١ ب و ا ب م ب ص له

كبريت زرد سي درم

VI. (b) Folio 35 v., ll. 17-19.

ومتقالي بر پانصد نحاس طرح كند شمس خلاصي ابد ابريزي ان شاء الله تعالى

كا سا محما لسا عككا ما نا ب كلها تمت

VII. [Quotation unnecessary.]

VIII. (a) Folio 37 r., top to l. 4.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عونك يا لطيف

الحمد لله رب العالمين حمد الشاكرين وصلواته على محمد واله الطاهرين باب آيها كه در حيوانات

است آب موى چون موى را مقطر كني با كبريت زرد الخ *

VIII. (b) Folio 45 r., ll. 4-6.

این است آخر این رساله باحتیاطی هرج بلیغ تر نوشته شد و حدیث آنست که از نا امان دریغ دارد و عمل با احتیاط کند تا در غلط نیفتد و از کاتب بپزد و السلام *

IX. [Quotation unnecessary.]

X. (a) Folio 55 r., ll. 17-19.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هونك يا لطيف

نسخة كتاب ريسموس الحكيم قال الحكيم سميت هذه الابواب الكباريت لانه انما يكون السر النفيس منها فلذلك سميت كباريت لان ليس في الدنيا شيء اعز من الكبريت الاحمر *

X. (b) Folio 61 v., ll. 9-13.

فقد فرغت لكم من التبييض تاما ولم ابين فيه تسوية الموازين والموازين مكتونة في الكتاب الرابع وفي الخامس فاستظهروا هذه الكتب والكتاب الخامس فاحفظوه وعلينكم بطاعة ربكم والعمل بما يرضيه ان اردتم ان يتم لكم وقد اتممت لكم الكتاب الاول والثاني تاما وهذا الكتاب الثالث افسر لكم ايها الحكماء، تصحير المبيض واطهر لكم الاسرار في التفسير *

X. (c) Folio 63 v., ll. 7 and 8.

وقد ترجم هذه الكتب في ولاية معوية بن ابي سفيان في ربيع الاخر سنة ثمان وثلاثين للهجرة *

X. (d) Folio 72 r., ll. 8-12.

تفسير الكتاب السادس وفيه رؤس كل الاعمال وفيه تاج العملية فمن هذا الذي طوبى له ان يظهر بهذه الترجمة وهذا الكتاب والتفسير هو تاج الخمسة الكتب التي كتبها في هذا الكتاب وفيه تفسير امثال الحكيم حيث يقول ان الطبيعة تغلب الطبيعة وان الطبيعة تحبس الطبيعة وان الطبيعة تذلو لطبيعة *

X. (e) Folio 76 r., ll. 16 and 17.

فانه يصير ماء رائقا اصفى من الدعة فاعقده يلقى درهم على سبعمائة درهم [من] اي جسد شئت

ان شاء الله تعالى *

XI. (a) Folio 76 r., l. 17, to f. 76 v., l. 15.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هونك يا لطيف

الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلوة على رسوله محمد وآله اجمعين قال محمد بن زكريا في سبعين الذي قبل كتابنا هذا سبعة كتب اولها كتاب الاثبات فيه اثبات الصناعة والثاني كتاب الحجر فيه البيبين عن السبي الذي يكون منه العمل والثالث كتاب التدابير فيه هل يحتاج الى تدبير ام لا وما التدبير الحق والواجب

كتاب الاكسير فيه كيفية الاكسير وماهيته والخامس كتاب شرف الصنعة فيه فضل هذه الصنعة وفضل اهلها على سائر الناس وعلى غيرهم والرد على القائلين بتحريم المكاسب والسادس كتاب الراحة فيه دعاوى رواس اهل الصنعة وتنازعهم فيها وترتيب العمل للمجربين وتفسير الجمل التي في كتاب الرحمة والسابع التدابير التي يحتاج اليها المجرب لما في كتاب الراحة فكتابنا هذا الثامن المسمى كتاب الشواهد فيه نكت رموز الحكماء وغيرها وما قصدوا فيه للحق من قولهم ولم نتكلف هذا الكتاب لحاجة من الكتب المتقدمة اليه في اتمام الصنعة ولكن جعلناه شاهداً لنا على موافقة الاولين وانما لم نتخط طريقهم وان الرموز انما هي الشواهد للعالم فاما ان تكون معلمة للصنعة فلا واذا قد شهدت الحكماء في كتبهم انهم خلطوها وحشوها بالكلام الذي لا يحتاجون اليه وان المحتاج اليه قليل منها وقالوا لا يتوهم احدكم كثرة كلامنا ان عرف شيئاً في بعض ما عرف فان ذلك ملبسة على الجهال ان قد شرحنا غرضنا في كتابنا هذا وشرحنا حال الكتب فنحن ذاكرون عيون اقاربهم فيها ونجعل ذلك فنين فذا يدل على العجز وفنا على التدبير ونتحري من ذلك اوضحها واقلها الى التفسير حاجة لئلا يطول الكتاب بشرح الغامض ولا نكثر منها ايضاً ان كان القليل منه يذوب عن الكثير وان عجزنا عن جمع كل كتبهم فضلاً عن قراءتها والتقاط النكت الصادقة فيها ذكر دلالات الحكماء على حجابها *

XI. (b) Folio 77 v., ll. 5-9.

وقال ارسطاطاليس لزأوش خذ البيضة ففرق بين نفسها وروحها وجسدها فاذا عزلت الماء عن الملح والملح عن الدهن والدهن عن التراب فافعل واصنع ثم يقول ولست اعني يا زأوش بيضة الدجاجة الكاذبة لكنني عذيت بيضة الحكماء التي فيها الكار والبارد والرطب واليابس وهو العجز الاسود المعروف عذ الحكماء فاما قوله الكاذبة فانما يريد تصغيرها الى العجز لا طرحها *

XI. (c) Folio 78 v., ll. 2-4.

وقال السرجس راس العيني انظر الى الجبل الصغير الذي عن يمينه¹ وشماله كهفان فاصعداه فان فيه وفي جبل قبالة جميع العقائير هذا يدل على الشعر والكهفان هما الاذنان *

XI. (d) Folio 82 r., ll. 15-19.

قال في الاجساد تمسك قوة الالف بالجيم فيصير قوة مذكرة ويفرح روح الجيم بالبدال فيصير جسدا روحانيا يريد بقوله كله ان العمل من حجر واحد وان العدد انما هو يفصل منه وان في المذكر ثلاثة تراكيب وهو كذلك الاول تركيب الماء والصيغ والثاني تركيب الهواء والارض والثالث تركيب الماء والصيغ بالدهن والجسد المخلول فهذه ثلاثة تراكيب *

XI. (e) Folio 92 v., ll. 11-14.

قد ذكرنا من نكت الرموز وعيونها ما فيه كفاية لك استشهداً على الذي اردنا وان قد بلغنا من ذلك غايتنا فليتم كتابنا والله سبحانه محمود والحمد لله رب العالمين وصلواته على خير الخلائق محمد وآله الطاهرين وسلم تسليماً دائماً كثيراً تم كتاب الرموز *

XII. (a) Folio 92 v., ll. 15-19.

الباب المنسوب الى ملك الروم في تقويم الناز الاصفر

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عونك يا لطيف

خذ زرنبيج اصفر ومن القلي الازرق الححاد ومن النورة التي لم تطفأ اجزاء سواء فاسخته نعماً وانخله
بحريرة الخ *

XII. (b) Folio 93 r., ll. 15 and 16.

ثم اخرج القرصة تجدها بيضاء حسنة مقومة وهذا الكبريت المنقى يقع درهمه على رطل زبيب
عبيط يقيمه في الروباس باذن الله عزوجل *

XIII. (a) Folio 93 r., l. 17, to f. 93 v., l. 4.

هذه الرسالة المسماة بالمدخل التعليمي

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عونك يا لطيف

اعلم ان لكل صناعة الات وتلك الالات اسماء يعرفها اهلها ويجهلها غيرهم وللصناعة المعروفة بالكيمياء الات
وعقاقير ولها اسماء يعرفها اهلها ويجهلها غيرهم ولا بد لمن يريد الدخول في شيء مفيد من معرفتها باسمائها واعيانها
وجودتها وريادتها وهذا كله فان عرفه الداخل فيها فبعد مدة طويلة بعد اكتيا جواهرها واقتناء (sic) ما في
ذلك وقد جمعت من ذلك ما اذا عرفه العارف كان فيها كاحدهم وفهم عنهم والله الموفق للخير بمنه وقدرته *

XIII. (b) Folio 97 v., the whole.

فاذا كمل ذلك له وعرف جميع ما ذكرنا في كتبنا بعد هذا الكتاب على الترتيب كتابنا بعد كتاب
وجعل اول نظره في المدخل البرهاني الذي سميناه كتاب علل المعادن ليعرف تكوين الارواح والاجساد
والحجارة والمعادن معرفة صحيحة ثم في كتاب اثبات الصنعة والود على منكرها ثم في كتاب الحجر الذي
فيه من اي شيء يكون ثم في كتاب التدبير الذي فيه باي تدبير يكون ثم في كتاب الاكسير الذي فيه باي قوة
يصبغ الدواء ولم وكيف ثم في كتاب شرف الصناعة ليعرف شرف الصناعة واهلها وفضلها وفضل المكسب
على المتكلم ثم في كتاب الترتيب ليعرف دعاوى رواس اهل الصناعة وطريق التجربة ثم في كتاب
التدابير ليعرف لم دبرت الحكماء وما دبرت وما اضطروهم اليه وكيف تدبير ما يحتاج اليه ثم في كتاب
اليعرف محسن الذهب والفضة من غيرهما من الاجساد معرفة حقيقية ثم في كتاب لسواهد ليعرف من الحكماء
والماضين اجمع كانوا لنا موافقين في رأينا ثم في كتاب سر الحكماء وحيلهم ليعرف كيف يدفع عامة الناس
خاصة اهلهم واللائذين به وكيف يتخلص ان هو بلي بالملوك او بعوام الناس اذا عرف ذلك جميعه
فقد تمت حكمته في هذه الصناعة وينبغي ان يكون للناظر في كتبنا هذه حظ من العلم التحليلي لانه ان

لم يكن له ذلك لم يكد يبلغ اقصى نهايتها ولا يكمل نفعه بها ثم المدخل التعليمي وهو في الالات والعقاقير يتلوه في الجزء الثاني المدخل البرهاني ويعرف بعلم المعادن والحمد لله وحده والصلوة على رسوله محمد وآله وهو حسبنا ونعم الوكيل ونعم المولى ونعم المعين وتم *

XIV. Folio 98 r., ll. 1-3.

حملان الذهب جيد من الاسرب نقلت من نسخة الامام جمال الدين احمد طال عمرة وكتبت قبل هذه الاجزاء نسخة تقابل هذه النسخة غير انها تنسب الى رجل اخر خذ من الاسرب المنقى ما شئت الخ *

XV. (a) Folio 98 r., ll. 10-14.

فصل من الجزء الثاني من السر المكفون - فيقول ان الادهان التي تقطر من جميع الاشياء تكون على الران شتى حمرة وصفرة وخضر وزرق وغير ذلك الى ما يشاكل هذه الامور الماء المائع منه هو المسمى الروح والصبغ الذي في ذلك المائع من الحمرة والصفرة والخضرة والزرقة هو الذي يسمى النار والصبغ وامثال ذلك *

XV. (b) Folio 98 v., ll. 13-15.

الا انهم جودوا ملح القلي على كل الاملاح لتنقية الارواح ان كان ينقيها ولا يتعشقتها وهي المعنوية ان شاء الله تعالى والصلوة على رسوله محمد وآله الطاهرين *

XVI. (a) Folio 99 r., top, to l. 13.

رسالة الشيخ الرئيس افضل المتأخرين ابي علي الحسين بن عبد الله بن سينا البخاري روح الله رمسه وقدس نفسه الى الامام ابي عبد الله البرقي رحمه الله في الصنعة العالية *

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عونك يا لطيف

هداك الله الصالحات واهدى لك السير المرضيات ومانك عن تضليل الشياطين في امور الدنيا والدين سالت لازلت سائلا عن الحقائق ان اشف لك عن حقيقة الاكسیر المتخذ من الكبريت الاصفر فاجبتك اليه اجابة مؤثر لرضاك متبع لهواك فاقول ان الغرض الكلي فيه ان يوخذ الصبغ الاحمر عن الكبريت الاصفر في ماء حاد ثم يخلص عن ذلك الماء ثم يدبر الصبغ لئلا يفسد ويحترق وكذلك الثفل يبيض غاية التبييض حتى يذوب ولا يحترق ثم يكلس الذهب والنحاس والذهب خير ويحل الزبدق المحمر ويحل الكبريت المبيض ويركب الصبغ في الزبدق المحلول وتمزج المحلولات ثم تعقد فيكون الحاصل بعد ذلك اكسيرا يفعل الذهبية ليصبغ (sic) ويرزن ويعود عند الخلاص *

XVI. (b) Folio 100 r., ll. 15-19.

ثم يعقد وان قطرت المحلولات قبل المزاج كان الاكسیر اعلم في الكبير فهذا هو الاكسیر المتخذ من الكبريت م م *

تمت الرسالة ببلدة الموصل حماها الله تعالى سلخ جمادى الاخر سنة اثنتين وثمانين وستمائة
والحمد لله رب العالمين حمد الشاكرين وصلواته على محمد وآله الطاهرين وسلم تسليما دائما كثيرا *

XVII. Folio 100 v., top, to f. 101 r., bottom.

(Persian.—Quotation unnecessary.)

XVIII. (a) Folio 101 v., ll. 1-19.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عونك يا لطيف

قال احمد بن سعد الله العباسي رحمة الله عليه هذه نسخة التعويذ الذي كان في معضد الحاكم
بامر الله امير المومنين صاحب مصر ظفرت بالنسخة باصفهان بفرع من خط دببيس بن مالك وكان في التعويذ
البايان اللذان كان الحاكم يعملهما من لفظ المعز يريهما عن اسلافه واجداده حتى يرفع اسناده الى امير المومنين
وامام المسلمين ابي جعفر محمد الصادق عليه السلام ووعيته وموعظته ويشرح له في الوصية اصول الصنعة
وقوانينها وفروعها من لفظ المعز كل ذلك مشروحا من غير رمز ولا تعليق وكان في اول التعويذ هذا الفصل
بخط دببيس بن مالك من لفظه وشرح قصته ومقدمته وكيف وقع اليه تعويذ الحاكم وسبب ذلك *

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

قال دببيس بن مالك الانطاكي كنت مقيما بانطاكية قاطننا وكان لي صديق جوهرى كذب اثر
الجلوس في دكانه فبينما نحن في بعض الايام فتحدث ان قد تقدم اليه رجل فسلم وبعده فذبيته¹ ثم اخرج
من عضده معضدة فدفعها الى صديقي وكان فيها اربعة احجار جوهر وتعويد من ذهب احمر مدونا وبه نقش
بالزمرد الاخضر مكتوبا بيضا الحاكم بامر الله يثق بالله فتحيرت من نفاسة ذلك الجوهر الذي لم اشاهد مثله وط
ولا ظننت ان مثله يكون في الدنيا وحدثت في خاطري انها تكون مسروقة من خزانة الحاكم او قد سقطت
من عضده فالتقطها هذا لان مثل هذا الجوهر لا يكون الا في خزائن الملوك وذخائرهم *

XVIII. (b) Folio 104 v., ll. 6-14.

وهذه نسخة تعويذ الحاكم صاحب مصر في علم الصنعة العالية

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عونك يا لطيف

بسم الله الملك الحق المبين والحمد لله رب العالمين وسلام على عبادة لدين عطشى حصوم
على سيد الانبياء والاصفياء محمد وآله الطاهرين ويروي هذه النسخة للمعز عن اسلافه الكرام وجدده اعظم
حتى يرفع اسناده الى امير المومنين وامام المتقين جعفر بن محمد الصادق صلوات الله عليهم اجمعين

¹ Corrected from MS. No. 17. MS. 16 reads وقد هيته

اعلم يا بني ان هذه الصنعة ليست من ثابت لا طيار معه ولا من طيار لا ثابت معه ولا من ذكر لا انثى معه ولا من انثى لا ذكر معها *

XVIII. (c) Folio 111 v., ll. 6-18.

فهذا تدبير الروح وتحميرة وتعذيبه وتطهيره وتهذيبه مثل فعلك الجسد سواء او قريبا من ذلك فهذا يا بني امر عظيم في تدبير الروح وقيامها على النار فقد عجز عن هذا التدبير القرون بعد القرون فاعرف ما صار اليك وهي الركن الثاني وهو الذي يقول فيه ذو النون المصري رحمة الله عليه في شعرة * شعر *

فهذه من احد الاركان متعبدة في امر هذا الشأن
فان اردت ما بقي من العمل فطهر النفس من افات العلل
ثم عد الان الى المزاجه ان كنت ممن قحسن المعالجه

وقد كان ذو النون المصري رحمة الله عليه واقفا على هذه الطريقة وعملها لا شك في ذلك يا بني قد اوقفك على تدبير الجسد وتدبير الروح بطريق الحق وحصل بذلك يقينا من غير تعب ولا عناء في استخراجها بقويحتك وقد بقي عليك تدبير الركن الثالث وهي النفس وتدبيرها وتبييضها وتطهيرها وبعد ذلك يكون المزاج بين الركان الثلاثة فالوزان الحق المكتومة عند الحكماء وخلطها اخلطا لا تفرق ابداً *

XVIII. (d) Folio 116 r., ll. 4-6.

وهذا الماء الاحمر الكبير الذي نستعمله في الباب الاصغر ويدخل في اعمال الباب الكبير ايضا في مواضعها ان شاء الله العزيز *

XVIII. (e) Folio 116 r., ll. 7-12.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عونك يا لطيف

اول تدبير الباب الكبير من تعويد الحاكم رضي الله عنه خذ من الجسد المكلس جزءا واحدا ومن الروح المحمورة المرتفعة تسعة اجزاء ومن النفس المبيضة المطهرة ثلاثة اجزاء وهذه الاوزان لاسطانيس الرومي وتلميذه ذومقراط ومن بعدهما من الحكماء المصريين وهو مخالف لاوزاننا خاصة في الباب الاصغر *

XVIII. (f) Folio 119 v., l. 16, to f. 120 r., l. 1.

فهذه المياة الثلاثة التي تدخل في الباب الكبير والله تعالى اعلم [blank of 1½ inches] والحمد لله رب العالمين حمد الشاكرين وصلواته على خير الخلائق محمد واله الطاهرين تيسر الفراغ بمدينة السلام منتصف شوال سنة اثنتين وثمانين وستمئة على يد محمد بن ابي الفتح بن ابي منصور بن محمد الكاشي غفر الله له ولوالديه *

XVIII. (g) Folio 120 r., ll. 2-6.

فصل وجدته في مختصر من تعويد الحاكم اخر باب الاصغر - قال واعلم يا بني ان عامة الحكماء وخوادمهم لم يختلفوا في الركان الثلاثة وانما اختلفوا في التونيس والتقرير والالزام والتشوية والاسجار

والتعفين والحل والعقد والتشبيب والطرح وطول الزمان في الحل وقصرة وتكرار الحلول والعود
كما تقدم القول في ذلك *

XVIII. (h) Folio 120 v., ll. 12 and 13.

وإذا كررت تسقيته وتشويته وسحقه فإنه يعتاد العذاب وقد فزت بالمطلوب واحكم امرك في تعبير
الزبل فبالتعبير تليين الطبائع والسلام *

XIX. (a) Folio 121 r., ll. 1 and 2.

باب صفة ماء البيض لمولانا جعفر الصادق عليه السلام مجرب - تأخذ من البيض ما شئت فاسكه
بالماء فإذا نضج أخرجه واجعله في ماء بارد *

XIX. (b) Folio 124 r., ll. 3-6.

نقل عن أمير الشعراء المشيخي المعروف بخاقاني قال دخل عبد المسيح الراهب على جعفر
الاسباطي قال بلغني أنك تطلب الصنعة فهل أصبت منها شيئاً قال نعم أدبت الفضة بمثلها مرقشيتا فضية *

XX. Folio 124 r., l. 17, to f. 133 v., bottom—end of MS.

(cf. Mem. A.S.B., Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 65-70.)

XXI. (a) (From Rāmpūr Alchemical MS. No. 17.)

رسالة في صنعة الحجر الأسود كتب من كتاب

أبي عبد الله الباكوبي كان له¹

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

تأخذ على اسم الله وعونه وحسن توفيقه من الحجر الأسود وليكن من احجار احداث وغسائه
بالطين الحمر والاشنان المطبوخ بالماء والصابون غسلًا نظيفًا في الصيف بماء بارد وفي الشتاء بماء فاتر حتى
يصير الى غاية النقاء ثم جففه على ثوب ووقه من الغبار واجمع منه عشرة ارطال او اكثر وفضعه صغار معاً
واحرزه في جرة لئلا يدخلها غبار *

XXI. (b)

فألق منه مثقالاً على الف وخمسمائة مثقال فإنه يصبغها باذن الله تعالى ثم ياب من نسخته سيخ
عبد الله الباكوبي قدس سره وصلى الله على محمد وسلم وعلى آله وشرف وكرم واحمد لله رب العالمين *

¹ Probably read كان الله له

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ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

VOL. III, No. 3, pp. 95—248.

THE JOURNALS OF MAJOR JAMES RENNELL, FIRST SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

EDITED BY

T. H. D. LA TOUCHE,
Geological Survey of India.



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WRITTEN FOR THE INFORMATION OF THE GOVERNORS OF BENGAL
DURING HIS SURVEYS OF
THE GANGES AND BRAHMAPUTRA RIVERS
1764 TO 1767.

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1910.

Major James Rennell, F.R.S.,

'The first great English Geographer'.



James Rennell

Presented to the Office of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1811.

P R E F A C E .

The Journal of Major James Rennell now published is contained in a small quarto volume bound in parchment, and is written throughout by his own hand. Inside the cover is the book-plate, dated 1840, of his daughter Lady Rodd, who in 1809 was married to Admiral Sir J. Tremayne Rodd. The book was presented by her grandson, the Rt. Hon. Sir James Rennell Rodd, G.C.V.O., British Ambassador at Rome, to the Victoria Memorial Collection accumulated under the auspices of Lord Curzon in 1906, and came into my hands through Sir T. H. Holland, Director of the Geological Survey, who asked me to discover whether it contained any matter of geological interest. This I found not to be the case, except as regards the striking and important changes that have taken place, and are still in progress, in the courses of the rivers of Bengal since the Journal was written. But it is so different in many respects from the other contemporary records of that most interesting period of the British occupation of India that have been preserved, concerning itself not with the political and social events of the time, but with the physical aspects of the country, its climate, crops, and communications, that it seemed to me to possess a quite unique interest; and I am greatly indebted to the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for their permission, freely accorded, to edit the Journal as one of the Memoirs of that Society.

In many respects the picture of Bengal, as given in the Journal, differs very slightly from its aspect of the present day, in spite of the advance of Western civilisation, of our railways and our steam-boats. The first journey that I myself made in India was from Dacca to Maimensingh by way of the 'Luckya' river in a 'budgarow,' which might have been the very one, so far as appearance and construction went, in which Rennell made the passage. Since then I have travelled many a mile in the same unwieldy craft, which still remain the chief means of transport on the waterways of the delta. Still, on either side of the rivers, 'padda' fields stretch to the horizon; and the mat-built villages, with their groves of bamboos and betel trees, remain as they were. Notwithstanding the uniform flatness of the ground, the scenery is often charming; as Rennell more than once remarks in some such phrase as this:—"There is a very pleasant Prospect, the River being transparent and serpentine, and flowing through a Countrey made up of pleasant Meadows interspersed with Groves and Villages." The only innovations worth mentioning are perhaps the growing of jute, which now almost overshadows that of rice, and the nearly complete extermination of the 'Tygers,' which were so frequent a cause of apprehension to Rennell and his men.

I felt much hesitation in deciding how to deal with the mass of miscellaneous notes which follow the Journal; whether to arrange them under separate heads or to omit some that did not appear to possess much interest. But the topics dealt with are so varied that what seemed to myself to be superfluous might be the very subjects to which others might wish to devote particular attention. For this reason, and because I think that the notes, as they stand, give us some insight into Rennell's attitude of mind, testifying to his ardour in collecting every item of information that might assist him in the preparation of his 'Memoir' and other works, I have thought it better to make no alteration in the text.

In conclusion, I must express my gratitude to Mr. F. D. Ascoli, I.C.S., who as Assistant Settlement Officer in Faridpur has acquired an intimate knowledge of the vagaries of the great rivers in that neighbourhood since Rennell's time, and has kindly corrected many of the notes I had compiled from information which, though not many years old, is now quite out of date; to the Revd. W. K. Firminger, Editor of "Bengal, Past and Present," who has given me many valuable suggestions; and to Mr. J. T. Rankin, I.C.S., who has kindly identified several of the villages in the Dacca District mentioned by Rennell.

T. H. D. L.

CALCUTTA,
June 1910.

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INTRODUCTION.

A very complete biography of James Rennell, the writer of this Journal, has been published by Sir Clements R. Markham,¹ and it will therefore be sufficient to give only a brief sketch of his career in this place. He was born on the 3rd of December, 1742, near the village of Chudleigh in Devonshire, his father being John Rennell, a captain in the Artillery. In 1756 he entered the Navy as a midshipman on board the *Brilliant* frigate, under Captain Hyde Parker, and was present at the landing of the Duke of Marlborough's troops in Cancale Bay, near St. Malo, in June 1758, at the taking of Cherbourg in August, and at the disastrous action at St. Cast on the coast of Brittany, in September of the same year. During this action Rennell was employed in making a survey of St. Cast Bay, and prepared a plan dedicated to Lord Howe, a copy of which is still preserved.

At the end of 1759 Rennell volunteered for service in the East Indies under Captain Hyde Parker in the *Norfolk*, 74, but that ship having sailed before he could join her he went out to Madras in the *America* frigate, and after a six months' voyage joined Captain Parker on the *Grafton*, 68, in September. During the next two years he saw a good deal of service and spent his leisure time in making surveys of the harbours visited by the fleet.

In 1763 he entered the sea service of the East India Company, and went on a voyage to the Philippine Islands as surveyor. On his return to Madras he obtained his discharge from the Navy and received command of a ship, but on the 21st October, 1763, she was lost in a hurricane. Fortunately for himself Rennell was on shore at the time, and soon after was appointed to the *Neptune*, a small vessel owned by a merchant of Madras, in which he surveyed the Pamben Channel and Palk Strait.

Early in the year 1764 Rennell went to Bengal, where he met with friends through whose influence, chiefly that of Mr. Topham, who had been a midshipman with him on board the *Brilliant*, he received a commission as Probationer Engineer in the Fort and was ordered by Mr. Vansittart, then Governor of Bengal, to make a survey of the delta of the Ganges.² Sir C. Markham quotes a letter of Rennell himself, but without giving the date of it, in which he says that his friend Captain Tinker, in command of the king's squadron, "procured me a commission as Surveyor-General of the East India Company's dominions in Bengal," and alludes to the share that Mr. Topham took in promoting his interests³; but from the Journal now published it appears that he was not appointed Surveyor-General till the 1st January, 1767,⁴ just before the departure of Lord Clive at the end of his second administration of Bengal.

¹ Major James Rennell and the Rise of Modern English Geography, Century Science Series, Cassell & Co., London, 1895.

² Journal, p. 9.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁴ Journal, p. 86.

There are two references to this appointment in the old Records of the Government of Bengal, which are interesting not only because they give further particulars regarding an event which may be described as epoch-making in the history of the British occupation of India; since from Rennell and his four assistants sprang that vast edifice the 'Survey of India', which now employs nearly 150 Europeans besides a veritable army of native Surveyors and servants, and has carried its labours far into the surrounding regions as well as throughout the whole of India; but also because they show clearly the estimation in which the services of James Rennell were even then held; and the expressions conveyed in them must have been the more gratifying, since the minutes of the Council at that period seem to have more often been directed towards the admonishment of their servants for lapses of conduct, than to rewarding them for zeal and industry.

The first of these extracts runs as follows¹:—

Proceedings in Council, January 8th, 1767.

“ Mr. James Rennell having, in the surveys which have lately been carried on under his direction, given sufficient proofs of his abilities and assiduity in that branch, which may prove of great consequence to the Company's possessions under this Presidency,—It is agreed that he be appointed Surveyor-General, with the rank of Captain, and a salary of Rs. 300 per month in consideration of his merit and the labour of that employ.”

The second extract gives, in a letter to the Court of Directors, the reasons of the Council for granting Rennell so high a salary, for though it may seem meagre enough according to modern ideas, it was exactly the same that Warren Hastings drew as a Member of Council in 1764.²

Letter to Court of Directors, March 30th, 1767.

“ So much depends upon accurate surveys both in military operations and in coming at a true knowledge of the value of your possessions, that we have employed everybody on this service who could be spared and were capable of it. But as the work must ever be imperfect while it is in separate and unconnected plans, we have appointed Captain Rennell, a young man of distinguished merit in this branch, Surveyor-General, and directed him to form one general chart from those already made, and such as are now on hand as they can be collected in. This though attended with great labour does not prevent his prosecuting his own surveys, the fatigue of which with the desperate wounds he has lately

¹ Res. I. Lang. Selections from the unpublished Records of Government for the years 1748 to 1767 inclusive, Calcutta, 1879, No. 34, p. 19.

² *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. xxvii. It must also be remembered that the Company's servants in those days, above a certain rank, were allowed to participate in the profits derived from the trade in salt, betel, and tobacco; and it is probably for this reason that Sir C. Markham states (James Rennell, p. 45) that Rennell's allowances on his first appointment in Bengal were from £500 to £1,000 a year. The numerous references to these commodities in the Journal perhaps indicate the personal interest that the writer must have taken in their production.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 929, p. 17.

received in one of them have already left him but a shattered constitution. This consideration and his being deprived of every means of advantage while he is thus continually moving up and down a country unexplored by Europeans, to the utmost risk of his life, we hope will justify us for increasing his salary to Rs. 300 per month, which indeed may be considered as only a just reward for past services and sufferings. We beg leave to recommend it as a measure well worth your attention, the keeping your Corps of Engineers constantly supplied with young gentlemen properly instructed in that particular branch.”

Rennell was first employed on the survey of the Ganges delta with the special object in view of finding a shorter passage suitable for large vessels from the Ganges to Calcutta, than that through the Sunderbans and the Meghna. The Journal gives a detailed account of this voyage and of three subsequent expeditions, during which he surveyed a great part of Northern and Eastern Bengal, penetrating beyond Goalpara on the Brahmaputra which was then on the frontier of the Assamese kingdom. It was while he was engaged on this duty on the frontier of Kuch Behar that he met with the accident referred to in the letter quoted above. He was surrounded by a party of Sunyasi Fakirs, a fanatic tribe then in rebellion, and was desperately wounded, barely escaping with his life. A full account of this skirmish is given in the Journal (p. 74), and further details in Sir C. Markham's biography.¹

The Journal ends in March 1767, when Rennell was engaged in completing the survey of the rivers of the Ganges delta, but was forced to desist by a severe attack of fever, to which he was continually subject. An account of his further service in India will be found in Sir C. Markham's Biography. In 1771 he was sent in command of an expedition against his old enemies the Sunyasi Fakirs, with complete success; and a year later he married Miss Jane Thackeray, whose brother, William Makepeace Thackeray, grandfather of the novelist, was secretary to Mr. Cartier, the Governor at that time, an old Dacca friend of Rennell's.

Rennell retired from the service in 1776, shortly after being promoted to the rank of Major in the Bengal Engineers, with a pension granted to him by Warren Hastings.² He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1781 and took up his residence in London, where his house became a meeting-place for travellers from all

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

² Through the courtesy of Mr. B. A. Gupté, the officer in charge of the Victoria Memorial collection in Calcutta, I am enabled to transcribe Rennell's application for a pension, the original of which is preserved in that collection:—

To the Hon^{ble} Warren Hastings Esq^r President and Governor, &c., Council of Fort William.

Honorable Sir and Sirs,

My Circumstances and Situation in Life reduce me to the necessity of making the following Application to You, in hopes that by the favor of your Patronage, my Case may be represented to my honorable Employers; from whose Justice and Humanity alone I may expect the accomplishment of my just Desires: namely, the being enabled to retire from this Country; where, by means of a painful and labourious Service of 13 Years, and by various Accidents of Wounds and Sickness, my Health is so bad, that I am advised by my Physicians to lose no Time in quitting a Place, in which I have experienced no tolerable degree of Health for these eight Years past: and in which, if hard Necessity compels me to stay, I can only expect to linger out a few Years longer. Yet, however necessary it may be to change my Situation, the slenderness of my Means will not permit me to live in England, encumbered as I am with a large Family, and disabled from pursuing any active Employment

parts of the world. The remainder of his life was devoted to the study of comparative geography and to literary pursuits. His first great work, the "Bengal Atlas, containing Maps of the Theatre of War and Commerce on that side of Hindoostan," was published in 1779, and a second edition in 1781.¹ This was followed by the first approximately correct Map of India, with a Memoir² containing a full account of the plan on which the map was executed and of his authorities. He conceived a great scheme for a comprehensive work on the geography of Eastern Asia, and published two volumes dealing with the geography of Herodotus. He also devoted much attention to the geography of Africa, and in 1790 constructed a new map of the northern half of that country for the African Association, accompanied by a Memoir. In 1791 he received the Copley Medal of the Royal Society. The study of winds and ocean currents also occupied much of his time, and in 1810 he began to reduce his collection of observations to one general system. He was the first to explain the causes of the occasional northerly set to the southward of the Scilly Islands, which has since become known as 'Rennell's Current.' On this subject he read two papers before the Royal Society in June 1795 and in April 1815. He was made an Associate of the Institute of France in 1800, and in 1825 received the Gold Medal of the Royal Society of Literature. He died on the 29th March, 1830, at the advanced age of 88, and was buried in the nave of Westminster Abbey.

A few words may be added on the methods employed by Major Rennell in carrying out his surveys. The construction of scientific instruments had made very little progress when he was at work in India: indeed it was not until 1761, the year after Rennell went out, that the chronometer was first used for the determination of longitudes; and his surveys were made with a compass and chain, supplemented by a Hadley's Quadrant for the determination of latitudes. So badly equipped was the Government of those days in the matter of instruments that even in 1787 it was necessary to borrow a sextant, a watch, and a quadrant from different officers in Calcutta who happened to possess them, in order to fit out a Government Survey expedition for determining the positions of the principal places in Bengal.³ Among the notes at the end of the Journal (p. 125) will be found measurements of the chain used by Rennell, from which it will be seen how inaccurate was even so simple an instrument. In spite of such disadvantages, however, his surveys were wonderfully accurate; so much so that my friend Captain F. C. Hirst, of the Survey of India, while investigating the changes in the course of the river Kosi, found that many of the towns and villages marked in Rennell's Bengal Atlas coincided exactly with their

by reason of my Maims, & the ruined State of my Constitution; unless my honourable Employers would necessarily assist me.

I will not, Gentlemen, take up your Time with a Detail of my Misfortunes and Sufferings, as the Particulars are already well known to you: nor, as the hon^{ble} Court of Directors have been pleased to approve of my Service, can I plead the Merit of having done my Duty.

I am with the greatest Respect, Gentlemen, Your most Obed Servant,

at Madras, 5th Febr. 1778.

J. RENNELL, *Surveyor-General*.

¹ A 2nd ed. of this valuable work is now in course of preparation under the orders of the Surveyor General in India.

² Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan, or the Mogul Empire, &c., London, 1783.

³ Sir C. Markham, *Memoir of the Indian Surveys*, 2nd Edn., London, 1878, p. 56.

positions on the modern maps. It was perhaps the accuracy that Rennell had attained to, by his skill and constant care in checking his observations, that led him to look with little favour at first on the triangulation surveys that were started in India at the beginning of the nineteenth century by Colonel Lambton.¹ But long before his death he had become convinced of the superiority of Lambton's method.

Very few observations of purely historical or social interest will be found in the Journal. The fighting that was more or less continuously going on along the western frontier of Bengal during that period is not even mentioned, nor is the mutiny of officers on the occasion of the loss of double *batta*, which took place in May 1766. Rennell was at this time at Dacca recovering from the wounds he had received in February in the skirmish with the Sunyasi Fakirs, and he confesses in a letter quoted by Sir C. Markham² that it was only this circumstance that prevented his throwing in his lot with the discontented officers, for he felt very strongly on the subject. He concerns himself strictly with the day's work, observing each change of weather, of which the Journal gives an almost complete record for the whole period, and such incidents as immediately affected his surveys. It was no doubt this faculty for concentrating his attention on the matter in hand that, in an age unparalleled in Indian history for the unbridled luxury of the European population, enabled him to establish that character for assiduity and integrity which caused the Council, unaccustomed as it was to find such qualities displayed by its servants, to refer to him in such appreciative terms as they have placed on record.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

² James Rennell, &c., p. 52.

February 1767.

The 1st of Jan. 1767, I was appointed Surveyor general;
The Gov. (Mr. Boscawen) appointed the several Surveyors
that were to be employed under me (viz)

Capt. Lewis Dalglish - Lieut. - Carter
Capt. John Adams - Ensign W^m. Richards -

The three first had each a particular part of the country
allotted him to survey, I myself (with Mr. Richards as
an Assistant) had another part. Mine was, to wit,
first, the Road from Calcutta to Madgijung; next
the Coa or Coon River from its Confluence with Ganges
to the Northern Frontier of Bengal -

The 6th Feb. I sent Baggage off to Dumdum, the
same Evening I joined it, in order to begin the Survey
next Day from Gowreesow Bridge; Capt. Cameron
having surveyed as far as that place -

The 7th began the survey, and at Night came to
Barraseth which is ~~12 miles~~ from Dumdum - This
Country is a part of the Chitragur Province
After leaving Barraseth we followed ~~the~~ found the
Roads poor, they being exceeding narrow, rough, & crooked
- 7, 3, 5

February 27th 66.

51.

then ascertained that the Enemy were hemmed in between the forks of that River and the Durla. About 4 we entered the Village of Deenhatta where a Party of the Enemy had posted themselves or rather as I am inclined to think had sat down to rest themselves. The sudden approach of our People however roused them & they made a desperate effort to defend themselves, at the same time that they might have ran off, & probably escaped. In this Skirmish I had the misfortune to be surrounded by the Enemy, & received several cuts from their broad Swords, one of which threatened my ~~Death~~ - Morrison pursued his course towards the Durla the following two days the second of which at ten in the Morning he came to the Banks of that River & spent difficulty in getting Boats to cross over, the River
at

Facsimile of a page of the Journal.

JOURNAL of the first Expedition for the discovery of the nearest Passage from y^e Ganges to Calcutta in the dry Season.

*Copy of Orders from the Hon'ble Henry VanSittart¹ Esq.
Governor of Fort William.*

Fort William, 6th. May, 64

Sir,

The first Service on which you are to be employed is the Survey of y^e great River (Ganges) to the Eastward of Jelenghee ; & upon this Survey your Particular Object must be to find out the shortest & safest Channel leading from the great River to Channel Creek or Rangafulla.²

For this purpose you will coast along the South side of the great River & 2 examine every Creek or Nulla which runs out of it to the Southw^d., tracing them as far as you find them Navigable for Boats of Three hundred Maunds Burthen & informing yourself by Enquiry from the Countrey People whether they are like Navigable all the Year ; of which Circumstance you may yourself form a tolerable Judgment by the Appearance and steepness of the Banks.

You will keep a very particular Journal of your Proceedings, noting the Appearance and Produce of the Countries thro' which you pass ; the name of every Village, & whatever else may seem remarkable, of which Journal you will give me a Copy along with the Drafts you are to make of the Rivers and Creeks.

I am Sir

Yr. most Obed Sert.

HENRY VANSITTART.

Monday May 7th. set out from Calcutta in order to proceed by way of Jelenghee 3 in a small Budgarow,³ together with 5 small Willocks⁴ to carry the People &c.

¹ Governor of Bengal, 1760 to 1764.

² Rangafulla. A creek connecting the Hugli with the Sandarbans. It leaves the Hugli at Mud Point, about 60 miles below Calcutta, and is at the present day the route taken by river steamers proceeding from Calcutta to Eastern Bengal and Assam.

³ Budgarow. Sometimes also called Buggalow. "A travelling boat, constructed somewhat like a pleasure barge. Some have cabins 14 feet wide, and proportionably long ; and draw from 4 to 5 feet water " (Rennell, Memoir of Hindoostan, *note* p. 360). The ' Bajra ' is still one of the most common forms of boat employed on the rivers of the delta, both for cargo and passenger traffic, and no traveller on the great water-ways can fail to be struck by the picturesqueness of these craft, with their mediæval-looking high poops and bellying square sails, as they work up stream under the influence of a favouring breeze.

⁴ Willock. A smaller boat having a long narrow bow overhanging the water. The name is spelled in various ways, such as Woolock, Oolock, Hooluck, Ulank, etc. The term now appears to be obsolete, but it is probably one of

Number of People as follows :

I Assistant Surveyor	II Sepoys
3 other Europeans	1 Interpreter
II Lascars	In all 39 with myself.
II Motias	

We left the new Fort² at 3 P.M., but the Tide prevented our Proceeding up the River this Night, so came to at Calcutta. Fine Weather all this day.

The 8th at one in y^e morning I was awakened by an alarm of y^e Budgarow's sinking, & indeed she was on the point of it, being 2/3 full of water. By this accident I had most of my Stationary spoiled, & likewise a great part of my Cloathes. Stayed at Calcutta this Day, & repaired the Leak. In y^e Evening proceeded up the River, & put ashore at Serampour³ for the Night. A smart NW Squall this Afternoon.

4 The 9th. fair Weather. In y^e morning at 8 went to take a View of Ghyretty.⁴ Dined at Chendanagore,⁵ & went to view the Ruins of the Fort and Town. Passed by Chinsura⁶ at 4 in y^e Afternoon and at Night put into Baunchbaria⁷ Creek. This Creek is now 5 Cubits⁸ deep at H. water, neap Tides. The River seems to be well described in Capt. Polier's⁹ Map. The Night clear. Fresh Breezes from y^e Southw^d.

The 10th. variable Weather. Passed by Betwallera Nullah, which appears to be nearly the same breadth as that of Baunchbaria. At 4 P.M. a smart Squall from the Southward whilst we were in the Betwallera Reach. The Budgarow sprung another Leak Lay at Berespour this Night.

the forms known under the generic name of 'Dinghy.' It differed from the ordinary cargo-boat in having the planks laid edge to edge, and fastened by iron clamps (Hobson Jobson, p. 971).

Motia. *Hind.* Motiya, a porter or cooly.

² The new Fort. This was the present Fort William, the building of which was begun by Lord Clive in 1757, to replace the old Fort, destroyed by Siraj-ud-Daula, the Nawab of Bengal, eight years previously. The new Fort was not completed, however, till 1773, during the Governorship of Warren Hastings.

³ At this time Serampur was a Danish settlement. It lies on the Hugli, about 13 miles above Calcutta.

⁴ Ghyretty, or Ghiretti, about 6 miles above Serampur. Here was situated the magnificent residence of the French Governors of Chandernagore, supposed to have been built by Dupleix. Only the merest vestiges of the building now remain. (Bengal, Past and Present, Vol. i, No. 1, p. 68, Pl. 4). Bishop Heber gives a description of the building in his Journal (Vol. i, p. 85). A portion of the European garrison was stationed here in Rennell's time, at the cantonment of Rampdani Vausittart's Narrative, Vol. iii, p. 277).

Chendanagore. This is a more correct spelling than the present Chandarnagar or Chaudernagore. The name is properly Chendan-nagar = city of Sandalwood (Hunter, Imp. Gaz., Vol. iii, p. 356). It was bombarded by Admiral Vausittart in 1757, on the breaking out of war between England and France, and captured by Lord Clive. The fortifications and houses were afterwards demolished by Clive's orders, in retaliation for the conduct of Count Lally in Madras.

Chinsura. A Dutch settlement on the Hugli, a short distance above Hugli town. It was ceded to the British in 1757.

Baunchbaria. Noteworthy as the site of the first Native Church founded in Bengal, and for its Hindu temples (Bengal, Past and Present, Vol. ii, No. 1, pp. 74, 105).

⁸ A cubit = 17 inches, *see* p. 25.

⁹ A Captain Polier is mentioned several times by Orme in his "History of Military Transactions in Indostan," and is supposed to have been mortally wounded at the siege of Fort St. George in December 1758 (Vol. ii, p. 393). In the "Memoirs of Hindostan" Rennell acknowledges in several places the assistance given him by "my friend Polier" in obtaining material for the construction of his map. He was Chief Engineer at Fort William in 1762, and afterwards entered the service of the Nawabs of Oude, and of the Emperor of Delhi, and retired in 1788 (W. H. D. Diet. Ind. Biography, p. 339).

The 11th. mostly fair Weather, having only one slight squall from y^e Southward. This Forenoon passed by Amboa,¹ which lies on y^e South side of the River in y^e long reach between Cutchoa and Culna.² I observe that this Place is remarked in some of y^e old maps of Bengall & therefore imagine that it must once have been a flourishing Village; however at present it contains only a few poor Huts Lay at Beldanga³ this Night.

The 12th. fair Weather all day, the Evening heavy & threatenng. At 8 in 5 the Morning entered the Jelenghee River⁴ The Cossimbazaar River⁵ at its conflux with the Jelenghee appears to be very narrow: I judge it cannot at this Season be above 50 yards over. The People inform me that it is now navigable for middle-sized Boats.

In the Evening at Hautnagore measured a Base & found the breadth of the River (Jelenghee) to be 150 yards now & 270 in the Rainy Season; its depth 13 foot in the deepest Place. It appears by the Banks that it will rise 13 foot more with the Rains.

The 13th. very fine Weather all day. Wind from the South. The River grows very shallow, & so crooked that though we have gone 22 miles thro' y^e River this Day, we have scarce advanced 10 in a right Line. Lay at Teegaree or Negarin this Night. At Sunset found y^e variation of the Needle to be 3°-3' Eastly by an Amplitude.⁶

The 14th. the Forenoon fair; in y^e afternoon a hard Squall from the Westward with much Rain, Thunder, & Lightning. By reason of y^e bad Weather, we have proceeded only 16 miles this Day. At Notydungah, where we lie this Night, the River is only 2 Cubits deep.

The 15th. very squally Weather, & much Rain. This, together with y^e 6 shallowness & intricacy of the Channells of the River, retards our Passage much. In some Places the Channell is not five yards over. At Paunchdaddah measured the breadth & depth of the River, & likewise took y^e altitude of the Banks. The breadth is now 200 yards; the depth nowhere more than 5 Cubits. By the Banks the River will rise by the Rains 26 feet more. By this, & the former Experiment made at Hautnagore (the 12th.), it appears that the River swells much more in the neighbourhood of the great River (Ganges) than in Places remote from it, & that the difference is so much as 12 or 13 foot in y^e distance of 41 miles.

¹ Amboa. Marked as a considerable village on Van den Broucke's map of 1660 under the name Ambowa. It is not shown in the modern 'Atlas of India.'

² Kalna, a town of considerable importance on the right bank of the Bhagirathi. A large fort existed here in Muhammadan times.

³ Haldanga. A ferry a short distance below Nadiya.

⁴ The Jalangi, one of the three 'Nadiya Rivers,' the other two being the Bhagirathi and the Matabhanga. It flows from Jalangi village on the Padma (Paadda) or lower Ganges along an exceedingly tortuous course to the southwest to Nadia, where it joins the Bhagirathi. The united rivers form the Hugli. In the hot weather it is little more than a string of marshes connected by shoals and is fordable at many points. (Imp. Gaz., Vol. xiv, p. 16).

⁵ The Bhagirathi.

⁶ This variation of the compass is quite abnormal (*see* p. 121). At most of the places where it was determined by Rennell it varied within 0° and 2° West. It is now about 1° 30' East, on the average.

This Evening lay at Gowgatty, having this day proceeded only 10 miles. Here are 10 large Salt Boats¹ sunk in y^e middle of the River. Some rain this Night.

The 16th. a fair Morning, the Afternoon & Evening wet & squally. This Morning we had much trouble in passing the Buxeypour Shoals on which there is now only 1½ Cubit water, so that the River here must be quite dry in y^e dry Season, as we are informed that it has rose just 1½ Cubit since y^e Rains began.

7 At noon passed Vheckery-Gunge,² where there are 9 or 10 Salt Boats sunk, & at Night put ashoar at Jagipour, having gone only 10 miles this Day. The River here is 4 Cubits deep. Much Rain this Night.

The 17th. fair Weather. This Day proceeded 11½ miles, but the River is so crooked, that we have gone only 6 on a strait line. The Country here is open, & extremely pleasant. This Night lay at a small Nullah near Sasteeapour. A fine Night.

The 18th. mostly fine Weather, the wind from y^e South. In the Morning sent my Sircar overland to Jelenghee Village in order to procure necessaries &c. against my arrival. This Day proceeded only 11 miles, as the River here runs very rapid, altho' it is broader & deeper than before. Lay near Doolampour, about 6 miles below Jelenghee, this Night. Fair Weather.

The 19th. fair Weather all day, the Wind in fresh Breezes from the Southward. About 3 miles below the head of the Jelenghee we found the Water so shallow that the Budgarow was scarce *waterborne* for a quarter of a mile.

We came into the great Ganges before noon, & arrived at Jelenghee³ at one in y^e Afternoon.

8 Before I left Calcutta the Governor informed me that a convenient Budgarow, together with as many Willocks as I should want, would be in waiting for me at Jelenghee; as the Budgarow I came up in, was the smallest that could be procured at Calcutta, in order that I might use all possible Expedition in proceeding up y^e Jelenghee at a season when y^e River was very low; but on my arrival at Jelenghee I found neither Budgarow nor Willocks. The People there indeed informed me that Capt. Widderborne (who lately went to Camp with the Voluntiers)⁴ had pressed

¹ Conveying salt from the sea-board to Patna and other towns on the Ganges, *see* pp. 18, 19.

² Bickarygunge in Rennell's Atlas.

³ *Sircar*—applied in Bengal to a domestic servant who keeps accounts of household expediture, and makes the usual purchases for the family. (Hobson Jobson, p. 841.)

⁴ Lalangi: the village is not now on the main stream of the Ganges, but is separated from it by a large island.

Capt. Wedderburn is mentioned in a letter from Dr. Fullarton, the sole survivor of the Patna massacre of 6th February 1763, to the Board. He says: "The 25th after giving money to a jemadar that had the guard to the westward of the Dutch Factory, by the riverside, I set out in a small pulwar, and got safe to the boats, under command of Capt. Wedderburn, that were lying opposite to the city, on the other side of the river, and at 11 o'clock that night arrived at the Army, under the command of Major Adams, lying at Jonsy" (Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. iii, p. 378; *Journal of the Society of Patna, 1763*, Calcutta Hist. Soc., 1909, p. 70). Several references to him are to be found in the *Journal of the City of Calcutta in 1756* published in Wilson's *Old Fort William* (Vol. ii, pp. 57, 62, 81, 88, 90), and the volunteers consisted of the body of men raised from among the Company's writers who were thrown into the river during the events of 1756 in Calcutta (*Ibid.*, p. 80). They are mentioned by Orme as having embodied to the number of 70, on the arrival of Admiral Watson's squadron for the recapture of the city (Orme's *History of the War*, p. 113), and one of them, a Mr. John Johustone, is recorded by the same historian as having "been killed at the battle of Plassey, and having checked by its fire the advance of Mir Jafir's troops

all the Boats that he could find, & amongst them a large Budgarow ; but whether that Budgarow was for me, I could never yet could get rightly informed. Certain it was, the Budgarow I came in was very unfit for me to do my Business in during y^e approaching wet Season, both on account of its smallness, & leakyness.

Finding however that I had no time to lose, as y^e River was daily rising, I set about getting some better Willocks for the Surveying People, but had little success, for during the three days I staid there, I could procure only 2 ; those were of 200 9 maunds each ; besides these I kept 3 of the Calcutta Willocks, & sent the other two to Calcutta.

The 20th. we had fair Weather all day ; the 21st. the forenoon the same, but in y^e Afternoon a fresh Gale from y^e SE, with frequent heavy Squalls, but no Rain. This Day wrote to the Governor, informing him of my Proceedings to this time, & enclosing a Copy of the Sections of the Jelenghee river.

The 22nd. all the Forenoon very fresh Gales from y^e SE, which prevented our proceeding on y^e Survey (as I intended) till y^e Afternoon, when we began surveying from the head of the Jelenghee River, eastwards, having surveyed the head of that River, & y^e Bank of y^e Ganges a mile above it, yesterday.

This Afternoon we had a Specimen of the Weather that we might expect in y^e great River at this Season ; for in y^e Evening in crossing y^e River near Quemairree, a violent Squall from the SE drove all the boats ashoar on y^e Jelenghee Sand, where they continued beating all Night ; 2 men were blown overboard during y^e Squall but 10 fortunately swam ashoar.¹

The 23rd. a fine Morning. Employed in surveying the Southern Bank of the River, for the Particulars of which see the Map No. 1. This Day examined the Nullah of Mayescunda² which lies about 5 miles SE of Jelenghee & is the first Nullah (or Creek) that we have discovered. We found it only 2 Cubits deep at y^e inlet, & almost dry a quarter of a mile up. There is much Padda³ & Cotton sown in this Neighbourhood. From this Place to near 8 miles to the Eastward the course of the River is nearly East, and full of dangerous Sands, the River also is excessive rapid.

(*Ibid.*, p. 176). In 1763 they were sent up to Murshidabad during the course of the operations against Mir Kasim Ali in charge of a fleet of store-boats, and perhaps it was while on this duty that they 'pressed' Rennell's boats (Blechynden, *Calcutta Past and Present*, pp. 202—205).

¹ In his "Memoir of Hindoostan" Rennell gives a description of these squalls. He says: "The rivers are in a tranquil state, from the time of the change in the mousoon in October, to the middle of March; when the *north-westerns* begin in the eastern parts of Bengal (though later as we advance westwards), and may be expected once in three or four days, until the commencement of the rainy season. These *north-westerns*, which have their denomination from the quarter they usually originate in, are the most formidable enemies that are met with, in this inland navigation; they being sudden and violent squalls of wind and rain; and though of no long duration, are often attended with fatal effects, if not carefully guarded against; whole fleets of trading boats having been sunk by them almost instantaneously. They are more frequent in the eastern than in the western part of Bengal; and happen oftener towards the close of the day than at any other time. As they are indicated some hours before they arrive, by the rising and very singular appearance of the clouds, the traveller has commonly time enough to seek a place of shelter. It is in the great rivers alone that they are so truly formidable; and that about the latter end of May, and beginning of June, when the rivers are much increased in width" (p. 359).

² Maheshkunda. This creek is the head of the Matabhanga, also known for the first 40 miles of its course as the Kumar (Comer or Comare of Rennell).

³ Padda—Paddy; rice in the husk, or growing rice.

At Paunchiferra 8 miles ESE from Jelenghee a Creek falls into the Ganges; this Creek as I am informed runs out of the same River near Surda.¹ This Evening the Weather threatening, we sheltered the Boats in a Creek of Beresgunge Sand.

The 24th. fair Weather all day. Employed surveying as yesterday. Passed the Villages of Horisongkor² & Callygunge. Here the River is divided into 2 Channels by a Sand Bank of 5 miles long: its Course is now NE and breadth in some places near 2½ miles in y^e wet Season. The Country here is very pleasant, being chiefly Meadows, well stocked with Cattle. The Banks are now near 30 foot high, 11 & are continually falling in, so that Boats should be careful to avoid coming too near them. The Wind this day has been from the Southward, in light Breezes.

The 25th. the Forenoon excessive hot, the Afternoon stormy, and much Rain. This Evening came to Chocculo³ a Village situated on y^e Point of the North Reach. From hence the River takes an ESE Course for 5 or 6 miles, & is all the way divided into 2 Channels by a large Sand Bank. The North Channell is the deepest & best.

The 26th. fair Weather. Surveying the ESE Reach.

The 27th. fair Weather. Finished y^e ESE Reach, & entered another whose Course is South for near 5½ miles,⁴ the breadth not more than a mile & half in y^e wet Season, & now in some Places not more than a quarter of a mile. The Countrey People deserting the Villages on our Approach, occasions some Delay in getting the Names of the Places. This Evening betwixt the Villages of Malacola & Selah⁵ (the space of 2½ miles) I counted no less than 400 fishing Boats. Variation of the Magnetic Needle by the Evening Amplitude 0°-36' Easterly.

The 28th. the Forenoon fair, the Evening wet & stormy. The Wind has been at South these 3 days past. Finished the Survey of the South Reach & came to Damadure, a Village situated at the bottom of it. From hence the River turns 12 quick round to the NE & continues that Course 9 miles. Rain all this Night.

¹ This creek is not shown on Rennell's Map. Surda is on the left bank of the Ganges, about 12 miles above Jalangi, near the mouth of the Baral river.

² Harisankra, shown in the Atlas of India about two miles south of the present bank of the Ganges, on the south side of the Sonakhundi lake, which is evidently an old bed of the Ganges.

³ To this cause, the falling in of high banks along the rivers of the delta, has been attributed by some the phenomenon known as the 'Barisal guns' (Proc. As. Soc. Beng., 1888, p. 99).

⁴ Called on the map. Closely to the present village of Raita.

⁵ It is the reach crossed by the E.B.S. Railway ferry between Damukdia and Sara, where it is now proposed to build a bridge. The N.S reach is much longer now, extending to at least 11 miles. The changes in the course of the river in this neighbourhood are of interest, in view of the importance of obtaining a suitable site for the railway bridge. It is probable that Rennell's time ran through what is now the 'Sonakhundi Lake,' as seems probable from his speaking of the village of Horisongkor (Harisankra) two days before, it must have come very near cutting a channel through the tip of the Damukdia peninsula. This, however, it failed to do, and it has since moved northwards, probably owing to the raising up of the bend higher up, opposite the mouths of the Jalangi and Matabhanga rivers. The tip of the peninsula is therefore probably safe for many years: but as shown in the Atlas of India, the position of the head of the peninsula at Raita was then much the same as it was in Rennell's time, and it is now clear that within the last 40 years considerable erosion of the point has taken place. This is due to the fact that (as they were) hard beds in the alluvium at Raita point which checked the erosion, but have since been gradually removed. If this erosion is allowed to proceed much further, it would seem that there would be a considerable encroachment on the peninsula probably a corruption of Sara. The village of Damadure is in the position now occupied by Damukdia.

The 29th. drizzling Rain in y^e Forenoon ; the Afternoon several heavy Squalls from different Quarters of the Compass & much Rain, so that we could perform but little Business this Day. Much Rain this Night.

The 30th. tolerable Weather. Five Miles up the NE reach begins a large Island which extends to the Eastw^d. & SE five Miles, making the River in some Places 3½ miles broad. The Southmost Channell is not navigable all the Year¹; the Villages of Serampour & Gurgoree are situated at the extremities of it. The Country here pretty well cultivated, & mostly sown with Padda. This Day wrote to the Governor, informing him of my Proceedings &c.

The 31st. very fresh Gales of Wind all day from y^e Southward. From the SE Point of the large Island the River proceeds with a South Course near 8 miles. The Western Bank is mostly covered with Jungle, but the Eastern one well cultivated & has 10 or 11 Villages on it. Custee Village² lies at y^e end of this Reach.

June the 1st. & 2nd. fair Weather, the Wind fresh from the SSE. These 2 days employed surveying the Western Bank of the South Reach, & in y^e Evening of the 13th 2nd. came to Custee, a large Village situated on the Western Bank opposite the turn of the Reach.

The 3rd. a fair Morning. Came to the Head of Custee Creek³ which runs out of the great River three quarters of a mile below the Village. We are informed that this Creek is navigable all y^e year & that it communicates with that of Rangafulla⁴: if so, it seems likely to put a successful end to y^e Expedition. The Creek is from 130 to 200 yards broad, & a ¼ of a mile up from 40 to 10 Cubits deep.

In y^e Afternoon put over to y^e East Side, in order to survey it from hence back to y^e head of the Reach ; in order should the Creek prove navigable it may be more readily found by Boats coming down the River.

¹ From recent maps it appears that the main stream of the Ganges now flows to the south of this island.

² Kushtia, an important seat of river trade, especially jute, on the southern bank of the river. It was the terminus of the Eastern Bengal State Railway until 1870, when the line was extended to Goalundo.

³ Custee Creek, now known as the Garai river. The development of this river is a striking example of the changes that have taken place in the course of the rivers of the delta within the last century. In 1764 Rennell found it so shallow within two miles of the head that only the smallest boats could pass during the dry season, whereas at the present time and for many years past it has been the main route for steamers plying between Calcutta and the upper Ganges. In 1828 it was only 600 feet broad at Kushtia, but in 1863 it had increased to 1908 feet. The change appears to have been a direct consequence of the alteration in the course of the Brahmaputra in the early years of the nineteenth century. This river, ponding back the waters of the Ganges, compelled it to deposit its silt in the reaches above the new confluence at Goalundo, and to seek another route to the sea for its waters, and for a time it seemed as if the Garai must become the main channel of the Ganges. So nearly did this happen, that in 1838 the Ganges itself was fordable at several places above the junction with the Brahmaputra. The causes that have prevented the complete desertion of the old channel were explained in 1863 by Fergusson. It happens that the Brahmaputra begins to fall at an earlier period than the Ganges, and that the silt deposited by the latter river when it is ponded back is thus swept out again every year. Otherwise Fergusson anticipated that the lower Ganges would become entirely silted up (Fergusson, Delta of the Ganges, Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc., Vol. xix, pp. 335-337). A position of equilibrium seems now to have been reached and the Garai is gradually silting up again. Lower down the Garai becomes the Madhumati, and discharges into the Bay of Bengal by the Haringhata estuary. The increase in the volume of water carried by the river was the cause of a succession of severe floods in the Jessor district in the early part of the last century.

⁴ See note, p. 9.

At 4 a very hard Squall from the NNW which obliged us to bear away for Custee Creek, the long Reach affording no Shelter for Boats. Much Wind and Rain all Night.

- 14 The 4th. & 5th. fair Weather, the Winds variable. These 2 days employed in surveying the East Bank of the long South Reach, & in y^e Evening went into Custee Creek.

The 6th. 7th. & 8th. employed in reducing the Original Surveys to smaller Scales, and copying the Journal, to send to the Governor. During this time we had much Rain. Employed some Carpenters to stop y^e Budgarow's Leaks, & repair the Rudder.

The 9th. traced y^e Creek a mile & quarter below the head, where we find very shallow Water. Upon a strict Examination I found only 4 & 5 Cubits Water opposite the Village of Cupadin, & I am credibly informed that the River has rose 4 Cubits since the beginning of the Rains. Besides this Circumstance, several Boatmen inform me that they have passed here in Dingeys¹ during the dry Season, & that oftentimes there is not Water enough for a loaded Boat of 90 Maund. Boats of 300 Maunds loaded draw from 2 to 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ Cubits.

- 15 The 10th. in y^e Morning dispatched a Hircar² with y^e Maps & Journal; in the latter I acquainted the Govnr with every Circumstance relating to Custee Creek. Fair Weather all this Day. In y^e Afternoon began surveying to the Eastward of Custee Creek. The Course of the River is now NEBE for 8 or 9 miles.

The 11th. in y^e Morning fresh Gales from the Eastw^d. with hard Rain; the middle of the Day fair; the Evening Calm & Rainy. Employed on the Survey as before. From Custee Eastward, a large Dam is thrown up to keep y^e River from overflowing the Countrey in the height of the wet Season. This Dam extends more than 5 miles; it is about 12 foot high & 14 yards thick. The River here is only $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile broad in some Places.

The 12th. in the Forenoon frequent Squalls of Wind and Rain; the remainder of the Day fair.

- This Day came to the head of Pubna Creek,³ w^{ch}. runs out of the great River from y^e North side, & lies from Custee NE $\frac{1}{2}$ E 8 miles. This Creek falls into the
16 Ganges again at Rottingunge, of which hereafter.

Pubna Village⁴ lies on y^e East side of the Creek & very near y^e great River. At this place Boats are repaired & built.

From hence the River proceeds with a SEBS Course for near 9 miles; a Dam is thrown up on y^e East side & continues for several miles. By the breaking off of it in several Places, it appears that the River has gained very considerably on y^e East Bank since y^e Dam was made, but how long since it was made, I cannot learn.

¹ Dingt, a small boat or skiff. The term is now used for any of the small passenger boats plying the Hooghly in the Navy and Merchant service as the name of the smallest ship's boat.

² Hircar, Harkara, a messenger or courier; also a spy. (Hobson Jobson, p. 430).

³ Rottingunge, a large creek connecting the Ganges with the Harasagar, one of the branches of the Bramah-putra.

⁴ Pubna, the head quarters of Pubna district. In the Atlas of India, Sheet 120, it is shown as lying about 4 miles from the mouth of the river has now reverted to its old channel.

From the 12th. to y^e 17th. employed in surveying the abovementioned Reach ; there is little remarkable in y^e Country on both sides of it, there are several Villages & much cultivated Land, particularly on y^e West side, where there is much Paddy sown.

The Weather during this time was very turbulent, having every day hard Squalls from y^e SE^t. & much Rain.

From the end of the SEBS Reach the River turns quick round to the NNE & continues that Course 5 Miles ; another Dam is thrown up on y^e East side of this Reach also.

17

The 17th. came to Oddygya,¹ a Village on y^e East side of this Reach. Here the River divides into two Channells, of which the Northmost only is navigable during the dry Season. The Island which separates those Channells is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, & is pleasant & well cultivated.

The 18th. fresh Gales of Wind all Day & continual Rain, which obliged us to lie by.

The 19th. fair Weather. Employed surveying the Southern Channel of the River.

The 20th. fresh Gales all day from y^e Southward, but dry Weather. In y^e Morning finished the survey of the Southern Channell, & came into the main River near Habbaspour. From hence the River proceeds with a South Course. There is much Padda sown in the neighbourhood of Habbaspour.

The 21st. a fair Morning, but y^e Afternoon Squally & Rainy. At the end of the Reach from Habbaspour we perceived the inlet of a large Creek,² & in y^e Afternoon examined the head of it. It is in general 250 yards over, & nowhere less than 6 **18** Cubits deep. Maudapour, a large Village, is situated a mile down y^e Creek, on y^e Western Bank. The Course of the Creek is to the SE^t. & we are informed that it is navigable all the Year, to Sunderbound.³

The 22nd. went into the great River in order to survey it a few more miles Eastwards, & lay down a large Island that lies in y^e turn of the Reach opposite the

¹ Ajoodeea on more recent maps. The correct spelling is Ajodhya. The name is not an uncommon one; the most important is Ajodhya on the banks of the Gogra in Faizabad district, from which the province of Oudh takes its name.

² The head of the Chandna R. Fergusson explains (*op. cit.*, p. 335) how it happened that when the Brahmaputra changed its course, this creek, which was before that time the main route for boats travelling from the Sunderbans to the Upper Ganges, did not become the chief outlet for the Ganges. Its banks had become too much consolidated by the silt deposited on them to be readily eroded, and the surplus waters found an easier passage through the Garai channel.

³ Sunderbound. The Sunderbans, the vast tract of forest and swamp extending along the sea face of the Ganges delta. The etymology of the name is doubtful. Rainey (Proc. As. Soc. Beng. 1868 p. 265) thinks that the true name is Sundarban, or beautiful forest, as preferable to Sundriban, forest of *sundri* (*Heritiera littoralis*). Blochinann, in the discussion on Rainey's paper, proposed the derivation Chandabhandu, from a semi-barbarous tribe formerly living in this part of Bengal. He discussed the etymology of the word in a paper on the Geography and History of Bengal, (Journ. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. xlii, pt. 1, p. 226), and says that the form 'Soonderbund', adopted by Europeans, is derived from Chandraband 'the embankment of the moon.' The application of the term to the whole sea-coast of Southern Bengal is modern. On the old Portuguese and Dutch maps no name is applied to the whole tract. It will be noticed that Rennell always refers to it as 'Sunderbound' without the article.

Creek without this being done, the Map of the River would break off too abruptly to give a clear Idea of its Course from the inlet of the Creek, eastwards.

This Afternoon a smart Squall from the WNW with some Rain. Rain most of the Night.

The 22nd, 23rd. & part of y^e 24th. employed in surveying the great River 3 miles to the eastward of the Creek, & likewise the East Side from thence back to y^e Village of Sujanagore. From the head of the Creek the Course of the River is nearly East for some Miles.² The 23rd. in y^e Afternoon another hard Squall from the NW^l. & the Morning of the 24th. we had fresh Gales, the remaining part of the
19 Day fine Weather. This Morning entered the Creek & continued the Survey of it a mile farther down; it is here very crooked. I allow at this time 5 Cubits for the rising of the Water, the Creek is now no less than 13 Cubits deep.

From the 24th. June to the 3rd. July, the Weather in general remarkably fine, having only a few slight Showers, & the Wind in moderate Breezes from the South East. During this time we traced the Creek upwards of 30 Miles; its Course in general SE, tho' these 2 days past we have found it very crooked, having gone the last 9 miles through 7 Reaches, & in that time have proceeded only 2½ miles in a direct Line. The Face of the Countrey through which we passed has had various Appearances, sometimes thick Jungles continuing for some Miles, & at others fine open Countrey, tho' in general very little cultivated. In the neighbourhood of Sunapara, about 9 miles down the Creek, are several Groves of Betel or Areca Trees³; & at Serampour 7½ miles farther is a small white Pagoda, situated in a Peninsula formed by five small Reaches. This Creek abounds with Alligators & Turtle of both
20 of which we have seen great Numbers. The former are exceedingly shy, & dive under the Water upon hearing the least Noise.

This Creek is named by the Countrey People the Chunnunah,⁵ & as we are informed, falls into the Comare Creek⁶ four miles farther down. It is of a very regular breadth, of about 200 yards; its depth is very irregular, being from 50 to 6 Cubits.

The 26th. & 29th. of June met two Fleets of Salt Boats bound for Patna; the one came from Calcutta by way of Sunderbound & Culna⁷; the other from Jaynagore by way of the Burrashee⁸ Creek. One of the Boats was 3500 Maund,¹⁰ & drew 4^l Cubits Water.

² Sujanagar, a village on the left bank at the head of the Habaspur reach.

³ The S. Ry. terminus at Goalundo is situated at the eastern end of this reach.

⁴ Sonapur.

⁵ The trade in betel nuts was one of the principal monopolies of the E. I. Co. The commodity is frequently mentioned in Lord Clive's letters, and the resolutions of the Council, under the name of 'beetle.'

⁶ See also the map of Fernel's map.

⁷ See also the map. For an account of the changes in the courses of these creeks see Hunter, "Statistical Acc. Bengal," p. 100.

⁸ The name of the Jansore district, on the Madhumati R. not the Culna mentioned above on the Bhagirathi.

⁹ The name of the place is not marked on modern maps. It was then a place of some importance, and lay a few miles from the present Muhammedpur, on the Madhumati.

¹⁰ The name of the place is the Barasia R., a branch of the Madhumati.

The 28th. at Podumdey¹ found the Magnetic Variation to be $0^{\circ}54'$ Eastwardly.

The 29th. received a Letter from the Governor by 2 Hircars.

From the 3rd. to the 8th. July mostly rainy Weather, the Wind squally from the East & Southeast. Being prevented from going out, I began to copy the Map, of the Creek &c. to send to the Governor, & the 7th. at Night completed them, & y^e next Morning sent them away by the Hircars that brought the Letter.

* 141 tons.
† 6 ft. 10 in.

The 5th. a Salt Boat of 4000* Maund passed by for 21 Patna; she drew only $4\frac{3}{4}$ † Cubits Water.

The 8th. went on with the Survey This day we had frequent Showers. I allow 6 Cubits for the Rise of the Water. This Afternoon saw a high Pagoda to the SE^t. distant 2 or 3 miles. It lies near the Village of Motrapour.²

The 9th. in y^e Morning a Squall from the Southw^d. the forenoon fresh Gales from the same Quarter, with Showers; the Afternoon continual Rain. This day allowed 7 Cubits for the Waters rising. The Creek runs very crooked, the Countrey open & pleasant.

The 10th. Squally and Rainy. Passed the Pagoda of Motrapour which lies on y^e East side of the Creek. Two Miles below this Pagoda, a large Creek turns away to the Eastward & is at this time navigable for large Boats, but in y^e dry Season is quite dry in some Places. It proceeds by way of Jaynagore and Hobbygunge.³

Here the Creek that we are tracing loses its name of the Chunnunah, & receives that of the Comer,⁴ or Comare, & now proceeds with a WSW Course 5 miles, being much narrower than before, but considerably deeper.

The 11th. a Squally Morning, the remainder of the Day fine Weather. 22 Passed the Village of Bandorse, or Gopalpour, which lies a large Mile below the head of the Eastern Comer, or Creek to Hobbygunge. Here are many Betel Trees.

The 12th. the forenoon fair, a Squall at Noon, the Afternoon very fine. This Evening came to a Place where this Creek divides into 2 Branches; the largest is named the Burrashee & winds round to the South & SE. It is reported to be navigable all the year, & that it runs near Jaynagore and Culna. The smallest takes its Course NWBW, & is deep, though but 70 yards broad in general. This Creek is named the Comare. As it appears by its Course to allow the shortest Passage to Calcutta, I judged it proper to survey it first, & should it not prove navigable, to proceed by way of the Burrashee.

¹ Podumdey. A small village N. of Baliakhandi, on the west side of the creek.

² Mathurapur, at the junction of this creek with the Kumar. The temple is said to have been built about 70 years before this by one Sangram Shah of the Baidya family, but was left unfinished because one of the masons fell from the steeple and died. (List of Ancient Mon. Beng., p. 224.)

³ Habiganj, Hobibgunge of Rennell's map. It lies to the S.E. on a dying course of the Arial Khan (Arika R. of Rennell p. 92). It is to be noted that Rennell does not mention Faridpur, now the headquarters of the district, and a town of over 10,000 inhabitants. It is marked on his map as an insignificant village (Farridpour).

⁴ Comer. The Kumar R. This had evidently been at one time the course of the main stream of the Ganges.

The 13th. all day Cloudy and cool. Proceeded with the Survey of the Comer Creek & find from 14 to 21 Cubits Water w^{ch}. allowing 7 Cubits for the Rise, will be no less than 7 Cubits in y^e dry Season.

- 23** Two miles & half above y^e head of the Burrashee the Eastmost Branch of Custee Creek¹ falls into the Comer; the Water of it appears quite black at this Season: it is named by the Country People Lettydoman Creek. The Village of Lettydoman lies on y^e East side of it, just where it joins the Comer. From hence the Course of the Comer is WBS for some Miles.

The 14th. a cool Morning; the middle of the day excessive hot. Three Miles West from Lettydoman the Creek turns to y^e Northward, & continues that Course for 3 Miles more, & then goes to the SW for near the same Distance. We find the depths of Water from 34 to 8 Cubits (in y^e dry Season), the Banks being mostly covered with Jungle we have very troublesome Work to survey them.

- The 15th. the Forenoon again excessive hot, having mostly Calm Weather; the Afternoon and Evening cool & pleasant. Still following y^e Course of the Comer Creek. We find abundance of Turtle here, some of them very large. The Countrey
24 People inform us that they never saw any Europeans pass this way before.

The 16th. the Morning & Evening fine Weather, the middle of the Day excessive hot. This Day in pursuing the Course of the Comer we came into another Creek which is much larger than that, & which comes from the Northwest. The Countrey People inform us that it is the Westmost Branch of Custee Creek, but cannot inform us how far up it is navigable, or whether betwixt this & Custee any Creeks run out of it to the Southwest. This Creek has likewise the name of Comer or Comare; & now the two Creeks of that name joining, they proceed with a rapid Current to the South & South East forming a large Creek or River known by the name of the Burrasaat.

- Some Boatmen that we have met here inform us that the Burrasaat runs towards Backergunge, a large Village situated on y^e Eastern Skirts of the Wood or
25 Sunderbound, that a few Coss down a Creek runs out from y^e East Side & communicates with the Burrashee; & that three or four Days down, another Creek runs out from the West Side & goes either to Rangafulla or the Southern Lakes³ by Calcutta. If this Information be true, we have yet Hopes of finding the desired Passage; & indeed by the Course of the Creek we have some Reason to believe it.

¹ The name of the river is Hunter says "during the rains so much water flows through the Kaliganga channel into the Sunderbans, near Ramnagar, near Magura, the latter has to get rid of the surplus, and discharges part of its water back into the Kaliganga channel." This may account for the black colour of the water noted by Rennell, the portion of the river which he made this observation forming a kind of back-water (Imp. Gaz., Vol. v, p. 11).

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I have some suspicion that it is a Branch of this Creek that falls into the Hughly River at Betwallerah.¹

The 17th. the Morning rainy, the middle of the day fresh Gales at SE, the Evening fine.

This Day surveyed $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles of the Burrasaat, its Course nearly Southeast; the depth of Water from 13 to 41 Cubits.

The 18th. in the Morning the Assistant, whom I had sent to examine the Course of the NW Comer (or Westmost Branch of Custee Creek) returned & informed me that he had found it navigable 7 or 8 miles up, & that y^e Countrey People informed **26** him that a few Coss farther up, a Creek ran out of it to y^e Southwest. Upon this I left off surveying y^e Burrasaat & proceeded up y^e NW Branch of the Comer, in hopes that y^e Creek above mentioned might communicate with Rangafulla, or y^e Southern Lakes.

The place where we left off surveying the Burrasaat was named Maddepour, & lies on y^e West Side.

This Evening proceeded one Mile up y^e NW Comer, the Course NWN; depths from 10 to 20 Cubits. The Creek is now 150 yards over.

The 19th. a hot Day, some slight Showers in y^e Forenoon. Went 5 miles farther up the Creek, Course from NWN to WBS. Five miles above the head of the Burrasaat a small Creek falls into this from the Northward, but is not navigable in the dry Season: the Water of it is quite black, as it runs out of the Jeels²; the Country being now entirely overflowed in this neighbourhood; save only the Banks of the Creek, & the little mounds on which the Villages are built.³

About a mile above the Mouth of this Creek, & opposite to the Village of Away- **27** pour,⁴ we found only $10\frac{1}{2}$ Cubits Water, which with an allowance of 8 Cubits for the Rise, is only $2\frac{1}{2}$ in y^e dry Season. The People of Awaypour inform us that there is not quite 2 Cubits at some Seasons, so that it cannot be navigable for loaded Boats of 300 Maund. Farther up, the Creek deepens again to 4, 5 & 10 Cubits in y^e dry Season. I proceeded farther up in order to get better Intelligence.

A mile & half above Awaypour a small Creek runs out to the S. & SW, but is not navigable 2 miles down in y^e dry Season, although the Countrey People had informed the Assistant that it was navigable a long way.

The 20th. the Morning cool, the Afternoon very sultry. This Forenoon met a Boatman from Custee who seemed to be an intelligent Fellow. He tells me that the Creek near Awaypour will not allow a Passage for Boats of 200 Maund in the dry Season. He likewise informs me that this Creek is the Westmost Branch of Custee Creek & that 5 Coss to the Westw^d. of Awaypour a small Creek from Buxeypour falls into it from the Westward. This Buxeypour I imagine must be the Village of **28**

¹ *Anle*, p. 10.

² Jeels—Jhils. The great marshes or lagoons so common in Eastern Bengal and Sylhet. Also called 'Bhils.' In Central India and Rajputana the name is applied to an artificial lake or reservoir (Hobson Jobson, p. 457).

³ These mounds are artificial. The Chandals, a caste of Hinduized aborigines inhabiting this part of the country, habitually build their villages on artificially raised mounds. (Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. iv, pp. 394, 396, 401).

⁴ Abipur.

that name situated on y^e Eastern Bank of the Jelenghee, tho' he says that it is only 18 Coss from Awaypour.

It will now appear by our Observations that the Burrasaat is the Westmost of the navigable Creeks which run out of the Ganges to the Eastward of Jelenghee, & is therefore likely to afford the shortest Passage to Calcutta; but being at present destitute of Cash to pay y^e People, or proper Boats to survey Sunderbound with; besides it being now nearly the height of the wett Season, we are very apt to be deceived in y^r depths of Water, by the sudden swelling & falling of the Rivers; I have therefore judged it proper to go to Dacca to get a supply of Cash & larger Boats, before we proceed.

Being in the neighbourhood of Lettydoman Creek (or Eastmost Branch of Custee Creek) I thought it might be worth while to take a cursory Survey of it as far up as it is navigable, it being the common rout of the Boats from Jelenghee & Custee to Jaynagore, Hobbygunge, &c. when y^e Rivers have rose enough to make it navigable, w^{ch}. commonly happens about y^e latter end of May.

29 From the 20th. to the 26th. employed in tracing the Creeks of Lettydoman, Culsedaw & Bacout near 30 miles till we came to the Place where it is not navigable, which is at Columbery about 8 miles SW from Maudapour, & 5½ North from Awaypour. For y^e particulars see the Maps of the Creeks. The Weather during this time was as follows:

The 21st Calm & Cloudy all Day, the 22nd. an excessive hot Forenoon; in y^e Afternoon several heavy Showers. The 23rd. very fresh Gales from the Southward with heavy Rain all the Day. The 24th. all y^e Forenoon heavy Rain with some Squalls, the Afternoon Cloudy. The 25th. the Forenoon dry, Afternoon & Night continual Rain. The 26th. a Cloudy Morning, in y^e Afternoon some Rain; the Evening fine Weather.

This Morning having finished the Survey of the Creeks we dropt down the Comer for Dacca, & in y^e Afternoon entered the Eastern Comer near Motrapour. The Water has rose 2 Cubits in this Creek since y^e 10th. Inst. We passed three miles of the Creek this Evening. The Course of the Stream is to the Eastward: its Banks are now high out of the Water & we are informed will not be overflown the whole wet Season. The Country is pleasant & tolerably well cultivated.

30 The 27th. Cloudy Weather; the Morning & Evening cool & pleasant, but y^e middle of y^e Day excessive hot. This Day we passed by Estimation 25 miles of the Creek, & came to Jaynagore in y^e Evening. This Village lies on y^e South side of the Creek, & is distant from Motrapour only 8½ miles, altho' it is near 28 by Water. Fourteen miles NNE from Jaynagore a small Creek leads from this into y^e Ganges, thereby allowing a short cut to Hadgygunge & Dacca, but for want of proper Intelligence we passed it without knowing where it led to. The Burrashee Creek comes

A River is shown on Rennell's map 15 miles SW of Kushtia, and 30 miles east of the Jalangi.

Hadgygunge may have been an important place at this time, as it was the point where the main road from Dacca to the Ganges. It lay about 5 miles E. of the present town of Faridpur.

within a mile & half of Jaynagore, & afterwards winds off from y^e neighbourhood of the Comer, taking a SSE & SE Course.

The 28th. in y^e Morning some flying Showers, the middle of the Day Cloudy & cool, the latter part heavy Rain. Passed 17 miles of the Creek, which is rather streighter than yesterday, the Country on both sides is very pleasant. In y^e Morning received a Letter from y^e Governor by 2 Hircars. Lay this Night at Jadyundy.

The 29th. mostly clear Weather, but such fresh Gales of Wind from the Eastward, that we make but a slow progress. Proceeded 19 miles this Day, & came to Sadundy at Night. The Country here is mostly overflown.

The 30th. mostly fresh Breezes from the SE, with frequent Squalls of Rain. 31 The Country here is mostly overflown, & having the Wind right against us, we went only 8 miles this Day. Lay at Casempour.

The 31st. the Weather nearly the same, tho' rather more Rain than yesterday. This Morning after going 3 miles the Creek divides into 2 Branches: we were directed thro' the Northmost for the nearest Passage to Hobbygunge & Dacca. Went only 7 miles this Day, & at Night lay at Commercandy about 4 miles from Hobbygunge.

August the 1st. fresh Gales from the Eastward with several Showers. In y^e Morning passed by Hobbygunge¹ which lies on the South side of the Creek about 27 miles ESE $\frac{1}{2}$ S from Jaynagore. About a mile below Hobbygunge this Creek joins with that from Budarashon: here the Countrey, being entirely overflown we had some difficulty to distinguish y^e Creeks from the Jeels.

After proceeding 2 miles up Budarashon Creek we found that another large Creek joins it from the Northwest. From hence we proceeded to the NE 5 miles & then had a sight of the Ganges, which however we did not enter this Evening, it being late, & y^e River excessive rapid.

From hence we saw the Pagodas of Rajanagur² bearing to the ESE, distant 6 or 7 miles.

The 2nd. the Weather nearly as yesterday. Early in the Morning entered the 32 great River, & were near 4 hours in crossing it, by reason of its breadth, and y^e great Rapidity of the Stream. After gaining the Eastern Shoar we entered a Creek near Nullua in order to proceed across y^e Country to Dacca, the Water being upwards of 4 Cubits above y^e level of y^e Country. Dacca bears from us NE distant 24 miles. This Evening came to Hautcola a Village situated 5 or 6 miles from y^e Ganges. This Evening y^e Wind came at ENE.

The 3rd. very fresh Gales of Wind from the East & ENE. This Evening

¹ Hobibgunge of Rennell's maps. None of the other villages mentioned are marked on his map. Habiganj has been superseded in importance by Madaripur, as Hajiganj has given place to Faridpur. Budarashon (Budrasan) lay 8 or 10 miles to the NE near the main river. There have evidently been great changes in the course of the river herabouts, and most of these villages have disappeared.

² Rajanagur lay on the south side of the old channel of the Kirtinasa river, near the conflux of the Gauges Pudda and the Dhaleswari.

came to Daagdya, 4 miles from Hautcola. Here is an high white Pagoda. At Night a very hard Squall from y^e Westw^d.

The 4th. the Wind came from the South & SW, which being fair we made the best of our way for Dacca. At 10 in y^e Forenoon came to Meergunge and Issa-mutey, & passed under y^e Bridge², the Arch being just large enough to admit the Budgarow. From hence struck across to the Mouth of the Beurygonga³ or Dacca River leaving Feringybazars⁴ 3 miles to y^e Eastward, & at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 in y^e Evening came to Dacca.

¹ Ichamati, a creek which flows out of the Ganges opposite Goalundo.

² The Taltala Bridge, standing upon the Taltala (formerly Meergunge) khal or creek. It is said to have been built by Raja Vallal Sen. before the conquest of Bengal by the Muhammadans, and if so is about 300 years old. It consisted of three arches, the central one of 30 ft. span. This arch was blown up by gunpowder during the first year of British rule, in order to secure direct communication for large boats between Calcutta and Dacca. (List of Ancient Mon. Beng., p. 226).

³ The Buriganga.

⁴ Firinghibazaar was the first Portuguese settlement in the Dacca district, and had been in existence for about 100 years at this time. The Portuguese settlers were originally soldiers, who had deserted from the service of the Raja of Arakan to that of Husain Beg, the Mughal general beseiging Chittagong. The village is now quite insignificant. It lies on a branch of the Ichamati, opposite Narainganj. (Hunter, Imp. Gaz. Vol. iv, p. 436).

SEPTEMBER 1764.

JOURNAL, of the second Expedition for Surveying the Ganges from where we left it near Saatpou to its conflux with y^e Megna, & the Megna &c. from thence to Dacca.

The 19th. of September 1764, being pretty well recovered from my Indisposition, I set out from Dacca in the forenoon in order to proceed with the Survey of the great River.

The Countrey being mostly under Water at this Time, our nearest Rout lies across y^e Countrey to the Banks of the Ganges opposite Hadgygunge, after which (as the Country lies higher then) we must proceed up the great River. Hadgygunge or Hageagunge is about 31 English Miles WBS from Dacca.

From the 19th. to y^e 21st. mostly fresh Breezes of Wind from SE to ESE & 2 dry Weather.

The Night after leaving Dacca, we lay at Tagerpou on the North Bank of the Isamutey or Dullasery River. Dacca in sight, bearing NE $\frac{1}{2}$ E distant about 6 miles or more.

Ten miles to y^e Westward of Dacca, the Countrey lies much higher than in y^e neighbourhood of that City; The Banks of the Creeks here are mostly dry, whereas the Countrey round Dacca is from four to five Cubits* under Water.

*Cubits reckoned at 18 inches.

The 21st, at half past 11 AM came to the Banks of the Ganges opposite to Hageagunge, there being at this Season an outlet near Mousudabad. We crossed the River in less than a hour, tho' not without some risque, considering the crazy-ness of the Budgarow, & the monstrous swell occasioned by a fresh Breeze of Wind 3 against a Current of about five miles an hour. At 3 we came to Hageagunge, after going some Miles up a large Creek. The Countrey here is about a Cubit & half above the level of the Water but I find by the Village People that in the height of the wet Season, it was full as much under Water.

This Night (of y^e 21st.) & the following Day very fresh Breezes of Wind with frequent heavy Squalls from S to SSE. This I presume may be looked on as an Equinoctial Gale; however the Wind is far from being veerable.

The 22nd. remained at Hageagunge, & repaired a Pulwar¹ that was stove in crossing the River yesterday.

From the 22nd. to y^e 25th. the Weather more settled, the Wind mostly moderate & from the SE Quarter. The 23rd. in the Morning left Hageagunge & proceeded up a Creek that brought us into y^e great River below Binetty Island.²

¹ Or Pulwah. A native boat of 12 to 15 tons generally used as a cook boat by Europeans (Hobson Jobson, p. 737).

² The topography of this part of the river is much altered since Rennell's time, no doubt on account of the incursion of the main stream of the Brahmaputra at Goalundo, at the head of this reach.

1 The River is fallen sufficiently for showing the exact bed of it, & y^e farther we proceed up, the greater we find y^e Fall.

The 25th. at 4 PM came to Saatpour, y^e Place where we left off the Survey of the River in June last. There had been so much of the Bank carried away by the Freshes, that we hardly knew the place again; & could not have found the Mark out had it not been for a remarkable Tree which I formerly took y^e bearings of.

Wednesday the 26th. in y^e Morning began surveying the South side of the River from Saatpour. At noon a Pulwar arrived from Dacca with Letters.

From Saatpour the Course of the River is mostly East for near 11 miles,² & four miles below Saatpour it is not half a mile broad at this Time.

The 29th. PM the Weather threatning, we dropt down to a large Creek near
5 Kalkapour & secured the Boats there till y^e next day, which proved quite Calm, & excessive hot. The Creek abovementioned runs out from y^e South side of the Ganges about a mile from Kalkapour & falls into the River again at Hageagunge.³ At this time it communicates with the Eastern Comer Creek by which it affords a passage to Boosna,⁴ but in y^e dry Season this Creek itself has not more than a Cubit & half water in it.

This day Septem^r, 30th. dispatched a Pulwar for Dacca, with a Letter for the Governor.

Octo^r. y^e 1st. excessive hot Weather; came to the Mouth of Rottingunge⁵ Creek this day. This Creek which falls into y^e Great River on the North side, is the same which runs out at Pubna, & as it affords a safer Passage than y^e great River for loaded Boats, it is mostly used by the Fleets which go up y^e River from Sunderbound in y^e dry Season. It is about 500 yards over near the outlet, the Eastern side of which is very flat, & must be avoided by large Boats.

At y^e mouth of Rottingunge
Creek. This Evening* found y^e Varⁿ. by an Amp^{de}. 1-0°
Westly.

6 From the 1st. to y^e 6th. Oct^r. mostly calm, & y^e Weather hotter than I have felt it before during the Season.

The 3rd. came to the Head of a large Creek which runs out from y^e North side
near Jaffiergunge⁶ & presently after receives a large Creek
from Rungpour⁷ &c. & then proceeds towards Dacca in two
Branches which are the Beurygonga & Isamutey. The
Creek which runs out of y^e Ganges here, is commonly known by y^e name of Jaffier-
gunge or Jonpergunge Creek, & is commonly used in y^e Passage to Dacca. Jaffier-
gunge lies about two miles up the Creek which comes from Rungpour.

¹ Before we turned down the Chandna Creek, *ante* p. 18.
² See Goalundo, where it turns S.
³ See the old dead Padma, an old channel of the Ganges.
⁴ A small three village and bazar west of Faridpur.
⁵ See the village of Rennell's map. This village seems to have disappeared.
⁶ This village is still standing now on the eastern bank of the Brahmaputra, 7 or 8 miles above Goalundo.
⁷ The old channel down which the Brahmaputra subsequently found its way, the Jennai R. of
the present day, runs down and district far to the north in Rajshahi.
* The word is not intelligible.

The River, opposite this Creek is full three Miles broad, having several Sand Islands in y^e middle; from hence it runs with a due South Course near 15 miles, & is commonly narrow. The Ganges from this place downward is not near so much frequented as the parts above; by reason that most Boats that are bound to Dacca, 7 Luckypour, or Chittigong, proceed down the Creek near Jaffiergunge.

We have now surveyed about 22 miles from the place we began at last, & have passed upwards of 50 Villages, but all of them inconsiderable. 'Tis impossible to describe the face of the Countrey at this Season, because it is mostly under Water; however the Banks of the River are high, & in many places sown with Cotton, but there did not appear to be more Padda, than what the Inhabitants might very well consume.

The 4th. in y^e afternoon a small Breeze of Wind from the North East, which is the first from that Quarter that I have perceived this Season.

The 7th. in y^e morning perceiving the Weather to look threatning, the Wind also increasing from the Eastward, & it being near the time of the Monsoon's breaking,¹ I judged it proper to lay the Boats in a secure Place, & for that purpose went into Diwaly Creek, which is situated opposite to Jaffiergunge Creek, & has now 8 four or five Cubits of Water in it. Lay there this Night, but the Weather cleared up again before Morning.

From the 7th. to y^e 13th. variable Weather, but mostly fresh Breezes of Wind with some Squalls & Rain from the South East Quarter.

The 8th. finished the Survey of the long Southern Reach, at the turning of which we perceive a large Island, & the River afterwards proceeding with a SEBE Course towards Hageagunge.

The 12th. finished the Survey of the large Island abovementioned (v^t. Binetty Island) & the Banks of the River opposite to it.

Binetty Island is about five miles long & near two over, & lies in a NWBN & SEBS direction; it has 11 small Villages on it, but scarce a single Tree. Being low it is mostly sown with Padda, of which I judge there is at least 3½ square Miles. The Channel of the River that runs by the North side of it, is the shortest & most commonly used by the Boats, it is about a Mile over & has a very rapid 9 Stream. The South Channel is about half a Mile over, & has several Sand Banks in it.

The Banks of the River opposite to this Island are mostly sown with Padda, & have a great number of Villages on them.

The 12th. at Ramcandapour near Binetty Island found the Magnetic Variation 1° - 0' Westly.

The 13th. the Weather began to settle, & from this time to the 26th. we had exceedingly fine Weather, the Winds from the Southern Quarter in small Breezes, the Atmosphere remarkably clear in general, the Morning of the 21st. only being foggy.

¹ Now-a-days the expression 'break of the monsoon' is generally used to mean the *beginning* of the SW monsoon in May or June.

² The channel of the river here has altered greatly since the time this was written owing to the incursion of the Brahmaputra, though the general direction is the same. The reach is still studded with large islands.

From the South East point of Binetty Island the River runs pretty streight to the SEBE for near 17 miles, & is from $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile to a mile & half broad; from the end of Binetty Island a chain of small Islands & Sand Banks extends more than five miles; Boats should be careful not to cross the River at this Place.

- 10 The 13th. came to y^e head of a small Creek which runs out from y^e South side of the River at Ramcundapour & falling into the Creek from Kalkapour (see page 5th.) about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles down, proceeds to Hageagunge, & is navigable all the year round. This Day mustered the People & exercised the Sepoys &c.

The 14th. at Ramcundapour the Variation of the Mag. Needle by a very good Ampl^{de}. 0 -15' Eastly.

The 15th. surveyed to the Mouth of Hageagunge Creek, which I have mentioned before to be the same that runs out of the River at Kalkapour. Hageagunge² being a noted Village on account of its being a principal Stage on the Road from Calcutta to Dacca, I thought proper to survey the Creek in order to fix the true Situation of the Village.

- It lies about 2 miles and half above the outlet of the Creek, & within a Mile overland from the South, or rather SW Bank of the great River.* It stands on a small extent of Ground on the West side of the Creek, & does not contain more than 80 Houses, & has a very paultry Bazar. The Creek is navigable in the dry Season for Boats of 600 Maund, & is about a quarter of a mile broad.
- 11 Hageagunge lies about 31 miles WBS from Dacca.

The Southern Bank of the River from Binetty to this Place is by far the pleasantest Country I have seen since we left Jelenghee, it being made up of extensive Meadows towards the River, & scattering Groves of Trees within, & several Villages.

This Day found the Variation of the Needle to be 0°-31' Westerly. At Night received a Letter from the Governor by 2 Hircars, & answered it immediately, enclosing a Sketch of the River from Saatpour to this Place. In Mr. VanSittart's Letter he approves of my Intentions of surveying the River on both sides, having before omitted to explain whether it was to be so surveyed, or only on one side, as from Jelenghee to Saatpour.

- The 16th. at Coberpour observed the Variation to be 1°-2' Westly .
- 12 The 18th. came to the head of Nabobgunge[†] Creek, on the North side of the River & about 9 miles below Hageagunge. This Creek is about 200 yards over, & is navigable all the year, affording the shortest Passage from Hageagunge to Dacca Luckypour &c. It joins the Isamutey or Dullasery above Feringybar, & sends out several small Branches.

The Country (on the North side of the River) from Binetty Island to this Place is well inhabited & sown with Paddy & Cotton. Mousudabad[‡] a very large Village. Purnama is situated in a pleasant Country opposite Hageagunge.

* This Place is not marked on Rennell's maps

† This is a Pargana on the Ganges, opposite to Hajiganj.

‡ This is a Pargana opposite Fardpur. A Pargana is a Fiscal division of a district.

² Ante, p. 22.

[†] Nawabganj.

From Nabobgunge Creek the River takes a more Southwardly Course, & is divided into several Channels by some large Islands, which are mostly covered with Jungle, & have many Tygers on them.

The 20th. came to y^e mouth of a broad but shallow Creek, which is a branch of that from Nabobgunge, & falls into y^e River at Chorcumerdour about six miles below the head of the former. The Country hereabout is mostly uncultivated. This Day **13** at Noon observed the Latitude at Jattapour ¹ & found it to be in y^e Paralell of 23°-27' North. At Sunset the variation of the Needle 0°-38' West^{ly}.

The 21st. the Morning thick fog which continued about an Hour, soon after which from Gohulercandy we saw two of Rajanagore Pagodas ² bearing in y^e South East Quarter distant near 14 miles.

Having left unsurveyed the South side of the River from Hageagunge which is about 20 miles, we put over to that side* in y^e Forenoon, & began surveying up towards Hageagunge.

* near y^e East end of Bunder-culla Island.

The 25th. came back to y^e mouth of Hageagunge Creek.

The Country between Hageagunge & Bunderculla (the South side of the River) is but thinly peopled or cultivated. Eight miles below Hageagunge begins a chain of Islands which divide y^e River into several small Channells on the South side; these Islands of which there are three principal ones extend about 8 miles, & are covered with thick Jungles, being inhabited only by Tygers, which frequently make excursions to y^e South side in quest of their Prey. Jallapour Island is the South-most of the three; opposite to the Northwest point of it, a large Creek runs out to **14** the Southward and Southeast, making the shortest Passage to Hobbygunge from this part of the Country. This Creek is navigable all the year for large Boats. On the South point of its inlet is situated Saggaatpour, a large Village; this is distant from Hageagunge by land 12 English miles, & from Hobbygunge 17.

Near the South East point of Jallapour Island, begins the NW part of Bunderculla Island; This Island is not properly belonging to the Ganges, being divided by a very narrow shallow Creek. It is about 5½ miles in length & 1¼ in breadth, & has only one small Village on it, the rest being an entire Jungle. On the North part of this Island we perceived the fresh Track of a large Tyger, this being the first we have seen since we came out. Pulyculla and Bunderculla, two middling Villages are situated on the River Bank opposite to the NW part of the Island.³

The 23d.⁴ at Seneekondy, Variation p. Amplitude 0°-16' W^t.

15

The 25th. at the time of finishing the Survey back from Bunderculla to Hageagunge, I found myself very ill of a Cold, which was followed by a Feaver; & being in the neighbourhood of Dacca, I thought it proper to go there for Assistance.

The 26th. in y^e Morning dropped down to Nabobgunge Creek, & proceeded

¹ On the left bank of the river.

² See below, p. 39, also Appendix.

³ Mr. Ascoli tells me that the islands in the Padma between its junction with the Brahmaputra and Rajnagar are all now covered with sand, and contain no appreciable jungle. This change is probably due to the sand brought down by the Brahmaputra.

⁴ The date of the battle of Buxar, which placed the whole of Oudh and the north west of Bengal in the power of the English.

through it towards Dacca. At Sunset saw Dyatybalypour Pagoda to the NE distant 4 miles, & at the same time left the main Creek & proceeded through a very small Creek, which brought us into the Isamutey River about 9 at Night. We crossed the Isamutey again soon after & went through a small Creek to the NE^{ward}, & at 11 came within one Pour^{1*} or Par of Dacca. Here we rested till Morning, & got to Dacca about 9 AM.

* equal to 5 English miles or 6 Eng. Hours' travelling.

My Disorder increasing, I remained at Dacca till y^e 2d. November when being tolerably recovered I set out from thence to proceed with the Survey.

16 During my stay at Dacca the Weather was remarkably fine & cool, the Mornings commonly Foggy till near 8 o'Clock.

Whilst at Dacca I wrote to Mr. VanSittart informing him of my illness, & of the late Progress of the Survey, inclosing a Sketch of it. At the same time I requested his Opinion of the utility of surveying the Baramputry or Megna from its conflux with the Ganges⁺ to Dacca. He was pleased to express his Approbation of it, & ordered it to be carried into Execution when the present Service should be finished.

Nov^r. 2d. in the Afternoon left Dacca, & at 8 next Morning entered the Isamutey, leaving it again at 10, going back the same Road we came. At Noon y^e 3d. set Dyatybalypour Pagoda bearing E 24° N dist^t. about 4 miles, & that of Barycally S 21 - 30' W. about 5 or 6 miles. We were at this Time half way down y^e Creek, that runs from Nabobgunge Creek to y^e Isamutey.

17 From Nabobgunge Creek we turned to y^e Left & went through a very small Creek whose Course was from South to SBW; the inlet of it is near Churrol distant from Nabobgunge 1½ pour or about 8 English Miles.

The 4th. following the Course of the small Creek came into Jeels which we were about 2 hours in crossing, & then entered a very small Creek, our Course mostly South. At Noon saw the Pagodas at Neurpour⁺ bearing South distant 5 or 6 miles.

At 5 PM passed about ½ a mile to the Westward of the Pagodas & came very near our old Mark at Gohulercandy at Night. The Countrey here is mostly Swamp or Jeels.

The 5th. at 8 in the Morning came into the great River by Nullua Creek,⁺ & coming to the place where we left off, proceeded with the Survey. We have now been absent from it 10 days.

From this time to the 17th. inclusive no remarkable Circumstance happened; the Weather being extremely fine, we have no other Obstacles to carrying on our

¹ Pour (Hind. pahar, pahar), a fourth part of the day or night, a 'watch' or space of 8 gharis. The word is used in the work as a measure of distance. In the notes appended to this journal Rennell gives details of the use of the word Pour (p. 127). The Bengal hour was the 'ghari', measured by a floating cup with a hole in the bottom, so that it would fill and sink within a certain time. This interval was 24 minutes, 8 of these minutes constituted a Pour or Par.

⁺ The river at that time to the south of Dacca, not to the west as it is now.

⁺ The names of these temples are mentioned in the List of Ancient Monuments.

^{*} It is generally thought, according to Mr. Ascoli, that the greatest changes in the course of the Padma have taken place in the latter time.

Business properly than the extensive Thickets with which the Countrey abounds, & 18 the constant dread of Tygers, whose Vicinity to us, their Tracks which we are constantly trampling over do fully demonstrate. The Weather now begins to grow cold, especially in the Mornings, but we have had very few Fogs as yet, which is a favorable Circumstance to us. The Winds have been mostly from the Northward, & if in a Morning it happened to blow fresh, the Air was very sharp.

From Gohulercandy, where we last began our Work, the Course of the River is mostly SBE (allowing the turnings) till it separates into two Branches near Tockya.

In the first Reach from Gohulercandy, there are four principal Creeks leading out of the River; & there being 2 large Islands in it, the River is at one place $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles over.

The inlet of Budarashon Creek is on y^e West side, 3 miles down the Reach, from whence it is but 7 miles by Water to Hobbygunge. This Creek is navigable all the 19 year for large Boats, & is a good Track for Boats bound from Sunderbound to Jelen- ghee &c.

On the opposite side of the Reach, & within¹ Gonganagore Island, a small Creek runs out towards Rajanagore, & from thence to Loricul² & the Megna, affording a good Passage for large Boats from one River to the other; though Chycundy Creek which runs out four Miles farther down & joins with this within y^e Country, affords the shortest Passage of the two.³ In the dry Season they are neither of them navigable for large Boats at low Water, but the delay occasioned by that is of trifling consequence when compared with y^e danger & risque of navigating the Megna; for unless this Creek existed, the Boats from Sunderbound to Dacca, Assam, &c. must have gone up that River.

Rajanagore,* formerly a place of consequence, lies about 3 miles in from y^e East side of the River; there are 8 Pagodas in & near it, some of which may be seen a great way off.⁴ From Rajanagore to the Megna or Baramputrey is only $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles, 20 so that the Peninsula formed by the 2 Rivers is not 12 miles over in this Place.

At the bottom of the Reach close by Diggarypara a large Creek runs out to y^e Southeast, but falls into the great River again after taking a Course of about 10 or 12 miles.

The 10th. at Pokera found the Variation of the Needle to be $1^{\circ}6'$ Westerly.

Near the Village of Tockya,⁵ about 16 miles $S\frac{1}{2}W$ from Rajanagore, & in Latitude $23^{\circ}-7'$, the Ganges divides into two separate Branches, forming an Island of about 20 miles long, & in some Places 12 over, but of the Particulars hereafter.

¹ *i.e.* to the east of.

² Luricool of map, *see* p. 39 and Appendix A

³ The position of these creeks is now mainly occupied by the united waters of the Ganges and Meghna. They were almost due west of Chandpur.

⁴ *See* Appendix A.

⁵ About 13 miles SE of Madaripur. The main stream of the Ganges now flows far to the North of this.

Of these Branches, the Eastmost is the largest, but afterwards divides into a number of small Branches forming 17 or 18 Islands before it unites again with the Western Branch. This Eastern one appearing to make the shortest Passage to Luckypour¹ I propose to make an exact Survey of it, & only a cursory one of the
21 other, one being sufficient to determine the distance.

The 16th. at Rypour found the Variation to be $0^{\circ}55'$ Westerly.

I have not been able as yet to get any tolerable information concerning the Situation of Luckypour, & being informed that a little further on, the River divides into several Branches, I judge it prudent to take a cursory Survey of them at first, fearing lest we may take a wrong Rout, which may probably occasion the loss of more Time than what I have proposed, & to less Advantage.

On this Consideration I left off surveying at Tockya, & dropt down y^e River the 17th. in the Evening.

The 18th. in the Morning fresh Breezes of Wind from the Northward, with several Showers, & the Air excessive cold. All day making the best of our Way down the River, keeping the Eastmost Channels, as their Course trends most towards Luckypour.

22 The 19th. at Noon after going from Tockya by Account 35 or 36 Miles, we entered the Megna or Baramputrey, coming into it by the Northmost Channel of the Ganges, known by the name of Mendygunge² River. The main Channel of the Ganges seems to fall in about 4 or 5 miles to the Southward.

We now proceeded along the Western Shoar of the Megna NBE & NNE, a confused cluster of uninhabited Islands forming the East side of the Passage. Between some of these Islands I could discover no Land at all, it appearing like an open Sea.

The 20th. in the Morning passed Doycally, & soon after had a view of Luckypour, the Factory being distinctly seen 13 or 14 miles. Before Noon we reached it. By a computation of the distances from Tockya to this Place, I judge that we have about 46 or 50 miles more to survey.

Being in daily expectation of receiving another Budgarow, I propose staying here another Day, & employ myself in copying the Surveys of the River for the public Use.

23 The 22nd. in the Morning set out from Luckypour, on our return to the Survey, the Weather remarkably fine.

The 25th. in the Morning arrived at our old Mark at Gozarya,³ & proceeded with the Survey. During the Passage from Luckypour, we have been employed in copying the drafts of the River. This Evening at Nagulpara⁴ the Variation was $1^{\circ}10'$ West.

From this time to the 16th. of December, the Weather continued to be remarkably serene. The Mornings (as is usual at this Season) very foggy till 9 or 10 o'clock,

¹ Luckypour is situated on the left bank of the Meghna in Noakhali district.

² Mendygunge is a small town.

³ About 4 miles E of Tockya.

⁴ Nagulpara is a small town.

& sometimes the Fog continued the whole Day in such a manner that no surveying Work could be performed. The Winds commonly blew in light Breezes from the North & NNE, with frequent intervals of Calms, at which Times y^e Fogs continued. I remarked that the Fogs commonly came on immediately after Sunrising.¹ The Morning Air seemed to me to have y^e same degree of Cold, as that in England about the latter end of March.

The 28th. after surveying 3 Reaches from Tockya, came to Monerpour, where 24 the largest Channell of this Eastern River turns to y^e SW^t. We follow y^e Course of the Eastmost Channell, as being y^e nearest Rout, & best Countrey to survey in.

*The 27th.

*Variation at Sunset near Monerpour 1°-0' West.²

The 30th. received a new Budgarow from Calcutta. It has been 31 days on its Passage. Being a new one it will be rather safer than the one I had before, as that was old & ready to drop to pieces, but this seems one to be very crank & dangerous.

December y^e 1st. came to Cusarya, opposite to which the great Southern Channell from Monerpour falls in. The Country here very full of Jungle & thinly inhabited. This day & the following employed in making a cursory Survey of the Southern Channells of this River, of which the best Idea will be formed by inspecting the Map No. III of the Ganges.

The 3rd. began the Survey of Mendygunge River, which is properly the north- 25 most Branch of the Ganges. I make choice of this Rout as being the shortest; proposing to make only a cursory Survey of the South Branch.

The 4th. dispatched the old Budgarow for Calcutta, by way of the great River.

The 5th. came into y^e Western part of the Megna & proceeded to the Southward towards the main Channell of the Ganges. The Countrey here has a most unpromising appearance.

The 6th. proceeded with the Survey of the West side of the Megna, from the conflux of the two Rivers towards Luckypour. This part of the Countrey is full of thick Woods & Jungles, & has very few Inhabitants.

The 7th. came to Little Backergunge, which is situated at y^e mouth of a large Creek, about halfway betwixt the conflux & Luckypour.

The 8th. all day thick Fog. The 9th. dropt down to the Mouth of the Ganges, & began to survey the main Channell from thence towards the head of Mendygunge 26 River. The Tides are very strong here. The Floods about 1½' P hour at Springs.

The 10th. at Sunset Mag. Variation 1°-5' W^t. near Loatto.

Ten miles above the conflux of the Rivers a large Creek runs out the South side of the River towards Backergunge & Sewtylewry,³ & is used as a common Rout to those Places from Luckypour &c. The Boatmen call it Durgapour Creek. Its inlet

¹ These fogs are still a great hindrance to the navigation of the water-ways of Bengal and Assam during the winter months.

² Char Manpara, S.E. of Nagerpara. Mr. Ascoli says that to the South of this place the old course of the river is easily traceable by a series of 'char' lands (Char is a sandbank thrown up in the bed of a river), though it is now entirely dry to near Mehndiganj.

³ Sutylury on Rennell's maps, 12 miles west of Barisal. It is apparently the same place as the modern Jhalakati or Mahrajganj, one of the largest timber markets in Bengal.

is near the Village of Jaggatdul. Three miles above this, is the Mouth of the Western Branch of the great River whose head is near Tockya. I propose leaving this River unfinished till I can receive further information of the Courses of the different Branches of it, lest I may take a wrong Rout & lose much Time by it.

The 13th. having finished the Survey of the River from the head of Mendygunge Creek to the conflux, we proceeded about six miles along the Western Shoar below the Mouth of the Megna, in order to observe the face of the Countrey &c. It is
27 mostly covered with Jungle, & I could discover only one Village the whole Way.

By an Observation of Latitude taken this day about four miles below the Mouth of the Megna, I find myself in $22^{\circ}-40'$ North, & being now at least 20 miles from the Sea, it appears that the old Maps have laid down the Latitude of the Mouth of the Ganges much too far Northerly; for instance M. d'Anville places it in $22^{\circ}-36'$ ¹ or thereabouts, whereas if the least dependance can be placed on the distance of Backergunge from the Sea, as estimated by the Boatmen, the Latitude of the Ganges Mouth must be about $22^{\circ}-20'$ North.²

The 14th. passed Doycalley, & the 15th. at Noon came to the Point opposite Luckypour from whence we crossed over in the Afternoon. The Megna seems to be about five Miles over.

From the 15th. to the 23rd. inclusive, the Weather generally foggy in the Mornings & commonly continued till 10 or 11 o'Clock, sometimes it was not clear enough all day to see the opposite side of the Megna from Luckypour. The Winds variable & in light Breezes.

28 The 16th. began to make an exact Survey of the Nulla, Fort & Village of Luckypour, chiefly with a design to show the present Situation of the Factory with respect to the Bank of the River, which is continually wearing away by reason of the high Surges of the River in y^e time of y^e Southwardly Winds.³

The 20th. having finished the Plan, took y^e Latitude of the Place by Hadley's Quadrant, but the Horizon was not good enough to place any dependance on the Observation. The Latitude found was $22^{\circ}-57'$ North.⁴

From this time to y^e 23rd. employed in finishing y^e Original Maps, copying

¹ Evidently a slip of the pen for $23^{\circ}-36'$.

² The conflux of the Ganges and Meghna is now in about $23^{\circ}-20'$ N or a degree further north than it was in former times. The old channel, now known as the Arial Khan, enters the Meghna at Mirzaganj in about Lat. $22^{\circ}-40'$.

³ The present Factory was established here by the East India Co. A report to the Council, probably furnished by Mr. Wallingford Plasted (*see note* p. 38), and entered in the Proceedings for Oct^r 1st 1767, states:—"No longer than the year 1766 (the Factory) might have been said to have stood a mile up a creek, locked in and secure both by the high banks, and the impulse of bores and the SW Monsoon, but within this short space the cover it had was washed away, and it is now entirely laid open. The factory was at first built 200 yards from the river side, but when I arrived the SW corner was scarcely two yards from the bank, and it would certainly have been washed away, had a boat of 1,000 maunds had not been sunk, that keeps by way of a break-water, and bamboos planted by way of further precaution; this I am in hopes may secure it till the monsoon is broke, and the river run against another" (Rev. J. Long, Selections, No. 914, p. 481). In 1761 the district was over-run by a party of Mr. Billers the Chief of the Factory wrote to Nawab Kasim Ali, asking him to give orders to the Nawab of the country "to fire off the mouth of a cannon the leader of the thieves, who was made prisoner, and afterwards delivered" (*Ibid.*, No. 557, p. 259).

⁴ The present name of the Nullah of Lakshimpur, according to the Imperial Gazetteer.

others, & making a small Map of the Ganges which was immediately dispatched to the Governor. Began likewise a compleat Sett of Maps of the Ganges on a scale of 2 miles to an Inch.

The 23rd. having received further Information concerning the Course &c. of the 29 Western Branch of the Ganges, set out from Luckyp^r. in order to survey it. The same day had an Observation of Latitude tho' not very exact. By this the Latitude of Luckypour appears to be $22^{\circ}-54'$. This Evening put ashore at Doycalley Point.

The 24th. employed in surveying the Western Shoars of the Jungle Islands opposite Luckypour.

The 25th. arrived at y^e Mouth of the Western River & next day proceeded up it. After going 4 miles up found it divided into 2 Branches, we kept the Northmost imagining that the other led to the Woods.¹ At Night after having traced it to the North & Northwest 6 or 7 miles it decreased from a large River to a very small Creek, but finding the Tide to ebb & flow pretty strong I thought it best to proceed the next day, & after going about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the South & West, we came into the Western River near Kiddarpour. The South side of this Creek is mostly Jungle, the North is well cultivated, & produces Sugar Canes, Tobacco, & Betel nut. The principal Village is named Azimpour.

From this time to y^e 29th. employed in tracing y^e Western River from Kiddar- 30 pour to Tockya. Its breadth is from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile. There are few particulars about it worth remarking. Four miles below its separation from the great Ganges a large Creek from Hobbygunge falls in; nine miles below that lies Goanuddy or Gurnuddy,² a large Village. There is a high Pagoda by which the place may be known at 9 miles distant. Many Boats are built in the neighbourhood, & here are abundance of Betel Trees, which seem to be the chief Produce of the Countrey.

Twelve miles below Gurnuddy a large Creek or River falls in from the Westward; as this Creek is seldom used by Boats, I could get but little information regarding its Source, however I am well persuaded that it must be the Burrashee Creek from Jaynagore.³

Immediately below the mouth of this Creek, the Western River divides into two principal Branches, & those again soon after into others, so that it would be a 31 laborious & difficult work to attempt describing them. We took our Rout through the Eastmost of them, which brought us again into the great Ganges by the Southmost of the two Branches mentioned y^e 25th.

Being now in the neighbourhood of Backergunge, I thought it might not be altogether useless to describe the Situation of that place by tracing some Creek which should afford y^e shortest Passage. I fixed on a branch of the Western River for this purpose, & the 31st. in the Morning proceeded to the Southwest, Backergunge being distant about 2 days by Water.

¹ *i.e.* the Sundarbans.

² Gaurnadi. The pagoda has disappeared.

³ This creek is probably the 'Lolcherra creek,' mentioned below, p. 94. It is not connected with the Barasia, which is a branch of the Madhumati or Baleswar river, and enters the Bay of Bengal by a separate mouth, the Haringhata.

The Countrey from Gurnuddy to Sastenagor is mostly Jungle, & consequently very thinly inhabited. Below Sastenagore it begins to be more open. Sastenagore is about 16 miles below Gurnuddy.

- 32 The 31st. in y^e Evening passed Burryshel,¹ a Bazar Village a little below Sastenagore; opposite Burryshel a large Creek runs out to y^e Eastward, & is known to the Boatmen by the name of Durgapour Creek; through it lies y^e common Rout from Luckypour to Backergunge.²

Four miles below Burryshel, the River divides into four Branches, the Eastmost to Gobindapour & y^e Sea, the Southmost to Backergunge, & y^e two Western ones to Sewtylewry, which is situated two Par from thence.

January 1st. 1765, at 3 PM arrived at Backergunge, which lies on a very small Creek about 14 miles below the four Creeks. It lies in Latitude 22°-36' or 37' North, about 16 miles from the Great Ganges, 74 from Dacca & 116 from Calcutta. The Inhabitants report that the Sea is about 20 miles to the SSE^t.

Having now compleated the survey of the Ganges &c. I proceeded to construct a Set of Maps of it, on a Scale proper for common Use,* to be divided into 3 parts, each on a Sheet of Royal Paper, & a fourth Sheet to contain the whole on a Scale of 10 English Miles to an Inch, & a Plan of Luckypour.

* 2 miles to an inch.

- 33 The 2nd. in the Morning set out for Luckypour in our way to Dacca, where I must proceed in order to get a supply of Money. Nothing remarkable happened in our Passage, save that we took our Rout through Durgapour Creek,³ & that the 5th. in the Morning a fresh Gale of Wind drove all the Boats ashore on y^e Jungle Islands off of Luckypour; the Budgarow was got off again without Damage, by carrying out a Grapnel. That Morning the Air was very sharp, (occasioned by a Northerly Wind).

The 8th. at Night arrived at Dacca. Still employed on the Maps. Weather mostly Calm since the 5th.

From the 8th. to y^e 12th. at Dacca. Hired some new Boats &c. One of my European Assistants having cut a Dandy's⁴ Ear off, I delivered him prisoner to the Chief, agreeable to his Desire.

¹ The present headquarters of Bakarganj district, now a town of over 18,000 inhabitants. The Imperial Gazetteer of India for 1907-8, in describing the place in the eighteenth century it was an important salt *chauki* or place where salt-tax was paid, but does not mention that it was a very small village.

² The present headquarters of the district were transferred from here to Barisal in 1801. It is described in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* for 1907-8 as "the last place in India on which anyone would wish to build" (Ascoli). The place was in the past much subject to ravages by Magh pirates from Arakan in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On Rennell's maps, Bengal Atlas No. XX, it is marked "country depopulated by pirates".

³ The word *Durgapour* is peculiar to the Gangetic rivers, from Hind. & Beng. *dand*, a staff or oar (Hobson Jobson).

⁴ The name of the Dandy's Factory. This was probably Mr. Leicester, who was certainly Chief of the Factory

The Weather in general hot since y^e 8th., Winds variable.

The 12th. at Noon left Dacca, & proceeded down the Rivers towards Luckypour, **34** in order to continue y^e Survey from thence towards Dacca.

The 14th. at Night arrived at y^e old Mark near Doycalley Point,¹ & prepared for surveying y^e next Morning.

From the 14th to y^e 24th. employed in surveying the Western side of the Megna from the Point opposite Luckypour to Rajabarry² being upwards of 38 miles. The best Idea of the Course of y^e River may be obtained by a view of the Map; the Islands & Sands in it are almost innumerable. The Ganges & Megna near their conflux form a Peninsula, the Isthmus of which is not four miles over; this Isthmus lies between the villages of Soylerhaut & Serampour (the latter of which lies on the Megna) about 20 miles above y^e Point of y^e Conflux.

The Countrey between Doycalley & Rajabarry is full of Betel Trees, but has little cultivated Land, & is but thinly inhabited towards y^e River side, this must be owing **35** to the number of Tygers which have their haunts thereabouts.³

Five or six Miles below Rajabarry is the Mouth of Chiddypour or Luricule Creek; this Creek affords a short & safe Passage from the Megna to the Ganges going by way of Luricule & Rajanagore, & entering y^e Ganges either at Gonganagore or Chycundy. The distance overland from Chiddypour to Chycundy is not 11 miles, so near do these Rivers approach each other, though they afterwards run upwards of 40 miles before they unite. It must be observed that Luricule Creek runs from the Ganges to y^e Megna, & that the flood Tide from the Megna has not strength enough to keep back y^e current of Chycundy Creek, which always runs to the Eastward.

The Village of Rajabarry is situated on y^e Western side of the Megna in Lat. 23°-21' N distant from Dacca 22 miles & from Luckypour 34. An old Pagoda stands about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile to the Southwest of it.⁴ The Village has formerly been large, but is now reduced to a small Bazar only. An extensive cluster of Islands divides y^e **36** River into a number of Channels opposite Rajabarry, & forms several commodious Harbours for Boats.

From the 12th. to y^e 24th. January the Winds & Weather variable, the former mostly from the Northward, though but in light Breezes. The Mornings in general

when Dacca was taken by body of rebellious 'Fakirs' in 1763. His conduct on that occasion drew down the wrath of Lord Clive, when Lyeester was a member of Council, in 1766 (Long, Selections, No. 839, p. 429; see also Bengal, Past and Present, Vol. V, p. 209). Two Lyeesters are mentioned among the lists of those who were in Calcutta in 1756, of whom one, Ralph, escaped in the ships with Governor Drake before the tragedy of the Black Hole.

¹ Opposite Lakshimpur.

² Rajabari, now quite a small village, on the left bank of the Meghna below Naraingauj and just above the conflux of the Ganges & Meghna.

³ Great changes have taken place in this area since Rennell's time. A vast series of 'chars' or sandbanks now extends southwards, and a large river, the Nayabhangani, has broken through the isthmus. Serampur has disappeared into the bed of the Meghna, and Mr. Ascoli remarks that "there are no 'Tygers' now."

⁴ This is the Rajabari *math*, a monumental tower built, it is said, over the funeral pyre of the mother of Chand Rayya and Kedar Rayya, independent princes of the locality, about 200 years before this. It is built of brick about 30 feet square at base and 80 feet in height, and still forms a conspicuous landmark. (List of Ancient Mon. Beng., p. 218). A view of the 'math' is given in the Journ. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. XLIII, Pl. XI.

foggy till near 11 o'clock, & the rest of the day close & sultry. The 23rd. some Squalls from the NNW & a few flying Showers; the 24th. much Thunder & Lightning with Squalls & Rain from the NW & SW.

The 21st. at Daadpour Island
and y^e Variation 17° W.

The 25th. the Weather clearing up, left Rajabarry, & surveyed to y^e North end of Amidabad Island (the Northmost of y^e cluster) & afterwards proceeded to survey y^e Islands.

The 28th. finished y^e survey of the Rajabarry Islands & put over to the North end of Mohunp^r. Island, in order to survey the East side of the River from thence to Luckypour.

The Islands abovementioned are in number 18 great & small, out of which 37 number 8 only are inhabited. The length of the whole Range is about 13 miles, & the main Channell of the River (which is near a mile over) runs on the east side. It is worth remarking that the whole breadth of the River at & opposite Chiddypour is 7½ miles in y^e dry Season. There are two good Channells for crossing the River between the Islands, one between Amidabad & Pomomarra, the other round y^e north end of Shukypoura.

The 29th. began the survey from Mohunpour downwards, & the next Evening came to the North side of the Niagonga or Panghia River. This River appears to be a branch of the Baramputrey, & near its conflux with y^e Megna is more than ¾ of a mile over. The Countrey on the North side of it consists mostly of clear Meadows which are entirely overflown in y^e wet Season.

Chaundpour^r a small but remarkable Village lies on the South Bank of the Niagonga near the point of its conflux with the Megna. It is situated about 31 miles from Dacca, 11 from Rajabarry, & 23 or 24 from Luckypour. Here the Country begins to be full of Betel Trees again, & continues so almost to Luckypour.

38 February y^e 2nd. surveyed to Havatya Creek about 11 miles below Chandpour, when hearing that Mr. Plaisted^r was at Luckypour, I set out for that Place in hopes of getting from him some Materials for making a general Map of Bengall. Arrived at Luckypour in y^e Evening.

Chandpur, now the terminus on the Meghna of the Assam-Bengal Railway.

Through the kindness of my friend the Rev^d W. K. Firminger, Editor of 'Bengal, Past and Present', I have been enabled to learn some particulars of the career of Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted. In 1745, being then Captain and Supercargo of the *St. Andrew*, he was appointed 'Engineer and Surveyor' by the Council, and in 1747 prepared plans for the improvement of the defences of Old Fort William, his connection with which is fully set out in the late Dr. C. R. Wilson's work 'Fort William in Bengal.' In a small book published by Plaisted in 1758, a Journal of his voyages from Calcutta to the Red Sea and thence across the desert to Aleppo and home (which Mr. Firminger has kindly placed at my disposal) he prefixed his Map of Bengal, with an "Account of the countries, cities, and towns adjacent to Bengal" which he had himself resided there many years." This map, which he states in the legend attached was "collected by the late Mr. Plaisted, and corrected by me," it must be confessed, much if at all superior to Van den Broueke's map of 1660 in point of accuracy and detail, and he is not referred to by Reimell in the 'Memoir' as one of the authorities for his map of Bengal. From 1757 to 1763 Plaisted was employed in surveying the river and coasts near Chittagong, with a salary of £1000 a year, increased in 1765 to the emoluments of a member of Council (Wilson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II., pp. 102, 103, 104, 105). In July 1767 he was surveying at 'Luckypore' but died at Calcutta in October of the same year.

From y^e 2nd. to y^e 9th. at Luckypour; employed in reducing & copying y^e particular Maps of y^e Ganges, surveying Daokytya Nulla,¹ the Sand Banks below Luckypour, &c. & taking y^e Latitude of the Place which by an exact observation appears to be 22°-55' North.

*The 9th. found y^e Variation at Solacally Creek 1°-30' West. *The 9th. left Luckypour without having seen Mr. Plaisted, & proceeded with the Survey from that place towards Havatya Creek.²

The 12th finished the Survey to Havatya, & now all that part of the Megna lying to y^e Southward of Rajabarry being surveyed, I propose in y^e next place to survey Chiddypour Creek.³

The 13th. in y^e Afternoon arrived at Chiddypour & proceeded up y^e Creek passing 39 by Mulputgunge. The 14th. in y^e forenoon passed Luricule which is situated on the South side of the Creek. Luricule, once a remarkable Village lies almost half way betwixt y^e Ganges & Megna, is about 28 miles S½W from Dacca, & 3 ESE from Rajanagore. Here are y^e ruins of a Portuguese Church, & of many Brick Houses.⁴

Jaopsa Pagoda⁵ (which is very high & may be distinctly seen in both Rivers) is situated ¾ of a mile SE from Luricule. The Countrey hereabouts is pleasant & well cultivated; there are likewise many Groves of Betel Trees.

The 15th. finished the Survey of the Creek, having traced it almost to Gonganagore on y^e east side of the Ganges

Rajanagore⁶ is situated about a mile & half from y^e east Bank of Gonganagore Creek, on a small Rivulet which falls into y^e said Creek but is navigable for Boats only at half Flood.

Chycundy Creek joins that from Gonganagore about 3 miles below Rajanagore. 40

The 16th. returned to Berackondy near Rajabarry where we left off surveying the 24th January last.

From the 16th. to y^e 19th. employed in surveying from Berackondy to Iddyrapour, & having now finished all the Western side of the Megna, we put over to y^e other side in order to finish that before the Northwest Squalls begin.

¹ A stream entering the Meghna a short distance above Lakshnipur.

² On the same side of the river, about 15 miles up stream.

³ The creek below Rajabari referred to on p. 37, connecting the Meghna with the Ganges. It afterwards became the main channel of the latter river, but is now a small creek again.

⁴ Perhaps the relics of the Portuguese who were in the employ of the Raja of Arakan at the beginning of the 17th century, and on being expelled from his dominions, took to piracy at the mouths of the Ganges. Under their leader Sebastian Gouzales, they were constantly at war with the Mughals. They were finally overcome by Shaista Khan, the Governor of Bengal under Aurangzib, and their families were settled near Dacca, where they gradually sunk to the level of the natives.

The name of this place may perhaps be connected with the title of the Marquis of Lourical, who was in 1741 Viceroy of Goa, and defeated the Marathas at Bardez (Hunter, Imp. Gaz., 2nd Ed., Vol. v. p. 104). In the Atlas of India, sheet 126, SW, it is marked 'Noreeko'e.' No mention is made of these ruins or of the pagodas at Rajanagar in the List of Ancient Monuments, Bengal (see Appendix A).

⁵ This pagoda was swept away by the Kirtinasa River in 1881-2 (Ascoli).

⁶ The main branch of the Ganges or Kirtinasa river now passes 5 or 6 miles to the north of the site of this place.

From y^e 10th. to y^e 22nd. inclusive employed in surveying y^e eastern Shoar from Kallagutchy to the North End of Mohunpour Island, & likewise the eastern sides of y^e intermediate Islands, y^e western sides of them being done before. The Baramputrey or River from Assam seems to be about 2 miles broad; its conflux with y^e Issamutey is in Latitude 23°-28' or nearly under the Tropic of Cancer.

- 11 The 23rd. made an exact Plan of Iddyrapour Kella¹: this lies about 2 miles SE from Feringybazur & near 14 from Dacca.

From that Time to the 3rd. March employed in surveying the Rivers & Creeks in y^e nearest Rout from Iddyrapour to Dacca.

Feringybazur² a large Village extending 2 miles along y^e Southern Bank of y^e Issamutey River is situate about 11 miles SEBS from Dacca, but the Passage by Water in y^e dry Season is full 15 miles. This Village lies on y^e highest spot of Ground in the whole neighbourhood, & is some feet above y^e level of y^e Water during y^e wet Season. Luckya River, the Water of which is so remarkable for its clearness & sweetness, falls into y^e Issamutey opposite to Feringybazur.

Five miles above Feringybazur, the Beurygonga³ or Dacca River falls into the Issamutey. The Countrey here is well cultivated, & sown with Paddy Cotton &c.

- 42 The Beurygonga or River on which Dacca is situated, is the Eastmost Branch of the River Ganges. Its breadth in general is about 250 yards, & its Course in the neighbourhood of Dacca pretty streight from NW to SE. It is navigable in the dry Season for the largest Boats.

The City of Dacca lies on the Northeast side of this River & extends near 4 miles along y^e Bank. The British Factory⁵ is nearly in Latitude 23°-40' North, & stands near a quarter of a mile above high Water Mark; Its figure approaches nearest that of a Square, whose sides are a little less than 100 yards. The French & Dutch

¹ Mr. D'Anville places it on y^e 10th. Bank of y^e Ganges & only 10 Miles from y^e head of Jelenghee River.

² 12 Miles from the Banks of y^e Ganges.

Factories are smaller & lie further up y^e River. Dacca is situated with respect to y^e head of Jelenghee River EBS $\frac{1}{4}$ S* 109 Statute Miles, & from Calcutta according to a Map constructed from y^e best Authorities that I can procure E 27° N or ENE $\frac{1}{2}$ N dist. 142 Miles.†

- 13 The Weather during the latter end of January (v^t.) from y^e 24th. to y^e 31st. was as follows: The 25th. & 26 clear Weather with fresh Breezes of Wind from y^e N. &

³ The name Killa or fort. Hunter says that the remains of a circular fort, built by Mir Jumla, one of the victors of the battle during the reign of Aurangzib, were visible at Idrakpur, S of Firinghi Bazar, in 1839 (Stat. Acc. Bengal, p. 103). The town of Munshiganj now stands on the site of Idrakpur, and the Sub divisional Officer's residence is on one of the bastions.

⁴ The Luckya River, the waters of which are still remarkable for their purity and sweetness.

⁵ The British Factory, a branch of the Dhaleswari river.

⁶ The French and Dutch factories were established in Dacca about the middle of the 17th century, when the place was visited by Tasman. After 1701, the trade of the place declined considerably, and the Commercial Residency was removed thence. The position of the factories is shown in the map of the Environs of Dacca, Rennell's Atlas, p. 10.

NNE^T the remaining days mostly Calm : the Air in general was moderately warm, the Mornings foggy till 8 or 9 o'clock.

The 1st. of February I perceived the first Breeze of Southerly Wind for y^e Season, the next day we had another more fresh about 9 in y^e Morning but after this we had commonly Northerly Breezes in y^e Morning & Southerly ones in y^e Afternoon though both of them light.

The Morning Fogs continued till y^e latter end of y^e Month & were the cause of much trouble & hindrance in surveying so broad a River as the Megna, where I was frequently obliged to look out for Flags at the distance of 7 & 8 miles.

By the middle of the Month the Air began to be very warm, & in y^e middle of the day excessive hot, as but little Wind was stirring ; & I think that we had more Calms in this Month than in any other that I have observed since I have 44 been out.

The Month of March began with clear Weather, & very variable Winds though mostly from y^e South & West ; the Air very warm.

The Fogs are now almost over, there being only a foggy Morning now & then, & seldom continuing after 8 o'clock.

The 15th. threating Weather all day ; the 16th. in y^e Evening we perceived the first Northwester for the Season. A heavy Shower of Hail fell in the beginning of it, & afterwards Rain ;* the Wind was violent only for a few Minutes.

* Thus far copied.¹

The 17th. close Weather all day, & some Rain ; the Wind mostly from the Westward in fresh Breezes.

The 18th. fine Weather. The 19th. at Night several heavy Squalls of Wind from y^e SW & SSE & much Rain. The bad Weather continued from 7 to $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 PM.

The 20th. the Morning fair, The Evening rainy, Wind variable. 45

The 21st. in y^e morning some very fresh Gales from the Northward, & Rain the remainder of the Day ; the next Day y^e Weather cleared up.

From the 21st. to y^e 31st. little remarkable in the Weather, the Winds mostly from y^e SW^t. & West, the Air very warm.

The 28th. March sent the Governor a general Map of the Megna on a scale of 2 Miles to an Inch, & the 4th. April sent y^e remaining 8 Maps of the Ganges : there has now been sent a compleat sett of Maps of the Ganges, both general and particular.²

¹ Probably transcribed from the journals he was in the habit of sending to the Governor, and from the entries in his Field Books.

² Regarding the fate of these maps see p. 93.

The 5th. April received Orders from the Governor to survey the Megna or Baramputrey from its conflux with the Issamutey to Gaulpara,¹ or as high as it can be done without offending the Natives.

- 16 The Month of April began with fine Weather: the Winds in general from the Westward till y^e 7th. the Air moderately cool. The 6th. very fresh Breezes.

The 7th. Winds West & WSW the Morning Rainy, the remainder of the day very fresh Breezes the Wind rather more Southwardly.

The 8th. Winds West & SW very fresh in y^e Morning: very lowering Sky all y^e Afternoon.

The 9th. Wind va^d. from N. to E. The Afternoon squally, Thunder, Lightning, & Rain: the next day fair Weather.

The 11th. variable Winds & much Rain; the 12th. Winds S. & SW. Weather very cool & pleasant: the 13th. & 14th. nearly the same.

The 15th. in y^e Night squally with Rain, the Wind from the Northwest. The 16th. all day lowring, the Night windy, some Rain tow^d. Morning.

The 17th. at 1 Afternoon a Squall from the Northwest & from thence variable to S. & SE. Rain for several Hours.

- 17 The 10th. April sent the Governor a Sketch of the Rivers, with my Idea of the situation of Gaulpara.

The 19th. in y^e Evening a Squall of Wind from the North & NNW but no Rain. A small Shower in the Night.

From 19th. to 22nd. inclusive the Winds mostly from the SE & SSE, the Weather excessive hot & sultry.

From y^e 22nd. to y^e 25th. Winds mostly from the South & Southwest, the mornings & evenings fresh Breezes, but y^e middle of y^e day Calm & very hot.

The 25th. in y^e Evening a very hard Squall from y^e WNW & Rain for about an hour. This Squall was by much y^e severest we had felt for the Season, & it gave but little warning.

The 26th. in y^e Evening much Thunder, & Lightning with a heavy Shower of Rain; a small Breeze of Wind from y^e Northward.

The 27th. y^e Morning very cool, Wind from y^e SW. Evening cloudy & threatening.

- 18 The 28th. Morning fair, Wind from y^e Westward. At 3 PM a heavy Squall from the Northward & Rain till near 7. The Night clear.

The 29th. in y^e Morning fresh Gales from y^e NE and very cold. The Afternoon cloudy, Wind West. I observe that the Wind is commonly Westerly in y^e Night. A Shower in the Night.

The 30th. a close Morning, & the forenoon excessive hot, the Wind variable. The Afternoon Wind from the Northward & a great deal of Rain. The Evening drizzling Rain. Night cloudy.

¹ Goalpara. in Assam.

May 1st. fine Weather all day, the Evening very close & some Rain in y^e Night. The 2nd. 3rd. & 4th. remarkable fine Weather, y^e Wind in the Morning from the NE & the remainder of y^e day from y^e W & SW.

The 5th. Weather all day excessive hot the Wind from the Westward.

The 6th. the Morning very hot, at Noon a Squall from the Westward with 49 heavy Rain for about an Hour, y^e Evening Cloudy & cool.

The 7th. at Sunrise began heavy Rain, w^{ch} continued till near 11 in y^e Morning, y^e remaining part of y^e day cool & cloudy.

The 5th. dispatched y^e remaining Maps, (v^t.) those containing a Copy of y^e late Survey on a scale of 2 In. to a mile, a Map of Luricule Creek on 1 In. to a mile, & Plans of Iddyracpour & Daapeka ¹ Killas.

The 6th. received Intelligence of Lord Clive's arrival at Calcutta.²

The 8th. having all the Boats & People ready, I proposed setting out on y^e survey of y^e Baramputrey, but we had bad Weather all the day, & the following Night. At Noon that Day began heavy Rain; the Wind in fresh Breezes from the South & SSE. The Afternoon mostly rainy, but little Wind. At 10 at Night it began to grow squally & from 11 to $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1 next Morning we had a hard Gale from the South East, the Weather dry. We sheltered the Boats near the French Factory.

¹ A small fort on the Buriganga, 7 miles from Dacca on the road to Narainganj; probably one of the numerous forts built in the neighbourhood by the Mogul Viceroy, to check the incursions of the Maghs and Portuguese. All traces of it have now disappeared.

² Lord Clive arrived at Calcutta on the 3rd May 1765, to take up his second term of administration.

MAY 1765.

JOURNAL, of the third Expedition for surveying the Megna & Baramputrey from its Conflux with y^e Issamutey towards Gwalpara; as likewise the Rivers & Creeks leading out of it towards the Province of Bengall.

Thursday May 9th. set out from Dacca in order to survey the Baramputrey, & proceeded by way of the Issamutey River The Weather being remarkably bad we were employed from this time to the 11th. in making a Passage of 22 miles with y^e Current in our favour.

The 11th. in the Afternoon began surveying at Doarsanny a small Village situated on y^e South Point of the Conflux of the Megna & Issamutey.¹ Opposite to this Place lies a very large Sand Bank which divides the River into two unequal Channells, of which the Northmost is the safest & best. The Countrey here is mostly covered with Jungle.

2 From the 11th. to the 14th. employed in surveying from Doarsanny to Allynia in distance about 9 miles; the course of the River is about WSW, & its breadth in general about a mile & quarter. The Countrey on the S. side is quite flat & destitute of Trees, the North side is a continued jungle.

At Allynia a branch of the Megna turns off to the SE & falls into the great Megna again at Chandpou after taking a Course of about 24 miles. This Branch is named the Panghia River, & is navigable all the year for the largest Boats. Two Miles above Allynia a large Creek or River falls into the Megna on y^e East side; this is commonly called the little Megna, & affords the shortest Passage from thence to Silet & Azmarygunge.

From the 13th. to y^e 17th. employed surveying between Allynia & Nauldee²; the River being very crooked between those Places I shall refer to the Map. No. 1 from which the best Idea of its Course may be obtained. The Countrey on both sides is but thinly cultivated or inhabited, & there is scarce a Tree to be seen for many Miles. The Winds & Weather have been variable during this time, as will appear by the Journal annexed.

3 This River altho' it be in general (& especially by Europeans) named the Baramputrey; yet the Countrey People call it the Megna, & this Name it preserves upwards of 50 miles above its conflux with the Issamuty; when it takes the name of Baramputrey or Barram-peut.³

¹ See Rennell's Atlas to the combined waters of the Ichhamati, Dhaleswari, Buriganga, and the Issamutey, on the eastern bank of the Meghna, opposite the conflux.

² See the Journal to Daul Kandi, where the road from Dacca to Comillah leaves the river.

³ See the Journal to a Village on the Surma in the Sylhet district, about 80 miles NE of Dacca.

⁴ See the Journal to an important mart on the right bank of the Meghna about 7 miles above Sonargaon, and the Journal to the head of Eastern Bengal.

⁵ See the Journal to the head of this mode of spelling the name. Buchanan Hamilton writes it 'Brahmoputro.'

Few particulars worth remarking happened between the 17th & 23rd. except that we had in general excessive turbulent weather, & much Rain; & that on y^e 21st. we had a very hard Gale from the Southward. During this Time we were employed in surveying the West side of the River from Nauldee to Nursingdy. The River within this space is very broad, rapid, & dangerous, it being full of Islands & Shoals: its breadth is in many places $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles; its Course in general SWBS. The Pagoda of Sultansuddy¹ lies about $1\frac{3}{4}$ mile within y^e Western Bank, & is situated EBN distant about $16\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Dacca. The Countrey here is mostly sown with Padda.

Nursingdee a Bazar Village is situated on the Western Bank of the Megna & bears ENE $\frac{1}{2}$ N dist^t 23 miles from Dacca. Near this Village a large Branch of the Baramputrey falls into the Megna, after forming (by means also of that River) an Island of about 18 miles long & 7 over. The nearest Passage to Chilmary & Gwalpara⁴ lying through this Westmost Branch, I judged proper to make an exact Survey of it first, & to leave the Eastern River, till I could inform myself of more particulars concerning its Course; for even the Countrey People themselves are not acquainted with all the Channells, & they are but little frequented by Trading Boats.

At Nursingdy likewise another small River or Creek falls into the Megna; this Creek as I am informed affords a short Passage to the Luckya River, but my Orders directing me to leave the Western Branches of this River unsurveyed, till y^e great River is described, I cannot give any account whether it is all y^e year navigable for large Boats, but I suspect that it is. The Tides are almost imperceptible at this Place.

From the 23rd. May to y^e 2nd. June, employed in surveying the Western River*⁵

*This River is called the little Baramputrey or Poggolah.

whose length is near 40 miles, the windings & turnings included. It frequently separates into smaller Channells forming many pleasant & well cultivated Islands; the Western side, the soil is of a red Colour & very firm, & in several places there are very steep Cliffs by the River side. The Country here is likewise Woody, but none of the Trees are fit for Timber.² Here are many Villages whose situations are all particularly described in the Map.

The Current of this River is very rapid; the Tide rises at Pikerchoar about 8 or 9 inches, but farther up I could not perceive any Tide. The Western Bank of this River harbours a great number of Snakes, amongst which there are some of an enormous Size.

June 3d. came into the great Baramputrey, whose Course is from the WNW. I still omitted to survey the Eastern River, for want of a proper Person to inform me of the Courses of the several Branches that lead out of it.

¹ Sultan Shahadee. Marked on map No. XVII in Rennell's atlas, but not mentioned in the List of Ancient Monuments.

² This tract of country is described in Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal (Vol. v, pp. 18, 19). The soil consists of red ferruginous clay. The whole tract is known as the Madhupur jungle or 'Garh Gazali,' so called after the 'Sal' (*Shorea robusta*), the principal timber tree (*see* p. 60), and lies comparatively high, rising to 100 feet above flood level. It is still but little cultivated and infested by wild animals.

6 From the 3d. to the 9th. of June inclusive employed in surveying from the head of the Western River to the head of the Luckia River. The Course of the River within this space is nearly SE&BÉ & is divided into a number of Channells by an extensive Cluster of Islands. The Countrey on both sides has very few particulars worth remarking; it is very flat & mostly covered with Jungle toward y^e River; in the neighbourhood of Adampour, & the head of the Luckya River the Countrey abounds with Betel or Areca Trees. The Islands are mostly uninhabited.

The Luckya River is the Westmost Branch of the Baramputrey, & falls into y^e Issamutey a few Miles below Dacca,¹ after sending out a navigable Creek which leads to Dacca, & thereby allows a much shorter Passage from that City to Chilmary & Gwalpara than any of the Branches of the Megna.

7 The 9th. of June having procured a Pilot for the Megna, I proceeded to make a cursory survey of that part of it which lies betwixt Nursingdy & the head of the Western River, & set out on that Service in y^e Morning.

From the 9th. to the 16th. employed on the above Service. This part of the Megna is in some places upwards of three miles broad & has near 21 Islands within y^e space of 25 Miles. All of them are covered with Jungle & entirely uninhabited.

The Banks of this River also are mostly covered with Jungle, insomuch that there are only 3 considerable Villages within y^e abovementioned space. About 8 miles above Nursingdy, a large Creek runs out to the Southeast; this Creek, the Countrey People informed me, is the same which falls into the Megna near Allynya, & is included in Mr. Plaisted's Surveys of the Silet Rivers. Three miles further up the Silet River,² joins wth. the Megna from the North East. This River is more than half a mile broad, & as I am informed, has its Source near the Province of Silet. This River is likewise included in Mr. Plaisted's Surveys. The Water of this River is clearer than that of the Megna.

Opposite to the Village of Paragarahandy another River or large Creek falls into the Megna on y^e Est. side³: I could not learn from the Countrey People any particulars concerning its Course; it was near half a mile broad at that time, but it must be much smaller in y^e dry Season on account of the flatness of the neighbouring Countrey. I imagine that it must be some Branch of the Baramputrey which separates from that River a great way to the Northward.

The 16th. proceeded with the Survey of the Baramputrey, from the head of the Luckya River, northward.

9 Near this Place the Baramputrey is scarce half a mile broad, but excessive deep & rapid. The Rains had swelled the River very considerably, so that the Water was in many places even with the top of the Banks.

A few Miles above the head of the Luckya River we discovered one of the Northern Hills⁴ which was then distant from us upwards of 70 Miles.

¹ The largest town of Narasinganj is situated.

² The turbidness & clearness of the water is due to the numerous jhils through which it flows, where the silt and mud is to be seen in great extent deposited.

³ See Map III. (River II). Also this creek is shown as a branch of the Surma,

⁴ See Map III.

The 22^d. came to the Village of Ossunpour,¹ at which Place are the Ruins of a Portuguese Chapel. This Village is about 50 Miles NBE $\frac{1}{2}$ W from Dacca. Immediately below this Village a navigable Creek runs out of the Baramputrey to y^e Eastward, & communicates with Silet River. This part of the Country abounds with Betel Trees. The Variation of the Magnetic Needle was 0°-38' Westerly at this Place.

The 23^d. saw another Range of Mountains to the Northw^d. dist. at least 80 Miles. These are said to be the Boundary of the Kingdom of Bengall.²

From y^e 22^d. June to y^e 14th. July employed in surveying from Ossunpour to Coustya a small Village on the West side of the River. This Day we were obliged to leave off surveying, by reason of the Rivers suddenly overflowing the Banks, & 10 rendering it impossible either to measure Station Lines, or note the exact bed of the River.

The Course of the Baramputrey between the head of the Luckya River & Coustya is about SEBS notwithstanding that the old Maps have made it nearly South. The breadth of the River is very unequal, it being from half a Mile to three Miles. The Country on both sides is full of Villages, & has a great deal of Padda sown in it, & there are many Groves of Betel Trees. There is not a Tree fit for Timber to be met with, the trunks being very short & crooked.

Baganbarry³ a large Bazar Village is situated on y^e West side of the River, & near the Place where we left off surveying. From this Village a small Creek leads into the Luckya River during the wet Season, & allows a much safer Passage for Boats than y^e great River.

It being but a short Passage from Baganbarry to Chilmari,⁴ I imagined that a 11 few days would be usefully employed in tracing the River to that Place & making a cursory Survey of it, in order to render the general Map more compleat to this Time, & to get some Information from y^e Countrey People concerning the Situation of Gwalpara, & the Course of the Creeks that lead out of the Baramputrey towards Muxadavat.⁵

From the 14th. to y^e 19th. of July, employed in tracing y^e Baramputrey from Baganbarry to Chilmari. The Course of the River between these two Places is nearly the same as between the Luckya River & Baganbarry (v^t.) SEBS. The distance by

¹ Hoseinpur. The Portuguese chapel here is not mentioned either by Hunter or in the List of Ancient Monuments. 'Ossunpur' is mentioned in a letter of Père Barbier, dated 15th January 1723, included in the *Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses* (Tome XIII, p. 272), as one of the places where the 'gens à chapeau, or Portuguese in the service of the Great Mogul, were especially numerous. He visited the place himself in company with Bishop Laynez in 1714, and describes it as 'une bourgade toute chrétienne, nommée Ossunpur.' This letter will shortly be published by the Rev. W. K. Firminger in *Bengal, Past and Present*.

² See below, p. 130.

³ Baganbarry --spelt Bygonbarry on Rennell's map=Maimansingh or Nasirabad, the head-quarters of the Maimansingh district. Baigunbari is mentioned by Hunter as a village with a large indigo factory near Gobindganj, about 5 m. NW of Maimansingh. It is a place of pilgrimage for Hindus (*Stat. Acc. Beng.*, Vol. V. p. 415).

⁴ Chilmari, a town on the west bank of the Brahmaputra, a short distance above the point where the present river leaves the old channel.

⁵ A corruption of Maksudabad, the old name of Murshidabad. Rennell uses both forms, and in the *Bengal Atlas* always Moorshedabad.

Estimation is near 70 Miles, & as I was assisted in ascertaining it both by the bearings of the Mountains & the Latitude of Chilmary, there can arise no very considerable Error. The Latitude of Chilmary by an Observation taken by Hadley's Quadrant was $25^{\circ}-27'$ N.^{1*}

* The Latitude has since been taken in another Manner (p. 124).

12 The Countrey betwixt Baganbarry & Chilmary is quite flat all y^e way on y^e West side of y^e River, & is mostly Padda Fields; the Eastern Side likewise is flat till within 20 miles of Chilmary, & then the hilly Countrey begins. Some of the hills lie close to the River side, & are of a very moderate height, & covered with Jungle.

The Chain of high Mountains beforementioned that are said to be the Eastern Boundary of Bengall begin about the Latitude of $25^{\circ}-10'$ N & run in a curve Line to the Northwestward. Part of this Chain comes within 30 miles of Chilmary. I have not yet had an Opportunity of taking their exact Altitude, but judge that they are near a mile & half in perpendicular Height.²

In the accompanying General Map only one of the Mountains is placed in its true Situation (v^t. Mount Sosong³), the others by reason of the very frequent thick Weather were not seen from the South end of the Base, & therefore their Situation must be left undetermined till y^e dry Season.

There are no Creeks leading out of the Baramputrey towards Jelenghee betwixt Chilmary & Dacca, but I am informed that betwixt Chilmary & Gwalpara there is one which affords a Passage for small Boats all y^e year round to Surda & Jaffiergunge Rungpour & Gorrygatt are situated on y^e Banks of this Creek.⁴

By the best Information that I can procure concerning the Situation of Gwalpara, it must lie near y^e Latitude of 26° N⁵ & about 70 miles NWW from Chilmary. However there is little dependence to be placed on y^e Countrey People's Intelligence.

The Current of the Baramputrey is remarkably rapid, near Chilmary in some places it runs at the rate of 6 miles an Hour.

11 From the 19th. to y^e 25th. of July staid at Chilmary, during which time we were employed in taking y^e Latitude, getting Information from y^e Countrey People, & constructing a Sett of General Maps of the late Survey.

The 25th. left Chilmary, & y^e 29th. at Night entered the Luckya River, the frequent Gales of Wind preventing our making any greater Progress. In proceeding down the Luckya River we made a Sketch of it, which is inserted in y^e general Map. The first of August arrived at Dacca.

¹ $27^{\circ}-29'$, according to Hunter.

² This is the Thra range, the backbone of the Garo hills. The highest point is Nokrek, 4,652 ft.

³ The highest peak 3,375 ft. high overhanging the Someswari R. about 14 miles NNE of Susang Durgapur, the residence of the King of Busang. The hill is known to the Bengalis as Kailas and to the Garos as Chikmang, and is considered by them as the place which the spirits of the Garos inhabit after death. (Playfair, 'The Garos,' p. 102.) I happened to call in 1807, and was surprised to find that my Garo guides showed no reluctance to accompany me. One of them, however, caught and eat a *Phuitri*, an unfortunate crayfish that he caught in a stream near the crest of the mountain, but did not indicate much awe, or reverence for the spirits of his ancestors supposed to inhabit it!

⁴ The direction of the river was incorrect. The Jennai river, which afterwards became the main channel of the Brahmaputra, left the latter below Chilmary. Rangpur and the ruined city of Ghoraghat lie well to the west.

⁵ The position of Gwalpara is not to the N, but to the NE of Chilmary, not to the WNW as stated by Rennell's informant. It is about 70 miles from Chilmary about 70 miles.

NOTE.

Having no Colours to distinguish the Data for the Construction of the general 16 Map, an account of it is here given in Writing.

The Hughly & Jelenghee Rivers, together with that part of the Ganges w^{ch} lies to y^e Westw^d. of Jelenghee is taken from a Map of Capt. Polier's.

The great Ganges from Jelenghee to its conflux with y^e Megna, & likewise the Megna & Baramputrey from thence to Baganbarry, is laid down by exact Surveys. Dacca likewise is placed in its true Situation by means of a Survey from the mouth of the Issamuty to that Place.

The Chunnunah & Comer Creeks are laid down from Surveys, but the Burrashee, Najapour, Beurygonga, Issamuty & Panghia Rivers are chiefly from the report of the Pilots.

The Luckya River is from a Sketch taken lately, as likewise the Baramputrey from Baganbarry to Chilmary.

The Latitudes of the Southern Places are reckoned from an Observation of Latitude taken at Luckypour in 1764.¹

¹ See p. 34.

17 Measured the height of a Mark on y^e Poostah¹ 22d. April at New Moon. High Water.

			Foot.	In.
The Height was then	..	..	14	3
do 7th. June	..	..	11	7½
22nd. do.	..	..	10	6½
27th.	..	..	9	11
July 7th.	..	..	7	4
9th.	..	..	7	5
19th.	..	..	5	2½
August 2d.	..	..	1	10½
3d. Morn.	..	..	1	7
4th. Morning	..	..	1	2½
5th. do.	..	..	0	10¾
7th. do.	..	..	0	7
8th. Low Water	..	..	0	9¼
9th. at 11 am ½ flood	..	..	0	12½
10th.	..	..	—	—
11th. at ½ past 9 ¼ flood	..	..	0	9¾
12th.	..	..	—	—
13th. { 9 Morn.	..	..	0	8½
{ 6 Evg.	..	..	0	8½
14th. 6 Evg.	..	..	0	9
15th.	..	..	0	0
16th. Morn. HW	..	..	0	9½
17th. 10 AM	..	..	0	10¼
19th. 10 AM	..	..	0	10½
20th.	..	..	—	—
21st. HW	..	..	0	13
23d.	..	..	0	12½
25th.	..	..	0	15¼
29th.	..	..	0	20
Sept. 3d.	..	..	0	26½
4th.	..	..	0	29½
7th	..	..	0	36
10th.	..	..	3	7

¹ Located at a quay or masonry terrace along the river bank (Cal. Rev., Vol. xciv, p. 326). A place called Warehouse is marked on Rennell's map of Dacca (Beng. Atlas No. XII) close to the city.

OCTOBER 1765.

JOURNAL of the fourth Expedition for making a general Map of the Bengall Provinces, beginning with that of Bengall, & continuing the Survey of the Baramputrey & the Countries bordering on it.

The 10th. of October whilst at Dacca I received Lord Clive's Orders to set about forming a general Map of Bengall with all Expedition; & as it appeared to be a very tedious Work should all the Distances be exactly ascertained, his Lordship gave Directions that they should be taken in a cursory Manner only, correcting them by Latitudes or any other eligible Means.¹

As his Lordship was pleased to leave it to my Discretion where to begin my Surveys, I judged it most proper to proceed with the Survey of the River Baramputrey, & the Countries that lie contiguous to it.

Sunday 13th. set out from Dacca. The Rainy Season not broke up but expected to break² at the new Moon which was to happen y^e next day. Being to go by way of Naranda Creek³ I judged that no ill Consequences could happen to the Boats by the Monsoons breaking, whilst they continued in so narrow a Creek: the Weather also appeared to be settled.

In the afternoon we had a slight Squall from the NNE, & at 5 perceiving that the Clouds began to rise very quick from that Quarter, we returned back to Diagunge & secured the Boats near the Bridge.⁴ Very heavy Rain from 5 till Midnight, the Wind in moderate Gales from the Northward.

The 14th. at $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour past Midnight the Wind increased, and at one blew a stiff Gale: from that Time till 6 in the Morning several heavy Squalls, with much Rain, the Wind veering gradually from N^d. to ENE. At 9 the Wind came at East & blew much stronger than before, & from 9 to 5 PM it veered gradually to SWBW, its violence increasing till it had settled in that Quarter near two Hours. The Rain continued without Intermission. At 7 PM the Wind veered to West, & grew³ moderate, the remainder of the Night moderate Gales from WNW to West, with flying Showers. The Moon changed at 11 at this Night.

The 15th. moderate Gales from WSW to NNW, the Weather cloudy & threatening, but before Night it cleared up. The Water of the River rose a Cubit & half during the Storm, but fell again this Day.⁵

¹ The historian Orme had written to Lord Clive (21st Nov^r. 1764), imploring him to "make a vast map of Bengal, in which not only the outlines of the province, but also the different subdivisions of Burdwan, Beerboom etc. may be justly marked. * * * * * Take astronomical observations of longitude, if you have anybody capable of doing it * * * * *". These instructions to Rennell were no doubt the outcome of this appeal (Malcolm, Life of Clive, Vol. II, p. 253). On the 29th Sept^r 1765 Clive wrote to Orme promising to let him have the maps (*Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 132).

² The expression "break of the monsoon" is now generally used to denote its beginning; *ante* p. 27.

³ The Dolai or Naranda creek is a branch of the Balu, a tributary of the Lakhmia (Luckya) river, and intersects the city of Dacca.

⁴ The Narandia bridge, built (together with a mosque) in the year 1664 A.D. The creek is now crossed by an iron suspension bridge (Rankin).

⁵ These cyclones often occur during October in the Bay of Bengal and the surrounding countries, and frequently

The 16th. the Weather appearing to be settled, we set out from Diagunge & got to Demra in the Evening, when the Wind settled in the NE Quarter.

The 17th. a thick foggy Morning, being the first for the Season, & I remarked that the first Morning of this kind last year happened the 21st. of October. For the remainder of the Weather see the last Pages of the Journal.⁴

The 19th. in the Morning came to the outlet of Bermya Creek, which is a Branch of the Baramputrey falling into the Luckya River near Simulya. As this Creek had not been surveyed, I struck thro' it in order to trace it to the Baramputrey.

4 The 22nd. in the Afternoon came into the Baramputrey near Toak & opposite to the Village of Akarasonda, having traced the Bermya Creek whose Course is very crooked, & the Banks everywhere covered with Jungles & Woods. We saw but one Village the whole way, which is that of Bermya, situated on the Western Bank of the Creek, & about $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles WSW from Akarasonda. Four miles NE from this Village the Creek receives another small Creek from Bagunbary, but it is not navigable all the Year.

The Current of the Baramputrey appeared to be much stronger this Time than when we passed through it before; occasioned I imagine by the Waters falling off.

The 23d. at Noon took an Observation of Lat^d. at Ossunpour,⁵ by which that Place lies in $24^{\circ}-26'$ N^d.

The 25th. in the Evening arrived at the Place where we left off surveying in July last, near Baganbary, & prepared for surveying next day. Found the Magnetic Variation at this Place $0^{\circ}-32'$ Westerly.

In coming up the River we have been employed in copying the original Survey of the Baramputrey & Luckya River for the Governor.

5 The 26th. continued the Survey of the Baramputrey from the old Mark, towards Chilmari & Gwalpara, & from this Time to y^e 10th. November (15 days) employed in tracing it by a cursory Survey from Sunacalley^b to the Mouth of the Dherla River which is upwards of 76 miles. The Western Bank betwixt Baganbary & Dewangunge being laid down in July last by a cursory Survey, I omitted going over it again; but from Dewangunge to Chilmari the Countrey was too much overgrown at that Time to lay down the River Bank with any tolerable exactness, so that that part was surveyed again, & accordingly appears very different in particulars from the Map which was sent in August last.

⁴ At the time I write these notes (19th Oct^r 1769) one has devastated the E. B. S. Railway station at Goa, and burnt down the town of the same name, and destroyed a number of steamers anchored there.

⁵ Situated on the Naranda creek with the Lakhmia, and the mouth of the Bermya.

^a Situated on the head of the Lakhmia river, the Egarasindhur of history. It was a seat of the famous Isaacan family, who is mentioned by Ralph Fitch in 1585 as "Isacan the chiefe of all the Christians in the East" (Ryley - Ralph Fitch, p. 119). A battle is said to have taken place between the Isaacans and the Moguls, Man Singh Akbar's famous Hindu General (Rankin). The Lakhmia and the Bermya are situated in the Jachpur Jungle, the elevated tract of country extending from the Meghna to the Bay of Bengal (Rankin, p. 45).

^b Situated at

^c Situated on the left bank of the Baramputra opposite Maimansingh.

^d Situated on the right bank of the Baramputra at Bagwa, above Chilmari.

The Courses of the River are various, being from SW to East; however the whole distance is chiefly meridional, & therefore easy to be corrected by the Latitudes. By this Base I was enabled to fix the Situations of several of the Sosong Mountains¹ which in clear Weather will serve as Marks 80 miles off.

I mentioned in the former Journal that the Hilly Countrey began on the East side a few miles below Chilmary: the Hills continue afterwards in scattering Ranges along the Eastern Bank of the River. The Sosong & Rungjulee² Mountains lie near 6 30 miles within & bound the Garrow Provinces.

The Baramputrey within the above mentioned Space is from $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile to 7 miles over within its bed; but during the Months of July & August it overflows all the Low Lands, few spots of Ground having less than a Cubit or a Cubit & half water on them.

The Countrey on both sides of the River, between Baganbary & Mobagunge, is mostly Padda Fields, interspersed with Groves of Betel & other Trees; between Mobagunge & the Dherla River the Countrey is mostly jungly near the River; & the opposite side is one entire Jungle. There are no Timber Trees to be found near the River.

I reckoned upwards of 80 Villages between Baganbary & the Mouth of the Dherla River, but there are no Bazars save at Buzerapour, Dewangunge & Chilmary, & these are very paltry ones. The Countrey abounds with Cattle, Rice, & Poultry, & there are prodigious numbers of Tygers & wild Buffalos in the Jungles, particularly in the neighbourhood of Baggooa.³

I had several Observations of the Variation of the Magnetic Needle, the quantity from $0^{\circ}-46'$ to $0^{\circ}-58'$ Westerly; & some Observations of Latitude, by which I place Chilmary in $25^{\circ}-24'$ N. That Place is now $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile distant from the Western Bank of the River. The Teesta Creek⁴ from Boutan falls into the River 11 miles above Chilmary, & 5 miles below the Mouth of the Dherla River.

Being entirely ignorant of the Situation of Rungpour,⁵ & the adjacent Countries; the knowledge of which would enable me to regulate my Route after the Survey of the

¹ The Tura range of the Garo Hills.

² The northern portion of the Garo Hills (*see* map No. V in Rennell's Atlas). Buchanan Hamilton remarks concerning this name, "In the nomenclature of these hills there is great confusion. The names given to the same hill by the different tribes who inhabit near are not only different, but it is usual for the Bengalese to call whatever hill you point out to them by the village that lies nearest it in the direction from whence you are then looking; so that for every hill you may find as many names as it has villages near, and not one of these may be its proper name. It seems to have been owing to this custom not having been understood, that Major Rennell has given the name of Rungjula to the Garo mountains. As he was endeavouring from the riverside to find out the name of this elevated region, he probably pointed out to the natives the highest peak, Gorokhyonath; and Ronggojuli village being in the direction, the natives called it the Ronggojuli hill" (Martin, History, Vol. III, p. 475). The northern range of the Garo Hills is now commonly known as the Arbela range, after one of the villages situated upon it.

³ Bagwa, at the mouth of the Dharla.

⁴ This was not the main channel of the Teesta, which in those days flowed due south. It now joins the Brahmaputra below Chilmari. The change in its course took place in 1787 (Hunter, Stat. Acc. Beng., Vol. VII, p. 165, p. 296).

⁵ Rangpur, the head-quarters of a District, on the Ghaghat River. It had only just been taken over from the Muhammadans, and was in a very unsettled state. Buchanan Hamilton spells the name Ronggopoor (Martin, History, Vol. III, p. 351). Regarding the changes in the courses of the rivers of this district he writes, about 1809:—"Since the survey was made by Major Rennell, the rivers of this district have undergone such changes, that I find the utmost difficulty in tracing them. The soil is so light, and the rivers in descending the mountains have acquired such force, that

Baramputrey was finished, I judged it proper to trace the Roads to that Place & then to return to the Baramputrey by way of Coorygong¹ & the Dherla River; at the same time describing the Courses of the Dherla & Teesta Rivers, which intersect the Roads.

The 10th of November entered the Teesta Creek & proceeded up it towards Olyapour which lies in the Rungpour Road. The 12th. in the Forenoon came to 8 Olyapour after going 22½ miles thro' the Creek, altho' the distance by Land is only 10½ miles. The Teesta Creek is not above 100 yards over, & very shallow in some Places, so that it cannot be navigable during the dry Months.

Olyapour is a large Village situated on the North Bank of the Teesta, but the Bazar is small & ill supplied. The Countrey round it is pleasant & well cultivated, every spot of Ground being either sown with Padda or planted with Betel Trees. But within 5 miles of the great River's Bank there is but little cultivated Land. Rannyunge a middling Village lies 3 miles SE from Olyapour & on y^e north Bank of the Teesta.

The Countrey round Olyapour belongs to Baharbund Purgannah.²

From Olyapour we proceeded towards Rungpour by Land, there being no Water Passage at this Season. We passed the Teesta³ about 6 miles WNW of Olyapour at a small Village named Tytari; after this its Course is more to the NW^t. About a mile & half West from Tytari crossed the Monaash Creek,⁴ which is now fordable: its Course is to the ESE, joining the Teesta at Callygunge. The Countrey from Olyapour to this Place is full of Padda Fields & Betel Trees, but here it is unculti- 9 vated for several Miles, owing I suppose to its lying too high to be overflowed during the rainy Season.

After crossing the Monaash Creek we proceeded 3½ miles along the southern Bank of it, having a pleasant Plain to y^e Southward, & thick Woods to the Northward. After leaving this Plain we entered a well cultivated Countrey, being full of Padda fields & Betel Groves, & having a very good Road through it. At Dammo-Choculo 6 miles ESE from Rungpour, crossed the Allykury Creek, which is another Branch of the Teesta, & about 2 foot deep at this Time. The whole Countrey appears to be very well watered, being everywhere intersected by small Creeks. The Allykurey

¹ It is certain that changes are unavoidable, so that whole channels have been swept away by others, and new ones are formed. Therefore the nomenclature therefore is exceedingly difficult. After tracing the name of a river from some place to another, I have often used it, and perhaps recover the same name at a distance of 20 miles, while many large rivers have no channel remain to assist in discovering the former connection. * * * * The confusion arising from these circumstances is so great, that Major Rennell seems to have been overpowered, or unwilling to engage in a further investigation, and owing to the contradictory accounts given by the natives, he seems to have been obliged to give the same name to many of the rivers. * * * * An account of the rivers as they were in 1765 is given in the following manner. Vol. III. p. 358. (1).

² Baharbund is a pargana of the Dherla, which is now bridged here by the E. B. S. Railway. It is situated in the interval of a day's march between the Dherla and the present channel of the Teesta, due south of the present channel of the Dherla. The two parganas of Bhitabund (Bittrebund of Rennell's Atlas), or Baharband, which are situated in the interval of a day's march, lay along the Brahmaputra, and were two of the parganas which were the property of the King of Kamrup, which extended westwards to Rangpur.

³ The Teesta is the main river at that time. This was the channel taken possession

⁴ The Monaash is a branch of the Teesta, not the larger Manas, or Banas, of Assam.

runs by y^e side of the Road for near 4 miles to the Westward of the place where we crossed it.

Rungpour is situated with respect to Olyapour W^t. 12°-20' North, distant 22 $\frac{1}{4}$ British Miles,* tho' by the Road it is upwards of 24 Miles.

* Latitude 25°-43' N. Lon. from Dacca 1°-6' West. The Goggot Creek¹ comes within $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile of the west part of the Town: it is navigable for Boats of 150 Maund till the Month of January. This Creek is said to be a Branch of the Purnabubah River,² which has its Source in the Kingdom of Boutan,³ & runs by way of Raajunge, 10 Denospour⁴ & Bulloa; afterwards joining the Ganges by several Branches, the chief of which are those of Mahanada, Surda, & Jaffiergunge.

There is but little worth remarking about Rungpour, it being only a principal Gunge,⁵ & like most of the others, the Houses are built of Matts & Bamboos, there being but one Brick house in the Town.

The British Factory is now at Nabobgunge, a Bazar Village lying about 3 miles NWBW from Rungpour.

We arrived at Rungpour the 14th. & the two following Days were employed in collecting some particulars concerning the Situation of the neighbouring Countries, the Course of the Rivers, &c.

From the 16th. to the 19th. employed in tracing the Roads from Rungpour to Gurygong.⁶ This is a middling Village belonging to Baharbund, situated on the South Bank of the Dherla or Durla River & about 12 miles N 37°-30' West from the Place of its Conflux with the Baramputrey. The Dherla is from 350 yards to a $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile broad & is navigable all the Year for Boats of 2000 Maund between Gurygong & y^e great River. This River has likewise its Source from Boutan, & in the wet 11 Season has a communication with the Purnabubah. It separates the Purgannahs of Baharbund & Vittrebund.⁷

The Roads between Rungpour & Gurygong are in general very rough & Jungly, especially in the neighbourhood of the latter. In our Route we crossed the Monaash & Teesta Creeks, besides several Jeels which render the Roads impassable 6 months of the Year.

The 20th. & 21st. employed in tracing the Dherla River from Gurygong to Baggooa (the place of its Conflux with the Baramputrey): the distance by the River is near 18 miles; the Current is in general excessive rapid.

From the 21st. November to y^e 2d. December employed in laying down the Western Bank of the Baramputrey from the Mouth of the Dherla River to Jugygupa:⁸

¹ The Ghagat, formerly a branch of the Teesta, but now silted up at its head. It is a very sluggish and tortuous river. In the lower part of its course it receives the name of the Alai, and afterwards of the Bengali River.

² The Purnabhaha R. lies considerably to the West in Dinajpur District, and was at that time one of the main branches of the Teesta.

³ Bhutan.

⁴ Dinajpur.

⁵ A Bazar village or Market. There were 42 brick houses in Buchanan Hamilton's time (1809).

⁶ Kuriganj or Kurigram.

⁷ Bhitabund. Bittrebund in Rennell's Bengal Atlas, No. V.

⁸ Jogighopa, a village on the north bank of the Brahmaputra opposite Goalpara, Yogighopa of Buchanan Hamilton. The Ahoms had a fort here, taken by Mir Jumla in 1662 (Gait, Hist. of Assam, p. 127). The name appears to be

the distance is 71 miles, & the Courses various. Between Baggoa & Rangamatty the Course of the River is in general S 31°-30' W^l. 36½ miles; the Countrey within this space is quite flat & destitute of Trees, & the Soil sandy & barren near the River; there are very few Villages & no Bazars or Haats.¹

- 12 The Rangamatty Countrey begins about 10 miles above Baggoa, & continues to the Frontiers of Boutan & Assam. Ten miles below Rangamatty the Sunecoss² River from Boutan falls into the Baramputrey at Dubarye.³ The Sunecoss River is about 200 yards broad & 12 or 14 Cubits deep for upwards of 40 miles above the Conflux.

Rangamatty is at present a small illbuilt Village situated on a Range of small Hills which form the Western Bank of the Sunecoss River, & about 2½ miles NW from the Baramputrey, with which it has a communication by means of the Sunecoss. It has a small mud Fort with some few Guns mounted in it, & I observed about 50 Guns from 2 to 4 pounders lying without.⁴ The Latitude of this Place is 26°-6' North & Longitude from Dacca 0°-20' West.

- The Course of the Baramputrey between Rangamatty & Gwalpara is from EBN to WBS 35 miles, the breadth irregular, & a great number of Islands in it. Between these Places four Rivers from Boutan empty themselves into the Baramputrey on the North side; Three of them (v^t.) the Gowrong, Champomattey, & Hāārypaany are fordable; but however serve to float down Timbers from Boutan & the Forests of
- 13 Bisnee.⁵ The fourth of these Rivers is named the Bonaash,⁶ whose Course is from the Boutan Mountains, to the SW, first separating the Low Countries of Assam & Boutan, & afterwards those of Bengall & Assam; emptying itself into the Baram-

¹ Taken from that of a Garo princess, Juge Silehé, who was hidden by her people in a cave here to protect her from a rapacious chief of Assam (Playfair, *The Garos*, p. 6).

² Hind. *Hat*, a market held on certain days.

³ The *Sankos*, formerly the boundary between Bengal and Assam.

⁴ Dhubri, for many years the terminus of the Railway on the Brahmaputra, and the head-quarters station of the Jharkhand district.

⁵ Rangamatti, signifying 'Red earth,' is a common village name in Bengal and Assam, such villages being built on the banks of the older alluvium, which is usually of a red colour. This particular village is not shown in the *Asiatic Researches*, but is marked conspicuously on Rennell's maps (*Bengal Atlas* Nos. V and XVIII) on the eastern bank of the *Sankos* (Sinkos) near the Brahmaputra. It is also marked in the same position, on the north bank of the *Sankos* (not far beyond Dhubri, in the map attached to Mr. Gait's *History of Assam*). But in Hunter's *Asiatic Researches* (Vol. XI, p. 470) and in the latest edition of the same work the position is given as in Lat.

26° 10' N. and Long. 91° 15' E. that is to say, the site of a small village of the same name on the Manas, 38 miles further to the westward. It is stated that the village was an important outpost of the Muhammadans at the beginning of the 18th century. The *Rangamatti* of the Gazetteer lies on the eastern bank of the Manas, which was then the boundary between the dominions of the king of Assam, it is not likely to have been in Muhammadan hands.

⁶ The *Asiatic Researches* shows that this Rangamatti had not long before been a fort of importance, and it is much to be regretted that we have been the Muhammadan outpost in that direction. It was one of the places visited by P. de la Londe, who is mentioned in the *Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses* (Tom. XIII, p. 288), and was considered to be the most important place in that direction. — *On nous fait dit appréhender ce voyage, car c'est un proverbe commun à l'égard de ce lieu, que Rangamatti, il y en a toujours une qui y reste. Mais le courage de notre*

⁷ The *Sankos*, formerly the boundary between Bengal and Assam.

⁸ The *Sankos*, formerly the boundary between Bengal and Assam, is mentioned in the Muhammadan records (Gait, *History of Assam*, p. 113 *note*). It joins the *Sankos* at the mouth of the *Sankos*.

putrey at Jugygupa, a few miles below Gwalpara. The Bed of this River is in general 200 yards broad, but its Waters are not navigable even for Pulwars during the driest part of the Year. As this River affords so short a Passage to the Boutan Mountains (it being less than 60 miles on a streight Line from the foot of the Mountains to Jugygupa), there is no doubt but that any Number of Firr Trees may be brought down by it, if a right understanding subsisted between our People & the Assamers; as I have myself seen a large Firr Tree which floated down the River, after being washed down the Mountains by the Land Floods.¹

Between Rangamatty & Gwalpara the Countrey is Hilly on both sides the River, & so full of Woods & Jungles that it is scarce penetrable, & I could see but two or three Villages the whole way.

Gwalpara² is a small Village belonging to Measpara Purgana, & is situated on the South side of the great River in Latitude 26°-7' North & Longitude from Dacca 0°-16' East. The Factory lies on the side of a small woody Hill immediately to the 14 Eastward of which the Keestrey, a small River from the Garrow Provinces, falls into the Baramputrey.

The Assam Countrey begins from the Bonaash River on the North side the Baramputrey & one of their Chokeys³ is placed directly opposite Gwalpara; but on the South side the Bengall Provinces continue for upwards of 21 miles. The Countrey is very little cultivated in the neighbourhood of Gwalpara and Jugygupa.⁴ The Woods abound with several kinds of wild Animals, as Tygers, Rhinoceros, Buffalos, Elephants; &c., the tracks of which may be seen everywhere.

I could not perceive that the Current of the Baramputrey was more rapid near Gwalpara &c. than it was 200 miles farther down, altho' it is commonly reported otherwise: it is indeed rocky in some places, particularly between Rangamatty & Gwalpara; but in other respects the Navigation of this River appears to me to be full as easy as that of the Ganges.

From the 2nd. to y^e 6th. December employed in tracing the Baramputrey from 15 Gwalpara to the Frontier of Assam on the Southern side. The distance by y^e

¹ The timber trade has assumed large proportions since the Eastern Duars were taken over by the Government of India in 1866.

² Goalpara. Formerly one of the frontier outposts of the Muhammadans in Assam. The true latitude is 26°-11'. A French Factory was established here in 1754 or 1755 by M. Chevalier, and on the fall of Chandernagore in 1757 he remained in the employ of some English gentlemen. In 1767 a M^r. Laval was appointed agent of the English in partnership with M. Chevalier (Bengal Past & Present, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 366). Buchanan Hamilton describes 'Goyalpara' in 1809 as containing "some good thatched houses, and a street of shops, which in such a country is considered as a kind of miracle, and the place is looked upon as a city of the utmost elegance. It is only, however, in its containing many distressed objects, and many profligate and vicious persons, that it resembles an European city; and, in proportion to its size, in these points it probably far excels any place west from the Cape of Good Hope" (Martin, History, Vol. III, p. 477).

³ Chokey. Hind. Chauki, a police station. Assam was an independent kingdom until 1825, when it was conquered by the British.

⁴ One of the duties of the Muhammadan military officers in charge of the posts of Rangamati and Goalpara was to encourage the growth of jungle and reeds as a protection against the inroads of the Assamese (Hunter, Imp. Gaz., Vol. V, p. 113).

River is 100 miles, the Course of which is from West to WNW, very different from the description given of it in the Maps.² We were not permitted to land on the Northern or Assam side, all the way, there being several Chokeys placed; however we found means to lay down about 10 miles beyond the Bengall Frontiers, & in returning we coasted the Assam side near enough to inform ourselves of all the particulars which we wanted.

This River must needs have a very long Course before it enters the Bengall Provinces, since 400 miles from the sea it is twice as big as the Thames. By measuring the Banks &c. I find that the Rains swell this River 32 or 33 foot.

The Bengall Country extends 18 or 20 miles to the Eastward of Commerputa (the Frontier Town on the River) & afterwards as I am informed the Boundary runs in a Southerly direction towards Silet & Bermas.³ However, that must be the Object of a future Survey, as we are now surveying the Countries to the Westw^d. of the Baramputrey.

16 The Garrow Provinces begin about 12 miles south of the Baramputrey, & are bounded by the Rungjulee & Sosong Mountains⁴; some of them are independent of Bengall.

The 6th. returned to Gwalpara; the next day employed in reducing & compiling the Surveys, & procuring Pilots & Hircaras for the Bisnee Countrey.

From the 8th. to the 11th. employed in tracing the Bonaash & Birally Rivers from Jugygupa to the Frontiers of Assam & Boutan. I have mentioned some particulars concerning the Bonaash in page 12 & 13; the Birally or Barrally is a small River from Boutan which joins the Bonaash 12 miles above Jugygupa & has a Course from NW to SE.

² By the present boundary with the Kamrup district. The northern side is now part of the latter district, marking the western extension of the Assam kingdom in the 18th century.

³ In his 'Memoir of Hindoostan' (p. 356) Rennell says:—"On tracing this river in 1765, I was no less surprised to find it rather larger than the Ganges, than at its course previous to its entering Bengal. This I found to be from the south, although all the former accounts represented it as from the north; and this unexpected discovery soon led to this. It furnished me with an account of its general course, to within 100 miles of the place where Du Halde has placed the Saupoo. I could no longer doubt, that the Burrampooter and the Saupoo were one and the same river: and I added the positive assurance of the Assamers, 'That *their* river came from the north-west, through the Garrow hills.' And to place it beyond a doubt, that the Saupoo river is not the same with the river of Ava, but that it is the great *Nou Kian* of Yunan; I have in my possession a manuscript draught of the Ava river, to which I have traced the place where Du Halde leaves the Nou Kian, in its course towards Ava; together with very good reasons for believing that this river (named *Irabatty* by the people of Ava) is navigable from the city of Ava into the Bay of Bengal."

⁴ The above passage at length, because it shows the acuteness of Rennell's reasoning, and that he was the first to establish the identity of the Brahmaputra with the Tsan-po of Tibet. The controversy has not even yet been settled, but M. Needham in 1855-6 proved that the river that flows past Sama, in the Zayul district, is not the Tsan-po, as had been supposed, but is continuous with the Brahmaputra at Sudiya, and that, although the Tsan-po does not flow to the east of Sama, there is no doubt that it breaks through the Garrow hills, into the Dibrung, the largest river falling into the Brahmaputra from the north. This is the only river that even Rennell was liable to be misled by hearsay information, for the Nou Kian or Lu Kian is the Irrawaddy, and not the Irrawaddy or 'river of Ava.'

⁵ The distance between the confluence in the course of the river between the time of Rennell's Survey and 1809 see Major's 'Asiatic Researches' (Vol. III, p. 387 seq.).

⁶ The Garrow hills are bounded by the eastern limits of the Garo Hills district.

⁷ The Garrow hills are bounded by the eastern limits of the Garo Hills district. The Garo Hills were not entirely brought under control till 1873.

The Luheet River, a Branch of the Baramputrey, which separates from the great River 3 days above Gwalpara, joins the Bonaash by two Branches; one above, the other below the Mouth of the Barrally. This River is navigable for Pulwars all the Year.¹

The Boutan or Thibet Countrey begins immediately on the North side of the Barally, & to the Westward of the Bonaash; which is about the Latitude of $26^{\circ}-20'$: but those Lands are held by the Rajah of Bisnee,² as Tributary to the King of 17 Boutan. The Boutan Mountains begin in the Latitude of $26^{\circ}-50'$, & form a Curve Line whose ends are turned to the ENE & WNW. The Boundary of Assam is formed by the Bonaash River to the Westward, & the foot of the Boutan Mountains to the Northward. The Bisnee Countrey has the Bonaash for its Eastern, & the Mountains for its Northern Boundary.

The 11th. Ensign Richards³ with a Detachment of a Jametdaar⁴ and 10 Sepoys joined me on my return to Jugygupa, & on the 12th. we set out by Land to survey the Countries between the Bonaash River & Rangamatty.

We first proceeded to the NNE through the Beesnee Province, the South part of which is full of Hills & thick Jungles; the Roads are scarce broad enough for a Palankeen to pass, & the Countrey is everywhere intersected by Creeks & frightful Gullies overgrown with Jungles. Ten miles NNE from Jugygupa we entered Dawaaty Valley which is pleasant & well cultivated, having a small River named the Kongeea winding through it in its Course to the Bonaash. There are several Villages situated in this Valley but all of them inconsiderable. Seven miles to the NE of Dawaaty we crossed the Birally River, & entered the Boutan Countrey, but this Province of it is (as I have before mentioned) held by the Bisnee Rajah. The 18 Barally is now $4\frac{1}{2}$ foot deep, & from 150 to 200 yards broad, & runs rather too rapid to be forded. The Hilly Countrey ends on the South side of this River: the North side is a continued Jungle.

Three miles & Half NE of the Barally we crossed the Dulelly⁵ Creek; this Creek has its Source from Boutan, & empties itself into the Bonaash; it is not above 3 foot deep in December, & must consequently be dry some part of the Year.

Bisnee, the Residence of the Rajah of Bisnee & Howargott,⁶ lies about 3 miles NNE from the Dulelly in a very Jungly Countrey. This Place lies in Lat^d $26^{\circ}-29'$ North, & Longitude $0^{\circ}-23'$ East from Dacca: with respect to Jugygupa it lies N 26° E^t distant 33 miles. Bisnee is but a small Village, & has no Bazar, so that we

¹ The Lohit is the name given to a branch of the Brahmaputra much further to the east, separating the districts of Sibsagar and Lakhimpur. It is interesting to find the name applied to a branch lower down the river and suggests that these branches represent an old course of the river.

² Bijni. The Raja claims descent from the royal family of Kuch Behar. The territory is one of the Eastern Duars, attached to Goalpara district. This tract, with the Western Duars, was annexed in 1865 as a result of the aggresions of the Bhutan Government, but the Rajas of Bijni and Sidli were left in possession of their estates.

³ Afterwards appointed as a permanent Assistant Surveyor, *see* p. 86.

⁴ Jama'dar, a native officer. Rennell's spelling of the word is not given in Hobson Jobson.

⁵ ? the Dalani, a tributary of the Manas.

⁶ Habraghat, a pargana in Goalpara district of which the Raja of Bijni is Zemindar. In Rennell's Bengal Atlas 'Howeragot' is shown as lying on the south side of the Brahmaputra south of Goalpara.

had very much difficulty in procuring Provisions. The present Rajah (who is a Youth) resides in a very pauntry House surrounded by a small Ditch & high Pallisadoes of Bamboo, which they dignify with the name of a Killa. We halted at this Place one day to procure Provisions & Hircars for the Western Roads, & then struck to the Westward after recrossing the Dulelly & Barally Rivers.

19 After recrossing the Kongeea Creek 4 miles North of Dawaaty we entered a pleasant & well cultivated Valley running from SE to NW: this Valley is formed by the Batyamarry & Seepansilla Hills, & has in it several Villages, the chief of which are Maahgong & Beejura, the latter lying on the Frontier of Great Thibet. The Hilly Countrey in these parts ends near Beejura, in Latitude 26°-25' N., the Countrey Northward of it being flatt till you approach the Boutan Mountains.

We entered the Boutan Countrey between Beejura & Tanjyong, & crossed about 7 miles of it between Tanjyong & Bassagong: this part is flat, open, & well cultivated, & has two Creeks flowing through it which afterwards fall into the Champamutty River. This part of Boutan belongs to Siddylee Purgannah,¹ & is subject to the Rajah of Cutchubary, a principal Village 2 days' Journey to the Northwest & close to the foot of the Mountains.

I had some thoughts of proceeding as far as Catchubary, in order to take a view of the Countrey, as well as to be informed of the Situation of the Firr Forests, but finding the Natives very averse to it, & that they withdrew into the Countrey in order that we should not be able to procure Provisions, I judged it prudent to desist without further orders, as being foreign to the Service now in execution.

20 After re-entering the Bengall & Bisnee Provinces at Bassagong. we proceeded to the Southwest for Rangamatty, that being the only road that is passable in these Parts. Two miles SW from Bassagong, we crossed the Champamutty River which falls into the Baramputrey 19 or 20 Miles below. The Eastern Banks of this River are covered with thick Jungle or Sedges, & the Western with thick Woods of Guzzally Trees, which are felled in great numbers & brought down the River in Floats. However there are but few large Trees, the generality of them being fit for no other use than Boat building.

These Woods continue for many miles to the NNW, & to the Southward within few Miles of the Baramputrey; but Westward scarce four Miles. The Village of Chowtakee lies near y^e Road on the West side of the Wood, & within 2½ miles of the Boutan Countrey. There is a small extent of cultivated Land in the neighbourhood of this Village, but from thence Southwestward, we found nothing but thick Jungle for 7 miles; the Guzzally Woods lay about a mile on our left. The Tarang Creek passes within 2 miles of the West side of Chowtaakee.

¹ The name of the Quars, now included in Goalpara District. The tree *Shorea robusta*, the most valuable timber tree in N.E. India. The wood so heavy that it is not floated down the river, but is supported by bamboo floats or rafts. These forests are enumerated by Buchanan Hamilton in his *Asiatic Researches*, III. p. 274, and are still of great importance. The Government Reserves in 1903-04 covered an area of 163 square miles in Goalpara District, of which about 163 square miles are stocked with pure *Sal*. Most of the *Sal* is used for building. Imp. Gaz. E. Bengal and Assam. p. 518).

From the end of Chowtakee Jungle we entered a pleasant & cultivated Countrey **21** at the Western foot of the Damaderpour Hills; Botagong is situated in this Countrey & affords Rice & other Provisions. The Gowrong River¹ passes to the Westward of this Village in its Course from Boutan to the Baramputrey: it is now 3 foot deep. The Western Bank of the Gowrong is covered with thick Woods. After crossing it near Boutagong our Road lay along the West side of it for upwards of 3 miles, when we turned off to y^e SW & came to the Sunecoss River which in this place approaches within 3 miles of the Gowrong, but afterwards turns off short to y^e SW & WSW to Rangamatty.

The Bisnee Provinces end at Coresaeattee on the Sunecoss River, & Pharlee is the first Village in the Rangamatty Country independent of Bisnee.

We crossed the Sunecoss on Rafts at Goga, a mile & half below Pharlee, after which our way to Rangamatty lay thro' a very thick Jungle for upwards of 7 miles; several small Creeks run through this Jungle in their Course to the Sunecoss. There is a Range of low, woody Hills extending several miles to the NNE of Rangamatty, & the Countrey appears to be woody a long way to the Northward.

The 23rd. came to Rangamatty, & the next day began surveying the Eastern **22** Shoar of the Baramputrey from opposite that Place towards Curybarry.² We finished that Business y^e 28th & entered the Dherla River in y^e Evening.

The Current of the Dherla River opposite & a little above Baggoa is so rapid that it is with much difficulty Boats can pull up. The River is likewise very full of Sands at that Place. The Current I judge to run at the rate of 7 miles p. Hour, so that Boats must be very careful not to get aground there. Between that Place & Gurygong the Current runs at a Moderate Rate, & the Water is sufficiently deep for any Boats.

We arrived at Gurygong the 30th. in the Afternoon, & the next day being the last of the Month I discharged all the Boats, except the Budgarow & Pulwars, having now no farther Occasion for them.

From the 1st. January to the 9th. inclusive, employed on a Sett of particular Maps of the Baranputrey, & a general one of the late Survey. The particular Map is in 3 Sheets of Imperial Paper & on a Scale of 2 miles to an Inch: the general Map is in one Sheet Imp. Paper & on 10' to an Inch.

During the above Time I sent all round the Baharbund Countrey to hire Coolies **23** & Bearers, but was not able to procure a single one, although I offered a sufficient Price. The Countrey People likewise refused to supply my People with Provisions, & upon enquiry I found it was all owing to the Villiany of the Dewan of Olyapour who had threatned to punish any Person who should supply me with Men or Provisions. Upon this I wrote to the Dewan³ (Ramsinker) to know the Truth of it, threatning to make him a Prisoner if he did not immediately order me to be supplied with Provisions & Coolies. His Answer was that the People might sell me Provisions

¹ The Gaurang, Gaurango of Buchanan Hamilton.

² Kuribari, a village at the S.W. end of the Garo Hills.

³ The native manager of the estate.

if they chose it, but dared me to take any Coolies. I forbore making him any farther Answer that Time, intending to visit him the first Opportunity.

I immediately applied to the Resident at Rungpour requesting his Assistance in procuring Bearers & Coolies. He sent me a considerable Number from Rungpour, **24** but as they deserted on the Road I received no more than 18.

The 10th. in the morning we left Curygong, having prest what Coolies we could at that Place, & proceeded by way of Olyapour in order to explain Matters with the Dewan. We arrived at Olyapour late in the Night.

I sent a Message to the Dewan this Night & another in ye morning of ye 11th. requiring him to make his Appearance, but he treated them both with great Indifference. About 8 next morning I went with Mr. Richards & 16 Sepoys towards his Countrey House under cover of a thick Fog, but he had got intelligence of our March, & was gone before we entered the House. I informed the Servants that if they did not produce their Master I should set fire to the House, which was accordingly done soon after & we retired to our Baggage on the South side of the Teesta.²

The fire was extinguished immediately after we left the House.

25 Although the Dewan had not Resolution enough to defend his House, yet he followed us immediately with 150 Burgundasses³ & 300 Villagers some of which came close to our Rear & began to fire at us, which Fire we returned in single Shots for upwards of 6 miles they being afraid to close with us & retreating whenever we made a Stand. When we arrived at a Jungle opposite Tytari we turned & cleared the Village & adjacent Jungles of them, & by that Means got through the thick Jungle without Damage, nor did they follow us any farther.

The Dewan sent two threatening Messages to me whilst I stayed in Tytari, but soon after he retired & we set out for Rungpour.⁴

We arrived at Rungpour the 12th. in the Evening, after meeting a Detachment of Sepoys which were sent at my request from Rungpour. Here we remained till ye 22nd. being detained for want of Bullocks & Coolies.

² Probably the Chief of the Factory at Nawabganj (*ante* p. 55).

³ This somewhat high-handed proceeding is related as though it were quite an ordinary occurrence, and it was the only occasion on which Major Rennell had any serious trouble of this kind with the natives (*see* Appendix B). The following passage shows, the Dewan had a quite sufficient force to defend his house had he the resolution to do so. The word is commonly written 'Burkundauze', derived from 'barkandaz' a 'lightning darter' and signifying a runner or policeman. Hobson Jobson quotes an extract from a letter of Rennell's dated August 5th 1776 concerning this affair. He says:—"The Country Jemidars" (Zemindars or land owners) "remote from Calcutta, were brought to fight with great Insolence, and I was obliged to retreat with only an officer and 17 Sepoys near 6 miles in the night." The Burgundasses, who lined the woods and kept a stragging Fire all ye way" (p. 980).

⁴ The Dewan's flight may have been the end of the 'incident.' No mention is made of it elsewhere in the Journal.

	Wind.	Weather.		Wind.	Weather.
1	S. SSW. N. ..	Some Rain.	18	Var ^c . ..	Fine Weather.
2	Variable ..	Flying Showers.	19	NE. to NNW.	Light Winds & very fine Weather.
3	S. NE. ..	Clear Weather.	20	NE. N ^o . ..	Foggy Morning & a fine Day.
4	Var ^c . & Calm	Hot Weather. Light Winds.	21	Calm ..	Clear Weather.
5	N ^o . W ^t . ..	Some Rain.	22	SE. ENE.	Most part of the Day fine W ^r . a Shower in y ^c Morning.
6	Var ^c , NE ..	Flying Showers.	23	ENE. SE. ..	Foggy Morning. Hot Day.
7	Var ^c . ..	do. Light Wind.	24	N ^o . WNW. ..	Cold Morning. A fine pleasant Day.
8	E. N. ..	Fair Weather.	25	NW. N. ..	Foggy Morn ^g . middle of the Day hot, y ^c rem ^r . fine W ^r .
9	E. N. NW. ..	Clear Weather.	26	N. NW. ..	Fine Weather.
10	N. Var. ..	Fine Weather.	27	N ^o . WSW. ..	Fine Weather.
11	N ^o . ..	Dry W ^r .	28	Calm ..	Morning & Ev. cool. mid. of the Day hot.
12	N. NW. ..	Hot Weather. Thunder & Lightning.	29	E. N. ..	Very fine Weather.
13	N ^o . ..	Much Rain.	30	E. NNE. ..	do. Weather.
14	N. to W. ..	Storm at y breaking of the Monsoon.	31	SE. ESE. ..	Fresh Breezes. Weather pleasant & cool.
15	W. NW. ..	Tolerable W ^r . Some R.			
16	SW. to N. ..	Fine Weather.			
17	NE. ..	The first Foggy Morn ^g . A fine Day.			

NOVEMBER 1765.

	Wind.	Weather.		Wind.	Weather.
1	N. NE. ..	Very cold Morning. Fine Weather.	16	NE. E.	Foggy Morn. the rest of the Day fine W ^r .
2	N. E. ..	Hot Weather.	17	ENE. E. ..	Foggy most part of the Day.
3	N. NNE. ..	Very fine Weather.	18	E. Calm ..	Variable Weather.
4	NNE NNW.	Clear fine Weather.	19	E. EBN. ..	Fair Weather.
5	N. ..	Fresh Wind. Pleas ^t . W.	20	NNE. ENE. ..	Fair Weather.
6	NE. ..	Fresh Gales & Clear W ^r .	21	N. ENE. ..	Clear W ^r .
7	NE. NNE. ..	Very fresh Breezes of Wind.	22	SE. NE. ..	Foggy Weather.
8	NE. ..	Very fresh Breezes & cold.	23	SE. ..	Very thick Weather.
9	NE. E. ..	Light Breezes & fair W ^r .	24	NE. ENE. ..	Thick Weather.
10	N. Calm ..	Calm & hot Weather.	25	NNE. fresh ..	Tolerable clear W ^r .
11	NW. N. ..	Foggy all Day.	26	NNE. ..	Clear Weather.
12	N. Calm ..	Foggy Morn ^g . rest of the Day fair W ^r .	27	NE. NNE. ..	Clear W ^r . Wind fresh,
13	ENE. ..	Fine Weather.	28	NE. ..	Fresh Breezes & Clear W ^r .
14	E. ENE. ..	Fair Weather.	29	NE. NNE. ..	Very clear Weather.
15	E. ..	Fresh Wind & fine W ^r .	30	NE. NNE. ..	Very foggy all Day.

Wind.	Weather.	Wind.	Weather.
1 NE. E.	Foggy Weather.	17 N. NNE.	Fine Weather.
2 E. SE.	Foggy Weather.	18 NE.	Foggy Weather.
ENE.	Thick Weather.	19 E. NE.	Hazy W ^r .
4 EBN.	Mostly foggy Weather.	20 NE. N.	Remarkable thick W. & very cold.
5 East	do. W ^r .	21 NE.	Tolerably clear.
6 ENE.	Clear Weather.	22 ENE. NE.	Clear Weather. Fresh B.
7 Calm	Calm & pleasant W.	23 NE.	Fresh Breezes & cold W.
8 E.	Fresh Breezes. Clear W ^r .	24 ENE.	Fresh B. & c. as Vest ^d .
9 E. ENE.	Clear Weather.	25 East	Clear Weather.
10 E.	Mostly Foggy W.	26 ENE.	Hazy all day.
11 EBN.	Very fine Weather.	27 NE.	Clear W.
12 ENE. N.	do. Weather.	28 Var.	do. W.
13 East	Clear & fine Weather.	29	Calm & clear W ^r .
14 NE. E.	Cold & Foggy Weather.	30 NE.	A cold foggy day.
15 NE.	Pleasant W ^r .	31 N. E.	Pleasant W ^r .
16 Var.	Foggy W ^r .		

JANUARY 1766.

Wind.	Weather.	Wind.	Weather.
1 Var.	Foggy W ^r .	19	} N. to SE. ... Foggy Mornings, the Air in gen. Cold.
2 N.	Morn ^g . foggy. Fresh Wind.	20	
3 NE.	Weather as Yesterday.	21	
4 Var.	do.	22 E. ENE.	Fresh B. of Wind, y ^e Air rem. thick.
5 EBS. to	The Mornings rem ^k . Foggy	23 SE. to N.	Light B. & thick foggy Weather.
6 NBW.	the middle of y ^e days tolerably clear.	24 ESE. SE.	Clear Morning. Wind moderate.
7		25 SE. SSE.	Wea ^r . as yesterday.
8 N.	The Air remk. cold.	26 NE. to SE.	Fresh Wind, & very hazy all day.
9 Calm	Thick fog all day.	27 NE. E.	Very foggy Morning.
10 N.	Foggy.	28 NE. SE.	Very hazy all day.
11 Calm N	Fine W. all day.	29 E. to SE.	Very fresh Winds, the Morning Foggy.
12 NE. E.	Fresh B. & fine Weather.	30 E.	Hazy Weather.
13 N. NNW. S	Very thick fog in y ^e Morn. the Air very cold.	31 N ^o . NE.	Very thick cloudy W ^r . threatening Rain.
14 NNW	do. W ^r .		
15 NE. S	do. W ^r .		
16			
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	Wind.	Weather.		Wind.	Weather.
1	SE. to NNE.	Thick cloudy Wea ^r . as yesterday.	15	SW. W. WNW.	Morning cloudy & threatning, the Wind fresh.
2	E. to N. ..	Cloudy & threatning all day.	16	W. to SW. ..	Fresh Wind. Foggy Morning.
3	SE. ESE. ..	Cloudy Wea ^r . Wind fresh.	17	E. Calm ..	Clear W ^r . Saw the Mount. (of Boutan).
4	Calm SW. ..	The Morning foggy, y ^e rest of y ^e day clear.	18	NW. SW. ..	Foggy Morn. Fresh Wind.
5	S. to SE. ..	do. W ^r .	19	S. NE. ..	Foggy till 9 a.m.
6	SE. fresh ..	Hazy all day.	20	NE. S. SE. ..	Morning foggy, the rem ^r . Clear W ^r .
7	West ..	Very fresh Gales of Wind.	21	Calm SE. ..	in fresh Breezes.
8	West WBS. ..	A pl-asant Morning, Wind very fresh.	22		
9	Calm W. N. .	Morning calm & foggy The Aft. fresh B.	23		
10	N. to W. ..	Foggy Morning.	24		
11	NE. to SE. ..	do. Morning.	25		
12	NE. ESE. ..	do. W ^r .	26		
13	NE. ESE. ..	do. W ^r .	27		
14	N. NNE. NE.	Fresh Breezes of Wind & much Rain this day.	28		

JANUARY 1766.

From Rungpour to the Northwest.

33 The 22nd. of January left Rungpour & proceeded to the Northwest. Our Road lay along the NE Bank of the Goggot or Rungpour River for upwards of $5\frac{1}{2}$ Miles; we then crossed it, it being but 3 foot deep. This Ford lies opposite to the Village of little Jaffiergunge.

On the West side of the Goggot & opposite to Jaffiergunge are the remains of an old Intrenchment: it is of a circular figure & more than half a mile in diameter: the Parapet (Rampart) is 16 or 18 foot high.² The Sanashygotta Road lies thro' the Intrenchment. The Countrey here is not so well cultivated as on the east side of the Goggot.

Gungepour is the next Village to little Jaffiergunge & is distant from thence about 5 miles to the WNW. The Roads here are bad, & the Countrey but little cultivated. Great Jaffiergunge a Bazar lies near 8 miles from Gungepour & on the Jabbuseray Creek. This Creek is not above 2 foot deep at this Time: its Course is from NNE to SSW.

34 Five miles & half NNW from Jaffiergunge we crossed the Sannalkotta River which is about 60 yds. broad & about $2\frac{1}{2}$ foot deep: the Water of it is remarkably clear. The Countrey on the Eastern Bank of this R. lies high & is mostly uncultivated. After crossing this River we passed Cochymeda a large Village & Gunge: here the Countrey begins to be better cultivated & is planted with Tobacco³ in many places. The Road from Cochymeda lies along the SW Bank of the Sannalkotta for near 7 miles when we crossed it again near a small Village named Luckypour. The Roads here are mostly thro' Paddy Fields.

Banchdaw a middling Village lies $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles N. from the crossing place of the Sannalkotta; & about 4 miles NW from this place is Meergheer Hāāt where the Sannalkotta must be crossed a third Time. This River is a Branch of the Teesta, & comes out of that River above Allygunge & as we are informed runs into the Corctya.⁴

35 Dammo-Choculo a Hāāt is $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles WNW from Meergheer Hāāt. The Countrey between these Places is cultivated. Four miles NNW from Dammo-Choculo is Dewangunge a large Village & the limit of Rungpour towards Baär⁵ or Ajora. There is much Tobacco planted in this Neighbourhood.

NOTES

¹ This monument is not mentioned in the List of Ancient Monuments.

² The leaf is one of the chief exports from Rangpur District. The leaf is bought up by Mughs from Chittagong and other places, the purpose of being manufactured in Burma (Hunter, Imp. Gaz., Vol. XI, p. 496).

³ The word *Koch*, namely the boundary between Kamrup and Bengal. For an account of the changes in the course of the Teesta, the Teesta broke away from its old channel in 1787, see Hunter, Stat. Acc. Beng., Vol. X.

⁴ The name of the river is given by Buchanan Hamilton. He says that in his time the addition of 'Koch' to the name was not in vogue (Martin, History, Vol. III, p. 418).

About 3 miles NWBW from Dewangunge, we came to the Eastern Bank of the Teesta, a large River from Boutan.¹ The bed of this River is from a mile to a mile & quarter in breadth, but the Channell at this Time is not more than 300 yards over & from 3 to 7 Cubits deep; the Stream not very rapid & the Water extremely clear. The bottom is Sand & Pebbles. Its Course is here from N. to S. running as we are informed by Raage Gunge & Denospour,² & emptying itself into the Ganges by several Channells. Near the Place of crossing are the remains of two small Intrenchments, one on the West side thrown up by M. Courtin,³ & y^e other on the East side by the Nabob of Rungpour.

The Rungpour Countrey begins again on the West side of the Teesta; this being **36** the Province of Bodaw⁴ ceded to Rungpour some years ago by an independent Rajah.

¹ Now the upper portion of the channel of the Atrai, from which the Teesta broke away in 1787-88 (Martin, History, Vol. III, p. 361).

² Dinajpur.

³ M. Courtin was chief of the French Factory at Dacca in 1756, and on the capture of Calcutta by Siraj-ud-daula took under his protection the Company's servants in the English Factory; but, after the breaking out of war between the English and French in 1757 and the fall of Chandernagore, M. Courtin found himself in a very precarious position, and the day before the battle of Plassey was fought (*i.e.* on June 22nd 1757) he left Dacca in order to join Siraj-ud-daula at Murshidabad. On the way he heard of the battle and of the death of the Nawab, but not relying on the report, pushed on to the mouth of the Bhagirathi, where the news was confirmed, and he also learned that M. Law, the chief of the French Factory at Cossimbazaar, who had come down from Patna to join the Nawab, but had not been in time to do so, was being pursued by the English. He accordingly turned northwards (though at the time it was supposed that he had taken refuge "in the east of the Province of Dacca, in the kingdom of Assam which borders on Cochin China" [Hill, Bengal in 1756-57, Vol. III, p. 262]), and proceeded to Dinajpur, where the Raja attempted to oppose his passage up the Atrai, at that time the main channel of the Teesta. Having however made the passage in spite of the Raja, M. Courtin proceeded up the river, intending as he says to take refuge in the mountains of Tibet, and advanced to within two or three days' journey from the foot of the Hills. But his boatmen objecting and beginning to desert, he accepted an offer from the Raja of Sahibganj, in Kuch Behar, to give him a site for a fort, which he built on the side of a creek flowing into the Teesta about 15 miles south of Jalpaiguri. The fort was triangular, with a bastion at each angle, on elevated ground, protected on one side by a marsh. Two Swedish guns were mounted on the ramparts. The fort was named 'Fort Bourgogne' and took rather more than a month to build. Before it was quite finished, M. Courtin received news of the arrival of a French force at the mouth of the Hughly, and of an insurrection against Mir Jafar, and determined to return. After considerable difficulty in extricating his boats from the marsh, the creek having almost dried up, and to add to his misfortunes, an outbreak of sickness among his men, he left the fort in the middle of December 1757. Not long afterwards, while still in the Rangpur district, he heard that the rumours of succour by the French were unfounded, but as the river was too low for him to return to his fort, he remained where he was, and was attacked in the middle of January 1758 by Kasim Ali Khan, the Faujdar or Military Governor of Rangpur. Having entrenched himself on the bank of the river (this is the small entrenchment referred to in the text), he held out till the beginning of February, when he was compelled to abandon his position, and started again down the river closely pursued by the enemy. At the same time he wrote to M^r. Sraffton, the Resident at Murshidabad, whom he had befriended at Dacca, offering to surrender. After many adventures, constantly harassed by the enemy, and having had to abandon all his boats, he reached Dinajpur. Here he remained, in considerable peril on account of the timidity of the Raja, who would he feared deliver him to the Faujdar of Rangpur, until the beginning of March, when orders were received from Lord Clive that he should be sent to Murshidabad. He arrived there on the 12th March, not without further adventures. and after some time his boats and so much of his goods as could be recovered were restored to him by the English. He subsequently went to Chandernagore, whence he wrote to Lord Clive in 1759 protesting against the proposed demolition of that place, and from thence to Pondicherry, and was present at the capitulation of that place by Lally in January 1761. He afterwards returned to France, and, it is supposed, was elected to the Conseil des Indes in that country.

These particulars are taken from a letter from M. Courtin to his wife, quoted at p. 137 of M^r. S. C. Hill's work, "Three Frenchmen in Bengal, or the Commercial Ruin of the French Settlements in 1757"—London, 1903.

⁴ Boda, one of the six *chaklas* or divisions of the old Province of Rangpur, part of the Zemindari of the Raja of Kuch Behar.

It is a fine Countrey, & well cultivated, the Produce, Wheat, Sugar Canes & Tobacco. We proceeded about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles along the West Bank of the Teesta & then struck off to the NW, & within a mile of the Teesta crossed the Curume or Ponjah River which is deep & rapid. Four miles NWBN from hence we crossed the Guramarra another deep & rapid River which joins the Corto¹ & Curume some Miles to the Southward & all fall into the Teesta. Nabobgunge lies on the West side of the Guramarra & is the limit of the Bateese-Hazary Province² to the Southward. We found Saringas³ or Canous in both these Rivers.

Five miles N $\frac{1}{2}$ E from Nabobgunge is Taledāār Hāāt situated on a small Lake
37 named the Jabbonau. This Village is just within the Limits of Bateese-Hazary; the Teesta River is about 3 miles to the Eastward.

From Taledar we struck to the NNE out of the Sanashygotta Road in order to have a view of the Limits of the Countries, & of the Course of the Teesta. After crossing the Jabbonau & Ponga two shallow Rivers we came to Farsydunga, a Bazar Village lying on the Teesta & about 6 miles NNE from Taledāār. The Countrey here is open & well cultivated on the West side of the River, but the East side (which is part of Boutan) is Jungly & desart. We perceived pieces of different kinds of Trees lying on the Sands in the River: these the Countrey People informed me are brought down from the Boutan Mountains by the Freshes: amongst many other kinds of fine Timber I perceived the stump of a Firr Tree of which I brought away several pieces.

38 From Farsydunga we proceeded to the NNW along the Western Bank of the Teesta, & noted the Limits of the Rungpour district about 3 miles above Farsydunga. Here the Bateese-Hazary Province begins, & to the Northward of that Boutan, so that this is the utmost Limits of the Bengall Territories to the Northward.

After going about 9 miles along the R. side above Farsydunga we struck away to the Westward across the Bateese-Hazary Province for Sanashygotta. About 8 miles from the Teesta we came to another old Intrenchment but much larger than

¹ The Corto and Curume are old channels of the Teesta. Corto is a corruption of the name Karatoya. For a regarding the origin of the Ghoramara see Martin. History, Vol. III, p. 361.

² Now known as Baikunthpur, an estate included in the Jalpaiguri district. See note 7, p. 69.

³ The word is not given in Hobson Jobson. My friend Mr. B. L. Chaudhuri, Asst. Supd^l. of the Indian Revenue Office of N. Bengal, informs me that it is "a common local name in Northern and Eastern Bengal for a dug-out boat, usually work and generally managed by two men. It is not a dug-out, which is called a 'Kunda' in

the Bengali language. I received an interesting letter on this subject from the Dep^l. Collector, of Rangpur. He writes:—The name of the boat is not 'Sharingha,' but the correct name is 'Shad'anga,' pronounced as 'Sharanga.' * * * In the Rangpur report, the term is spelt as Sharanga. * * * The Kaligunge Outpost man has spelt it as Shadanga. * * * mistakes in spelling some have thought the term is derived from 'Sarang'—a musical instrument which may be said to bear some resemblance. * * * The Shadanga (Saranga) boats very largely consist of the trunk of a large straight tree hollowed out. On the top of the upper side of this hollow tree, several transverse pieces of timber scantling fixed to give rigidity to the sides and to provide seats. The seats are formed by forming the seats of the passengers give these dug-outs their name, shat=six and anga=angle. * * * This, as to my thinking is the correct derivation of the term Shadauga (Sharanga) * * *"

⁴ The number of boats or canoes that 15 or 100 canoes were made annually by the people of Batris-Hazari worth from 100 to 200 rupees, and used for floating down logs of sal timber.

the former one, this being near 2 miles broad, the River Talmang running thro' the middle of it.¹

Dubonee² a large Village & Bazar is 3 miles from this Intrenchment having the Chowery a Rivulet running by the West side of it. The Limit of Bodaw is within a mile & half SW from Dubonee so that only a narrow slip of Bateese-Hazary runs into the Bodaw Province from hence to Nabobgunge. From Dubonee proceeded to 39 the NWBN for Gaatra-Hāāt, leaving the limits of Bodaw about a mile & half or two miles on our left. Gaatra-Hāāt is 9 miles from Dubonee, & between those places are 3 small Rivers; namely the Corto, Saön, and Doank, neither of them is more than 90 yards broad or more than 2 foot deep at this Time. The Countrey here is mostly uncultivated Plains, & thinly inhabited.

Sanashygotta³ is $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles NWBN from Gaatra-Hāāt. This Place is remarkable by having a Fort in it belonging to the Rungpour Phousdar,⁴ who collects a Tribute in Bateese-Hazary. The Sanashy Facquirs⁵ had once a Mud Fort in this Place & the remains of it are now to be seen. The Phousdar's Fort is very small, & capable of mounting only six or eight guns.

The Mahanada⁶ another Boutan River runs by Sanashygotta, seperating Bateese-Hazary from Boutan in this Place.

The Latitude of Sanashygotta is 26°-33' N. The Countrey round it is tolerably 40 well cultivated. The Bateese-Hazary Province⁷ extends about 7 or 8 miles farther to

¹ These are the ruins of Bhitargarh, believed to be the city of Prithvu Raja, one of the kings of the earliest Kamrup dynasty. A full account of the ruins is given in Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. X, p. 265, quoted from Dr. Buchanan Hamilton's MS. account of Rangpur, written in 1809. The city consists of four concentric enclosures, each surrounded by a rampart and ditch. The innermost is said to have been the abode of the Raja, and contains a deep tank, which is still held sacred by the natives. It is said that the Raja, being attacked by an impure tribe of Kichaks or gypsies, and afraid of having his purity sullied by contact with them, threw himself into this tank and was drowned with his guards, who followed him. The outer rampart is said to be six miles in length from north to south. There are no remains of any considerable buildings. Buchanan Hamilton gives a plan of the place in Martin's History, Vol. III, p. 443 (also see List of Ancient Mon. Beng., p. 176).

² Dhubni. Buchanan Hamilton mentions a tank here where Prithvu Raja's washerman is said to have dwelt, and a square mound, containing some bricks, is pointed out as the foundation of his house (*op. cit.*, p. 446).

³ Sanyasikata, a thana or police circle in Jalpaiguri district. The place derives its name from a Hindu temple, concerning which tradition has it that "when the first of the Raikats or Rajas of Baikuntpur, Sira Kumar, was building a fort, the workmen in digging the foundations came upon a religious ascetic (Sanyasi) who was passing his time underground in devout retirement. This person was wounded by the diggers before they were aware of his presence; but he made no complaint, and only requested to be covered up again. This was accordingly done and a monastery (akbra for persons of his order was built on the spot." The ascetic is now worshipped as a god, and the village has become a place of pilgrimage (Hunter, Stat. Acc. Beng., Vol. X, p. 265).

⁴ Phousdar=Faujdar, commander of a military force, or the military governor of a province.

⁵ Sanashy=Sanyasi, a Hindu religious mendicant, Fakir has the same meaning. The name was applied in Bengal to a body of banditti claiming to belong to a religious fraternity, who had their headquarters in the forest tracts at the foot of the Himalaya; Buchanan Hamilton says at Nidantora, in the dominions of 'Gorkha' or Nepal (Martin, History, Vol. III, p. 517). Not long before this (1760) they had penetrated to and plundered the city of Dacca. An account of a skirmish with these bandits, in which Renuell was wounded and nearly killed, will be found below.

⁶ The Mahananda, one of the principal rivers of Bhutan. It traverses the Darjiling, Jalpaiguri, Purniah and Maldah Districts and joins the Ganges near Godagiri.

⁷ Bateese-Hazary. Hind. Battis- or Battris-hazari, signifying thirty-two thousand. The name of the province is of high antiquity, having been given to it in the time of Biswa Singh, the founder of the Kuchi Behar family. This portion of the country was bestowed upon the descendants of his cousin Sib Sinh, and as it produced an annual revenue of Rs. 32,000 it was called Battris-hazari (Hunter, Stat. Acc. Bengal, Vol. X, p. 404). The royal family formerly lived

the Northward, & then the Boutan Countrey begins. The Revenues of the Province are said to be 32,000 Rupees annually; out of which they pay a Tribute of 13,000 to the Phousdar of Rungpour. The Rajah or Chief lives at Parpour a large Village situated on the Western side of the Teesta.

That part of Boutan which fronts Sanashygotta on the West side the Mahanada appears to be very woody & thinly inhabited.

A mile & half below Sanashygotta on the West side of the River, the Parranya¹ Country begins. We took our route from Sanashygotta along the East side of the Mahanada (whose Course is here SSW) for about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles, & then crossed it at Maha-Raage-Gunge a small Bazar Village. The River is here about 120 yards broad, & 41 from 2 to 3 foot deep. The Purranya Limits begin on the East side of the River just below Maha-Raage-Gunge, joining Bodaw on the West.

After crossing the Mahanada, we proceeded about 4 miles to the Westward & came to the Balasun River,² which is nearly the size of the Mahanada. This River seperates Morung & Purranya, the former lying on the West side, the Course of the River being from North to South. The Purranya district extends from hence in an Angle to the NW for about 6 or 7 miles, where the Village of Gosepuckarya forms the Limits of that & Boutan.

The Balasun River joins the Mahanada about 12 miles SW from Sanashygotta. The Peninsula formed by these two Rivers is composed of little Hills & rising Grounds which afford a pleasant Prospect. We perceived some Hills likewise in the Morung Countrey, & that Countrey seems in general to lie very high & to be thinly cultivated, & scarce of Wood.

We recrossed the Mahanada about a mile & half above the conflux of the two 42 Rivers, & proceeded to the SW to have a view of the Course of the Mahanada & the Limits of Purranya & Morung.

The Course of the Mahanada is in general about SW & it is increased very considerably by several small Rivers that fall into it between Sanashygotta & Maha-Raage-Gunge.³ We passed several Bazar Villages, namely Sonapour, Haldubarry, Jafferygunge, Dergyeygunge, & Maha-Raage-Gunge, the last of which is a very large Village, & the limit of our Survey to the Westward. All those Places above mentioned lie near the River.

¹ It is said that on the decay of the Moghul power they settled at Jalpaiguri (the Parpour of Rennell). Their residence there is known as the Baikantipur Garh (house), and is surrounded on three sides by double moats. There is a temple of some brick building, but of no great age (List of Ancient Mon. Beng., p. 178).

² This is the name of the Moghul Provinces, and now a British District. Buchanan Hamilton spells it Balasun.

³ The new Balasun joins the old Balasun. The new Balasun joins the Mahananda higher up, just below Siliguri. It is not shown on Rennell's map, and probably did not exist at that time.

⁴ The country is divided into five divisions of Nepal. In Rennell's time and before this the name was apparently applied to the whole of Nepal. In Van den Broneke's map of Bengal, 1660, the territory is marked 'T. Ryk Van Nepal'. In Rennell's visit in 1760, the Gurkhas had not conquered the whole of Nepal. It was not till 1783 that the Surya bansi race, was defeated by the Gurkhas. (Hunter, Imp. Gaz. Vol. X, p. 100). The name of the district 'Gorkha.'

⁵ The name of the district, headquarters of a subdivision and police circle.

Four miles & half above Maha-Raage-Gunge we crossed the Doank¹ River just above the place of its conflux with the Mahanada. The Doank is near half the size of the Mahanada : I am not acquainted with the place of its Source.

The Morung Countrey is about 10 miles N from Maha-Raage-Gunge & extends a considerable way to the Westward ; bordering on the Purranya Countrey which extends as far West as the River Cosa.²

The Purranya Province appears to lie high & is a fine Wheat Countrey, & exceeding well stocked with Cattle. Near Maha-Raage-Gunge are several thick Groves of Trees, but I saw none fit for Timber, they having all very short Trunks.

From Maha-Raage-Gunge we proceeded back to the Eastward, for Nabobgunge & the River Teesta.

Twenty-one miles EBN from Maha-Raage-Gunge crossed the Nagoor River³ near Seebgunge a large Bazar Village. The Nagoor River seperates the Provinces of Purranya & Denospour. The River is small & fordable. Its Course is from the NNE & must of course be one of the Rivers that we crossed between the Teesta & Mahanada, tho' called there by a different Name. The Countrey here is well cultivated & has a pleasant Appearance. Thirteen miles East from Seebgunge crossed the Tangally River⁴ near Currunka ; This River is small & fordable & has its **44** Course from the Northward. The Countrey on both sides of it is pleasant & well cultivated.

Six miles farther to the Eastward crossed the Patraage Nulla⁵ at Canerykotta, a mud Fort belonging to Rungpour. The Patraage Nulla seperates the Provinces of Denospour & Bodaw ; the Bodaw Province ends a few Miles farther to the Southward. Eight Miles more ENE crossed the Corto or Coretya⁶ River. This River is 150 yards broad & very rapid tho' fordable in most places. It receives the Guramarra & Curume Rivers a little farther down & afterwards falls into the Teesta. Nabobgunge lies about 2 miles NE from the Place where we crossed the Corto. The Countrey is here mostly waste interspersed with Groves of Betel Trees.

From Nabobgunge we proceeded to re-cross the Teesta & trace the Northern Boundaries of Rungpour towards Baär.⁷ We left Nabobgunge the 14th. February, & had that day much Rain, it being the first we had seen since the Month of October **45** last. We found the Curume fordable between Nabobgunge & the Teesta, & coming to Ammerconna prepared to cross the Teesta. We had much difficulty in procuring Saringas or Canous to cross over ; & the River being a quarter of a mile broad, & very deep & rapid, we did not cross without difficulty, & hazard of losing some of the Baggage. The Wind blowing from the Southward we could plainly hear the noise of the Falls which are near Allygunge, & interrupt the navigation of the River during the dry Season. An Armenian who was with me informed me that M. Courtin dropt his Boats down the Falls when he quitted his Fort in 1757, & lost but two of

¹ The Dank. It rises in the Terai a short distance West of Jalpaiguri.

² The Kusi or Kosi, the principal river of Nepal.

³ The Nagar, one of the tributaries of the Mahananda. Both this river and the Dank are shown on Rennell's map as flowing out of the Mahananda below Siliguri.

⁴ The Tangan, another tributary of the Mahananda, which it joins near Maldah.

⁵ Patrad on Rennell's map.

⁶ Dinajpur.

⁷ The Karatoya.

⁸ Kuch Behar.

them out of upwards of twenty. The Fall is said to be 4 foot & the breadth of the Cascade 100 yards.

On the East side of the Teesta nearly opposite Nabobgunge is the remains of a small Fort built by M. Courtin when he retreated from Dacca in 1757. M. Courtin
16 contrived to have it just without the Limits of the Bengall Countrey, in order to have the Protection of the Baär Rajah.

From the side of the Teesta we proceeded directly to the Eastward, sometimes crossing the Limits of the two Provinces. Seven miles East from the Teesta came to Sibegunge, a large Village belonging to Baär & situated on the same River⁴ as Rungpour, it being a Branch of the Teesta. Santashgunge a Killa belonging to Baär lies 3 miles N. from this Place. The Countrey here is very thinly cultivated. Four miles from Sibegunge we came on the Northern Skirts of Singaseer Wood.⁵ This Wood extends many Miles to the SE, & belongs partly to Rungpour & partly to Baär. The Daddoi Nulla runs on the North side of it.

Nine Miles East from Sibegunge came to Chowar-Raja-Hāāt, a Village situate on a small spot of Land belonging to Baär, tho' lying in the heart of Rungpour. The
17 Teesta or Sannyajan Nulla runs by this Village in its way to Calpauny Olyapour &c. It is very small & fordable. The Countrey to the Northward near Chowar-Raja-Hāāt appears very woody. It belongs to Patgong,⁶ a Purganna of Rungpour. The Durla River runs within 4 miles NE of this Place.

From Chowar-Raja-Hāāt proceeded to Kochabarry, a Hāāt 8 miles ESE from the last Place. From thence the limits of Rungpour runs to the SSE & SE. Here we learnt by means of a Baär Soubedar⁷ that the Sanashy Facquirs had made War in Baär & that they were at this Time in possession of Bullerampour⁸ the Capital of the Province. This Place is said to be 15 Coss to the NE.

M. Courtin mentions this episode in the letter to his wife quoted at p. 67 above (S. C. Hill, "Three Frenchmen in India," p. 146). "The second day after my departure" (from Fort Bourgogne) "was marked by a very annoying event, namely the loss of one of my largest boats, on which was my library and a quantity of my effects. These were quickly drawn out of the water, but were none the less ruined for the company and for me. From that moment marked my misfortunes. The sixth day I had passed three in the salvage of the effects on my boat—I received a *darogah* messenger, who informed me that the English and the troops of Jafar Ali Khan were at Purneah, from which they had chased Huzir Ali Khan and wholly destroyed his faction." M. Courtin does not mention the loss of a second boat at this place. The Armenian was killed a few days later (*see note*, p. 74 below).

⁴ The name of 'Fort Bourgogne,' the account of the building of which has already been given (*ante*, p. 67). M. Courtin says it was about two leagues from the river, but Rennell in his map places it within two British miles of the

⁵ See also Rennell's map.

⁴ The Ghaghat.

⁶ The forest mentioned by Buchanan Hamilton under the name of 'Singheswor Jhar' "a considerable forest, situated in the Mihar proper, where indeed the greater part is situated" (Martin, History, Vol. III, p. 438).

⁷ Subhadar, a *darogah* or a *panchana* of Jalpaiguri District. ⁸ Subhadar, a native Captain.

⁸ Bullerampour, a trading village in Kuch Behar situated on the Kaljani, a tributary of the Sankos, and is about 11 miles from the capital town. Bullerampour was the residence of the Nazir Deo, or hereditary Commander-in-Chief, who was the sovereign prince. In 1766 the affairs of the state were in great confusion. The Nazir Deo, for the protection of the Bhutias, was assassinated at the instigation of Ramanand Gosain, and was succeeded by Khagendra Narayan, and the Bhutias, concerning the succession, which resulted in the death of the Nazir Deo, he was driven out of the country and appealed to the English for assistance. The English were driven out of the country in 1773 (Hunter, Stat. Acc. Bengal, Vol. X, p. 412 *seq.*). The history of the country is very obscure, but it is probable that the Bhutias, who had probably taken advantage of the disturbances to overrun the country.

From Kochabarry Hāāt proceeded to the SE for Lol Bazar¹ 12 miles, keeping the Limits of Rungpour close on our Right & the Durla River about 4 miles on our left. The Countrey is tolerably cultivated, & produces Wheat & Opium. Two Miles below Lol Bazar crossed the Gaddari or Rotany Creek w^{ch}. falls into the Durla.

Thirteen Miles SEBE from Lol Bazar came to the SW Bank of the Durla which 48 here separates the two Provinces. We proceeded $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles along the Bank & crossed it at Giddildow nearly opposit Mongolhāāt.² The River is here from 100 to 150 yds. broad & fordable in many Places. We received Intelligence that a Detachment of English Sepoys were sent in quest of the Sanashys, & that they crossed the Durla the day before us. The Villages were every where deserted.

From Giddildow we left the Durla on our right & proceeded 6 miles to the SE, passing the Durgah³ & Grove of Nodunga. We now found ourselves on the Western Bank of the Neelcomer or Curesa⁴ River which is a Boutan River passing near Bullerampour. The bed of this River is from 600 to 800 yards over, the Water at this Time 400 & very deep tho' not rapid. It joins the Durla near Curygong & from thence proceeds by Baggoa to the Baramputrey.

We found that the English Detachment crossed this River during the Night 49 before our arrival & that the Rear had not crossed over many Hours. The Sanashys were reported to be marching towards us, & had several Detachments posted in different Villages to the Northward & North East. On receiving this Intelligence I judged it prudent to join our Detachment & continue with them till the Countrey should be a little settled.

We accordingly crossed the River Neelcomer & marched for Curesa,⁵ a large Village belonging to Baär & situated on the Neelcomer about 2 miles NNE from the crossing Place. At Curesa I learnt that a Party of the Sanashy's Horse had been routed that Morning near the Town & that the Detachment were gone to the NE to meet the main Body of the Enemy. I stopt at Curesa to refresh my People & during that Time (the Forenoon) heard a firing of Cannon & Musquetrey to the NE.

We set out in the Afternoon & marched 6 miles to the NNE, & found the 50 Detachment under the Command of Lieut. Morrison⁶ encamped at Bouter Hāāt,⁷ having that Forenoon defeated the Main Body of the Sanashys who retired to the SE towards Paradanga. Morrison had 90 Sepoys Rank & file; & the Sanashys were

¹ Lol Bazar, the site of the ancient city of Kamatapur, the capital of the kingdom of Kamrup. It is the original of the name Comotah, capital of the Reino de Comotah of Barros, Portuguese map of Bengal (1540), and the Comotay of Blaeu's map of 1650, published in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XLII, Pt. I, p. 310, by H. Blochmann. A full account of the ruins, by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton (1809), is given in *Hunter's Stat. Acc. Bengal*, Vol. X, p. 362 *seq.* (*List of Ancient Mon. Beng.*, p. 182).

² Mughulhat, a large trading village on the Dharla, formerly the terminus of the Kuch Behar branch of the N. Bengal State Railway.

³ Durgah—the shrine of a Mahomedan saint.

⁴ Probably the the Toresha or Torsha is meant, one of the tributaries of the Dharla. This is now the main channel of that river.

⁵ Coorsah of Rennell's map.

⁶ Lieut. Morrison had been a midshipman on board the *Medway* while Rennell was on the *America*, and they had gone out to India in company. (Sir C. Markham, James Rennell, &c., p. 47).

⁷ Boothaut of map.

700 strong & near 150 of them armed with English Musquets. We halted with Morrison this Night (of the 20th February).

The next Morning early Morrison set out in quest of the Enemy, & my Sepoys being joined with his, I acted as a Volontier under him. We marched 8 miles this Forenoon, & then halted at Santashpour to refresh the Troops. About $\frac{1}{2}$ past Noon set forward again, but saw no Appearance of the Enemy. We continued marching all the Afternoon to the S & SE, till we came in sight of the River Baramputrey, & 51 were then assured that the Enemy were hemmed in between the forks of that River and the Durla. About 4 we entered the Village of Deenhotta,¹ where a Party of the Enemy had posted themselves or rather as I am inclined to think had sat down to rest themselves. The sudden Approach of our People however roused them & they made a desperate Effort to defend themselves, at the same Time that they might have run off, & probably escaped. In this Skirmish I had the misfortune to be surrounded by the Enemy, & received several Cuts from their broad Swords, one of which threatned my Death.² Morrison pursued his Course towards the Durla the following two days, the second of which at ten in the Morning he came to the Banks 52 of that River & found difficulty in getting Boats to cross over, the River at the Place he crossed it (v^t. Baggoa) being excessive rapid & very deep.

The Sanashys had separated themselves into small Parties & scattered themselves over the Countrey, so that scarce 50 of them had crossed the Durla with their Commander; who as Morrison was informed had retired towards Olyapour.

I followed the Detachment in my Palankeen & was embarked on a small Boat for Dacca the 23rd. The 26th. I arrived at that Place & for the first time got Assistance from a Surgeon, having been near 6 days without the least Assistance.

I staid at Dacca till the beginning of June for the recovery of my Health & then set out to survey the Countrey between Luckypour & the Fenny,³ in order to join on 53 Mr. Verelst's⁴ March to Cospour⁵ to the general Map of Bengal. Ensign Richards

¹ Deenhotta is marked on Rennell's map as 15 miles due north of Baggoa or Bagwa at the mouth of the Dharla.

² The following account of this skirmish is quoted in Hobson Jobson, 2nd Ed., p. 872, from a MS. letter of Major Smith dated August 30th 1766, six months after the event. 'The Sanashy Faquirs (part of the same Tribe which subdued Dacca in Cossim Ally's Time) were in arms to the number of 7 or 800 at the Time I was surveying Bäär (a small place near Boutan), and had taken and plundered the Capital of that name within a few coss of my route. I came up with Morrison immediately after he had defeated the Sanashys in a pitched Battle The 400, which were a few Horse, rode off, and the Enemy with drawn Sabres immediately surrounded us. Morrison and Ensign Richards, my Brother officer, received only a slight Wound, and fought his way off; my Armenian Adjutant was killed, and the Sepoy Adjutant much wounded I was put in a Palankeen, and Morrison cut his way on the Enemy and cut most of them to Pieces. I was now in a most shocking Condition indeed, being wounded in use of both my Arms. a cut of a Sable (*sic*) had cut through my right Shoulder Bone, another cut for nearly a Foot down the Back, cutting thro' and wounding some of my Ribs. I had besides a Cut in the Arm which took off the Muscular part of the breadth of a Hand, a Stab in the Arm, and a large Cut on the Head.'

³ The Fenny is the Meghna separating the Noakhali and Chittagong districts in E. Bengal. It rises in Hill Tracts.

⁴ Mr. Verelst was in charge of the Factory at Chittagong from 1761 to 1765; succeeded Lord Clive as Governor of Bengal in 1769.

⁵ Cospour was an important village in Kachar, but capital of the Rajas of Kachar during the eighteenth century. It is mentioned in the journey of Mr. Verelst's in his 'Memoir of Hindoostan,' p. 298, in the following words: 'Mr. Verelst had meditated an expedition into Meckley from Bengal and actually advanced as far as

was sent in the beginning of May to finish the survey of the Curesa River & the Ragamatty Countrey.

The 1st. of June I set out from Dacca for Luckypour, & the 3d. at Night arrived there. The 4th. employed in procuring Coolys &c. for the Baggage & the 5th. began to measure the Roads from Luckypour towards the Fenny River.

The Course from Luckypour to the Fenny is almost East. Four miles & a quarter from Luckypour we crossed a Nulla named Rummutcally which runs from thence to the Westward & falls into the Megna. This Nulla is the limit of the Company's Lands to the Eastward: the Countrey is open & cultivated, and quite destitute of Trees.¹ The Revenues of the Company's Lands here are said to be 8,000 Rupees P. Annum. The Rummutcally Nulla is 50 yds. broad & too deep to be forded.

From the Nulla the Countrey begins to be rather more close, & the Roads 54 broken; the Countrey lies excessive low & must be several Feet under Water during great part of the Rains.

The first Village of any Note from Luckypour is Chandergunge distant 15 miles from the former; this Village is situated in the Purganna of Amidabad,² which is an extensive & fertile Province. The Countrey about Chandergunge is very full of Betel Trees; the Roads are in general broken.

Colinda or Koilindy is the next Village of any Note & situated E $\frac{1}{4}$ N from Chandergunge distant by the roads $14\frac{3}{4}$ miles. The Roads between those two places are in general very bad, & the Countrey excessive low & at this Time overflown near a foot, but it is notwithstanding extremely fertile, & produces great Quantities of Padda, & some Betel Nut. I saw but little Cotton growing, so that the immense quantiet of Cotton used in the Manufacture of their Cloths must be brought from distant Places.³

There is a small Factory at Colinda⁴ for collecting coarse Cloths, of which a 55 prodigious Quantity are manufactured in these Parts. The whole Countrey hereabouts appears to be very scarce of Bamboos.

From Colinda the Roads are still worse & worse as you proceed towards the Fenny. The Course inclines to the ESE. About 6 miles from Colinda we crossed the Daddanacherra Creek thro' which the Tides flow almost up to Colinda. This Creek is only passable at half Tide. Two miles beyond this we crossed a River named the little Fenny thro' which the Tide flows regularly all the Year. The

Cospour on his way to it, in 1763, was informed by his Meckley guides, that after passing the first ridge of mountains beyond Cachar, he would find a fertile and well inhabited country all the way to Ava. He, however, went no further than Cospour," on account of the difficulties of the country (Imp. Gaz., Vol. IX, p. 251). The journey was undertaken in response to "an invitation made by the Raja of Meckley to assist him in obtaining redress for some grievance he complained to have suffered from the Burmas, and enclosing a paper of articles of alliance which the Raja had tendered to be executed between him and us for this purpose" (Consultation in Council 4th Oct^r 1762. Wheeler, Early Records, p. 291).

The 'Meckley' of Rennell is the State of Manipur, a corruption of the Assamese (*Makli*) or Kachari (*Mogli*) name of the State (Hobson Jobson, p. 597). One of the subdivisios of Cooch Behar State, a relic of the old Koch Kingdom of Assam, is called Mekhliganj.

¹ In 1754 the country about 'Luckepur' was "almost entirely uncultivated" (Long, Selections, No. 127, p. 48).

² Ahmirabads of the 'Bengal Atlas.' ³ The cotton is grown in Hill Tipperah and the Chittagoug Hill Tracts.

⁴ Kaliyandi. Hunter says (Stat. Acc. Beng., Vol. VI, p. 288): "At the end of the last century Kaliyandi must have been a place of considerable importance, as its name appears in all the old maps. At the present day, however, it has completely relapsed into jungle." The trade in cotton cloths is said to have amounted to £120,000 a year.

Course of this River is from NBE; to SBW, it has its Source in the Tipera Province & runs by Kundal. From the crossing Place its Course is to the SW to Jugdya,¹ which Place is situated about 4 miles from hence. The Countrey here is close & but thinly cultivated.

56 Kossidya or Cassidya a Bazar Village lies about half a mile to the SE of the little Fenny, & is surrounded by Betel Groves & Thickets. Meerjapour or Assaropgunge is the next Village & lies 5 miles from Kossidya. The whole Countrey hereabouts is so low that it is quite overflown during 5 Months of the Year. The Countrey does not seem to be well inhabited.

From Assaropgunge to the Banks of the Fenny is near three Miles; the Roads in general excessive bad.

The Fenny River at the crossing Place is more than a mile & quarter broad at present, & continues widening daily, several Sand Banks gathering in the middle. This River has its Source in the Chittigong Province, & is very narrow a few miles up, & so shallow that I am informed it is fordable at low Water. It empties itself into the Bay of Bengall about five miles below the crossing Place. You have a view 57 of part of the Island of Babnee² (or Banniny) from the SE point of the River, & if I mistake not, of part of Sunedee³ likewise (those are two of the Islands lying in the head of the Bay).

The Sea Coast from the Mouth of the Fenny to Islanabad River⁴ runs in general about SIBS without any considerable Bays or inlets. As Mr. Plaisted is said to have surveyed all the Coasts & Islands betwixt Luckypour & Islanabad,⁵ I forbore setting about surveying them, as well to prevent double Trouble & loss of Time, as that the Season of the Year was improper for it. Being however in the neighbourhood of Islanabad I judged it proper to go there in order to collect what Maps I could, & to inform myself what remained to be surveyed of the Province.

The Roads between the Fenny & Islanabad are intersected by a great number 58 of Nullas, & as most of these want Bridges, the Roads are almost impassable during the rainy Season. The whole Road is skirted by a Range of small Hills to the Eastward which sometimes come within half a mile of the Road. The Sea is from 4 to 6 miles distant & frequently in view: the low Lands between the Hills & the Sea are very fertile, & are by much the best part of the Province.

¹ *Tipera*. Both the English and the French had factories here. The English Factory appears to have been destroyed by the Mughals in 1666. See *Journal of the East India Company*, Vol. I, p. 100. ² *Babnee*. See *Journal of the East India Company*, Vol. I, p. 100. ³ *Sunedee*. See *Journal of the East India Company*, Vol. I, p. 100. ⁴ *Islanabad*. See *Journal of the East India Company*, Vol. I, p. 100. ⁵ *Mr. Plaisted*. See *Journal of the East India Company*, Vol. I, p. 100.

⁶ *Sebastian Gonzales*. See *Journal of the East India Company*, Vol. I, p. 100. ⁷ *Fathi Khan*. See *Journal of the East India Company*, Vol. I, p. 100. ⁸ *Nawab Shasta Khan*. See *Journal of the East India Company*, Vol. I, p. 100. ⁹ *Portuguese pirates*. See *Journal of the East India Company*, Vol. I, p. 100. ¹⁰ *Chittagong*. See *Journal of the East India Company*, Vol. I, p. 100.

¹¹ *Islanabad*. See *Journal of the East India Company*, Vol. I, p. 100. ¹² *Mughals*. See *Journal of the East India Company*, Vol. I, p. 100. ¹³ *1666*. See *Journal of the East India Company*, Vol. I, p. 100.

¹⁴ *Plan and survey of the coast of Chittagong*. See *Journal of the East India Company*, Vol. I, p. 100. ¹⁵ *Chittagong*. See *Journal of the East India Company*, Vol. I, p. 100. ¹⁶ *1764*. See *Journal of the East India Company*, Vol. I, p. 100. ¹⁷ *Wilson*. See *Journal of the East India Company*, Vol. I, p. 100. ¹⁸ *Old Fort William*. See *Journal of the East India Company*, Vol. I, p. 100.

None of the Hills exceed the height of 240 yards, & of these Sittacoon¹ is the highest & situated about half way between the Fenny & Chittagong. On the top of this Hill is built a small Pagoda which is much resorted to by the religious Gentoos,² who very zealously venture their Necks to go up to worship; for the sides of the Hill are in some places quite perpendicular.³

Near Barracoon⁴ (a Village 3 miles to the Southward of Sittacoon) is the famous burning Well. It lies within the first ridge of Hills, & thro' a narrow, bad road. 59 The Spring rises at the foot of a Hill, & has a small House or Pagoda built over it, from whence you descend by six or seven stone Steps to the level of the Spring. The Water bubbles up on one side of an artificial Bason or Tank of about 6 foot square & 5 deep; from whence it is carried off by a subterraneous Passage into the Valley. On that side of the Tank where the Water rises is built a Brick Wall of about 4 foot high as a kind of facing to the Rock from whence the Water issues. This Wall by being built very loose, & without Cement, allows the Water a free Passage thro' the lower part of it into the Tank; & with it a pure flame is continually issuing forth for near the breadth of 4 foot, & commonly it rises near 3 foot high, so that the Wall itself does not ill represent the back of a large Kitchen Chimney in England. 60 The Flames are seen to spread near a foot from the Wall, over the surface of the Tank when the Water continues its bubbling motion to that distance; but over the still parts of it there is not y^e least appearance of Flame.

I observed that when the Water of the Tank rose, or was much disturbed by the People that went in to bathe, the Flame went out for some Seconds, but afterwards broke out with much greater violence than ever.⁵

The Flames are seen very distinctly in the day Time occasioned by the darkness of the House. Altho' I stood very near them I did not perceive the least sulphureous

¹ Sitakund, the highest hill in the Chittagong District, 1155 ft. above sea level.

² Gentoos, a term applied to the Hindus, to distinguish them from the Moghuls or 'Moors.'

³ The principal gathering is the Siva Chaturdasi festival on the 14th day of the moon saered to Siva (usually in February). Minor gatherings take place in or near the months of Mareh and November and at eclipses of the sun and moon. The ascent of the hill is said to redcem the pilgrim from the misery of a future birth. There was formerly a saered spring in the mountain, said to be bituminous, which dried up in the latter part of the 18th century (Hunter, Imp. Gaz., 2nd Ed., Vol. XIII, p. 25). Major Rennell makes no mention of this spring.

⁴ Bharatkund. The springs of Sitakund are enumerated in Dr. Oldham's list of the Thermal Springs of India (Memoirs, Geol. Sur. Ind., Vol. XIX, Pt. 2, p. 52). The description given is Pogson's, who visited them in 1778. The one called Barraeoon by Rennell appears to be Pogson's Babu Kund, which is "at the end of a valley surrounded by hills; the water is always eold; springs covered by briek work. Flames in sueecessive flashes were playing on the surface of the water which, though cold, had the appearance of being boiling, from the volume of perpetually rising bubbles of gas; water is brackish, sulphureous, and ehalybeate. There are seven other springs within a circle of 6 miles." Rennell's account of the phenomenon agrees very well with this except that he says he could perceive no sulphurous smell.

Sir J. Hooker visited the locality in 1851, but was disappointed with the phenomenon. He writes:—"The mountain (Seetakoond) is very saered, and there is a large Brahmin temple on its flank; and near the base a perpetual flame bursts out of the roek. This we were anxious to examine, and were extremely disappointed to find it a small vertieal hole in a slaty rock. with a lateral one below for a draught, and that it is daily supplied by pious pilgrinus and Brahmins with such enormous quantities of ghee (liquid butter) that it is to all intents and purposes an artificial lamp; no trace of natural phenomena being discoverable" (Himalayan Journals, Vol. II, p. 352). He does not mention the spring, and it is doubtful whether he saw the place described by Rennell and Pogson.

⁵ From this the gas would appear to take fire spontaneously.

smell; the House itself is very hot & disagreeable for want of a proper Circulation of Air, besides the Bramins make a Cook Room of it, there being a little Hole left in
61 y^e top of the Wall for placing the Pots.

The Water of the Well is very cool & moderately clear. 'Twas hard for me to distinguish whether the oily Substance on its Surface rose with the Water, or was the consequence of so many People's bathing in it.¹

The City of Islamabad is $49\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Fenny, and in Latitude $22^{\circ}-20'$ North. It is a large stragling Place, built like the rest of the Bengall Towns, the Houses mean, & the streets laid out without the least design. It is surrounded by little Hills to the West & North & by the River to the East.² I had a view of a range of very high Mountains named the Muggs which are said to be the boundary of the Province to the East & SE;³ the Fenny being the Northern Boundary towards Tipera. The Mugg Mountains appear to be from 50 to 70 miles distant & run in
62 several Chains from the NNE to SSW. There are several Ranges of small Hills between Islamabad & the Mugg Mountains, the nearer of which seems to be within 20 miles. I am informed that the River ⁴ is navigable for near 50 miles up, but that the Fenny has no communication with it. The Chittigong Province extends to the Southward as far as $21^{\circ}-28'$ N. where Cruzcolly⁵ is the Boundary between that & Aracan.

On my return from Islamabad towards Dacca, I was seized with a Fever & Ague the 27th. & continued very ill till near the middle of July. I recrossed the Fenny the 1st. July, & the 5th. arrived at Luckypour where I continued for the recovery of my Health till the middle of the Month.

63 By the apparent Situation of the Islands of Sunedee, Hattiah, Babnee⁶ &c. it seems probable that they must afford Shelter for Ships during both Monsoons, but especially during the SW or Southwardly Monsoon when the Passages must be of easy Access. If the Water is so deep as reported between Sunedee, Babnee, & the Main, a competent knowledge of the Place might be a means of saving those Ships which are drove to the Eastward of Balasore Road,⁷ & may not be able to enter Chittigong River for want of a Pilot, depth of Water, or other Accident. There is likewise an Advantage attending the making of this Coast, which that between Balasore Road & the Megna is entirely destitute of; I mean Land Marks. Seetacoon Hill is said to be an excellent Mark for the Chittigong River; besides the Flagstaffs, Hills & Houses of Chittigong must afford sure Marks for the Coast.

¹ It may have been a thin film of petroleum.

² The modern European quarter of Chittagong is built on these hills, most of the houses occupying separate

³ The Mugg Hills, inhabited by non-Hindu aboriginal tribes. The lower ranges are now comprised in the district of Chittagong Hill Tracts, inhabited for the most part by Maghs or Arakanese.

⁴ The Kumbhira, navigable by shallow draught steamers as far as Rangamati, about 50 miles above Chitta-

⁵ See the map in Rennell's map. Opposite Maiskhal I. and just north of Cox's Bazar.

⁶ See the map in Rennell's map.

⁷ See the map in the Atlas, where before the days of steam ships were accustomed to anchor till wind and tide served for their passage up the Hug. (Bengal Atlas No. XIX).

The 4th. of November set out from Dacca to survey the Northern Branches of * the Ganges. The Dullaserry was surveyed in 1765 from its conflux with the Megna to the Beurygonga & we now proposed to go on with the Survey of that & its principal Branches first.

The Dollasery River runs out from the North side of the River Ganges at Jaffiergunge,¹ & soon after loses itself in a number of Jeels for the space of 11 or 12 miles, afterwards passing by Pyelapour & Saapour. A few Miles below y^e latter Place it sends out a navigable Creek from y^e North side which communicates with y^e Dacca River or Beurygonga.² Here, the Tides flowing up it increases in breadth to near half a mile in most places. Between y^e head of the Dacca Creek & its conflux with the Megna it receives the two Branches of the Issamutey³ River on y^e South side, & the Beurygonga & Luckya Rivers on y^e North side, by which time it becomes a mile & quarter broad.

The Issamuty River is formed from two small Branches of the Ganges which run out from the North side near Hadgigunge. It is navigable all the Year for large * Boats. Its breadth is about 200 yards & Course very serpentine.

We begun the Survey of the Dolasery y^e 4th. in y^e Evening & continued it to the WNW till we passed the two Mouths of the Issamuty to y^e Southward & Tagerpour⁴ Creek to y^e Nw^d. The Tagerpour Creek leads from the Dolasery to the Dacca River & is 2½ Cubits deep at high Water during y^e fair Season; but it is so narrow & the turnings in some Places so short that a large Boat cannot turn. Its Northern Outlet from the Dacca River is opposite to the Octagon Island,⁵ & the Southern Outlet to y^e Dollasery is at the Village of Tagerpour in sight of & within 5 miles of the city of Dacca, so near do the Dacca & Dollasery Rivers approach each other. The intermediate space is a very low Plain with some Villages in it. In y^e wet Season it may be crossed in y^e largest Boats. The Flood Tide in y^e Tagerpour Creek comes from y^e Dolaserry.

The Mouth of the Toolsey Creek or Westmost Branch of the Issamuty lies 3 miles West from Tagerpour. Thro' this Creek is y^e common Route from Dacca to Hadgigunge. It is very narrow & crooked, but deep enough for the largest Boats * The Countrey on both sides of it is either Jungly or swampy. The length of this Creek is about 6 miles, & then you enter the largest Branch of the Issamuty which flows thro' a very fine pleasant Countrey. We finished the Survey of the Toolsey Creek & entered the great Issamuty the 8th. at Night.

* Beyond this the original is not paged. The pagination is here denoted by asterisks.

¹ The Dhaleswari now runs out of the Jamuna or lower portion of the Brahmaputra, about 10 miles above Jafarganj.

² The Buriganga.

³ The Ichamati.

⁴ Thakurpur. Tagoorpur of Rennell's map.

⁵ An island in the Buriganga opposite Dacca city, shown in Map No. XII. Bengal Atlas. It has now entirely disappeared.

From the 8th. to the 13th. employed in tracing the Issamutty from Toolsey Creek to the great Ganges. The 10th. the Monsoon broke up,¹ having a strong Gale of Wind which veered from NE to S.

The Course of the Issamutty is extremely crooked, & the stream gentle. The Tides are scarce felt 3 Reaches above Toolsey. We noted 2 small Creeks that lead from it into y^e Dolaserry at & a little below Sāāpour, but only small Dingeyes can pass during the fair Season. The Countrey on both sides lies moderately high, a few Jeels only excepted; & it seems to be well cultivated. The Limits of the Provinces are described in the Maps. The Westmost head of the Issamuty (or that which comes out at Nabobgunge) is only 1 Cubit deep in y^e dry Season; but the other which comes out at Sabdychoar or Meggala is much deeper. These two Branches join together at Keerdupour near the Ganges.

The 13th. came back to the head of Toolsey Creek & the remainder of this day together with y^e 14th. & part of the 15th. we surveyed the remaining part of this River (v^l.) from Toolsey to the Dolaserry. There are few Circumstances worth remarking here, the Course of the River & nature of the Countrey being much the same as before. The main Branch of the Isamutty joins y^e Dollaserry at Pattergotta a small Village with 2 Mosques² which is situated a few miles below Tagerpour.

The 13th took an Obs. of y^e Sun's Amplitude, by which the Variation is 1°-49' Westerly.

The 16th. proceeded with the Survey of the Dolaserry & y^e 17th. came to Sāāpour a large Village lying about 15 miles WBN from Dacca. The neighbouring Countrey is very low & full of Jeels, particularly Southward, in which direction there is scarce a Tree or House to be seen. There are a few Brick Houses & an old Pagoda * in Sāāpour. There is a small Creek which runs out of the Dolaserry at Sāāpour & communicates with the Isamutty. It is said to be navigable all the Year for Boats of a moderate size.

Four miles & half from Saapour a small River named Gadgically³ runs out of the Dolaserry & communicates with the Dacca River. In the fair Season only small Boats can navigate it, & that at high Water, but in y^e wet Season Boats of any size may go. The Place where this Creek seperates from y^e Dollaserry is named Currua. A mile & half further Westward the Caagmar River⁴ falls in: it is very small, & in y^e fair Season only deep enough for Pulwars. The Countrey hereabouts is quite full of Jeels.

Pyelapour is y^e next Village of note. It is situated on a high spot of Land & extends about a mile within the Southern Bank of the River. With respect to Saapour it lies NW;W 10 miles (tho' by Water it is upwards of 13) & from Dacca

¹ The Mosques at Pathorghata was built in 1688 by one Unwar, a courtier of Aurungzib. (List of Ancient

² The Mosques at H. and Conou, are shown falling into the 'Dullaserry' a little to the west of the 'Gazycally' Map No. XII. The village of 'Caug-mary' is shown on Map No. IX at some distance to the NW., probably meant.

WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ N 25 miles. The Countrey round Pyelapour is well cultivated and inhabited. Nearly opposite to the Village a small Creek from Caagmar¹ joins the Dolaserry, but it is shut up during y^e dry Season. From Pyellapour Westwards the Countrey is an^{*} entire Swamp or Jeel, so that it was with difficulty we could ascertain the Bed of the River. These Jeels are a continuation of the great Jeels of Chatmol & Hurriol.²

The Village & Grove of Gwalpara lie WBN $\frac{1}{4}$ N 7 miles from Pyelapour, but the Course of the River between the two Places is very crooked. This Village is the Boundary of the Provinces of Dacca & Radshy.³ Here y^e River comes in two Branches named the Andyadaw and Curatty Gongga. The Andyadaw is the Northmost, & has the straitest Course, for which Reason we pursued our Route thro' it.

After going about 5 miles up the Andyadaw we came to Baljuree, where the Noigonga or Bailcoonsi River falls in. This River comes thro' the Jeels, & in its way communicates with the Sheebgunge & Rungpour Rivers.⁴ The Village of Baljuree is known by two old red Pagodas lying a little to the Northward of it.⁵

Leaving Baljuree we enter the Comercally Creek which is narrow & communicates with several large Jeels. The Current is very rapid. At the end of this Creek which is about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Baljuree we come to the head of the Curatty Gongah^{*} (a Southern River left at Gwalpara) & entered a fine high Countrey. From the Comercally we entered the Corki Creek which has a winding Course of about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 miles & then leads into a broad River named the Cantabotey. It is remarkable that almost the whole Body of Water which forms the Dolaserry^{*} is confined within y^e space of 70 yards breadth in its Course thro' the Corki Creek. The Cantabotey River after a Course of 5 miles leads into the great Ganges near Jaffiergunge after receiving the largest Branch of the Denospour River⁶ & a small Creek from that of Sheebgunge.⁷ We finished the Survey of this River the 23d.

The whole Course of the Dolaserry from its seperation from the Ganges to its Conflux with the Megna, the principal Windings included, is 75 miles. Of this we have now surveyed 63 miles, y^e other 12 being surveyed before & about 41 of the Issamutey, besides the Toolsey Creek.

The 23rd. in the Afternoon entered the Rottingunge River or Arti⁸ in order to^{*}

¹ Caugmary of Rennell's Map No. IX, a district north of Atia. The name is not marked on modern maps.

² Rennell's Map shows a continuous line of Jhils extending north-westwards from the place where the Brahmaputra now joins the Ganges at Goalundo, along what was then the course of the eastern branch of the Atrai, or lower Teesta. The main stream of the Brahmaputra has broken across this low ground, and the face of the country is entirely changed.

³ Rajshahi, now a Division under the Lt.-Govr. of E. Bengal and Assam. The portion now entered is called Bettooriah in the Bengal Atlas (Map No. IX). 'Raudeshy' is shown further west, the greater part of it lying south of the Ganges, about Murshidabad.

⁴ The Atrai, Karatoya, and Tista.

⁵ Probably destroyed since the incursion of the Brahmaputra. The face of the country hereabouts is entirely altered since that event. The 'Cantabotey' river is shown on the Atlas of India, sheet 120, as quite a small creek, the Kuntabuttee, not connected with the Ganges. The Dhaleswari now leaves the Brahmaputra or Jamuna 10 miles to the north of Jaffiergunge (Jafarganj). Fergusson gives a succinct account of the changes that took place in this region between Rennell's survey and his time in his paper on the Delta of the Ganges (Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc., Vol. XIX, p. 336).

⁶ The Dinajpur R. or Atrai.

⁷ The Karatoya.

⁸ ? misspelling for Attrai = Atrai R. This creek, which leaves the Ganges at Pubna, now goes by the name of the Ichhamati in some places and of the Attrai in others.

survey it & note the Northern Rivers that fall into it. We were employed on this Survey till the 28th. inclusive when we came into the great River by way of Pubna or Nasserpour. This River has a very serpentine Course, the distance through being upwards of 53 miles, whereas the Horizontal distance is not 28. Its breadth is from 150 to 300 yards, & depth sufficient for y^e largest Boats during the dry Season. The Route from Jelenghee to Dacca is thro' this River, altho' the Passage by y^e Ganges is 10 miles shorter. In going against the Stream this River is preferable to the Ganges, on account of their being good tracking Ground all the way, & few Sands; but in going down with the stream the other is preferable. The Countrey on both sides of this River lies high & is well cultivated; the Produce is Paddy, Cotton, &c.

A Branch of the Denospour River falls into this about 14 miles EBN from * Pubna at a Place named Boolbaria. In y^e dry Season it is y^e common Passage from Jelenghee to Nattour, Denospour, &c. Between Boolbaria & Rottingunge a small Creek runs out of the Arti into the Currumjar which is y^e main Branch of the Denospour River & runs nearly paralel with the Arti.

The 29th. proceeded 2 Reaches up the Ganges to get information concerning the limits of the Radshy Province in order to make Lord Clive's Map as compleat as possible before his leaving Bengall. The 30th. returned to Boolbaria. On the Passage we were employed in preparing Maps & Journals for Lord Clive.

The 1st. December began surveying the Boolbaria Creek or Western Branch of the Denospour River, & at Night came into the Currumjar.¹ From hence proceeded with the Survey of the Denospour River to the place where Mr. Richards left off in July last.

Immediately above the head of the Currumjar River the great Jeels begin. These Jeels in y^e wet Season are joined together, & form a prodigious Lake which * extends from the Western parts of Dacca to Nattour, a tract of about 80 English miles. In the dry Season they form several distinct Lakes. The Denospour River runs thro' the Western Part of these Jeels, frequently losing itself for several Miles, & dividing into a number of Branches. On the skirts of the Jeels are several considerable Villages particularly those of Sajatpour,² Hurriol, Chatmol, Cullum³ & Nattour. In the shallow parts of the Jeels a prodigious number of tame Buffaloes are kept, by which means this part of the Radshy Countrey furnishes the neighbouring Provinces with Ghee.⁴ The Countrey is incapable of any other Improvements for as it lies very low, the neighbouring Jeels make it a perfect Swamp.

The Village of Chatmol⁵ lies in a high spot on y^e SW side of the River & is situated from Pubna NBE 16½ miles, but by Water upward of 48 miles. This is

¹ The Currumjar runs thro' several channels by which the Attrai emptied itself into the Ganges.

² See the name of Renell's Map.

³ The name of the lake is called in jhil or bil is the largest in Rajshahi, measuring 21 miles in length from N.W. to S.E., and is situated in a low and depressed basin, sunk below the level of the surrounding country. The average depth of water in the lake is 3 feet when the area is reduced to about 20 square miles, is 3 feet (Hunter, Stat. Acc. Beng., Vol. VIII.

⁴ See the name of Renell's Map.

⁵ See the name of Renell's Map, and in Stat. Acc. Beng., Vol. IX, p. 297.

ye first principal Village in the Route from Pubna to Denospour. Hurriol¹ lies on y^e East side of the Jeels & about 6½ miles NE from Chatmol. The nearest River to it is the Baganudi or Chatmol River† with which it communicates by means of the Jeel.

†Two miles Northward from Chatmol a Creek from Surda² joins this River, but it is not navigable during ye fair Season.

At Sittalya 9 miles NNW from Chatmol the River divides into two distinct * Branches, the Westmost flowing thro' a fine high Countrey, & the other thro' a Jeel. The Western River leads to Nattour the Capital of the Radshy Province, the other to Cullum & Denospour. As the River near this place divides into a great number of Branches it will be impossible to convey an Idea of their Courses without the Map, to which I shall refer.

Nattour³ is situated on a very small River whose Course is in general about East & it is said to be a Branch of the Ganges which seperates somewhere above Bolio.⁴ It is not navigable in y^e dry Season, so that Boats at that time cannot come within 5 miles of the Town where a small Branch of the Denospour River comes. Nattour has a large Bazar but is a Place of no Trade. The Rhany Bowany or Rajah's House is y^e only Brick Buiding in y^e Town; this is surrounded by a high wall & a Ditch, but not after the manner of a Fortification. Two miles NE from Nattour is Diggypattia a Village belonging to Dyram.⁵ This Village contains several * Brick Houses, & a large Pagoda. The Countrey round Nattour lies very low. Nattour lies in Latitude 24°-24'-30'' North & bears from Muxadabad ENE 47 miles.

Cullum⁶ a large Village lies on y^e Eastern Bank of the great Denospour River & at the head of the large Jeels. With respect to Nattour it lies EBN 11 miles. This is the first Place where we could with any certainty determine the breadth of the River,⁷ for farther down it either mixes with y^e Jeels or seperates into several Streams, so that no Idea can be formed of the quantity of the Body of Water. Above Cullum it is in general 200 or 220 Yards broad & deep enough for y^e largest Boats, excepting at one certain Place which I shall take notice of hereafter. The Stream is not rapid, nor is y^e Water of the muddy colour of the Ganges & Baramputrey. This River has a great many names given it, the People of every District giving it a particular Name.*

¹ Hurecal in the same Atlas Sheet. The E. I. Co. had a factory at 'Hurriaul' in 1784, and the French traded here from 1766 to 1770 (Bengal, Past & Present, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 366).

² A village on the Ganges below Rampur Boalia near Charghat. The creek is the Baral R. Its mouth is closed by a sand bank which obstructs the passage for several months in the year (Hunter, Stat. Acc. Beng., Vol. VIII, p. 24).

³ Nattor, the residence of the hereditary Rajas of Rajshahi. At this time it was the largest and wealthiest zemindari in Bengal, and it was about five times the size of the present District, extending from Bhagalpur on the West to Dacca on the east, and including a large territory on the south bank of the Ganges. The estate was at this time in possession of a woman, the Rani Bhawani, whose failure to pay the revenue demanded by the English led to the gradual break up of the estate, and the Nattor family now ranks only third or fourth in Rajshahi in respect of wealth (Hunter, Imp. Gaz., Vol. XI, p. 429. Annals of Rural Bengal, p. 58). For a complete account of the character and career of the Rani Bhawani see Cal. Review, Vol. LVI, p. 9, seq.

⁴ Rampur Boalia, a large and important centre of commerce on the Ganges.

⁵ Dayaram, the Dewan and trusted adviser of the Rani Bhawani (see article in Cal. Review cited above).

⁶ Chalan, at the head of the Chalan jhil (*ante* p. 82).

⁷ The Atrai. At this time the volume of water must have been very much greater than it is now, for the main stream of the Teesta took this course on its way to join the Ganges. The clearness of the water is no doubt due to the deposition of the silt in the numerous jhils through which the river flows.

Between Boutan & Raage Gunge it is named the Teesta, from thence to Bandegotta the Attri; between that & Cullum the Gole nuddy; & afterwards the several names of Baganuddy, Ballaser, & Currumjar.

M^r. Richards had surveyed the River from Raage Gunge to Cullum as before-mentioned, but for want of an Instrument for taking the Latitudes the latter part of the Survey was not sufficiently exact; for this Reason we proceeded up the River & took the Latitudes as far as was necessary. We finished the Survey as far as Cullum the 9th. of December.

From the 9th. to y^e 13th. proceeded up the River whose Course is from the NW to SE. taking y^e Latitudes at several places. The last Observation was at Baumanpara near Conchon,* the Latitude of which was $24^{\circ}-53'$ North. The Course of the River from hence to Raage Gunge is nearly North & y^e distance determined by the Latitude of Raage Gunge.

At Baumanpara the River is 300 yards broad & sufficiently deep. About 12 miles below this Place the River changes its general Course from South to SE & at the same Time separates into 2 Channells, & the Northmost of these again into several others. By the Waters being divided into so many Streams it happens that none of them are navigable for Boats of 2 Cubits draught of Water. This shallow place is at Kalcour 4 miles above Bandegotta. At Bandegotta the two principal Channells join again. The Countrey round this Place is an entire Swamp.

Having finished our Observations the 13th. we proceeded down the River again in order to survey a Branch of it which turns off to the Eastward near Chatmol & receives the Gorregott & Rungpour Rivers.†

All our leisure Time since we left Dacca has been employed in compiling a general Map for Lord Clive. After all the Observations that we could make before his Lordship's setting out, the Map would remain very imperfect without we were supplied with Copies of several Maps from Calcutta, & it being too late to wait for these, I determined to go to Calcutta as soon as the Survey of the abovementioned River should be completed.

The 16th. at Night arrived at the head of the Eastern River, & the next day M^r. Richards proceeded to survey it whilst I was employed on the Map. This River after a very serpentine Course thro' the Jeels leads to Sajatpour a large Village situated at the conflux of the Rungpour & Gorregott Rivers. It is necessary to observe that Seepour & Sheebgunge are both situated on the Gorregott or Coretya River; & that Nulsi & Baileconsi are on that distinguished by y^e name of the Rungpour River.

We had not Time to survey the Currumjar River as I intended, by reason of the sudden departure of Lord Clive. We left Sajatpour & proceeded for Calcutta the 19th. of December. We arrived at Jelenghee the 25th. at Noon. I observed that we could make no further Progress than from 18 to 22 miles a day in the great Rivers, tho' our Boats were light, & the Dandies kept at work the whole Day. We

* This is the same Place as is mentioned in the Map of the River Teesta. The latter becomes the Bengali R. in the lower part of its course and flows into the Bay of Bengal after having run a considerable distance.

lightened the Budgarows at Jelenghee, being informed that some Places in y^e River * were very shallow. This however we found to be false as there was not less than 2 Cubits Water. The 28th. in y^e Evening got clear of the Jelenghee River, having gone from 30 to 38 miles p. day. Took an Observation of Latitude in y^e next Reach below Gwareea & found the Lat. 23°-26' N.† The 30th. in the Evening arrived at Calcutta. We had been employed on the Map the whole Passage.

From the 30th. of December to the 6th. of Feb^y. inclusive staid at Calcutta. The greatest part of the Time, that is to say, till y^e 24th. of Jan^y., we were employed in compiling & copying Maps for Lord Clive. His Lordship carried home a Map of Bengall & part of Bahar on a Scale of 10' to an Inch 5 foot by 3 ; & another Map containing y^e Ganges &c. from Patna to Kanoge ¹ on the same Scale.²

¹ Kanauj. The ancient capital of the Gupta dynasty, situated near the Ganges in Farukhadad District, in the United Provinces.

² Lord Clive left Calcutta on the 29th January, 1767.

JANUARY, FEBRUARY 1767.

The 1st. of Jan. 1767 I was appointed Surveyor Gen^l.¹ & the Gov^r. (Mr. Verelst) appointed the several Surveyors that were to be employed under me (V^t.)

Capt. Lewis DuGloss

Lieut. ——— Carter.

Capt. John Adams

Ensign W^m. Richards.

The three first had each a particular part of the Countrey allotted him to survey, & myself (with Mr. Richards as an Assistant) had another part. Mine was to be : first, the Roads from Calcutta to Hadgigunge ; next, the Cosa or Cosee River from its Conflux with y^e Ganges to the Northern Frontier of Bengall.

The 6th. Feby. sent y^e Baggage off to Dumdum,² the same Evening I joined it, in order to begin the Survey next Day from Gowreepour Bridge ;³ Capt. Cameron having surveyed as far as that Place.

The 7th. began the Survey, and at Night came to Barrasett,⁴ which is 7m 3.5fr from Dumdum. This Countrey is a part of the Kistnagur Province.

After leaving Barrasett we seldom found the Roads good, they being excessive narrow, rough, & crooked, & very frequently running across Padda Fields, so that when the ground is ploughed up there are no Traces of a Road to be found.⁵

At the end of the Journal I have added a Table of the Roads with the distances

¹ See Introduction, p. 1. Concerning this appointment Malcolm says:—"Among other eminent men whom he (Lord Clive) patronised, he found Rennell, then a lieutenant of engineers, employed in various surveys, encouraged him to complete the general survey and map of Bengal, communicated to him all such previous surveys as were to be found in the public offices, furnished him with a proper establishment (though before this he seems to have had only two assistants, Ensign Richards and the Armenian who was killed by the Sunyasis at Deenhotta), gave him every assistance in his power, and finally, young as he was (he was just turned 24) bestowed on him the office of Surveyor-General, which seems to have been created for him. Clive's mode of trusting officers in whom he could repose confidence, and his means of securing the speedy and effectual execution of the orders he gave, are illustrated by one of his letters to Rennell (4th October, 1765, *see ante*, p. 51). He had ordered a general map of the provinces to be completed. 'If you have occasion for any assistants, name them, and I will order them to attend you.' (Life of Clive, Vol. III, p. 162). Sir C. Markham quotes a letter of Rennell, referring to Ensign Richards: "I have now company at all times; and luckily for me, the gentleman proves a very agreeable and cheerful companion" (Life of James Rennell, p. 46). To the other three assistants the only reference I can find is an order of Mr. Verelst's dated April 14th 1766, directing Mr. Plaisted (*see ante*, p. 38) "the Surveyor of the Burdwan province to procure and transmit to him a particular account of the Bunds, and further to join Mr. DeGloss who is upon the same Service at the Bunds of Mandergatchee and Bulrampore" (Wilson, Old Fort William, Vol. II, p. 177); F. J. Brunninger informs me that in a letter to the Board of Revenue, dated April 1771, the Supervisor of Birbhumi writes for a reinforcement for the escort of Capt. Carter, "who was engaged in the survey of the bordering lands of Beerbhumi and Bagulpur, inhabited by chooars, who prevented him from proceeding further." Mr. Plaisted had been ordered to proceed from Chittagong to Burdwan in August 1765 (*Ibid.*, p. 174). The Bunds were embankments on the Rupnarayan River.

² Dum-Dum, a military cantonment 4½ miles N.E. from Calcutta, the headquarters of the Bengal Artillery from 1757 to 1857. Lord Clive had a country house here, built on the remains of an older house and a mound, from which he derived his name *damdama*, a raised mound or battery. The original house was a shooting box of Siraj-ud-Daulah. The house is still in existence and occupied as a private residence (Hobson Jobson, p. 330; Bishop Heber, *Asiatic Researches*, p. 35; List of Ancient Mon. Beng., p. 58).

³ Three miles S.W. of Dum-Dum.

⁴ Barrasett, a suburb of the Calcutta 'bucks' at this period, and closely connected with the names of Sir Philip Basset and Sir John Basteed, Echoes from Old Calcutta, p. 135; Bengal, Past and Present, Vol. II, p. 509).

⁵ The present Bengal Central Railway follows this road very closely as far as Jessore.

between each Stage, as well as that of the principal Topes¹ & Tanks, by which a Detachm^t. may regulate their Marches, so as to halt at proper Places for procuring Shelter & Water.²

The 8th. surveyed $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles of the Road, which runs pretty strait to the NEBE. The Countrey in general is open & well cultivated, the Produce Padda, Gram, &c.³ There are a great Number of Tanks near the Road, & a fine Tope of Coconut & Betel Trees at Chaldibarya 6 miles from Barrasett. There is another good Tope with a Tank, at Joypool, $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Barrasett.

The 9th. surveyed $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles thro' an open Countrey. We found good Tanks at the distance of every $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 miles. The Villages very poor, & the Land ill cultivated. At Belgurree $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Joypool we crossed a small Nulla ; it is nearly dry at this

Season, but in y^e wet Season it is deep & rapid. This part of y^e Countrey lies high, & is not overflown during * the rainy Season. We passed 3 fine Topes this Day; one at Plan No. 2

Jawberria $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Joypool, & y^e other 2 at Hottybur $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Jawberria.† Near y^e last Tope is a good Tank & a small Village named Chunderhāāt.

The 10th. surveyed about $8\frac{1}{4}$ miles, the road very crooked. We have seen no considerable Villages since we left Calcutta. After going 2 miles & half thro' a well cultivated Countrey, we came to a large Plain of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles extent from SW to NE, & about twice that length from SE to NW. The Jubbunaw[†] Creek runs along the NE side of this Plain. We crossed this Creek at Mullickpour. It is a Branch of the Hughly River & runs out of that River nearly opposite to the Town of that Name. It falls into the Issamot River a few Miles SE of Mullickpour, & in y^e wet Season is deep enough for the largest Boats. At this Season it is only 3 foot deep.

After crossing this Creek we passed thro' a remarkable thick Wood which skirts y^e Eastern Bank of it. This Wood is full half a mile thro', & the path very narrow & intricate.

Leaving this Wood we entered another large & well cultivated Plain. There * are many Villages & Tanks within it, & near the middle of it a large Swamp. In y^e Evening came to Coyah where there is a good Tank, but no Grove.

The 11th. surveyed about $9\frac{1}{4}$ miles, the Countrey made up of extensive Plains with some large Villages & a few Swamps. The Arable Lands seem to be all Cultivated either at one Season or another, but at present there is very little of any kind of Grain growing. In our Route this Day we passed thro' the Villages of Dogassia & Mullickpour : they both of them afford good Water & convenient Shelter. The latter of the Villages is large & the Residence of the Jemitdar⁵ of these Parts.

¹ Tope, a grove, usually of Mango trees. Hobson Jobson says that the term is only used by Europeans and is unknown to the natives of Upper India. It is derived from Tamil 'topu' (p. 934).

For an interesting discussion of the use of the word Tank in India see Hobson Jobson, p. 898. The word seems to be both Indian and European in use and derivation.

² See below p. 94.

³ Gram, from Portuguese grão, *i.e.*, grain. A kind of vetch used as food for horses all over India. (*Ibid.*, p. 392).

⁴ The Jabuna, a creek leaving the Hughli at Kauchrapara, and running eastwards into the Ichamati (Issamot), a branch of the Matabhanga, not to be confounded with the river of the same name in the Pabna district.

⁵ Jemitdar is probably used here for Zemindar, a landowner.

In the Evening came to Bongong¹ a middling Village situated on the Western Bank of the Issamot River. At this Place there is a remarkable fine Grove; & from the side of the Issamot there is a very pleasant Prospect, the River being transparent & serpentine, & flowing through a Countrey made up of pleasant Meadows interspersed with Groves & Villages.

The Issamot River is a Branch of the Comer Creek² whose head is at Custee³ on y^e South side of the Ganges. The Issamot has a very winding Course as appears by a Sketch of it taken by one of my Assistants in y^e Year 1765. It runs by Buxypour, & Sibnybas,⁴ & from hence runs to the Southward & into Sunderbound. It is not navigable for large Boats till some Time after y^e Waters have begun to rise; however at the crossing Place at Bonegong it is 12 Cubits deep & near 160 yards broad. The Tide rises about one Cubit.

Capt. Cameron having surveyed a part of this River together with y^e Company's Lands, I sent Mr. Richards to trace it from hence to the place where Cameron left off, & afterwards to proceed to Jaynagore by way of Culna, describing the Roads, Rivers & Countrey thro' which he passed, & to join me at Jaynagore.

This Morning copied & sent a Plan of Channell Creek⁵ to the Governor agreeable to an Order received from him last Night.

The 12th. 13th. & 14th. halted at Bonegong; the first day with an intent to refresh the People, & the two following on acct. of the Weather, which was very squally & rainy. The 13th. Mr. Richards set off on his Survey.

The 15th. surveyed about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles of the Road. This space was extremely crooked & rough; we also crossed 2 Creeks besides the Issamot. About $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from y^e East Bank of the Issamot is the Village & Tope of Jaöwpour. The Tope is a remarkable fine one, & chiefly of Mango Trees. The Nowbory a Creek is crossed about a mile & quarter from the Issamot; it is only 2 foot deep. The Hokker is a mile & half farther, & must be crossed in Boats; from the crossing Place the Road lay along the Southern Bank of it to the place of our Evening's Halt, which was at the Village of Nomosgah. About half a mile Northw^d. from this Village is a large Jeel. We have every Day variable Winds & frequent Squalls & Showers, the Weather which commonly precedes the setting in of the Southwardly Winds.

The 16th. surveyed 11 miles, the Course in general EBN. The face of the Countrey here has various Appearances, some parts Jungly, others Woody, & a large part Open cultivated Plains. Seven miles from our last Night's Halt we came to the Batena⁶ Creek which is crossed at the Village & Chokey⁷ of Jadopour. The Batena is about 4 foot deep & 100 yards broad. This as well as the two last Creeks is a Branch of the

¹ Bongong is now the headquarters of a subdivision of Nadiya district.

² The name of the river is given in the *Matabhanga*, one of the three 'Nadiya rivers.' It leaves the Ganges at Maheshkunda, about 100 miles from the mouth of the Jalangi. The Kumar diverges from it at about 40 miles from the point where it leaves the Ganges. *See* the *Map*, p. 10, S.E.

³ K.

⁴ The *Map* is taken from the *Journal* of Heber (Vol. I, p. 91). At the time of his voyage, 1824, the river channels had altered considerably from their former positions, & he has corrected them from Rennell's map.

⁵ The *Map* is taken from the *Journal* of Heber's proceeding from Calcutta to Khulna and Barisal.

⁶ The name of the village is given in the *Map* as *Chauki*, a police station or posting house.

Issamot River. The Countrey People inform us that there is no good Water near y^e Road between Nomosgah & Jadopour. In the Evening we came to the Grove of Gutcally, which lies $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles from Jadopour. This Wood is full half a mile broad, but not very close. We halted at the East side of it, but could find no good Water. Thro' this Wood runs a deep Gully which forms y^e limits of the Kistnagur¹ & Jessore Provinces.

The 17th. in the Morning surveyed $5\frac{1}{4}$ miles; in y^e Afternoon I was obliged to stay in, being ill of a Fever. The Road now runs to the NEBE its proper Course towards Hadgigunge. A mile & half from last Night's Station came to the Tank & Grove* of Bannyel. They are both remarkably good. About a mile & half farther on we crossed the Kobbatuck or Koba Duke River.² It is said to be a Branch either of the Comer or Issamot, & is navigable from hence to Sunderbound for y^e largest Boats. The Tide flows up above the Ferry, & the River is about 130 yards broad. On the East side of the Ferry is the Village of Jigergutchha or Jingergutchha where there is a Grove of Peepel Trees.³

We stopt at a Tank situated in y^e midst of a thick Wood $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles from Jigergutchha. The Road hereabouts is intersected by several deep Gullies.

The 18th. in the Afternoon continued the Survey & went about 3 miles. The Countrey in general is open & well cultivated; in the Groves there are great numbers of Coconut Trees, & a kind of Trees named Cazir-Gatch⁴ from whence they make a coarse kind of Sugar. In the Evening halted at a good Tank near Mallunchee.

The 19th. surveyed 8 miles of the Road, At Pullugot $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles from Mallunchee crossed the Mookterserai River; we crossed the River in Boats, but a little way below* the Ferry it is fordable. The Current of this River is very slow.

About a mile beyond the River is the Residence of the Jessoor Rajah.⁵ His House is surrounded by a large Grove of Coconut Trees, & is only visible from the NE ward. Here are two good Tanks, & a small Village named Chansera. From hence the Road leads across Padda Fields to Neelgunge or Leelgunge, a Bazar lying on the Western side of the Boyrub River. At this Place is a remarkable fine Mango Grove.

The Boyrub River⁶ is very deep at the crossing Place, but farther down it is shallow in many Places. Altho' it lies full as near the Sea as the Kobatuck, yet the distance by the River is so great by reason of its serpentine Course, that the Tides do not reach this Place. This is the River that runs by Daudpour and Culna. Its breadth at Neelgunge is 90 yards.

¹ Krishnagar, now a subdivision of Nadiya district.

² The Kabadak R., an offshoot of the Matabhanga. It forms the boundary between the districts of Nadiya, the 24-Parganas, and Jessore.

³ The Pipal, *Ficus religiosa*.

⁴ Khajur gachh, the bastard date palm, *Phoenix sylvestris*. The manufacture of sugar from this palm has since reached large proportions in Jessore district. A full account of it will be found in Sir. W. W. Hunter's Stat. Acc. of Bengal (Jessore), Vol. II, pp. 280-298. Jhingergachha (Rennell's Jigergutchha) is one of the principal centres of the trade.

⁵ The residence of the Jessore Rajas is at Chanchra (Chansera of text), about a mile south of the Civil Station. It formerly had a rampart and fosse surrounding it, but the remains only are traceable. The Raja at this time was Srikant Rai, but at the time of the Permanent Settlement he lost the greater part of his estate. He died in 1802 (Hunter, *loc. cit.*, pp. 202, 204).

⁶ The Bhairab, a tributary of the Madhumati.

At Night came to Dytulla a Dauk's stage¹ $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles from Neelgunge. The Boyrub
* runs by the South side of this Village. The Countrey here lies very low & is covered
during most part of the rainy Season. There is a large Jeel lying to the NNE of Dy-
tulla & within sight of that Place.

The Boyrub River is the Limit of the Jessore and Radshi Provinces.

The 20th. surveyed near $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the Road excessive crooked & rough. The
first two Miles lay along the Northern Bank of the Boyrub & thro' a very close Coun-
trey. From hence the Boyrub turns off to the SE. & runs by Daudpour to Culna Bunder.²
Passed thro' the Jemitdary of Pukarya which belongs to Jessore, & at Noon came
to the River Sittarya.³ This River is crossed at Doccalee, where it is about 200 yards
broad, & very deep. The Countrey People can give me no Account of the Source of
this River; they say it comes from a Jeel, by which I understand that it runs thro' a
Jeel in its way to this Place. It falls into the Nobo Gongga. The Tide does not come
up to this Place. The Countrey hereabouts is full of Jeels & Swamps.

From the Sittareea we went 3 miles over a Jungly Plain which is said to lie under
* Water during the wet Season. At this Time it has a very unpromising Appearance.
At Night came to the Village of Serampour, where we had our Water from a small
Jeel, there being no Tanks in the Neighbourhood. Here we enter another Jemitdary
belonging to Jessore.

The 21st. surveyed $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the Countrey chiefly made up of waste Lands and
Woods. About a Mile beyond Serampour we came to a fine Tank at y^e end of the
large Plain mentioned yesterday. About 9 miles from the first Sittarya we came to
another River of the same Name. The Hircaras informed me that it is the same River,
but that is impossible as both the Rivers ran to the Right as we crossed them.⁴
* The Tide flows up this second River & I enquired the Time of Tide, which likewise
served to confirm me in the Opinion of its being a different River from the former.
This second Sittarya is crossed at Gunagotta a Dauk's Stage lying y^e East side of the
River. The Countrey People inform me that this River passes thro' the Mohamedshi
* Countrey in its way to this Place, & that it falls into the Nobo Gongga about 7 Coss to
the Eastward. The Western Bank of this River is covered with a very thick Wood;
the Eastern Bank & y^e Countrey adjoining is low & swampy.

A Mile & half from Gunagotty crossed the Judacally Creek, thro' which the Tide
flows up from the Sittarya. It is 4 foot deep at High Water.

Eastward from this Creek the Countrey is both Swampy & Jungly. At Night we
halted at Simylya, & had our Water from a small Jeel.

The 22nd. surveyed $7\frac{3}{4}$ miles thro' a dismal Jungly Countrey infested with
Tygers. About $4\frac{1}{4}$ miles from the Judacally Creek we came to the Nobogonga⁵ or
Lobo Gongga, a deep & rapid River. The Ferry is at Pultya, at which Place a large

¹ A relay post for the mail runners; also known as a chauki (chowkey).

² Kulna is an important town lying at the head of the Sundarbans, formerly the headquarters of the Company's operations. Bunder = A port or quay.

³ The Sittarya here appears to be an old offshoot of the Matabhanga, like the Nobogunga into which it flowed.

⁴ It is probable that there were two rivers named Chitra. The eastern branch is now called the Katki (Kutkee of the present day).

⁵ The Nobogonga is an offshoot of the Matabhanga in Nadiya district. It is now completely dry at its head, and

Creek falls into the Nobogonga. The River is from 140 to 180 yards broad & very deep: The Tide rises near 3 Cubits at Pultya. This River is the same that I traced part of in my way down the Southern Creeks, & at the place where I left off surveying it is known by y^e name of the Burrasaat River.¹ This is the first navigable Branch of the Ganges that we meet with to the Eastward of the Jelenghee River.

The Pultya Creek is said to come from a large Jeel which lies about 6 miles WNW from Pultya. The Jeel is named Berille.

After crossing the Nobogonga our Road lay thro' a prodigious thick Wood or Jungle for y^e space of a mile & three quarters, the Nobogonga running close on the left of it. There are many Tygers in this Jungle.

At the end of the Jungle lies y^e Village & Stage of Nohatta, from whence the River turns off to the Northward. The Road from hence lies thro' an open cultivated Countrey. At Night we halted at y^e side of a Jeel near the Grove of Luckypour; about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile farther on was a small Tank in the Grove.

The 23rd. surveyed near 10 miles, being obliged to go farther than usual on Account of the scarcity of Water. Passed thro' the Village of Mohamedpour which is by far the most regular & neatest that we have seen since we left Calcutta.² Immediately to the Southw^d of this Village there is a very fine large Tank. It is upwards of 700 yards long, & about two thirds of that in breadth. The Countrey round Mohamedpour lies excessive low. At this Season it is swampy in many places. Mohamedpour is upwards of $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Nohatta.

After leaving Mohamedpour Grove we came on a large Plain which lies so low that it is a Lake or Jeel during great part of the Year. It is named Beelsal or Seral-Jeel. There are a number of Pools & Swamps at this Time, & about a mile & half from Mohamedpour is a Creek called Manickdaw: it is very shallow.³

At the end of this low Plain which is near $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Mh^dpour we came to the Burashee River. This River though excessive deep is not more than 50 yards broad at the Ferry. It is a Branch of the Comer & is navigable all y^e Year for very large Boats. Its outlet from y^e Ganges is opposite Charbagat Island, & it falls into Sunderbound* a little above the Herengotta River.⁴ The Ferry is between Mosudgotta & Doagotta.

is drying up year by year. On Rennell's map it is shown as a continuation of the Gorroy or Garai R. which leaves the Ganges at Kushtia.

¹ *Ante* p. 21.

² Mohamedpour remained a large town till 1836, when it was devastated by a fever introduced by prisoners employed on the Dacca-Jessor road, and it has since become an insignificant village. It was founded at the end of the 17th century by Sitaram Rai, a landholder of Bhushna, and under him became the capital of the district. There are the remains of a quadrangular fort surrounded by a ditch, the southern portion of which forms the tank mentioned by Rennell. An account of the antiquities of the place is given by Hunter in his *Stat. Acc. of Bengal*, vol. II, p. 212, and in the *List of Ancient Mon. Bengal*, p. 126. For an account of the career of Sitaram Rai, *see Bengal, Past and Present*, Vol. V, p. 236.

³ Rennell does not mention the Madhumati, on the R. bank of which Mohamedpur now stands. At this time the name was given only to that portion of the river which lies below the mouth of the Nabaganga. It is the southern continuation of the Garai, which leaves the Ganges at Kushtia, and it enters the sea by the Haringhata estuary. When the Ganges broke south into the Garai channel, early in the nineteenth century, the Nabaganga and Barasia (Rennell's Burashee'), its natural outlets to the sea, were unable to carry the surplus water, and a new channel was opened through a small creek, the Alangkhal (Ellenkhal of Fergusson, *Quart. Jour. Geol. Soc.*, XIX, p. 335). Afterwards the name Madhumati was extended to the new channel (Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 174).

⁴ The Haringhata estuary, or "Deer ford."

No. 7. The 24th. surveyed upwards of 9 miles. In y^e Morning came to Jaynagore¹ which lies on y^e Western Bank of the Comer Creek, & about 2 miles by the Roads from Doagotta. The Comer & Burashee approach each other so near as to leave an Isthmus of only a mile & half broad. Jaynagore is a large Village, & has a Bazar, together with some good Bungaloes in it.

From Jaynagore the Road goes in general along the N.W. side of the Comer, & is consequently very crooked, however the Bengalas are fond of travelling by the sides of Rivers, partly I suppose for the convenience of Water, & partly because the River Banks are commonly higher than y^e rest of the Countrey.² The Countrey hereabouts is open & very well cultivated, & the River winding thro' it adds to the beauty of the Prospects. At Night we crossed the Comer opposite to the Village of Gopalpour. Gopalpour is 7 miles from Jaynagur.

* The Comer Creek is a Branch of the same River from whence the Burrashee proceeds. It begins to be navigable for large Boats about the middle of July, & then a Passage is open from Jaynagur to Hobbygunge, the Comer falling into the Hobbygunge or Arika River.³ Its bed is about 160 yards broad, but the Water at this Season is confined to a Chamell of 40 or 50 yards & is scarce knee deep in many places. It has a remarkable winding Course, as I experienced in 1764, when I passed through it in my way to Dacca.⁴

This Day we had a fresh Breeze of Wind at South, & the first that I have taken notice of for the Season.

The 25th. surveyed $9\frac{1}{4}$ miles: the first $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. was along the S. E. Bank of the Comer, when having passed Connipour the River turns off to the Westward, & the Road to the Northward, for near a mile & half, & then runs along the Southern Bank of the * Harri Gongga.⁵ The Isthmus formed by the two Rivers is little more than a quarter of a mile broad. The Harri Gongga runs out of the Ganges nearly opposite to Rottin-gunge Creek, & from hence runs by Hadgigunge, & falls into the Ganges again a few miles below that Place. Its bed is from 200 to 250 yards wide but it is in many Places too shallow for Boats of a moderate size. The Dacca Road goes along the side of this River for about 2 miles, & then the River winding round to the N. E. we lost it for about 3 miles till we came to Furridpour a Dauk's Stage.⁶ From hence the River widens, occasioned by some Sand Banks & Islands lying in y^e midst of it. The Countrey hereabouts is very well cultivated, but it lies very low, & must be overflown during a great part of the Year. We halted about a mile below Furridpour. The Southwardly Wind seems to be settled.

¹ Jaynagore is shown as quite an insignificant village, Golla Jynugur, in the Atlas of India, Sheet 120. The rivers of the Burashee and Kumar which flowed on either side of it are now silted up.

² See the description of this in Fergusson, Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc., Vol. XIX, p. 324. The still water of the jhils checks the force of the water flowing outwards across the banks of the rivers, when the latter are in flood, and compels it to flow back into the jhils, and to deposit the silt along the banks.

³ The Hobbygunge is a branch of the Blhubaneswar, now one of the main channels of the Ganges.

⁴ See p. 107.

⁵ The Harri Gongga is the same as the Bana Palma. According to tradition the Ganges formerly took this course instead of the present one.

⁶ Furridpour is the name of a town in the District of Faridpur.

The 26th. surveyed $5\frac{1}{4}$ miles & came to Hadgi Gunge.¹ The first two miles lay along the side of the River mentioned yesterday ; from thence the Road turns to the E. S. E. & goes very strait to Hadgi Gunge. The latter part of the Road lay along the S. W. side of a long Jeel, a small Branch of which we crossed about a mile & quarter from Hadgigunge.

The whole distance by the Roads from Dumdum to Hadgigunge is 133 miles 3 furlongs ; & if Dumdum be as is reported 6 miles from Calcutta the whole distance will be $139\frac{1}{2}$ nearly.

I staid at Hadgigunge till the 2d. March waiting for Mr. Richards. During this time I was employed in constructing & copying a large Map of Bengall for the Governor. The 2d. of March finding that Mr. Richards had but just left Culna, I set off for Dacca to get a supply of Men & Boats for the next Survey.

The Passage by Water from Hadgigunge to Dacca is about 69 miles at this Season. The Route is thro' Meggala Creek & into the Issamuty at Kardupour ; then by way of Nabobgunge & Churan ; thro' Toolsey Creek & into the Dollaserry ; by Tagerpour & Fattylur, & up the Beurygonga to Dacca. The 4th. arrived at Dacca* & continued there till y^e 11th. The two last days I was detained by reason of my Dandies² running away.

Plan of y^e
Ganges.

During this time I finished & sent away the Governor's Map, & procured a new sett of Boats & Coolies. Mr. Richards arrived the 7th.

The Northwest Squalls began the first of the month, & we have had several days of Northwardly Wind since that Time.

The 11th. in the Morning left Dacca in order to drop down to the Mouth of the Ganges & proceed to Jelenghee by way of the Southern Creeks. My Intention was to send Mr. Richards by way of the Burashee & to go myself by way of the Nobogonga or Burrasaat River, & to meet Mr. Richards at the head of the Comer Creek.

On my leaving Dacca I began to reduce another Map of the Ganges for the present Governor, Mr. VanSittart & some other Gentlemen having carried off all the Plans that I had made of the Ganges in 1764.³ The Map I now began was intended to be on* a Scale of 3 British miles to an Inch, & to contain all the several Branches of the Ganges from Jelenghee to the Sea : also the River Megna from its Conflux with the Ganges to Dacca, together with the Environs of that City. The whole was to be on 3 Sheets of Imperial Paper. Mr. Richards was employed in correcting & reducing his Route from Bongong to Mohamedpour. The 11th. at Night we came near Rajabarry.⁴

The 12th. the bad Weather obliged to stay at Rajabarry great part of the Day.

The 14th. in y^e Morning arrived at the head of Badarashon Creek which leads out of the great River oppsite Rajanagore, & runs by Hobbygunge into the Goanuddy

¹ See note p. 22.

² Boatmen.

³ These are perhaps the maps referred to by Sir C. Markham in a note on p. 55 of his 'Memoir of the Indian Surveys':—"The originals are now in the Geographical Department of the India Office. They were taken home by some official and treated by him as private property, till they were accidentally discovered in the collection of a lady of rank, and purchased for £100 by their lawful owners, the Court of Directors (Bombay Quarterly Review, Vol. III, p. 140)."

⁴ At the junction of the Dhaleswari with the Meghna.

River I directed Mr. Richards to take a Plan of it, whilst I was employed on y^e Map

The 16th. in y^e Forenoon we came into the Goanuddy River by the abovementioned Creek. The distance thro' is about 20 miles. During its Course it receives 2 other * Branches of the Ganges, the Creek from Sajatpour, and the Comer which runs by Jaynagur. At its first separation from the Ganges it is scarce 150 yards broad, but below HobbyGunge it is near a quarter of a Mile broad. It is deep enough for the largest Boats during the whole Year & thro' it lies the common Route from Sunderbound to the great River.¹ In one place this River approaches within a mile & quarter of the Ganges, & at the same Place a narrow but deep Creek joins the two Rivers. This Creek is named Jaffierabad, & is used by the Boats that go from Dacca to Sunderbound. This whole Countrey is fertile & well cultivated. It belongs to the Province of Dacca.

In our way to Satalury² we surveyed the Western Branch of the Goanuddy River called the Lolcherra Creek. This Creek runs out of the Goanuddy River about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles below the Village of Goanuddy, & is at first scarce broad enough for 2 Boats to pass abreast of each other, but after a few miles it increases to a considerable breadth & * leads into y^e Main River again. This survey of the Route from Goanuddy to Satalury renders the Map of the Ganges pretty compleat, save only that the Course of the Burrashee & Nobogonga are wanting.

The 17th. in y^e Evening arrived at the head of the Satalury River. The Burrashee River is said to fall in below SujaGunge, which is the Reason that we go so far about.³ I directed Mr. Richards to survey the Satalury River from the Place where I left off in 1764,⁴ & to continue it to the Burrashee, I being ill of a Fever.

The 20th. finding myself very considerably weakened, & having no Prospect of getting rid of my Disorder without proper Assistance I left Mr. Richards to pursue the Survey according to the proposed Plan, & set out for Dacca in y^e Evening. We were then near SujaGunge. This part of the Countrey lies so low, that at High Water Mark the level of it is not 2 foot above the level of the Water. The Countrey seems * but poorly cultivated & as badly inhabited. The Flood Tide runs to the Westward thro' the Satalury & SujaGunge Rivers. The 23d. in the Afternoon arrived at Dacca: on the Passage I was able to do some work on y^e Map of the Ganges, & towards making an Abstract of my Journals for the Governor.

¹ The route now taken by steamers during the dry season runs further E., through the Nayabhangi R., which joins the Arul Khun above Barisal with the Meghna.

² The present headquarters of a police circle 10 miles W.S.W. from Barisal. On Rennell's maps this is shown as being an important place.

³ The present name of Medhumati river, as it is called in its lower course, falls into the Haringhata estuary at Firozpur, where the present name Barisal (the Satalury R. of Rennell) joins in. This is now on the steamer route from Calcutta to Dacca.

⁴ See p. 107.

Names of Places.	Distances.			Shelter.	Water	
	M.	F.	Dec. Pts.			
*From Dumdum to						
Gowreepour Bridge ..	2	7	'9	....	Nulla	.. Good Road.
Barrasett ..	4	3	'6	Groves ..	Tanks	.. High Road.
Kolpukareea Nulla almost dry	2	..	'3	...	....	.. Road across Pad ^a . Fields.
Dollapukrey ..	3	5	'2	....	Tank	.. Smooth Road.
Chaldybarrya ..	..	4	'4	A fine Tope ..	....	.. Good Road.
Joypool ..	1	2	'7	Good Topes ..	Tanks	.. Good Road.
A small Nulla almost dry	1	..	..	....	....	.. Rough Road.
Belguree Nulla very shallow	1	5	..	....	Tanks all y ^e way.	..
Jawberria or Chawbarrya ..	3	..	..	Fine Tope ..	Water near	.. Good Road.
Commature ..	2	..	..	....	A Jeel near	.. Very good Road.
Chunderhaat ..	1	5	..	Good Topes ..	Tank	.. Very good Road.
Janapool ..	1	3	..	....	Sev ^l . Tanks	.. Good Road.
Enter on Mullicpour Plain	1	1	..	....	....	.. Tol ^e . Road.
End of the Plain. Mullicpour.						
Cross the Jubunaw Creek						
in Boats ..	2	3	..	Fine Topes ..	River	.. Tolerable Road.
Coyah a fine Village ..	3	2	..	....	Tank	.. Across a large Plain.
Chanpara ..	3	3	..	Tope ..	Bad Water	.. Good Road.
Dogassia ..	1	7	..	Tope & Village	Tanks	.. Rough Road.
Callipour ..	1	2	..	Large Village ..	Tank	.. Across Pad. fields.
Bongong on the River Issamot						
crossed in Boats..	2	7	..	Very fine Topes	River	.. Road across a Plain.
Jaöwpour Tope Chawgarrya ..	1	..	..	Rem ^e . fine Tope	Creek near.	..
Nowbonga Creek fordable	..	3	'5	....	....	.. Bad Road & close Country.
Hakkor Creek crossed in						
Boats ..	1	4	..	Woody ..	....	.. Rough Road.
Nomosgah Vill. ..	1	4	..	Large Vill. ..	Creek	.. Tolerable Road.
Porabarry ..	1	2	'5	Small Topes ..	..	.. Bad Road.
Jadopour ..	5	6	..	Groves ..	Batenau Creek	.. Mostly a close Jun- gley Country.
Gutcally Grove ..	3	3	'5	Thick Woods ..	Bad W ^r .	.. Tol. Road.
A Gully to be crossed	..	3	..	do. ..	....	.. Bad Road.
Bannyel Tank & Grove ..	1	4	..	Thick Wood ..	Fine Tank	.. Across a Plain.
Kobaduck River crossed in						
Boats. Jigergutchha the East						
side ..	1	5	..	Peepel Grove ..	River	.. Jeels in y ^e Road.
A Good Tank ..	2	1	..	Wood ..	Tank	.. Good Road.
Pullugott on the Mookterserai						
fordable but crossed in Boats	4	6	..	....	River	.. Close Country.
Chansera the Jessore Rajah's						
House ..	1	..	..	Groves ..	Tanks	.. Rough Road.
Neelgunge ..	2	..	..	Fine Tope ..	R. Boyrub cross- ed in Boats.	.. Bad Road.
Dytulla ..	3	2	..	Thick Wood ..	Boyrub R.	.. Jungly Country.
Side of the Boyrub ..	1	4	..	Thick Woods ..	River	.. Bad Road.
Doualee ..	5	..	..	Thick Woods ..	River Sittarya	.. Mostly a crooked crossed in bad Road. Boats.
Miles ..	79	6	'6			

* This is the Table, or abstract of the route from Dumdum to Hajiganj, referred to on p. 87.

Name of Place.	Distances.			Shelter.	Water.	
	M.	F.	I			
Miles ..	79	6	6			
A large Tank at y ^e end of a Plain ..	3	7	..	Vill. near ..	Tank ..	Across a dismal Plain.
Gunagotta ..	4	7	5	Thick Woods ..	R. Sittarya crossed in Boats.	
Judacally Creek Fordable Nobogonga River.	1	5	..	....	....	Low swampy Plain.
Pultya Village ..	4	1	5	Thick Woods ..	The River crossed in Boats.	Mostly a Jungly or swampy Country.
Nohatta ..	1	7	..	Woody ..	The same R. ..	Thro' a thick Jungle.
A fine Tank in a Grove ..	4	..	..	Grove ..	Tank ..	Pass several Jeels.
Mohamedpour ..	3	4	..	Large Village ..	Tank ..	Swampy Country.
Manicdaw Creek Fordable ..	1	4	5	No Shelter ..	Creek ..	Low Plain.
Mosudgotty. River Burrashee ..	3	7	..	Groves ..	River crossed in Boats.	Low swampy Plain.
Jaynagur ..	2	..	..	Large Village ..	R. Comer ..	Rough Road.
Jāāmpour ..	4	2	..	Large Vill. ..	R. Comer ..	Good Road.
Gopalpour. Cross y ^e Comer in Boats ..	2	6	..	Groves ..	River ..	Rough Road.
Connipour ..	2	4	..	Small Vill. ..	R. Comer ..	Crooked Road.
To the Harrigonga ..	1	2	..	....	....	Good Road.
Leave y ^e River ..	2	..	..	....	....	Along y ^e Bank R.
Furridpour ..	3	..	..	Groves ..	Harrigonga close on y ^e L.	Good Road.
Pāātpassar Hāāt ..	2	2	..	Groves ..	do. River ..	Good Road.
Cross a small Jeel. Fordable ..	2	6	..	....	....	Low Country.
Hadgi Gunge ..	1	2	..	Large Vill. ..	River.	
Miles ..	133	2	1			

Editor's Note:—Many of the observations recorded in the succeeding pages of the Journal have been incorporated in Rennell's 'Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan' and in his 'Description of the Roads in Bengal and Behar', a small volume printed in 1778 "by order of the Honourable the Court of Directors." The routes inserted in the latter volume are indicated by the numbers in brackets. I have also added in brackets the modern spelling of some of the names, where it seemed necessary.

Burdwan to Banchburria ¹—

To Bussool	..	..	..	..	7·6
Chaulkund or Maymary	..	..	..	..	12·4
Borinchy	..	..	..	..	5·7
Purrua ²	..	..	..	..	5·1
Bansbarria	..	..	..	..	10·2
					—
					41·4
					—

DIMENSIONS OF THE PROVINCES &c. ³—

Bengall NW to SE 465 Eng. Miles—

	EM.		Propn.
Bengall dim.	.. 315 by 315 or square miles	99,225	99 $\frac{1}{4}$
Bahar	.. 210 by 210	44,100	44
Awd ⁴	.. 270 by 120	32,400	32 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ellahabad ⁵	.. 144 by 93	13,392	13 $\frac{1}{2}$
The King's ⁶	.. 180 by 36	6,480	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
France	..		174
British Territories	.. .. ..		143 $\frac{1}{4}$
Sujah Dowlah's	.. .. ..		46
King's	.. .. ..		6 $\frac{1}{2}$
France ..	.. .. ..		174

New Calculation—

British Provinces	..	..	..	142,000 sq. miles.
England	..	..	..	60,000 ,,

¹ Bansbaria, a town on the Hugli, 27 miles N. of Calcutta, celebrated for its temples. The road follows the Grand Trunk Road pretty closely.

² ? Pundua, the capital of the ancient Hindu kingdom of Paundravardhana.

³ This list is revised and amplified in the 'Memoir,' p. cxiii.

⁴ Oudli.

⁵ Allahabad, at this time in the possession of Suja Daula, the Nawab of Oudh.

⁶ The Emperor of Delhi, Shah Alam.

FROM COSSIMBAZAR.¹

	M.	F.		M.	F.
10 (55)			Jellinghee (Jalangi) ..	10	0
Borineal	10	6	Horrisongkor (Harisankra) ..	11	2
Duanset ..	8	0	Cometpour cross the Ganges ..	20	0
Comrah ..	10	4	Pubna ..	6	3
Sooty (Suti) ..	8	2	Sujanagore ..	12	4
Downapour ..	11	1	Rottingunge ..	15	0
Farrucabad (Farrukhabad) ..	7	6	Jaffergunge (Jafarganj) cross the		
Falkypour ..	8	2	little Ganges ..	9	3
Oudinulla (Udhua Nullah) ..	3	4	Niabondura cross the Issamuty ..	28	0
Rajamohl (Rajmahal) ..	8	0	Churan ..	9	4
Siclygully ..	18	6	Pattergotta (Pathorghlata) cross		
Terriagully ..	12	4	the Dollaserry ..	10	0
Pialapour ..	9	0	Dacca ..	6	0
Colgong ..	10	2			
Boglipour (Bhagalpur) ..	17	4	Miles ..	157	6
Sultangunge ..	17	4			
Goorgut Nulla ..	4	6	Jellinghee—		
Monghir ..	18	4	2 ^d . Road To Gunee ..	2	6
Suradgegurrah ..	17	4	Rypour ..	6	0
Ruinulla ..	10	4	Bagretpour ..	7	0
Doomrah ..	7	2	Mohamedpour ..	5	4
Bar ..	26	0	Jellinghee ..	9	7
Boycauntpr (Baikanthpur) ..	20	0	Miles ..	30	1
Jaff. Kan's Gard. ² ..	10	0			
Patna Factory ..	5	0			
Miles ..	281	1	Bolia ⁸ (63)—		
			To Mutejyl ⁴ ..	2	3
11 (92 & 103)—			Cutturah ..	2	0
Churapour ..	2	7	Seetaram Pani ..	3	6
Bobtah ..	8	0	Titalya ..	3	2
Daudpour ..	6	4	Murcha ..	9	2
Plassey ..	6	3	Codalcotty Gott ⁵ ..	1	6
Cutwa ..	12	4	Cross the Ganges to Nabob-		
Ningher Serai ..	13	6	gunge ..	2	4
Hardwan ..	21	3	Bolia ..	2	6
Miles ..	71	3	Miles ..	27	5
12 (84 & 99) —			2 ^d . Road		
Dacca ..	5	5	To Bally ..	5	5
Cossimbazar ..	2	5	Titalya ..	6	6
Kanching ..	11	4			

¹ Distance from Murshidabad² Distance from Dacca³ Distance from the N. bank of the Ganges, above Jalangi.⁴ Distance from the residence here. The Jhil is an old bed of the Kasimbazar river (Cal. Rev.,⁵ Distance from the ferry.

		M.	F.		M.	F.
Murcha	..	9	2	Birbohen ⁴ (120)—		
Bolia	..	7	0	To Callyongunge	..	13 0
	Miles	28	5	Seerpour	..	6 2
				Bowdgong	..	8 1
Bogwangola ¹ (13)—				Telloah	..	7 2
To Mutejyl	..	2	3	Cotemolysure (Kot Mauresh-		
Cutturah	..	2	0	war)	..	2 5
Palasbarry	..	5	1	Bajetpour	..	4 4
Baderpour	..	4	3	Angergurrya	..	6 0
Bogwangola	..	5	0	Soory	..	6 2
		18	7	Nagore	..	15 7
					Miles	69 7
Meenkoot & Denagep ^{r,2} (26)—						
Bomineah	..	10	6	Mauldah (60)—		
Banniagong	..	4	3	To Meenkoot	..	23 1
Sackral	..	3	4	Cross the Ganges to Godagary		3 0
Meenkoot	..	4	4	Chappygunge	..	15 0
Cross the Ganges to Godagary	..	3	0	Bangabarry cross the Maha-		
Chappygunge	..	15	0	nada	..	16 0
Okilpour	..	14	4	Mauldah	..	14 0
Daudpour	..	8	0		Miles	71 1
Titalya	..	4	6			
Nishanpour	..	8	4	Rungpore (64)—		
Dourgunge	..	7	3	To Bolia	..	27 5
Nysintah	..	10	2	Bowanygunge	..	25 0
Pransagur	..	7	7	Belloar cross the Denagepour		
Ramsagur	..	7	2	River	..	10 0
Denagepour	..	5	6	Currihey	..	14 0
	Miles	115	3	Naddyol	..	22 0
				Goragott	..	14 0
Ballitunghee ³ (123)—				Burradirgah	..	20 0
To Chunapour	..	2	7	Rungpour Factory	..	17 0
Lowdah	..	6	3		Miles	149 5
Manicknagore	..	4	6			
Callytulla	..	2	5	Rangamatty & Gwalpara (12 & 32)—		
Batebarya	..	3	2	To Rungpour	..	149 5
Ballitunghee	..	6	0	Curygong	..	25 0
	Miles	25	7	Poonkur	..	17 0
				Dubarye (Dhubri)	..	12 0

¹ Bhagwangola, a river mart on the Ganges N.E. of Murshidabad.

² That these notes were written some considerable time after the Journal itself is shown by the changes in the spelling—Dinajpur is always 'Denospour' in the earlier pages.

³ A town on the Jalangi R., S.S.E. of Murshidabad, represented in the Atlas of India by two small villages, Ballee and Toongee.

⁴ See note, p. 101.

GREAT ROADS of BIRBOHEN.¹

	M.	F.		M.	F.
From Nagore to Deogurh ² (57)—			Pursundpour ..	7	0
NW. To Dudapauny Gott ..	4	5	Billaspour ..	5	4
Cohorut ..	6	2	Margong ..	5	6
Coryaum ..	4	4		39	6
Jallyne ..	8	4	*To Soory, ⁵ 3 Roads—		
Coonjuree ..	7	2	EBS. North Road—		
Operbanda ..	5	2	To Bolio Gott ..	6	6
Sarhaut ..	7	4	Battua ..	4	5
Suramma ..	11	4	Soory ..	4	4
Deogurh ..	11	4		15	7
	66	7			
Burdwan to Kiewgong—			Middle Road (the best) (49)—		
Mayalkote ..	20	5	To Dulebpour Gott ..	7	5
Mirryalah ..	8	6	Caddy ..	6	7
Kiewgong ..	7	1	Soory ..	1	5
	36	4		16	1
To Comerabad ³ (252)—			South Road—		
N. Lettabanny Gott ..	5	2	To Bucclesore hot Wells ⁶ ..	7	2
Baharow ..	3	4	Serampour Gott ..	1	4
Mobog Gaut ..	5	4	Soory ..	9	0
Futtapour ..	4	0		17	6
Comerabad ..	2	4			
	20	6	SE. to Kistnagur & Elambazar ⁷ &c.		
NE. to Molatty—			(147)—		
To Bolio Gott ⁴ ..	6	6	To Bursaul Gaut ..	4	1
Carracoondy ..	8	2	Niagott ..	2	4
Dijoucha ..	4	2	Dubraagepour ..	6	7
Damrah ..	7	6	Kissenagur ..	3	1
Molatty ..	3	7	Gowrahya ..	4	3
	30	7	Goorshya ..	6	0
ENE. to Margong—			Paher ..	2	5
To Bolio Gott & Carracoondy ..	15	0	Elambazar ..	1	1
Peranagong ..	6	4	Curnagore ..	7	4
				38	2

¹ Birbhum. Orme spells it Berbohin (History, Vol. II, p. 168).

² Nagar or Rajnagar was the capital of the Hindu princes of Birbhum prior to the conquest of Bengal by the Muhammadans. It lies W. of Suri, the present head-quarters of the district. Deogarh lies to the N.W. in the Santal Parganas. For the legend of its foundation see Hunter, 'Annals of Rural Bengal,' p. 191.

³ *i.e.*, from Nagore. Koomrabad is on the Mor R. to the north. Rennell notes:—"By this Pass the Mahrattas entered Bengal in 1742" (Roads, p. 252).

⁴ A ferry on the Mor R., not to be confounded with Rampur Boalia, on the Ganges.

⁵ Suri. Now the head-quarters of the district.

⁶ These are the Bakeswar hot springs, situated about a mile south of Tantipara, between Suri and Nagar. There are numerous hot jets in the bed of the stream, and the air is impregnated with sulphuretted hydrogen. The locality is a noted place of pilgrimage (Hunter, Stat. Acc. Beng., Vol. IV, p. 322; Oldham, Mem. Geol. Surv. Ind., Vol. XIX, Pt. 2, p. 42).

⁷ On the Ajai R.

	M.	F.		M.	F.
SE. to Supour			Billaspour	5	4
To Kissenagur	16	5	Margong	5	6
Jaunabaz	7	5	N.B.—This is y ^e great Road to Rajmol ⁴		
Rupour	6	5		27	2
Supour	6	3			
	37	2	NE. to Boudgong (169)—		
			To Amgergurra	6	2
			Bajetpour	6	0
			Cotemolysure	4	4
			Telloah	2	5
			Boudgong	7	2
			N.B.—This is the Road to		
			Mux: (adabad).		
				26	5
SBW.			E. to Deckabary, Jummucandy, &c. ⁵ (251)—		
To Lacaracoonda ² & Okera—			To Bidelyparah	6	5
To Bandy Gott	3	5	Hautinagore	6	4
Immungur Gott (Imamghar			Deckabarry	6	7
Ghat)	1	4	Cottree or Bellya	5	0
Bahdec	2	3	Moneegong	6	1
Lacaracoondah	3	2	Jummu Bazar	4	0
Ajy R.	4	6		35	1
Okerah	7	2			
	22	6	ESE. to Gomhi ⁶ —		
			To Purrunderpour	5	1
			Issarpour	6	4
			Chowtah	3	4
			Laatpour	4	2
			Gomhi	5	0
				24	3
			SE. to Bahary ⁷ —		
			To Purrunderp ^r .	5	1
			Jaunipour	3	3
			Parpour	2	5
			Omdarrah	7	5
			Bahary	6	0
				24	6
SW. to Pachet ⁸ (90)—					
Lacaracoondah	10	7			
Luckanpour	6	7			
Jamgong	9	4			
Aiturah	6	0			
Damoodah R.	6	4			
Pachet	7	6			
	47	4			
NNE. From Soory to Molatty—					
To Mohamedbazar	7	6			
Dyoucha	3	1			
Damrah	7	6			
Molatty	3	7			
	22	4			
Mun... ..					
... ..	9	0			
Pa... ..	7	0			

¹ This is the centre of the E. I. Co.'s trade in the district.

² This is the site of the Hunter. There is a warm spring here, temp. 85°, with the ruins of a curious old Hindu temple.

³ This is the site of the Ramganj coal-field.

⁴ This is the site of the Rajmol.

⁵ This is the site of the Katwa.

⁶ Towards Katwa on the Bhagirathi.

	M.	F.		M.	F.
SSE. to Surrool & Supour—			Another Road—		
To Purrunderp ^r	5 1	To Parbutypour ..	..	6 0
Gurgurra	3 5	Munguldy ..	..	4 1
Saturya	6 3	Billetty ..	..	4 0
Surrool Factory	4 3	Roopour ..	..	3 4
Supour	3 2			
		<hr/> 22 6			<hr/> 17 5
SBE. to Curnagore (Burdwan Road) (49)—			To Ramnagur &c.—		
To Comah	4 7	SW. to Kistnagur & Cotah—		
Coostigerya	5 4	To Poleserrah ..	..	3 5
Hanserra	3 5	Kisnagur ..	..	8 0
Roopour	4 6	Cotah ..	..	5 4
Ramnagur	2 1			
Curnagore	4 4			
		<hr/> 25 3			<hr/> 17 1

CROSS ROADS of BIRBOHEN.

	M.	F.		M.	F.
From			Jinderpour ..	..	5 7
Luckanpour to Jallyne ¹ —			Dyoucha ..	..	4 4
To Serascoondah	7 2			<hr/> 22 5
Nallah	6 0	Purchundp ^r . to Jammu C. ³ —		
Chowjurah	7 3	To Cotemolysure ..	..	3 0
Jallyne	2 0	Saneckpour ..	..	7 3
		<hr/> 22 5	Cunderrah ..	..	6 5
Futtyp ^r . ² to Dyoucha—			Jammu Candy ..	..	6 7
To Muncalgar Pass	9 4			<hr/> 23 7
Purtabpour	2 6			

¹ Running N. W. from Lakanpur, a small village near the Ajai R.

² A village on the Mor R., N. of Nagar. Dyoucha lies to the north of Suri.

³ A cross road leading towards the Bhagirathi from the Rajmahal road. Cotemolysure stands for Kot Mareshwar, a pargana of Birbhum.

ITINERARIES.

105

	M.	F.		M.	F.
Cossimb ^r . to Sooty (73)—			Burdwan to Surrool (72)—		
Western Road.					
To Muradbaug	6 3	Oregong ..	..	15 0
Ghysabad	6 6	Gobindpour ..	..	6 6
Bellyah	5 1	Supour ..	..	9 4
Mohamedp ^r	4 1	Surrool ..	..	3 1
Belgottah	7 0			
Sooty	8 5			
		<hr/>			<hr/>
		38 0			
		<hr/>			

ITINERARIES.

GREAT ROAD FROM MOORSHEDEBAD TO DELHY, MEASURED BY ORDER OF THE KING.¹

	Coss.		Coss.
From Moors. to Duanserai ..	7	Elliabad (Allahabad) ..	3
Aurangabad ..	10	Ameninchem Serai ..	10
Furrucabad ..	8	Shazadabad ..	6
Rajamohl (Rajamahar) ..	8	Chuveer Serai ..	12
Siclygully ..	8	Belunda Canarp ^r . ..	12
Shawbad ..	8	Korah ..	12
Kahalgong ..	10	Shahunabad ..	12
Bogolpour (Bhagalpur) ..	12	Moolump ^r . ..	9
Janghira ..	9	Moosapagur (Muzafargarh) ..	9
Monghyr ..	9	Boogulee Mydan ⁴ ..	10
SuroodgeGurrah (Surajgurh) ..	9	Sicanderah ..	9
Derreahpour ..	12	Attypour ..	12
Barrah ..	9	Etagooah ..	14
Bykuntpour ..	10	Meelypour ..	12
Patna ..	5	Surrungabad ..	12
Beckaramabad ..	12	Raja ke Tallow ⁵ ..	12
Mungulpour ..	8	Admedpour ..	12
Punnarah ..	9	Agra ..	12
Doudnagar ..	8	Gogattah ..	8
Gotelee ..	9	Mutturah (Muttra) ..	4
Shahuserabad ² ..	7	Suller Serai ..	12
Zelautabad ..	10	Horisha ..	12
Monca ..	9	Shungoon ..	12
Curruah ..	9	Ferisdabad (Faridabad) ..	12
Mogulla Serai (Mughalsarai) ³ ..	10	Delhy ..	12
Baranushy (Benares) ..	5		
Tornaushabad ..	9		
Mando Sing ..	9		
Hunda ..	11		
In(nal) Serai ..	8		
		Coss	519

N.B. — Bindarabund⁶ is 3 coss W. from
Muttura—

¹ This was Emperor of Delhi during the period of Rennell's career in India. The road ran along the south bank of the Ganges to Patna, then up the Son to Daudnagar, where this river was crossed. Thence across country to Benares, crossing the Ganges at Benares. Along the north bank to Allahabad, where the Ganges was again crossed, and then to Agra, crossing the Jumna at that place. It is shown on Maps IX and X of the Bengal Atlas.

² The original form of the name is derived from the Afghan Sher Shah Suri, the conqueror of Humayun and Emperor of Delhi, whose tomb is situated here.

³ The name is given in the original to the accommodation of travellers.

⁴ The name is given in the original to the open space or plain covered with grass.

⁵ The name is given in the original to the tank. The name signifies 'The King's tank.'

⁶ The name is given in the original to the habitation of Krishna in his youth, and a famous place of pilgrimage.

	Coss.		Coss.
Midnap ^r . to Jellasore (30 & 103)—		Cuttack to y ^e Sea (31)—	
Carickpour	2	Cautjuree a large R. ..	1
Narangur	6	Balcantha Tanna ..	5
Culnagur	4	Noar Pipley	5
Ranyserai	2	Daudmocundp ^r . ..	2
Dantoon	2	Jancandyp ^r	4
Jellasore	4	Attara Nuddy	3
	<hr/> 20	Jaggernaut ²	1
			<hr/> 21
Midnap ^r . to Gongacally ¹ (248)—		Midnap ^r . to Balramp ^r . (168)—	Miles.
Patra	3	To Mudipour	3
Shawpour	5	Dermah	2
Cassejurah or Purtap ^r . ..	4	Derwah	2
Gongacally	6	Pirtapour	4
	<hr/> 18	Bulramp ^r	2½
			<hr/>
Jellasore to Ballasore (30) —		Burdwan to Soopour (72)—	
Multanny	3	3 Tanks bet. y ^e Road & y ^e Vill. of	
Bustah	3	Tallit	3
Gurpuddah	2	Kipalpour to Balessy Baug ³ ..	4
Ranchandap ^r	2	Curry R. to Khizop ^r	3
Ballasore	3	Oragong	4
	<hr/> 13	Nulla & Slough to Govenp ^r . ..	6
		Bilea	2
Ballasore to Cuttack (30)—		Cunoor R. to Buxy Baz.	4
To Surow	10	Ajy to Supour	2
Caunsbansi Br.	2		<hr/> 28
Baderuck on y ^e Sollundree R. ..	7	Midnap ^r . to Calcutta—	Coss
Chundee Bridge	2	Muncagur } Mid. { ..	3
Chura Kooty	2	Daira } Dist. ^r { ..	4
Domnagur	2	Buckleshaw } ..	5
Georgepour	3	Doannee } ..	5
Mogadanny	1	Cuncadee } ..	3
Churrua R.	1	Mancohar (45)	5
Barwah	1	Bognaun	4
Bahmounee R.	2	Pullareah	3½
Comreea R.	1	Seesburreah	2
Gulgulgottee Br.	1	Buzbuzeah (Budge-Budge) ..	2
Gingootty R.	1	Douahpurrah	2
Gobria R.	1		<hr/> 38½
Hurryp ^r	2		
Pudamp ^r	2		
Cuttack	2		
	<hr/> 43		

¹ On the Tamluk road.

² The famous temple at Puri.

³ Bagh, a garden.

ITINERARIES.

	Coss.		Coss.
Midnap. to Burdwan (103)—		Uchalan	.. .. 2
To Shawpour	8	Burdwan	.. .. 6
Chitwa	5		<hr/>
Bally Duan G. (Gunge)	9		29
Woochalen	8		<hr/>
Burdwan	8	Another Route—	
	<hr/>	Amily	4
	38	Bulchunserai	5
	<hr/>	Mobaruck Munzil	5
Another Route—		Beubanp.	5
Amily	4	Assarapur	5
Asseramp. or Asshrifpour	3	Amily	3
Jaukerah	3	Midnap.	4
Beubanp.	2½		<hr/>
Cottah	2½		37
Pucka Serai	3		<hr/>
Balchan	3		

PURGANNAHS OF BIRBOHEN.¹

Sarhaut.² Cutch.³ at Sarhaut 50 miles NWbW from Soory. Dim. 22 by 17 miles. All Hilly & Woody. The Ajy forms the Western Boundary.

Carryah.⁴ Cutch. Luckanpour 20' WSW from Soory. 20' by 10. Hilly & Woody, only a few cultivated spots in the Valleys.

Chonit. Cutch. Oudgerya 19' WbN from Soory. 22 by 11. The Northern part Hill & the rest Woody.

Belputtah.⁵ Cutch. Comerabad in the Hills 25' NW from Soory. 24' by 15. All Mountainous. It is bounded on the North by the Districts of the Herboe (?) Rajah⁶ & on y^e East by Sultanabads.

Baharon⁷ or Mohamedabad. Cutch. Barrow on the River More 15' NW from Soory., 14' by 8, the Northern part Mountainous & y^e rem^r. a thick Wood.

Noney.⁸ Cutch. Dyoucha on the River Derkah 9½' NBE from Soory. Dim. 12 by 9. Jungley & barren, all except a spot between Dyoucha & Jinderpour. Forges for Iron are wrought at Dyoucha & Mh. bazar.⁹ The ore is brought from the Malarp^r. Purgannah.

Herpour.¹⁰ Cutch. at Gwallerra 9½' West from Soory. 11 miles by 10. The City of Nagore lies in the West part, & is skirted on each side by a prodigious Wood. The hot Wells are 6 miles SE from Nagore. There are fine cultivated spots at Rannypour & Gwallerrah, the rest of the Purgannah is a thick Wood.

Malarpour.¹¹ Cutch. at Damra 16 miles NEbN from Soory. 11' by 7'. The middle part Cultivated, the rest barren or Jungley. Iron Mines are wrought near Damra & Forges at Damra & Mysara.

Kirny.¹² Cutch. at Boggarshola¹³ in Sallump^r. Purgannah. This is a small P. & chiefly a Jungle. Dim. 7 miles by 5. It joins Herpour on the Southwest.

¹ A list of the fiscal divisions or Parganas of Birbhum is given in Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. IV, p. 421 *seq.*, from which, and the new edition of the Imperial Gazetteer, the details given in these notes are taken.

² Sarath Deogarh. Now transferred to the Santal Parganas district, 952 sq. miles.

³ Cutch. = Cutcherry (Hind. Kachahri), an office of administration or court house.

⁴ Apparently this pargana, with the next, form the pargana of Kundahit Karea, now included in the Santal Parganas (Hunter, *op. cit.*, Vol. XIV, p. 377), area 406.35 sq. miles.

⁵ Marked as a subdivision of the Santal Parganas on the Atlas of India Sheet No. 113, now included in the Dumka subdistrict.

⁶ I can find no mention of this Raja in any of the old records. On Rennell's map of Birbhum, No. II of the Bengal Atlas, this part of it is bounded on the N. by a district called 'Hendooa.'

⁷ Baharan, mentioned by Hunter but no particulars given.

⁸ Nani, Nonee of Atlas of India. Area 51.23 sq. miles. In 1852 there were still 30 iron smelting furnaces at work at Deocha, and as many more for refining it. The ore is a brown hæmatite obtained from lateritic deposits.

⁹ Muhammad Bazar, a village situated between Suri and Deocha.

¹⁰ Haripur Tappa. Area 103.14 sq. miles. The hot springs mentioned are those of Bakeswar (*ante* p. 101).

¹¹ Mallarpur. Area 36.49 sq. miles. There were 4 iron furnaces at Dhamra in 1852.

¹² Khirni. Area 32.53 sq. miles.

¹³ Bajasula in Shah Alampur pargana.

Cuttungah. Cutch. Soory or Hyderabad. The Western half barren or Jungly, the rest a fine open fertile Countrey. Soory lies on the Skirts of the Jungle & about 3 miles from the southern Bank of the River More. Dim. 11' by 8'.

Burra. Cutch. Boggarshola in Sallump^r. Dim. 5½' by 3'. It borders on the Aji & is clear & fertile.

Sallumpour. Cutch. Boggarshola 18 miles SW from Soory. Dim. 12½ by 7. Open Countrey & fertile. On the N. it is bounded by the great Wood, & on the South by the Aji.

Jinnijol.¹ Cutch. Saapour 9 miles SbW from Soory. Dim. 10 by 6½. The NW corner a Jungle, but the rem^r. a fine Countrey. Iron Mines are wrought at Kistnagur.

Schnboom. Cutch. Paher near the W side Aji & 19 miles SbW from Soory. 12 miles by 7. All arable Land save a Wood of 4' extent near Elambazar.

Supour.² Cutch. Soopour a large Town on the Aji 22' SSE from Soory. The Talook belonging to the Town is reckoned a Purganna of itself, tho' but 3½' by 2½'.

Barbucksing.³ Cutch. Baharee 23' SE from Soory. Dim. 12' by 5½ chiefly arable Land, & remarkably open. The NW part consists of high Downs interspersed with Jungle. The Factory of Surrool lies in this part & is only 3' NW from Supour. This P. produces much Cotton.

Burkoondah.⁴ Cutch. at Cosbah 13' SEbs from Soory. 8½ by 4½. It is chiefly high barren Downs.

Allinagore.⁵ Cutch. Jaunipour 9' SE from Soory, & on y^e Baccasore River. Dim. 13 by 4½. The Land mostly barren.

Cootubpour.⁶ Cutch. Gomhi 23' ESE from Soory, & on the South side Baccasore or Queyah River. 11 by 4 miles. The Land in the western parts high & barren the eastern parts cultivated. This is a District of y^e same name bordering on it belonging to Radshi.

Aeburshi.⁷ Cutch. Peranagong 9' NE from Soory. 4½ by 4. It consists chiefly of high barren Downs.

Savack Mowlisher.⁸ Cutch. Mettyarah 9' ESE from Soory. 10' by 6. The SW part high Downs, the rest clear, fertile Land.

¹ Kinnataga. 5154 sq. miles.

² Bara Taluk. 3679 sq. miles.

³ Sallumpour. 7662 sq. miles.

⁴ Zinnijol. 6831 sq. miles.

⁵ Schnboom. 1372 sq. miles. The patch of jungle or wood near Elambazar was still in existance in 1852.

⁶ Soopour Taluk. A Talook in Bengal is a tract of proprietary land, sometimes not easily distinguished from a village. (Hobson Jobson, p. 894). Area 122 of a square mile. In Rennell's time it probably included the small

⁷ Aeburshi. 1100 sq. miles.

⁸ Barabaksingh. 10500 sq. miles.

⁹ Burkanda. 10000 sq. miles.

¹⁰ Allinagar. 5000 sq. miles. The Bakeswar R. runs through the northern portion.

¹¹ Cootubpur. 1575 sq. miles.

¹² Akbarshahi. 2755 sq. miles.

¹³ Moulisher Sabak. 6194 sq. miles.

Dowrah Mowlisher.¹ Cutch. Same name 15' ENE from Soory. 13 by 6½. Open Country & arable Land.

Surroofsing.² Cutch. Deckabary 19' East from Soory. Its figure is extremely irregular & many Talooks of it lie in the midst of Radshi. Its Dimensions may be reckoned 12 by 10. The Lands are chiefly arable & produce Paddy & Cotton.

The Talooks of Purrunderpour & Omdarra³ are called Purgannahs likewise.

* Belonging to Radshi. The first borders on Cuttungah and the latter on Cootub-pour. NB.—The Purgannah of Futtypour* & Jem^y.⁴ of Burkoondah lie in the midst of Birbohen.

The general Dimension of Birbohen is 64 miles by 36 & contains 2304 square miles or Beagers⁵ 4,605,440. The Arable Land may be reckoned 646 sq. miles or Beagers 1,250,656.

From Agra to Delhy.⁶

					Miles.
To Jundipour	..	..	..	..	10
Mootra (Muttra)	..	..	..	..	8
Chautra	..	..	..	..	10
Hoorhul	..	..	..	..	12
Pulwall	..	..	..	..	12
Furreezabad	..	..	..	..	12
Delhi	..	..	..	..	12

¹ Mareshwar Dari, divided into two portions by pargana Mallarpur. 146.60 sq. miles.

² Swarupsinh. 85.35 sq. miles

³ Purandarpur. 13.79 sq. miles, Omdarra is not mentioned by Hunter or shown on the Atlas of India.

⁴ Jemitdary, a corruption of Zemindary, an estate.

⁵ Hind. *Bigha*. A measure of land area, varying greatly in different parts of the country. In Birbhum it was about one-third of an acre. The present area of the district is 1752 sq. miles. of which 1056 sq. miles are cultivated.

⁶ These places are shown on map No. X. of the Bengal Atlas. The road runs along the right bank of the Jumna.

Note The weather table that follows covers the period of Rennell's third expedition and is referred to on p. 44.

MAY 1765. Dacca & y^e Baramputrey.

D.	Winds.		Weather.	D.	Winds.		Weather.
	AM.	PM.			AM.	PM.	
R.1	Var.	....	Fine W ^r . all day. Ev. close. Some Rain in y ^e Night.	16	S. Calm..	Calm ..	Excessive hot all day.
				17	Var ^e . &	Calm ..	Mostly excessive hot.
2	Wind in y ^e Morning from y ^e NE, y ^e rem. of y ^e day W & SW.		Remarkable fine Weather.	18	{ Calm SSW.	Var ^e . & Squally.	Morning drizzling Rain Aft. close & sultry. R.
3				19	NE	ENE ..	Heavy Rain. R.
4				20	Var ^e . from East.	NE to	Flying Showers, Wind fresh. R.
5		W	Weather very hot all day.		
R.6	Squall ..	W ..	Morning very hot. At Noon squally & rainy.	21	{ SE. S.	SSW. SW.	This day a hard Gale var. as p. margin. R.
R.7	Variable	....	Much Rain.	22	{ SW SSW	NNW Squall.	Fresh Breezes all Day. At Night a slight Squall. R.
R.8	{ S. SSE	Var ^e . SE	Much Rain. At Night a hard Gale at SE.	23	SBE ..	SE ..	Much Rain. R.
				24	SEBS ..	SE ..	Very fresh Gales. Dry W ^r .
R.9	{ SSW. S.	W. S.	Morning cool. Afternoon hard Squall & Rain.	25	SSW	SE	Fresh Gales & cool Weather.
10	SE ..	NBE Var ^e .	Morning dry. At Noon hard Gales SE. Aft. & Night squally. No Rain.	26	SE. E'...	SSE ..	Cool Weather. Very Cloudy.
11	S. SE ..	NNW ..	Fresh Gales. At 10 PM a Squall.	27	{ SE S NE	S SSE	Morning fair. At Noon Squall from y ^e NE & Rain. R.
12	SW ..	SSW ..	Fresh G. & Cloudy. Dry W ^r .	28	{ NE SE	Calm Var.	Forenoon cool & Cloudy. Aft. & Ev. very hot.
13	SSW. SW	WSW ..	Mostly fresh Gales.	29	{ S SE	Calm ..	Forenoon cool. Aft. & Night very hot.
14	SSW ..	SBE. S ..	Weather as yesterday.	30	Calm ..	SW Calm	Morning Foggy. Sultry Weather.
R.15	SE. S ..	Calm ..	Morning cool. Aft. very hot.	31	{ SE Calm	Calm SSW	Morning Foggy. All day very hot.

Rain 13 Days in May.
8 Days very hot Weather.

JUNE 1765, Baramputrey.

D.	Winds.		Weather.	D.	Winds.		Weather.
	AM.	PM.			AM.	PM.	
1	Calm	{ NE Calm NNE.	Morning Foggy till 7. Most of the day very hot. Night cool.	15	ESE	.. SE	Rain all y ^e Forenoon. R.
R.2	ESE	{ Calm NE	Mostly cool W ^r . At Noon Rain.	16	{ East ESE	SE Calm	Cloudy & cool Weather all Day. In y ^e Even- ing some Rain. R.
R.3	{ Calm S	NW NW. SW.	Mostly cool. Ev. much Thunder & Lightn- ing, Rain Night.	17	SE	.. SEBS	Squally & Rainy all Day. R.
4	SE	.. SEbE	Fresh Breezes & Cloudy.	18	SE to	.. EBS	Fresh Breezes with fre- quent Showers. R
5	SE	.. ESE	Mostly fresh Breezes & cool.	19	{ ESE EBS	SEBE	Rainy Morning, a fresh Gale of Wind. R.
6	SE. SSE	S	Forenoon cool. Aft. very hot. A fine Night.	20	ESE	SE	Fine Weather.
R.7	{ Calm SSE	Squall SE	Morning Foggy. Much Rain in y middle of y day.	21	{ N NNW Calm	Calm	Some Rain in y ^e Morn- ing, the rem ^r . of the Day calm, the Wea- ther fine. R.
8	SE	.. SE	Fresh Breezes. Cool Weather.	22	SE SBE	NBE	Fine Weather all Day.
9	{ SE SSE	SBE	Fresh Breezes & fre- quently squally.	23	{ S SBE Calm.	ENE Calm.	Forenoon fine Weather. Afternoon very hot. Some Rain in y ^e Night. R.
10	SBE	.. to S.	Very fresh Gales. Cool Wea ^r .	24	{ SE East	EBN	Morning & Night rainy. Mid. of the Day cool. R.
R.11	{ Calm NE ENE.	East ESE	Rain during the great- est part of the Day.	25	ESE	.. SE. SSE	Rain the most part of the Day. R.
R.12	East	.. ESE Calm	Much Rain.	26	S.	.. SSE	Rain half of the Day Wind moderate. R.
R.13	{ East ESE	SW NNE.	Forenoon rainy, the Aft. variable Wea- ther.	27	S.	.. SEBS	Pleasant Weather.
R.14	ESE	.. { ESE S	The Day fair. At 10 Night began Rain, & a stiff Gale.	28	{ ESE East	SSE	Much Rain during the Forenoon. R.
				29	S.	.. { SSE SE	Thick Cloudy Weather all Day.
				30	{ WBS S SE	SE	The Morning Hot. The rem ^r . of the Day rainy. R.

19 rainy Days in June.

JULY 1765, Baramputrey.

	Winds.		Weather.	D.	Winds.		Weather.
	AM.	PM.			AM.	PM.	
R 1	SSE	SE	Most part of the Day rainy, the Night also.	17	{ SE ESE	E. SEBE	Forenoon Wind squally, y ^e Weather dry till 8 PM, then some heavy Rain. R.
R.2	{ ENE Calm	NEBE SSE.	Thick Cloudy Weather with some Showers.	18	{ ESE E ^l .	EBN E ^l .	Fresh Breezes, some Rain in y ^e Forenoon. Aft. fair. R.
R.3	{ S SE	SSE Calm	Cloudy. Mid. of y Day hot, y rem ^r . pleasant W ^r .	19	{ E ^l . EBS	SE	Morning y ^e air cool. During y ^e Forenoon some Rain. Rain in y ^e Night. R.
R.4	SSE to	ESE	Much Rain.	20	{ EBS SE	ESE	Morning fair. Wind very cool. Much Rain in y ^e Forenoon. R.
R.5	{ SE SSE	NBE to S	Several heavy Showers.	21	SEBE	{ ESE Calm	All Day fresh Gales, & some flying Showers. Night calm. R.
R.6	{ SE Calm	SE	Most part of the Day heavy Rain.	22	SE	BE	Very fresh Breezes. Fine Weather.
R 7	SE	SSE	Rain great part of y Day.	23	{ ESE SE	Calm	Forenoon fresh Breezes. Aft. calm & hot. Clear W ^r .
R.8	SSE	SE	Hard Rain in y ^e Morning & several Showers aft.	24	SE	Calm	Mod. Wind with Showers. Aft. quite calm. Fair Night. R.
R.9	SE	{ S SSE	Much Rain, Wind mod ^l .	25	{ Calm NBW.	N Calm SE.	Forenoon Calm, hot W ^r . at Noon a Breeze NBE. All Night fresh Gales.
R.10	S to	SE	Morn. & Ev. rainy. Mid. of y Day pleas ^t . W ^r .	26	{ ESE East	EBS	A hard Gale all Day at EBS. & ESE. Much Rain. R.
R.11	{ SE Calm	SSE	Morn. rainy. Most part of y ^e Day Fair. Rain all Night. Squall fr. y ^e SSE.	27	{ SEBE SE	ESE	Squally & Rainy all Day. R.
R.12	{ SSE SE	Calm	Forenoon rainy. Clear Aft. & Night.	28	{ SSE SE SEBE	SE	Morning clear, the rem ^r . Squally & Rainy. R.
R.13	{ SE Calm	SSE	Forenoon rainy. Aft. & Ev. fair. Rain in y Night.	29	{ SE SBW	S SSE	Fresh Gales & Squally. Much Rain. R.
R.14	{ SE E	ESE	Pleasant W ^r . all Day. At Night Rain. & a Squall from y ^e ESE.	30	SSE	SBW	Very Squally & Rainy all Day. R.
R 15	SE	SE	Mostly fresh Breezes. Only one Shower this Day. Some Rain in y ^e Night.	31	{ S SBE	SBW	Weather nearly as yesterday. R.

27 rainy Days in July.

BEARINGS AND DISTANCES.

From Culpee¹ to Ninedally near

Badutolah Point	...	...	N 4-15 E. 30.75
Do & Gowreepour Bridge ²	..	..	E 30-30 N. 13.1
Do. & Hadgigunge	..	..	E 33-25 N. 11.3
Do. & Luckipour	..	..	E 39-15 S. 67.9
Do. & Jurilgunge ³	..	..	E 7-10 S. 48.4
Do. & Islamabad R. Mouth ⁴	..	..	S 24 E. 48.2

Nudya to Pattolee ⁵	..	..	23
Augurdeep	..	..	32½
Cutwa	..	..	42½
Plassy	..	..	62
Satti	..	..	82½
Meeneasa	..	..	95
Cossimbazar	..	..	105
Saddekbaag	..	..	118½
Bellya	..	..	130
Jungip ^r.	..	..	148
Sooty	..	..	157½
Ganges	..	..	163

Jel(enghee) to Sooty—

Bagwangola	..	..	38
Meenkoot	..	..	45
Sooty	..	..	61½

¹ A village on the Hugli 8 miles below Diamond Harbour. A road is shown on Rennell's map of the Hugli, No. XIX Bengal Atlas), running north to Calcutta. Ninedally and Badutolah Point are not marked on Rennell's map of the Hugli (Bengal Atlas No. XIX) and I have not been able to identify them.

² Near Dum-Dum.

³ On the road from Lakshmipur to Chittagong.

⁴ Mouth of the Karnaphuli R.

⁵ This list is entered in pencil.

ASIATICK RIVERS.¹

			°Lat.	Length of Course.
Kian Kew (China)	..	..	.. 73	38
Hoanho do.	..	..	.. 67	34
Amur do.	..	..	.. 28	19
Cambodia ..	..	..	.. 26	
Ava ..	..	..	.. 24	
Ganges ..	..	..	.. 24	
Burrampooter ..	..	..	.. 24	
Indus ..	..	..	.. 14	
Lena ..	..	..	.. 29	
Wolga ..	..	..	.. 24	
Oby ..	..	..	.. 26	
Jennisea ..	..	..	.. 25	
Euphrate ..	..	..	.. 21	
Africa.				
Nile ..	..	..	.. 32	
Europe.				
Danube ..	..	..	.. 17	
Rhine ..	..	..	.. 6½	
America.				
Amazons ..	..	..	.. 69	
Missisipi ..	..	..	.. 40	

1. This list was evidently the basis of the calculation of the proportionate lengths of course of some of the most noted rivers of the world given in Rennell's 'Memoir of Hindoostan.' p. 337.

The list as given there runs—

European rivers—

Thames	1
Rhine	5½
Danube	7
Wolga	9½

Asiatic rivers—

Indus (probably	6¾
Euphrates	8½
Amur	9½
Burrampooter	9½
Kian or Ava river	9½
Lena	10
Wolga	10½
Oby	11
Jennisea	11½
Euphrate	13½
Hoanho	15½

African river—

Nile 12½

American rivers—

Missisipi 8

Amazons 15¾

MEMORANDUMS FROM THE FIELD BOOKS.

Purgunnahs in y^e Rangamatty Phousdary¹—

Currybarry.	Beesnee.	Julkur.
Burrahazary.	Batyamarry.	Turya.
Measpara.	Solaā	Guredalaa.
Hobberagott.	Biddagong.	Saappour or Chawppour.
Bickally (Garrows)	Purbuttoär.	Patyladaw.
(Chief Place Ombue). ²	Jammyra.	Saupour (Desconya).

Other Places (or Gotts)³ belonging to Rangamatty,
Allungunge, Tombacubary, Jeekeer.

Dewangunge is in the purgunna of Jaffiersee.⁴
Chilmari in Baharbund.

Pora Doar,⁵ a Place in Boutan lying to y^e NE of Catchubary.

Sackatee in Assam 1 day E 15 S from Commerputa.⁶

Guahatty in y^e Assam Countrey on y^e Baramputrey, 3 Days by Pulwar from
Gwalpara.

6 Rajas under the K. of Assam. Revenues of y^e Bisnee Raja 6,000 Rup. P. Ann.
He pays an Annual Tribute of 60 Elephants to y^e Bengall Nabob.⁷

Cobytukan a Chokey 1½ par above Mallansa, & near y^e Village of Sunederdee.
Nagarabara Purg.⁸

Ombue Hills from Commerputa E 30-30 S. 36 miles.

¹ Faujdari, a district under a military governor. Rangamati was the frontier district bordering on Assam, now the Goalpara district. Most of the 'parganas' of Rennell are now permanently settled estates under various Rajas or Zemindars. The following are those mentioned in the District Gazetteer of Goalpara published in 1905:—

Karaibari.	Parbatjoar.
Mechpara.	Jamira.
Habraghat.	Taria.
Bijni.	Chapar.

² Ombue probably stands for Um Bu (Um, Khasi=water), a small stream in the Khasia hills.

³ A landing place or 'Ghat.' Often applied to a river-side village.

⁴ On the Bengal Atlas map No. V the Pargana in which Dewanganj (on the Brahmaputra below Chilmari) is situated is called Patladah, now the Patiladaha estate.

⁵ Perhaps Paro, the head-quarters of the Paro Penlop, in Western Bhutan (Lat. 27°-23'; Long. 89°-27').

⁶ Kamarpota and Shakhati were both villages on the frontier line of Assam, the former lying on the Brahmaputra. Gauhati is now an important place. A day's march in Assam is considered to be from 10 to 12 miles.

⁷ The Imp. Gaz. states that under Moghul rule the Raja of Bijni paid a *tribute* of Rs. 5,998, afterwards commuted to an annual delivery of 68 elephants. The estimated rent-roll of the estates at present is 2 lakhs of rupees.

⁸ These villages were across the frontier of Assam on the south bank of the river. For the definition of 'par' see p. 127.

	M.			M.	
Boeca to Silhet			Momadnuggur ..	..	11
Fringybazar	13	$\frac{3}{4}$	Currimgunge (Karinganj) ..	..	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
Allynya	14	$\frac{1}{2}$	Gussyah ..	..	16
Gagatyah	18	$\frac{1}{2}$	Jummulabad ..	..	16
Corallya ..	17		Solagur ..	..	21
Gusipour ..	11	$\frac{1}{2}$	Pannyle ..	..	16 $\frac{3}{4}$
Sunerampour ..	8	$\frac{1}{2}$	Chattuck ..	..	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Cottilbar ..	18		Digley ..	..	12
Lacki ..	11		Silhet ..	..	18 $\frac{1}{2}$
Allipour ..	19	$\frac{1}{2}$			
Azmerigunge ..	8				275
Moradpour ..	11	$\frac{1}{2}$			

Distances from Luckipour to the Fenny.²

	M.	F.	P.
To the Nulla ..	4	0	29
To Hazarypara ..	8	1	5
Chandergunge ..	2	5	12
Currimpour ..	7	1	19
Colinda (Kaliyandi) ..	7	5	5
Little Fenny ..	8	2	14
Cassidya Haat ..	0	5	8
Meetjapour Bazar ..	4	7	5
To y ^e Fenny ..	2	7	39
<i>Here follow some arithmetical calculations in pencil, now almost indecipherable.</i>	46	4	16

LATITUDES.

	°	'
From Ironside.—Calcutta ..	22	33 N
Chinsera ..	22	53
Burdwan ..	23	11
Cossimbazar ..	24	4
Muxadabad ..	24	11
Nabobgunge ..	24	29
Goah ..	24	35
English Bazar ⁸ ..	24	53
Maulda ..	24	55
Purneah ..	25	40
Modduban ⁴ (the end of my Survey, <i>sup.</i> Capt. Adams's) ..	25	41
N.B. Campbell's ⁶ Map—		
Ellah(abad) ..	25°	25'
Ben(ares) ..	25	17
Pat(na) ..	25	37

¹ The Burigunge, Little Meghna, Meghna and Surma rivers.

² See pages 1078 of journal.

³ Near M. Ica.

⁴ I could not identify this place.

⁵ See Capt. Campbell, Captain of a cavalry regiment in the service of the Nawab of the Carnatic, and author of *Journal of a Voyage to India, comprehending his shipwreck and imprisonment with Hyder Alli, and his subsequent escape and transactions in the East* (London, Cullen & Co., 1795).

LONGITUDE OF PLACES FROM D'ANVILLE'S MAP.¹

				°	'
		Cape Comorin ..	.. From Paris E ^l .	94	45
		Pt. Din ..	.. ..	87	18
		Bombay ..	.. ..	89	25
		Delhi ..	.. ..	94	55
		Corragenabad ..	.. ..	97	40
		P ^t . de Galle, Ceylon ..	.. ..	97	48
		Pondicherri ..	.. ..	97	25
		Agra ..	.. ..	95	45
		Madras ..	.. ..	98	3
		Allahabad (Iliabad, Helobas) ..	.. ..	99	..
		P ^t . Gordeware ..	.. ..	100	10
		Benaras ..	.. ..	100	18
		P ^t . Palmiras ..	.. ..	104	45
		Patna ..	.. ..	102	18
		Muxadabat ..	.. ..	105	53
		Calcutta ..	.. ..	106	5
Corrected	.. 108 5	Dacca ..	.. ..	107	20
	109 41	Islamabad ..	.. ..	108	34
		Great Andaman middle ..	.. ..	109	30
		S. Nicobar I. ..	.. ..	110	55
		Negrais ..	.. ..	111	..
		P. Ronda near Achien ..	.. ..	112	18
		Ava ..	.. ..	114	18
		P. Pinang (Str. Malacca) ..	.. ..	116	18
		Siam City (or India) ..	.. ..	118	30

OBSERVATIONS OF LATITUDE & VARIATION OF THE NEEDLE 1764, 1765.

Time Observed.		Places' Names.	E. Variat ⁿ .		W. Variat ⁿ .		Latitude N.	
1764.			°	'	°	'	°	'
May	13	Negareen Jelenghee R.	3	3				
	21	Jelenghee R. Head..	..	..		
	27	Silah, Ganges ..	..	36				
June	3	Jawnpour near Custee ..	1	8				
	28	Serampour in y ^e Chunnunah ..	..	54				
October	1	Rottingunge ..	..	..	1	..		
	3	Gondaely ..	..	..	1	10		
	16	Coberpour ..	..	..	1	2		
	20	Jattapour ..	..	..	..	38	23	27
Novem ^r .	23	Seneckondy ..	..	..	..	16		
	10	Pokera ..	..	..	1	6		
	16	Rypour ..	..	..	..	55		
	25	Nagulpara ..	..	..	1	10		
	27	Monerpour ..	..	..	1	..		
Decem ^r .	28	Kesserpour ..	..	..	1	14		
1765.								
Jan ^y .	21	Daadpour I. Megna ..	..	..	1	7		
Feb ^y .	8	Luckypour ..	..	..	..	..	22	55
May	13	Allynya in y ^e Megna ..	..	..	..	37		

¹ D'Anville's map of India was produced in 1752. All the figures given are much too far East.

MEMORANDUMS.

A Coss of Indistan¹

1760) 4000 (2:480 yds. or
 3520

 480 2½ miles nearly.

200 yards—1 Zarieb.

20 Zariebs—1 Coss.

 4,000 yd. in a Coss (Capt. Polier).

 Ganges rises 30 feet Perpendicular in y^e Rains, measured at Jelenghee.

 Boats 20 days from Patna to Jelenghee.

 No Coconut Trees (or very few) on y^e Banks on y^e Ganges.²

Price of Calcutta Boats

of 90 Maund. Hire pr. Month.

4 Dandies	..	12
1 Mangy ³	..	4

 Variation of y^e Needle near Negarin in y^e Jelenghee
 3°-3' East by Knight's Compass.

Rising of y^e Rivers* in y^e Rains.

1764
 May 19th. .. 1¾ Cubits Jelenghee.
 ,, 29th. .. 3 Cubits Sappour.
 June 4th. .. 4 do. Custee.

*Jelenghee & Ganges.

 From Mr. ———'s Journal. Entered Channell Creek 7th. March. Came to Sewtylewry 25th. do. May 19th, left Hobbygunge, the 20th. entered the Puddaw,⁴ Came thro' Rottingunge & Pubna Creeks.

 From Maudapour to Boostna or Goostney 3 days by the Chunnunah & Comer Creeks. In y^e dry Season only Boats of 100 Maund can go from Maudapour to Boostna.⁵

1 Originally Sansc. 'krosa', a call, the distance to which a man's call could be heard. It varies much in different parts of the country, but is generally taken to be about two miles (Hobson Jobson, p. 261). For a discussion of the length of the Coss. see Rennell 'Memoir of Hindustan,' p. 4, and note, p. 151.

2 There are cocoanut plantations in many parts of East Bengal, and the tree ascends both the Ganges and Brahmaputra to a considerable distance.

3 Manjhi, the headman or steersman of a boat.

4 The Padma or Padda is the name given to the main channel of the Ganges from the head of the delta to its conflux with the Meghna. The route taken was the southern route through the Sunderbuns. The name of the traveller is not given.

5 Maudapur was at the head of the Chandna (Chunnunah) river, and Bhushna on the Barasia, a little to the east of Muhammadpur. In the Bengal Atlas, No. I, it is shown due north of the latter town.

Boats of 3500 Maund loaded, draw .. $4\frac{1}{2}$ Cubits.
 300 $2\frac{1}{2}$ & 2 ,,

From Moanpour in y^e Chunnunah Creek to Hobbygunge by Land 4 days, Culna
 do.

*Silet River is called y^e little Megna.

*This means y^e Creek leading from Corallya to Allynnya; y^e Silet R. being
 called the Surma.

Dimensions of y^e great Gun at Dacca ¹—

			Feet	I.	
Diameter at Muzzle	..	..	3	1	
Do. Breech	..	..	3	$2\frac{1}{2}$	61,673 lb.
Do. of y ^e Trunnions	..	..	$11\frac{1}{2}$		or Tons 27 9.
Do. of y ^e Bore	..	..	1	$3\frac{1}{2}$	
Length	..	..	22	6	Wt. of Shot 474 lb.

H. Water at Dacca full & change nearly VII $\frac{1}{2}$ Hours.

¹ Further particulars of this gun are given in Rennell's 'Memoir of Hindustan,' p. 61. "It was made of hammered iron; it being an immense tube formed of 14 bars, with rings of 2 or 3 inches wide driven over them, and hammered down into a smooth surface; so that its appearance was equal to that of the best executed piece of brass ordnance, although its proportions were faulty.

Whole length	..	..	22 ft. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
Diameter at the Breech	..	..	3 ,, 3 ,,
„ 4 feet from the Muzzle	..	..	2 ,, 10 ,,
„ the Muzzle	..	..	2 ,, $2\frac{1}{2}$,,
„ of the Bore	..	..	1 ,, $3\frac{1}{8}$,,

The gun contained 234,413 cubic inches of wrought iron; and consequently weighed 64,814 pounds avoirdupois or about the weight of eleven 32 pounders. Weight of an iron shot for the gun 465 pounds."

The dimensions and weight vary somewhat from those given in the text, but the entry in the Journal was probably only a rough note.

Rennell further remarks that the gun "has since fallen into the river, together with the bank on which it rested."

I have been supplied by my friend Mr. H. E. Stapleton of the Educational Dept. with particulars of the great gun preserved at the Chauk (an open place in the middle of the city) at Dacca, whence it is appears that this is not the one described by Rennell. The dimensions of the existing gun are quite different, being:—

Length	..	..	11 ft. 0 ins.
Diameter at Muzzle	..	..	1 ,, $7\frac{1}{2}$,,
„ „ Breech	..	..	2 ,, 3 ,,
„ of Bore	..	..	0 ,, 6 ,,

Mr. Stapleton has also kindly sent me a translation of a passage in the Tarikh-i-Nusratjangi, published in 1908 by the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Memoirs, As. Soc. Beng., Vol. II, No. 6) confirming the statement of Major Rennell that one of the great cannons was cast at Sowari Ghat and the other cannon which, together with two big cannon balls, went down into the water at Muzim Char, were built for the purpose of training the soldiers of the Khankhanan Mouzzim Khan and for the purpose of landing, and also for serving as a protection against danger. * * * * * In 1246 A.H. (1830-31) the Muzim Char Magistrate had the cannon at the Sowari Ghat taken away from there and placed in the

At present the great gun at Murshidabad, the dimensions of which are nearly the same as those of the one now at Dacca. An inscription in this states that it was made in the reign of Shah Jahau and governorship of Islam Khan (Cal. Rev. 17) at Jahangir Nagar (Dacca) by Janarjan blacksmith (Cal. Rev., Vol. XCIV, p. 339).

Different Quality of y^e Strata, of Soil in y^e neighbourhood of Jelenghee River.¹

1st. ..	1½ feet	Fine Mould.
2d. ..	2 ,,	Brown Heavy Sand.
3d. ..	1½ ,,	Light Sandy Earth.
4th. ..	1½ ,,	Clayish Earth.
5th. ..	1½ ,,	Stiff Clay.

A Boat of 4,000 Maund seen in y^e Chunnunah Creek drew $4\frac{3}{4}$ Cubits Water. Burthen in Tons 141, Dra^t. in Feet 6^F 10^I.

May 10th. 1764. A small Nulla at Chogdah (in Huggly R.) not inserted in y^e Map.

June 4th. Chain measured at Jamalpour & found 6 inches too long.

Sept^r. 1st. Chain measured at Dacca found 8.5 In. too long or 56^F. 8^I. in an Eng. Mile².

Mem^d. The Waters at Dacca at their greatest Height the 15th. of Sept^r. 1765. They did not rise above a Cubit from y^e beginning of August to that Time.

In y^e year 1764, the Waters were fallen more than 3 Cubits y^e 19th. September.

Berrisgunge from Jelenghee	..	..	5 Coss.
Chocculo do.	..	..	13 ,,
Custee from Calcutta	..	..	6 days by Land.
Culna from Custee	..	..	10 days, Boat.
Comercalli from Custee	..	..	8 Coss.
Jaynagore from Custee, by way of y ^e Creek	..	..	8 days Boat.
Mola ³ from Hadgygunge	..	..	1 day by Boat.
Dacca	..	..	3 do.
Jelenghee	..	..	3 do.
Pubna	..	..	1 do.
Paunchiferra	..	..	2 do.
Jelenghee	..	..	3 do.
Do. by Land	..	..	1½
Jochillampour & Maudapour	..	..	6 Coss.

Noatchygonga Name of y^e R. from Rungpour to Jaffiergunge.⁴

Bummisore Nuddy do. y^e Creek from y^e great River to do.

Corattygonga do. from Bummisore tow^d. Dacca.

¹ This is the only geological section in the Journal. It is of interest only as showing what such an acute observer as Rennell might have done in this way, if his opportunities had been greater.

² See Introduction, p. 4.

³ Mola, a small village on the Gauges above the mouth of the Chaudna R. All these places are on or near the Ganges Padma. Most of them are mentioned in the Journal of the first Expedition.

⁴ The lower channel of the Karatoya R.

Allahypour, & Mullopara pour.²

Coratcally. Name of y^e Creek from Saleenagore to Hadgygunge.

Hadgygunge from Connipour	..	..	1½ par. by Land.
Hobbygunge	..	..	1 day Boat.
To do. & then to Jaynagore	1½	do.	
Jaynagore	..	..	½ day Cossid. ³
Connipour	..	..	1½ pour do.
Hobbygunge, Land	..	..	1½ or 2 days.

Creek from Monsudabad⁴ to Dacca dry in y^e Month of November—

Mongulcundy & Rajanagore	..	..	1 day.
Amidabads ⁵ E. from Luckypour	..	..	1¾ Land.
Hadgygunge	..	..	3 pour.

Jattypour Octo. 20th. 1764. ☉ Mer. Alt. 55°-48'⁶

Height above y^e level of y^e W. 5½ feet.

Bromgunge to Seibgunge	..	..	5 or 6 hours Land.
Comerpour	} from Hobbygunge	..	2 pour.
Bickeramp ^r . Purg. ^r		..	1½ day. } Land.
Gonganagore I. ^r	} from Luricool	..	1½ pour.
Amidabad		..	4 hours.
Rypour from Goanuddy	..	..	1½ pour Land.

Gozarya in y^e Ganges⁷ High Water full & change IX hours—

Soynary near do. ☉ 55 saw a white Pagoda N 37°-45' E.

Tyger I. south Pt a white Pagoda N 30°-15' E. 3½' or 4'.

Baramputry Point Dec^r . 5th. at Noon ☉ Mer. Alt. 44°-33'.

Height of y^e Eye 5 foot.

Little B. Gunge H. Water full & change 4^h 45'.

Conederopour } do. 5 hours.
Jungle Island }

Little B. Gunge opposite y^e Creek, Tide ran to y^e Southward at 10' past 11 h.
Moon ½ day old.

¹ In map opposite Goalundo.

² For definition of pour or par see p. 127.

³ Coratcally, a courier or running messenger (Hobson Jobson, p. 262). Connipour is on the Kumar R. west of the Ganges.

⁴ Monsudabad is the same as Hajiganj.

⁵ Amidabads is a place No. 1 in the Bengal Atlas; a pargana of Noakhali District.

⁶ The place is not in the map XVI Beng. Atlas.

⁷ The river is in the Hooghly district.

⁸ The place is not in the map.

⁹ The place is not in the map. It is R. Janagar.

¹⁰ The place is not in the map. It is near the old conflux of the Ganges and Meghna.

Tarrachoar (in y^e Creek bet. y^e E. & W. Branches of y^e Ganges) H. W^r . 9h.
Goanuddy, just above do. a small Creek to Basundra
Hautcola 4 hours.

Kalkenny Creek¹ from Hobbygunge 6 hours (false)
In 4 h. come into y^e great R. by do. Creek.

Backergunge from Culna .. 3 days.
Sewtylewry .. $\frac{1}{2}$ day.
Gubindapour .. 1 day.
Buckinagore .. $1\frac{1}{2}$ days.

Luckypour (Dec^r . 20th. 1764) \odot Mer. Alt. $43^{\circ}-20'$.
Height of y^e Eye 6 foot.

Experiments for finding y^e distances of y^e Bengall Par or Pour.²

	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1\frac{1}{2} \text{ Pour } 7 \text{ British Miles.} \\ 3 \text{ do. } 15 \text{ ,, } \text{ ,,} \\ 6 \text{ do. } 35 \text{ ,, } \text{ ,,} \\ 2 \text{ do. } 9\frac{1}{2} \text{ ,, } \text{ ,,} \\ 4 \text{ hours } 3\frac{1}{2} \text{ ,, } \text{ ,,} \\ 1\frac{1}{2} \text{ pour } 10\frac{1}{4} \text{ ,, } \text{ ,,} \end{array} \right.$
Medium Pour $5\frac{1}{2}$ Eng. Miles	
Days Journey 22 E. Miles	
on a strait line, tho'	
nearly 25 by the Roads.	

Luckypour Feb^y. 4th. \odot Mer. Alt. $50^{\circ}-47'$.
Height of y^e Eye 6 foot.
Lat. of Lukypour by a good 6bs. $22^{\circ}-55'$ N.

Chundergunge more than half-way from Luckypour to Colinda.

Serampour & Soylerhaut³ .. 1 pour.
Cotalpour & Rajabarry .. 2 pour.
Golychel & do. .. $1\frac{1}{2}$ do.
Noadda \odot 55 near it, Rajanagore $1\frac{1}{2}$ do.
Chiddypour Mulputgunge⁴ .. $\frac{1}{2}$ a pour.
Rajanagore .. 2 pour.

Daadpour I. (Jan. 21st.) \odot Mag. Amp. at setting W. 20 30 S. Varⁿ . $1^{\circ}-7'$ W.

Moral Feringybazur .. 2 pour.
Comarya Chandpour .. $\frac{1}{2}$ a day.
Nursingpour Luckypour.. 1 day Land.

Solacalley Creek Variation West^{ly}. $1^{\circ}-30'$.

¹ A branch of the Kumar R. south of 'Hobbygunge.'

² The Par (Hind. pahar) or Pour (Pahar, Pore, Pyre) is strictly a measure of time, equal to a fourth part of the day and of the night (Hobson Jobson, p. 736).

³ Across the neck dividing the old Ganges from the Meghna, S. of Rajabari. ⁴ On the old Kirtinasa R.

Mulputgunge Rajanagore	..	1	pour.
Rajabarry	..		do.
Sonergam ¹ from Kallagatchy	..	1	pour.
Meercadim ² Nundakitchel	..	3	Hours, land.
Meergunge	..	2	do.
Mulputgunge	..	3	pour.
Dacca	..	2	do.

Doarsanny³

near do. ☉ 30 Saw Rajabarry Pagoda W. 38-30 S.
a sharp Pagoda 17-10—
like another do. 10-54—

Allynya,⁴ May 13th, Mag. Varⁿ. 0°-37' West^{ly}.

Nishenpour to Dacca 1 day by Land.

Pobaregong to Sonergung .. 1 par SW.
Dacca .. 3 par.

Sheangacandy } To Ossunpour 2 par.
☉ 97 }

Lautangore to Dacca .. 1 day.

Osseetpour to Nursing .. ½ a par.⁵

Nursingdee Creek to y^e Baramputrey .. 2 pour.
First Reach Baramputrey called y^e Poggolah—

Chor-subadee & Nursing .. 1 pour.

Ouösalabo⁶ & Dacca .. 2 days by Land.

Corallya. River⁷ near it comes from Silet. Sujetpour lies 3 or 4 days up it. The Water of y^e same Colour as that of y^e Jeels. Called the Megna.

Toank⁸ or Toak } Creek runs out of y^e Baramputrey near it. The Creek soon
Banaar R. } after receives another from y^e Baramputrey & afterwards falls
} into the Luckya River, Baugunbary 4 or 5 days up y^e Creek, by
Pulwar.

¹ Sonergam was the ancient Mahomedan capital of Eastern Bengal, from 1351 to 1608, when the seat of government was transferred to Dacca. (Hunter Stat. Acc. Beng., Vol. V. p. 71; List of Ancient Mon. Beng., p. 208). It is situated about 10 miles from the mouth of the creek connecting it with the Meghna, marked Burrampooter Cr. on Map No. 1 of the Peter Atlas.

² Meercadim is the name of the bazar.

³ South of Rajanagar.

⁴ Allynya is a village on the bank of the Meghna at the mouth of the Little Meghna.

⁵ These places are all on or near the Meghna above Dacca.

⁶ Ouösalabo is a village on the Nursingdee creek N.E. of Dacca.

⁷ Corallya is a river draining the jhils of the Tippera District.

⁸ Toank is a village on the old Brahmaputra opposite Agarosindnr. The Banar R. leaves the Brahmaputra about 10 miles above the village of Baugunbar.

Osunpour. From do. to Chilmary & Gwalpara—

	To Moddepour	..	1	day	E ^t . side River.
	from do. to Cassergunge	..	1½	do.	E ^t . side.
	to Bozerapour	..	1½		W ^t . side.
	Dewangunge to Dobagunge	..	1		W ^t . side.
Baggua 1	to Chilmary	..	1½		do.
Chandchor 1	Dubarye to Dowhly	..	2		do.
Rang ^t . 1	to Jagagupa	..	2		
Dudekoar 1	to Gwalpara	..	½		
Jugygupa 1					

Creek to Rangamatti runs out above Dowhly.

Sosongo Mountain opposite Chilmary.

Chandpour. ⊙ 31 near it. Sosongo Hill¹ bore N. 5°-45' E^t. distant by Estimation 9 or 10 nautic Leagues.

Chornuddy Island. ⊙ 53 on y^e N. side of it. Sosongo Peak N. 9°-30' E^t.

Selya, Dacca	from do.	..	3	days	by Land. ²
Borya & Buzerapour		..	2	days	Land.

Assistant's Intelligence rec^d. down Dugduga Creek June 26th. & 28th.³

Habbetnagore a	} To Banagong	..	5	Par or Pour.
large Village.		} Lilliedapour	..	1 do.
		Asmarygunge	..	4 days.
		Akarasonda	..	3 do.
		Silet	..	5 do.
		Delolpour	..	3 do.
Junglebary ⁴ a	} To Kanna Dugdugga	..	3	Par.
large Village.		} Adampour	..	2 days (Water).
		do.	Land	1 day.
		Osunpour	..	1½ day.
		Asmarygunge	..	1½ do.
		Silet	..	7 do.

¹ Kailas (3375 ft.), in the Garo Hills. The distance in a direct line from Chandpur is 145 miles.

² On the bank of the old Brahmaputra, below Maimansingh.

³ The 'Dugduga' creek run into the old Brahmaputra near 'Ossunpour,' and connected that river with the Meghna (Map No. VI, Bengal Atlas). Habbetnagore is probably the Hybutnuggur, close to Kishoigunj, of Atlas of India Sheet 125 S.W.

⁴ Junglebary was on a branch of the same creek to the E. of 'Ossunpour.' Asmarygunge (Ajmirigunj) is a large trade centre in the Habigunj district, South Sylhet, on a branch of the Surma R.

Hazaradee.	To Deroa	..	2	Hours.
	Kalpasa	..	4	do.
	Licklee	..	2	Par.
	Asmarygunge	..	2	Par.
	Akarasonda	..	1½	do.
	Adampour	..	2½	(Water).
Dellyapara.	To Assmere(gunge)	..	3	Par.
	Delolpour	..	3	do.
	Akarasonda	..	1	Day.
	Adampour	..	1	do. (Dingey).
	Abdulapour	..	{	Land 2 Par. Water 1 Day.
	Silet	..	..	6 Days.
Licklee.	} To the Megna A Pagoda at that Place.	..	2	Par South.
		..	2	do. S. 20° W.
		..	{	Water 2 Days. Land 1½ Par W. 38° S.
		..	2	Par S. 20° W.
		..	{	1½ Par.
		..	Land 3	Par.
		..	1	Day.
		..	1	Day.

⊙ 34 R. Base of Mount^{n. 2} E. 35 N.

Baganbarry. ⊙ 35 opposite to it. The Peak of Sosongo bore N. 40°-45' E.

⊙ 39 Do. Mountain N. 35°-40' E.

N.B. At this ⊙ y^e top of y^e Peak was seen very distinctly.

The long Range of Mountains.^a

I. Base N. 9° W.

1st. I. Peak 4-40.

2d. do. the highest of all 2.

Round Hill 13-15 E.

⊙ 42 Sosongo N. 32°-30' E.

R. of all y^e dist. Mountains seen^d .. E. 26° N.

Saampour. . at y^e Hāāt Tree^b of Saampour

Sosongo .. E. 21 N.

^a Neither Hazaradee nor Dellyapara, nor Licklee are marked on Rennell's maps.

^b The High Range Hill of Karas. ^c The Tura Range of the Garo Hills. Highest peak Nokrek, 4652 ft.

^d See also 1761.

^e A tree in the Market place (Hāt).

Jamalpour in y ^e Luckya River. ¹	Dacca from do. ..	Land 3 Par.
	Nursindy ..	{ do. 2 Par. Boat 1 Day.
	Sultansuddy ..	Land 1½ Par.
	Sagordee ..	do. 3 Par.
	Akarasonda ..	do. 1 Day.
	Noranda Creek ..	do. 2 Hours.
	Mullopara ..	do. 2 Par E ^t . side R.

1765 Mr. Galloway's Intelligence 21st. Octo^r.²

Curygong or Gurrygong³ is situated on y^e little River Dherla, which has its Source in y^e Bootan (Badtan) Countrey & falls into y^e Baramputrey on y^e west side about one day or 20 miles above Chilmery. The Place's Name where y^e River joins y^e Baramp^y. is Bagway or Boggua. The Dherla is navigable for large Boats all y^e Year. Course fr. y^e W^t. & WNW. Curygong is situated with respect to Chilmery WNW or NW dist^t. 30 miles, or one day Journey for a Cossid. It is said to be nearly y^e same distance from Dewangunge as from Chilmery.

Rungpour lies SW or South Westerly from Curygong, y^e distance one day's Journey for a Cossid or 25 or 30 miles. (14 Coss said to be). There is a good Road all y^e way. Rungpour is 4 days Cossid from Muxadabad.

Curesa is 6½ Coss to y^e N. wd. of Curygong, & lies on y^e frontier of Baär.⁴

Tangrapara⁵ © 78 near it. Mount Sosong E 6°-10' N or True E 7°-5' N.

Rungpour lies from the Mouth of the Teesta Creek near Manusmerra W 23°-30' N dist^{ce}. 32·2 E. miles.

Manusmerra & Olyapour
W 29-45 N 10·05 E.M.

Olyapour & Tytari
W 11 N 5·73.

Tytari & Rungpour
W 13 N 16·5.

From Olyapour W 12°-20' N. 22·2.

From Tytari W 13° N 16·5.

The Estimated Distance from Rungpour to Olyapour is 12½ Coss. The true distance by the Road is 24 Miles, & the distance on a Line 22·2, so that a Coss must be reckoned about 1·8 Miles on a streight Line. By y^e Roads it nearly agrees with 2 Miles, the common Calculation.⁶

¹ A village below the junction of the Lakhmia and Banar rivers.

² On the 21st Oct^r. 1765 Rennell was surveying the ' Bermya ' creek (*ante* p. 52) between the Lakhmia and old Brahmaputra rivers, at the beginning of his expedition to Goalpara. I can find no mention of Mr. Galloway elsewhere.

³ Kurigram, on the right bank of the Dharla R. in the Rangpur district.

⁴ Cooch Behar.

⁵ A village on a large island in the Brahmaputra below Chilmari.

⁶ See *ante* p. 123.

A Journey of Mr. Walker's.¹

	From Rungpour to Gora Gatt	.. S $\frac{1}{2}$ W	17 Coss.	} These 3 Places lie on y ^e same River. ²
	To Gooangunge	.. SSE	6	
	To Seebgunge	.. SBE	6	
} Coss. to the NNE of Rung- pour is y ^e Monaash Creek, ³ & a Coss farther E ⁴ is y ^e Teesta.	To Jamalgunge	.. W $\frac{1}{2}$ S	10	On a small Creek.
	To Shawpour	.. SW	5	Do.
	To Saangunge	.. N.	6	Do.
	To Budall	.. N $\frac{1}{2}$ E	2	
} Guzgotta is 4 Coss from Rungpour, & lies on the Monaash.	To Buxygunge	.. NE	6	
	To Nabobgunge	.. NBE	7	On a small Creek.
	To Rungpour	.. NNE	13	

Mr. Walker's Route from Rampour Bolio to Gorygott⁴—

From Bolio to Bobbanygunge⁵ NE 13 Coss.

To Bulloah 5 do. Here he Crossed the Purna-
bubah River which comes from Raasgunge & Denospour.⁶

From Bulloah to Carrihey .. 7 Coss a large Village.

to Naddiol .. 11 do. do.

to Gorygott 7 do. do.

Mr. Walker's Intelligence—

In y^e District, From Rungpour to Raasgunge WSW .. 21 Coss.

Of Denosp^r. (From do. to Fazydung^a NWBW .. 22 do.

To y^e Boutan Countrey N. .. 30 or 35 Coss.

Computed Distances—

From Olyapour⁸ to Gurygong .. 6 Coss.

A Par is here reckoned to Rungpour .. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ do.

3 Coss or 5.4 miles on to Raasgunge .. 3 days Travellg.

a streight Line. to Baggoa .. 6 Coss.

to Chilmary .. 12 do.

Stages—From Olyapour to Curygong—

To Maldywary	2 Gurry ⁹	} 2 Par.
Cotipour	2 do.	
Durgapour	2 do.	
Lowwa	2 do.	
Potyapar	2 do.	
Malwanga	6 do.	

¹ Rungpour is the Karatoya. ² The Manas, now a branch of the main channel of the Teesta.

³ The Ganga to Goraghat, an old military outpost of the Muhammadans, south of Rangpur.

⁴ Rajganj and Dinajpur.

⁵ A Par is reckoned to the south of Jalpaiguri.

⁶ In the peninsula between the Dharla and Teesta rivers.

⁷ A Par is reckoned to be a day's march, or a water clock, measuring 24 minutes, the eighth part of a 'Par' or 'Pour.'

Collyana--Consuma on y^e R. Mallyjole.¹

Continagore² on the Doppaw R.

Corenaw on the P. Bubaw.³

Raunpour on the Mohananda-Chera.⁴

(Mr. Walker.)

¹ The Malijol is an artificial canal connecting the Atrai with the Dhapa (or Doppaw of Rennell), a tributary of the Purnabhaba (Hunter, Stat. Acc. Beng., Vol. VII, p. 361). Buchanan Hamilton says that it was dug by a Mahomedan Chief named Sadut Ali, and until the Teesta deserted its old channel in 1787, carried a large quantity of water (Martin, Eastern India, Vol. II, p. 597).

² Kantanagar, a celebrated temple dedicated to Kantaji, 11 miles north of Dinajpur, on the Dhapa R. The temple is built on the ruins of a fort belonging to Virat Raja, one of the heroes of the Mahabharata.

³ The Purnabhaba R., on which Dinajpur is situated.

⁴ Probably the Chiramoti, a tributary of the Mahananda.

A P P E N D I X A.

RAJNAGAR AND LURICULE. (See Journal, pp. 31, 39.)

I am indebted to Mr. F. D. Ascoli, of the Indian Civil Service, for the following information collected while he has been engaged on the settlement of the District of Faridpur :—

Rajnagar :—This place was swept away by the Kirtinasa river in 1871-2, and Luricule by the same river nine years later, together with Jaopsa pagoda. The ground on which they stood has since re-formed, and that course of the Kirtinasa is now practically dry.

Rajnagar was built by Raja Raj Ballabh, who flourished in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Originally a poor man, he acquired a large fortune as peshkar (agent) of the Nowarrah mahals at Dacca (lands, the profits from which were used for the maintenance of the fleet), and built a house at Rajnagar, which was at that time a 'bhil' or lake, called Bhil Deema. This he drained, and covered the site with extensive tanks and buildings, which were added to by his sons and grandsons. The most notable buildings were the temples Naba Ratna (nine spired); Pancha Ratna (five spired); Saptadas or Shata Ratna (seventy or one hundred spired); and the Ekeesh or Ekabinsha Ratna (twenty-one spired). A description of these with a photograph and several drawings has been published in a Bengali work, the History of Bikrampur, by Jogendra Nath Gupta. Old men of the locality remember to this day the beauty of the architecture of the place.

Luricule or Noreekole :—These names are identical, লুরিকুল and নুরিকুল being readily interchangeable in Bengali. The old name of the place was Sripur Shahabunder and it is mentioned by Ralph Fitch, who visited it in 1586, as an important town, where "great store of cotton cloth is made."¹ Since the place was swept away by the Kirtinasa the land has been re-formed, and old men of the locality still remember the buildings, which were yet standing some 30 years ago. The principal buildings were a mosque, a ghat or landing place, and a masonry bridge over the Callygonga, not mentioned by Rennell; besides these there

¹ J. Horton Ryley, 'Ralph Fitch, England's Pioneer to India and Burma', London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1899, p. 118. It may be noted that Ryley identifies the 'Serrepore' of Fitch with Serampur, the former Danish settlement on the Hughli above Calcutta. But this cannot be the case, for Fitch says that Serrepore is six leagues from 'Sinnorgan' (Sonargaon), the ancient Muhammadan capital of East Bengal, near Dacca, and it was on his way up the Meghna and Ganges, from 'Chatigan' (Chittagong) that Fitch visited Serrepore. It is correctly identified by Blochmann (Journ. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. XLII, Pt. 1, p. 230) as "Sherpur Firinghi, marked by Van den Broucke a little south of Idrakpur, on the Dalasari" (T. H. D. L.)

were the ruins of many brick houses, one of which may have been the Portuguese Church. It appears that the name of the place was changed to Luricule about 150 years ago, which would agree very well with its derivation from the title of the Marquis of Lourical, as suggested in the note on p. 39.

Traces of the Portuguese are still to be met with in the neighbourhood. They were great traders in the days of Akbar, as Fitch relates, and were employed by Raja Raj Ballabh in managing his estates. Two distinctly Portuguese names still exist near Luricule, *viz.*, Howla Gonzales, an old land tenure in the neighbouring 'mauza' of Kamarpur, and a tank at Naria (a mile west of Mulfatganj), called Dorta Dighi (or Da Orta's Tank), after a 'Firinghi' still remembered in the locality for his kindness and liberality.

Finally, it may be noted that the 'Chiddypour Creek', which passes by Luricule, is the real Callygonga River; the river marked as the Callygonga in Rennell's Atlas is the Naya Nadi Rathkhola, *i.e.*, the 'New Chariot Path River,' so called because in the early part of the eighteenth century this was the path, so it is averred, along which the chariot was drawn at the Sripur Rath-jatra festival. The deepening of the path led to the formation of the creek, and it has finally become the bed of the mighty river Kirtinasa.

A P P E N D I X B .

(See Journal, p. 62.)

The Revd. W. K. Firminger has very kindly placed at my disposal the following letter of Rennell's, which he has recently discovered among the Records preserved at Murshidabad. Godagary, near which place the incident occurred, is on the left bank of the Ganges, due north of Murshidabad:—

To Richard Becher Esq.

*Chief of the Controuling Council of Revenue
at Murshidabad*

Bowanygunge

Decr. 9 1770.

Sir,

I beg leave to lay before you a Complaint against Caddar Beg, a Mogul & Zemindar of a small District named Pulsah, lying about 5 Coss inland from Godagary. I am employed on a Survey of the Roads, etc., on the North side of the Ganges, & halted near Pulsah, the 5th instant, at Noon. A few minutes after our Arrival the Villagers came arm'd, & threatened to fall upon us. I asked them if they had any Complaint to make. They abused me, told me no, & insisted that I should go away. We soon dispersed them without making use of any Weapons, as I never suffer a Sepoy to fire till matters come to an Extremity. Whilst they were in the action of running away, we caught one of them, a Burkundass, who had entangled himself in the Jungle. I enquired of him who the Village belonged to, & (after disarming him) sent him with a message to Caddar Beg, informing him of my Business in these Parts.

From this Time none of my People enter'd the Village, altho' everything seemed quiet: yet, about two hours afterwards, a Mogul (Caddar Beg) appear'd on Horseback, & with him a very great Rabble, some of them armed with Matchlocks, and the rest with Pykes and Swords, etc. Without sending me any Message, he came within Call and told me that he was come to fight me. I was obliged to have Recourse to my Sepoys, but hoping to end the matter with little Bloodshed, I aimed a single shot at the Mogul which, however, missed him, but killed a man close by him. This had the desired effect of making them retire to a greater Distance; but

they kept us in continual Alarm by sending parties into the Jungles on every side of us: During this time the Mogul remained in Sight, and sent me several insolent Messages one of them in particular so full of Abuse and Menaces that I thought myself fully authorized to chastise the Messenger, which I did. The rest contained hints of his Independence, together with Orders for me to depart. To one of these I replied by showing the Messenger the Sepoys, Arms, and camp Equipage, by which he might be assured that we belonged to the Company, for the Mogul affected to believe that we were Robbers. Even after this, he persisted in sending his Messenger, & using threatening Gestures, till, finding it had no Effect, he fell into the opposite extreme, and began to apologise for his Behaviour, which he imputed to his ignorance of my Station & Employment. You may imagine, Sir, that his Plea was extremely ill-grounded, after I had taken such Pains & exhausted my Patience to convince him. As he now acknowledged his Conviction, I desired his personal Attendance, which he declined.

I flatter myself, Sir, that the above Relation needs no comment to convince you of the great Affront I have rec'd, &, through me (as I humbly conceive) my Employers likewise. I have not yet laid an Acct. of it before the Governor, hoping that you will do me the justice the Case requires.

In these Expectations,

I remain with Respect, Sir,

Your most Obedient Servant,

J. Rennell.

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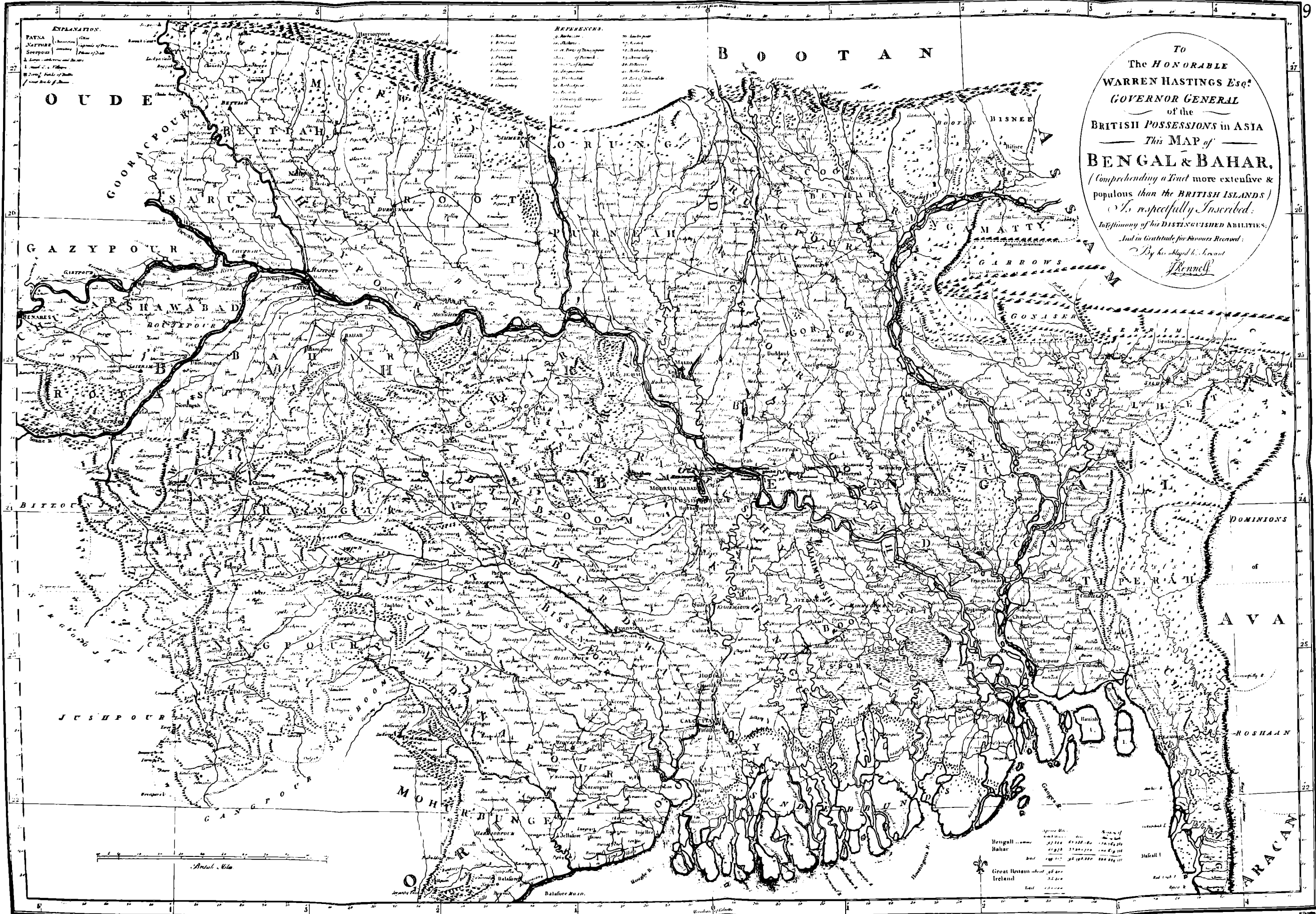
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BENGAL and BAHAR



EXPLANATION.
PATNA
MURREE
Serpent
1. Road
2. Canal
3. River
4. Lake
5. Hill
6. Mountain
7. Fort
8. City
9. Town
10. Village
11. Hamlet
12. Hut
13. Well
14. Pond
15. Tank
16. Pond
17. Pond
18. Pond
19. Pond
20. Pond

REFERENCES.
1. British
2. French
3. Dutch
4. Portuguese
5. Spanish
6. Danish
7. American
8. Russian
9. Chinese
10. Japanese
11. Arabian
12. Persian
13. Indian
14. African
15. European
16. Asiatic
17. Australasian
18. Antarctic
19. Arctic
20. Antarctic

TO
The HONORABLE
WARREN HASTINGS Esq.
GOVERNOR GENERAL
of the
BRITISH POSSESSIONS in ASIA
This MAP of
BENGAL & BAHAR,
(Comprehending a Tract more extensive &
populous than the BRITISH ISLANDS)
is respectfully Inscribed
In testimony of his DISTINGUISHED ABILITIES
And in Gratitude for Favours Received
By his obliged & Loyal
Servant
H. KENNELL

Bengal	1,200,000	1,200,000	1,200,000
Bahar	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
Great Britain	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
Ireland	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000

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LISU (YAWYIN) TRIBES OF THE BURMA-CHINA FRONTIER

BY

ARCHIBALD ROSE, F.R.G.S.

AND

J. COGGIN BROWN, B.Sc., F.G.S.



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Near the south-east corner of Thibet lies a tract where three great rivers, the Salween, the Mekong and the Yangste, run side by side within a belt of 50 miles,¹ fed by few tributaries and divided by the great mountain masses which here, and for a considerable distance to the south,

¹ "The Rivers of the Himalayas and Thibet," Part III of "Sketch of the Geography and Geology of the Himalaya Mountains and Thibet," by Col. S. G. Burrard and Mr. H. H. Hayden (1907), p. 127.

have made the geography and history of the little-known and deeply interesting region marked out by Nature as the Burma-China Frontier.

The province of Yunman and its surrounding areas form the present home of numerous tribes, which have been driven towards it in a succession of human waves, and there is probably no district in the world where the tides of humanity have left so varied a deposit as in these mountain tracts forming the frontier lands of two great empires. Whilst the forces of Nature have been driving man from his northern home, the Chinese have been making a steady and irresistible advance from the east, till the high mountainous tracts of Yunnan, Kueichow, and Ssu-chuan in part, have become the refuge and the home for those whose physical or numerical weakness has compelled them to cede the fertile places of the earth to a more powerful invader. The earlier migrations have been gradually pressed back, the Thibetan races proper have been unable to force their way further south and the Chinese have pressed slowly in, occupying the favoured places and leaving, in western Yunnan for example, only the malarial though fertile valleys to the once powerful race of Shans.

Century after century the same process has been repeated throughout the provinces of China, new races have been met and conquered, or absorbed with untiring patience, leaving a people with the striking physical dissimilarities of the Cantonese, the Shantung men and the Ssuchuanese, but with a common language and literature and a common social system which has welded them into a great empire. In the outlying province of Yunnan the same process is at work at the present day, the Chinese have posted themselves as far west as Tengyueh and even here, where they form an island community amidst a sea of varying tribes, the forces of law and wealth, of organization and intermarriage, are gradually impressing their neighbours with a terror of the Chinese power and winning them to a desire for absorption without appeal to arms. Of all these early races the Shans for a time succeeded in founding an empire, but, after a term of power lasting five hundred years, they fell back before the advance of the Mongol emperors in the 13th century, whilst the wilder tribes have probably remained un-united, and are now isolated in their mountain fastnesses, awaiting the time when their call shall come and "the dew-drop slip into the shining sea."

Glancing back over the early history of western Yunnan,—a history known to us chiefly through the researches of Professor E. H. Parker¹ and his translations of the Chinese Annals,—we find that the Chinese had clearly defined relations with the Shan or Ailao empire of (modern) Talifu in the first century of our era. In about A.D. 50 the Ailao king Hien-lih came into conflict with the Chinese, was defeated and became a vassal of China. The submission of other chiefs followed, and upwards of half a million of their subjects were grouped together to form the prefecture of Yung-chang Fu. In A.D. 220 China was split up into three empires, and the Ailao drop out of sight for some four hundred years, when they reappear again (A.D. 650) as the Nanchao. On the west the Nanchao empire touched Magadha (modern Bengal), on the

¹ "Translation of the Annals of the Chinese Dynasty of Tang," by Prof. E. H. Parker, taken from his book "Burma, with special reference to her relations with China."

north-west it reached Thibet, to the south it is supposed to have extended into Cambodia whilst its boundaries to the east and north-east are not known. . After varying fortunes the Tali State was finally won by the all-conquering Mongol Khan, the great Kublai, in 1254, and a few years after the establishment of Mongol power Marco Polo, the Venetian, travelled through the province. From the descriptions of *Ser*¹ Marco it is clear that the wilder tribes fringed the valleys much as they do to-day, and the marches of the more civilized Shans and Chinese were doubtless constantly harried by bands of their lawless but disorganized neighbours. In the intervening centuries the Chinese have gradually strengthened their influence, but their hold is still of the lightest, and the Lisu of the Upper Salween are even to-day entirely independent of their power and influence. As far as authentic records go, therefore, we find little change in the position of the tribesmen, and the date of their arrival in these frontier mountains must be sought in other places than the pages of history. One thing is certain however, disunited and unorganized as is the Lisu Tribe to-day, it adheres to its simple animism or nât-worship, in which the ancestral ghost plays a most important part, and no branch shows any trace of Buddhist thought or legend. There seems little doubt therefore that the date of their departure from their northern home must have preceded the wave of Indian thought which swept across Thibet and into Eastern Asia, leaving an unmistakable influence on the simple creeds with which it came in contact.

But let us climb to the mountain tops, to the sources of the frontier streams at a height of eight or nine thousand feet, and see these people in their homes. Nestling in some mountain cleft will be found a village of bamboo-wattled houses, thatched with grass and betrayed only by the smoke curling upwards through the thickets of fir and dwarf bamboo. The first thought of the inhabitants is a shy terror of the invader, the suspicion natural in a race living in a land where every man's hand is against them. Reassured as to the intentions of their visitors, however, the first instinct of the Lisu is one of hospitality and a ready welcome is extended by the oldest lady in company to enter, to sit round the fire on the rough stone hearth, and to drink the spiced country spirit, fermented from millet or from maize. In the houses there is little to suggest the industry of their Chinese neighbours, a few bamboo baskets and a rough loom for weaving their hempen clothes being the only evidences of the labours of the Lisu day, whilst the children toy with their tiny cross-bows and notch the fuel billets with their dâhs.

It is soon evident that the men are more congenially employed in the adventures of the chase than in cultivating their roughly-tilled fields for a scanty supply of grain, and a hunt is suggested with fire-side tales of bears and panthers and the little barking deer. At the first grey of dawn we are awakened by our wild neighbours and told that we must be moving, a motley gathering assembling outside the tents, every man armed with a cross-bow and a dâh—the big two-handed sword in a section of a wooden-sheath—whilst their families swell the gathering and every child turns out who is big enough to carry his bow.

¹ The "Travels of Marco Polo the Venetian."

Struggling along the steep mountain sides, through bracken and bramble and rough low cover, many pheasants are put up by the native lurchers, and it soon becomes evident that every man is out for the best sport he can get and that there is little idea of an organized campaign.

Still no sight of the animals which had sounded so near from the tales of the evening, and it is whispered confidentially that it may take six to seven days to track down a bear; small game abounds however, the shooting is good, and one young Lisu's cross-bow brings down a partridge at a distance of fifty paces. But before the day is over the clouds roll up, the whole country-side is wrapped in mist and the rain comes down in torrents, as we wend slowly back to the village through the dripping undergrowth and huddle round the fires, rejoicing in the heat and the stinging smoke, as our clothes are dried and food prepared in the great iron pot suspended from a beam. Bamboo tubes are handed round, and the strong pleasant wine makes the blood run faster as the men vie with one another in describing the day's sport. As we rise to go our hostess steadily resists, insisting that the cellar of the house is not yet empty—surely the strongest proof of Lisu hospitality.

And so to our tents on the grassy knoll beyond the village, with a thousand frontier peaks, dominated and crowned by the great Salween Divide, deepening from rose to heliotrope and then to purple in the soft autumn lights of:—

Evening in Camp

“ a sun's slow decline
Over hills, which resolved in stern silence
O'erlap and entwine
Base with base, to knit strength more intense.”

Suddenly a waving mass of pine torches winds along the hill and the camp is filled with tribesmen, young men and old, gay striplings and shy maidens all in their best, half reluctant but wholly pleasing as they gather round the fire. The men are in long hempen coats and short breeches, with broad turbans and leggings from the same rough loom, their ornaments being necklaces and bracelets of white cowries and plaited straw. The women are in brighter robes, their short coats, skirts and hoods all of hemp but designed in shades of maroon, blue, buff and white, whilst their great silver ear-rings, their bead necklaces and the broad silver plates fastening their tunic give a dainty finish to the whole. They are sturdily built, cheery people with sepia skins, and in the firelight and in contemplation of a brimming bamboo tube, their faces show a vivacity and sympathy which is unusual among the Chinese. Tale follows tale as the evening wears on, and the old blind chief at last unfolds his story of the birth of Man, the flood and the scattering of the races. Let us tell it in his own words, broken and cheered by the occasional applause of his fire-lit audience.

In the beginning the Heavenly Lord was angry with the people and he chose out a pumpkin-grower and called him, saying, “Take the seed of a gourd and plant it in the ground and wait for the fruit, for you will need pumpkins no more.” And the man heard and did as he was bid, and his gourd grew daily till it became the greatest in the

land. And the clouds gathered and the rain fell without ceasing and the water rose over the earth. Then the man took his younger sister and said, "We will cut a hole in the gourd and hide ourselves lest we also perish in the flood." And they were carried in the gourd for many days, now high, now low, as the waters rose and fell, till at last they reached earth once more, and, opening the fruit, they found all living things destroyed and they alone were left. Now they would have married, but the man said, "You are my sister so how can it be." But they consulted together, saying, "We are saved from the flood through the Heavenly Gourd, let us ask the Great Lord and he will decide." And they climbed to a mountain peak carrying with them two round mill-stones, one with the axle fixed through its centre, the other empty, and they agreed if the empty one linked to the axle of the other, it should be for a sign that they might wed. So they rolled the stones down the mountain side and, as they rolled, they linked together and so reached the valley below. Then the man married the woman beneath the plum tree, and they were fruitful and nine sons were born to them. Now as the sons grew to be men they wandered forth, each to his own country, and founded the races of men. But two sons loved one another, and journeying together set out for the mountain lands, and they were hunters and the first of the Cross-bowmen. And the elder brother took a monkey to wed but the younger, not knowing, slew the monkey, and his brother was sorrowful, saying, "You have slain my wife." So the younger brother prepared sweet food and the monkeys came to eat, and he took another which pleased his brother so that he kept her for a wife. But the younger brother grew angry and, taking his cross-bow, he slew this monkey also, and his brother was wroth and drove him from his home. Then the Spirit of the Hills comforted the wanderer saying, "Do not grieve, I will send two maidens whom ye shall wed." And behold the maidens, one very fair, but the other homely. And the younger brother cunningly took earth and rubbed it on the face of the beautiful maid and, leading them to his brother, said, "See here the maidens I have found, choose which shall be for you." And the elder chose the homely maid, but, when the younger washed the earth from the face of his bride, the elder rose up and in his rage he cast him into a great cavern and took the beautiful maid for himself. Now the younger brother travelled down and down into the dark cavern till at last he came to the Underworld, and he found it like the world above with sky and trees, but the tigers came and troubled him grievously. So he took the stem of a tree and he struck them as they came, slaying many. And the Flying Squirrel came to him saying, "You have killed the tigers and are surely a holy man, why do you grieve?" And he answered, "My world is the world above and I am driven here below." Then the Flying Squirrel made a compact and would carry him to earth again if he would only promise not to mock at him, to which the younger brother then agreed. Now the Flying Squirrel had nine tails, and, grasping one of them, the cross-bowman was carried up towards the earth until he chanced to laugh, and as he laughed, one tail fell from the squirrel's back. Then the man narrowly escaped, grasping another tail, and so nine times he disobeyed, nine times he laughed, and nine times fell a tail, till only the stump remained. Then fear seized him lest he should not reach his home and he clung to the last stump, laugh-

ing no more, and so he hardly escaped and was brought at last safe back to earth again.

As the story wears on the younger boys and girls show signs of restlessness, looking evidently to some faster and more furious fun. Fresh logs are brought in and piled on the fire whilst a guitar and bamboo Jew's harp are lightly touched in a low and not untuneful measure. Gradually the lines form, boys and girls locking their fingers together or throwing their arms round each others' shoulders and swaying their bodies to the rhythm of the music, as the old blind man and an old dame in turn lead them in a chant. "Alas the great Lords will leave us," sings the leader, and the whole group rejoins, their voices rising higher and the measure moving faster as they circle round the fire, slowly at first, then with growing enthusiasm as the logs blaze brighter on their flushed faces, their bright dresses and silver ornaments, till at last they are singing and circling in a glory of revelry, the wildest, weirdest dance well set in that background of dark peaks and fire-lit pines. The fire dies down, the last cup of wine is drained and the revellers vanish into the night silently and unexpectedly as they had come, whilst we are left alone by the dying embers. At our feet the ranges stand dimly outlined against the infinite blue of the night, and the sweet influences of the Pleiades and the bands of Orion look down upon the Lisu village with its festivals and its struggles as peacefully as they have regarded the ways of men from the beginning of time.

The minstrel is charged with the theme, and weaves into his legend such wandering thoughts as the occasion suggests or as the inspiration of his muse dictates. Distant as is the village of these songs from any great stream, their festivals carry them at once to their early home at the head of the waters of the mighty Salween, and there is evidently a wild poetry in these highland minstrels which can produce so beautiful a simile as that of the two converging streams sung in the chant below :--

First Chant.

Alas, alas the great Lords will leave us.
 Great are the strangers from afar
 Now come to our mountain homes.
 Let their names be our song.
 Let our welcome be warm though our gifts be poor.
 When they came fortune smiled :
 In our song, in our dance, hail our guests.
 Long years ago from the swift-running river,
 From the head of its waters our ancestors came.
 But now we are scattered far over the land.
 In the beginning man was created by the Heavenly Lord :
 A brother and sister were made to inhabit the earth.

They married, they were fruitful
 And nine sons were their offspring.
 They married, were multiplied and scattered afar.
 From these nine have sprung the races of men ;
 And now they are divided, spread over the mountains,
 Countless are they and numberless the tongues they speak.

* * * *

Second Chanty.

Alas, alas the great Lords will leave us.
 Like two streams from the mountains our waters have met,
 Have met and for awhile have flowed together.
 Now they must part again, each taking its own course,
 Winding through the valleys, turned by the mountains
 Till the current of our lives at last shall meet again,
 Meet in the great flood and our waters flow together
 Swift and deep, to part no more.

Remote as are the homes of the "White" (Pai) and the "Flowery" (Hua) Lisu, the branches of the tribe which have been even so slightly affected by Chinese influence, the "Black" or independent Lisu hold the upper reaches of the Salween river between Latitudes 26°-30' and 27°-30', and no authority has dared to question their freedom in those wild and inhospitable regions. The late Mr. George Litton and his companion Mr. Forrest¹ endured great hardships during an advance into their country as far north as Latitude 26°-45' in 1905, and in the spring of the present year an expedition has tried to learn more of this wild valley, which has been so closely guarded by Nature. The two German travellers² who led the party lost their lives at the hands of the tribesmen near O-ma-ti (about Lat. 27°-15'), and their Indian servant alone survived to tell the tale. From all accounts these Black Lisu differ little in their way of life, their customs, their dress or their language from their less savage kinsfolk, save that they are hemmed in by steep, snow-clad peaks to a narrow river valley choked with dense tropical jungle and tough lianas, where there is little opportunity for obtaining the bare necessities of life. They have learned the art of arming themselves better than their neighbours, their cross-bows of wild mulberry wood will carry an arrow smeared with deadly aconite into an enemy at a distance of fifty or sixty paces and, known to the Chinese by the name of "Lutzu" or Salween Men, they have become the terror of the Upper Salween. Even the neighbouring villages are generally at feud, owing to cattle raids and reprisals, and when the men are not engaged in hunting or in harrying their neighbours, they lay wait for the rare Chinese traders who cross the ranges from the Mekong, and rob and murder all who venture near their inhospitable

¹ Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. XXXII, Mr. Forrest's Account of Journey to the Upper Salween.

² Dr. Brunhuber and Herr Carl Schmitz.

homes. This branch of the tribe is evidently utterly savage, filthy in their persons, too lazy to till the ground except for the barest subsistence, and living on millet, maize, pork and wild honey. According to the Indian, who escaped after five months of captivity among them, they have no lamps or candles and at night the men sit round the fires smearing their faces with lard and ashes, drinking deeply of their fiery spirit and for ever plotting robbery and murder.

Above latitude 27°-30' the Salween Valley opens out into broader reaches and the wild Lisu are replaced by a more tractable folk, the real Lutzus, who appear to be unconnected with them in language or in customs. At present the Independent Lolos of western Ssuehuan and the Lisu of the Upper Salween are the only two of the frontier tribes which have effectually resisted the onward advance of their powerful neighbours, and, for the Lisu, it will probably be many years before the Chinese venture to cross that great limestone barrier with its snow-clad peaks, to penetrate the dense jungle of the malarial Salween Valley—of which they have a superstitious dread—and to face the cross-bows and poisoned arrows of this disunited but fierce and warlike race.

Whilst the above description will serve as a general idea of the life of the Lisu, it may prove useful and suggestive to give a more detailed account of their customs and their language, and also a series of anthropometrical measurements, from which a clue may eventually be found to link them with some at least of the many tribes living near at hand.

Scattered through various publications many of which are difficult to obtain, there are numerous references to the Lisu people, and a brief notice of these is given below:—

Previous Workers.

DR. JOHN ANDERSON,¹ Medical and Scientific Officer to the expeditions under Colonel Sladen and Colonel Browne to Western China in 1868 and 1875, mentions the existence of Leesaws in the hills around the Hotha and Sanda valleys between Teng-yuch and the Burma Frontier. He drew attention to the fact that they appeared to be the same people that Cooper² met, under the name of Leisu, on the northern frontiers of Yunnan and in Yunnanese Thibet. Anderson also gives a brief and incomplete account of their dress, and a short vocabulary of their language “which,” he remarks, “shows a strong affinity to Burmese.”

SIR J. GEORGE SCOTT, K.C.I.E.,³ in the ethnological chapters of the “Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States,” has brought together much information collected by Captain H. B. Walker, Mr. E. C. S. George, Mr. G. C. B. Sterling, C.I.E., and other workers. We have compared this with our own observations in the present paper. Sir George Scott, however, separates the Lihisaws or Lisaws from the Lisus, and seems inclined to regard them as a separate race.

¹ See “A report on the expedition to Yunnan *via* Bhamo,” by John Anderson, M.D., etc., Calcutta, 1871. Also “Mandaly to Momen,” a narrative of the two expeditions to Western China of 1868 and 1875 by the same author, London, 1877.

² Cooper’s “Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce.”

³ See “Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States,” Vol. 1, Part 1, pp. 587-588. Rangoon, 1900.

The late PRINCE HENRY OF ORLEANS, in the course of his adventurous journey with MM. Roux and Briffaud, travelled along the valley of the Yunnan Salween inhabited by the Lissou (Lisu) tribes. He has given accounts of their marriage customs, worship, dances and sorcery, and also vocabularies of their language. Prince Henry's experiences form the basis of the remarks on the Lisus in the *Burma Gazetteer*.

The late MR. G. J. L. LITTON, His Majesty's Consul in Tengyueh, probably possessed a more intimate acquaintance with and deeper knowledge of the Lisu people than has fallen to the lot of any other European. He travelled extensively amongst them and made a journey through the portion of the Salween where they live uninfluenced by Chinese civilization, and his death shortly after his return has probably robbed us of much valuable information. A most interesting account of this last journey, however, has recently been published by Mr. Forrest in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, Vol. XXXII.

MAJOR H. R. DAVIES,² in the course of his extensive journeys in Yunnan came across the Liso (Lisu) tribes in various places, and has given an excellent summary of his observations, to which reference is made in the body of this paper.

MR. E. C. YOUNG³ met numerous Lissu villages when crossing from Yunnan into Assam.

MR. R. F. JOHNSTON⁴ found Liso and Moso living together on amicable terms in the Yung-ning district, and in the description of his travels makes numerous references to these people.

MR. T. W. KINGSMILL,⁵ contributions to the general question of the ethnology of the tribes of the western frontier of China will also prove of value to those interested in this subject, though he does not deal specifically with the Lisu race.

GILL, BABER, and DESGODINS have also mentioned the Lisu under various names in their writings, but their work unfortunately has not been accessible for reference in this paper.

THE PRESENT WRITERS have personal knowledge of the Lisu communities scattered through the Northern Shan States (British), have lived with the Hua Lisu of the Tengyueh, Kuyung Kai and other frontier districts, have travelled amongst the same people in the Likiang prefecture, and have met them in their most easterly settlement near Wu-Ting Chou, and their most westerly settlement near Myitkyina in Upper Burma. They are perhaps the only living Europeans who have come into contact with the Black Lisu of the Upper Salween.

¹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 616-617. See also 'Burma', a handbook of practical information, by Sir J. G. Scott, K.C.I.E., London, 1906, p. 95.

² 'Yunnan', the link between India and the Yangtse, by Major H. R. Davies, Cambridge, 1901, pp. 391-392.

³ 'A journey from Yunnan to Assam' by E. C. Young, *Journal, R.G.S.*, Vol. xxx, No. 2, Aug. 1907, p. 152.

⁴ 'From Peking to Mandalay' by R. F. Johnston, M.A., F.R.G.S., London, 1908.

⁵ 'The Mantse and the Golden Chersonese,' and 'Ancient Thibet' by T. W. Kingsmill, *Journal of the R. A. Society (China Branch)*, Vols. xxxv and xxxvii.

There seems little doubt that the Lisu came originally from the south-east corner of Thibet, following the Salween River, and the tribe still stretches along the Salween Valley from Latitude $27^{\circ}40'$ to Lat. 25° . The "Black" or independent Lisu inhabit the reaches between Latitudes $27^{\circ}40'$ and $26^{\circ}15'$. They are found along the river below this point as far south as Lat. 25° , but gradually becoming more touched with Chinese influence in their southerly advance. In the confused mass of mountains between the Burma-China frontier and the Salween they are scattered in isolated villages over a large tract. The late Mr. G. Litton found them lying between the Yangtse and the Mekong in Lats. 27° - 28° ; Mr. R. F. Johnston met them on the Ssuchuan-Yunnan border at Yung-ning Hsien; they have also been found near Yangpei Ting, as far east as Wu-ting Chou and as far south as Keng-tung in the British Shan States. Major H. R. Davies believes that the Che-ti in French Laos (Lat. $20^{\circ}55'$ and Long. $101^{\circ}45'$) belong to the same race.

Accounts of earlier travellers report that the Lisu came from Nanking in Central China, but the evidence scarcely appears to warrant this conclusion, for the more southern communities are those most touched by Chinese influence, whilst the wilder and purer Lisu are found in the northern reaches of the Salween. We have found the Lisu convinced of an early home "by the head waters of the great River, where rice is unknown and mountain-goats abound," and strongly opposed to any exodus from Eastern China. In this connexion, however, it is interesting to notice that such tribesmen as are at all affected by Chinese blood and influence, persistently ascribe their origin to the eastern provinces of China, whence their new Chinese relations have doubtless come within the last few centuries or even generations.

Both men and women are stoutly built and of average height, though it is not unusual to find them tall and cleanly built especially among those of purer blood. They have sepia skins, hair which is coarse and practically black, and features cut more cleanly than the Chinese, their noses often being aquiline, their eyes straight and their chin well-pointed. In every branch of the tribe, even among the independent Lisu, the men shave the front of their head and leave a queue. In the Tengyueh and Kuyung Kai districts of Yunnan the women shave their heads, leaving only a lock at the back, which is plaited into a tail, but their heads are covered and their tonsure concealed by a drooping hood of many colours. Among the independent Lisu, and even in some communities near Tengyueh, the women's heads are not shaved, their hair being plaited in two tails, with a fillet bound across the front.

The distinctive dress of the Lisu is a long, undyed hempen coat reaching to the knees and open in front, short breeches and a pair of leggings hanging loosely at the ankles without shoes or socks. A broad hempen turban usually covers the head, though a Tam-o-Shanter is occasionally seen, also of hemp, whilst the wilder Lisu often wear a hat of deer-skin, which acts as a helmet and is sufficient to guard against an arrow wound. Among those who have been affected by Chinese influence and who attend the Chinese markets, the hem-

pen clothes are inclined to give way to cotton cloth and the coat to be shorter and more in conformity with the Chinese cut. Even these men, however, will generally wear their buttonless gown below their Chinese outer coat, whilst all retain the leggings and make a profuse use of cowries, discs of bone, white buttons and seeds for decoration, chiefly in the form of necklaces, bracelets and bands for their hempen bags and dâhs. Necklaces and bracelets of plaited straw are common amongst them all. The wild Lisu wear a large silver ring ornamented with a cornelian suspended over their ears, which are also pierced for gold or silver wires, but the more southerly tribesmen wear no ear ornaments.

The original costume of the Lisu woman appears to have been a short coat and skirt of hemp, with leggings, and a fillet across the hair
Dress of Women.
studded with silver or cowrie ornaments, and this is still retained in the Upper Salween district. Nearly every community and clan, however, appears to have its distinctive woman's dress ; at Lotsolo (Salween about Lat. 26°-15') Prince Henry found them " In a dress with parti-coloured sleeves, an armless blue waist-coat with miniature white checks and a brown border, and an apron and broad sash. Their costume was completed by a turban of, in some cases, a blue and red scarf fringed with cowries. Almost all had small coral earrings said to be peculiar to these " Hua " or " Flowery " Lisous." The most elaborate dress appears to be one used in the Kuyung Kai district and we, therefore, give a detailed description.

Head-dress : about 5 ft. long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad ; the central breadth a long piece of blue cloth, 5 times as long as each of the ends ; the ends are made of pieces of cloth, sewn in strips of maroon, white and deep yellow. The ends are about 2 inches broader than the blue cloth, which is fringed with blue where the ends join it. On the outside edges of the end pieces and at each junction of the strips are long, double tassels consisting of clear beads in the upper part, joined by a cowrie to a large tassel of maroon wool ; there being seven tassels at each end. Four inches from one end of the blue there is a strip of cloth about 3 feet long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, covered on one side with 42 white bone discs, varying in diameter from $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches near the blue cloth to $\frac{3}{4}$ inch at the extremity, the cloth diminishing with them. This narrow strip is edged with red and yellow thread. To the 4th button are attached quadruple tassels of the same colour as the strips, and from the end button are suspended a series of eight tassels, consisting of beads and white seeds with fringes of maroon, buff and dark blue wool. The head-dress is worn like a puggaree, the blue part being twisted round the head and the stripes hanging in a double fold over the back, whilst the narrow, beaded strip is looped over to keep it in place, the whole having the appearance of a striped and tasselled hood.

Costume.—The women wear breeches reaching to the knee, and over these a blue coat, which reaches to the waist in front and to below the knees at the back, and to which is attached a loose over-jacket in alternate buff and cream squares, whilst a strip of cream and buff stripes about a foot deep edges the tail of the coat. The long tail has two rows of ornaments, an edging of white seeds and a row of white cowries

about four inches above. Attached to the waist by a belt, and hanging over the long-tailed coat, is a long folded strip of blue cloth, pointed at each end and edged and tasselled with chocolate and cream shades, and which forms a triangular lappet. In front is a double apron of blue cloth, edged with cream hemp and a row of cowries at the bottom, which, in combination with the tail of the coat, has the appearance of a skirt and is held by a broad belt, bossed with rosettes of red cloth and cowries. The bodice is finished by a collar of dark red cloth and cowries hanging over the breast, where it is finished by great square plaques of silver. Big hooped earrings of silver are worn, and a number of bead necklaces of various shades of blue, red and yellow, thus completing a gay and striking costume.

The houses are of plaited bamboo, thatched with grass and provided with a small verandah, which is usually enclosed. In the upper Salween Villages and Houses. they are raised on piles, with floors of bamboo poles, below which the animals are housed and from which a stair leads to the ground. In the mountains near Tengyueh and Kuyung Kai, however, they are built on the earth which is beaten to form a floor, and both houses and courtyards are kept neat and clean, a point in which our experience differs from other travellers. The poorer houses have only one room, but many are divided into three divisions, the stone hearth which is the social centre and round which men and women sit together smoking and drinking, being always at one end of the largest room, and having a big iron pot suspended above it. The pig-sties and byres are built apart from the house, and the Lisu has a fondness for an overhanging trellis above his rustic courtyard, generally covered with pumpkin vines, from which the golden fruit hang invitingly before the door. The villages are built in a nook in the mountains, often in small clearings in the forest, and are always hidden carefully from sight and approachable only by steep and difficult tracks. The houses have no windows or chimneys and the smoke escapes through the thatch and the open doorway, whilst the sunbeams dance through the latticed walls, which are doubtless penetrated with equal ease by the cold and driving mists.

Unlike the Kachins the Lisu women are not obliged to abstain from certain foods during pregnancy, and they go about their household Birth and Naming Customs. duties as long as they are able. When the birth is imminent the husband calls to his ancestors by their spirit name, offering to them sacrifices of salt, poultry and wine whilst invoking their aid in the safe delivery of the child. The older women gather at the house and use a hempen string to tie the cord. The child is washed, whilst the birth is heralded to the ancestors by the attendant priest.

On the third morning after birth the child receives its "Buried" or Spirit name, a name which may be used by the parents for a few times during childhood, but which is never spoken as the child grows up and will cause great offence or even bloodshed from the mouth of a stranger. As the child is being named by its parents the father announces the buried name to the ancestors, and it is then seldom used until death, when the priests use it to summon the departing spirit, speeding it to its ancestral home.

On the tenth, twentieth and thirtieth day both mother and child are bathed, and neither are allowed to leave the family home until the last bathing is complete, lest disease overtake them. The young mother is forbidden to taste chillies, sour bamboo sprouts, strong liquor or sweets during this period, and she is attended by her friends and allowed to take no part in the duties of the household. When the month is complete a fowl is sacrificed to the ancestral ghost and mother and child are free to enter the village, no offering for the purification of the woman being demanded by Lisu custom. During the thirty days of confinement in the house the birth-bed is not moved, even the father avoiding it lest his skin be affected, and at the end of the period bed and bedding are either cleansed and purified or are destroyed by fire.

Sir George Scott writes: "The Lishaws have no fixed cemeteries. The dead are buried in any remote place. The body is put in a wooden coffin and the spirits are consulted as to the time for interment. Till this arrives the body is kept in an open place, closely fenced round by stakes. When the fixed time comes the male friends and relatives cut down this fence with their *dâhs* and the coffin is then carried away to some lonely spot. The graves are not marked or tended in any way." Sir George does not state from what part of the country this custom was taken. In speaking of the "Pai" or White Lisu Prince Henry writes: "The instruments of the defunct are placed upon his tomb, with the addition of a sapeck inserted between the dead man's lips, none other than the ancient provision of Charon's obole for the ferry."

Death and Burial Customs.

The wild Lisu of the Upper Salween and their kinsfolk of the frontier mountains are consistent in this care for the dead. As the end draws near nine grains of unhusked rice and nine small pieces of silver are given with water to the dying man to swallow, woman receiving only seven of each. When life is extinct two of the watchers take the hands of the dead man and crying to him by his spirit name they bid him return to his ancestors, taking care lest he stray from the path or be lured aside by enemies. Guns are fired to notify the village of the death, the body is washed and laid in the hollowed trunk of a tree or in a coffin, in which is often laid a wrap and cups of food and wine. Three cowries and a small lump of silver are thrown into the nearest torrent as an offering to the spirit of the streams, who will provide drinking water for the departed in his long sojourn. Should the funeral party cross a stream on their way to the grave, an offering is also thrown on behalf of the dead, who must pay for the privilege of crossing. On the day of burial it is not essential that an offering be made to the *nâts*, but a pig is always killed, and a feast prepared for those who assist in the ceremony, the festival of the dead being postponed until after harvest or some other time when food is plentiful. The priest then summons the departed spirit by its buried name and a pig and other offerings are presented, and are afterwards handed to the priest as his reward. On the way to the ancestral home there are nine hills, nine streams and nine roads for the spirit to traverse, and the priest warns it not to be misled by tracks of wild pig or other animals, at the same time crying to the ancestral ghosts that their child is starting to their home, bidding them watch for his approach and receive him in the spirit land. Above the grave from the branch of an

overhanging tree or from some wooden stake, are hung the cross-bow, the sword and the rice-bags of the fallen tribesmen, and an earthen jar is buried in the grave with neck exposed above the ground. For three years the kinsmen and friends go regularly to the grave bearing offerings of cooked meats and refilling the vase with wine. In the spring of the third year they assemble again at the grave, now bearing uncooked rice and water for the funeral urn. Pouring their offering of water and scattering the grain upon the grave they call to the spirit of the dead to arise, to take the food and prepare it, for their ministrations will be needed no more. There seems in these customs some definite thought of resurrection, nor is it impossible that, as in the resurrection of Osiris, the Egyptians saw the pledge of a life everlasting beyond the grave, believing that every man would live eternally if only his surviving friends did for his body what the gods had done for Osiris,¹ so to these simple Lisu the last rites of the dead herald their comrade to the life beyond, as the spring-time resurrection of the world releases the imprisoned spirit from the chains of death.

Mr. Stirling, writing of the Lihaws from Kengtung in the British Shan States,

says: "They intermarry with Chinese but never with
 Marriage Customs. Shans, and they celebrate the Chinese New Year. The

same house is sometimes occupied by more than one family, but there is no set custom. A wife is stolen from her parents in the first instance. The pair hide in the jungle for a day or two and then return to the village. A feast is given and a money payment made to the girl's parents proportionate to the means of the husband. Formerly the price of a wife was 150 rupees, but it is now very much less. Parents always consent to a match after the man has succeeded in abducting his bride. After the marriage feast and payment to the parents, the woman becomes her husband's property. There is no divorce, but he can sell her if they do not agree together."

Prince Henry, writing of the Lisu of Lotsolo (Salween, Lat. 26°-15'), says: "A curious marriage custom is observed amongst them. The wedding feast over, at night-fall the betrothed retires with her parents into the mountains and the swain has to seek them; which quest successfully achieved, the parents withdraw, and the newly wedded couple remain till morning upon the hill-side when they return to their homes. They have to repeat this ceremony for three nights before they may settle down."

Among the Lisu tribes of Kuyung Kai the marriage is arranged by a middleman, and the bridegroom usually pays to the parents of the bride a sum varying from eight to ten ounces of silver (about 25s.), although this money payment is declared to be a matter of arrangement and not an unchanging custom. On the wedding day the bride is escorted by a maiden from her village, and by her parents, relations and friends, to the door of the bridegroom's house, and in her procession comes the middleman bearing on his back a basket with the trousseau consisting of four or five garments made in her home. The party is met by the bridegroom and his friends at the door, a gun is fired, a bowl of wine is passed round from which all drink as a loving-cup, and the bride then enters the house with her party. For three days festival is kept up in

¹ "Adonis, Attis, Osiris" by Dr. J. G. Frazer. London, 1907, page 309.

the bridegroom's house ; wine, presented by the neighbours, stands in four large vessels on the floor, and all are expected to drink deep and to join in the dancing and singing, which mark the revels for these days. During this time the bride must remain in the house, but she is accompanied by her attendant maiden and may not join her husband until the revellers leave on the third evening, when the wine is finished and the bride then enters the house with her party. There is no abduction in this district and no divorce, even for a childless wife. The Rev. J. G. Geis of Myitkyina, who has worked for many years among the scattered Lisu villages on the Burma side of the frontier, and to whom we are indebted for much interesting information regarding the customs prevalent in his district, compares the moral standard of the Lisu very favourably with that of their Kachin neighbours, stating that there is little sexual intercourse before marriage and that it is counted a great disgrace for a Lisu girl to give birth to a child out of wedlock. The father of an illegitimate child has no claim on it, such as that of a Kachin father, and he is heavily fined unless a marriage can be satisfactorily arranged. In the Sadon and Sima Hill Tracts the village elder or a male relative act as go-between, seeking a bride from one of the classes which can properly intermarry. The price demanded for a maid is the same as was paid for her mother, and is kept in a family record. On the marriage day the village elders proceed to the house of the maid, first serving out wine to the youths who will assist them in bearing away the bride. At first she will make a show of resistance, kicking and biting her carriers, whilst her family cry to the ancestral ghost that their child is being borne away and that they are powerless to keep her. Arrived at the village boundary, however, the struggling maiden is released and she walks gaily to her future home with the wedding party. As she enters the bridegroom's house a fowl is killed and thrown behind her on the threshold, whilst water is sprinkled on the path, to cleanse it and cut short the progress of any evil spirit which might design to follow her into the house, and guns are fired to notify the village that the bride has been received and welcomed there. As the first meal is served the village elder calls upon the ancestral spirits of the two houses, and in their spiritual presence the father of the maid says to the bridegroom : " Here I bring to you my child : guard and keep her : hereafter we are friends." Then the middleman says to the man, " I have found you a wife who is handsome and strong : care for her and treat her kindly." The bridegroom in reply addresses the father and go-between, promising that he will play his part, the meal is eaten, an offering of food and wine is placed before the ancestral shrine, the three days of feasting begins, and the ceremony of marriage is complete.

We can only add that, although present-day proprieties may demand the offices of the middleman in matrimonial negotiations, there is in these highland tracts little of the cold-blooded and vicarious match-making, which is usual among the Chinese, and the young Lisus evidently have a personal vote in the management of their love affairs. One autumn day it chanced that we were encamped in a village where the mountain torrent was being bridged, an annual affair, marking the close of the freshets and the rainy season. The tribesmen had gathered from every village in the neighbourhood

and worked with a will, felling trees from the hill-sides, slinging them from rock to rock, and binding the logs with bamboo strands. All were dressed in their best with their broadest turbans, their cowries and their swords, but one young gallant stood out as the finest of them all, most profuse in his ornaments, most strenuous in his work, the first to leap into the water for the fixing of a stay, the first to cross the single log that crossed the dangerous chasm. The onlookers whispered that he had come a courting from a distant village, and the lady of his choice looked on from among the bevy of gaily-dressed maids on the bank above. The completion of the bridge was celebrated with high festival, the wine flowing freely and the dance lasting far into the night. At first the men and maids formed in separate semi-circles, facing one another, but it was not long before they were dancing together and all shyness gone. Suddenly a maiden left her place and, wine-cup in hand, slipped into the darkness outside the fire-lit ring taking with her the young hero of the bridge. Cheek pressed to cheek and arms encircling each other's necks they drained the cup together and so their troth was plighted. In the cold light of morning came the father of the maid intriguing for the happy youth to serve as guide for us across the mountains. "Behold the prudent parent," quoth a neighbour, "honour and glory there may be in this affair, but he looks to those more solid benefits which will serve to make a worthier marriage gift."

The Lisu of the Upper Salween have their own hereditary chiefs, who generally exercise control over several villages lying close to one another. There appears, however, to be no unity among the race as a whole, and isolated villages are often found which recognize no chief. Between Latitudes 26°-15' and 27°-40' the tribesmen are entirely independent, and the Chinese show no desire to penetrate their ill-reputed land. Up to about Latitude 26°-15' of the Salween Valley the "Pai" or White Lisu are subject to hereditary Sawbwas or chieftains, who recognize the Chinese authority and are called upon to pay an annual tax to the neighbouring district officials. These Sawbwas are often of Chinese or mixed descent and are assisted in their duties by Chinese clerks doubtless in the interests of the suzerain power.

On the east bank of the Mekong the Thibetan Chief of Yetche exercises authority over a large number of Lisu, and in the Tien Tang Kuan, Ming Kuang and Ku Yung Kai districts hereditary Fuyi or chiefs, generally of Chinese descent, control the Lisu population and collect from them a small land tax. In the districts near Tengyueh, which are more directly under the influence of Chinese officialdom, the headmen of villages are allowed a small annual subsidy, in return for which they undertake the responsibility of protecting travellers and trading caravans from molestation and robbery when passing through their districts.

There appears to be little control over the land in these inaccessible mountain tracts, anyone who is sufficiently active to bring it into cultivation being free to do so—privilege in which the Chinese hill-men find few competitors among the neighbouring Lisu, whilst they receive all encouragement from the officials who watch with satisfaction the peaceful advance of the men of Hau, the onward march of progress and industry.

With regard to inheritance, the property of the father is divided equally amongst his sons, whilst the daughters are left portionless, as assets to the rest of the family, who may be expected to benefit from their wedding gifts in the fullness of time.

Accounts vary with regard to the keeping of slaves, it being generally reported that among the Black Lisu men are held in captivity and made to work as tillers of the fields, as hewers of wood and drawers of water. They are allowed to marry Lisu women and their children are free. It is also reported that they have no female slaves. Prince Henry was informed, however, that their prisoners were held to ransom (which is undoubtedly true), and that women were kept as bondswomen, rarely married, but that slaves might intermarry and their children would be free.

Unlike the Lolos, the Lisu have no written language, and it is strange to see their homes, even in proximity to Chinese settlements, utterly devoid of any written character, the most treasured possession of their literary neighbours. Three vocabularies are attached to this paper, which may prove useful as they are fuller and more complete than any which have been published before. They are chiefly interesting, however, in showing the close relation between the language of the different branches of the tribe, that of the Black Lisus being taken from a tribesman from the extreme North of the Salween area, whilst the Hua Lisu use the words given in the third column with little variation throughout the frontier mountains. It is believed that no vocabulary of the Black Lisu has been published before.

The chief crops are maize, millet, buckwheat and hemp, the two first being much valued as producers of wine, whilst the last is needed for their clothes, the strands being boiled in wood-ashes to loosen the fibres. The independent Lisu have great trouble in obtaining salt, and their predatory habits may be traced in part to their desire for this necessary of life. Wild honey is collected by all and forms an important part of their diet. Both men and women are fond of tobacco, which is grown by the wild Lisu in the lower and warmer clearings near the river bank and is much prized by them. Opium is little used except in close proximity to the Chinese, and we have not met any of the tribesmen who are addicted to the drug. Pigs, goats, sheep and dogs are kept in most of the villages, but pork is the only meat which is used for food.

The religion of the Lisus appears to be a simple form of animism or nât-worship, sacrifices being offered to the spirits of the mountains and hills, for whom little swinging altars—not unlike the nât altars of the Chingpaw (Kachins)—are suspended from the trees. The ancestral ghost is also an object of reverence if not of terror, and is honoured by an altar placed opposite to the door of the house—a simple shelf with shreds of red and white paper unmarked by characters—and offerings of wine. Their ancestral worship does not appear to have been borrowed from the Chinese, and is more probably one of the primitive acts of homage, from which the more elaborate Chinese system has been developed. Among the wilder Lisu medicines are not recognized, all ills being attributed to the influence of some malign spirit, whose wrath must be appeased by offerings

and sacrifice. Prince Henry gives an interesting account of a thankoffering to the spirit of the Earth on behalf of an old woman who had recovered from illness. "On the ground in front of the sufferer's door had been set up a small wooden frame-work model of a house, with a bough stuck at each support. The structure covered some saucers of seeds and cakes, and behind it was arranged a measure of rice with two cups of wine upon it, and a distaff the thread of which was turned round the frame. A coarse paste effigy of the spirit presided over the whole. Before it was a basket containing a straw and three vertical bits of wood. An old Tongpa (sorcerer) squatted beside it uttering incantations. In one hand he grasped a fowl, which he first sprinkled with a twig dipped in the libation, while he recited the names of the spirits invited to the feast. Then, having opened the fowl's throat, he smeared the idol and the posts with the blood, and applied feathers to the parts thus anointed. The bird was then plucked and thrown into a pot, and the repast was ready for the invisible guests, while for his own portion the wizard received the plates of rice."

While speaking of the religious rites of the Lisu it may be well to refer to the "Spirit of the Bed" to which an altar is erected over the couch in every home, though the tribesmen are unable or reluctant to explain its significance.

The principal Nâts of the Lisu are MISI the great jungle Nât, MINA the earth Nât, MUHU the lightning demon, MIHI the spirit of the wind, MAKWA the Lord of Heaven and CHYI who has the healing power. These are Nâts of the first rank and take the highest honours of sacrifice, whilst the HINI or ancestral ghost plays the most important part in family festivals, such as marriages, births and deaths, or the departure of a man on some important expedition. The offerings are in the form of fowls, pigs, goats and wine, and they are usually made at the time of sickness or of harvest. When the ground is cleared for the new sowing MINA receives the promise of a gift, but the actual offering is not made until the in-gathering of the crops, when gifts are sacrificed to all.

There are two methods of consulting the Nâts, the first being through the prophets, by whose mouth the spirits speak, whilst the second is found in a family ceremony. Thirty-three strips of bamboo about a foot in length are taken in the hand and counted over, every ninth strip being retained between two fingers. The position of the strips then indicates whether any demand is being made by the Nâts and the nature of the offering which would prove acceptable. In the case of disease great preparations are made for consulting CHYI NI, who must be appeased in his capacity of healer. On the evening before the sacrifice all who will be expected to assist in the ceremony are duly notified and warned to abstain from all food, from betel, tobacco and all labour unconnected with the sacrifice. The sacrificial animal is eaten only by those who participate in the ceremony, and enough men are therefore chosen to prevent any waste, whilst the greatest care is taken in slaying the beast lest blood be drawn from

Note. We are indebted for the information regarding the Lisu Nâts to the Rev. J. G. Geis of Myitkyina, who has made a special study of this subject among the Chingpaw (Kachins) and Yawyin (Lisu) tribes on the Burma side of the frontier.

any man and the offering thus rendered unacceptable. Whilst the Chingpaws (Kachins) make offerings to ancestors who have been dead for many generations, the Lisu confine their offerings to those with whom they have been personally acquainted, and in all times of trouble or danger their first appeal is to MAKWA the Heavenly Lord, who can deliver them from every evil. There is no priestly caste among the Lisu, and any man or boy who is willing to learn the priestly language may act as intermediary in the appeals and sacrifices to the spirit world.

Chinese historians¹ with a regard for detail and a wealth of imagination which is staggering to the western mind have divided the tribes of this area into numberless groups of no value to the investigator, or have passed them by with the general application of "savage" or "barbarian."¹

Position of the Lisu in the present classification of the tribes of Yunnan.

All attempts at scientific classification up to the present have been based on resemblances of language, but, in the study of questions of comparative philology,—especially in a country with the geography and history of the Burma-China Frontier,—it is too often forgotten that a resemblance of language is not necessarily a proof of close racial connexion. The reasons are obvious to the student and need not be discussed here. As to whether the evidences of history and customs, tradition and folklore, coupled with detailed and comprehensive anthropometrical research, will eventually bridge the gulf, which philology is always liable to leave, and will reduce order from the present chaos, is a question which cannot be answered at the present stage of the enquiry. Major Davies has said—"It can be asserted with confidence that nothing has been written on this subject that does not contain errors"; and with him we also agree that "The present attempt will doubtless be found equally open to such criticism."

Mr. Eales in the first volume of the "Report on the Census of Burma of 1891" has placed the Lishaw (presumably Lisu) vernacular in the Kachin-Naga group of the Thibeto-Burman family of the Polytonic division, in his detailed classification.

Earlier Classifications.

Sir George Scott does not attempt to classify the Lihisaws in his tentative grouping (Gazetteer of Upper Burma, p. 481) but he says—"the linguistic test points almost irresistibly to the conclusion that the Lihisaws are practically identical with the Lahu, or at any rate form only an earlier or later swarm from the main stock from which the Lahu came." M. Bons D'Anty is satisfied that the Lahu are a half-breed race. It is possible, he says, that the Lihisaws are so also, but as to the connexion of the two there can be no manner of doubt.

Captain H. B. Walker, Mr. E. C. S. George, Major (now General Fenton) and others class the "Lihisaws or Yaoyens" with the Kachins. Lieutenant Pottinger, who speaks of them as Yawyins, says that in appearance they are more like Chinese than Kachins. Prince Henri d'Orleans would connect the Lisu with the Lolos.

Major Davies, in a classification which shows some agreement in its broader groups

¹ "Yunnan T'ung Chih," Volumes 32 and 33.

with the divisions adopted by Forbes, Grierson and other eminent scholars, places the Liso or Li-su language in the Lolo Group of the Thibeto-Burman family.¹

After a careful consideration of the whole question we are of opinion that this is the truest position to which the language can be assigned at present.

The Lihisaw, Liso, Lishaw, Lee-shaw, Yaoyen and Yawyins appear to be the same tribe and we have adopted the name Lisu to supersede these varying and confusing terms as it is the name by which the people generally call themselves and is, therefore, better than the Chinese corruption of Liso; the independent Lisu also refer to themselves as "Aiu" or Cross-bowmen, but this is evidently a clan rather than a tribal name. The principal clan names are WO-PA, NO-PA, LAMA, TZE-PA, WA-PA, LA-PA, NUR-PA, PIA-PA, CH'-IH-PA, LI-PA, SHE-PA, and NU or LU-PA, of which the members probably give to the Salween the Chinese name of I,U-TZU CHIANG, the river of the clan of Lu.

Attempts have been made by earlier writers to connect the Lisu with the Yao (Lanten) tribes of southern Yunnan, or with the Chingpaw (Kachins) of the frontier hills (Burma Gazetteer, p. 482). In the case of the former, dress, features, customs and temperament are so entirely dissimilar, and the later linguistic evidence so unfavourable, that there seems full authority now for discarding any theory of relationship between the Lisu and the Yao. In the case of the Chingpaw it has been clearly proved that the dress and physical characteristics of the Lisu are distinct both from these people and from the Maru and Lashi.² At the same time there is a strong probability that the Chingpaw derive their origin from a Thibeto-Burman stock similar to the Lisu, and fuller information may serve to trace the two tribes back to the same northern home.

The difficulties which beset the anthropologist, in his investigations among these scattered and semi-savage tribes on their own ground, must be experienced if one would gain a full appreciation of their weight. In many parts of Asia long familiarity with the European has led the people to submit with some show of willingness to the operations of the student, even when the subject is all unconscious of the value and inner meaning of the cult of the skull. In the frontier districts of western Yunnan, however, conditions are not so happy and a legion of obstacles must be overcome before any measure of success may be attained. We trust, therefore, that any students of anthropology to whose notice these figures may come will look indulgently upon our small and incomplete table, not weighing its deficiencies but seeking to strengthen such slight foundations as have now been laid. It is believed that this is the first attempt which has been made to approach the subject on an anthropometric basis, and it is equally believed that this is the only certain way of reaching a true solution of the intricate and difficult problem of the classification of the tribes. The data given below are the result of measurements taken on a series of 15 subjects, three of whom were Black Lisu from the Upper Salween, and the remaining twelve Hua Lisu

Anthropometric data from the living subject.

¹ Page 337 of "Yunnan."

² See Pottinger's description.

living to the north-west of Tengyueh, of whom nine were men and three were women. We are fully conscious of the danger of drawing conclusions from so limited a field of research, but great care has been taken in the selection of suitable subjects, and we trust that this work may render investigation less difficult for future enquirers and may possibly prove a small but useful link in the great chain of research for the grouping of the tribes on the Burma-China frontier.

In conclusion, the present writers are of opinion that the evidence points clearly to some close relationship between the Lisu and the Lolos, and, although our present information is an insufficient foundation, it is believed that the two tribes will be traced to the same stock and linked at last in one of the great families which will claim these disunited and wandering tribesmen. For the Lahu, the Woni and such other branches there is much to confirm the belief that they are half-breeds, who have drifted from the homes of the main tribe and, whilst retaining the language of the more highly developed and purer Lolo stock, have lost their tall figures and clean-cut features in mingling with the older and more primitive races, amongst whom their settlements may have been numerically small and such as are installed by right of conquest. We take this opportunity of expressing our indebtedness to our predecessors, the Consuls, the Frontier and Military Officials and the few travellers into Yunnan, all of whom have found time for some contribution to our knowledge of these tribes from the rush of a hard and busy life in a land where both Nature and Man are more picturesque and interesting than inviting or kind. It is hoped that the actual evidence gathered in Lisu homes of Lisu lives and customs may prove suggestive and helpful to those students whose interests have been awakened for this medley of races and whose lines have been cast in more favoured places than the mountains of the Burma-China Frontier.

LISU VOCABULARIES.

Annex I.

	(I) Black Lisu, Salween valley, Lat. 27°-30'.	(II) White Lisu, Salween valley, Lat. 26°-15'.	(III) Hua Lisu, Kuyungkai Frontier, Lat. 25°-20'.
Above	.. Ke-po	.. .. .	La-mu-mu.
Apricot	.. Ssu-sau	.. .. .	.. .. .
Arm	.. Lê-p'ê	.. Pê-chi	.. Mê-tzu.
Arrow	.. Chieh-chueh	.. Chia-tze	.. Chieu'rh.
Ascend	.. Kê-pu-kêi	.. Ta-kei	.. Ka-ku-k'ô.
Ask	.. A-shih-pe	.. .. .	A-ni.
Awaken	.. Ma-i-mêh	.. .. .	Hua-ch'i-lá.
Baby	.. Za-nüsh	.. .. .	.. .. .
Back	.. Ka-tê	.. Ka-tê	.. Kai-ya-k'u.
Bad	.. Hêhu	.. Ma-chi	.. Ma-chi.
Bag	.. La-pieh	.. Mê-no	.. Lai-hsia.
Bamboo	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
Bear	.. .. .	.. .. .	Wo.
Before	.. Mu-té	.. .. .	A-mi-tá-ssu.
Behind	.. Ke-nieh	.. .. .	Kan-ya-ssu.
Below	.. Chu-po	.. .. .	La-pa-ch'i.
Big	.. A-pêh	.. Mo mo	.. La-wu.
Bird	.. Nieh	.. Nieu'rh	.. Nia.
Black	.. Nei-tê	.. Ê-né	.. Nei.
Blue	.. .. .	I-chieh-la	.. Lau (-ch).
Blow to (wind)	.. Chu (mi hi chu) Ma chu = it is not blowing.	Mê-hei-chi	.. Mi-hi.
Boat	.. Li-t'u	.. Tei-lei	.. Li.
Book	.. .. .	.. .. .	Ssu-tse.
Bracelet	.. Leh-chü	.. .. .	La chu.
Bridge (rope)	.. .. .	Lo-hin	.. .. .
Bring	.. Ju-la	.. Tai-la	.. Te-le.
Broad	.. Wu	.. .. .	La-kua-hin.
Brother	.. A-yi	.. .. .	Ni-la.
Buffalo	.. A-nga	.. .. .	A-ná.
Call	.. Wu	.. T'i-ka-la	.. A-mi-la.
Candle	.. .. .	.. .. .	Tê-ho.
Cat	.. A-ni	.. A-ssu	.. A-ri-tse.
Chicken	.. A-ke	.. A-yeu'rh	.. Ai ya.
Chie	.. Mu-ka	.. Hsi-p'a	.. Se-p'a.
Child	.. Zu-rüeh	.. Za-né-za	.. Tsa-re'tsa.
Chinamas	.. Hê-p'a	.. Hê-p'a	.. Hê-p'a.
Coat	.. Poo-tse	.. Pei-ch'i	.. Mu-tse.
Cold	.. Ch'ieh (chieh ma chieh?)	Chieh'rh	.. Chia.
Come	.. La	.. La	.. La.
Cook (rice)	.. Tsa-ché	.. Tsa-chih'rh	.. Tsai tsa.
Copper	.. Chi	.. Chi	.. Chi.

	(I) Black Lisu, Salween Valley, Lat. 27°-30'.	(II) White Lisu, Salween Valley, Lat. 26°-15'.	(III) Hua Lisu, Kuyungkai Frontier, Lat. 25°-20'.
Cotton	.. Sasu	.. Sala	.. Sala.
Cow	.. .. .	.. A ni	.. A-ni.
Cross-bow	.. Ch'ieh	.. Ch'ieu'rh	.. Ch'ia.
Cup	.. Ssü-ké (wooden) I-ma- ké (porcelain).	.. Ts'a-pei tsa (Chinese)	.. Le-ke
Dance	.. Wa-k'e	.. .. .	.. Kun-t'ieh.
Dark	.. T'in-hein	.. .. .	.. Na-tsce-li.
Daughter	.. Za-mu-za	.. .. .	.. A-mi.
Day	.. T'iu-ni	.. .. .	.. Ni.
Deer	.. Ts'e	.. .. .	.. A-ma-lu.
Descend	.. Chin-pu-kêi	.. Tse-ts'e-kêr	.. Le-yêh.
Devil (or evil spirit)	.. Nieh	.. Nieh	.. Nieh.
Die	.. Shih-kou	.. Ssu-kou	.. A-ts'o-shih.
Dog	.. Anâ	.. Anâ	.. Anâ.
Door	.. Â-kê	.. Â-kê	.. Ka-k'ê.
Drink (wine)	.. To (chi-p'é-to)	.. To	.. To.
Dry	.. I-ch'üeh	.. Chi'rh	.. Fu-lueh.
Duck	.. .. .	.. Ê-'rh	.. Ein.
Ears	.. Nappo	.. Nâbo	.. Nâbo.
Ear-ring	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. Na-k'uo.
Earth	.. Menné (earth) Hami (land)	.. Hani	.. Ména (earth) La-pa-ch'i (land).
East	.. Mi-mi-to	.. .. .	.. .. .
Eat	.. Tsa-tsa	.. Tsa-tsa	.. Tsa-tsa.
Egg	.. A-le-fu	.. .. .	.. Ai-ya-k'u.
Eyes	.. Mieh-ssu	.. Mieh-ssu	.. Mieh-ssu.
Fall	.. Chu-po-tsei	.. Ts'ei	.. Ch'üeh.
Far	.. Wo-yüeh	.. Nö	.. Ngö-ja.
Father	.. Aba	.. Apa	.. Pa-Pa.
Father-in-law	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
Few	.. A-tieh-cho	.. Ni	.. Ni.
Field	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
Fire	.. A-to	.. A-to	.. A-to.
Fish	.. Wa	.. Wa	.. Ngwa.
Floor	.. Ma-hin	.. Ne-hei	.. Po-p'i.
Flour	.. Tsa-he	.. .. .	.. Lu-hê.
Flower	.. .. .	.. Ssu-wei	.. Ssu-wyeh.
Fly (to)	.. Pien-ké	.. Pye-kei	.. Pi.
Foot	.. Tchipé	.. Ch'ipê'rh	.. Chipê'rh.
Friend	.. Ke-ch'u	.. .. .	.. .. .
Fruit	.. Ssu-ssu	.. Ssu-chi	.. A-ku.
Get up (to)	.. Kê pu-tu	.. Tê-kei	.. Tu-a.
Girl	.. A mi	.. .. .	.. Lao mei.
Give	.. Nu t'a ko	.. Ko	.. Wa-ke.
Go	.. Kêi	.. Kêi	.. Chi-lo.
God	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. Emg-kua.

	(I) Black Lisu, Salween Valley, Lat. 27°-30'.	(II) White Lisu, Salween Valley, Lat. 26°-15'.	(III) Hua Lisu, Kuyungkai Frontier, Lat. 25°-20'.
Gold	Shih	Shih	Shih.
Good	Chi	Chi	Chi ; chüeh.
Good weather	Mu-ts'a tso	....	Mu kuo chia
Green	....	....	A-chih.
Grind (to)	Lu chüeh chüeh	....	Mo-ché.
Hair	O-ch'üeh	Wu-ch'é	Wu-ch'i.
Hand	Le-pé	Le-pé	La-kua.
Hat	La-ngung	Na-ho	La-hōn.
He	....	....	Nu.
Hear (to)	Pei-chua	Na-na-wa	Pei-cha.
Heavy	A-kê-li	A-kê-li	Li.
Hemp	Tse	Tse	Tse.
Here	T'a-pa	....	T'a-pa-ssu.
Honey	Pieh	Pieh	Pia.
Horse	A-mu	A-mu	A-mu.
Hot	Ch'a	Ch'a	Wa-ts'o.
House	Tsu-hin	Ngâ-hei	Hin.
I	Nga	Nga	Ngo.
Inside	Hin-kua	....	Na.
Iron	Ho	Ho	Huo.
Knife	A-t'a	A-t'a	A-t'a.
Know	Sé (sé ma sé = do you know ?)	Sé ni	....
Lance	Mieh-tu	....	Lam-t'a.
Laugh	Sé	Hê	Wa-si.
Leaf	Se-p'ieh	....	Sé-pieu'rh.
Left (hand)	Lieh-wu	Ê-tsa	La-ê.
Leg	Ch'i-pó	Ch'i pei'rh	P'i-hsien'rh.
Light	A-kê-yueh	A-kê-mà-li	Lo.
LISU	Lisu-p'a	Li-su	Li-su.
Love	A-ke-chi	....	Wa-ni-shih.
Long	Shih	Shih shih	A-cha-shih.
Low	Yüeh	....	Ê-en'rh.
LU TZU	Nu-p'a	Nu-p'a Sa-p'a (tame)	....
Maize	Shua	....	K'e-sha.
Make	Ma-yi	....	Yéh.
Mat	Ts'ou-tsa	Ts'o-tsa	La-ts'un.
Ma-loh	....	....	Ch'i po.
Mant	A-mich cho	Myêh	Myêh.
Mar	....	....	La-mu-ts'e.
Meat	Hua	....	Hua.
MINCHIA	La-peí	La-peí	....
Mouth	Ha-pa-t'i-ma	Ha-pa-t'i-ma	Ha-pa-t'i-ma.
Moon	Ha-pa	Mu-ko (Ha-pa = moonlight)	Ha-pa-chi.
Mother	A-ma	A-ma	Ma-ma.
Mountain	Wa-p'é	Ko	Wa-chi-la-ku.

	(I) Black Lisu, Salween Valley, Lat. 27°-30'.	(II) White Lisu, Salween Valley, Lat. 26°-15'.	(III) Hua Lisu, Kuyungkai Fron- tier, Lat. 25°-20'.
Mouth	.. K'ua-p'ei	.. K'ua-p'ei	.. Me-ne.
Mule	.. .. .	.. A-mu-lo-tzu	.. A-mu.
Music	.. Chi lü	.. .. .	.. .. .
Narrow	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. A-niu.
Near	.. T'ieh-kua	.. Ma-nö	.. P'a-t'ieh.
New	.. Yi-shih	.. Yi-shih	.. Yi-shih.
Night	.. Mu-k'é	.. Mei-woo	.. Mê-ti-ti.
No ; not	.. Ma	.. .. .	.. .. .
North	.. Ni-néh	.. .. .	.. .. .
Nose	.. Na-kê	.. Na-pé	.. Na-pé.
Now	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. Tieh-mo.
Numerals : One	.. T'i	.. T'ei	.. Chieh.
,, Two	.. Nieh	.. Nieh	.. Nieh.
,, Three	.. Sa	.. Sa	.. Sa.
,, Four	.. Li	.. Li	.. Li.
,, Five	.. Ngwa	.. Wa	.. Ngo.
,, Six	.. Tso	.. Ts'ö	.. Ts'ö.
,, Seven	.. Shih	.. Ssu	.. Shih.
,, Eight	.. Hei	.. Hei	.. Hin'rh.
,, Nine	.. Ku	.. Ku	.. Ku.
,, Ten	.. Ts'e	.. Ch'i	.. Ts'e.
,, Eleven	.. Ts'e-t'i	.. Ch'i-tei	.. Ts'e-t'i.
,, Twelve	.. Ts'e-ni	.. Ch'i-nieh	.. Ts'e-ni.
,, Twenty	.. Ni-ts'e	.. Ni-ch'i	.. Ni-ts'e.
,, Hundred	.. T'ing-hei	.. T'u-hâ	.. T'ing-hsien'rh.
,, Thousand	.. Ti-tu	.. Ch'i-hâ	.. T'i-ta.
Old (men)	.. Ts'ö-mu	.. Mo	.. Mo.
Old (things)	.. I-lü	.. Yi-pé	.. Yi-pé.
Outside	.. Nü-ssu	.. .. .	.. Mi-ssu.
Ox	.. A-ni	.. .. .	.. A-ni.
Panther	.. La-sa	.. La	.. La-ma.
Peach	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. Sê-ô.
Pear	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. Shih-chih.
Pheasant	.. Tao-ku-lüeh	.. .. .	.. Li-su.
Pig	.. A-vé	.. A-vé	.. A-vé.
Pipe	.. Yeh-kua	.. .. .	.. Ko.
Plum	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. Se-li.
Poison	.. Tu	.. To	.. To.
Poor	.. Ti-chi-li-ma-cho	.. .. .	.. Ts'ö-sha.
Pork	.. A-vé-hua	.. A-vé-hua	.. A-vé-hua.
Pretty	.. A-kê-pi	.. .. .	.. Pia.
Quick	.. A-mi	.. .. .	.. A-mi.
Rain	.. Ma-ha-(li)-to	.. Ma-ha-sé	.. Mé-ha-hao.
Read (to)	.. .. .	.. T'on-ni	.. Ssu-tse-k'ê.
Red	.. Ssu-ssu	.. Hsi	.. Ni.
Rice	.. Tsa	.. Tsa-pu	.. Tsa.

	(I) Black Lisu, Salween Valley. Lat. 27°-30'.	(II) White Lisu, Salween Valley. Lat. 26°-15'.	(III) Hua Lisa, Kuyungkai Fron- tier, Lat. 25°-20'.
Rich	.. T'su-po	.. .. .	Ts'o-po.
Ride (a horse)	.. (A-mu) tsê	.. (A-mu) tsou	.. (A-mu) tsê.
Right	.. .. .	.. .. .	La-ja.
River	.. Nêh-yi; I-ma	.. Nêh-ta-ma (big); I-ma (small).	Na-yi.
Road	.. Chieh-ku	.. .. .	La-ku.
Run	.. K'eh	.. .. .	A-mi-ô.
Salt	.. Ts'a-po	.. Ts'a-po	.. Ts'a-po.
See (to)	.. Mo	.. Ni-wa	.. .. .
Sheep	.. A-ch'ê	.. A-ch'ê	.. A-ju.
Short	.. Tu	.. Nye-Nye	.. Ê-nya.
Silver	.. P'u	.. P'u	.. P'u.
Sit	.. Ni-ta	.. Nge-tse-ke	.. Ni-na.
Sky	.. Mêh-wo	.. Wu-sa	.. Mu-kua.
Slave	.. Ch'u-pa	.. .. .	Chüeh-pa.
Sleep	.. .. .	.. .. .	I-ta.
Small	.. A-ti	.. A-li-tsa	.. A-tin.
Snake	.. Fu	.. .. .	Fu.
Snow	.. Wa (Wa li = to snow)	.. Wa	.. .. .
Son	.. A-tse	.. Hsi-p'a-tsa	.. A-pi.
Song	.. .. .	.. .. .	Mu kuo pu.
Soul	.. Haug	.. .. .	.. .. .
South	.. Yi-mêh	.. .. .	.. .. .
Speak	.. Pei-mu	.. Sa-t'ei	.. Sha t'üeh.
Spear	.. Mieh-sü	.. Po	.. .. .
Stand (to)	.. Hîn-ta	.. Hei-tse-ke	.. Hîn'rh ta.
Star	.. Ku-mê-sê	.. Mê-sa	.. Ku-sa.
Stick	.. .. .	.. Hsi-ken'rh	.. Sê-ta.
Stomach	.. Hi-ma	.. Hei-ma	.. Hîn-chi.
Stone	.. Lu-ti	.. Lo-ti	.. A-ch'i.
Strike (to)	.. .. .	.. .. .	A-mi-tu.
Summer	.. .. .	.. .. .	Mê-shi.
Sun	.. Mu-ts'a	.. Mê-ch'a	.. Mi-mi.
Swim	.. .. .	.. Ê-che-ko	.. I-chia-chih.
Sword	.. A-t'a	.. A-t'a	.. A-t'ong-ch'u.
Table	.. Sha-la	.. Cho-tzu (Chinese)	.. Cho-tzu (Chinese).
Talk	.. Mu	.. .. .	Mu.
Teeth	.. .. .	.. .. .	Ts'e-chu'rh.
There	.. Ko-pa	.. .. .	Ko-pa-ssu.
Throw	.. Lo-ti-lo	.. .. .	Lo.
Thunder (to)	.. .. .	.. .. .	Mu-kuo-pei.
Thou	.. Nu	.. Nu.	.. .. .
Up (to)	.. Ts'o	.. .. .	Ts'o.
They	.. La-ma	.. La-ma	.. La-ma.
To-day	.. Ni-mi	.. Ni-ni	.. Ni-ni.
To-morrow	.. Se-ke	.. Sa-ni	.. Sa-na.

	(I) Black Lisu, Salween Valley, Lat. 27°-30'.	(II) White Lisu, Salween Valley, Lat. 26°-15'.	(III) Hua Lisu, Kuyungkai Fron- tier, Lat. 25°-30'.
To-morrow (day after)	...	....	Wa-ni.
Tobacco	.. Ts'a-p'ò	.. ....	Kua-yen.
Tomb	.. Ha-ku-tu	.. Lei-tsu	.. ....
Tongue	.. La-ch'ueh	.. ....	....
Tree	.. ....	.. ....	....
Trousers	.. Mu-ch'i	.. Mê-ch'i	.. Mi-ch'i.
Turban	.. ....	.. Wu-t'ö	.. Wu-t'ö.
Ugly	.. Ma-pi	.. ....	Ma-pi.
Village	.. K'ê	.. K'ê'rh (small); K'e ta ma (big).	Chih.
Want	.. A-t'a-ko	.. Wa-no	.. Ti-kê-la.
Water	.. A-chia	.. Ê-chieu'rh	.. I-chia.
Weep	.. Ngu	.. Ngu	.. K'ua.
West	.. Mi-mi-mi	.. ....	....
Wet	.. I-tse	.. P'a	.. I-ch'ih.
Wheat	.. ....	.. ....	Lu.
White	.. Pou-Pou	.. I-p'u	.. Yu-p'u.
Wife	.. ....	.. ....	La-mu.
Wind	.. Mi-hi	.. Mê-hei	.. Mi-hi.
Wine	.. Chi-pê	.. ....	Chi-p'ê.
Winter	.. ....	.. ....	Mu-ts'u.
Woman	.. Tsa-me (-in)	.. Tsa-me	.. Tsa mu; tsa.
Wood	.. Ssu	.. Hsi ken'rh	.. Ssu-ta.
Write	.. ....	.. T'ou-po	.. T'ou-po.
Year	.. K'o	.. K'o	.. Chieh-ko.
Yellow	.. Shih	.. ....	Shih.
You	.. Nu	.. ....	Nu.

The men are coming.

The men are going.

He has gone.

Go!

Let them go.

Is this a good woman?

This is a good man.

What do you call this?

What is your name?

I do not know.

How far is it to the village?

It is a journey of one day.

I want some water.

Tell him to light a fire.

I am hungry; give me food.

By day we eat; by night we sleep.

Where is my horse?

La ts'o la.

La ts'o cho.

La ts'o cho.

A-mi cha.

Nua mi cha.

Lisu ma chi ma chi.

La-tso chin.

A-t'i ma shih.

Nua shih shih.

Wo mo ssu.

Ne wa-ka a-ke cho la.

Tin yi cho.

I-chia na-lo.

A-to a-ti tzu.

Wa-hé mé la : tsa-tsa kei.

Ma-la tsa-tsa : mu-ke i-ta.

A-mu la-tia.

Show me the way.	Cha ku ho ma-ke chi-la.
I want to buy a chicken and some eggs.	Wa ch'ih ti a-ya a-ya ho-wo.
Tell him to come here.	Chia ch'a lao.
Bring me some water (wine).	A-chieh ju-la (chi-pé ju-la).
To cross a bridge.	Lo-hin kei.
To go (along a road).	Chieh ku-ssu.
On the other side of the river.	Nei-yi ko-pa.
To go.	Kei.
Not to go.	Ma-kei.
Where?	A-li kua.
Is there a bridge?	Lo-hin cho ma cho.
There is none.	Ma-cho.
Have you seen my horse?	A-mu mo ma mo.
Go slowly (the greeting of the road).	A-tza tso chieh.
—answer.	Nui-nui na-to.

Annex II.

	3 Black Lisu men.	3 Hua Lisu women.	9 Hua Lisu men.	
Average height, standing ..	..	1'517 cms.	1'595 cms.	....
.. height, sitting ..	..	1'282 ..	..	....
.. height, kneeling ..	..	..	..	1'206 (4 Hua Lisu men).
.. "Grande envergure" ..	..	..	..	1'73'2 cms. (3 Hua Lisu men).
.. cephalic Index ¹ ..	75'9	75'9	75'5	....
.. bimaxillary breadth ..	10'8 cms.	10'6 ..	10'7 cms.	....
.. maximum bizygomatic breadth.	12'9 ..	13'0 ..	13'3 ..	....
.. nasal height ..	..	4'63 ..	4'93 ..	....
.. nasal width ..	..	3'70 ..	3'88 ..	....
.. bi-orbital breadth ..	10'27 ..	10'03 ..	10'79 ..	....
.. orbito-nasal arc ..	11'2	10'8	..	11'5 (6 Hua Lisu men).
.. height from vertex to the root of the nose.	..	..	7'27 ..	....
.. height from vertex to tragus.	..	..	12'5 ..	....
.. height from vertex to clin.	..	..	21'2 ..	....
.. bi-iliac crest breadth ..	..	..	..	25'5 (6 Hua Lisu men).
.. length of left foot ..	..	22'9 cms.	21'9 ..	....
.. length of middle finger, left hand.	..	9'5 ..	9'8 ..	....

The Lisu skull, therefore, comes into Broca's sub-dolichocephalic division: see Topinard, "Anthropology," p. 240.

The instruments used in these observations were kindly sent by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The measurements were based on Sir H. Risley's instructions: see Manual of Anthropometry by Sir Herbert Risley, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Director of Ethnography for India.

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- PLATE 9. Map showing the distribution of the Lisu tribes.



Fig 1.



Fig 2.

"BLACK" LISU CHIEF from the UPPER SALWEEN.
wearing buttonless hempen coat and deerskin hat.



Fig 3.

"BLACK" LISUS from the UPPER SALWEEN.



Fig 1.

YOUNG HUA LISU CHIEF with his wife.
The man holds a cross-bow, the national weapon of the Lisu people.



Fig 2.

HUA LISU GIRLS. showing the many coloured head-dress and skirt which has led the Chinese to designate these sections of the tribe as "Hua" or "flowery" Lisu. A boy holding a cross-bow also appears in the photograph.



Fig 1.
LISU MAN AND WIFE (an arrow is struck through the head dress of the man).



Fig 2.
A TYPICAL LISU of the BURMA-CHINA FRONTIER



Fig 1.

“FLOWERY“ (HUA) LISU. Women and Girls.



Fig 2.

LISU VILLAGE SCENE, KU-YNG-KAI DISTRICT

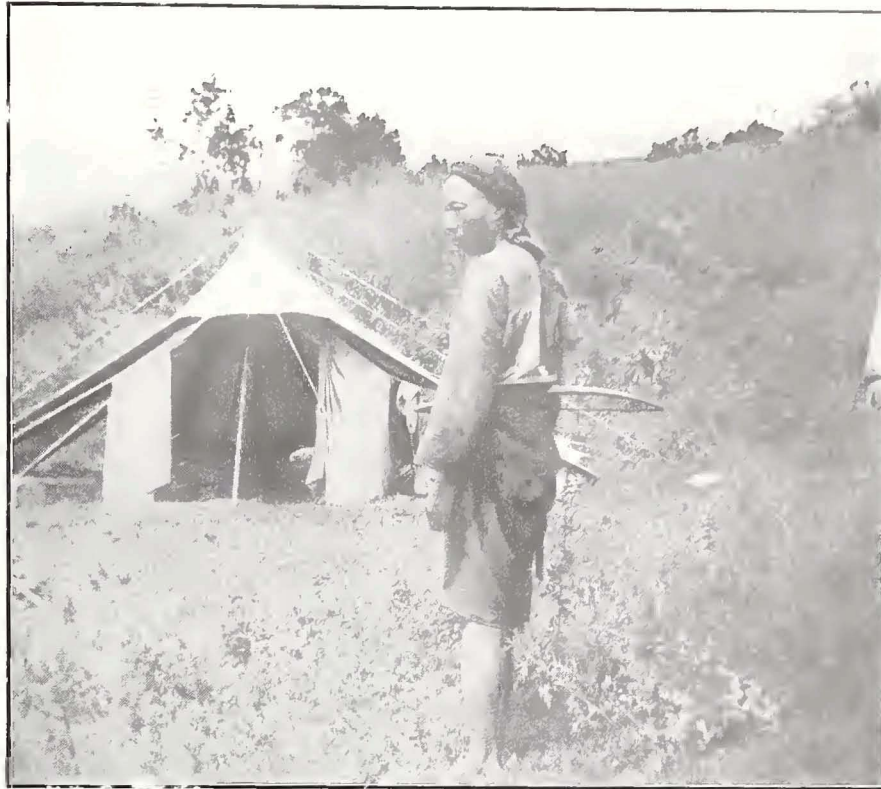


Fig 1.
YOUNG LISU CROSS-BOW MAN (showing quiver of deer skin).



Fig 2.
Lisu cross bow practice at a flying target.



Fig 1.

LISU of UPPER BURMA.



Fig 2.

LISU playing gourd pipes.



Fig 3.

LISUS of MYITKYINA DISTRICT.



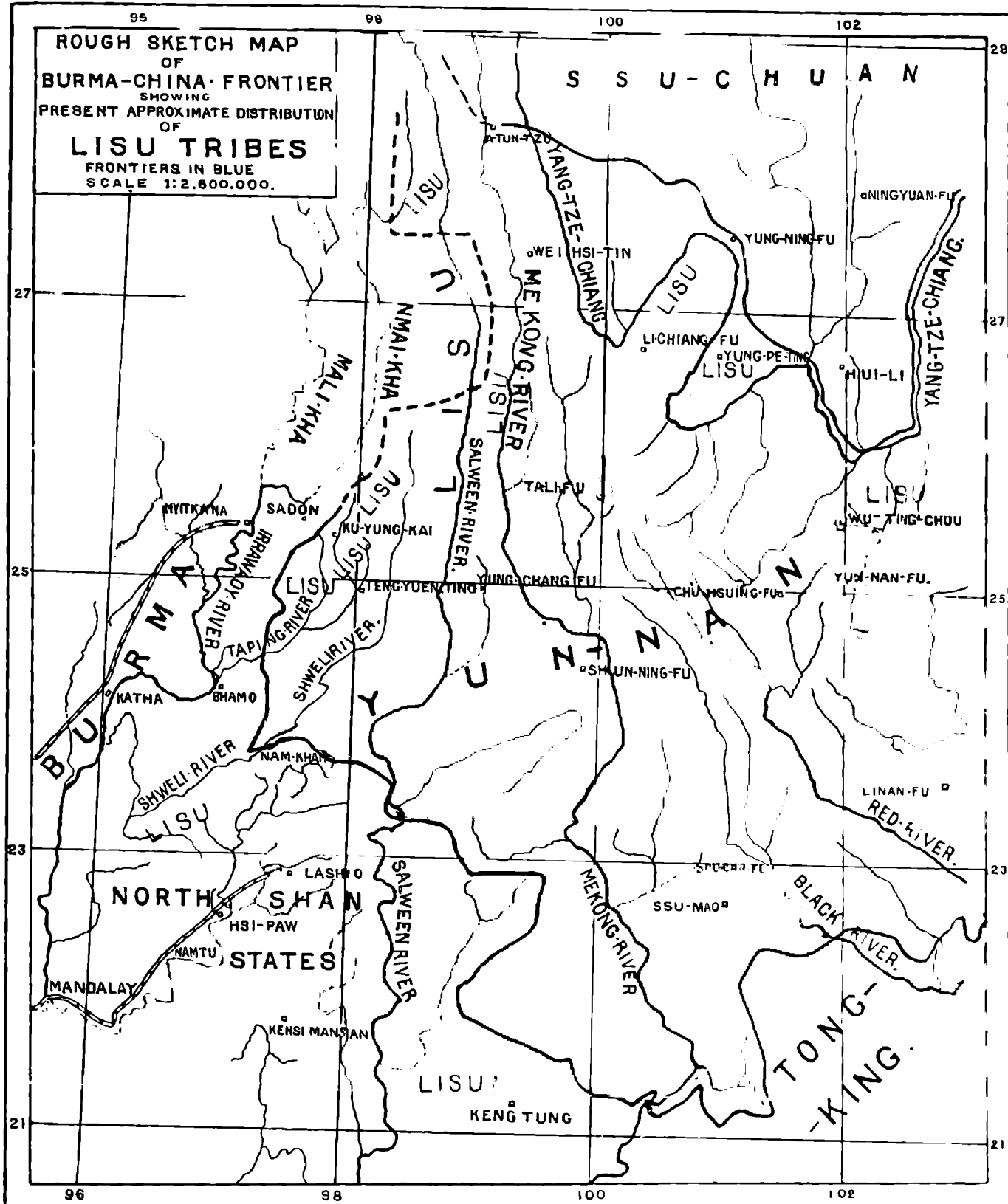
Fig 1.

CHRISTIAN LISUS.



Fig 2.

LISUS NEAR SADON, UPPER BURMA.



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THE VYAVAHÂRA-MÂTRIKÂ OF JIMUTAVĀHANA.

BY

THE HON. JUSTICE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE, SARASWATI, Kt., C.S.I., M.A.,
D.L., D.Sc., F.R.A.S., F.R.S.E., F.A.S.B.



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PREFATORY NOTE.

The following pages contain the *editio princeps* of the Vyavahara-Matrika or Nyaya-Matrika of Jimutavahana, the founder of the Bengal School of Hindu Law. The work by which Jimutavahana is familiarly known is the Dayabhaga or Treatise on Inheritance, which is a fragment of an Institute of Hindu Law called Dharmaratna, the major portion of which can no longer be traced. Another work of Jimutavahana, called *Kalavivek*, has been edited for the Society and published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* by Professor Pramathanath Tarkabhusan. The work now published is one of fundamental importance and deals with the principles of Hindu Jurisprudence. Three manuscripts of the work are known to be in existence—one in the Library of the Society (A. S.), another in the Library of the India Office (I), and the third in the Library of the Maharaja of Kashmir (K). The text reproduced here is based on the first two manuscripts. Both of these, however, are hopelessly corrupt in places, and the errors common to them seem to indicate that the manuscripts were derived from the same archetype. The third manuscript, unfortunately, is not available, as the Kashmir authorities will, on no account, send out the manuscript here. I have, therefore, been obliged to rely on a copy of that manuscript specially prepared for my use, which procedure is always more or less unsatisfactory as there is invariably some uncertainty as to the amount of personal equation to be allowed for the copyist. A definitive edition of the text, therefore, is out of the question at the present stage and with the materials now available. The publication of the present paper, however, may direct attention to the subject which is of undoubted interest and importance, and this may, I hope, also lead to the discovery of fresh manuscripts. The text will be followed up by a translation accompanied by illustrative notes, but I may, meanwhile, briefly indicate one or two points of some interest.

Jimutavahana quotes freely from the works of juristic writers who preceded him. The following tabular statement gives the names of the principal authors quoted, as also the number of times they are referred to and the number of passages attributed to each author which are not traceable in their extant writings :

	Name of author quoted.	No. of times quoted.	No. of passages not found in extant works.
1. Manu	.. .. .	40	7
2. Vishnu	{ Sutra	13	1
	{ Sloka	13	5
3. Yajnavalkya	.. .. .	34	2
4. Harita	.. .. .	1	1
5. Pitamaha	.. .. .	1	1

Name of author quoted.						No. of times quoted.	No. of passages not found in extant works.
6.	Narada	..	..	..	..	107	16
7.	Sambartha	..	..	..	..	3	3
8.	Katyayana	..	..	..	..	137	137
9.	Vrihaspati	..	..	..	..	127	127
10.	Vyasa	..	..	..	..	36	36
11.	Vrihat-Katyayana	..	..	..	..	1	1
12.	Sankha	..	..	..	..	3	3
13.	Likhita	..	..	..	..	3	3
14.	Usana	..	..	..	..	1	1
15.	Gautama	..	..	..	..	4	4
16.	Yama	..	..	..	..	4	4
17.	Prajapati	..	..	..	..	1	1
18.	Kaundilya	..	..	..	..	6	6
19.	Vrihad-Vasishta	..	..	..	..	1	1
20.	Vridhha-Satatapa	..	..	..	..	4	4
						—	—
						540	364
						—	—

Thus, out of the 40 quotations from Manu, 7 cannot be traced in the Institutes which have come down to us, and in the case of Narada, out of 107 quoted, 16 can not be similarly traced. But the most remarkable instances are those of Katyayana, Vrihaspati and Vyasa. Of the first of these, 137 passages are quoted, of the second 127, and of the third 36. Not one of these can be traced in the writings now extant and attributed to these authors. The inference seems irresistible that the Institutes of these authors have come down to us in a very fragmentary form, and that in fact the division which dealt with Jurisprudence has almost entirely disappeared.

As regards the subject-matter of the Book, three points deserve special mention. Jimutavahana deals at great length with the question of the acquisition of title by prescription, and sustains the position that an owner who has been kept out of his property without his knowledge ought not to lose his title thereto. As regards the adoption of an only son, Jimutavahana apparently favours its absolute invalidity, and it is rather unfortunate that the British Courts should have finally decided this question without knowledge of the views of Jimutavahana on the subject. Lastly, as regards the Law of Evidence, we have an elaborate discussion, much in advance of what is contained in other works on Hindu Law.

I may add that Jimutavahana refers to a number of Jurists not mentioned by any other author, for instance, Jitendriya, Yogloka, Balaka, Viswarupa, Srikara, Manjarikar. Of one of these, Yogloka, he controverts the views frequently, and in one instance where he does this, his views were subsequently controverted by Chintamani, which would seem to indicate that Jimutavahana preceded Chintamani. If this position is sustained, the question of the period when Jimutavahana flourished will require reconsideration.

The following abbreviations have been used :—

A.S. = MS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society.

I = MS. in the Library of the India Office.

K = MS. in the Library of the Maharaja of Kashmir.

O = Not traced in existing texts of the author from whom the quotation purports to have been made.

S.B.E. = Sacred Books of the East Series.

A. M.

The Vyavahāra Mātrikā of Jimutavāhana.

By The Hon. Mr. JUSTICE ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE, SARASWATI, C.S.I., M.A.,
D.L., D.Sc., F.R.A.S., F.R.S.E.

व्यवहारमातृका ।

श्रीद्विषो जयति ।

व्यवहारमातृकैषा सकलविवादेषु धर्मवादार्यम् ।

लोकद्वयेऽपि रक्षति सुतमिव शुश्रूषया माता ।

तत्र विवादविषयानाह नारदः ।¹

ऋणादानं ह्युपनिधिः सम्भूयोत्यानमेव च ।

दत्तस्य पुनरादानं शुश्रूषामभ्युपेत्य च ॥

वेतनस्याऽनपाकर्म्म तथैवाऽस्वामिविक्रयः ।

विक्रीयाऽसम्प्रदानञ्च क्रीतानुग्रय एव च ॥

समयस्याऽनपाकर्म्म विवादः क्षेत्रजस्तथा ।

स्त्रीपुंसयोश्च सम्बन्धो दायभागोऽथ साहसम् ॥

वाक्पाह्यन्तथैवोक्तं दण्डपाह्यमेव च ।

द्यूतं प्रकीर्णकञ्चैवेत्यष्टादशपदः स्मृतः ॥

एवमष्टादशपदानि व्यवहारस्य । तत्र धनविषयश्चतुर्दशधा, हिंसामूलश्चतुर्धा ।

तदाऽऽह बृहस्पतिः² ।

द्विपदोव्यवहारश्च धनहिंसासमुद्भवः ।

द्विसप्तधाऽर्थमूलश्च हिंसामूलश्चतुर्विधः ॥

ऋणादानमवसरे वक्ष्यामः

एते तु विवादपदाः पूर्वं नासन् । तदाह नारदः³ ।

¹ Narada, page 9, Part 1, Chap. I, Ver. 17—2). (Jolly) Sanskrit Text, see Sl. 16—19. I=K. reads अवसंवेक्ष्यामः ।

² O

³ Narada, Part 1, Chap. I, Ver. 2. A.S. reads यदा for सदा ।

“धर्मैकतानाः पुरुषाः सदाऽऽमन् सत्यवादिनः ।

तदा न व्यवहारोऽभून्न द्वेषो नाऽपि मत्सरः ॥

धर्मैकतानाः धर्मप्रवणाः ।

सत्यादिषु युगेषु यदा पुरुषा आसन् तदा व्यवहारोविवादो न भूतः, सम्प्रति तु कलौ युगे यथा तदाऽऽह¹ ।

“धर्मं नष्टे मनुष्याणां राजा दण्डधरः स्मृतः” ।

नष्टे पराजयिनि, यस्माद्राज्ञा स्वधर्मरक्षणार्थं दण्डः कार्यः तस्मात् स्वयमेव वादिप्रतिवादिनोरन्यतरस्य न्यायान्यायञ्च निरूपयितुं युक्तमिति कृत्वा दण्डधर इत्युक्तं ।

दण्ड-कर्त्तव्यतामाह याज्ञवल्क्यः² ।

यो दण्ड्यान् दण्डयेद्राजा सम्यक् दण्ड्यांश्च घातयेत् ।

इष्टं स्यात्क्रतुभिस्तेन सहस्रशतदक्षिणैः ॥

इति सञ्चिन्त्य नृपतिः क्रतुतुल्यफलं पृथक् ।

व्यवहारान् स्वयं पश्येत् सभ्यैः परिवृतोऽन्वहम् ॥

स्वयञ्च न्यायदर्शनं यथा कार्यं तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः³ ।

“विनीतवेगोनृपतिः सभां गत्वा समाहितः ।

आसीनः प्राङ्मुखोभूत्वा पश्येत्कार्याणि कार्थिणाम् ?” ॥

सह सभ्यैः स्थिरैर्युक्तः प्रजामूलैर्द्विजोत्तमैः ।

धर्मशास्त्रार्थकुशलैरर्थशास्त्रविशारदैः ॥

स प्राङ्निवाकः सामात्यः सभ्राह्मणपुरोहितः ।

समभ्यः प्रेचको राजा स्वर्गं तिष्ठति धर्मतः ॥

विनीतवेगे हि नृपतौ प्रतिभाक्षयाभावात् यथातत्त्वं वादिप्रतिवादिनौ वदितुमीशान्ते नाऽन्यथेति । तथाचोक्तं ।

सभाये हिताः सभ्यास्तैः स्थिरैर्धर्मनिश्चलचित्तैरभेदैरित्यर्थः, धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोरविरोधेन न्यायदर्शनं कार्यं इत्युभयोरुपादानं ।

असमाधेयविरोधे तु शास्त्रमेवाऽऽदरणीयं तस्य बलवत्त्वादिति वक्ष्यति ।

प्राङ्निवाकं विविनक्ति कात्यायनः⁴ ।

“व्यवहाराश्रितं प्रश्नं पृच्छति प्राडिति स्थितिः ।

विवेचयति यस्तस्मिन् प्राङ्निवाकस्ततः स्मृतः ॥”

¹ Narada, I, 3. A.S. reads नष्टे धर्मं मनुष्याणां व्यवहारः प्रवर्तते ।

² Yajnavalkya (Mand), Ch. 1, Ver. 358, 59, 60, reads वध्यान् for दण्ड्यान् and समाप्तवरदक्षिणौ for सहस्रशतदक्षिणैः ।

अर्थिन् भाषा ते कौदृशी प्रत्यर्थिस्तवापि कौदृशमुत्तरं इति पृच्छतीति प्राट्, श्रुत्वा च युक्तायुक्तं विविनक्तौति विवाकः । विचार्य वा जयपराजयरूपं विविधमथं वक्तौति विवाकः ।

प्राडित्यनेन सह प्राड्विवाकः । रागद्वेषौ विहाय न्यायदर्शनं कार्यमित्याह नारदः¹ ।

राजा मन्त्रिसहायस्तु द्वयोर्विवदमानयोः ।

सम्यक् कार्याण्यवेक्षेत रागद्वेषविवर्जितः ॥

²धर्मणोद्धरतो राज्ञो व्यवहारान् कृतात्मनः ।

सन्तन्वन्ति गुणाः सप्त सप्त वज्जेरिवार्चिषः ॥

धर्मस्वार्थश्च कौर्त्तिश्च लोकपक्तिरूपग्रहः ।

प्रजाभ्योवज्जमानञ्च स्वर्गं स्थानञ्च शाश्वतम् ॥

तस्माद्धर्मासनं प्राप्य राजा विगतमत्सरः ।

समः स्यात् सर्वभूतेषु विभ्रदैवस्वतं व्रतम् ॥

वैवस्वतव्रतं धर्मराजव्रतं । तथा नारदकात्यायनौ यमश्च । प्रथमः³ ।

“ अतिस्मृतिविरुद्धञ्च भूतानामहितञ्च यत् ।

न तत्प्रवर्त्तयेद्राजा प्रवृत्तञ्च निवर्त्तयेत् ॥

न्यायाद्गतं यदन्येन राज्ञा ज्ञानकृतं भवेत् ।

तदप्याज्ञाय विहिते पुनर्न्याये निवेशयेत् ॥

स्वयं वा अग्रास्वतो निरूपितं नृपत्यन्तरेण वा अज्ञानकृतं व्यवहारं शास्त्रविहितेन वर्त्मना पुनर्निरूपयेत् । यदातु व्यग्रतया स्वयं न्यायदर्शनासमर्थो राजा, तदा यादृशो नियोज्यस्तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः⁴ ॥

यदि कार्यवशाद् राजा न पश्येत्कार्यनिर्णयम् ।

तदा नियुञ्जाञ्ज्याद्विदासं ब्राह्मणं वेदपारगम् ॥

दान्तं कुलीनं मध्यस्थमनुद्देगकरं स्थिरम् ।

परत्र भीरुं धर्मिष्ठमुद्युक्तं क्रोधवर्जितम् ॥

ब्राह्मणाभावे चत्रियं तदभावे वैश्यं । तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः⁵ ।

यदि विप्रो न विद्वान् स्यात् चत्रियं तत्र योजयेत् ।

वैश्यं वा धर्मशास्त्रज्ञं शूद्रं यत्नेन वर्जयेत् ॥

¹ O

² Narada, Ch. I, 32—34, reads सम्भवन्ति for सन्तन्वन्ति .

³ Narada, Ch. XVII, 8, 9, reads न्यायापेतं for न्यायाद्गतं and तदप्यन्यायविहितं for तदप्याज्ञाय-विहिते . O in यमः and कात्यायन .

⁴ O

⁵ O

तथा मनुः ।

“जातिमात्रोपजीवी स्यात्कामं स्याद्ब्राह्मणब्रुवः ।

धर्मप्रवक्ता नृपतेर्नशूद्रः स्यात्कथञ्चन” ॥

शूद्रस्यात्यन्तनिषेधाथं वचनमिदं, न तु ब्राह्मणब्रुवविधानाथं । ब्राह्मणब्रुवमाह बृहस्पतिः² ।

“धर्मकर्मविहीनस्तु ब्राह्मैर्लिङ्गैर्विवर्जितः ।

ब्रवीति ब्राह्मणोऽस्मीति तमाहुर्ब्राह्मणब्रुवम्” ॥

न चैवंविधोधर्मनिरूपणचमोऽधिकारी वा । शूद्रे निरूपके दोषमाह मनुः³ ।

“यस्य राजस्तु कुरुते शूद्रोधर्मविवेचनं ।

तस्य सीदति तद्राष्ट्रं पङ्के गौरिव पश्यतः” ॥

तथा व्यासः⁴ ।

“द्विजान् विहाय यः पश्येत् कार्याणि वृषलैः सह ।

तस्य प्रचुभ्यते राष्ट्रं बलं कोषश्च नश्यति” ॥

सभासदां स्वरूपमाह नारदः⁵ ।

धर्मशास्त्रार्थकुशलाः कुलीनाः सत्यवादिनः ।

समाः शत्रौ च मित्रे च नृपतेः सुः सभामदः ॥

एतेषां संख्यामाह बृहस्पतिः⁶ ।

“वेदवेदाङ्गतत्त्वज्ञाः सप्त पञ्च त्रयोऽपि वा ।

यत्रोपविष्टा विप्राय्याः सा यज्ञमदृशी सभा” ॥

भा दीप्तिः प्रकाशो ज्ञानमिति यावत्, तथा सह वर्तते या भूमिः सा सभा । विद्वदधिष्ठानेन , ह भूमिरपि प्रकाशनहितेति व्यपदिश्यते ।

विद्वत्समितिरेव या तथेति सभोच्यते (?)

त्रयोऽपि वेत्यधमकोटिरियं । राज्ञा चाऽधिष्ठिता सभा गरीयसीत्याह तुर्मनुकात्यायनौ⁷ ।

कुलानि श्रेणयश्चैव गणस्त्वधिकृतो नृपः ।

प्रतिष्ठाव्यवहाराणां गुर्व्भ्यस्त्रत्तरोत्तरम् ॥

कुलं वादिप्रतिवादिनोः स्वकुलं । श्रेणयः शिल्पिवणिगादिसमूहः । गणो विप्रादिसमूहः । अधिकृतो नृपतिवन्दितः प्राङ्निवाकादिः । नृपतिरेव वा स्वयं निरूपयति । पूर्वं पूर्वं च दुर्बलं उत्तरमुत्तरं गरीयः ।

¹ Manu, VIII, 20, reads वा for स्यात् . S.B.E., Vol. XXV (page 255). ² O

³ Manu, VIII, 21, S.B.E., Vol. XXV (page 256).

⁴ O

⁵ Narada, III, 5 (page 41). ⁶ O

⁷ Narada, I, 7 ; O in Manu and Katyayana.

दुर्बलेन व्यवहारे दृष्टे भग्नस्य पुनर्न्यायं प्रार्थयमानस्य न्यायो गुरुणा द्रष्टव्यः । न तु गुरुणा दृष्टे दुर्बलेन, राज्ञा दृष्टसु नाऽन्यैः । किन्तु स्वयमेव विचारयेत् । भ्रमादिनिरामार्थमन्यो वा नृपतिस्तद्देहीयः । तत्तु प्रथम-निर्णयस्थानोक्तभाषोत्तरपरामर्शादेव भाषोत्तरं ग्राह्यं असम्यग्दर्शननिमित्तत्वात् स्थानान्तरग्रहणस्य, अन्यथा एकस्मिन् स्थाने मिथोत्तरोत्तरेण भग्नस्य पुनः प्रत्यवस्कन्दनमुत्तरं स्यात् । तदा च

“ क्रियां बलवतीमुक्त्वा दुर्बलां योऽवलम्बते ।

स जयेऽवष्टते सभ्यैः पुनस्तां नाऽऽप्नुयात् क्रिया”मिति ॥

¹ कात्यायनवचनेन विरुद्धेत । येषान्तु समयदेव बद्धशो व्यवस्था तेषां समयज्ञैरेव व्यवहारस्य निर्णयः कर्त्तव्यः, यथा वृहस्पतिः² ।

“ कौनाशाः कारुका मत्ताः कुसीदश्रेणिवर्त्तकाः ।

लिङ्गिनस्तस्कराश्चैव खेन धर्मेण निर्णयः” ॥

कौनाशाः कृषीवलाः, कारुकाः शिल्पी, उपलक्षणमेतत्, अन्योऽपि तद्व्यवहारज्ञो निर्णीतः । तदभिज्ञत्वस्य हेतोरविशेषात् । पुनराह³,

“ यत्वरण्यचरास्तेषां शरण्यकरणम्भवेत् ।

सेनायां सैनिकानान्तु सार्थं तु वणिजान्तया ” ॥

तथा वृहस्पतिकात्यायनौ⁴ ।

“ तपस्विनान्तु कार्याणि त्रैविद्यैरेव कारयेत् ।

मायायोगविदाश्चैव न स्वयं कोपकारणात् ” ॥

निगदव्याख्यातं, तथा मतुः⁵ ।

“ आश्रमेषु द्विजातीनां कार्यं त्रिविदतां मिथः ।

न विब्रूयान्नृपो धर्मं चिकीर्षन् हितमात्मनः” ॥

“ यथार्हमेतानभ्यर्त्तयन् ब्राह्मणैः पार्थिवः स्वयम् ।

सत्त्वेन प्रथमय्याऽऽदौ स्वधर्मं प्रतिपादयेत् ” ॥

असार्थः । त्रिदण्डैर्दण्डाश्रमविवादिषु स्वयं निरूपयेत् । ब्राह्मणैरित्युपादानात् तैरपि निरूपणीयं । मिथोऽन्योऽन्यं । द्विजातीनामित्युपादानात् पाषण्डैः सहाऽऽश्रमविवादिषु तु ब्रूयादेव धर्ममित्यर्थः । श्रेष्ठं सुगमं । अथ सभ्यानां फलश्रुतिः । तत्र नारदः⁶ ।

“ शुद्धेषु व्यवहारेषु शुद्धिं यान्ति सभासदः ।

शुद्धिश्च तेषां धर्माद्धि धर्ममेव वदेत्ततः” ॥

¹ O

² O

³ O

⁴ O

⁵ Manu, VIII, 39), 391, reads ब्राह्मणैः सह पार्थिवः, for ब्राह्मणैः पार्थिवः स्वयम् and सान्त्वेन for सत्त्वेन, S.B.E., Vol. XXV (pages 319—320).

⁶ Narada, III, 7 (page 42).

यथा बृहस्पतिः¹ ।

“अज्ञानतिमिरोपेतान् सन्देहपटलान्वितान् ।
निरामयान् यान् कुरुते शास्त्राच्चनशलाकया ॥
इह कीर्त्तिं राजपूजां लभते स्वर्गतञ्च सः ।
तस्मात् संशयमूढानां कर्त्तव्यो हि विनिर्णयः” ॥

तत्र नारदः² ।

“नाऽनियुक्तेन वक्तव्यं व्यवहारे कथञ्चन ।
नियुक्तेन च वक्तव्यमरचापतितं वचः” ॥

अथ बृहस्पतिः³ ।

“लोभद्वेषादिकं त्यक्त्वा यः कुर्यात् कर्मनिर्णयम् ।
शास्त्रोदितेन विधिना तस्य धर्मफलमवेत्” ॥

शास्त्रञ्च द्विविधं धर्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रञ्च, तदुभयाविरोधेन व्यवहारदर्शनं कार्यम् । तदाह नारदः⁴ ।

“धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्राभ्यामविरोधेन पार्थिवः ।
समीक्षमाणो निपुनं व्यवहारं गतिं नयेत्” ॥

विप्रतिपत्तौ पुनराह नारदः⁵ ।

“यत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः स्याद्धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोः ।
अर्थशास्त्रार्थमुत्सृज्य धर्मशास्त्रार्थमाचरेत्” ॥

धर्मशास्त्रयोरेव तु लोकस्य व्यवहार आदरणीयः । तदाऽऽह नारदः⁶ ।

“धर्मशास्त्रविरोधे च युक्तियुक्तो विधिः स्मृतः ।
व्यवहारो हि बलवान् धर्मस्तेनावहोयते” ॥

तत्र बृहस्पतिः⁷ ।

“केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्त्तव्यो विनिर्णयः ।
युक्तिहीनविचारे तु धर्महानिः प्रजायते” ॥

युक्तिर्लोकव्यवहारः । अधर्मप्रवृत्ते राजनि सभ्यानां कर्त्तव्यमाह । नारदः⁸ ।

“अधर्मज्ञो यदा राजा नियुञ्जीत विवादिनः ।
विज्ञाय नृपतिं सभ्यस्तदा सम्यङ्निवर्त्तयेत् ॥

¹ O Narada, III, 1, reads अपक्षपतितम् for अरक्षापतितम् (page 40).

³ O

⁴ Narada, I, 37, reads संपश्यमानो for समीक्षमाणो (page 16).

⁵ Narada, I, 39, reads अर्थशास्त्रोक्तं for अर्थशास्त्रार्थं (page 16).

⁶ Narada, I, 40 (page 16).

⁷ O

⁸ O

सभ्येनाऽवश्यवक्तव्यं धर्मार्थसहितं वचः ।
 शृणोति यदि नो राजा स्यात्तु सभ्यस्तदा नृपः ॥
 अधर्मतः प्रवृत्तन्तु नोपेक्षेरन् सभासदः ।
 उपेक्षमाणाः सनृपा नरके यान्त्यधोमुखाः ॥
 अन्यायतो धियासन्तं येऽनुयान्ति सभासदः ।
 सभ्यदोषाश्रयं नष्टं देयं सभ्येन तद्यथा ॥
 कार्यन्तु कार्यिणामे(व?) निश्चितन्तु विचालयेत् ।
 अन्यथा दर्शिना सभ्येन निर्णीतं विचालयेत्” ॥

सम्यक् पुनर्विचारयेदित्यर्थः । अथ बृहस्पतिः¹ ।

“अन्यायवादिनः सभ्यास्तथैवोत्कोचजीविनः ।
 विश्वस्तत्रैकाश्चैव निर्वास्याः सर्व्व एव ते” ॥

तथा विष्णुः² । “कूटसाक्षिणां सर्व्वस्वापहारः कार्य्यः । उत्कोचजीविनां सभ्यानाञ्च” ।
 तथाऽऽह बृहस्पतिः³ ।

“कूटसभ्यः कूटसाक्षी ब्रह्महा च समाः स्मृताः ।
 भूणहा मैत्रहा चैषां नाऽऽधिकः समुदाहृतः” ॥

तथा कात्यायनः⁴ ।

“अनिर्णीते तु यद्यर्थं सम्भाषेत रहोऽर्थिनम् ।
 प्राङ्घ्रिवाकोऽथ दण्ड्यः स्यात् सभ्यश्चैव न संग्रयः” ॥

अर्थिपदेन प्रत्यर्थिनोऽप्युपादानं । तस्याऽपि स्वापेक्षेणार्थित्वात् । कूटकरणशङ्कायाश्चाऽविशेषात् ।
 तस्माद्धर्मतोव्यवहारो द्रष्टव्यः । व्यवहारं विविनक्ति कात्यायनः⁵ ।

“वि नानार्थेऽव सन्देहे हरणं हार उच्यते ।
 नानासन्देहहरणाद्भवहार इति स्थितिः” ॥

स च द्विविध इत्याह नारदः⁶ ।

“सोत्तरोऽनुत्तरश्चैव स च ज्ञेयो द्विलक्षणः ।
 सोत्तरो ह्यधिको यत्र विलेखापूर्व्वकः पणः” ॥

भाषादिविलेखात्पूर्व्वं यत्र वादिनोऽन्योऽन्यं पणो भवति, योऽत्र ज्ञेयते, स ज्ञेये शतमधिकं ददाति,
 असौ सोत्तरव्यवहारः । विलेखापूर्व्वक इति पाठेतु लिख्यते इति लेख; शास्त्रविहितो दण्डः, स विगतो
 यस्यामिच्छायां सा विलेखा इच्छा, तत्पूर्व्वस्ततोऽधिकः पण इच्छातः शास्त्रनिरपेक्ष इत्यर्थः । विलेखपूर्व्वक

¹ O

² Vishnu, V, 175, 176.

O

O

O

⁶ Narada, I, 4 (page 4).

इति पाठे एषैव व्याख्या । विलेखात् पूर्वत इति भोजदेवेन लिखितं । तत्र सोत्तरपणे विवादे जितः पणं दाष्यो दण्डनीयश्च । तदाऽऽह¹ ।

“ विवादे सोत्तरपणे द्वयोर्यस्तत्र हीयते ।
स पणं स्वकृतं दाष्यो विनेयश्च पराजये ” ॥

स चाऽयं व्यवहारो यज्ञ इत्याह वृहस्पतिः² ।

“ यज्ञे सम्पूज्यते विष्णुर्व्यवहारे महीपतिः ।
जयी तु यजमानोऽत्र जितः पशुरुदाहृतः ॥
पूर्वपक्षोत्तरावाद्यं प्रतिज्ञा च हविः स्मृतः ।
त्रयी शास्त्राणि सभ्यास्तु चत्विजो दक्षिणादन ” ॥ (?)

इत्यादि स च व्यवहारो यस्मिन् यदा द्रष्टव्यस्तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः³ ।

“ सभास्थाने तु पूर्वाह्णे कार्याणां निर्णयं नृपः ।
कुर्याच्छ्रास्त्रप्रमाणेन मार्गेणाऽमित्रकर्षणः ॥
दिवसस्याष्टमं भागं त्यक्त्वा भागत्रयन्तु यत् ।
स कालो व्यवहाराणां शास्त्रदृष्टः परःस्मृतः ” ॥

अष्टममिति प्रहरार्द्धप्रहरं त्यक्त्वा मध्याह्नं यावत् पश्येत्, स चायं चतुष्पादित्याह वृहस्पतिः⁴ ।

“ पूर्वपक्षः स्मृतः पादो द्वितीयश्चोत्तरः स्मृतः ।
क्रियापादस्तथाचाऽन्यश्चतुर्थो निर्णयः स्मृतः ” ॥

अन्यस्मृतीय इत्यर्थः । पुनराह ।

“ मिथोक्तौ च चतुष्पात् स्यात् प्रत्यवस्कन्दने तथा ।
प्राङ्न्याये च स विज्ञेयो द्विपात् सम्रतिपत्तिषु ” ॥

सम्यग्रूपं भाषोत्तरे मति इति बोद्धव्यम् । यत्र तु भाषैव उत्तरानर्हा तत्रार्थिवादिनिर्णयश्चेति पादद्वयम् । यत्र उत्तरस्याभासत्वं तत्र पादत्रयं बोध्यव्यम् । ननु सत्योत्तरभाषोत्तरे निर्णयश्चेति पादत्रयमेव, नैतत् उत्तरवादिना भाषार्थस्याङ्गीकृतत्वात् निर्णीतस्याभावात् खोक्तेतरस्य पराजितत्वात् ।

तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः⁵ ।

“ पराजयश्च द्विविधः परोक्तः खोक्त एव च ।
परोक्तः स्याद्दशविधः खोक्त एकविधः स्मृतः ” ॥

सत्योत्तरे खोक्तेनैव भङ्गः । परोक्तदशविधभङ्गमाह ।⁶

विवादान्तरसंक्रान्तिः पूर्वोत्तरविरुद्धता ।
दूषणं स्वक्रियोत्पत्तेः परवाक्योपपादनम् ॥

¹ Narada, I, 5, reads 'विनेयं च' for 'विनेयश्च' (page 5).

अनिर्देशश्च देशस्य निर्देशोऽदेशकालयोः ।

साक्षिणासुपजापश्च विद्वेषो वचनस्य च ॥

अयुक्तदेशोपनयः साक्षिप्रश्ननिराक्रिया ।

परेणाऽत्र पराजयावधारणात् राज्ञा च स्वयं विवादो नोत्थापनीयः । यदाऽऽह कात्यायनः ।¹

“न राजा तु वशित्वेन धनलोभेन वा पुनः ।

स्वयं कार्याणि कुर्वीत नवाऽऽगमविवादिनाम्”* ॥

तथा याज्ञवल्क्यः ।²

“सृत्याचारव्यपेतेन मार्गेणाधर्षितः परैः ।

आवेदयति चेद्वाञ्छि व्यवहारपदं हि तत्” ॥

सृत्याचारेण व्यपेतस्यक्तः । तेनाधर्षितः क्षिप्तः । आवेदयतीति प्रयोगान्न राज्ञा स्वयमुत्थापनीयः
आचेपश्च द्विधा । तथाह मनुः ।³

“हिंसां यः कुरुते कश्चित् देयं वा न प्रयच्छति ।

स्थाने स्वे तु विवादस्य तयोर्बहुविधा गतिः” ॥

कात्यायनः ।⁴

“उत्पादयति यो हिंसां देयं वा न प्रयच्छति ।

याचमानाय दौःशील्यादाकृष्योऽसौ नृपाज्ञया” ॥

याज्ञवल्क्ये परैरिति वचनात् पुत्रशिश्यादासादीनां पित्रादिभिः समं विवादो न ग्राह्यः ।

तदाह बृहस्पतिः ।⁵

“गुरुशिश्यौ पितापुत्रौ दम्पती स्वामिभृत्यकौ ।

एतेषां समवेतानां व्यवहारो न सिध्यति” ॥

एतच्चाख्यापराधविषयं । यदि पुनराचार्याऽनुचितदण्डेन शिष्यं दण्डयति, पिता वा व्यसनाविष्टः
सर्वस्वं वेश्याकिरातादिभ्यो दातुमिच्छति, एकपुत्र एव वा पुत्रं विक्रेतुं दातुं वा इच्छति, पतिर्वा पतिव्रतां
परम्परागतं विनीतं दासं वा भृत्यं विक्रेतुमिच्छति । एवमादिव्यवहारो द्रष्टव्य एव, अन्यथा अनुचितक्रिया-
प्रवृत्तस्य राज्ञोऽधर्मापत्तेः । अवश्यं ज्ञात्वा दण्डस्य कर्त्तव्यत्वात् । तथा यमः ।⁶

“भार्यापुत्रश्च दासश्च दासी शिष्यश्च पञ्चमः ।

प्राप्तापराधास्ताद्याः स्यू रज्ज्वा वेणुदलेन वा” ॥

अधस्तान्तु प्रहर्त्तव्यं नोत्तमाङ्गे कदाचन ।

अतोऽन्यथा प्रवृत्तस्तु यथोक्तं दण्डमर्हति ॥

¹ 0 ² Yajnavalkya, II, 5.

³ 0 ⁴ 0 ⁵ 0 ⁶ 0

* नराममविवादिनामिति काशीरपुस्तके पाठः ।

तथा कात्यायनः ।¹

“ न भर्ता नैव च सुतो न पिता भ्रातरो न च ।
आदाने वा विसर्गे वा स्त्रीधने प्रभविष्णवः ” ॥
यदि ह्येकतरो ह्येषां भक्षयेत् स्त्रीधनं बलात् ।
मृद्धिं प्रतिदाप्यः स्यात् दण्डञ्चैव समाप्नुयात् ॥

तदेवमादयो विवादा द्रष्टव्या एव । कथमन्यथा तत्र दण्डविधानम् । अर्थिना च यदनेकधा निवेदितं तन्नृपतिना ग्राह्यं न तु सकृदेव । तदाह वृहस्पतिः ।²

आगतानां विवदतां असकृद्-वादिनां नृपः ।
वादान् पश्येन् नाऽऽत्मकतान् न चाध्यक्ष निवेदितान् ॥

तथाह वृहस्पतिः ।³

पीडितः स्वयमायातः शालीनोऽथ यदा भवेत् ।
प्राङ्निवाकस्तु पृच्छेत् पुरुषो वा शनैः शनैः ॥

शालीनो निर्णयशालायां लीनः उपस्थित इत्यर्थः । पुरुषो राजवर्जितः । तथा कात्यायनः ।⁴

“ काले कार्यार्थिनं पृच्छेत् पुरुषः पुरतः स्थितम् ।
किं काय्यं का च ते पीडा मा भैषौर्याहि मानद ॥
केन कस्मिन् कदा कस्मात् पृच्छेदेव सभां गतः ” ।

केन पुरुषेण कस्मिन् देशे काले वा कस्मात् कारणदिति प्रणतं पृच्छेत् । अतः प्रणत एव ब्रूयात् । अन्यथाभिधाने दोषमाह कात्यायनः ।⁵

“ मगस्त्रोऽनुत्तरीयो वा मुक्तकच्छः महासनः ।
वामहस्तेन वा वादं वदन् दण्डमवाप्नुयात् ” ॥

अथ वृहस्पतिः ।⁶

“ यस्याऽभियोगं कुरुते तथ्येन शङ्कयाऽपि वा ।
तमेव चालयेद्राजा मुद्रया पुरुषेण वा ॥
आह्वतो यस्तु नाऽऽगच्छेत् गच्छेद्दर्पबलान्वितः ।
अभियोगानुपूर्व्येण तस्य दण्डं प्रकल्पयेत् ” ॥

ये च नाऽनेतव्याप्तानाह नारदः ।⁷

“ निर्वेषुकामो रोगार्त्ता यियत्तुर्व्यभने स्थितः ।
अभियुक्तस्तथाऽन्येन राजकार्योद्यतस्तथा ॥

¹ 0

² 0

³ 0

⁴ 0

⁵ 0

⁶ 0

⁷ Narada, I, 52, 53, 54. Narada reads मस्यारम्भे for मस्यवृन्दे, तत्कालं for तत्काले and विषमस्यश्च नामेधो for विषमस्याश्च नामेधाः (page 20).

गवां प्रचारे गोपालाः शस्यवृन्दे कृषीबलाः ।
 शिल्पिनश्चापि तत्काले आयुधीयाश्च विग्रहे ॥
 अप्राप्तव्यवहारश्च दूतो दानोन्मुखो ब्रवी ।
 विषमस्याश्च नाऽऽसेध्या नैतानावाहयेन्नृपः” ॥

निर्वैष्टुकामो विवाहे प्रवृत्तः । अप्राप्तव्यवहारः आषोडशवयस्कः । सुव्यक्तमपरं । एते तूष्णं मनुष्या-
 दिनाऽऽनाऽऽसेध्याः न विधारणीयाः । निवेदितेऽपि वादिना विवादे नाङ्गयितव्याः । तत्तत्कार्यसमाप्ति-
 पर्यन्तं, तत्तत्कार्यविरोधादेव । तदधिककार्यविरोधे विवादनिवेदकस्य वा तदा आसेद्व्या एव राज्ञा
 चाङ्गयितव्या न्यायमूलत्वादचनानां । वादिनश्च गृहीतबन्धके राज्ञः कर्त्तव्यमाह कात्यायनः¹ ।

गृहीतग्रहणो न्यायो न प्रवृत्त्या (?) महौभुजा ।
 तस्यैव तत्समर्थं स्यात् स्थापयेदा परत्र तत् ॥

ग्रहणं बन्धकं तत् तस्मिन्नेव समर्पणीयं । यद्यसौ प्रत्ययितः । अभत्यत्वे तु मध्यस्थे स्थापनीयं स्वय-
 मेव चाऽर्थिनः समुपस्थितत्वात् प्रत्यर्थिविषयत्वं, गृहीतग्रहणो न्यायो न प्रवर्त्तत इत्यस्य वचनस्य यदा तु
 प्रतिवादी समर्थं कृत्वा रजतं बन्धकौकृत्य पञ्चकार्षापणीं गृहीतवान्, तस्मिन्नेव समये पञ्चकार्षापणीं दत्त्वा
 रजतं पुनर्गृहीतवान्, तस्मिन्नेव रजते प्रत्यक्षीकृते एवंविधो विवादो न प्रवर्त्तनीयो राज्ञेति वचनार्थः ।
 स्वयमसमर्थश्चेत् विवादकरणे अन्यद्वारेणापि कुर्यात्, तदाऽऽहतुर्नारदकात्यायनौ ।²

“अर्थिना सन्नियुक्तो वा प्रत्यर्थिप्रहितोऽपि वा ।
 यो यस्याऽर्थे विवदते तयोर्जयपराजयौ” ॥

तथा वृहस्पतिः³ ।

“अप्रगल्भ-जड़ोन्मत्त-वृद्धस्त्रीबालरोगिणाम् ।
 पूर्वोत्तरं वदेद्वन्धुर्नियुक्तोऽप्यथवा परः ॥
 ऋत्विग्वादे नियुक्तश्च समौ सम्परिकीर्त्तितौ ।
 यज्ञे स्वाम्याप्नुयात् पुण्यं हानिं वादेऽथवा जयम्” ।

पूर्वोत्तरश्च पूर्वोत्तरं तेन⁴ नियुक्तोऽनियुक्तो वा तद्धितैषी सभायामुत्तरं वा ब्रूयात् । यो यस्यार्थे
 इति तद्वचमात् अर्थवादविषयश्चेत् अन्यप्रतिनिध्यपवादः, तथा कात्यायनः ।⁴

“ब्रह्महत्यासुरापाने स्त्रिये गुर्वङ्गनागमे ।
 अन्योऽन्यसङ्घं वादेषु प्रतिवादी न विद्यते ॥
 मनुष्यमारणे स्त्रिये परदारामिभर्षणे ।
 अभक्ष्यभक्षणे चैव कन्याहरणदूषणे ॥

पारुष्यकृतकरणे नृपद्रोहे तथैव च ।

प्रतिवादी न दातव्यः कर्त्ता तु विवदेत् स्वयम्” ॥

प्रतिनिधीभूय वदति प्रतिवादी स ब्रह्महत्यादिषु न दाष्यः । स्वयमेव कर्त्ता विवदेत्,—भाषोत्तरं वदेत् । अर्थवादेऽपि विशेषमाह, वृहस्पतिः ।¹

योऽदत्तव्यवहारत्वादनियुक्तः प्रवर्त्तते ।

वचनं तस्य न ग्राह्यं लिखितप्रेषितादृते ॥

यो न भ्राता पिता वापि न पुत्रो न नियोजितः ।

परार्थवादे दण्ड्यः स्यात् व्यवहारेषु विब्रुवन् ॥

लिखितं सम्यङ्गिरूपितं, प्रेषितं मध्यस्थजनसन्निधौ । तथा कौण्डिन्यः ।²

दासेन च कृतं कार्यमकृतं परिचक्षते ।

अन्यत्र स्वामिसन्देशान् न दासः प्रमुरात्मनः ॥

पुत्रेण च कृतं कर्म यत् स्यात् स्वच्छन्दतः पितुः ।

तदप्यकृतमेवाङ्गदासः पुत्रश्च तौ समौ ॥

यद्दालः कुरुते कार्यमस्वतन्त्रस्तथैव च ।

अकृतन्तदिति प्राङ्गः शान्ते शास्त्रविदो जनाः ॥

अस्वतन्त्राः स्त्रियः पुत्रा दासाश्च सपरिग्रहाः ।

स्वतन्त्रस्तत्र तु स्वामी यस्य ते स्थुः क्रमागताः ॥

स्वतन्त्रोऽपि हि यत्कार्यं कुर्यादप्रकृतिं गतः ।

तदप्यकृतमेवाङ्गरस्वतन्त्रः सहेतुकः ॥

अप्रकृतिं गतो रोगादिना अप्रकृतः । ननु तर्हि पुत्रादिभिरपि संविधानादेव क्रियाणां कर्त्तव्यत्वात् “यो न भ्राता पिता वाऽपी”त्यादि निषेधाधिकारिणो भेदेनैषामुपादानं न स्यात् । उच्यते ।

पित्रादौ देशान्तरस्थिते यद्येष ताम्रघटादिकं विक्रीय गृहीत्वा वा देशान्तरगमनोद्यतस्तदा तदिनाशः स्यात् इति पित्राद्यनुमतिमन्तरेणापि पुत्रादिभिर्विवादः कार्यः । सन्निहिते तु पित्रादौ तदनुमत्यैवेत्यविरोधः । न्यायार्थमुपस्थितयोश्च प्रतिभूग्राह्यः । विनेयत्वादर्थिनोऽपि मन्दपक्षस्य पलायनसम्भवात्, तदाऽऽह याज्ञवल्क्यः ।³

“उभयोः प्रतिभूग्राह्यः समर्थः कार्यनिर्णये ।

प्रतिभुवस्त्वभावे तु राजा संरक्षिता तयोः” ॥

राजवर्जित-रक्षकाय रक्षितो वेतनं दद्यात् । तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः ।⁴

¹ () ² ()

Yajnavalkya, II, 10 ; but the second half of this sloka is not found in Yajnavalkya.

³ ()

“अथ चेत् प्रतिभूर्नाऽस्ति वादयोग्यश्च वादिनः ।

स रक्षितो दिनस्थान्ते दद्याद् दूताय वेतनम्” ॥

ततो व्यवहारदर्शनं, स च द्विधा, तदाऽऽह नारदः ।¹

अभियोगः स विज्ञेयः शङ्का तत्त्वाभियोगतः ।

संसर्गादसतां शङ्का तत्त्वं द्रोढाभिदर्शनात् ॥

द्रोढा लोपचं तत्साहचर्यात् शङ्काभियोगः चौर्यादिविषयः । असतां संसर्गादिति हेत्वभिधानाच्च ।
ऋणादिविवादिषु तु तत्त्वाभियोग एव निःसन्दिग्धनिराकुल इति वक्ष्यमाणात् । तथा द्विगतिरपि ।

“²भूतच्छलाबुसारित्वाद्द्विगतिः स उदाहृतः ।

भूतं तत्त्वार्थसम्बन्धं प्रमादाभिहितं क्लमम्” ॥

ननु कथं द्विगतित्वं व्यवहारस्य ।

“क्लं निरस्य भूतेन व्यवहारान्नयेन् नृपः ।

भूतमप्यनुपन्यस्तं हीयते व्यवहारतः” ॥

इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनात् ।³ सत्यं ऋणादिविवादिषु भूतानुसार एव, साहसादिषु क्लं यथा मदीयां
भार्यामयमपहृतवानिति लेखयित्वा पश्चादुक्तं न हता हर्तुमभिलषितेति । तथा पादेन मूर्द्धि हतवानिति
लेखयित्वा पश्चादुक्तं न हतोऽहं यथोक्तवान् इत्यादि वाक्कलेनैव तस्य भङ्गः । अन्यत्र तु न तथा,
तदाह नारदः ।⁴

“सर्वेष्वेव विवादिषु वाक्कलेनाऽवसीदति ।

पशुस्त्रीभूमृणादाने शास्योऽप्यर्थान्न हीयते” ॥

अर्थादित्यनुवादेन हीयते वाक्कलेन तु तत्रापि शास्यः । अर्थे तु भूतानुसरणमिति तत्त्वार्थः ।
सम्प्रति पूर्ववादी निरूप्यते । तत्र कात्यायनः ।⁵

“तत्राभियोक्ता प्राक् ब्रूयाद्भियुक्तस्त्वनन्तरम् ।

तथोरुक्तौ सदस्यास्तु प्राङ्निवाकस्त्वनन्तरम्” ॥

द्विविधश्चाभियोक्ता धनार्थी, सम्मानार्थी च ।

यथा मदीयं धनं गृहीत्वा तिष्ठतीति लगुडादिना हतवानिति द्वावप्यभ्यर्थ्यमान + + स्वधनसम्मानाभ्यामर्थिनौ प्रथमं वाचयितव्यौ, न तु राज्ञि पूर्वं निवेदनमात्रात्, यथा नाहं तस्यैवं धारयामि, न च तस्याऽहं दासः, न मया ब्रह्मवधादिकं कृतं, तथापि मामयमन्यायेन चिपतीति । पूर्वं निवेदकत्वेन नाऽस्या-

¹ Narada, I, 27, reads अभियोगः for अभियोगः and शङ्कासतां तु संसर्गाद् for संसर्गादसतां शङ्का (page 13).

² Narada, I, 29 (page 13).

³ Yajnavalkya, II, 19.

⁴ Narada, II, 25. Narada reads सर्वेष्वपि for सर्वेष्वेव and अपहीयते for अवसीदति (page 32).

र्थिवादः, किन्तु तन्निवेदनाङ्गानात् तस्यैव स हि प्रष्टव्यः कथं तव धारयतीति । कथं तव मृत्युः । कथं वाऽस्याऽभिप्रायं कुरुषे इति ब्रूहीति । तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः ।

“ यस्य चाऽप्यधिका पौडा कार्यं वाऽप्यधिकं भवेत् ।
पूर्वपक्षो भवेत्तस्य न यः पूर्वं निवेदयेत् ” ॥

नारदेन तस्यार्थिभावो दातव्य इति तृतीयपादे विशेषः । तथा शूद्रेणापि प्रथमं निवेदिते ब्राह्मणस्याऽग्रतो विवादो निरूपणीयः । कार्य्याणां वा गुरुलघुभावमालोक्य व्यवहारदर्शनं कार्य्यं ; तदाऽऽह वृहस्पतिः ।¹

“ अहम्-पूर्विकया यातावर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनौ यदा ।
वादो वर्णानुपूर्व्येण ग्राह्यः पौडामवेक्ष्य च ” ॥

ब्राह्मणस्याऽप्यन्येन शूद्रस्याऽप्यन्येन विवादे वचनमिदं अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनाविति अर्थिगणाविति ज्ञेयं अन्यथा वर्णानुपूर्व्येणेति न स्यात्, ब्राह्मणं प्रति शूद्रस्याप्युत्तमर्णस्यार्थिनः पूर्ववादावश्यभावात्, तथा मनुः ।²

“ अर्थानर्थावुभौ बुद्ध्वा धर्माधर्मौ च केवलौ ।
वर्णक्रमेण सर्वाणि पश्येत् कार्य्याणि कार्य्यिणाम् ” ॥

कार्य्याणीति बद्धवचनात् यथोक्तविषयत्वं तदेवं निश्चिते पूर्ववादिनि तदैव पूर्वपक्षं निवेदयेत्, न पुनस्तत्र कालमर्हति । तथा नारदः ।³

प्रत्यर्थी लभते कालं अहं पञ्चाहमेव वा ।
अर्थी तु स्वार्थसन्देहात्तत्क्षणादेव हीयते ॥
स्वनिश्चितवलाधानस्वार्थी स्वार्थ-प्रचोदितः ।
लेखयेत् पूर्ववादन्तु कृतकार्य्यविनिश्चयः ॥

स्वनिश्चितवलाधानत्वं कृतकार्य्यनिश्चयत्वञ्च हेतुगर्भविशेषणं, एतद्व्याकरोति कात्यायनः ।⁴

“ यस्मात्कार्य्यममारम्भाच्चिरात्तेन विनिश्चयः ।
तस्मान्न लभते कालमभियुक्तसु कालभाक् ” ॥

क्वचिदस्याऽप्यपवादकमाह वृहस्पतिः ।⁵

अभियोक्ताऽप्रणन्तत्वादुक्तं नोत्सहते यदा ।
तदा कालः प्रदातव्यः कार्य्यशक्त्यनुरूपतः ॥ ?

तथा कात्यायनः ।⁶

मतिर्नोत्सहते यत्र विवादे कार्य्यमिच्छतोः ।
दातव्यस्तत्र कालः स्याद् अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनोरपि ॥

अथ पूर्वपक्षः । तत्र वृहस्पतिः ।⁷

0 0 ³ Manu, VIII, 24, S.B.F., Vol. XXV (page 256).
⁴ 0 ⁵ 0 ⁶ 0 ⁷ 0 ⁸ 0

“पौड़ातिशयमाश्रित्य यद्ववौति विवक्षितम्
स्वार्थसिद्धिपरो वादी पूर्वपक्षः स उच्यते ॥

पौड़ापदमुभयपरं । तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः¹ ।

“यस्य चाऽर्थगता पौड़ा शारीरौ वाऽधिका भवेत् ।
तस्याऽर्थिवादो दातव्यो न यः पूर्वं निवेदयेत् ” ॥

पूर्वपक्षलक्षणमाहतुः कात्यायनवृहस्पती² ।

“प्रतिज्ञादोषनिर्मुक्तं साध्यं सत्कारणान्वितम् ।
निश्चितं लोकसिद्धञ्च पक्षं पक्षविदोविद्ः ॥
स्वल्पाक्षरप्रभृतार्था निःसन्दिग्धोनिराकुलः ।
विरोधिकारणैर्मुक्तो विरोधिप्रतिषेधकः ” ॥

ननु, तदभियुक्तं साध्यं हि ज्ञाप्यमुच्यते । तद्विशिष्टश्च धर्मी पक्षः तन्निर्देशवचनञ्च प्रतिज्ञा, तदुक्तम्,
वचनस्य प्रतिज्ञालं तदर्थस्य हि पक्षता ।

असङ्गरेण वक्तव्ये व्यवहारेषु वादिभिः ॥

अतो मीमांस्यपरस्परभेदात् कथं साध्यमेव पक्षं विदुरित्यभिधानं कथञ्च प्रतिज्ञादोषनिर्मुक्तं
साध्यस्योच्यते अन्यस्य दोषविरहेऽन्यस्य निर्दोषत्वानुपपत्तेः ।

कौट्टगल्पाक्षरत्वं कियत्तदल्पमिति विशेषस्थानिर्देशात् कथञ्चाल्पीयसामक्षराणां प्रभृतार्थत्वं प्रभृतानां
पदानामेव परं तत्सम्भवात् । कियत्तश्च प्रभृतोऽर्थो भवतीति चाऽनिर्देशात् । उच्यते ।

अर्थिना च तावदर्थ्यमानं साध्यं अवश्यं निर्दोष्यं अन्यथा अर्थित्वानुपपत्त्या व्यवहाराप्रसक्तेः । तन्नि-
र्देशकमेव वचनं प्रतिज्ञा तस्यैव विवक्षितार्थप्रतिपादकत्वेन प्रधानत्वात्, अतएव यत्र हेत्वभिधानं न भवति
तत्राऽपि प्रतिज्ञापुरस्कारेणैव व्यवहारो भवति, अतस्त्र परस्परविरोद्धार्थप्रतिपादकपदप्रयोगादिदूषणेन
साध्यस्यैवानवगतेः तन्निर्मुक्तौ तु सम्यक् साध्यमवगम्यते इति तथोक्तं, धर्मविशेषविशिष्टतया च धर्मिण एव
साध्यत्वात् साध्यपक्षयोरप्यभेदाभिधानं, न ह्यग्नित्वतद्भक्तिद्वर्णानां सामान्यतः साध्यत्वं सर्वेषां सम्बन्धश्रवण-
काल एषावगतत्वात् । किन्तु स्वरूपसिद्धयोरेव धर्मधर्मिणोरवगतो धर्मधर्मिभावः साध्यते ज्ञाप्यते ।
तत्रप्रतिपादकान्तरौयकतया च पर्वतसम्बन्धिनोऽग्नित्वस्य तद्भक्तिविशेषस्य तद्वर्णविशेषस्य च प्रतिपादकमपि
साध्यमुच्यते । धर्मविशेषश्च पूर्वावगत एव साध्यधर्मविशिष्टतया च ज्ञाप्यः पक्षधर्म इत्युच्यते । अतएव
“सिद्धधर्मिणमुद्दिश्य साध्योधर्मोऽभिधीयते” । एतेन यत्तार्किककन्येन योग्लोकेनाऽभिहितं न च प्रतिपिपा-
दयिषितधर्माधर्मीपक्षः* । स्वार्थानुमानविशेषे असुरभिगन्धानुमेये कुत्सितरमानुमाने प्रतिपित्वाया अनुपपत्तेः ।
न चानवधारितेऽप्यग्निमत्त्वे पर्वतस्य बद्धतरधर्मान्तरानवधारणात् धूमं प्रति पक्षताऽप्रसक्तेः । तस्मादनवधारित-

¹ 0 ² 0 ³ 0

* See पक्षता of गङ्गेशः ।

हेतुविषयधर्माधर्मीपक्षः स्वयमेवास्य दोषस्य पूर्वदत्तस्यापक्षेः । नापि द्वितीयः इतरेतराश्रयापक्षेः, हेतु-
प्रयोगे सति तद्विषयपरिज्ञानात् पक्षनिर्दिष्टः पक्षहेतुप्रयोगस्तत् सिद्ध इति सुव्यक्तमन्योऽन्याश्रयत्वं । स्वार्थानु-
माने च हेतोरहेतोश्चाप्रयोगात् पक्षस्याभावः स्यात् । किञ्च शब्दो नित्यः कृतकत्वादिति प्रयुक्तहेतुविषयत्वा-
भावात् शब्दो नित्य इति पक्षाभावान्न स्यात्, न चैवं, हेतोरेव हि तत्र साध्यविरुद्धसाध्यकतया विरुद्धभासता न
तु पक्षस्य, किञ्च हेतुविषयता तदधीनसिद्धतासाध्यतैव नामान्तरेणेति, तदा च साध्यपदं विहाय उन्नेयार्था-
प्रसिद्धपदप्रयोगग्रहोनिग्रह एव तस्य उन्मादस्तु तार्किकमन्यनिरुक्तसाध्यपर्यालोचनं, किन्तु स्वपरार्थानुमान-
साधारणं साध्यधर्मविशिष्टो धर्मीपक्षः, साध्यता च ज्ञायता, सा च ज्ञातेऽपि धारावाहिकवदविरुद्धा, परा-
र्थानुमानेषु तु अष्टादशविवादेशु प्रयोजनसिद्धये सिषाधयिषितधर्मविशिष्ट धर्मी एव पक्षः । परार्थानु-
मानाभिप्रायेणैव चोक्तपक्षपदेन सिषाधयिषितधर्मविशिष्ट एव धर्मीपक्षः । प्रकृतमनुसरामः । तस्मात्

“ प्रतिज्ञादोषनिर्मुक्तं साध्यं पक्षं विदुरिति ”¹ ।

युक्तमुक्तं, प्रतिज्ञादूषणानि च परस्परविरुद्धार्थपदप्रयोग-प्रतिज्ञान्तरकरण-प्रतिज्ञाहानि-प्रतिज्ञा
सत्यासाश्रयासिद्धि-धर्मिग्राहकप्रमाणविरोध-विरोधिधर्मान्तरग्राहकप्रमाणबाधितत्वादीनि । “प्रतिज्ञाहानि
सत्यासतद्विरोधान्तराणि च । प्रतिज्ञादोषमध्ये किं वसन्त्येतानि नोऽचिर”मिति । एतैर्हीनं साध्यं निर्दिश्यं ।
अन्यथा तु हीयते, तदाऽऽह नारदः² ।

सारस्तु व्यवहाराणां प्रतिज्ञा समुदाहता ।

तद्भानौ हीयते वादी तरंस्तामुत्तरोभवेत् ॥

तथा वृहस्पतिः³ ।

यच्चार्थमभियुञ्जीत न तं विप्रकृतिं नयेत् ।

न च पक्षान्तरं गच्छेत् गच्छन् पूर्वात् स हीयते ॥

विप्रकृतिर्यथा ।

मदीया महिषी धेनुरनेनापहतेति अभियुज्य लेखयित्वा पश्चाद्गोधेनुरित्याहुः । मदीयां पत्नी
मयमपहृतवान् इत्यभियुज्य पश्चादाह अवरुद्धवानिति । पक्षान्तरं, यथा निचिन्नं मया तस्मिन् सुवर्णं
तद्दत्तविति लेखयित्वा आस्तां तावदिदं मदीयामवरुद्धकीं कुतोऽपहृतवानिति । यत्रतु पूर्वाक्तमजहदेव
प्रतिज्ञान्तरं गच्छेत्,— यथा ममच्छरणं गृहीत्वा न ददाति तावत् तद्द्याचमानश्चाऽहमनेन मूर्द्धि पादेन हत
इति अधिकदण्डनीयायं, तत्र न दोषः । “ न तां विप्रकृतिं नयेदि”ति प्रतिज्ञातमर्थं न्यूनमधिकं वा न
कुर्यात्, न च पूर्वं प्रतिज्ञामुक्त्वा प्रतिज्ञान्तरं कुर्यात्, प्रतिज्ञा धर्मविशेषे साध्यनिर्देशः । तदत्र को धर्मी
किञ्च साध्यं तत्र गतं मे धारयमीत्यादिधनविवादे धारणाविशिष्टं साध्यमितिगतमेव धर्मि धार्यमाणत्वं
यत्र साध्यमिति श्रीकरस्तदसङ्गतं, धान्यहिरण्यादेर्धर्मिणो गृहीतस्य व्ययादिना नाग्रात् आश्रयासिद्ध-

This Sloka is attributed to कात्यायन and वृहस्पति by Raghunandana in his व्यवहारतत्त्वः ।
Narada, I, 6 (p. 6).

त्वापत्तेः । अथान्यदेव हि प्रतिज्ञादेयतया यच्छ्रुतं प्रतिज्ञातं, तदेव धर्मं भविष्यतीति चेन्न तस्मिन् काले प्रतिज्ञादेयस्याऽप्यभावात् । अधर्मण्यस्य निर्धनत्वे निराश्रयसाध्यनिर्द्देशाभावेन तस्याऽऽनृणापत्ते- गृहीतत्वात् इति हेतोश्च तदनाश्रयत्वात् अपक्षधर्मतापत्तेः । तस्मात् प्रतिवाद्येव धारयसीत्यर्थविशिष्टः पक्षः । अथममुकनामा मङ्गमेतावद्भूतं धारयति मत्तोबुद्ध्यादिना गृहीतधनत्वे सति अद्य यावदकृत- शोधनत्वात् ।

यत्तु तार्किकस्य न्यस्याऽनुमानं प्रतिवादिनं धर्मितयानिर्द्देश्य शतं मे धारयसि प्रतिदानादिनिबन्धन- परिशोधनप्रकारसम्भवे सति मत्तस्त्वया शतस्य गृहीतत्वादिति तदसम्बद्धं । गृहीतत्वस्य धर्मस्य प्रतिवादि- धर्मत्वाभावात् अपक्षधर्मत्वापत्तेः, त्वया गृहीतत्वादिति कर्मणि ऋप्रत्ययापत्तेः, कर्त्तरि क्तौत्पत्तौ त्वयेति न स्यादभिहिते कर्त्तरि प्रथमा विधानात्, अनभिहिते च तृतीयास्मरणात् । किञ्चाऽपरिशुद्धत्वे सतीति एतावतैव सिद्धप्रतिपादनान्निबन्धनेत्यादिवज्जतरानर्थपदप्रयोगेऽपि निग्रहः । किञ्च परिशोधनप्रकारा- सम्भवे सति गृहीतत्वस्य हेतुत्वाभिधानात् परिशोधनाभावाग्रहणस्य परभावोऽवगम्यते । न च तथासति हि ग्रहणे शोधनमशोधनं वा न चाऽपरिशोधनसामर्थ्यादेव ग्रहणभावावगमो वाच्यः । तद्विपरीतपौर्वा- पर्याभिधानेन तथापि वादिनिग्रहात्, तस्मादस्मदुक्तमेव युक्तं । धारय इत्यर्थं च सिद्धे तन्मम ददात्विति स्तुकीयार्थिताव्यञ्जनाय वक्तव्यं । शास्त्रकारैश्च साध्यहेतोरभिधानमुक्तं न दृष्टान्तस्य, तत्राऽयमभिप्रायः व्याप्तिदर्शनायै हि तदभिधानं, निरूपकाश्च शास्त्रादेव हेतोः साध्यनियतत्वमवगतवन्तः इति वृथा तदभि- धानं । अनियतत्वभिहितमनर्थकं । ऋणग्रहणं न वदन्तीति हेतुज्ञापनं कार्यं, न च वादिना दृष्टान्तान्त- रस्थानुपन्यस्तत्वात् तस्य भङ्गोवाच्यः, पुरुषशक्ति निरूपणार्थत्वाभावात् व्यवहारस्य भूतानुसरणार्थत्वात् क्लृप्तस्य च निरस्यत्वात् तस्माद्दृष्टान्ताभिधानमनर्थकं । किञ्च कौनाशनर्त्तकादीनां शास्त्रमविदुषां शास्त्रविरुद्ध- भाषिकव्यवहारिणां तद्व्यवहारज्ञैरेव व्यवहारस्य दृष्टत्वात् दृष्टान्तवचनमपार्थक्यं व्यवहारानभिज्ञोऽपि न्यायदर्शी सामान्येनैतज्ज्ञानात्येव, यो येषां यादृशो व्यवहारः स तेषां साध्यसाधनमिति न प्रथममेव दृष्टान्ताद्यभिधानं । किञ्च मङ्गलमयं धनं दातुमर्हति किं ? वादिरूपतया दायोचितव्यवहारानियमाश्रयत्वे सति अदत्तधनत्वादिभाषायां तादृग्व्यवहारापहतेनोत्तरे दत्ते क्रियाव्यवहारनियमोज्ञाप्यः । यत्राऽपि शरीरादिपीडया भाषादानं तत्राऽप्ययं दण्डार्होऽनपराद्धे सति कृतपीडत्वादिहेतुः स च सद्रूपोनिश्चयरूपो वक्तव्यो न सन्दिग्धरूपः सन्दिग्धत्वेन साध्यभिद्वेरेभावात् तदिदमुक्तं “सत्कारणान्वितं” हेत्वाभासनिराकरणार्थं सदिति तार्किकस्य योऽलोकमतं तन्नादरणीयं, आभाष्या कारणत्वात् कारणपदेनैव निरस्तत्वात्, निश्चित- पदञ्च साध्यविशेषणं अतस्तन्निश्चितमेव वाच्यं, न तु धारयति नवेति, तथासति हेतु-प्रयोगानुपपत्तेः लोकसिद्धञ्च तदाक्यं । न तु

“दण्डकाष्ठेष्टकासूत्रकिण्वचर्मास्त्रिवर्मणां ।

हेतिपुष्पफलानाञ्च वृद्धिश्च न निवर्त्तते” ॥

इति वृहस्पतिवचनं¹ मवलम्ब्यालोकमिद्धा वृद्धिश्च माध्यतया निर्दिष्टा, अतएव वृहस्पतिः ।

“केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्त्तव्यो विनिश्चयः ।

युक्तिहीनविचारे तु धर्महानिः प्रजायते ॥”

युक्तिर्लोकव्यवहारः । नारदोऽप्याह² ।

“धर्मशास्त्रविरोधे च युक्तियुक्तोविधिः स्मृतः ।

व्यवहारोऽपि बलवान् धर्मस्तेनावहीयते ॥”

तथाऽन्यदप्येवं विजातीयमलोकमिद्धं माध्यमनिर्दिष्टं यथा पौर्णमासीषु दक्षिणाद्वैगुण्यमित्यादिकं । अल्पाक्षरवत्त्वञ्च यावद्भिरक्षरैर्द्धर्मिमाध्यहेतूनां तदनुगुणानाञ्च देशकालानामुपलम्भो भवति तावन्मात्रस्य प्रयोगः । एतावानेव च प्रभूतोऽर्थ इति प्रभूतार्थत्वमुक्तं । सर्वज्ञेदमनाकुलं वाच्यं, आकुलवादे हानिं हृदयगतं भग्नत्वं प्रतिबन्धतां सभ्यानां मतिरपि तथैव चरतीति विरोधिप्रतिषेधक इत्युक्तं । तथाहि न मया गृहीतमृणमित्याग्रहणाभिधानेन प्रतिषिध्यति परिशुद्धमिति च परिशुद्धत्वाभिधानेन याच्यमानोऽपि धनं न ददाति न च मया सह न्यायं करोति महता प्रतियत्नेन इदानीं न्यायार्थमुपस्थित इति वृत्तत्वेऽपि वा न्यायस्य तत्त्वतो न तन्निरूपितमिति सर्वमिदं वचनं प्राडन्यायोत्तरप्रतिषेधकमभवति । अथवा

“आढ्यस्य निकटस्यस्य यच्छक्तेन न याचितं ।

शुद्धन्तु शङ्कया तत्र पत्रं दुर्वलतामियात् ॥”

इति वचनं बलादुत्तरवचनस्य सम्भाव्यमानस्य प्रतिरोधकं यथा भवति तथा वक्तव्यं ।

यन्मया चिरं देशान्तरस्थितत्वान्न प्रार्थितं बह्वजनाध्यक्षं वा निरन्तरं प्रार्थितं मया तत् पित्रा वा यदृणं दत्तं एतावत्कालपर्यन्तं ज्ञातुः पुत्रस्य व्यवस्थानवज्जानात् मया न याचितं इदानीन्तु पुत्रादिना ज्ञातं यदृणं तेनायमर्थो भवति सर्वथा यावत्प्रकारमुत्तरं भवति तन्निषेधकपक्षो निर्दिष्टः इति विरोधिप्रतिषेधक इत्युक्तं, यदाह वृहस्पतिः⁵ ।

“उपस्थिते ततस्तस्मिन् वादौ पत्रं प्रकल्पयेत् ।

निरवद्यं सत्प्रतिज्ञं प्रमाणागमसंयुतं ॥

देशस्थानसमामासपक्षाहर्जाति नाम च ।

द्रव्यं संख्योदयं पीडां क्षमालिङ्गञ्च लेखयेत् ॥

आगमः ऋणग्रहणादिप्रमाणं साक्षिपत्रादिकं । यद्यपि तृतीयपादे पत्रादिकीर्त्तनं तथाऽपि पक्षस्य सम्भावनार्थमस्मिन्नर्थे मम पत्रादिकमस्तीति मामान्येन निर्दिष्टं । उदयः पणिकादिवृद्धिः प्रत्यासत्तौ कुतो मां न पीडयति इति तदर्थं पीडितोमयेति वक्तव्यं अपीडितत्वेऽपि क्षमाकारणं लेखनीयमिति तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः⁶ ।

¹ 0 ² 0

³ Narada, I, 10 (p. 16).

⁴ 0

0

⁶ 0

निवेश्य कालं वर्षञ्च मासं पक्षं तिथिन्तथा ।
 वेलां प्रदेशं विषयं स्थानं जात्याङ्गती वयः ॥
 साध्यप्रमाणं द्रव्यञ्च संख्या नाम तथात्मनः ।
 राज्ञश्च क्रमशो नाम निवासं साध्यमेव च ॥
 क्रमात् पितृणां नामानि षोडशमाहर्त्तृदापकौ ।
 क्षमालिङ्गानि चान्यानि पक्षं सङ्कीर्त्य लेखयेत् ॥”

सर्वमेतद्विरोधुत्तरनिराकरणार्थं वाच्यं, अन्यथा साध्यहेतुप्रमाणानामेवोपन्यासः कार्यः, देशादि-
 कौर्त्तनमनुपयुक्तं भवेत् । न चैतदुत्तरानन्तरं वाच्यं, तदानौ तत्-प्रतीकारस्याऽनवसरदुःस्थत्वात् तदाऽऽह
 नारदः¹ ।

“भाषायामुत्तरं यावत् प्रत्यर्थी नाभिलेखयेत् ।
 अर्थी तु लेखयेत्तावत् यावद्वस्तुविवक्षितम्” ॥
 “²शोधयेत् पूर्ववादान्तु यावन्नोत्तरदर्शनम् ।
 अवष्टब्धस्योत्तरेण निवृत्तं शोधनं भवेत्” ॥

तथा वृहस्पतिः³ ।

“ऊनाधिकं पूर्वपक्षं यावद्वादी विशोधयेत् ।
 न दद्यादुत्तरं तावत् प्रत्यर्थी सभ्यसन्निधौ” ॥

ऊनाधिकमिति वचनात् पूर्वोक्तादविरुद्धं न्यूनं पूरणीयं अधिकमपनेयं, न तु विरोधि, परस्पर-
 विरोधादेव भाषाया अनादेयत्वेन तस्य भङ्गत्वात् तदेवमुत्तरानन्तरं भाषाशोधननिषेधात् ।

“एकं प्रत्यर्थिनो वाक्यं द्वे वाक्ये पूर्ववादिनः” ।

इति पठितमनाकरं तस्माद्विरोधिप्रतिषेधक इत्यस्य यथोक्त एवार्थः योग्लोकेन व्याख्यातः । प्रति-
 वादिनः साध्यान्तरस्य निषेधकं न तेन सङ्कीर्णरूपमिति तदयुक्तं, न हि प्रतिवादिनः साध्यान्तरमभियोग
 निस्तारादन्यदस्ति, न चाभियोगतन्निस्तारयोः सङ्कीर्णत्वं सम्भवति, यन्निषिध्यते । भावाभावयोः परस्पर-
 परौहारेणैव स्थितत्वात् । “साध्यान्तरं नाभियुक्तोऽभियुञ्जीत” इति साध्यान्तरस्य निषिद्धत्वात् भाषाकाले
 चोत्तरवाद्यभिधेयस्य साध्यान्तरस्य परिज्ञानेन तन्निषेधार्थकमभिधानं मुधेति यत्किञ्चिदेतत् । अथ पचा-
 भासानाह वृहस्पतिः⁴ ।

अप्रसिद्धं सदोषञ्च निरर्थं निष्प्रयोजनम् ।
 असाध्यं वा विरुद्धं वा पक्षं राजा विवर्जयेत् ॥

तदेव व्याकरोति⁵ ।

न केनचित् कृतो यस्तु सोऽप्रसिद्ध उदाहृतः ।
 अन्यार्थः स्वार्थहीनश्च सदोषः परिकीर्तितः ॥

अल्पापराधश्चाल्पार्था निरर्थक उदाहृतः ।
 कार्यवाधाविहीनश्च विज्ञेयो निष्प्रयोजनः ॥
 कुषीदाद्यैः पदैर्हीनो व्यवहारो निरर्थकः ।
 वाक्पारुष्यादिभिश्चैव विज्ञेयो निष्प्रयोजनः ॥
 ममानेन प्रदातव्यं शशशृङ्गकृतं धनुः ।
 असम्भाव्यमसाध्यञ्च पक्षमाङ्गमनौषिणः ॥
 यस्मिन्नावेदिते पक्षे प्राङ्निवाकेऽथ राजनि ।
 पुरे राष्ट्रे विरोधः स्याद्विरुद्धः सोऽभिधीयते ॥

अप्रसिद्धनिराबाधमिति कात्यायने विशेषः । शेषं समानं । तदेव स्वयमेव मुनिना अप्रसिद्धादे-
 र्वाहृतत्वात् यदन्यैः कल्पितं अप्रसिद्धमिति मदीयं शशविशाणमनेन गृहीतं, निराबाधमस्मदीयगृहस्थितो
 दीपः प्रकाशमेतद्गृहे करोति । निरर्थकमनेन भस्मितं वीक्षितं । निष्प्रयोजनमनेन देवदत्ताय प्रहृतं,
 असाध्यमहमनेनास्ति निकोञ्च चोपहसितः, विरुद्धमहमनेन मूकेन शस्त इति, तत्रास्तां दूषणान्तरं किन्तु
 शास्त्रान्यथा कल्पनमशास्त्रदर्शित्वमेव तेषां कल्पयति । अप्रसिद्धमिति प्रतिपौर्णमास्याममावास्यायाञ्च
 दक्षिणावृद्धिर्दिगुणोक्ता काष्ठादीनाञ्च चयवृद्धिस्तद्विवादो न केनचित् कृत इत्याद्यप्रसिद्धं कुषीदादिव्यवहारा-
 श्चतुर्दशार्थविषयास्तैर्हीनो निरर्थकः । वाक्पारुष्यादिभिर्हीनार्थकैर्हीनो निष्प्रयोजनः । व्यक्तार्थपरमपरं ।
 तेनाऽप्रसिद्धादिकं विहायाऽष्टादशविधोविवादोऽर्थिना निर्देश्यो नान्यः । यऽथा वृहस्पतिः ।

“अष्टादशपदो वादो विचार्या विनिवेदितः ।
 मन्थन्यानि पदान्यत्र तानि राजा विज्ञेत् स्वयम् ॥
 षड्भाग-हरणं शुद्धं समयातिक्रमो निधिः ।
 वधः संहरणं स्तेय मासेधाज्ञाव्यतिक्रमः” ॥

एतानि पदानि राजैव विज्ञेत् । राजैव स्वयमनुसरणीयमिति अष्टादशविवादास्त्वर्थिनिवेदिता
 एवानुसरणीयाः ।

स्वयं नोत्पादयेत् कार्यं राजा वा नाऽस्य पूरुषः ।
 इत्यादिकमप्येतद्विषयं । तथा कात्यायनः[†] ।

“पुरुषाष्टाविरुद्धश्च ? यश्च राजा विवर्जितः ।
 अनेकपदसंकौर्णः पूर्वपक्षो न सिध्यते ॥
 वज्रप्रतिज्ञं यत्कार्यं व्यवहारेष्वनिश्चितम् ।
 कामं तदपि गृहीत्वात् राजा कार्यवुभुत्सया” ॥

प्रतिज्ञा यत्र भूयमी यथा चतुर्थे वत्सरे शतमृणत्वेन मत्तोऽनेन गृहीतं तृतीयवत्सरे उद्धारतया

पञ्चाशत्पुराणा गृहीताः । द्वितीयवत्सरे रजतपलद्वयं मया निश्चितं, परवर्षं च मदीया भूमिरनेन बला-
हुक्तेति । तत्र विभिन्नकालत्वात् विभिन्नक्रियत्वात् क्रियानिर्द्देशानां भेदात् एकस्मिंश्च विवादे अनेकक्रिया-
निषेधात् । यथा कात्यायनः¹ ।

“न चैकस्मिन् विवादे तु क्रिया स्याद्वादिनोर्द्वयोः ।

न चाऽर्थसिद्धिरुभयोर्नचैकत्रक्रियाद्वयम्” ॥

तस्मादनेको युगपत् पूर्वपक्षो निषिध्यते । न तु नानापक्षनिर्द्देशात्तस्य हानिरेव स्यात्, किन्तु
तत्त्वप्रतिपत्तये लिखेत् । (?) क्रमशो विलेखयितुं यत्र नानाद्रव्याण्येकहेतुसाध्यानि यथा ममाऽनेन सुवर्णरजत-
धान्यानि बलाद्गृहीतानि तत्र युगपदेव निर्णयः कार्यः । एकप्रमाणसाध्यतयैकत्वात् । कात्यायनः² ।

“देशकालविहीनश्च द्रव्यसंख्याविवर्जितः ।

साध्यप्रमाणहीनश्च पक्षो न देय इष्यते ॥”

देशकालादिभिरेव यत्र निर्णयस्तत्र तदुपन्यासात् पक्षाभासत्वं न तु तेषामनुपयुक्तत्वेऽप्यदृष्टार्थतापत्तेः
आह व्यासः³ ।

अर्थार्थी पौडितोवापि प्रमाणबलमास्थितः ।

निरवद्यं सत्प्रतिज्ञं पूर्वपक्षं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥

स तु पक्षः सभ्यैर्लेखनीयः । तदाऽऽहतु र्यासदृश्यतौ⁴ ।

पाण्डुलेखेन फलके भूम्यां वा प्रथमं लिखेत् ।

न्यूनाधिकन्तु संशोध्य पश्चात् पत्रे निवेशयेत्” ॥

तथा कात्यायनः⁵ । “पूर्वपक्षं सभावोक्तमल्लिखितम्” । एतच्च खरविशेषादिना सुज्ञयं, अधिकं यदानुगुण
वचनविरोधि विरोधिनाऽभिधानेन भाषायामनादेयत्वेन भग्नस्य वादिनः सभ्यगतदोषाभावनिराकरणार्थं
विरोधिखिलनस्य कार्यत्वात् (?) न्यूनं यदुक्तार्थानुपपत्ति परिकल्पितं तल्लेखनीयं न तु वादिन्यनुकूलत्वात् न देशं
तद्विचारस्य तत्त्वनिर्णयार्थत्वात् कलस्य च निषेधात्, भूमौ च कठिनी-लिखितस्योद्धारारोपयोर्न्यूनाधिक-
शोधनार्थं सुकरत्वात् प्रथमं पाण्डुलिखनमुक्तं, शोधितन्तु पत्रे लेखनीयं अतोत्तरस्य भाषावादिनो-नैवं
मयोक्तमिति विप्रतिपत्ति निरामार्थं । अन्यथा लिखने लेखकस्य दण्डमाह, कात्यायनः⁶ ।

अन्यदुक्तं लिखेदन्यदर्धिप्रत्यर्थिनां वचः ।

चौरवच्छासयेत् तन्तु धार्मिकः पृथिवीपतिः ॥

तदेवं निरवद्यपूर्वपक्षे वादिना ज्ञापिते ज्ञाततदर्थेन प्रतिवादिनोत्तरं देयम् ।

इति प्रथमभाषापादः ॥

अथ उत्तरपादः ।

यदि भाषाऽर्हा, अनर्हत्वे त्वभियोगाममुद्गवात्, किं-विधार्थमुत्तरं वाच्यं, तदाऽऽह वृहस्पतिः¹ ।

“ विनिश्चिते पूर्वपक्षे ग्राह्याग्राह्यविशोधिते ।

प्रतिज्ञार्थं स्थिरौभृते लेखयेदुत्तरं ततः ॥ ”

मम्यक् भाषार्थं श्रुत्वा उत्तरवादी यदि कालं याचेत, तदा कार्यानुसारेण कालो देयः । तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः² ।

श्रुत्वा लेखयते ह्यर्थं प्रत्यर्थी कारणद्यदि ।

कालं विवादे याचेत तस्य देयो न संग्रयः ॥

सद्यो वैकाहपञ्चाहच्यहं वा गुरुलाघवात् ।

लभेताऽमौ त्रिपक्षं वा सप्ताहं वा ऋणादिषु ” ॥

अथ व्यवस्थामाह³ ।

सद्यः कृते सद्योवादःसमातीते दिनं क्षिपेत् ।

षडाब्दिके त्रिवर्णन्तु (?) सप्ताहं द्वादशाब्दिके ” ॥

विंशत्यब्दे दशाहन्तु मासाद्धं वा लभेत सः ।

मामं त्रिंशत्समातीते त्रिपक्षं परतो लभेत् ॥

कालं शक्तिं विदित्वा तु कार्य्याणाञ्च बलाबलं ।

अल्पं वा बद्धं वा कालं दद्यात् प्रत्यर्थिने प्रभुः ॥

प्रभुर्नृपतिर्न्यायदर्शनोपलक्षणार्थः । त्रिरात्रसप्तरात्रयोः षडाब्दिकद्वादशाब्दिकगोचरतया दर्शितत्वादर्थात्तन्मध्ये नवाब्दिके पञ्चाहव्यवस्थितिः । कार्य्याणां बलाबलमिति वदता ऋतुत्रयं वर्षं वा दद्यादिति सूचितं, अतएव वृहस्पतिः⁴ ।

“एकाहव्यहपञ्चाहसप्ताहं पक्षमेव वा ।

मामं चतुस्त्रयं वर्षं लभेत शक्त्यपेक्षया ॥ ”

कार्य्यानुगुणं शक्तिं मम्यगालोक्य कालो दातव्यः न तु प्रत्यर्थितामात्रेण प्रदेयः, कालभेदविधानानुपपत्तेः । सद्योविषयमाह याजवल्क्यः ।

“साहमस्तेयपारुष्यगोऽभिशापात्यये स्त्रियाः ।

विवादयेत् सद्य एव कालोऽन्यत्रेकया स्मृतः ॥ ”

अन्यत्रेति ऋणादौ, तदाह नारदः⁵ ।

“गहनत्वाद्विवादानामसामर्थ्यात् स्मृतेरपि ।

ऋणादिषु हरेत्कालं कालतत्त्वबुभुत्सया ॥ ”

तच्चबुभुत्सयेत्यनेन याज्ञवल्क्यीयेच्छेति व्याख्यातं । दत्ते काले यदि राजदैवादिना विरोधः स्यात् तदा कालान्तरमपि देयं । राजदैवविरोधस्तु तेन प्रतिपादनीयः । तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः¹ ।

आचारद्रव्यदानेष्ट-कृत्योपस्थाननिर्णये ।

नोपस्थितो यदा कश्चित् क्लृप्तं तत्र न कारयेत् ॥

दैवराजकृतो दोषस्तस्मिन्काले यदा भवेत् ।

अबाधत्यागमात्रेण न भवेत् स पराजितः ॥

दैवराजकृतं दोषं साक्षिभिः प्रतिपादयेत् ।

दैवराजकृतो दोषस्तस्मिन्काले यदा भवेत् ॥

अबाधत्यागमात्रेण न भवेत् स पराजितः ॥

दैवराजकृतं दोषं साक्षिभिः प्रतिपादयेत् ।

जैह्वेन वर्त्तमानस्य दण्डोदाप्यस्तु तद्भनम् ।

जैह्वेन राजदैवविरोधं विनाऽनुपस्थितो भग्न एव भवतीति । अथोत्तरमाह तुर्नारदकात्यायनौ² ।

“पूर्वपक्षश्रुतार्थस्तु प्रत्यर्थी तदनन्तरं ।

पूर्वपक्षार्थसम्बन्धं प्रतिपक्षं निवेदयेत् ॥”

वादिनोक्तस्य साध्यस्य प्रतीपमर्थयतीति प्रत्यर्थी, न तु साध्यान्तरस्य, अतएव प्रतिपक्षं निवेदयेदित्याह, अतो यदि साध्यान्तरमप्यस्ति तथाऽपि नेदानौ वाच्यं, तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः ।

“अभियुक्तोऽभियोक्तारमभियुञ्जीत कर्हिचित् ।

अन्यत्र दण्डपारुष्यस्तेयसंग्रहणात्ययात् ॥”

दण्डादिषु च ममाप्यनेन दण्डपारुष्यादिकृतमिति प्रत्यभियोगो दातव्य एव । तथैव तदभियोगस्य विस्तारात्, तथा याज्ञवल्क्यः⁴ ।

“अभियोगमनिस्तीर्य नैनं प्रत्यभियोजयेत् ।

अभियुक्तं न चाऽन्येन चोक्तं विप्रकृतं नयेत् ॥”

तस्माद्वादितोऽभियोगनिस्तारार्थमेवोत्तरं स्यान्न तु साध्यान्तरनिर्णायकत्वेन, अतएव उत्तीर्यतेऽभियोगोऽनेनेत्युत्तरं, अथोत्तरस्वरूपमाह तुर्नारदवृहस्पती ।

“पक्षस्य व्यापकं सारमसन्दिग्धमनाकुलम् ।

अव्याख्यानगम्यमेतदुत्तरं तद्विदो विदुः ॥”

तच्चतुर्धा तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः⁶ ।

सत्यं मिथ्योत्तरञ्चैव प्रत्यवस्कन्दनं तथा ।

पूर्वन्यायविदश्चैव उत्तरं तच्चतुर्विधम् ॥

¹ O ² See Narada, II, 2 (p. 27). O in Katyayana, Narada reads घन्यार्थी for प्रत्यर्थी

³ O ⁴ Yajnavalkya, Ch. II, 9, reads विप्रकृतिं for विप्रकृतं . . . O O

तथा नारदः ।

मिथ्या संप्रतिपत्त्या वा प्रत्यवस्कन्दनेन वा ।

प्राङ्न्यायविधिमिद्धा वा वाचनं प्रतिवादिनः ॥

तथा वृहदग्निष्ठः ।¹

“ सत्यानृते कारणञ्च प्राङ्न्यायश्चोत्तरं पृथक् ” ।

इति प्रत्यवस्कन्दनस्थाने कारणं वदताऽनयोरेकत्वं दर्शितम् । तत्राबाधकरूपं प्रत्युत्तरं एकं, निषेधात्मकं त्रिविधं, त्रिभिरेव वादिनः साध्यनिषेधात्, तद्वाचष्टे व्यासः² ।

“ साध्यस्य सत्यवचनं प्रतिपत्तिरूदाहता ।

कारणं स्यादवस्कन्दो मिथ्या स्यात् साध्यनिहुतिः ” ॥

धारयमीत्यभियुक्तस्य धारयामीत्युत्तरं सम्प्रतिपत्तिः । साध्यस्य विधानात्, न तु विप्रतिपत्त्या न्यायार्थमागतस्य कथं सम्प्रतिपत्तिरेव वाच्यं, यतो भाषावादिनो मूर्खत्वेनापटुवाक्तया वा कदाचित् भाषादोषादेवायं हीयते इति । भाषाविमर्षपर्यन्तं विप्रतिपत्तस्यापि भाषार्थं सम्यगवगम्य तन्निषेधार्थं सम्यगुत्तरामभवाद्द्विदत्सभाषाञ्चासत्यवचनमत्यन्तमधर्मकरं परोक्तमपराजया च, द्विगुणं राजदण्डं वादिना च वैरमित्यादिप्रतिबन्धतः सम्प्रत्युत्तरं भवत्येव एतेभ्य एव निस्तारात्, उत्तरमपि सिद्धसाधनेनाऽपि सम्प्रतिपत्त्युत्तरादिनः प्रत्यवस्थानमिति चोत्तरता, तदाऽऽह वृहस्पतिः³ ।

“ श्रुत्वाऽभियोगं प्रत्यर्थी यदि तं प्रतिपद्यते ।

मा तु सम्प्रतिपत्तिः स्यात् शास्त्रविद्धिरूदाहता ” ॥

सम्यगुत्तरत्वेऽपि पराजयः खोक्तितो निर्विवादः । अथ मिथ्योत्तरं । साध्यापह्नुतिर्मिथ्योत्तरं । तद्वाचष्टे व्यासः⁴ ।

“ मिथ्यैतस्माभिजानामि मम तत्र न मस्त्रिधिः ।

अजातस्त्रास्मि तत्काले एवं मिथ्या चतुर्विधा ” ॥

चतुर्ष्वपि ऋणग्रहणार्थकत्वे हेतुन्तरमुखेन धार्यमाणस्यानुपपत्तिं ब्रुवतः सहेतुसाध्यापह्नुतवन्मिथ्योत्तरं । कारणोत्तरप्राङ्न्याययोऽस्तु हेत्यन्तरोपन्यासेनेति ततोभिद्यते तदाऽऽह वृहस्पतिः⁵ ।

¹ Narada, II, 4 (p. 27). Narada reads:

मिथ्या संप्रतिपत्तिर्वा प्रत्यवस्कन्दमेव वा ।

प्राङ्न्याय-विधिसाध्यं वा उत्तरं स्याच्चतुर्विधम् ॥

“ अभियुक्तोऽभियोगस्य यदि कुर्यादपह्लुतिम् ।

मिथ्या तत्तु विजानीयात् उत्तरं व्यवहारतः ” ॥

अभियुज्यते इत्यभियोगः सहेतुकं साध्यं । तस्याऽपह्लवमित्यर्थः । तथा कात्यायनः¹ ।

“ श्रुत्वा भाषार्थमन्यस्तु यदि तं प्रतिषेधति ।

अर्थतः शब्दतो वाऽपि मिथ्या तज्ज्ञेयमुत्तरम् ” ॥

भाषार्थाहि सहेतुकं साध्यान्तरस्य प्रतिषेधकं मिथ्योत्तरं साध्यमात्रापह्लवस्योत्तरत्रयेऽप्यविषेधात् । तत्र नैतन्मयागृहीतमिति शब्देनैव क्वचित् क्वचित्तदभावेऽपि न जानाम्येतन्न तत्र देशे तदाहमासं न जातोऽस्मीत्याद्यग्रहणनिमित्तकीर्त्तनेनार्थादगृहीतत्वेन स हेतुकस्यैव साध्यस्य साधनस्यापह्लवः । तत्र मिथ्यैतन्नाभिजानामीत्याद्यग्रहणाज्ञानयोरभावरूपत्वेनापह्लवमात्ररूपत्वान्मिथ्योत्तरं । असन्निहितत्वाज्ञातत्वयोस्तु तदितरकालीनदेशान्तरावस्थानपरत्वं तत्परभाविजन्मपरत्वञ्च, तदा च तदवस्कन्दनकारणोपन्यासात् कारणोत्तरता न तु मिथ्योत्तरता । अतएव कारणं स्यादवस्कन्द इत्याह असन्निधानजातत्वमात्रपरत्वे तु भाषारूपमिथ्योत्तरत्वमेव न तु कारणोत्तरता, तदवस्कन्दनकारणानुपन्यासात् । ननु न तृतीयं कारणाख्यमुत्तरं किन्तु प्रत्यवस्कन्दनं, तदाऽह वृहस्पतिः² ।

“ अर्थिनाभिहितो योऽर्थः प्रत्यर्थी यदि तं तथा ।

प्रपद्य कारणं ब्रूयात् प्रत्यवस्कन्दनं हि तत् ॥

योऽर्थिनार्थः प्रभाष्येत प्रत्यर्थी यदि तं तथा ।

प्रपद्य कारणं ब्रूयादाधार्यं मनुरब्रवीत् ” ॥

भाषार्थं तथाविधं प्रपद्याङ्गीकृत्य यदि तदवस्कन्दनं ब्रूयात् तदा प्रत्यवस्कन्दनं भवति । यथा सत्यं मया त्वत्तः शतमृणत्वेन गृहीतं किन्तु तत् शुद्धं । तत्र ग्रहणस्य सिद्धत्वात् अपरिशोधनस्याग्रहणवत् ज्ञापयितुमशक्यत्वात् पूर्वपक्षस्याधानं उत्तरगतन्तु परिशोधनमेव ज्ञाप्यमिति तदेव बलवत् अतः कथं कारणोत्तरमपरं भणसि । ननु प्रपद्येति कोऽर्थः किं साध्यं प्रपद्य, हेतुं वा उभयं वा न वा तत्साध्यं, साधारणाङ्गीकारे सत्योत्तरतापत्तेः, नापि हेतुं गृहीतधनत्वे सत्यपरिशुद्धधनत्वादिति विशिष्टं हेतुमङ्गीकृत्य परिशोधनाधानेन परस्परविरोधादाभासतापत्तेः । अतएवोभयं प्रपद्येति पराहतं । न च ऋणग्रहणं हेतोरेकदेशमङ्गीकृत्येति वाच्यं, तदीयं तद्धनमित्युपगम्य न मया तत् गृहीतमित्यस्यापि प्रत्यवस्कन्दनापत्तेस्तदीयघनस्याऽपि हेत्वैकदेशत्वात्, तस्मात्प्रपद्येति प्रतिपाद्य भाषार्थं, यदभियोगनिस्ताराय कारणाभिधारणात् प्रत्यवस्कन्दनं पूर्वपक्षावस्कन्दनात् अतएव पूर्वपक्षश्रुतार्थस्तु तथा श्रुत्वा भाषार्थमिति प्रतिपत्तिमेव निर्दिशति । उच्यते । प्रपद्येताऽभ्युपगम्य इत्येवार्थः । मदीयं धनमृणतया गृहीतं अपरिशुद्धञ्च त्वयेति ग्रहणमेव हि धारणोत्पत्तौ केवलं धार्यमाणत्वस्य तु परिशोधनं भवति न वा न पुनरपरिशोधनादेव धार्यमाणता न च ग्रहणस्य निरपेक्षस्य धारणकारणे सति कश्चिद्विरोधो व्यभिचाराभावात् उपपन्नस्य धार्यमाणं परि-

शोधनादिनश्यति। अपरिशोधनञ्च तदनुपालयतीति ग्रहणकारणमभ्युपगम्योत्तरं भवति। प्रत्यवस्कन्दनमुत्तर-
मस्ति ततीयं कारणं यदि ग्रहणमात्रं धारणे कारणं, तदा मत्तो गृहीतधनत्वात् इति हेतुर्वाच्यो न
पुनरपरिशुद्धधनत्वमपीति ॥ उच्यते ॥ ग्रहणाभिधानेन धारणमुत्पन्नं जायते, उत्पन्नं पुनरिदानीमध्यनु-
वर्तते इति अपरिशोधनाभिधानेनेति उत्पत्तिमविनाशञ्च जापयितुमुभयोः सहितयोः प्रयोगः। अत्रोच्यते।

कारणविशेषोहि प्रत्यवस्कन्दनं कारणन्वनभ्युपगम्याऽपीति सामान्यकारणं ततीयमुत्तरं। अतएव
“मत्यानृते कारणञ्च प्राङ्न्यायश्चोत्तरं पृथक्” इति कारणमेव निर्दिशति। अतएव जितेन्द्रियेण प्रपद्येत्युप-
लक्षणमित्युक्तं, दीक्षित-प्रभृतिभिस्तु प्रतिपाद्येति व्याख्यातं। तथा व्यासः¹।

“कारणे स्यादवस्कन्दोमिथ्या स्यात् माध्यनिष्कृतिः।”

बलवत्तरकारणोपन्यासादेवाऽस्य दुर्वलकारणोत्तरत्वमेव। यथा मदीयेयं क्रमागताभूरिति भाषायां
मदीयेयं क्रमागतेति तुल्यरूपं कारणोत्तरं। तथा मदीयाधिकताभूरिति चिरञ्चोपभुक्ता देशान्तरो-
पस्थिततया पञ्चवर्षाणि नोपभुक्तेति भाषायां मया पञ्चमे वर्षे अधिकता भुक्ता तु पञ्चवर्षाणि इति
दुर्वलं कारणं।

“आधौ प्रतिग्रहे क्रीते पूर्वा तु बलवत्तरा²।”

इति वचनात्। यत्तु दुर्वलोदाहरणं तार्किकान्यस्य योऽलोकस्य मदीयेयं क्रमागताभू रिति भाषायां
मदीयेयं दशवर्षभुज्यमानत्वात् इति श्रीकरोदाहरणस्वीकरणं तदसङ्गतं, दशवर्षभोगस्य भूमिगत-
स्वत्वोत्पत्तौ ज्ञप्तौतु कारणत्वस्यैवाभावात् कथं दुर्वलकारणोदाहरणता। आधिग्रहणस्य तु कारणत्वे सत्येव
दुर्वलत्वं, पूर्वाधिविरोधेन कार्यशक्तिप्रतिबन्धः तस्मात् सर्वं तावद्युक्तं सहेतुकमाध्यापहरमात्रेणैव मिथ्यो-
त्तरता पूर्ववाद्युक्तकारणमपङ्क्त्याभ्युपगमाभियोगनिस्ताराय भावरूपकारणाभिधानात् कारणोत्तरता,
तद्विशेषस्तु प्रत्यवस्कन्दनं। मापदेशमिथ्यापि कारणमेव। ननु तर्हि प्राङ्न्यायोऽपि कारणं स्यात् उभयरूप
कारणाभिधानात्। उच्यते। न जयः कारणमपधार्यमाणत्वे किन्तु ग्रहणं परिशोधनं वा जयस्वेतयोरन्यतर-
धारणं प्रमाणमात्रं, तथा प्राङ्न्याये च पराजये च उत्तरं भवति। तथास्त्रीसंग्रहणे पूर्वमभियुक्तस्य पुनर-
भियोगे पूर्वमेवाऽहमनेनाऽस्मिन् विषयेऽभियुक्तोजितो राजनि निवेद्य दण्डितश्चेत्यत्र (दण्डदण्डिकाक-बालश्च
प्रमाणं?) अतः कथं पुनरपि मामभियुक्त इति, तथा प्राङ्न्यायेऽपि भाषा दृश्यते, यथा गृहीतधन
प्रार्थने ममाग्नेन सह न्याये वृत्ते जितं मया जयपत्रञ्चेदं अगृहीतमृणं ददात्विति कारणोत्तरन्तु नैषं रूपमिति।
ततोऽतिभिन्न एवायं प्राङ्न्यायः। यत् पुनः केचिदाङ्गर्गृहीतग्रतपुराणे धारणाभियोगे शतं न गृहीतं
किन्तु पञ्चाशत् परिशुद्धं तत्राऽपि वा किञ्चित् अपरिशुद्धं किञ्चिद्धारयामि इत्यादिकं तस्मिन् मिथ्या-
कारणाभ्यां मिथ्याकारणं मत्तैर्वासङ्गौर्णत्वादमदुत्तरं, तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः।

“पक्षैकदेशे यत् मत्तं एकदेशे च कारणं।

मिथ्या चैकदेशे स्यात् सङ्गरात्तदनुत्तरं ॥”

हेतुमाह,

न चैकस्मिन् विवादेहि क्रिया स्याद्वादिनोर्द्वयोः ।
न चाऽर्थसिद्धिरुभयोर्न चैकत्र क्रियाद्वयं ॥¹

मिथ्यांशे पूर्ववादिनः क्रियाकारणांशे चोत्तरवादिन इति द्वयोरेव जयपराजयापत्तेरुत्तरा-
भासत्वमिति ।

तदयुक्तं । एवं विधस्यैवार्थस्य परमार्थत्वे कथमन्यथोत्तरदानं । न चोत्तरमेव न देयं अतएव
भङ्गापत्तेः ।

न चाऽन्यस्य गृहीतपरिशुद्धत्वेऽपि शतस्याऽगृहीतत्वान्न मया शतं गृहीतमिति मिथ्योत्तरं देयं ।
यतो निरूपकैरुत्तरवाक्यार्थस्यावश्यं निरूपणीयत्वात्, तथाहि किं ग्रहणमात्रनिषेधपरमिदं न गृहीतमेव
किञ्चिदिति तन्निषेधाच्च शतस्याप्यग्रहणमिति शतपदमनुवादः । यद्वा शतनिषेधार्थमिदं ग्रहणं तदल्पस्य
सिद्धमेव, उभयनिषेधार्थमेव वा, तत्र न तावदग्रहणनिषेधार्थं तन्निषेधादेकादेः परार्द्धं पर्यन्तग्रहणस्य
सिद्धत्वात् शतपद-प्रयोगस्याऽऽनर्थक्यापत्तेः अतएव नोभय निषेधार्थमपि । किञ्च एवमुत्तरदाने पञ्चाशतो
गृहीतपरिशुद्धस्यापि दानमापद्येत ।

ग्रहणमात्रनिषेधपरत्वेन तत्प्रतिपादनेनैवोत्तरार्थस्य बाधितत्वात् । निष्प्रतिपक्षस्य भाषार्थस्य सिद्ध-
त्वात् शतमेव न देयं स्यात् । यत्रोत्तरभासे दत्ते क्रियानपेक्षेतरभाषार्थसिद्धिः, सुतरां तत्रैकदेश-क्रियया
तत्रैव वोत्तरस्याभासौक्यत्वात्, विभावितैकन्यायादेवैतच्च विस्तारेण वक्ष्यामः । तस्मादित्यमुत्तरं न देयं,
यद्गृहीतमल्पं तदभ्यनुज्ञाय तदधिकस्य शतादेरग्रहणेन तद्यदि यदन्यं गृहीतं तन्न परिशुद्धं तद्धारण
मङ्गलौक्यं शतग्रहणनिषेधे सत्येव सङ्कीर्णता । अथ परिशुद्धात्तदभिधानपूर्वकः शतनिषेधस्तदा प्रत्यव-
स्कन्दनेन सह सङ्कीर्णतेति । पारमार्थिकैवरूपे वस्तुनि नास्त्युत्तरवादिनोनिस्तारः, सङ्कीर्णोत्तरवादिनो
निस्तारः सङ्कीर्णोत्तरवादिमते । तस्माद्यदेव परस्परविहङ्गाभिधानं यथा शतं मया न गृहीतं वा
यद्वास्तोकं धारयामीत्यादिकं तदुत्तराभासं परस्परविरोधात्, एवमादिविषयत्वमेव च कात्यायन
वचनानां² यथा ।

“ प्रस्तुतादल्पमव्यक्तं नूनाधिकमसङ्गतं ।
अव्याप्यसारं सन्दिग्धं प्रतिपक्षं न लङ्घयेत् ॥
सन्दिग्धमन्यत् प्रकृतादल्पमिति च भूरि च ।
पक्षैकदेश व्याप्येव तत्तु नैवोत्तरं भवेत् ॥
यद्वास्तपदमव्यापि निगूढार्थं तथाऽऽकुलं ।
व्याख्यागम्यमसारञ्च नोत्तरं स्वार्थसिद्धये ॥
पक्षैकदेशे यत् सत्यमेकदेशे च कारणं ।
मिथ्याचैकदेशे स्यात् सङ्करात्तदनुत्तरं ॥ ”

ननु अविरोद्धत्वेऽप्येकदेशे मिथ्यात्वादेकदेशे च कारणत्वात् न कस्याऽपि कृत्स्नव्यापितेति उत्तराभासत्वं कुतो न स्यात् । नैतत्, एकत्रैव संसृष्टोत्तरावयवी ब्रुवयवः अवयवाभ्यां पक्षस्यावयवौ व्याप्नुवन् कृत्स्नमेव पक्षं व्याप्नोति इति नाऽव्यापिता । पक्षैकदेशे यत् मत्यमित्यादिकस्य चाऽयमर्थः । पक्षनिर्देशकवचनैकदेशसत्यं मिथ्याकारणञ्चेति परस्परविरोद्धं, तत्रैकस्य उत्तरावयविनोऽनारम्भादाभासता अविरोद्धैस्तु तदारम्भान्नाभासता यथावस्तुत्तरदानेऽपि वचनादुत्तराभासत्वे वचनमदृष्टार्थं स्यात् न्यायस्यादर्शनाच्छलापत्तेश्च । तस्माच्छतं न गृहीतं किन्तु पञ्चाशत् गृहीतास्ते च परिशुद्धा इति सदुत्तरमेव । अत्रपञ्चाशन्मात्रग्रहणोत्तरेण शतग्रहणस्य हेतोरसिद्धत्वमुक्तं । पञ्चाशद्ग्रहणे परिशोधनेन चापरिशोधनस्याऽसिद्धिरुक्ता । तेनैतदेव शताभियोगे मिथ्या पञ्चाशत्परिशोधने च कारणोत्तरं अतएव व्यासः¹ ।

मिथ्योत्तरं कारणञ्च स्यातामेकत्र चेदुभे ।

स्वयं वाऽपि सहाऽन्येन एव ग्राह्यं किमुत्तरम् ॥

मिथ्याकारणयोर्वापि ग्राह्यं कारणमुत्तरम् ।

तत् प्रभृतार्थ-विषयं यत्र वा स्यात् क्रियाफलम् ॥

उत्तरं तच्च विज्ञेयमसङ्कीर्णमतोऽन्यथा ।

अस्यार्थः । यदैकोत्तरावयविमिथ्याकारणरूपमवयवद्वयं परस्पराविरोद्धं, सत्येन वा सहावयवत्रयं, तदा क्रियैकत्वाथे अवयवविशेषग्रहणमिति ब्रूते । अस्य तदुत्तराभासत्वे व्यासवचनं निर्विषयं स्यात्, यत् पुनर्मिथ्याकारणयोर्वाऽपौति अस्योदाहरणं तार्किकान्नान्येनोक्तं— यथा मदीया गौरमुकस्मिन् काले नष्टा साचैतस्य गृहे तिष्ठति इत्युक्ते मिथ्या तदेतदुपदर्शितकालात् प्राङ्मद्गृहे चिरं माऽस्तीति मिथ्याकारणाभ्यां सङ्कीर्णरूपमपि सदुत्तरमेवेत्यन्तं, तदपि पूर्वापरविरोद्धम्, मिथ्यैतन्नाभिजानामि इति वचनमुपन्यस्य मिथ्यात्वप्रतिपादनमात्रपर्यवसितत्वेन मिथ्योत्तरमेव । अथ देशान्तरावस्थानादिना मिथ्यात्वे कारणदत्तभराणि तदाकारणान्येव, इति स्वयमेवोक्तत्वात्, कथमस्मिन्नुदाहरणे द्वयोःसन्निपातः । स्वतन्त्रैव द्वयोर्व्याहृतत्वात्, यथा धूमार्थवह्निविज्ञानं यद्यविनाभावपुरस्कारेण जायते, तदाऽनुमानं । अथ व्यतिरेकमुखेन ततोऽर्थापत्तिरित्येकमेवज्ञानं, आलोचनादिभेदेन भिद्यते इति दृष्टान्तस्याऽपि तेनैव दर्शितत्वात्, न हि तत्राऽपि प्रमाणसङ्कीर्णताप्रमाणयोः कचिद्भवति दृष्टान्ते च दूषणं विस्तरभयान्नोक्तं । तस्माच्छताभियोगे शतग्रहणं मिथ्या पञ्चाशदेव गृहीतास्ते च परिशुद्धा इति मिथ्यांशकारणांशयोस्तु विषयत्वात् कारणोत्तरं ग्राह्यं, यदि च शतं मिथ्या पञ्चविंशतिः पुराणा गृहीतास्ते च परिशुद्धा इति मिथ्यांशस्य प्रभृतार्थत्वविषयत्वात् मिथ्योत्तरग्रहणं (तदा) पूर्ववादिन एव क्रिया इत्यर्थः । सत्यमिथ्याकारणैरपि सङ्कीर्णोदाहरणं यथा नवत्यभियोगे मिथ्यतत् षष्टिपुराणा एव गृहीतास्तत्रापि त्रिंशत् परिशुद्धास्त्रिंशत् धारयामि इति तत्राऽपि कारणोत्तरमेव ग्राह्यं मिथ्याकारणयोर्वाऽपौत्यपि शब्देन त्रिभिरपि संसृष्टेकारणमेव ग्राह्यमितिदर्शितत्वात् प्रभृतार्थ-विषयत्वञ्च कारणोत्तरग्रहणापवादकं “द्वयोरेवापवादकं यत्र वा स्यात् क्रियाफलमिति” । क्रिया हि

पत्रिकादिः, तस्याः फलं सम्यगिष्टनिर्णयः । तत्र यदि शतग्रहणे पत्रमस्ति, शतापङ्गवे च पञ्चाशत्
विशोधने साचिणस्तदा मिथ्योत्तरमेव ग्राह्यं । लिखितस्य साचिभ्यो बलवत्त्वेन सम्यङ्निर्णयफलत्वादित्यर्थः ।
तदेतदुक्तं ।¹

“यत् प्रभृतार्थविषयं यत्र वा स्यात् क्रियाफलमिति ।”

ननु युक्तेर्भूयोऽनुरोधात् प्रभृतार्थक्रियाग्रहणस्यैव विनिगमनावारणत्वात् बलवत्त्वाच्च बलवत्
प्रमाणग्रहणं, मिथ्याकारणयोस्तु न विषयत्वं, क्रियायाश्चाऽविशेषे कुतः कारणग्रहणं, मिथ्योत्तरे सति ग्रहणस्य
प्रतिपाद्यत्वात्, कारणे च सति परिशोधनस्य ज्ञाप्यत्वात्, भावाभावरूपेणापि कुपण्डितोक्तेनेति विशेषः ।

उच्यते । ग्रहणस्य चिरातीतत्वात् परिशोधनस्य त्वन्तरभावित्वेन स्मरणार्हतया कारणस्यैव ग्रहणं,
अस्यैव विनिगमनाकारणत्वात्, कश्चित्तु वचनादित्याह तदयुक्तं, वचनस्याऽदृष्टार्थतापत्तेः । अस्मदुक्तोदाहरणेषु
सङ्कीर्णोत्तरवादिनो हेयवचना एव, तदेवं सत्यमिथ्याकारणप्राङ्न्यायात्मकं चतुर्विधमुत्तरं ! यच्च सापदेशं
मिथ्योत्तरमाहुस्तद् यदि मिथ्योत्तरग्रहणं तदा मिथ्योत्तरमेव तत् न तु पृथक् । तथाऽप्रसिद्धं प्रत्यवस्कन्दन-
मपि कारणविशेषः । सर्वमेव वा कारणोत्तरं प्रतिपत्तावस्कन्दनात् प्रत्यवस्कन्दनमुच्यते । वृद्धशातातपस्तु
षड्विधमुत्तरमाह² ।

“मिथ्यासम्प्रतिपत्त्या वा प्रत्यवस्कन्दनेन वा ।

प्राङ्न्यायविधिना चैवमुत्तरन्तु चतुर्विधम् ॥

मिथ्योपदेशं संसृष्टं विप्रतीतिस्तथा परा ।

विज्ञेया व्यवहारेषु षड्विधोत्तरजातयः ।

अर्थान्तरोपदेशेन पूर्वपक्षार्थनिष्कवे ।

मिथ्यापदेशं संसर्गात् तत् संसृष्टमुदाहृतं ॥

गृहे जातेऽथवा क्रीते प्रतिज्ञाते गवादिके ।

गृहे जातो ममापौति विप्रतीत्युत्तरं हि तत् ॥

तत्र संसृष्टोदाहरणं मदीयेयं बज्जला नाम गौरमुकस्मिन् काले मद्गृहे दृष्टा इदानीमेतस्य गृहे
दृष्टा तामर्षयत्विति भाषायां, नेयमेतदीया एतदुपदर्शितकालात् प्रागेव सुचिरं मया क्रीता मद्गृहे
चाऽस्तौति—कारणाभिधानान्न केवलं मिथ्या न च प्रत्यवस्कन्दनं पूर्वाक्तस्य हेतोरनभ्युपगमात् । तेन मिथ्या-
कारणाभ्यां संसृष्टमुदाहरणमुत्तरं । विप्रतीत्युदाहरणं यथा मदीयेयं धवलिका गौर्मद्गृहे जाता, अपरोऽपि
तथैवाऽह, यद्वा ममेयं भूः क्रमागता इत्युक्ते प्रतिवाद्यपि ममापि क्रमागतेति । तुल्यरूपकारणोपन्यासादि-
प्रतीतिरिदमुत्तरं तत्पूर्वाक्तकारणोत्तर एवानयोरनुप्रविष्टत्वात् नास्ति भेदः इति । यद्वा नारदादयश्चतु-
र्विधमुत्तरं वर्णितवन्तः । वृद्धशातातपवचनन्तु बज्जजौर्ण(?)कृतनिबन्धेऽस्माभिर्दृष्टं, न पुनर्भोजदेवे, पक्षैक-
देशव्यापिनस्तु उदाहरणं—शताभियोगे पञ्चाशत्पुराणा मयाऽस्य परिशुद्धाः अतो न धारयामीति, शतस्यतु

¹ 0

² 0 in वृद्धशातातप (Anandasrama, 1905).

न ग्रहणं नाऽग्रहणं न च परिशोधनं ब्रूते, न च मृत्यमित्यनुजानाति, तेन परिशोधनमाचोत्तरस्य न
व्यापितेत्युत्तराभासोऽसौ ॥

द्वत्युत्तराभासनिर्णयो नाम द्वितीयःपादः ॥

अथ क्रियापादः ।

तत्रोत्तराभासे क्रियानपेक्ष एवभङ्गः । मदुत्तरे तु क्रियानिर्णयः, तत्र याज्ञवल्क्यः¹ ।

“ ततोऽर्थो लेखयेत्सद्यः प्रतिज्ञातार्थसाधनं ।

तत्सिद्धौ सिद्धिमाप्नोति विपरीतमतोऽन्यथा ॥ ”

अर्थोतिद्वयोरपि ग्रहणं, स्वपक्षसाधनपरपक्षनिग्रहेणार्थनार्थित्वात् द्वयोरपि पूर्वोत्तराभ्याञ्चोभयाभ्यां
प्रतिज्ञातत्वात्, प्रतिज्ञातार्थसाधनमित्यस्यापि विरोधात् नियमेन च भाषावादिनः क्रियानिर्द्देशाऽनुपपत्तेः ।
सद्यएव क्रियां निर्द्देशेत् उक्तमात्र एव न च तत्राप्युत्तरदानार्थमिव कालापेक्षा कार्या, प्रागेवाऽर्थिनः साक्षि-
पक्षाद्विस्त्रिरीकरणेन सुनिश्चितबलाधानस्य प्रवृत्तत्वात्, प्रत्यर्थिनोऽप्युत्तरदानार्थं दत्त एव कालः स्वप्रमाणस्य
स्थिरतापूर्वकमुत्तरदानात्, अतएव कात्यायनः² ।

न कालग्रहणं कार्यं राज्ञा साक्षिप्रभाषणे ।

सहान् दोषो भवेत् कालात् धर्मव्यावृत्तिलक्षणः ॥

साक्षिणां निर्द्देशः । पृष्ठानां वा अपृष्ठानां वा साक्षिणां वचनं द्वयमपि साक्षिप्रभाषणं न्यायस्या-
विशेषात् । उभयत्राऽपि विलम्बे कूटकरणेन धर्मविरोधापत्तेरित्यर्थः । क्रिया च द्विधा, यथा वृहस्पतिः³ ।

द्विप्रकारा क्रिया प्रोक्ता मानुषी दैविकी तथा ।

एकैकाऽनेकधा भिन्ना ऋषिभिस्तत्त्वदर्शिभिः ॥

साक्षिलेख्यानुमानञ्च मानुषी त्रिविधा स्मृता ।

घटाद्याधर्मजान्ता च दैवी नवविधा स्मृता ॥ ”

व्यवस्थामाह कात्यायनः⁴ ।

“ क्रिया न दैविकी प्रोक्ता विद्यमानेषु साक्षिषु ।

लेख्ये च मति वादेषु न स्वादिव्यं न साक्षिणः ॥

उत्तरविशेषमाह नारदः⁵ ।

मिथ्याक्रिया पूर्ववादे कारणे प्रतिवादिनि ।

प्राङ्न्यायविधिसिद्धौ च जयपत्रं क्रिया भवेत् ॥

मिथ्या मिथ्योत्तरे सति पूर्ववादे भाषार्थे क्रिया मानुषी याच्ना, न गृहीतं मथेत्युत्तरार्थे साक्षिपत्रादि क्रियानुपपत्तेः । एतन्न्यायमूलत्वाच्च वचनस्य नाऽभावो ज्ञाप्य इतिद्वयं हि भाषितं, न तावदसौ ज्ञातुमशक्यो देशान्तरावस्थानज्ञापनेनाग्रहणस्य सुकरप्रतिपादनात् । ब्रह्मवधादौ हि बधनिदानस्यानाचरणमेव परीक्षादिना ज्ञाप्यते । तद्देवाऽग्रहणे हि ज्ञापिते व्यवहारसमाप्तेः सम्भवात् पुरुषार्थतापीति हेय एवायं पक्षः । मिथ्योत्तरे भाषावादिनो दृष्टप्रमाणाभावे द्वयोर्ग्रहणयोरर्थसाक्षिकत्वात् दृष्टग्रहणवद्दृष्टग्रहणे विभिगमनं वाच्यं, (हेतोर्न्यायस्याऽभावात् धार्मिकत्वे नैव विषेण दिव्यं देयं, न च मिथ्योत्तरे पूर्ववादिनः क्रियेतिवचनाद् दृष्टार्थाभावेऽदृष्टाक्रियाऽपि तस्यैवेति वाच्यं,) वचनस्याऽदृष्टार्थतापत्तेः । कारणोत्तरे तु प्रतिवादिनः क्रियामाह कात्यायनः¹ ।

“ प्रपद्य कारणं पूर्वमन्यद् गुरुतरं यदि ।

प्रतिवाक्ये गतिं ब्रूयात् साध्यते तद्धि नेतरत् ॥

धार्थ्यमाणत्वस्य कारणं ऋणग्रहणं, तदभ्युपगम्य तदा धार्थ्यनिमित्तमुत्तरगतं यदि गुरुतरकारणं परिशोधनादिकं ब्रूयात्, तदा प्रतिवादिनः क्रिया, तथा ।

“ योऽर्थिनाऽर्थः समुद्दिष्टः प्रत्यर्थी यदि तं तथा ।

प्रपद्य कारणं ब्रूयादाधार्थ्यं गुरुतरवतीत्² ॥ ”

पूर्वाक्तस्याऽधार्थ्यत्वमित्यर्थः । तथा वृहत्कात्यायनः³ ।

बाधिका तु क्रिया यत्र अभियुक्तेन कीर्त्तिता ।

आधार्थ्यं तद्विजानीयात् पूर्वपक्षस्य नाऽन्यथा ॥

तथा नारदः⁴ ।

“ आधार्थ्यं पूर्वपक्षस्य यस्मिन्नर्थवशाद्भवेत् ।

विवादे साक्षिणस्तत्र प्रष्टव्याः पूर्ववादिनः ॥

साक्षिण इति दृष्टक्रियोपलक्षणं । समकारणाभिधाने तु पूर्ववादिन एव क्रिया । तदाऽऽह नारदः⁵ ।

“ द्वयोर्विवदतोरर्थं द्वयोः सत्स्वपि साक्षिषु ।

पूर्ववादो भवेद्यस्य भवेद्युस्तस्य साक्षिणः ॥ ”

यथा याज्ञवल्क्यः⁶ ।

“ साक्षिषूभयतः सत्सु साक्षिणः पूर्ववादिनः ।

पूर्वपक्षेऽवरीभूते भवत्युत्तरवादिनः ॥ ”

¹ O

² — ?

³ O

⁴ Narada, Rinâdânam, Sl. 164 (p. 95). But it differs on many points: as—

आधार्थ्यं पूर्वपक्षस्य यस्मिन्नर्थवशाद्भवेत् ।

विवादे साक्षिणस्तत्र प्रष्टव्याः प्रतिवादिनः ॥

⁵ Narada, Rinâdânam, Sl. 163 (p. 94). Narada reads पूर्वपक्ष for पूर्ववादः ।

⁶ Yajnavalkya, II, 17.

माचिषु गुणसाम्यं सतीदं. असाम्ये तु बलवन्तरग्रहणं, तदाह वृहस्पतिः¹ ।

माचिद्वैधे प्रभृतास्ते ग्राह्याः साम्ये गुणाधिकाः ।

गुणद्वैध क्रियायुक्तास्तत्साम्ये शुचिमन्तराः ॥

तथा मनुविष्णु² ।

बल्लवं परिगृह्णीयात् माचिद्वैधे नराधिपः ।

समेषु च गुणोत्कृष्टान् गुणद्वैधे द्विजोत्तमान् ॥

न च गृह्यौतानां वचनद्वैधपरमिदं वचनं, माचिद्वैध इति निर्दिष्टात् साचिणामेव ग्राह्यतया निर्दिष्टात्, न तु तत्तद्वचनस्य, न्यायमास्यादा उभयविषयपरत्वमेव वचनस्य, एवञ्चैकस्य सति पत्रेऽन्यस्य साचिणो न ग्राह्याः । यथा कात्यायनः³ ।

“क्रिया न वैदिकी प्रोक्ता विद्यमानेषु माचिषु ।

लेख्ये च सति वादेषु न स्याद्विद्यं न माचिणः ॥

स्थावरेषु विवादेषु दिव्यानि परिधारयेत् ।

साचिभिर्लिखितेनार्थे भुक्त्या चैव प्रसाधयेत् ॥”

विश्वरूपेणापि साचिणः पूर्ववादिन इत्यादि प्रतिग्रहाविषयं व्याख्यातं । तत्रैव पूर्वबलवत्त्वात् अन्ये तु ।

प्राङ्न्याये कारणोक्तौ च प्रत्यर्थी माधयेत् क्रियां ।

मिथ्योत्तरे पूर्ववादी प्रतिपत्तौ न मा भवेत् ॥”

इति हारीतेन⁴ नियमादिति । तदयुक्तं । याज्ञवल्क्यवचने उत्तराङ्कनोत्तरवादिन उपादानात् तत्प्रतियोगिभूतस्य भाषावादिन एव पूर्ववादिपदेनोपादानात् । अतएव विष्णुः⁵ । “द्वयोर्विदमानयोर्यस्य पूर्वपक्षस्य माचिणः प्रष्टव्याः, आधार्थ्यं कार्यवशात् यस्य पूर्वपक्षस्य भवेत्तत्र प्रतिवादिनोऽपि,” अतएव प्रतिवादिपक्षप्रतियोगिकः पूर्वपक्षभाषार्थ एव प्रतीयते । किञ्च पूर्वत्वेन वादोऽन्यस्य परवादित्वे सति भवति तदा तु परवादितयैव तस्य पराजितत्वात् किं माचिभिः ? अथाऽसौ न परवादी तदा कथमितरः पूर्ववादी ? किञ्च तद्वचनान्तरेणाधौ प्रतिग्रहः इत्यादिनैव बलवत्त्वोक्त्या तदग्रहणस्य मिद्धत्वात् अनर्थकमिदं स्यात्, दुर्बलक्रियाग्रहणस्याऽसम्भवीयत्वात् । किञ्च उभयोस्तु कारणोक्तौ कस्य क्रिया निर्दिष्ट्या, तस्याऽपि कारणोत्तरतया प्रतिवादिनः क्रियानियमात् प्रतिवादिन एवेति, तन्न, ‘प्रपद्य कारण’मित्यादीनां गुरुतरकारणविषयत्वेन तस्य वर्णितत्वात् तद्विनेतरदिति । समाधमकारणोत्तरे सति भाषार्थस्यैव प्रतिपादनोक्तेः । अतएव पूर्वपक्षोऽधरीभूत इत्याधार्थ्यं पूर्वपक्षस्येत्यादिना भाषार्थस्याऽवधारणे प्रतिवादिनः क्रियोच्यते । अधरत्वञ्च बलवदपेक्षं भवति । न तु समानमधमं वा तद्विनेतरदिति गुरुतरं विना । अतएव

¹ O ² O In Manu Samhita, but in Vishnu, see VIII, 39. S.B.E., Vol. VII, p. 52.

³ O ⁴ O

⁵ Vishnu, VIII, 10-11, S B.E., Vol. VII, p. 49. But it reads यत्र for “यस्य”.

“पूर्ववादोभवेद्यस्य भवेयुस्तस्य साक्षिणः ।”¹

इति पूर्वभूताध्यादिवर्णनमिति हेयं । किन्तु समानकारणाभिधाने पूर्ववादिम एव क्रिया प्रथमस्यैव विनिगमनाकारणत्वात्, अर्थित्वावष्टम्भेन च व्यवहारप्रवर्त्तनेन पीडातिशयानुमानात्, अन्यायगृहीतस्य लोके प्रीडातिशयदर्शनात् । एवं दुर्बलकारणाभिधानेऽपि पूर्ववादिम एव क्रिया, उत्तरस्य दुर्बलत्वे ज्ञापित-
स्याऽपि पूर्वबाधात्त्वत्वात्, एतन्न्यायमूलमेवोक्तं तद्विना (?) गुरुतरं नेत्यर्थः । दुर्बलकारणोदाहरणन्तु
आध्यादिविषयं पूर्वदर्शितं प्राङ्न्यायोत्तरे पूर्ववादिनः एव जयपत्रं । न्यायद्रष्टारः अन्येऽपि वा तद्देदिनः
प्रमाणं, तदाऽऽह व्यासः² ।

“प्राङ्न्याये जयपत्रेण प्राङ्निवाकादिभिस्तथा ।
सत्यं वादो समाप्नोति यद् यत् तेन निवेदितं ॥”

तथा वृहस्पतिः³ ।

“प्रतिज्ञां भावयेद्वादी प्रत्यर्थी कारणन्तथा ।
प्राग्भूतवादी विजयं जयपत्रेण भावयेत् ॥”

जयपत्रमुपलक्षणमाह, कात्यायनः⁴ ।

“अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिवाक्यानि प्रतिज्ञासाक्षिवाकृतथा ।
निश्चयश्च तथा तस्य यथाचारधृतं स्वयं ॥”
“एतद्यथाचरं लेख्यं यथापूर्वं निवेद्ययेत् ।
सभासदश्च ये तत्र सृतिग्रास्तविदः स्थिताः ॥”

तथा वृहस्पतिः⁵ ।

“यद्दत्तं व्यवहारेषु पूर्वपक्षोत्तरादिकं ।
क्रियावधारणोपेतं जयपत्रेऽथ संलिखेत् ॥
पूर्वोत्तरक्रियायुक्तं निर्णयान्तं यदा नृपः ।
प्रदद्याद् जयिने लेख्यं जयपत्रं तदुच्यते ॥”

व्यवहारदर्शिनो नृपस्य प्राधान्यान्निर्देशः । भाषोत्तरे यथोक्ते क्रियापत्रे साक्षिदिष्ट्यादिना निर्णयस्य
जयपराजयावधारणं, निर्णयकालावस्थिताश्च मध्यस्था इत्यादि सर्वं लेखनीयं निरूपणस्य सम्यक् तत्त्वप्रदर्शनार्थं,
भाषोत्तरलिखनन्तु पूर्वन्यायकरणे हेतुन्तरेण प्रत्यवस्थाननिराकरणार्थं, न हि न गृहीतं मयेति मिथो-
त्तरेण प्रत्यवस्थितौ जितस्य पुनः परिशुद्धं मयेति प्रत्यवस्थानं सम्भवति, तदाऽऽह, कात्यायनः⁶ ।

“क्रियां बलवतीं मुक्ता दुर्बलां घोऽवलम्बते ।
स जयेऽवष्टते सभ्येः पुनस्तां नाऽऽप्नुयात् क्रियां ॥”

मुक्तेति बुद्धिपूर्वकत्यागावगतेः । न च बलवत्तरक्रियां परित्यज्य दुर्बलया प्रत्यवस्थानं युज्यते
प्रेक्षापूर्वकारिण इति ।

इदानीं तदपन्यासः कूटादेरिति न्यायमूलवचनं ।

अतएव नारदः¹ ।

“साचिसभ्यावसन्नानां दूषणे दर्शनं पुनः ।

स चात्तावसितानान्तु नोक्तः पौनर्भवो विधिः ॥”

तथा वृहस्पतिः² ।

“पलायनादनुत्तरादन्यपचाश्रयेण च ।

हौनस्य गृह्यते वादो न स्ववाक्यजितस्य च ॥”

हेत्वन्तरेण प्रत्यवस्थानमित्यर्थः । एवं यदि पित्रणस्य ग्रहणं शोधनं वा अजानन्नाहृष्टो न जानामीति मिथ्योत्तरं तदुत्तरात् तदाऽग्रहणप्रतिपादनेनैव पराजितो देशान्तरागतपरिशोधनज्ञपुरुषात्तद्वगम्य प्रत्यवस्थानं कर्तुमर्हत्येव कूटहेतोरभावे क्लृप्तापत्तेश्च वचनञ्चादृष्टार्थं स्यात् ; ननु मिथ्याकारणसङ्कीर्णोत्तरग्रहणे पञ्चाशत्परिशोधने ज्ञापिते कथमपरस्य पञ्चाशतोग्रहणाभावः सिध्यति ? न च ग्रहणमपि भाषावादिना ज्ञायं, ग्राह्यं स्यात् कारणोत्तरमित्यस्याऽप्यानर्थक्यापत्तेः, मिथ्योत्तरस्यापि तदानीं ग्रहणात् उभयोरपि जयपराजयापत्तेः । तथैकस्मिन् विवादे क्रियाद्वयनिषेधाच्च न चैकपक्षमाधनार्थं यत्र कारणप्राङ्न्यायादिरूपहेतुद्वयोपन्यासस्तत्रैकहेतुना साध्यसिद्धेरितरानर्थक्यात्तन्निरासार्थं न चैकत्र क्रियाद्वयमिति वचनं वर्णनीयं, अविरोधिनोरुभयोरुपन्यासेऽप्यविरोधात्, निरूपकेण बलवद्धेतुग्रहणं क्रियानिर्द्देशार्थं कर्तव्यं, अन्यथा हेतुद्वयबलावल(रूपाणाम् ?)समर्थस्य न्यायाभामः प्रमज्येत, किञ्च दुर्बलहेतौ रूपाद्गतपरामर्शात् बलवत्तरप्रत्ययेन परमाथेबलवत्तरमुपेक्ष्य दुर्वेलोपन्यासात् तत्त्वविचारकैः प्राङ्निवाकादिभिस्तस्य दुर्बलत्वावधारणात् तस्य पराजयः स्यात् । तस्मादेकसाध्यानुगुणानेकहेतूपन्यासः कार्यः । किञ्च जयपक्षभाषोत्तरलिखनं नोपपद्येत, पत्रेण हि पूर्वोक्तजयहेतुरूपदर्शितो जयश्चेति तयोर्जयलिखनमात्रेणैव सिद्धेर्भाषोत्तरलिखनं विरोध एव स्यात्, किञ्च “नचैकस्मिन् विवादे तु क्रिया स्यादादिनोर्द्वयो”रिति । साचिपत्रादिक्रियां निषिध्य न चैकत्र क्रियाद्वयमित्यत्रापि सैव क्रिया प्रतीयते, न तु स्वार्थसाधकहेतुद्वयमतस्तस्यैव निरासो न तु हेतुद्वयस्य, उपाय-प्रचयस्य केन नाम नेष्यते इति न्यायात् तस्मादिति व्याख्यानं योग्यलोकस्य, अतः क्रियाद्वयनिषेधात् कथमेकस्मिन् प्रतिपादितेऽप्यर्थान्तरस्याप्रतिपादितत्वात् जयपराजयावधारणं ? उच्यते । मुनिभिरेवाऽत्र समानं कृतं, तदाह चाञ्जवल्क्यः³ ।

“निष्कृते लिखितानेकमेकदेशविभावितः ।

दायः सर्वान् रूपणार्थान् ग्राह्यस्त्वनिवेदितः ॥

क्रियानिर्द्देशात् वादिनोऽवसादनमवगम्य यद्यपरो ब्रूते इदमपरं पूर्वं लेखयितुं विस्मृतवानस्मि इति तत्पूर्वमनिवेदित्वान्न ग्राह्यमित्यर्थः । तथा नारदः⁴ ।

¹ Narada, II, 40. The second half of the sloka runs thus: “स्वचर्यावसितानांतु नास्ति पौनर्भवो विधिः” । ² O

³ Yajnavalkya, II, 20. But it reads सर्वान् वृषेणार्थं for सर्वान् रूपणार्थान् । ⁴ O

“साध्याथेऽग्ने निगदिते साचिभिः सकलं भवेत् ।
स्त्रीसङ्गे साहसे चौर्यं यत् साध्यं परिकल्पितम् ॥”

इत्यनेन व्यवस्थितविकल्पमाह, कात्यायनः¹ !

सत्यमृणनिःक्षेपादिष्वप्यपङ्गतस्य चौर्यरूपत्वादतएव नारदः² ।

“स्त्रीणां शीलामियोगे च स्त्रियसाहसयोरपि ।
एषएव विधिर्दृष्टः सर्वार्थापङ्गवेष्वपि ॥”

सर्वार्थापङ्गवेष्विति ऋणनिक्षेपापङ्गवमपि स्त्रियसमानविधिं दर्शयति नन्वेकदेशविभावेन सर्व-
सिद्धिर्हि वचनविरुद्धा । कात्यायनः³ ।

“अनेकार्थाभियोगोऽपि यावत्संसाधयेद्भूनी ।
साचिभिस्तावदेवाऽसौ लभते नाऽधिकं धनं ॥”

नैतत्तावदेवेत्यस्य ऋणाद्यनभिपन्नपुत्रादिविषयत्वात्, नानाविधपित्रर्णाभियुक्तस्याऽजानतोजानामी-
त्युत्तरेऽनपलापशीलत्वात्तस्य यथोक्तन्याये चाऽपलापविषयत्वात् प्राक्तनवचनानां, न तैरेतस्य विरोधः । विश्व-
रूपादिभिरपीत्यमेव विरोधः हतः ।

“ऊनमप्यधिकं वापि” इत्यादिकन्तु साचिप्रतिपाद्ययावत्प्रतिज्ञातार्थविषयं, तदाऽऽह नारदः⁴ ।

“निर्दिष्टेष्वर्थजातेषु साची तत् साध्यमागतः ।
न ब्रूयादचरसमं न तन्निगदितं भवेत् ॥”

अतोभाषायामुत्तरे वा यावानर्थो निर्दिष्टस्तस्येत्येवार्थं यदि साचिलमागताः स्त्रीकृतास्तावन्तमर्थं
ब्रूयात् तदा तेनाऽकथितमेव भवेदित्यर्थः, न लक्ष्यज्ञापनाथं, निर्दिष्टस्याऽल्पाभिधाने तदर्थमेव स्त्रीकारात्
यत्पुनरचतार्किकम्न्येन योग्लोकेन विभावितैकदेशवचनानां विषयोदर्शितः, यद्येषां मध्ये गृहीतमेकमपि
परिभावयसि सकलमेव मया दातव्यमिति वादिनः प्रतिज्ञा तद्विषयमिति, तदसङ्गतं, प्रतिज्ञाविषयत्वे
यदभियुज्यत इत्यनर्थकं, सपणव्यवहारवादेनाऽभियुज्यमानस्याऽधिकस्य नूनस्य वा प्रतिज्ञया दानापत्तेः ।
अतएव न ग्राह्यस्वनिवेदित इत्यपार्थक्यं अनिवेदितस्याऽपि प्रतिज्ञया देयत्वाविशेषात्, किञ्च यदा विभावि-
तैकदेशविभावनस्य हेतुभावावगतिर्विरुध्यते । यच्चाप्यथवेति कृत्वोदाहरणान्तरं कृतं यत्रैकतास्रघटस्यं नानाद्रव्य
माषोत्तत्रैकद्रव्यभावनया सकलमेव वादिनः (इतरः?) सिध्यतीति तदप्ययुक्तं, कथं तस्याऽप्यविभावितस्य
सिद्धिः? तस्य तत्र स्थितत्वे प्रमाणभावात्, न ह्यभियुक्तवचनमत्रोत्तरस्य सिद्धिर्मिथ्यात्वस्याऽपि सम्भवात् ।
अभियुक्तक्रियान्तरेण द्रव्यान्तरावस्थितिपादनमिति चेन्न, पूर्वस्थितस्यापि पश्चादवस्थानसम्भवात्, न चाऽभि-
योज्यगृहीतैकदेशग्रहणपर्यन्तं द्रव्यान्तरस्याऽपि तत्राऽवस्थितिरिति साचिभिर्ज्ञापनीयमिति वाच्यं, तदग्रह-
णस्याऽपि तत्र साचिवेद्यतयैव एकक्रिययैव सकलस्य प्रतिपादयितुं सुकरत्वान्नास्ति विभावितैकन्यायावसरः ।

¹ O

² Narada, p. 109, Sl. 242.

³ O

⁴ Narada, Rinâdânam, Sl. 232: A.S.B., reads “ साची चेत् साध्यमागते । ”

तस्मात् नवतार्किकस्य योजकस्य उदाहरणं हेयं । इति क्रियानिर्द्देशे तृतीयपादे क्रियाविषयनिरूपण-
प्रत्याकलनं । सम्प्रति ग्राह्यक्रियानिरूपणं । तत्र कात्यायनः¹ ।

“अनुमानाद्गुरुः साची साक्षिभ्योलिखितं गुरु ।
अथाहता त्रिपुरुषो भुक्तिरेभ्यो गरीयसी” ॥”

तथा च व्यासः² ।

“शास्त्रेषु लेख्यसाक्षिभ्यां भुक्तिरभ्यधिकामता ।”

तदेवमनुमानात् साची बलवान्, ततोऽपि लिखितं, सर्वेभ्य एव भुक्तिर्बलवती । सर्वेभ्यश्च दृष्टेभ्यो
दुर्बलमनुमानम्, अनुमानमाह मनुः³ ।

“वाह्यैर्विभावयेल्लिङ्गैर्भावमन्तर्गतं नृणां ।
स्वरवर्णैर्ङ्गिताकारैश्चक्षुषा चेष्टितेन च ॥
आकारैरिङ्गितैर्गत्या चेष्टया भाषितेन च ।
नेत्रवक्त्रविकारैश्च गृह्यतेऽन्तर्गतं मनः ॥”

तथा कात्यायनः⁴ ।

“आकारेङ्गितचेष्टाभिस्तस्य भावं विभावयेत् ।
प्रतिवादी भवेद्द्वीनः सोऽनुमानेन लक्ष्यते ॥
कम्पः खेदोऽथ वैकल्यमोष्टशोषाभिमर्षणे ।
भूलेखनं स्यान्द्धानिस्तिर्यग्गूर्द्धनिरीक्षणं ।
स्वरभेदश्च दुष्टस्य चिह्नान्याङ्गैर्मनीषिणः ॥”

प्रतिवादीतिद्वयोरप्युपादानं, अन्योऽन्यं प्रतिपक्षवादात्, ओष्ठाभिर्षणं लेहनं, यथा याज्ञवल्क्यः⁵ ।

देशाद्देशान्तरं याति सृक्कणी परिलेढि च ।
ललाटं भिद्यते चाऽस्य मुखं वेवर्णमेति च ॥
परिशुष्यत्स्वलदाक्यो विरुद्धं वज्र भाषते ।
वाक्चक्षुः पूजयति नो तथोष्ठौ निर्भुजत्यपि ॥
स्वभावादिङ्गतिं गच्छेन्ननोवाक्कायकर्म्मभिः ।
अभियोगे च साक्ष्ये च दुष्टः स परिकीर्तितः ॥

वाक्चक्षुर्न पूजयति न मुखमवलोकयन् ब्रूते इत्यर्थः । ओष्ठौ निर्भुजति कम्पयति, स्वयत्क्रमपरं ।
तदेवमादिभिलिङ्गैर्वादिनोहीनपक्षमनुमीयते । दिव्यादनुमानं बलवत्तरं, तदाऽऽह वृहस्पतिः⁶ ।

¹ O

² O

³ Manu, VIII, 25, 26, S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 257.

⁴ O

⁵ Yajnavalkya, II, 13, 14, 15 ; it reads स्विद्यते for भिद्यते ।

⁶ O

“लिखिते साचिवादे च सन्दिग्धयत्र जायते ।
अनुमाने च सभ्रान्ते तत्र दिव्यं विग्रोधनं ॥”

लिङ्गतदाभाषणमनवधारणमनुमानस्य च सभ्रान्तत्वं तदा दिव्यविधानात् अनुमानात् साची बलवान् । अनुमानादरः साचीत्युक्तेः । लिखितन्तु साचिभ्यो बलीयः, तदाऽऽह नारदः¹ ।

लिखितं बलवन्नित्यं जीवत्स्वपि हि साचिषु ।
साचिभ्यो लिखितं श्रेयो लिखितान्तु साचिणः ॥

तथा कात्यायनः² ।

“लेख्ये च सति वादेषु न स्यात् दिव्यं न साचिणः ।

तथा ।

“तद्विद्यैः साचिभिर्वाऽपि हीयते लिखितं क्वचित् ।
लेख्ये धर्मः सदा श्रेष्ठो ह्येतेनाऽन्येन हीयते³ ॥”

तथा वृहस्पतिः⁴ ।

“न जातु हीयते लेख्यं साचिभिः शपथेन वा ।”

तथा संवर्त्तः⁵ ।

“लेख्ये लेख्या क्रिया प्रोक्ता वाचिके वाचिकी मता ॥
वाचिकी न तु सिद्धे च लेख्यस्योपरि या क्रिया ।
लेख्यस्योपरि यत् साक्ष्यं कूटं तदभिधीयते ॥
अधर्मस्य हि तद्वारमतो राजा विवर्जयेत् ।
वाचिकैर्यदि मामर्थमचराणां विहन्यते ॥
क्रियाणां सर्वनाशः स्यादनवस्थाऽपि जायते ॥”

तदेवं भुक्ति लिखितसाक्ष्यानुमानदिव्यानां पूर्वं पूर्वं गरीयः परं परञ्च दुर्बलमिति स्थिते उभयोः प्रमाणसद्भावे बलीयसा निर्णयः स्यात्, तदाह कात्यायनः⁶ ।

“प्रमाणैर्हेतुना वापि दिव्येनैव तु निश्चयं ।
सर्वेष्वेव विवादिषु सदा कुर्यान्नराधिपः ॥
पूर्वाभावे परेणैव नाऽन्यथैव कदाचन ।
प्रमाणैर्वादिनिर्दिष्टैर्भुक्त्वा लिखितसाचिभिः ॥”

हेतुना अनुमानेन दिव्येन वा पूर्वाभावे परेण निर्णयः कार्यः, न तु पूर्वसद्भावे परेणेति दर्शयति, एवञ्च वदता अनुमानपक्षेन्ताभावे दिव्यमिति दर्शितं । कात्यायन⁷ एव स्वोक्तं विविनक्ति ।

¹ Narada, Rinâûânâ, Sl. 75; A.S.B., reads: “लिखितं बलवन् नित्यं जीविताश्चैव साचिणः” ।

“यद्येको मानुषीं ब्रूयादन्यो ब्रूयाच्च दैविकीं ।
मानुषीं तत्र गृह्णीयात् न तु दैवीं कदाचन ॥
यद्येकदेशप्राप्ताऽपि क्रिया विद्येत मानुषी ।
सा ग्राह्या न तु पूर्णापि दैविकी वदतां नृणां ॥
क्रिया न दैविकी प्रोक्ता विद्यमानेषु साक्षिषु ।
लेख्ये च सति वादेषु न स्याद्दिव्यं न साक्षिणः ॥”

वदतां विवदतां, तथा व्यामः¹ ।

“मणिमन्त्रौषधिबलात् प्रदत्तं चाऽभिधानतः ।
विमंवेदेद्विद्यमपि न तु साक्षी गुणान्वितः ॥”

लिखित्वा साक्षिभिरनपवादं भवैवाऽऽह ऋणादाने याज्ञवल्क्यः² ।

“लेख्यस्य पृष्ठेऽभिलिखेद्देवा दत्त्वा धनं ऋणी ।
धनी चोपगतं दद्यात् स्वहस्तपरिचिह्नितं ॥”

उपगतं प्रवेशपत्रं । तथा विष्णुः³ ।

“ससाक्षिकमर्थं समाक्षिकमेव दद्यात् ।”

“लिखितेऽर्थे प्रविष्टे लिखितं पाठयेत्, असमवधाने लेख्यामन्निधाने, चोत्तमर्णः स्वलिखितं दद्यात्”
लिखितप्रमाणके ऋणिलिखितान्तरेण प्रवेशो ज्ञायो न तु साक्षिभिः । दुर्बलेन बलवत्त्वानुपपत्तेरित्यभि-
प्रायः । तथा नारदः⁴ ।

“लेख्यं दद्याद्विशुद्धं तदभावे प्रतिश्रुतं ।
धनिकर्णिकयोरेवं विशुद्धिः स्यात् परस्परं ॥”

लेख्यमृणपत्रं तदसन्निधाने प्रतिश्रुतं शोधनपत्रं, न तु साक्षिणः कार्य्याः तैः पत्रस्यानपोद्यत्वादिति
तात्पर्य्यं ; पत्रस्याऽप्रदाने दण्डमाह नारदः⁵ ।

गृहीत्वोपगतं दद्याद् ऋणिकायोदयं धनी ।
अदद्याच्चमानस्तु शेषहानिमवाप्नुयात् ॥

असमये दत्ते पत्रिकाप्रवेशं याच्यमानोऽप्यददत् शेषं ऋणं नाऽप्नुयात् तस्मात् पत्रक्रिया न साक्षिभि-
रपोद्यत इति ब्रुवद्भिर्बलवत्तरक्रिया दुर्बलेनापोद्यत इति सामान्येन दर्शितं भवति । तेन ‘पूर्ववादो भवेद् यस्य’

¹ O

² Yajnavalkya, II, 98, reads दत्त्वादत्त्वाधिको धनं for दत्त्वादत्त्वा धनं ऋणी ।

³ Vishnu, VI, 24, 25, 26 ; but on some points it differs as आप्तं for अये, लिखितार्थं
for लिखितेऽर्थे, and असमयदाने for असमवधाने ।

⁴ Narada, Rinâdânâṃ, Sl. 116 ; reads ‘प्रतिश्रुतं’ for प्रतिश्रुतं ।

⁵ Narada, Rinâdânâṃ, Sl. 114.

इति तुल्यप्रमाणविषयं । अतएव द्वयोः सत्स्वपि साच्चिद्विति तुल्यप्रमाणकीर्त्तनं । साच्चिपदं सकल प्रमाणोपलक्षणं । न्यायस्याऽविशेषात्, दिव्यमाह मनुः¹ ।

“असाच्चिकेषु त्वर्थेषु मिथ्याविवदमानयोः ।

अविन्द स्तत्ततः सत्यं शपथेनाऽपि लम्भयेत् ॥”

असाच्चिकेष्विति सकलदृष्टप्रमाणाभावात्, शपथेनाऽपि इत्यपिशब्देन गत्यन्तराभावात् दिव्यमिति दर्शयति । तथा नारदः² ।

“अरण्ये निर्जने रात्रावन्तर्वेष्मनि साहसे ।

न्यासापहरणे चैव दिव्या सम्भवति क्रिया ॥

यदा साची न विद्येत विवादे वदतां नृणां ।

तत्र दिव्यैः परीक्षेत शपथैर्वा पृथग्विधैः ॥”

अरणादिकीर्त्तनं साध्यभावप्रदर्शनायं । तथा पितामहः⁴ ।

“यस्मिन्नेव विवादे तु साच्चिणां नास्ति सम्भवः ।

साहसेषु च सर्वेषु तत्र दिव्यानि दापयेत् ॥”

साहसपदं प्राणान्तिकदण्डार्हपरं, तदाऽऽह कात्यायनः⁵ ।

“समलं साच्चिणां यत्र दिव्यैस्तत्र विशोधयेत् ।

प्राणान्तिकविवादेषु विद्यमानेषु साच्चिषु ॥

दिव्यमापद्यते वादी न पृच्छेत्तत्र साच्चिणः ।”

समलं साच्चिणां यत्रेति प्रतिवादिनोरन्यतरस्य गृहीतैः पृष्टैः साच्चिभिरनुक्तेऽर्थं परस्परविप्रति-पत्तौ समले साच्चिणां गुणतः संख्यातश्च विशेषाभावे सन्देहस्य तदवस्यत्वाद्विद्येन तत्र तत्र निर्णयः कार्य इति मन्तव्यं । साच्चिग्रहणकाले वादिप्रतिवादिनोः साम्ये पूर्ववादिनः साच्चिग्रहणस्योक्तत्वात् । प्राणान्तिक-विवादो महापातकाभिशापस्तत्र सत्स्वपि साच्चिषु दिव्येन निर्णयः कार्यः । तदाह बृहस्पतिः⁶ ।

“महापापाभिशापेषु निक्षेपहरणे तथा ।

दिव्यैः कार्यं परीक्षेत राजा सत्स्वपि साच्चिषु ॥”

निक्षेपहरणं वधार्हमहापातकादन्वत् ; यथा मनुः⁷ ।

“रत्नानाञ्चैव सर्वेषां हरणे वधमर्हति ।”

एवं विषयविशेष प्रमाणविशेषं निरूप्य प्रायशः साच्चिभिर्व्यवहारसमाप्तेस्तएव प्रथमं निरूप्यन्ते । अतएव गोतमः⁸ ।

¹ Manu, VIII, 109; reads मिथो for मिथ्या, S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 278.

² Narada, Rinâdânâṃ, Sl. 241; reads न्यासस्यापद्धवे for न्यासापहरणे ।

³ Narada, Rinâdânâṃ, Sl. 247.

⁴ Manu, VIII, 323, reads ‘मुख्यानां चैव रत्नानां’ for the underlined portion, S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 310.

“विप्रतिपत्तौ साक्षिनिमित्ता व्यवस्था ।”

प्रायश्चित्त इत्यर्थः । साक्षी च द्विविधः । यथा मनुः¹ ।

“समक्षदर्शनात् साक्ष्यं श्रवणाच्चैव मिध्यति ।”

विष्णुरप्याह² ।

“समक्षदर्शनात् साक्षी श्रवणाद्वा” ।

द्वयमपि यदि वादिद्वयसन्निधौ । यथा कात्यायनः³ ।

“अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिसान्निध्यादनुभूतन्तु यद्भवेत् ।

ताद्ग्राह्यं साक्षिणो वाक्यमन्यथाऽऽह वृहस्पतिः ॥”

अनुभूतं चक्षुषा श्रोत्रेण वा । साक्षिसंख्यामाह वृहस्पतिः⁴ ।

“नव सप्त पञ्च वासुश्चत्वारस्तय एव वा ।

उभौ च श्रोत्रियौ ज्ञेयौ नैकं पृच्छेत् कदाचन ॥”

नवादिषु पूर्वपूर्वालाभे परःपरो ग्राह्यः, विषमशिष्टत्वात्, यथामनुः⁵ ।

यादृशा धनिभिः कार्या व्यवहारेषु साक्षिणः ।

तादृशान् सम्प्रवक्ष्यामि यथावाच्यं मतञ्च तैः ॥

गृहिणः पुत्रिणो मौलाः च त्रिविद्गृह्योनयः ।

अर्थ्यक्ताः साक्ष्यमर्हन्ति न ये केचिदनापदि” ॥

आप्ताः सर्वेषु वर्णेषु कार्याः कार्येषु साक्षिणः ।

सर्वधर्मविदोऽलुब्धा विपरीतांस्तु वर्जयेत्” ॥

न ये केचिदनापदीत्युपादानात् आपद्यनेवभूता अपि ये केचिदिति गृह्णित्वादिगुणशून्या अपि निर्दोषतामादेण साक्षित्वमर्हन्ति इत्यर्थः । अलुब्धा इत्यभिधाय च विपरीतांस्तु वर्जयेदित्यभिधानमाह लोभादिदोषवतां वर्जनमभिप्रेतं, यथा याज्ञवल्क्यः⁶ ।

“तपस्विनो दानशीलाः कुलीनाः सत्यवादिनः ।

धर्मप्रधाना ऋजवः पुत्रवन्तो धनान्विताः ॥

श्रवराः साक्षिणो ज्ञेयाः श्रौतस्मार्त्तक्रियारताः ॥

यथाजाति तथावर्णं सर्वं सर्वेषु वा स्मृताः ॥”

यथाजाति सङ्कीर्णजात्यभिप्रायेण । असङ्कीर्णयां यथावर्णमित्युपात्तत्वात्, मुख्याः सवर्णाः, असम्भवे अन्यवर्णाः, तेन संख्यागुणसाम्येऽपि यस्य वादिनः सवर्णाः साक्षिणस्तस्यैव ग्राह्या इत्युक्तं, अथ वृहस्पतिः⁷ ।

¹ Manu, VIII, 74, S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 267.

² Vishnu, VIII, 13, S.B.E., Vol. VII, p. 50.

³ O O

⁵ Manu, VIII, 61, 62 and 68. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, pp. 264, 265.

⁶ Yajnavalkya, II, 68, 69. O.

“प्रष्टव्याः साक्षिणो ये च वर्ज्याश्चैव नराधमाः ।
तानहं कथयिष्यामि साम्प्रतं शास्त्रं चोदितान् ॥
श्रौतस्मार्त्तक्रियायुक्ता लोभदेषविवर्जिताः ।
कुलीनाःसाक्षिणोऽनिन्द्यास्तपोदानदयान्विताः” ॥

तथा नारदः ।

“कुलीना ऋजवः शुद्धाः जन्मतःकर्मतोऽर्थतः ।
अवराः साक्षिणो ज्ञेयाः शुचयः शुद्धबुद्धयः ॥
ब्राह्मणाः चत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्रा ये चाप्यनिन्दिताः ।
प्रतिवर्णं भवेयुस्ते सर्वे सर्वेषु वा पुनः” ॥

त्रयोऽवरास्त्यवराः साक्षिण इत्यधम-कोटिरयं । नवपर्यन्ता पराकोटिरभौ, तपस्वितादिगुणयुक्त्वेन
अवराः, पूर्वोक्तगुणेषु मत्सु यदि विद्याप्यधिका भवति तदा श्रोत्रियपदवाच्यौ द्वावपि साक्षिणौ, श्रोत्रियोऽपि
पूर्णेकः साक्षी तस्यैकस्यापि साक्षित्वे उभावित्यनर्थकं स्यात्, उभौ च श्रोत्रियावित्यनन्तरञ्च नैकं पृच्छेत् इति ।
श्रोत्रियस्यैव वागतस्य, तथा शङ्खलिखितौ^१ ।

“एकः साक्षी सर्वथा न ग्राह्यः” । गुणवतोऽप्यग्रहणमिति सर्वथापदस्यार्थः । वादिनोरनुमतौ
भवत्येकोऽपि, तथानारदः^२ ।

अथवानुमतो यः स्यादादिनोर्वदमानयोः ।
भवत्येकोऽपि साक्षित्वे प्रष्टव्यः सुतरुंसदि ॥

स तु संसदि वज्जजनसन्निधौ प्रष्टव्यः । तथैव सत्याभिधान-सम्भवात् । यथा याज्ञवल्क्यः^३ ।

“उभयानुमतःसाक्षी भवेदेकोऽपि धर्मवित् ॥

श्रोत्रियः । (न चानुमानपदं योग्यतोपलक्षणं लक्षणाकरणाभावाद्नैकमितियोग्यस्यैव निषेधात् ।)

तपस्विन इत्यादिगुणवतामेव अवरादीनां विधानात् उभौ तु श्रोत्रियाविति गुणवतोर्विदुषोर्धर्म-
विदोरनुमति-योग्ययोर्भयोर्विधानसम्भवात्, तद्विरुद्धं कथमेकस्य विधानं भवति, तच्चानुमतिं विनापि
योग्ययोर्दयोर्विधानं, योग्यस्यानुमतौ सत्यामेकस्यैवेत्यविरोधो बोध्यः । किञ्च धर्मवित्-पदादेवानुमतियोग्यस्य
प्राप्तत्वादानुमतिपदमनर्थकं, उभयपदमप्यविशेषकं अनुमतियोग्ययोरिव एकस्याप्यनुमति-योग्यस्यैव ग्रहणात् ।
अनुमतिपरत्वे तु सार्थकं, तथैवैकस्य साक्षित्वात्, एतदेव व्यक्तमाह विष्णुः^४ ।

“अथ साक्षिणः कुलजातिवृत्तसम्पन्ना यज्वानस्तपस्विनः पुत्रिणो धर्मज्ञा अधीयानाः सत्यवन्त
स्त्वैविश्ववृद्धाश्च अभिहितगुणसम्पन्नस्तूभयानुमतएकोऽपि” । अपूर्वाभिहितगुण-सम्पन्नानां अनुमतियोग्यानामेव

^१ Narada, Rinâdânâ, Sls. 153 and 154. The first sloka reads ‘साक्षिणोऽनिन्द्याः’ for साक्षिणो ज्ञेयाः ।
^२ O. ^३ O.

^४ Yajnavalkya, II, 72.

Vishnu, VIII, 8, 9, reads कुलजा for कुलजाति, S.B.E., Vol. VII, p. 49.

वज्रवचनान्तपदेन अत्राणामनुमतानामपि विधानात् पुनरभिहितगुणसम्पन्नस्योभयानुमतस्यैव विधानार्थ-
मुभयानुमतिवचनं, अन्यथा कुलजात्यादिसम्पन्नानां अत्राणां विधानानुपपत्तेः । यत्तु मनुवचनं¹ ।

“एकोऽप्यलुब्धः साक्षी स्यात् बहुःशुच्योऽपि न स्तियः ।

स्त्रीबुद्धेरस्थिरत्वाच्च दोषैरन्येऽपि ये वृताः ॥”

तदपि लुब्धस्यैकस्य साक्षित्वं बोधयति, न तु तन्निषेधमुखेनालुब्धस्य, तस्योभयानुमतिमन्तरेणापि साक्षित्वं ज्ञापयति, पूर्वोक्तवचनजातविरोधात्, तेनायमर्थः, प्रमाणामिद्वे लुब्धत्वे उभयानुमतावयवैकःसाक्षी न ग्राह्यः । भ्रान्त्यान्यतरस्यानुमतिसम्भवे तद्वचनेन निर्णये धर्मविरोधापत्तेः । अतएव च लुब्धमात्रोपादानमुभयानुमतौ सत्यामपि ग्रहणविरोधाय, लुब्धपदञ्च दोषमात्रोपलक्षकं । बहूनां सदोषत्वे उभयानुमतानां ग्रहणं कार्यं । निर्दोषस्तु उभयानुमतिमन्तरेणापि ग्राह्यइत्येतदर्थं अत्राणां विधानं, एकोऽप्यलुब्धःसाक्षी स्यादित्यनाकरं, सत्यपि च पाठे अलुब्धत्वमात्रेणैकस्य साक्षित्वं न वाच्यं । अलुब्धस्यापि स्नेहवैरादिनाभिधानसम्भवात् । निर्दोषमात्रपरमलुब्धपदमिति चेन्न, निर्दोषस्य सकलगुणसम्पन्नस्यापि उभयानुमतिसत्वेनैव विष्णुप्रभृति भिर्यद्ग्रहणप्रतिपादनात् । तस्मादथान्यथापाठकल्पना । अतएव उभयानुमतः एकःसाक्षीति विश्वरूपप्रभृतीनां व्याख्यानमादरणीयं । अलुब्धपाठे वा निचेपादिवर्णविषयं वर्णनीयं । अतएव कात्यायनः² ।

“अभ्यन्तरणनिक्षेपे साक्ष्यमेकोऽपि वाच्यते ।

अर्थिना प्रहितः साक्षी भवेदेकोऽपि याचितः” ॥

निक्षेपकाले द्वाभ्यामेव सम्भवावेन कार्याभ्यन्तरीकृतत्वात् निक्षेपेयत्ताविवादे साक्ष्यमेकोऽपि वाचनीयो न तत्रोभयानुमत्यपेक्षा कार्या, तथा केनापि प्रयोजनेनालङ्कारादियाचनाय प्रहितस्तदियत्तादि-
विवादे प्रहित एव साक्षी द्वाभ्यामेवादरणीयः, सत्यतावृत्तत्वात् । न ह्यसत्यमेवालङ्काराय प्रस्थापयति तदा वा तस्मै ददाति यथा यत्र द्वाभ्यामेव स्ववचनं आवितोऽसावेकोऽपि साक्षी साहसेषु च । तथा व्यासः³ ।

“शुचिक्रियश्च धर्मज्ञः साक्षी यत्रानुभूतवाक् ।

प्रमाणमेकोऽपि भवेत् साहसेषु विशेषतः” ॥

तथा वृहस्पतिः⁴ ।

“दूतकः खटिकाग्राही कार्यमध्यगतस्तथा ।

एक एव प्रमाणं स्यात् नृपोऽध्यक्षस्तथैव च” ॥

स एव दूतकमाह⁵ ।

“अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिवचनं भाषते प्रेषितस्तु यः ।

उभयानुमतः साधुर्दूतकः स उदाहृतः” ॥

खटिकाग्राही भाषोत्तरलेखकः । तथा वृहस्पतिक्रायायनौ⁶ कार्यमध्यगतं व्याकुरुतः ।

¹ Manu, VIII, 77, reads एकोऽलुब्धस्तु for एकोऽप्यलुब्धः, S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 268.

² O.

³ O.

⁴ O.

⁵ O.

⁶ O.

“ उभाभ्यां यस्य विश्वस्तं कार्यं वापि निवेदितम् ।
 गूढचारी स विज्ञेयः कार्यमध्यगस्तथा ” ॥
 “ अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनोर्वाक्यं यद्ब्रूतं प्रभृतात् स्वयम् ।
 स एव साक्षी स्याद्विमंवादे द्वयोरपि ? ” ॥

तथा व्यासः¹ ।

“ राज्ञा धर्मात्मनस्येन यत् श्रुतं तत्त्वमिच्छता ।
 नान्यः साक्षी भवेत्तत्र मुक्त्वा राजानमौश्वरम् ॥

अत्र वृहस्पतिः² ।

“ निर्णीते व्यवहारे तु पुनर्न्यायो यदा भवेत् ।
 अध्वक्षः सभ्यसहितः साक्षी स्यात्तत्र नान्यथा ” ॥

तत्र कात्यायनः³ ।

“ लेखकः प्राङ्निवाकश्च सभाश्चैवानुपूर्वग्रः ।
 नृपे पश्यति यत्कार्यं साक्षिणः समुदाहृताः ” ॥

मर्ष एवैते वादिनोरनुमतिमन्तरेणापि एकैकग्रः साक्षिणः । यथोक्तश्च साक्षी द्विविधः ।
 यथा प्रजापतिः⁴ ।

“ साक्षी हि द्विविधो ज्ञेयः कृत एकोऽपरोऽकृतः ।
 लेख्यारूढः कृतो ज्ञेयो मुक्तकोऽकृत उच्यते ” ॥

लेख्यारूढ इति प्रायिकं । कृतस्य पञ्चविधत्वात् अकृतस्य षड्विधत्वात्, तदाह नारदः ।

“ एकादशविधः साक्षी शास्त्रदृष्टो मनीषिभिः ।
 कृतः पञ्चविधस्तेषां षड्विधोऽकृत उच्यते ” ॥

“ लिखितः स्मारितश्चैव यदृच्छाभिज्ञ एव च ।
 गूढश्चोत्तरसाक्षी च साक्षी पञ्चविधः स्मृतः ” ॥

अकृतमाह⁵ तु नारदकात्यायनौ ।

“ अन्ये पुनरनिर्दिष्टाः साक्षिणश्च उदाहृताः ।
 ग्रामश्च प्राङ्निवाकश्च राजा च व्यवहारिणाम् ॥
 कार्येष्वभ्यन्तरोयश्चार्थिनाप्रहितश्च यः ।
 कुल्याःकुलविवादिषु भवेयुस्तेऽपि साक्षिणः ” ॥

¹ O. O. O. O.

Narada, Rinâdânâṃ, Sls. 149 and 150.

² Narada, Rinâdânâṃ, Sls. 151 and 152, but the first sloka reads “षडेते पुनरुद्दिष्टाः साक्षिणस्त्वकृताः स्वयम्” for the first line. These two slokas are not found in Katyayana.

तथा वृहस्पतिः¹ ।

लिखितोऽलिखितो गूढः स्मारितौ कुच्यदूतकौ ।
यादृच्छाश्चोत्तराश्चैव कार्यमध्यगतोऽपरः ।
नृपोऽध्यक्षस्तथा ग्रामः साक्षी द्वादशधा मतः ॥
प्रभेदमेषां वक्ष्यामि यथावदनुपूर्वशः ।
जातिनामाभिलिखितं येन खं पित्र्यमेव च ।
निरासश्च स विज्ञेयः साक्षी लिखित-सङ्गकः ॥
“सन्धिक्रियां क्रियाभेदेस्तस्य ह्यला ऋणादिके ।
प्रत्यक्षं लेख्यते यश्च लेखितः स उदाहृतः” ॥

लिखितस्यैव स्वयं परेण वा लिखन-भेदात् द्विविधत्वं । (उदाहृतः । लिखितस्यैव स्वयं परेण वा लिखन-भेदात् द्वादश विधानं । उदाहृतोऽपि षड्विधः ।) लिखितौ द्वावपि साक्षिणौ गूढावगूढौ च चत्वारोऽपि लिखिते यादृच्छिक-स्मारितकुलोत्तर-साक्षिणस्तु प्रत्येकं त्रयत्रा एव, तदाह वृहस्पतिः² ।

“ लिखितौ द्वौ तथा गूढौ त्रि-चतुः-पञ्च लेखिताः ।
यादृच्छाः स्मारिताः कुच्यस्तथा चोत्तरसाक्षिणः” ॥

लिखितादिषु सर्वत्र बद्धवचनात् त्रयोऽवश्यं ग्राह्याः चतुःपञ्चेति तत् प्राप्तौ न तु तएव ग्राह्या इत्येतदर्थं । स्मारितयादृच्छिकावाह वृहस्पतिः³ ।

“ आहुय यः हृतः साक्षी ऋणन्यासक्रियादिके ।
स्मार्यते च सुहृदर्थश्च स्मारितः स उदाहृतः ।
क्रियमाणे तु कर्त्तव्ये यः कश्चित् स्वयमागतः ।
अत्र साक्षित्वमस्माकमुक्तो यादृच्छिकोऽपि सः ॥”

गूढमाह वृहस्पतिः⁴ ।

“ अर्थिना स्वार्थसिद्धयर्थं प्रत्यर्थिवचनं स्फुटं ।
यः आव्यते स्थितो गूढो गूढसाक्षी स उच्यते ॥

उत्तरसाक्षिणमाह वृहस्पतिः⁵ ।

“ यत्र साक्षी दिशं गच्छन्मुमूर्षुर्वा यथाश्रुतं ॥
अन्यं संश्रावयेत्तन्तु विद्यादुत्तरसाक्षिणं ॥

तथा विष्णुः⁶ ।

“ उद्दिष्टे साक्षिणि मृते देशान्तरगतेऽपि वा ।

¹ O.

O.

³ O.

⁴ O.

⁵ O.

⁶ Vishnu, VIII, 12; reads तदभिहितश्रोतारः for तदभिहितज्ञातारः, S.B.E., Vol. VII, p. 50.

तदभिहित-श्रोतारः प्रमाणं ।” ग्रामस्य विषयमाह वृहस्पतिः¹ ।

“मुषितं घातितं यत्र सौमयोश्च समन्ततः ।

अकृतोऽपि भवेत् साक्षी ग्रामस्तत्र न संशयः ॥

निर्णीते व्यवहारे तु पुनर्न्यायो यदा भवेत् ।

अध्यक्षः सभ्यसहितः साक्षी स्यात्तत्र नान्यथा ॥”

अध्यक्षो राजवन्दितः प्राङ्निवाकः, राजानं साक्षिणमाह, ग्रामः² ।

“राज्ञा धर्मासनस्थेन यत् श्रुतं तत्त्वमिच्छता ।

न्याय्यः साक्षी भवेत्तत्र त्यक्त्वा राजानमीश्वरं ॥”

धर्मासनं व्यवहारदर्शनं तत्त्वमिच्छता इत्यर्थः । यथावृहस्पतिः³ ।

“अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनोर्वाक्यं यच्छ्रुतं भृशता स्वयं ।

स एव तत्र साक्षी स्यात् विमम्बादे द्वयोरपि ॥,,

भाषोत्तररूपं वाक्यं तत्र पुनर्न्यायप्रकरणे सति संविवादे,— अन्यथा भाषादाने अन्यथा चोत्तरदाने अन्यतरो ब्रूते, नैतत् पूर्वं त्वयोक्तमितं तत्र राजैव साक्षी । अनेनैतद्दर्शितं । पुनर्न्याये पूर्ववत्तु भाषो-त्तराभ्यामेव निर्णय इति । कार्यान्तर्वर्तिनमाह वृहस्पतिः⁴ ।

“उभाभ्यां यस्य विश्वस्तं कार्यं वापि निवेदितं ।

गूढचारी स विज्ञेयः कार्यमध्यगतस्तथा ॥,,

अर्थिप्रहितमाह वृहस्पतिः⁵ ।

“अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिवचनं शृणुयात् प्रेषितस्तु यः ।

उभयोः समतः साधुर्दूतकः स उदाहृतः ॥”

अर्थिना प्रहित इत्यर्थिपदं वादिद्वयपरं । उभयोरपि स्वपक्षार्थित्वात् तेनान्तरेण वचनग्रहणार्थं प्रहितत्वाद्दूतक इत्युच्यते । कुल्यमाह वृहस्पतिः⁶ ।

“विभागदाने विपणे ज्ञातिर्यत्रोपदिश्यते ।,,

द्वयोः समानो धर्माज्ञः कुल्यः स परिकीर्तितः ॥

द्वयोः समानः न कस्याप्यरिमित्रभूतः, साधारण इत्यर्थः । कात्यायनोऽप्याह⁷ ।

“अक्षयभागविभागे तु सन्देहे समुपस्थिते ।

कुल्यानां वचनन्तत्र प्रमाणं तद्विपर्यये ॥”

खटिकाणाह्णिणस्तु लेखकस्य सभासदामेव न्यायदर्शनार्थं, वर्गितत्वाविशेषात् प्राङ्निवाककोटावेव निक्षेपान्न मङ्गतेरेकोवाच्यः । ननु तथा राज्ञोऽपि कथं प्राग्भावः । उच्यते ।

राज्ञि स्वयं व्यवहारदर्शनि दिष्टमाने स एक एव साक्षी नान्य इति ज्ञापनार्थं । तदाह कात्यायनः⁸ ।

लेखकः प्राङ्घिकाकश्च सभ्यश्चेवानुपूर्वगः ।

नृपे पश्यति तत् कार्यं साक्षिणः समुदाहताः ॥”

नृपतिना व्यवहारदर्शने लेखकादीनां साक्षिणप्रतिपादनात्, अतएव व्यासवचनं¹— “राज्ञा धर्मा-
सनस्थेनेत्यादि ।” अथ नारदः² ।

“श्रेणिषु श्रेणिपुरुषाः श्लेषु वर्गेषु वर्गिणः ।

वह्निर्वाग्निषु वाह्याः स्युः स्त्रियः स्त्रीषु च साक्षिणः ॥

तथा मनुकात्यायनौ³ ।

“स्त्रीणां साक्ष्यं स्त्रियः कुर्युर्द्विजानां मदृगा द्विजाः ।

शूद्राश्च सन्तः शूद्राणां अन्यानामन्ययोनयः ॥”

लिखितादीनां कालविशेषात्तत्र साक्षिणमाह नारदः⁴ ।

सुदीर्घणापि कालेन लिखितः सिद्धिमाप्नुयात् ।

संजानन्नात्मनो लेख्यमजानंस्तु न लेखयेत् ॥

आष्टमादक्षरात् सिद्धिः स्मारितस्येह साक्षिणः ।

षापञ्चमात्तथा सिद्धिर्यदृच्छोपगतस्य च ॥

आहतौयात्तथा वर्षात् सिद्धिर्गूढस्य साक्षिणः ।

आत्रक्षरात्तथा सिद्धिं वदन्यत्तरसाक्षिणः ॥

श्रौत्सर्गिकमेतद्रूपमभिधाय तस्यापवादमाह नारदः⁵ ।

“अथवा कालनियमो न दृष्टः साक्षिणं प्रति ।

स्मृत्यपेक्ष्यं हि साक्षिणमाहुः शास्त्रविदो जनाः ॥

यस्य नोपहता बुद्धिः स्मृतिशास्त्रे च नित्यगः ।

सुदीर्घणापि कालेन स वै साक्षिणमर्हति” ॥

अथासाक्षिणः । तत्र नारदः⁶ ।

“असाक्षीव्यवहारेषु दृष्टः पञ्चविधो बुधेः ।

वचनाद्दोषतो भेदात् स्वयमुक्तिर्मुदान्तरः’ ॥

¹ O. ² Narada, Rinâdânâṃ, 155.

³ Manu, VIII, 68; O in Katyayana. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 266.

⁴ Narada, Rinâdânâṃ, 167, 168 and 169. The second half of the first sloka runs thus: “आत्मनेव लिखेज्जानन् न चेदन्येन लेखयेत्” ।

⁵ Narada, Rinâdânâṃ, 170, 171; reads “स्मृतिः शास्त्रं च साक्षिणः for ‘न दृष्टः साक्षिणं प्रति’, and ‘स साक्षी साक्ष्यमर्हति’ for ‘स वै साक्षिणमर्हति’ ।

⁶ Narada, Rinâdânâṃ, 157; reads ‘असाक्ष्यपिहि शास्त्रेऽस्मिन्’ for the underlined portion.

विषयं विविनक्ति स एव ।

“ श्रोत्रियाद्या वचनतः स्तेनाद्या दोषदर्शनात् ।
भेदाद्विप्रतिपत्तिः स्याद्विवादे यत्र साक्षिणाम् ॥
स्वयमुक्तिरनिर्दिष्टः स्वयमेवेत्यथो वदेत् ।
मृतान्तरेऽर्थिनि प्रेते मुमूर्षुः आवितादृते ” ॥

श्रोत्रियादीनि व्याकरोति¹ ।

“ श्रोत्रियास्तापसा वृद्धा ये च प्रब्रजिता नराः ।
असाक्षिणस्ते वचनान्नात्र हेतुरुदाहृतः ” ॥

वचनान्निषेधवचनादिति न्यायस्यार्थः ।

न हि तेषां साक्षित्वेन ग्रहणे प्रश्ने वा निषेधातिक्रमादधर्मात्पत्तिर्न्यायमूलत्वादचनानां, सत्यपि वाधादोषे तत्प्रश्नेन सत्यप्रशस्तव्यवहारममाप्त्यविरोधाद्ग्रहणप्रकरणे लिखननिषेधस्य पुरुषार्थत्वात्, ततश्च ते साक्षिणो न कार्य्याः, तेषां पूज्यतमत्वात्, अदण्डनीयत्वात्, तपः-प्रकर्षाच्च, भूरिकोपवत्त्वेन तच्छापभयेन व्यवहारद्रष्टारो न तान् पृच्छन्तीति तत्-साक्षिकरणानर्थक्यान्न ते कार्य्याः । यदा नित्यं तेषामग्निहोत्रादिकाकार्य्यव्यग्रतया परकीयकार्य्यप्रसरणसम्भवात् अनर्थकं तत् साक्षिकरणं । वचनादिश्रोत्रियत्वादिरूपाभिधानान्नाचान्यो हेतुरित्यर्थः । तेन ते साक्षिणो न कर्त्तव्याः । अहतास्तु भवन्त्येव साक्षिणः । उभौ तु श्रोत्रियो ख्यातावित्यादिवचनात् । अतएव वृद्धस्याप्यसाक्षित्वं वृद्धत्वात् ग्लानेन्द्रियत्वादित्यर्थः । दोषादसाक्षिणो दर्शयति नारदः² ।

“ स्तेनाः साहसिकाश्चण्डाः कितवा वधकास्तथा ।
असाक्षिणस्ते दुष्टत्वाक्तेषु सत्यं न विद्यते ” ॥

तथा मनुनारदौ³ ।

नात्मसम्बन्धिनो नाप्ता न सहाया न वैरिणः ।
अदृष्टदोषाः कर्त्तव्या न व्याध्यान्तां न दूषिताः ॥

तथा कात्यायनः⁴ ।

“ तदृत्तिजीविनो ये च तत्सेवाहितकारिणः ।
तदन्सुहृदो भृत्या अप्तास्ते तु न साक्षिणः ॥
माह्वसुः सुताश्चैव विवाह्यो भगिनीपतिः ।
पिता वन्धुःपितृव्युः शशुरो गुरवस्तथा ” ॥

¹ O. ² Narada, Rinâdânâṃ, 158. ³ Narada, Rinâdânâṃ, 159.

⁴ Narada, Rinâdânâṃ 177, reads नार्थसम्बन्धिनः and न दृष्ट-दोषाः for the words underlined respectively. O.

वृहस्पतिः¹ ।

“ मातुःपिता पितृव्यश्च भार्याया भ्रातृमातृलौ ।
भ्राता सखा वा जामाता सर्व्ववादेष्वसाक्षिणः ” ॥

विस्तरभयान्न बद्ध लिख्यते । भेदादसाक्षित्वाद्, नारदः ।

“ राज्ञापारिग्रहीतेषु साक्षिष्वेकार्थनिर्णये ।
वचनं तत्र भिद्येत ते स्युर्भेदादसाक्षिणः ” ॥

तथा कात्यायनः³ ।

“ साक्षिणां लिखितानान्तु निर्दिष्टानान्तु वादिनाम् ।
तेषामेकोऽन्यथा वादी भेदात् सर्व्वं न साक्षिणः ” ॥

अस्यार्थः, एकस्य भाषार्थस्योत्तरार्थस्य वा प्रतिपादं गृहीतानां साक्षिणां वचनप्रतिपत्तिमात्रेण भेदादसाक्षित्वं, न तु समसङ्ख्यानां, एकस्याप्यन्यथावादे सर्व्वेषां बहूनां साक्षित्वावधारणात् । अत एवाह⁴ ।

“ भेदाद्विप्रतिपत्तिः स्याद्विवादे यत्र साक्षिणाम् ” ॥

इति वचनभेदवादे वा साक्षित्वमुक्तं, न तु सङ्ख्यासमानतापेक्षातः, सर्व्वत्र निरपेक्ष-श्रुतेः । नन्वेतद्विरुद्धं, एकस्याप्यन्यथा वापीतरेषां सङ्ख्यातिरेके निर्णयाभिधानात् । यथा मनुविष्णू⁵ ।

“ बद्धत्वं परिग्रहीयात् साक्षिद्वैधे नराधिपः ।
समेषु तु गुणोत्कृष्टान् गुणद्वैधे द्विजोत्तमान् ” ॥

तथा नारदः⁶ ।

“ साक्षिणां विप्रतिपत्तौ प्रमाणं बहवो मताः ।
साम्ये तत् शुचयो ग्राह्यास्तसाम्ये शुचिमन्तराः ” ॥

तथा वृहस्पतिः⁷ ।

“ साक्षिद्वैधे प्रभूतास्ते ग्राह्याः साम्ये गुणान्विताः ।
गुणद्वैधे क्रियायुक्तास्तत्-साम्ये शुचिमन्तराः ”

अथ मन्यसे वादिनोः साक्षिग्रहणे प्रतिपत्तावेतानि साक्षिणामेव ग्राह्यतया निर्दोषादतो न वाध इति । एवं तर्हि याज्ञवल्क्य-विरुद्धमेतद्, यथा⁸ ।

“ द्वैधे बहूनां वचनं साम्येषु गुणिनान्तथा ।
गुणद्वैधे च वचनं ग्राह्यं ये गुणवन्तराः ” ॥

¹ O. ² Narada, Rinâdânâṃ, 160, reads निश्चये for निर्णये and यत्र for तत्र

³ O. ⁴ Not traced.

⁵ Vishnu, VIII, 39; Manu, VIII, 73, S.B.E., Vol. VII, p. 52. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 267.

⁶ Narada, Rinâdânâṃ, 229, reads साक्षिविप्रतिपत्तौ for साक्षिणां विप्रतिपत्तौ, मत् for मताः and स्मृतिमन्तरा for शुचिमन्तराः । ⁷ O. ⁸ Yajñavalkya, II, 78.

अनेन गृहीत-मात्ति-प्रश्नान्तरं वचनविप्रतिपत्तौ बहूनां वचनस्यैव ग्राह्यतया निर्दिष्टात् न कथमेकस्यापि मात्तिणो बन्धभेदात् बहूनामप्यमात्तिलमुच्यते, सत्यं एतस्मादेव तर्हि विरोधात् द्वैधे बहूना-मित्यादिकमप्युभयोः मद्भावे विषयत्वेन वर्णनीयं । एतत् मात्तिग्रहणाच्च तद्वचनस्यापि ग्रहणमर्थप्राप्तमनूयते ।

वचनग्रहणार्थमेव मात्तिणो ग्रहणात्. तेन गृहीतानां तुल्यगुणानां मात्तिणां मध्ये यद्येकोऽन्यथा ब्रूते, तदा बहूनामेवाप्यमात्तिलमित्यादिविरोधात् समानं । किन्तु सकलप्रामाणिकव्यवहारविरुद्धत्वादन्यार्थ-स्थान्यथा समाधीयते । त्रयाणां मध्ये यद्येकस्यान्यथावादः स्यात्तदा इतरयोर्मध्ये एकस्यैवान्यथावादानुत्पत्त्येन तदपरस्यैकस्य निर्णयः स्यात्, एकश्चाभाची इत्युक्तं प्राक् । तेन मात्तिवचनभेदे यद्येकोऽधिकः स्यात्तत्र भेदा-दमात्तिलमिति वर्णनीयं । द्वित्राद्यधिके तु बह्वलं परिगृहीयादित्यादिवचनमित्यविरोधः ।

एवञ्च तुल्यरूपेषु पञ्चसु पृष्ठेष्वेकस्यान्यथावादे तुल्यादेकस्मात्त्रयोऽधिकाम्नेन तत्र भवतु निर्णयः । तेष्वेव तु द्वयोर्विप्रतिपत्तावितरेषु त्रिषु द्वयोर्विप्रतिपन्नसमानयोरेकोऽधिक इति भेदात्मात्तिलं बोद्धव्यं । वचनवशात् पूर्वोक्त एवार्थः । एकैकशः सर्वेषामेव प्रतिपन्नसमानत्वादेकैकस्य प्रमाणत्वान्मिलितानां प्रमाणत्वा-भावात् । स्वयमुक्तिं व्याकरोति¹ ।

“ स्वयमुक्तिरनिर्दिष्टः स्वयमेवेत्य यो वदेत् ।

मृतान्तरेऽर्थिनि प्रेते मुमूर्षुश्रावितादृते ” ॥

मात्तिलेनानुपन्यस्तः स्वयमेवागवत्यैमर्थमहं जानामीति ब्रुवाणो न साची । तदाह नारदः² ।

अनिर्दिष्टसु मात्तिले स्वयमेवेत्य यो वदेत् ।

सूचीत्युक्तः स शास्त्रेषु न च मात्तिलमर्हति ॥

तथा कात्यायनः³ ।

“ न साक्ष्यं मात्तिभिर्वाच्यमपृष्टैरर्थिना सदा ।

न साक्ष्यं तेषु विद्येत स्वयमात्मनि योजयेत् ॥

यः साची नैव निर्दिष्टो नाहृतो नापि दर्शितः ।

ब्रूयान्मिथ्येति तथ्यं वा दण्डः सोऽपि नराधमः ” ॥

सत्यमिदं मिथ्याचेतदिति वदन्नुभयथापि दण्डनीयः । अनिर्दिष्टेनापृष्टेन च अभिधानात् । मृतान्तरं विविनक्ति⁴ ।

“ मृतान्तरेऽर्थिनि प्रेते मुमूर्षुश्रावितादृते ” ॥

अन्तरोऽन्तरज्ञो, विवादे अर्थी प्रत्यर्थी धनञ्च, बहिरङ्गाः साक्षिसभ्यादयः, तेन यत्रासौ साचीकृतो गोभृत्यालङ्कारविषये तस्मिन्मृते नष्टे वा साची मृतान्तर उच्यते । गो-भृत्यादेर्मूलभूतस्य मृतत्वात् । तत् संन्याततो विप्रतिपत्तौ हि तस्य अमात्तिलं इममर्थं कस्य जानीया इति प्रश्नानुपपत्तेरित्यसाची मृतान्तरः, तथा येन च्छणादिविषये साची कृतो अर्थिना प्रत्यर्थिना वा तस्मिन्मृते साची मृतान्तरो भवति । अर्थिना च

Unknown.

² Narada, Rinâdânam, 161, reads 'न स' for 'न च' ।

O.

³ Unknown.

पुत्रादिना देशकालधने यत्त्वाद्यपरज्ञाने तत्त्वज्ञानानर्हत्वादनुपन्यस्तस्य च साक्षिणः स्वयमुक्तित्वापत्तेर्मृतान्तरो
न साक्षी, तदाह नारदः¹ ।

“योऽर्थः आवयितव्यः स्यात्तस्मिन्न मति चार्थिनि ।

क तद्वदतु साक्षित्वमित्यसाक्षीमृतान्तरः” ॥

ज्ञापयितव्यः इत्यर्थः विनष्टे अर्थिनि मृते, इत्तुभयथैव मृतान्तरत्वं पुनर्नारदः ।

सन्तोऽपि न प्रमाणं स्युर्मृते धनिनि साक्षिणः ।

अन्यत्र आवितं स्याच्च स्वयमासन्नमृत्युना ॥

यदि तु पुत्रादिषु पित्रादिना ज्ञापितं सकलमन्यत एव श्रुतं तदा तत्रासौ भवत्येव साक्षी ।
मुमूर्षुआवितत्वमुपलक्षणं अन्यथाऽदृष्टार्थतापत्तेः । तथाह कात्यायनः² ।

“अन्येन हि कृतः साक्षी नैवान्यस्तं विवादयेत् ।

तदभावे नियुक्तो वा ब्राह्मणो वा विवादयेत्” ॥

साक्षिणं वाचयेदित्यर्थः । साक्षिणश्च सत्त्वेव दूषणे दूष्याः, तथा वृहस्पतिः³ ।

अदृष्टान् दूषयन् वादी तत्समं दण्डमर्हतीति ।

साक्षिणाञ्च दूषणं सतामन्वेषामन्वेषां वा तद्देदिनां ग्राह्यं । न तु तत्र श्रवरादिसाक्षिभिः प्रतिपाद्यं,
अनवस्थापातात् ; तदाह व्यासः⁴ ।

“सभासदाम्प्रसिद्धं यल्लोकसिद्धमथापि वा ।

साक्षिणां दूषणं ग्राह्यं न साध्यदोषदर्शनात् ॥

अन्यैस्तु साक्षिभिः साक्ष्ये दूषणं पूर्वसाक्षिणाम् ।

अनवस्थाभवेदोषस्तेषामन्यत्र सम्भवात्” ॥

साक्षिभिरुक्ते दूषणं वाच्यं । तदाह कात्यायनः⁵ ॥

“उक्ते ऽर्थे साक्षिणो यस्तु दूषयेत् प्राग्दूषितान् ।

न च तत्कारणं ब्रूयात् प्राप्नुयात् पूर्वसाहसम्” ॥

एतच्च साक्षिपरीक्षणमृणादिषु, न साहसादिषु । तदाह कात्यायनः⁶ ।

“ऋणादिषु परीक्षेत साक्षिणः स्थिरकर्म्मसु ।

साहसात्यधिके चैव परीक्षा न क्वचिन्मता” ॥

मनुनारदौ⁷ ।

साहसेषु च सर्वेषु स्तेयसंग्रहणेषु च ।

वाग्दण्डयोश्च पारुध्ये न परीक्षेत साक्षिणः ।

¹ Narada, Rinâdânâṃ, 162.

² Narada, Rinâdânâṃ, 91.

³ O.

⁴ O.

⁵ O.

⁶ O.

⁷ O.

⁸ Narada, Rinâdânâṃ, 189 ; “पारुध्ययोश्चाप्यभयोः” for the underlined portion. Manu, VIII, 72. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 267.

तथा कात्यायनः ।

“व्याघाते च नृपाज्ञायाः संग्रहे साहसेषु च ।
स्तेयपारुष्ययोश्चैव न परीक्षेत साक्षिणः ॥
अन्तर्वेक्षणं रात्रौ च वह्निर्ग्रामाच्च यो भवेत् ।
एतेऽस्त्रेवाभियोगे च परीक्षा नास्ति साक्षिणाम् ॥”

तथा नारदः ।

“असाक्षिणो ये निर्दिष्टा दासनैष्कृतिकादयः ।
कार्यगौरवमासाद्य भवेयुस्तेऽपि साक्षिणः ॥

तथा मनुः ।

“अन्तर्वेक्षण्यरण्ये वा शरीरस्यापि वात्यये ।
स्त्रियाप्यसम्भवे कार्यं बालेन स्यविरेण वा ॥
शिष्येण बन्धुना वापि दासेन मृतकेन वा ॥”

तथोग्रनाः ।

दासोऽन्धो वधिरः कुष्ठो बालः स्त्रीस्यविरादयः ।
एतेऽप्यनभिसम्बन्धाः साहसे साक्षिणो मताः ॥

मनुः ।

बालवृद्धातुराणान्तु साक्ष्येषु वदतां मृषा ।
जानोयादस्थिरां वाचमुत्सिक्तमनसान्तथा ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः ।

मर्षः संग्रहणे साक्षी चौर्यपारुष्य साहसे ।

त्रिष्णुः ।

स्तेय साहस-वाग्दण्ड पारुष्य-संग्रहणादिकार्याणां निङ्गवेनैव क्रियमाणत्वात् दैव-पितरस्तत्र
साक्षिणः भवन्तीति मत्वा न तान् परीक्षेतेत्युक्तं । वचनन्तु तेषामप्यरि-मित्रादिभावनिरूपणेनोपपत्त्यनुप-
पत्तिभ्यामालोचनीयं । न तु तद्वचनमात्रादेव निर्णयः ।

अथ साक्षिप्रश्नः । तत्र कात्यायनः ।

न कालहरणं कार्यं राज्ञा साक्षि प्रभाषणे ।
महान् दोषो भवेत् कालाद्धर्मव्यावृत्तिलक्षणः ॥

¹ O. Narada, Rinādānam, 188.

Manu, VIII, 69, 70. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 266, 267. ⁴ O.

Manu, VIII, 71. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 267. ⁶ O.

Vishnu, Vol. VIII, 6, reads :—“स्तेय-साहस-वाग्-दण्ड-पारुष्य-संग्रहणेषु साक्षिणो न परीक्ष्याः”.
S.B.E., VIII, c. 49. O.

साक्षिप्रभाषण इत्युभयार्थं पृथक् पृथक् । मनुः¹ ।

देवब्राह्मणसान्निध्ये साक्ष्यं पृच्छेदृते द्विजान् ।

उदङ्मुखान् प्राङ्मुखान् वा पूर्वार्द्धे वै शुभे शुचौन् ॥

²सभान्तः साक्षिणः प्राप्तानर्थिप्रत्यर्थि-सन्निधौ ।

प्रत्यक्षं चोदयं साक्ष्यं न परोक्षं कदाचन ॥

³अर्थस्योपरि वक्तव्यं तयोरपि विना क्वचित् ।

चतुष्पदेष्वेवं धर्मा द्विपदं स्यावरेषु च ॥

तैस्ये गण्य मेयेनमभावेऽपि हि वाचयेत् ।

ननु प्रश्नः पृथक् पृथक्, कथं नाम समेताः । पृथक् पृष्टाः प्रव्रयुरिति⁴ गोतमेन विधानात् ।
उच्यते । विरोधं परिहरति कात्यायनः ।

समवेतैस्तु यद्दृष्टं वक्तव्यं तत्तथैव च ।

विभिन्ने चैव यत् कार्यं वक्तव्यं तत् पृथक् पृथक् ॥

भिन्ने काले तु यत् कार्यं विज्ञातं तत्र साक्षिभिः ।

एकैकं वादयेत्तत्र भिन्नकालन्तु तद्भृगुः ।

मिलितैरवगते मिलिता एव प्रष्टव्याः । एकैकशस्तु तत् कार्यावगमे पृथक् पृथगित्यविरोधः ।
अथ साक्षिणां धर्मश्रावणं । तत्र वृहस्पतिः⁵ ।

“ सत्यप्रशंसावचनैरनृतस्थापवर्जनैः । ”

सभ्यैः सम्वोधनीयास्तु धर्मशास्त्रार्थवेदिभिः ॥

आजन्मनश्चामरणात् सुकृतं यत्त्वयार्जितं ।

तत् सर्वं नाशमायाति वितथस्याभिग्रंसनात् ॥

गूढसभ्यः कूटसाक्षी ब्रह्महा च समाः स्मृताः ।

भ्रूणहा वित्तहा चैषां नाधिकः समुदाहृतः ॥

एवं विदित्वा यः साक्षी स यथार्थं वदेत्ततः ।

तेनेह कीर्त्तिमाप्नोति परत्र च शुभां गतिं ॥

अथ नारदः⁷ !

“ पौराणैर्धर्मवचनैः सत्यमाहात्म्यदर्शनैः ।

अनृतस्थापवादश्च भृशमुदासयेदपि ॥ ”

¹ Manu, VIII, 87. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 269.

² Manu, VIII, 79. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 268. O. O. O. O.

⁷ Narada, Rinâdânam, 200 and 202. But these two differ in many points, as in the first sloka पुराणैः for पौराणैः, कीर्त्तनैः for दर्शनैः, अपवादः for अपवादैः and भृशमत्रासयेत् for भृशमुदासयेत् ; and also in the second sloka, as—‘नश्रोमृगः कपलेन’ and अमित्राण for the underlined portion, respectively.

नागरैः प्रतिरुद्धः सन् वह्निद्वारे वुमुचितः ।
अमूचान् भूयगः पश्येत् यः साध्यमनृतं वदेत् ॥

अथ मनुः ।

ब्रूहीति ब्राह्मणं पृच्छेत् सत्यं ब्रूहीति पार्थिवं ।
गोवीजकाञ्चनैर्वैशं शूद्रं सर्व्वैस्तु पातकैः ॥
ब्रह्महा ये स्मृता लोके ये च स्त्री-बालघातिनः ।
मित्रद्रुहः कृतघ्नाश्च ते ते स्यु ब्रूवतो मृषा ॥
स्वजन्मप्रभृति यत् सर्व्वं पुण्यं भद्र त्वया कृतम् ।
तत्ते सर्व्वं शूनो गच्छेद् यदि ब्रूयास्त्वमन्यथा ॥
एकोऽहमस्मीत्यात्मानं यस्त्वं कल्याण मन्यसे ।
नित्यं स्थितस्ते हृद्देशे पुण्यपापेक्षिता मुनिः ॥
यमो वैवस्वतो देवो यस्तवैष हृदिस्थितः ।

अथ मनुनारदौ^२ ।

“ नग्नोमुण्डः कपालेन भिक्षार्थीं चुत्पिपासितः ।
अन्धः शत्रुकुलं गच्छेद् यः साध्यमनृतं वदेत् ” ॥
“^३ यावतो बान्धवान् यस्मिन् हन्ति साध्यमनृतं वदन् ।
तावतः सङ्ख्याया तस्मिन् शृणु सौम्यानुपूर्व्वगः ” ॥
पञ्चप + नृते हन्ति दश हन्ति गवानृते ।
शतमश्वानृते हन्ति सहस्रं पुरुषानृते ॥
हन्ति जातानजातांश्च हिरण्यार्थेऽनृतं वदन् ।
सर्व्वभूम्यनृते हन्ति मा स्म भूम्यनृतं वदः ॥

दोषमतिदिशति मनुः^४ ।

“ अप्पु भूमिवदित्याहुः स्त्रीणां भोगे च मैथुने ।
अश्लेषु चैव रत्नेषु सर्व्वेष्वग्मयेषु च ” ॥

Manu, VIII, 89—92; reads कृतघ्नश्च for कृतघ्नाश्च, जन्मप्रभृति यत्किञ्चित् for ‘स्वजन्मप्रभृति यत्सर्व्वं’, S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 270.

^२ Manu, VIII, 98. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 270. Narada, Rinâdânam, 201, reads गृह for कुलं.

^३ Narada, Rinâdânam, 207—209. Manu, VIII, 97—99. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 271.

^४ Manu, VIII, 100. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 271.

“¹ पशुवत् चौद्रुतयोर्धानेषु च तथाश्ववत् ।
गोवद्रजतवस्त्रेषु धान्ये ब्रह्मणि चैव हि” ॥
“² एतान् दोषानवेक्ष्य त्वं सर्वाननृतभाषणे ।
यथाश्रुतं यथादृष्टं सर्वमेवाज्ञसा वद” ॥

अथ नारदो विष्णुश्च³ । प्रथमे ।

“अश्वमेधसहस्रन्तु सत्यञ्च तुलया धृतम् ।
अश्वमेधसहस्राद्धि सत्यमेव विशिष्यते” ॥
“⁴ सत्यं स्वर्गस्य सोपानं पारावारस्य नौरिव” ।
“⁵ वरं कूपशताद्वापौ वरं वापीशतात् क्रतुः ॥
वरं क्रतुशतात् पुत्रः सत्यं पुत्र-शताद्वरम् ।
सत्येन भूर्धारयति सत्येनोदेति भास्करः ॥
सत्येन वायुः पवते सत्येनापः स्रवन्ति च ।
सत्यमेव परं दानं सत्यमेव परन्तपः ॥
सत्यमेव परोधर्मी लोकानामिति नः श्रुतम् ।
“⁶ नास्ति सत्यात् परोधर्मी नानृतात् पातकं परम् ॥
साक्षिधर्मविशेषेण सत्यमेव वदेत्ततः” ।
“⁷ सत्यं ब्रह्मनृतं त्यक्त्वा सत्येन सत्यमेव्यसि” ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः⁸ ।

“सुद्वतं यत्त्वया किञ्चिज्जन्मान्तरशतैः कृतम् ।
तत्सर्वं तस्य जानौहि यं पराजयसे मृषा” ॥

ब्राह्मणा अपि चत्रियवैश्याशूद्रसमास्तेऽपि चत्रियादिवदेव प्रष्टव्याः । उपस्थिताश्च । स्वयं परीक्षकै
र्निरूपणीयास्तदाह कात्यायनः⁹ ।

“उपस्थितान् परीक्षेत साक्षिणो नृपतिः स्वयम् ।
साक्षिभिर्भाषितं वाक्यं सभ्यैः सह परीक्षयेत्” ॥

¹ Manu, VIII, 100-1.

² Manu, VIII, 101. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 271.

³ Narada, Rinâdânam, 211. Vishnu, VIII, 36. S.B.E., Vol. VIII, p. 51.

⁴ Narada, Rinâdânam, 210. O. in Vishnu.

⁵ Narada, Rinâdânam, 212—214. O. in Vishnu.

⁶ Narada, Rinâdânam, 226. O. in Vishnu.

⁷ Narada, Rinâdânam, 216. O. in Vishnu.

⁸ Yajnavalkya, II, 75. ⁹ O.

नृपतिरित्युपलक्षणम् ।

“ विलिखत्यवनीं पद्भ्यां बाह्वामश्च धूनयेत् ।
 भिद्यते मुखवर्णोऽस्य ललाटं खिद्यते तथा ॥
 शोषमागच्छतश्चोष्ठौ ऊर्ध्वं तिर्यक् च वीक्षते ।
 त्वरया बद्ध वा बद्धमपृष्ठं बद्ध भाषते ॥
 कूटसाक्षी स विज्ञेयस्तं पापं विनयेद्भ्रमम् ।
 श्रावयेद्वा तथान्धेभ्यः साक्षित्वं योऽपि निरुते ।
 स विनेयोऽध्यर्द्धशतं कूटसाक्ष्यधिको हि सः ” ॥

एवं निरूपितेषु साक्षिषु पृष्ठेषु यदि न कश्चिद्भूते तदा कर्त्तव्यतामाह याज्ञवल्क्यः¹ ।

“ न ददाति हि यः साक्ष्यं जानन्नपि नराधमः ।
 स कूटसाक्षिणां पापैस्तुल्यो दण्डेन चैव हि ” ॥

तथा विष्णुः ।

“ पारयन्तोऽपि ये साक्ष्यं तूष्णीम् भूत्वा उपासते
 ते कूटसाक्षिणां पापैस्तुल्योदण्डेन चैव हि ” ॥

पारयन्त्यपौत्यपि शब्देन जानन्तोऽपि यदि सत्याभिधाने स्वकीयमनर्थप्रवेशमाशङ्कमानः स्तूष्णीमासते, तदा न ते दण्डनीया भवन्तीत्युक्तं । आहृतस्य चानागमने अपृष्ठस्य च मत्यवचने दृष्टे चाकथने कर्त्तव्यतामाह बृहस्पतिः² ।

“ आहृतो यस्तु नागच्छेत् साक्षी रोगविवर्जितः ।
 ऋणं दण्डञ्च दाप्यः साक्षिपक्षात् परतस्तु सः ॥
 अपृष्ठाः मत्यवचने प्रश्नस्याकथने तथा ।
 साक्षिणः मन्निरोद्धव्या गर्ह्या दण्ड्याश्च धर्मतः ” ॥

ऋणपदं निक्षेपादीनुपलक्षयति, न्यायस्याविशेषात् । अथ साक्षिवचनं । तत्र बृहस्पतिः³ ।

“ यस्याशेषं प्रतिज्ञातं साक्षिभिः प्रतिवर्णितम् ।
 स जयी स्यादन्यथा तु साध्यार्थं न समाप्नुयात् ” ॥

अन्यथा मिथैतदिति विपरीताभिधाने साध्यं न लभेत, भग्नत्वादित्यर्थः । तदेव स्पष्टयतो विष्णुयाज्ञवल्क्यौ ।

“ यस्योचुः साक्षिणः मत्यां प्रतिज्ञां स जयी भवेत् ।
 अन्यथा वादिनो यस्य ध्रुवं तस्य पराजयः ” ॥

¹ Yajnavalkya, II, 77.

Vishnu, VIII, 37 ; reads ‘जानन्नोऽपि हि ये साक्ष्यं’ for ‘पारयन्तोऽपि ये साक्ष्यं’, ‘भूता’ for भूताः, and वाप्यय for ‘चैव हि’. S.B.E., Vol. VII, p. 52. ³ O. ⁴ O.

Vishnu, VIII, 38. S.B.E., Vol. VII, p. 52. Yajnavalkya, II, 79.

प्रतिपाद्यतया यावत् प्रतिज्ञातं तावज्जानीम इति यदि साक्षिणो ब्रूयुस्तदा स जयी भवति । न तु भाषाकाले यावत् साध्यं निर्दिष्टं विभावितैकदेशन्यायनिर्विषयापत्तेः । अस्य विस्तरेण पूर्वं प्रतिपादितत्वात् । यस्य पुनः साक्षिणोऽन्यथा वदन्ति मिथ्येति तन्न भवत्येवायमर्थस्तस्य भङ्ग इति, तदाह व्यासः ।

“तीर्णप्रतिज्ञो विजयी मिथ्यावादी विहीयते” ।

मिथ्यावादत्वावधारणाद्भङ्ग इत्यर्थः । अतएव । यत्र न स्मरामः इत्याहुस्तत्र न प्रतिज्ञातस्य मत्तत्वं नापि मिथ्यात्वं इति । न तत्र जयपराजयौ, परीक्षकाणामन्यतरपक्षावधारणे प्रमाणाभावात्, अतः क्रियान्तरेण दिव्यादिना निर्णयः कार्यः । यथा बृहस्पतिः ।

“लिखिते साक्षिवादे च सन्दिग्धे र्यत्र जायते ।

अनुमाने च सम्भ्रान्ते तत्र दिव्यं विशोधनम्” ॥

ऊनाधिकाभिधाने पुनराह बृहस्पतिः ।

“पूर्वपक्षे प्रतिज्ञातं अशेषं परिभावयेत् ।

ऊनाधिकन्तु यत्रोक्तं न तन्निगदितं भवेत्” ॥

तत्रोनाधिकाभिधाने साक्षिनिर्देशकस्य भङ्ग इति केचित् । अस्याप्यन्यथावादित्वादिति तद्युक्तं, ‘मिथ्यावादीविहीयते’ इति वचनात् विपरीताभिधानस्यान्यथावादत्वान्नान्यथावादस्य न स्मरामीत्यादिवादेऽपि तथात्वापत्तेः, इत्यत एवेति केचित् । साधकवाधकप्रमाणाभावेन सन्देहे सत्यपि भग्नत्वे कलापत्तेः अस्य निरास्यत्वाद्बृहस्पतिश्चान्यथावादिसाध्यस्य प्राप्या भङ्गमभिधाय पुनरूनाधिकाभिधानार्थं वचनान्तरविवरणं कृतवान् । तदनर्थकं भवेदन्यथा वचनेनैव प्राप्तत्वात्, अतएवात्र तन्निगदितमित्यर्थतत्त्वमाह, न च साध्याप्राप्तिं, नारदोऽप्यनुक्तत्वमेवाह,⁴

“निर्दिष्टेष्वर्थजातेषु साक्षी चेत् साक्ष्यमागतः ।

न ब्रूयादक्षरसमं न तन्निगदितं भवेत्” ॥

⁵ऊनमप्यधिकं वापि प्रब्रूयुर्यत्र साक्षिणः ।

तदप्युक्तं विज्ञेयमेष साक्षिविधिः स्मृतः ॥

तथा कात्यायनः⁶ ।

“ऊनाधिकन्तु यत्र स्यात् साक्ष्यन्तत्र विवर्जयेत् ।

साक्षी तत्र न दण्डः स्याद्ब्रूवन् दण्डमर्हति” ॥

अयमपि साक्षित्वस्य वर्जनीयतामाह ।

ऊनाधिकाभिधानेऽपि व्यतिरेकेऽन्वयव्यतिरेकयोरन्यतराभिधाने इव साक्ष्यस्य विवर्जनं स्यात्तदापि तत्त्ववचने निर्णयात् तूष्णीं स्थितस्यैव वा कथकतया दण्डप्रसक्तौ न दण्डः स्यादिति निषेधयतिः यथा-

¹ O.

² O.

³ O.

⁴ Narada, Rinâdânam, 232.

⁵ Narada, Rinâdânam, 237. Reads वार्धः for वापि .

⁶ O.

ज्ञाननिर्देशेन सत्सात्त्वित्वात्तस्मादमङ्गतो भङ्गवादः । विश्वरूपस्य मते ऊनाधिकाभिधाने तदयुक्तमिति मुनिभिरभिहितत्वात् । अनुक्तेषु प्रश्नात् प्रागिवात्रापि संशयस्याविशेषात् यथासम्भवं क्रियान्तरेण दिव्यादिना निर्णयः कार्यः । पूर्वस्यासाधनत्वात्, तदुक्तं कात्यायनेन¹ ।

“ वादिना यदभिप्रेतं स्वयं साधयितुं स्फुटम् ।

तत्साध्यं साधनं येन तत्साध्यं साध्यतेऽखिलम् ” ॥

अखिलसाधनस्य साधनत्वादिति तदालोचनीयं । नियुक्तेऽप्यर्थे संशयेऽनुक्ते वा न तावदुक्ते निरूपणापूर्वकप्रमाणाभावेन गृहीतानां साक्षिणां सम्पूर्णाभिधानस्य प्रमाणाभावाविशेषात् कुतः संशयः ; न च न्यूनाभिधानेनाप्रमाणात्, अप्रामाण्यमाधकत्वेन स्वहेतोः साध्यविरुद्धत्वात्, तथा हि प्रमादाशक्तिसम्भ्रमास्तावन्नाशङ्कनीयाः, पूर्णाभिधानेऽपि तदविशेषात् अनिर्णयापत्तेः । न चाशयदोषः, स हि वादिनोरन्यतरप्रयोजनेन तत्र सम्पूर्णमेव वा वदेत्, अपङ्गुवीत एव वा, न पुनरर्द्धजरतीयं, द्वयोरपि प्रयोजनासिद्धेः ; तदसिद्धौ स्वप्रयोजनस्यापि धनलाभादेरसम्भवः । तस्मात् स्वधर्मरक्षार्थं मत्यमेवाभिहितवान् इति कथमुक्तेऽर्थे संशयः । न च कृत्स्नासाधकत्वेनाकृत्स्नसाधकत्वमपि तत्र वचनान्न सम्भवीति वाच्यं, निर्दोषपुरुषवचनानां अन्यथात्वानुपपत्तेः । मुनिवचनन्तु कृत्स्नसाधनस्याभिप्रेतसाधकत्वमाह, न पुनरेकदेशस्य साधनमसाधनमेवेति नैकदेशान्तरसिद्ध्यर्थं क्रियान्तरमन्वेषणीयं, तत्र साक्षिनिर्देशकस्य साक्षिवचनेनैकदेशे सत्यवादित्वावधारणात् तस्यैव दिव्यं देयं । जितेन्द्रियेणापि शतपुराणसिद्धये पृष्टो यदि नवतिं पुराणान् ब्रूते, तदा दशपुराणान्यूनान्स्तेऽनुक्ता भवन्ति न तूक्ताः प्रमाणविरोधादित्युक्तं, श्रीकरेण त्वन्यथावादे भङ्गमभिधाय यदि तु प्रतिज्ञातार्थात् न्यूनाधिकं वा साक्षिणो वदन्ति तदा तेषामसात्त्वित्वमभिधाय ऊनमप्यधिकं वापीति पठितं, तेनान्यथावादे पराजयमभिधाय यदात्विति पचान्तरावभिधानावगतेः क्रियान्तरेण निर्णयोऽभिमत इति प्रतीयते । अतः कथितेऽप्यकथितवदभिधानं तद्धर्मक्रियान्तराधीन-निरूपणप्राप्त्यर्थं साक्षिणो हि तूष्णीं स्थिताः । क्रियान्तरं निरपवादमेव तेन साक्षिभिर्न्यूनाधिकनिर्देशेऽपि न साक्षिनिर्देशकस्य पराजयः, वाद्यन्तरस्यैव यावद्भङ्गो युक्तः । ऊनाभिधाने कियत्यंशे वादिनः सत्यतासिद्धत्वासिद्धत्वादाद्यन्तरस्य मिथ्यावादितासिद्धेः । अधिकाभिधाने प्रतिज्ञातस्यैव सत्यत्वाद्विजयो युक्तः । अधिकन्तु न मिथ्यति, तेनैवानुपन्यामात् ; न्यूनाभिधाने च तत्सिद्धये क्रियान्तरं कार्यं, तच्च सिद्धयेकदेशगतमेव मया दत्तमिति प्रतिज्ञाय दिव्यं कार्यमिति, एवन्तु न क्रियाद्वयापत्तेः, क्रियान्तरकरणे फलतो विश्वरूपेण महाविशेषः, ननु द्वयोरपि साक्षिस्थिरीकरणपूर्वकव्यवहारेषु प्रवृत्तेः कथं साक्षिविज्ञेयाऽन्यूनाधिकसाध्यनिर्देशो वादिनः, उच्यते । नात्राशयदोष सम्भावनेति तावत् सिद्धं, प्रेक्षावत्सु विपरीताभिधानानुपपत्तेः, किन्तु साक्षिस्थिरीकरणकाले तद्वचनान्यूनाधिकमङ्घ्यापरिज्ञानमसम्यगवगम्य भ्रान्तेन तावत् मङ्घ्यानिर्दिष्टः साक्षी, स पुनरारोपितयथाज्ञानमेव निर्दिष्टवानिति साक्षिभिरेव वा अनारोपणकाले यथाकथञ्चिदभिहितं धर्मस्थानारोपितैः सम्यगुक्त इति न विरोधः । यत्र च साक्षिणो न

ब्रूवते, प्रमाणान्तरेण च तेषामन्यतरव्यतिरेकयोरन्यतरज्ञानमवधार्यते, तत्र वादिनोरन्यतरस्य जयःपराजयो वा परीक्षकैर्निर्द्दश्यः प्रमाणस्याविशेषात् पृष्ठानान्तु वचनद्वैधे कर्त्तव्यतामाह तुर्भन्तुविष्णु¹,—

बद्धत्वं परिगृह्णीयात् साच्चिद्वैधे नराधिपः ।

समेषु च गुणोत्प्लष्टान् गुणिवैधे द्विजोत्तमान् ॥

द्वैधमेकस्य द्वयाभिधायित्वेऽपरस्य च व्यतिरेकाभिधायित्वे भवति । पुनर्नजानामि न स्मरामि इत्यभिधानेऽपि सत्यपि वस्तुनि तत् सम्भवे ऽपि द्वैधापवादकत्वात् । अत एव नारदः² ।

“साच्चिप्रतिपत्तौ तु प्रमाणं बहवो मताः ।

तत्साम्ये शुचयो ग्राह्यास्तत्साम्ये शुचिमत्तराः” ॥

विप्रतिपत्तिर्विरुद्धार्थाभिधान एव भवति, न चाज्ञानादस्मरणाद्वा वस्तुनोऽभावो भवति, विप्रतिपत्तौ च नैकाधिकेनाधिकं ग्राह्यं, किन्तु द्वित्राद्याधिकत्वेनेतुक्तं, समेषु च इत्युभयार्थमुभयत्र च सम्बन्धः तेन समेषु गुणेषु बद्धत्वेन निर्णयः कार्यः । तथासमेषु सममंशेषु गुणोत्कर्षान्निर्णयः कार्यः । एकान्तगुणोत्कर्षत्वसङ्घेनापि निर्णयः । यथा शृङ्खलिखितौ³—

कामं त्रयाणामेकोऽपि स्वपरिगृहीतः सर्वलोकसम्मतः यदा तु साच्चिप्रश्नाज्जयपराजयावधारणे वृत्ते पराजितो वादी पूर्व्वेभ्योऽधिकगुणैः समसङ्घैरेव समगुणैः पूर्व्वद्विगुणसङ्घैरन्यथा ज्ञापयति तदा पूर्व्व-निर्णये त्वनिर्णयो भवति, पूर्व्वसाच्चिणां कूटत्वावधारणात्, तदाह याज्ञवल्क्यः⁴ ।

उक्तेऽपि साच्चिभिः साच्च्ये यद्येके गुणवत्तमाः ।

द्विगुणा वान्यथा ब्रूयुः कूटाः स्युः पूर्व्वसाच्चिणः ॥

तथा कात्यायनः⁵ ।

“यत्र वैभावितं कार्यं साच्चिभिः पूर्व्ववादिनां ।

प्रतिवादी तदा तत्र भावयेत् कार्यमन्यथा ॥

अनुक्तास्तु कुल्लौनैर्वा कूटाः स्युः पूर्व्वसाच्चिणः” ।

नन्वेतदसम्बद्धं नारदवचनात् यथा⁶,

“निर्णीते व्यवहारे तु प्रमाणमफलं भवेत् ।

लिखितं साच्चिणो वापि पूर्व्वं नावेदितं न चेत् ॥

यथा पक्षेषु धान्येषु निष्फलाः प्रावृषो गुणाः ।

निवृत्तव्यवहाराणां प्रमाणमफलं परम्” ॥

ततो निर्णीते व्यवहारे कथं साच्च्यन्तरग्रहणं कथञ्च तत्प्रश्ने पूर्व्वेषां कूटत्वं । उच्यते । सति

¹ O.

² Narada, Rinādānam, 229. Reads यतः for मताः and स्मृतिमत्तरा for शुचिमत्तरा .

³ O.

⁴ Yajnavalkya, II, 80.

⁵ O.

⁶ Narada, Chap. I, Sloka 63.

लिखिते बलवत्सु साक्षिषु तान् विहाय स्वयमेव दुर्बलसाक्ष्युपन्यासेन पराजितस्य बलवत्तरप्रमाणोपन्यासो न न्यायो विफलोऽभाविता निर्णीतवचनस्यार्थः । तदेवाह कात्यायनोऽपि¹ ।

“ क्रियां बलवतीमुक्त्वा दुर्बलां योऽवलम्बते ।

स जयेऽवधृते मभ्यैः पुनस्तां नाप्नुयात् क्रियाम् ” ॥

तस्य स्वत्वेनैव पराजितत्वात् । यत्र त्वपन्यस्तमेव बलवत् प्रमाणं परत्र साक्षिरूपं दूरदेशस्थत्वेन च सम्प्रतितद्धीननिरूपणामर्थ्येन दुर्बलसाक्षिभिर्निर्णयो जातस्तदनन्तरञ्च देयत्वेन बलवत् साक्षिममागमे तैरेव निर्णयः कार्यः, बलवत् प्रमाणस्य तेन पूर्वमुपन्यस्तत्वात्, न तेन बलवती युक्ता तेन तत्रैव कूटत्वमित्यविरोधः । अत एव नारदः²

“ साक्षिमभावसन्नानां दूषणे दर्शनं पुनः ।

स्वचर्यावसितानाञ्च नोक्तः पौनर्भवो विधिः ” ॥

स्वचर्यावसितस्य स्वचर्यैरपराजितस्य, पौनर्भवो विधिः पुनर्न्यायकरणं नास्तीत्यर्थः । उपन्यस्तस्य तु बलवत् प्रमाणस्याभिधानेन दुर्बलप्रमाणग्रहणात् पराजितसाक्षिदोषमम्बद्धत्वात् अस्ति प्रमाणावसरः । एवञ्च यत्रापि द्वयोः साक्षिवचनान्निर्णयो जातः तत्रापि दैवात् बलवत्तरसाक्षिममागमात् तैरेव निर्णयः कार्यः । पूर्वनिर्णयहेतवः साक्षिणः कूटा भवन्ति । अतएव वादिना भाविते यदि प्रतिवादी हि प्रतिपाद्यतौत्युक्तं कात्यायनेन । उक्ते च साक्षिभिरर्थे तद्वचनं निरूपणीयं, तदाह कात्यायनः³ ।

“ उपस्थितान् परीक्षेत साक्षिणो नृपतिः स्वयम् ।

साक्षिभिर्याहृतं वाक्यं सह मभ्यैः परीक्षयेत् ॥

यदा शुद्धा क्रिया न स्यात्तदा तदाक्यग्रोधनम् ।

शुद्धतायान्तु वाक्यार्थः शुद्धः शुद्धोऽन्यथा न तु ” ॥

किमस्याश्रय्यामा-हत इति युधिष्ठिरवचनात् सत्यानृतं दुर्बलवचनानां वा परस्परव्याहरतां वा स्वरविशेषो वा कौटुम्भोऽपेक्षितार्थममर्षणं नेतीत्यादिकं पर्यालोच्य पञ्चावधारणमिति साक्षिणः ।

अथ लिखितं । तत्र वृहस्पतिः⁴ ।

“ साक्षिणामेव निर्दिष्टः संख्यालक्षणनिर्णयः ।

लिखितस्याधुना वच्मि यथावदनुपूर्वशः ॥

षाण्माभिकेऽपि विषये भ्रान्तिः सञ्जायते यतः ।

धात्राक्षराणि सृष्टानि पत्राहृढान्यतः पुरा ॥

राजलेख्यं स्यानकृतं स्वहस्तलिखितन्तथा ।

लेख्यन्तु त्रिविधं प्रोक्तं भिन्नं तद्वद्गुहा पुनः ॥

भागदानक्रियाधान सन्विद्दास-च्छणादिभिः ।
 सप्तधा लौकिकं लेख्यं त्रिविधं राजशासनम् ॥
 दत्त्वा भूम्यादिकं राजा ताम्रपट्टेऽथवा पटे ।
 शासनं कारयेद्दूर्भ्यं स्थानवंशादिसंयुतम् ॥
 धर्म्यं धर्मार्थं । तदादेशादिकं यस्य राजा लिखितेन पृच्छति । (?)
 सेवाशौर्यादिना तुष्टः प्रसादलिखितन्तु तत् ।

तथा,

“यदृत्तं व्यवहारेषु पूर्वपक्षोत्तरादिकम् ।
 क्रियावधारणोपेतं जयपत्रेऽखिलं लिखेत्” ॥

इति राजलेख्यं त्रिविधं । स्थानकृतं सप्तधाह वृहस्पतिः¹ ।

“भ्रातरः संविभक्ता ये विरुद्धत्वात् परस्परम् ।
 विभागपत्रं कुर्वन्ति भागलेख्यं तदुच्यते ॥
 भूमिं दत्त्वा तु यः पत्रं कुर्याच्चन्द्रार्ककालिकम् ।
 अनाच्छेद्यमनाहार्यं दानलेख्यन्तु तद्विदुः ॥
 गृहक्षेत्रादिकं क्रीत्वा तुल्यमूल्याचरान्वितम् ।
 पत्रं कारयते यस्तु क्रयलेख्यन्तदुच्यते ॥
 जङ्गमं स्यावरं दत्त्वा बन्धं लेख्यं करोति यः ।
 गोप्यभोग्यक्रियायुक्तमधिलेख्यं तदुच्यते ॥
 ग्रामो देशश्च यः कुर्यान्मतं लेख्यं परस्परम् ।
 राजाविरोधिधर्मार्थं सन्वित्पत्रं वदन्ति च ॥
 वस्त्रान्नहौनः कान्तारे लिखितं कुरुते तु यः ।
 कर्माणि ते करिष्यामि दासपत्रं तदुच्यते ॥
 धनं वृद्ध्या गृहीत्वा तु स्वयं कुर्याच्च कारयेत् ।
 उद्धारपत्रं तत्रोक्तं चणलेख्यं मनीषिभिः ॥

तदेतत् स्थानलेख्यं यादृशं कार्यं तदाह वृहस्पतिः² ।

“देशाचारयुतं वर्षमामपचाह-वृद्धिमत् ।
 चण-साक्षि-लेखकानां हस्ताङ्गं लेख्यमुच्यते” ॥

अथ याज्ञवल्क्यः³ ।

“समाप्तेऽर्थे चण्णी नाम स्वहस्तेन निवेशयेत् ।
 मतं मेऽमुकपुत्रस्य यदत्रोपरि लेखितम् ॥

¹ O.

² O.

³ Yajnavalkya, II, 86, 87, 88.

साक्षिणश्च स्वहस्तेन पिठनामक-पूर्वकम् ।
 अत्राहममुक्तः साक्षी लिखेयुरिति ते समाः ॥
 उभाभ्यामर्थिते नैतन्मया ह्यमुकसूनुना ।
 लिखितं ह्यमुकेनेति लेखकोऽन्ते ततो लिखेत् ॥

अलिपिज्ञेन ऋणिकेन साक्षिणा यथा कार्यमित्याह, व्यासः¹ ।

“अलिपिज्ञच्छणी यः स्यात् लेखयेत् स्वमतन्तु सः ।
 साक्षी वा साक्षिणान्येन सर्वमाक्ष्य-समीपगः” ॥

साक्षिणा वान्येन वा पत्रलेखकादिनेति स्वहस्तलिखितपत्रमाह, याज्ञवल्क्यः ।

“विनापि साक्षिभिर्लेख्यं स्वहस्तलिखितन्तु यत् ।
 तद्व्रमाणं स्मृतं सर्व्वं बलोपधिकृतादृते” ॥

विनापीति स्वहस्तलिखितस्य समाक्षिकस्य प्रामाण्यमविवादमिति दर्शयति । त्रयाणामपि पत्राणां
 बलाबलं कुरुते व्यासः³ ।

“स्वहस्तकाञ्ज्ञानपदं तस्मात्तु नृपशामनम् ।
 प्रमाणतरमिष्टं हि व्यवहारार्थमागतम् ॥
 द्विस्त्रिर्लिपिज्ञः स्वकृतमन्यलेखेन युक्तिभिः ।
 कुर्याद्वि सदृशं लेख्यं तस्मात्ज्ञानपदं शुभम् ॥
 अप्रकाशात् साक्षियुक्तं लेखकाक्षरमुद्रितम् ।
 लोकप्रसिद्धं स्वकृतालेखमन्यकृतं शुभम् ॥
 देशाध्यक्षादिना लेख्यं यत्तज्ज्ञानपदं कृतम् ।
 म-कालं पश्चिमं वा तु तस्माद्राजकृतं शुभम्” ॥

सदोषपत्रमाह कात्यायनः⁴ ।

“साक्षिदोषात्तु यद्दुष्टं पत्रं वै लेखकस्य वा ।
 ऋणिकस्योपधा दोषात्तथाधारणिकस्य च ॥
 दृष्टेर्दुष्टं भवेत्लेख्यं शुद्धं शुद्धैर्विनिर्दिशेत् ।
 तत् पत्रमुपधादष्टैः साक्षिलेखककारकैः” ॥

धारणिककारकपत्राभ्यां पत्रदातोच्यते । तस्य दोषानाह, बृहस्पतिः ।

“सुमर्षुं शिशुभौतार्तेः स्त्रौमन्तव्यमनातुरैः ।
 देशोपाधिवलात्कारैः कृतं लेख्यं न सिध्यति” ॥

O. Yajnavalkya, II, 89; reads लेख्यं for सर्व्वे .

O. O. O.

मत्तकार्मणादिदानमुपाधिः (?) । तथा व्यासः¹ ।

“दासाखतन्त्रवालैश्च स्त्री-कृतञ्चैव यद्भवेत् ।

प्रमाणं नैव तल्लेख्यं इति शास्त्रविदो विदुः” ॥

तदेवमादिरूपदोषाभावे स्वहस्तेन लिखितं साक्षिलेखकाद्यचरयुक्तपत्रं प्रमाणं, ननु कथं साक्षिलेखक-
कारकलिपिज्ञानं, तदाह कात्यायनः² ।

“दर्पणस्थं यथाविम्बमपत्सदिव दृश्यते ।

तथा लेख्यस्य विम्बानि कुर्वन्ति कुशला नराः” ॥

तथा व्यासः³ ।

“लेख्यमालेख्यं यत् केचित् लिखन्ति कुशला नराः ।

तस्मान्न लेख्यसामर्थ्यात् सिद्धिरैकान्तिकी मता” ॥

तत्राह याज्ञवल्क्यः⁴ ।

“सन्दिग्धलेख्यशुद्धिः स्यात् स्वहस्तलिखितादिभिः ।

युक्तिप्राप्तिक्रियाचिह्न-सम्बन्धागमहेतुभिः” ॥

युक्तिप्राप्तिः, पत्रलिखितदेशकाले तयोः महावस्थानं, क्रिया च पत्रलिखिताः साक्षिणः, चिह्नं
मुद्रादिकं, सम्बन्धोऽर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनो धनदानादिव्यवहारः, आगमोद्भवसम्भवः । तदेवमादिभिर्हेतुभिः पत्रं
निरूपयेत् । तदाह नारदः⁵ ।

“त्रिविधस्य च लेखस्य भ्रान्तिः सञ्जायते यदा ।

ऋणिसाक्षिलेखकानां हस्तोत्थैः साधयेत्तदा” ॥

तथा विष्णुः⁶ ।

“यत्रणीर्धनिकोवापि साक्षी वा लेखकोऽपि वा ।

म्रियते तत्र तल्लेख्यं तत् स्वहस्तैः प्रसाधयेत्” ॥

धनिकोवापीति शुद्धपत्रिकाविषयं । तथा कात्यायनः⁷ ।

“अथ पञ्चत्वमापन्नो लेखकः सह साक्षिभिः ।

तत् स्वहस्तादिभिस्तेषां विशुष्येत् न संग्रहः ॥

ऋणी स्वहस्तमन्देहे जीवतो वा मृतस्य वा ।

तत् स्वहस्तकृतैरन्यैः पत्रैस्तल्लेख्यनिर्णयः” ॥

निरन्तरप्रदर्शितञ्च पत्रं ऋणिकेन चानिषिद्धं अदूषितञ्च सिध्यति । तदाह वृहस्पतिः⁸ ।

“दर्शितं प्रतिकालं यच्छ्रावितं स्मारितञ्च यत् ।

लेख्यं सिध्यति सर्वत्र मृतेष्वपि हि साक्षिषु” ॥

¹ O.

² O.

³ O.

⁴ Yajnavalkya, II. 92.

⁵ O.

Vishnu, VII, 13. S.B.E., Vol. VII, p. 48.

⁷ O.

⁸ O.

तथा कात्यायनः¹ ।

“ दृष्टे पत्रे स्फुटान् दोषान् नोक्तवान् ऋणिका यदि ।
ततो विंशतिवर्षाणि क्रान्तपत्रं स्थिरं भवेत् ” ॥

तथा दर्शितस्यापि पुत्रस्य भोगेन सिद्धिमाह कात्यायनः² ।

“ शक्रस्य मन्निधौ बन्धो यस्य लेखेन भुज्यते ।
वर्षाणि विंशतिं यावत्तत्पत्रं दोषवर्जितम् ” ॥

तदेवंविधं पत्रं साक्षिभ्यो बलवत्. तदाह नारदः³ ।

“ लिखितं बलवन्नित्यं जीवत्स्वपि हि साक्षिषु ” ।

तथा बृहस्पतिः⁴ ।

“ न जातु हीयते लेखं साक्षिभिः शपथेन वा ” ।

तथा कात्यायनः⁵ ।

“ लेखे च सति वादेषु न स्याद्विद्यं न साक्षिणः ।
कालेन हीयते लेखं दूषितं न्यायतस्तथा ” ॥

तथा बृहस्पतिः⁶ ।

“ आक्रुस्य निकटस्यस्य यच्छक्तेन न याचितं ।
शुद्धूर्ण-अङ्कया तत्र पत्रं दुर्बलतामियात् ॥
लेखं विंशत्समातीतमदृष्टश्रोत्रियञ्च यत् ।
न तस्मिद्धिमवाप्नोति तिष्ठत्स्वपिहि साक्षिषु ” ॥

अप्रदर्शनाश्रावणाप्रार्थनैः पत्रस्याप्रामाण्यात् सुतरां साक्षिणामप्रामाण्यं दिव्यस्य सुतरामनवकाशः तावन्कालाप्रार्थनादीनामाण्यगमकत्वमन्यथादृश्यमानत्वादिति भावः । बलवत्पत्रस्य दुर्बलत्वं वदता दुर्बलयो साक्षिदिव्ययोर्दण्डापूपन्यायादप्रामाण्यमुक्तं । अस्यापवादमाह बृहस्पतिः⁷ ।

“ उन्मत्तजडबालानां राजभीतिप्रवासिनां ।
अप्रगल्भं भयार्त्तानां न लेखं हानिमाप्नुयात् ” ॥

उन्मत्ततादिनैवाप्रार्थनोपपत्तेः, तथा नारदः⁸ ।

“ मृताः स्युः साक्षिणो यत्र धणिकर्णिकलेखकाः ।
तद्रथ्यार्थं लिखितं न चेदाधिः स्थिराश्रयः ” ॥

मर्षेषां मरणेन चिरकालीनमुक्तं । आधानेऽपि स्तिरभूस्यादिभोगादेव अप्रार्थनं ऋणस्येति नानृण्य-कल्पनं । एतत्तु पत्रं विनैवर्णं देशवषोपेक्षया नश्यति. तदाह कौण्डिन्यः⁹ ।

¹ O. O. ² Narada, Rinâdânam, 75. ³ O.
⁴ O. O. ⁵ O. ⁶ Narada, Rinâdânam, 138. ⁷ O.

“दशवर्षोपेक्षितमृणं न ग्राह्यमन्यत्र बालवृद्धव्याधितयोषिद्देशत्यागपरचक्रविभ्रमेभ्यः” । अत्राप्याक्यस्य निकटस्थस्य च शक्तेन दशवर्षोपलक्षितत्वमिति बोद्धव्यं । इति लेख्यप्रकरणम् ।

सम्प्रति भुक्तिर्विविच्यते वृहस्पतिममृतत्वादस्यैव क्रमस्य यथा—

“ एतद्विधानमाख्यातं साक्षिणां लिखितस्य वा ।

सम्प्रति स्यावरे प्राप्ते भुक्तेश्च विधिरुच्यते ” ॥

न्यायस्य सर्वेभ्यो बद्धतराभ्यर्हितत्वात् । प्रथमं साक्षिणस्ततोभुक्तितो बद्धविषयत्वात् लिखितस्य ततः स्वल्पविषयतया भुक्तिनिरूपणं । स्यावर इति प्रायिकं प्राप्ते भूम्यादौ तस्य तत्र भुक्तिमाहर्तुर्विष्णुकात्यायनौ^१ ।

“ त्रिभिरेवतु या भुक्ता पुरुषैर्भूर्यथाविधि ।

लेख्याभावेऽपि तां तत्र चतुर्थः समवाप्नुयात् ” ॥

लेख्यं शुद्धप्रमाणोपलक्षणं ।

यथाविधीतिशक्तस्य सन्निहितस्य विरोधं विनेत्यर्थः । तथा व्यासः^२ ।

“ यद्विनागममत्यर्थं भुक्तं पूर्वतरैस्त्रिभिः ।

न तच्छक्यमपाकर्तुं क्रमात्त्रिपुरुषागतं ” ॥

अत्यर्थमिति सन्निहितस्य विरोधं विना यत्त्रिभिर्भुक्तं तद्विनाप्यागमं लभ्यत एव नापहर्तुं शक्यत इत्यर्थः । लेख्याभावेऽपीत्येकवाक्यत्वात् । अथ नारदः^३ ।

“ अन्यायेनापि यद्भुक्तं पित्रा पूर्वतरैस्त्रिभिः ।

न तच्छक्यमपाकर्तुं क्रमात्त्रिपुरुषागतं ” ॥

पित्रा सह त्रिभिरित्यर्थः । चतुर्थः समवाप्नुयादिति वचनात् । भोगं विञ्चिनष्टि व्यासः^४ ।

“ पिता पितामहो यस्य जीवेच्च प्रपितामहः ।

त्रयाणां जीवतां भोगो विज्ञेयस्तत्त्रिपुरुषः ” ॥

युगपज्जीवत्सु त्रिषु षष्टिवर्षभोगेऽपि न त्रैपुरुषिकः । पितामहस्यैव तत्र स्वातन्त्र्यात् तस्यैव भोगः । को नामासौ इत्यपेक्षायां व्यासः^५ ।

“ प्रपितामहेन यद्भुक्तं तत् पुत्रेण विना च तं ।

तौ विना यस्य पित्रा च तस्य भोगस्त्रिपौरुषः ” ॥

एकेन तावद्भुक्तं तस्मिन्मृते तत्पुत्रेण, तयोश्च मृतयोस्तृतीयेन, तस्मिन्मृते चतुर्थस्य त्रिपौरुषिको भोगो भवति । त्रयाणामेव स्वतन्त्रत्वात् । कियन्तं कालमेकैकस्य इत्यपेक्षायामाह व्यासः^६ ।

“ वर्षाणि विंशतिं भुक्त्वा स्वामिनाऽव्याहता सती ।

भुक्तिः सा पौरुषीभूमे दिग्गुणा च द्विपौरुषी ॥

त्रिपौरुषी च त्रिगुणा न तत्रान्वेष्ट्य आगमः ” ॥

^१ O. ^२ Vishnu, V, 187. S.B.E., Vol. VII, p. 10. O. in Katyayana. ^३ O.

^४ Narada, Rinâdânam, 91, reads पितु for पित्रा and अपाकर्तुं for अपाकर्तुं .

^५ O. ^६ O. ^७ O.

स्वामिनाऽव्याहता या एव विंशतिवर्षभुक्तेर्द्विगुणत्रिगुणविधानात् त्रैपौरुषिकोऽपिभोगः । सन्निहित एव प्रतिवादिनीत्यवगम्यते । न सन्निधानादव्याहतेति व्यवदिश्यते । अत एव सामान्येन प्रत्यर्थिसन्निधानं सर्वभोगोपलक्षणमाह व्यामः¹ ।

“ सागमो दीर्घकालश्च निष्कद्रोऽन्यरवोज्झितः ।

प्रत्यर्थिसन्निधानञ्च पञ्चाङ्गो भोग इच्छते ” ॥

आगम्यते प्राप्यते स्वं भवति येन क्रयादिना स आगमः । दीर्घकालत्वं यस्मिन् पुरुषे यावान् कालो भोगस्योक्तः । क्षिद्रो विच्छेदः । तद्रहितो निष्कद्रः । अन्यरवो विप्रतिप्रतिः तद्रहितः । शक्तस्य स्नेहाद्युपेक्षा-कारणरहितस्य प्रत्यर्थिनोद्रव्यस्वामिनः सन्निधानं, सोऽयं पञ्चाङ्गोभोगः । तत्र त्रैपुरुषिकभोगश्चतुर्थं पुरुषे प्रमाणं । ननु विंशतिभोगो भूमौ प्रमाणं दशवार्षिकश्च धन इत्यपि श्रूयते । यथा याज्ञवल्क्यः² ।

“ पश्यतोऽब्रुवतोहानिभूमौ विंशतिवार्षिकी ।

परेण भुज्यमानाया धनस्य दशवार्षिकी ” ॥

पश्यतोऽब्रुवतइत्युपेक्षायामाह, परेण भुज्यमानायां भूमौ विंशतिवार्षिकी उपेक्षकस्य स्वत्वहानिरुक्ता । धने च गवादौ दशवार्षिकी, तत्सहिता भुक्ति भोक्तुः सत्वे प्रमाणमित्याह, तथा त्रिंशद्वार्षिकी भुक्तिं प्रमाणमाह, वृहस्पतिः³ ।

“ अव्यामनात् समारभ्य भुक्तिर्यस्य विघातिनी ।

त्रिंशद्वर्षाण्यविच्छिन्ना तस्य तां न विचालयेत् ॥ ”

अव्यामनं क्रयणादिरागमः । नन्वनयोरेव परस्परं विवोधः । विंशतिवर्षस्य भुक्तेः प्रमाणत्वे ततः प्रभृतिरवैरप्रमाणमिति त्रिंशद्ग्रहणमनर्थकं । अथास्यैव वा वाधितत्वं तदा विंशतिपदं विरुद्धं त्रिंशद्वर्षात्प्रभृतिप्रमाणत्वात् । उच्यते । पश्यतोऽब्रुवतइति निर्देशात् वाङ्मात्रेणाविरोधे विंशतिवचनं बोद्धव्यं, त्रिंशद्वर्षवचने त्वविघातिनीतिश्रुते विंशतिघातो विघातः कलहकादिरूपः, स यत्र नास्ति, वाचनिकमात्रस्तु विद्यते तद्विषय इत्यविवोधः । तथा विंशतिवर्षाणि क्रमेण वलीयसः पत्रस्य कूटताशङ्का निवृत्त्यर्थं दुर्वलस्य तु साक्षिणः त्रिंशद्वर्षभोगेन शुद्धिरिति प्रयोजनं । तदेवं धने दशवार्षिकी भूमौ च विरोधप्रकाशस्याभावेन त्रिंशद्वर्ष-भोगयोः प्रामाण्यात्तदवधि सर्वभुक्तेरेव प्रामाण्यात् त्रैपुरुषिकीत्यनर्थकं । अथ अस्या एव प्रामाण्यं, तदा विंशति-त्रिंशत्पदं विरुद्धं । अत्र श्रीकरमिश्राणां समाधानं, पश्यतः प्रतिवादिनोर्विवादमकुर्वतः । भूमेर्विंशतिवर्षभोगः प्रमाणान्तरानपेक्षः प्रमाणं । तावता च प्रतिवादिनस्तद्भूमिस्वत्वहानिः । ताम्रघटादि-धनस्य तु दशवर्षभोगप्रमाणं । आगमरहितायाश्च भुक्तेः प्रामाण्यबोधकवचनानि अनागमस्तु योभुङ्क्ते इत्यादौनि प्रतिवादिपरोक्ष-विषयाणि ।

“ सम्भोगो यत्र दृश्येत न दृश्येतागमः कश्चित् ।

आगमः कारणं तत्र न सम्भोग इति स्थितिः ” ॥

¹ O. Yajnavalkya, II, 24.

² O.

³ Manu, VIII, 200. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 290.

इत्यादीनि मन्वादिवचनानि स्वल्पकालभोगाभिप्रायाणि यथोक्तकालप्रतिवादिममचभोगविषयाणि च भोगप्रामाण्यवचनानि । अस्य समचभोगोऽपि यस्त्रिभिः पुरुषैः कृतः, स प्रमाणं । तत्र त्रैपुरुषिक-वचनानि । ननु च केवलपितृगताया अपि भुक्तिः प्रमाणत्वमुक्तम् ।

“आहर्त्तैर्वाभियुक्तः स्यादिति” नारदेन¹ “आगमस्तु कृतो येनेति”² याज्ञवल्क्येनेत्याशङ्कोक्तं । यत्रागमोऽपि वादिनाकृतोऽस्ति तत्रागमस्य कूटाभियोगे तेनैव पित्रादिना आगम उद्धरणीयः । न तु तत् सुतस्तत्सुतो वागममुद्धरेत् । भुक्तिरेव तदागमसहिता प्रमाणमिति । त्रिपुरुषभुक्तिस्तु आगमानपेक्षा प्रमाण-मिति । पुनःशेषे सर्वथा त्रिपुरुषादिभोगोऽविप्रतिपत्तिप्रमाणं विप्रतिपन्नत्वे वलकृताङ्गो गस्याप्रामाण्यमित्यन्तं, तदसङ्गतं, अनिष्पन्नप्रतिपत्तिस्त्रिपौरुषभोगः प्रमाणं इत्यन्ये । यद्ययमर्थः, सन्निहितस्याविप्रतिपत्ताविति तदा विंशतिवचनमनर्थकं । त्रैपुरुषभोगस्यापि समचविषयत्वादवाधितत्वाङ्गो गस्याप्रामाण्यस्य यथा सन्निधानादेवा-विप्रतिपन्नत्वमुक्तं, तेन त्रैपुरुषिकात् प्रभृति परोक्षभोगः प्रमाणं विंशतिवार्षिकाच्च प्रभृति समचभोगः प्रमाणं, तन्न समचभोगस्याहर्त्तरि प्रामाण्यनिषेधात्, तथा कात्यायनः³ ।

येनोपात्तं हि यद्द्रव्यं सोऽभियुक्तस्तदुद्धरेत् ।

चिरकालोपभोगेऽपि भुक्तिस्तस्यैव नेष्यते ॥

तथा नारदः⁴ ।

“आहर्त्तैर्वाभियुक्तः सन्नर्थानामुद्धरेत् पदं ।

भुक्तेरेव विशुद्धिः स्यात् प्राप्तायाः पितृतः क्रमात् ॥”

आहर्त्तैर्बोद्धरेन्नान्य इतिनायमन्वयः । तदा हि तत्पुत्रादीनामागमशोधननिषेधः स्यात्, न च तदुचितं, सति सम्भवे तेषामप्यागम-शोधनेन भुक्तेरेव सुदृढसिद्धेः । न चार्थानां पदं प्रापकं क्रयादिक-मेवोद्धरेन्न भुक्तिमित्यर्थः ।

“आहर्त्ता शोधयेत् भुक्तिमागमञ्चापि संसदीति”⁵ वृहस्पतिविरोधात् तस्मादाहर्त्ता शोधयेदेते-रित्यन्वयः । युक्तञ्चैतत् । आहर्त्तुर्हि विदितागमवृत्तान्तस्य तदुपेक्षया भोगं वदतोऽनागमत्वावधारणात् चौरत्वमेव स्यात्, तदाह नारदः⁶

“अनागमन्तु यो भुङ्क्ते बह्वन्यब्द-शतान्यपि ।

चौरदण्डेन तं पापं दण्डयेत् पृथिवीपतिः ॥”

योभुङ्क्ते इत्येकवचननिर्द्देशात् आहर्त्तृविषयं वचनं बह्वन्यब्द-शतान्यपीति चैकस्य यावान् भोगकालः सम्भवति, तावदभिप्रायं यथा कात्यायनः⁷ ।

“येनोपात्तं हि यद्द्रव्यं सोऽभियुक्तस्तदुद्धरेत् ।

चिरकालोपभोगेऽपि भुक्तिस्तस्यैव नेष्यते ॥”

¹ Narada, Rinâdânam, 90.

² Yajnavalkya, II, 28.

³ O.

⁴ Narada, Rinâdânam, 90.

⁵ O.

⁶ Narada, Rinâdânam, 87.

⁷ O.

चिरकालोपभोगेऽपीति बह्वन्यब्दशतानीत्यनेन समानार्थं याज्ञवल्क्यः¹ ।

“ आगमस्य कृतो धेन सोऽभियुक्त सद्दुद्धरेत् ।

तत्सुतस्तत्सुतो वापि भुक्तिसूत्र गरीयसी ॥ ”

ननु चतुर्थ एवपुरुषे भोगप्रामाण्यात् कथं पुत्रापौत्रगोचरायाः भुक्तेर्गरीयस्त्राभिधानं । उच्यते ; गरीयसीतिभुक्तिः प्रधानं प्रमाणं आगमस्य सहकारौ , तेनागमोपन्यासस्त्राभ्यामपि कर्त्तव्यो न तु शोधनं । आहर्त्वा शोधनमवश्यं कार्यं, तेन तस्यागमः प्रधानं भुक्तिश्च सहकारिणी, तदाह नारदः ।

“ आधौ तु कारणं दानं मध्ये भुक्तिश्च सागमा ।

प्रमाणं भुक्तिरेवैव सप्तता सा चिरन्तनी ” ॥

आदावनागमकर्त्तरिदानमागमः । कारणं प्रमाणं । न च भुक्तिरित्यभिहितं, तदुक्तं नारदेन² ।

“ विद्यमानेऽपि लिखिते जीवत्सुपि हि साचिषु ।

विशेषतः स्यावरादौ भोग एव स्थिरःसृतः ” ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः³ ।

“ आगमोऽभ्यधिको भोगात् विनापूर्वक्रमागमात् ।

आगमो वलवानैव भुक्तिः स्तोकापि यत्र न ” ॥

स्तोकापीति नान्यकालाभिप्रायं । वृत्तेरयत्यकालभोगं विना स्वल्हानिसम्भवात् तेनाट्हीतक्रीत-
गृहीतादिभूलेश्चिरानुवर्त्तने तदेकदेशभोगेऽपीत्यस्यार्थः, तदाह वृहस्पतिः⁴ ।

“ अद्यासनात् समारभ्य भुक्तिर्यस्याविघातिनी ।

त्रिंशद्वर्षाण्यविच्छिन्ना तस्य तां न विचालयेत् ” ॥

इदमविच्छिन्नं भोगमाह । स चैकदेशभोगेष्वपि सत्सु भोगो भवति । तदाह स एव⁵ ।

“ यद्येकश्रावने ग्राम-चेचरामास्य लेखिताः ।

एकदेशोपभोगेऽपि सर्व्वे भुक्ता भवन्ति ते ” ॥

श्रावने पत्रताम्रपट्टादिकं । एकदेशस्थानुपभोगेऽपि कृत्स्नस्य क्रीतादेर्हानिः । तथा वृहस्पतिः⁶ ।

“ संविभागक्रयप्राप्तं पित्र्यं लब्धञ्च राजतः ।

स्यावरं सिद्धिमाप्नोति हानिश्चोपेक्षया तथा ” ॥

संविभागक्रयादिलब्धस्यैव सति भोगे सिद्धिः, तद्भोगोपेक्षया हानिरिति । तथा विष्णुकात्यायनौ⁷

Yajnavalkya, II, 28. Reads तसुद्धरेद् for तदुद्धरेद् and न तत्सुतस्तत्सुतो वा for न तत्सुतसुतोऽवापि .

(O. C. O.) Narada, Rinādānam, 77.

⁴ Yajnavalkya, II, 27. Reads क्रमागतात् and आगमोऽपि बलं नैव for the underlined words respectively.

(O. C. O.) Vishnu, V, 181. S. B. E., Vol. VII, p. 39. O. in Katyayana.

“ सागमेन तु भुक्तेन सम्यग्भुक्तं यदा तु यत् ।

आहर्त्ता लभते तत् नापहार्यन्तु तत् क्वचित् ” ॥

सम्यगिति विंशतिवर्षपर्यन्तं, तथा नारदः¹ ।

“ आगमेन तु शुद्धेन भोगो याति प्रमाणताम् ।

अविशुद्धागमो भोगः प्रमाणं नैव गच्छति ” ॥

सर्वाण्येतानि वचनानि आहर्त्तृगोचराणि । तेनागमशोधनमाहर्त्ता कार्यं । मध्ये भुक्तिस्तु सागमे-
त्यस्यार्थः । आहर्त्तृपरभूतयोश्चतुर्थात् पूर्वभूतयोर्मध्यपदार्थयोः पुत्रपौत्रयोर्भुक्तिः प्रधानं प्रमाणं, आगमस्तु
सहकारी । तेन अभ्यागमोपन्यासः कार्यो, न तु तस्य शोधनं; आहर्त्तृभुक्तिविशोधितत्वात् । यदि पुनराहर्त्ता
आगमशोधनायमभियुक्त एव मृतस्तदा पुत्रपौत्राभ्यां तस्य शोधनं कार्यं, नान्यथा । तदाह याज्ञवल्क्यः² ।

“ सोऽभियुक्तः परेतः स्थात्तस्य चक्यो तमुद्धरेत् ।

न तत्र कारणं भुक्तिरागमेन विना कृता ” ॥

तथा नारदः³ ।

“ तथारूढविवादस्य प्रेतस्य व्यवहारिणः ।

पुत्रेण सोऽर्थः संग्रोधः न तं भोगो निवर्त्तयेत् ” ॥

तदेवमुक्तप्रबन्धेनाहर्त्तरि षष्टिवर्षभोगेऽपि तत्रामाण्यनिषेधात् कथं विंशतिवार्षिकादिभोगस्य समच-
विषयत्ववर्णनं न च निषेधादेवाप्रमाणतेति तस्मादनुपपत्त्या ते प्रमाणतां मन्यन्ते, यथोक्तं तैर्यत्र पुनः
प्रतिवादिष्वन्वनिमित्तोऽपीतरस्य भोग उपपद्यते एव यथा ज्ञातीनामेकासन्निधाने ऽन्येषां तदंशभोगः ।
तत्र त्रैपुरुषिकभोगोऽप्रमाणं । एवञ्चाहर्त्तरपि भोगोऽनुपपन्न एवेति कथं न प्रमाणं, कथञ्चागमोजडादि-
धनेषु दशविंशतिवार्षिकभोगानुपपत्त्या भोक्तुः स्वत्वकल्पना, जडादिस्वत्वग्राहकप्रमाणविरोधात्; यच्च
त्रैपुरुषिकभुक्तेतरत्र समचविषयत्वमुक्तं तदपि व्यासविरुद्धं । स्वामिनाव्याहता सतीति सन्निहितेनेति प्रतीतेः
सन्निधाने अव्याहतेति व्यपदेशानुपपत्तेः । तथा विष्णुकात्यायनौ⁴ ।

“ त्रिभिरेव तु या मुक्तापुरुषैर्भूर्यथाविधौ ”त्यादि हेतुः भोगस्य विधानं दीर्घकालत्वं निश्चिद्रत्नं
अन्यरवोज्ज्वलत्वं प्रत्यर्थिसन्निधानञ्च दर्शितं । किञ्च विंशतिवर्षात् प्रभृति त्रैपुरुषिकभोगनिष्पत्तिलक्षणपर्यन्तं
समचभोगस्यैवानुपपत्तिर्नपरोक्षभोगस्यानन्तरक्षणमात्रेणैव परोक्षतास्यापीति कथं मनीषिणां मनसि निविशते ।
किञ्च परोक्षस्य त्रैपुरुषिकस्य भोगस्य प्रतिवाद्यसन्निधाने नैवोपपन्नत्वे कथं स्वत्वगमकत्वं, तथाप्यनुपपत्तौ
द्विपुरुषिकभोगस्यापि गमकत्वं स्यादनुपपत्तेरविशेषात् । कथञ्च विप्रतिपन्नसन्निधौ विंशतिवार्षिक एव
भोगः प्रमाणं, न पुनर्विंशतिवार्षिकादिः तस्यापि स्वत्वमन्तरेणानुपपत्तेरविशेषात् धनेऽपि दशवार्षिक एव,
न पुनर्नववार्षिकादिरित्यपि कथं, दशवार्षिकस्यापि भोगस्य धनगतस्यैव स्वत्वमन्तरेणैवानुपपत्तिः न च

¹ Narada, Rinâdânam, 85.

² Yajnavalkya, II, 29; reads यः for सः .

³ Narada, Rinâdânam, 93.

⁴ Vishnu, V, 183. S.B.E., Vol. VII, p. 39. O. in Katyayana.

भूमिगतस्यापि इति व्यवस्था किं कृता; उपपन्नमनुपपन्नं कर्तुं शक्यं न हि वचनमहस्यैः । अथवा यदुपपन्नं स्यादनुपपन्नं न कदाचित्तत्र । विंशतिवार्षिकभोगस्य च लेख्यादिप्रमाणशुद्धिकरत्वमाह, कात्यायनः¹ ।

“शक्तस्य सन्निधौ योऽर्थो यस्य लेखेन भुज्यते ।

वर्षाणि विंशतिं यावत्तत्पत्रं दोषवर्जितम् ॥”

यथोक्तभोगस्य स्वत एव प्रमाणत्वेन साध्यसिद्धौ पत्रदोषनिराकरणार्थत्वं । तस्मात् श्रीकरमिश्रोक्तं हेयं । समानपत्रतया वालोऽपि निरस्तः । विश्वरूपेण तृक्तं तस्मात् पश्यतोऽब्रुवतोव्यवहारे हानिर्भवति, यद्-हमन्यायेन भुनक्ति तदाक्षमाकारणाभावे कथमेतावन्तं कालं चमत इति व्यवहारे हानिरपि यावद्दति, न च प्रमादाद् यथावस्थाने हानिपरत्वाभावात्, किन्तु तूष्णीं तत्र सोढव्यमिति तात्पर्यं । न च तदा विंशति-पदविशेषकं समक्षवर्षत्रयभोगेऽपि कथं चमत इति पर्यनुयोगात्मिकाव्यवहारे हानिर्भवत्येवाशङ्क्य विंशति-ग्रहणं ऊर्द्धं विंशतेर्लेख्यदोषोद्भावननिराकरणार्थमित्युक्तं । त्रैपुरुषिकौ भुक्तिः समक्षमुपेक्षाहेत्वभावेऽपि उपे-चिता सा वर्तमानकालोपगमे पाक्षिकसागमानागममन्देहे प्रमाणीकर्त्तव्या इत्युक्तेरथपाक्षिकागमसम्भवादंशहरणे दोष इत्यभिप्राय इत्युक्तं । स्मार्त्तश्चकालः, समधिकं वर्षगतं यावद्भवति तावता पुरुषत्रयस्य भोगः सम्भवतीति तत्रापि सागमभोगं प्रमाणं दर्शयति कात्यायनः ।²

“स्मार्त्तकाले क्रियाभूमेः सागमा भुक्तिरिष्यते ।

अस्मार्त्तकालेऽनुगमात् भावात् (?) क्रमात्त्रिपुरुषामता ॥”

स्मार्त्तः स्मृत्यर्हः, स न भवतीति अस्मार्त्त स्तस्मिन् काले आगमस्यानुगमोऽन्वयः । तस्याभावे त्रिपु-रुषीभुक्तिः प्रमाणीकर्त्तव्येत्यन्तं विश्वरूपमतं । तदप्यसुन्दरं । यदि पश्येतेति वचनं तूष्णीमवस्थाननिषेधपरं, तर्ह्यनर्थकं, प्रमादात् तूष्णीं स्थितत्वेऽपि हानेरङ्गीकारात्, कुतो न विरोधं कृतवानसीति पर्यनुयोगमात्रं, न तु तेन भङ्गोभवन्मते, तस्मादनर्थकं । किञ्चापरेण भुज्यमानायां भूमौ पश्यतोऽब्रुवतश्च स्वामिनः स्वामित्वमेव हीयते, भोक्तुरेव तत्सर्वं भवति । वचनादवगम्यते; तथागोतमः ।³

“अजडपोगण्डधनं दशवर्षभुक्तं परैः सन्निधाने भोक्तुरेव; जडोविकलेन्द्रियः । पोगण्डः पूतोगण्डः कपोलेऽनुत्पन्नः श्मश्रुस्य स भण्यते । तथा नारदः⁴ ।

“बाल आषोडशादूर्धात् पोगण्डो वापि शब्दयते ।”

केचित्पठन्ति पौगण्डश्चापि विंशतेः तौ न भवत इत्यजड-पौगण्डौ, तयोर्धनं तयोरेव सन्निधौ परैः शुद्धस्वामिभिः आगमस्वामिभ्यः * * * नादिशून्यैर्भुक्तं अन्यदीयं भवति, यदि भोगो न कारणं प्रमाणापि क्रमणादेव कारणाभावेन सत्तायाः स्वत्वकारणताज्ञापकता तथा नारदः ।⁵

“भुज्यमानान् परैरर्थान यः स्वान्मोहादुपेक्षते ।

समक्षं जीवतोऽप्यस्य भुक्तिं स कुरुते वशे ॥”

¹ O. O.

Narada, Rinâdânam, 78.

³ O.

⁵ Narada, Rinâdânam, 85.

स्नानर्थानित्यन्वयात् खद्रव्योपेक्षकं पुरुषं भुक्तिर्विशेषकुरते । तथा मनुनारदौ ।¹

“यत्किञ्चिद्दशवर्षाणि सन्निधौ प्रेक्षते धनी ।
भुज्यमानं परैस्त्रुष्णीं न स तल्लभ्यमर्हति ॥”

तेन धनेन धनी, अन्यथा अविशेषकत्वात् जीविष्यति न विना धनेनेत्यनुपपत्तेः । परैःपश्यतो यदि तावत् कालमुपेक्षते, तदा धनी न तल्लभेत भोक्तुरेव तद्भवति इति वाक्येभ्योऽवगम्यमानमनर्थं परिहाय यदन्यथा व्याख्येयं तदसङ्गतार्थं श्रुतहान्यश्रुतकल्पनापत्तेः । यदपि विंशतिग्रहणस्य लेख्यमद्भावनिराकरणात्त्वमुक्तं तदपि न दशवर्षग्रहणस्य तदसङ्गावात्तस्य नान्यार्थत्वं वाच्यं, किमपराद्धं विंशत्या ? यदप्युक्तसागमानागमभोगसंग्रहे पाक्षिकागमसम्भवात् । अपहरणे दोषप्रसक्ते स्त्रिपुरुषिकीभुक्तिः प्रमाणीकर्त्तव्येति तदप्यसम्भवि, पाक्षिकागमस्य वानागमस्यापि सम्भवात्, कथं तदपहरणदोषः ? उपेक्षकद्रव्यापहारस्यापि सम्भवात् कथं त्रिपुरुषिकी भुक्तिः प्रमाणीक्रियते ? त्रिपुरुषभुक्तेरपि पाक्षिकागम-सम्भवात् अपहरणे दोष इति परामर्शात् कुतो न तैः प्रमाणीक्रियते ? कथञ्च पुरुषेण भुक्तिः प्रमाणीकर्त्तव्या ? यदि सा स्वतो न प्रमाणं, प्रमाणमेवेति चेत् कथं प्रमाणं न तावत् चचुरादिवत् सत्तयाप्रमाणान्तरेऽपि तु अनुपपत्तिरिति चेत् तन्न पाक्षिकागम सम्भवाभिधानेन विश्वरूपेणैव वागमस्यापि पाक्षिकस्योक्तत्वात् कुतोऽनुपपत्तिः ? उभयथाप्युपपत्तेर्मृतेष्विव जीवत्स्वपि त्रिषु त्रैपुरुषिकभोगस्यानुपपत्त्याप्रमाणत्वं स्यात् । तच्च त्रयाणां जीवतामिति वचनविरुद्धं समधिकवर्षशतंयावत्त्रैपुरुषिकीभुक्तिरित्यप्यनागमं, वर्षाणि विंशतिं भुक्तेति षष्टिवर्षभोगस्य तथालोकेः । मञ्जरौकारस्यापि विश्वरूपसमानलक्ष्यतया समानमेव दूषणं जोग्लोकेन तु कारणोत्तरप्रकरणे दर्शितं । अल्पीय साऽपि कालेन भोगोपेक्षानुपपत्त्या अर्थापत्ति-सम्भवेऽपि वचनाद्दशविंशतिवर्षभोग एव नियमेन स्वत्वं ज्ञापयति, यथा कालप्राप्तिवशेन वीजमङ्कुरं जनयति तरुश्च कुसुममिति । यदा स्वामिनोऽनन्यथामिद्धोपेक्षाभोक्तुः स्वत्वेप्रमाणमिति न्यायः । दशवर्षाद्युपन्यासस्तु चिरकालोपलक्षणार्थं इति । अथवा न तावत् कालभोगोऽपि स्वत्वापादक इति स्मृत्यर्थः । स्वामिना चापरित्यक्तेऽपि स्वाम्यभवति यथा जयेन राज्ञः परराष्ट्रधन इति । भुक्तिप्रकरणे तूक्तं, यच्चिरं जीविपुरुषपरम्परया चिरकालानुवर्तीभोगस्त्रिपुरुषागतः स केवल एव प्रमाणं, ‘अन्यायेनापि यद्भुक्तं’ इत्युपलक्षणमात्रं । न चाप्रमाणत्वाशङ्कया अयमन्यथानुपपद्यमानो भोगो वाधितुं शक्यत इति । पुनर्यदेति कृत्वा द्वादशविंशतिवर्षभोग एव निरूपाधिः स्वत्वे प्रमाणं, अर्वाचीनस्तु वचनवशात् प्रमाणं । त्रिपुरुषागतत्वं चिरकालोपभुज्यमानत्वञ्चावधेरुपरिकाल-परिमाण-नियममात्रपरमित्यपि मन्तव्यं । तदसम्बद्धं । दशविंशतिवर्षादर्वाचीनस्य भोगस्य सत्यामुपपत्तौ न सत्त्वगमकत्वमित्यनुपपत्तेः, न हि अनुपपत्तेरुपजाताया वचनश्रुतेनापि अनुपपादकत्वं नियन्तुं शक्यते । न ह्यसावुपपादक-ज्ञापनाय कालमपेक्षते, वीजादौ तु काल एव सहकारौति वैषम्यं । यच्च दशविंशत्यादिपदस्योपलक्षणत्वमुक्तं, तदप्यसम्बद्धं, धने दश, भूमौ विंशतिः, त्रैपुरुषीभुक्तिरित्यादिपदानां स्वार्थहान्यापत्तेः । यच्च भोगोऽपि स्वत्वकारणमित्युक्तं, तद्यदि दशविंशति-वार्षिकाभिप्रायं, तदा त्रैपुरुषिकवचनमनर्थकं, ततः प्रागेव स्वत्वस्य जातत्वात् ज्ञातत्वाच्च । त्रैपुरुषाभिप्राय-ञ्चेद्दशविंशत्यादिपदमनर्थकं । किञ्च प्रमाणत्वं करणत्वं वा उपलक्षणत्वं वा इत्युभयथावादी हेय एव ।

¹ Manu, VIII, 147. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 279. Narada, Rinâdânam, 79.

एष विशोभौ जोग्लोकः सर्वस्थाने समानियतवादात् ।
 सदा स न लभेत शोभां तेन विशोभौ जनैर्भणितः ॥
 तदिदं बह्विधमुक्तं भुक्तेः प्रामाण्यामिद्वये धीरैः ।
 न किमपि नीत्यागतमिति कथमेतस्याः प्रमाणत्वम् ॥

तस्मादाकाशकुसुमसमान एव प्रमाणभावोऽस्याः भुक्तेः, दूरनिरस्तं लिखितादिभ्यो वलीयस्त्वं ।
 मन्वति बह्वृश्वानः प्रमाणवारणाः समाधिमभिदधति । मन्वादिवचनबन्धाः शुद्धन्यायेन दत्तभराः । अयं
 तत्त्वार्थः । क्रीताहितप्रतिगृहीतादिधनभूमिगतः परस्य दशविंशति-वार्षिको भोगः । चमाकारणजड़-
 पोगण्डत्वाद्यभावेऽप्युपेक्षिततत्त्वानि कुरुते । स्वोपभोगार्थं तेन क्रयात्तस्य च तेनोपेक्षितत्वादिति मुनीना-
 मभिप्रायः । यथा मनुः¹—

“ धर्मार्थं येन दत्तं स्यात् कस्मैचिद् याचते धनम् ।
 पश्चाच्च न तथा तत् स्यान्नदेयं तस्य तद्भवेत् ” ॥

तस्मादनुमन्वितं गृहीत्वा यदि तेन धर्मकार्यं न करोति, तदा दानमेव निवर्त्तते । न तस्य तत्
 स्वभावति । तद्देवाच्च क्रयणादिनिवृत्तिः । अतएव नारदः² ।

“ आधिश्च द्विविधः प्रोक्तो जङ्गमः स्यावरस्तथा ।
 सिद्धिरस्योभयस्यापि भोगो यद्यस्ति नान्यथा ” ॥

तेन यदि पूर्वस्वामिना विक्रीयापि तावत् कालं तदुपभुक्तं तदा विक्रेतुरेव तद्धनं । अथवा
 पश्चाद्विक्रेत्रा भुक्तं तदा पश्चात् क्रेतुरेव, तन्न पूर्वक्रेतुः । अतएव—“आधौ प्रतिग्रहे क्रीते पूर्वा तु
 बलवत्तरा” इति वचनान्तरं,³ तदपवादार्थं पश्यतोऽब्रुवत इति वचनं विरचितवान् । यथोक्तकालीन
 भोगात्तु पूर्वपूर्वमाध्यादेर्दुर्बलत्वमिति न विरोधः । तदा चाध्यादिकं गृह्णानो न भोगं गृहीतुमर्हति ।
 पश्यता ब्रुवता तेन तद्भोगस्योपेक्षितत्वात् । तत्क्षणमेव स्वत्वमपैति दत्तपरद्रव्ये । यदा कर्माधीनावश्यभावि-
 तावत्कालीनभोगस्यानारम्भ एव स्वत्वनाश हेतुः तावद्भोगनिष्पत्त्या च जायते इत्यविरोधः, यदि तु भोग्यमपि
 भूम्यादिकमेकस्मिन् विक्रीय तत्समक्षमेवास्मिन्विक्रीणानं पश्यन्नपि पूर्वक्रेता न निवारयति तदा तदैव
 पूर्वक्रेतुः स्वामित्वहानिः, न तु तत्रापि यथोक्तकालभोगापेक्षा, तदाह वृहस्पतिः⁴ ।

“ पश्यन्नन्यस्य ददतः चितिं यो न निवारयेत् ।
 स्वामी सतापि लेख्येन न पुनस्तां समाप्नुयात् ” ॥
 ऋक्विभिर्वापरैर्वापि दत्तं तेनैव तद्भुगुः ।

वचनद्वयेऽपि पश्यत एवाविरोधकमात्रेणैव स्वाम्यनिवृत्तिश्रुतेः । एवमादिप्रतिग्रहादिष्वपि द्रष्टव्यं ।
 सतापि लेख्येनेति लेख्यादिना प्रमाणेनेति पश्यतोऽब्रुवत इति च परोक्षक्रीत-समक्षभोगविषयं वर्णनीयमिति
 न विरोधः । न चाशङ्कनीयं कथमेकेनाहिते क्रीते प्रतिगृहीते वा अपरस्य तत्सम्भवति ? यतोऽसम्भव आधौ

प्रतिग्रहे क्रीते इत्यस्यानारम्भापत्तेः । न चाब्रुवतः कथं स्वत्वमुपयच्छति इति वाच्यं, वचनवलाददोषात्, यथा स्वामी ऋक्य-क्रयसंविभागपरिग्रहाधिगमेच्छिति गौतमवचनात् स्वत्वमनुमीयते । तथा अजड़ापो-गण्डधनमित्यादेर्गौतमवचनादेव तस्य विनाशोऽपीति न विरोधः । न च वाच्यं आधिसीमापरिच्छेप जड़वालधनैर्विना इत्यनन्तरवचनेनाधेः पर्युदासात् कथमाहितस्वत्वनाशस्तत्रापि क्रयप्रतिग्रहयोः पर्युदासा-द्धानिः वचनस्य तद्विषयत्वसम्भवात् । न चाधिपदं क्रयप्रतिग्रहावुपलक्षयति तथाप्रमाणाभावात्, किन्त्वाधि-तयादत्ते भूमिस्वामिनः स्वत्वज्ञापैति इति तस्यार्थः नत्वधिग्रहीतुरपि, तदाह मनुः ।¹

“आधिश्चोपनिधिश्चोभौ न कालात्ययमर्हतः ।

नावहार्यौ भवेदाप्तौ दौर्घकालमुपस्थितौ ॥”

यथोपनिधिः परस्मिन् विंशतिवर्षादपि दौर्घकालमवस्थितः स्थापकस्य न नश्यति तथाधिरपि परस्मिन् स्थापितश्चिरेणाप्याधिदातु न नश्यतीत्यर्थः । ग्रहीतुः पुनराधिनाशमाह नारदः ।²

“प्रत्यर्थिपरिभोगान्तु स्वामिनो हि दशाः समाः ।

आध्यादौन्यपि जीर्यन्ति स्त्रीनरेन्द्रधनादृते ॥”

न ह्येतद्वचनमाधिदातृविषयं, वत्सरशतेनापि तदौच्य स्वाम्याविनाशात्, “आधिस्तु भुज्यते यावत्ताव-त्तन्न प्रदीयते” इति वचनात् । स्वामिनो हि प्रत्यक्षं विंशतिवार्षिकभोगमात्रस्य स्वत्वनाशे तावन्न हेतुत्वं, अनुपेक्षितस्यासाधनत्वात्, किन्तूपेक्षामहितस्य । न चाधिदातुरव्याधिक्रयणादिलब्धस्य परभोगोपेक्षया हानिः ; वृहस्पतिः तच्चोपनिधिनिक्षेपजड़वालधनैरुपेक्षानिमित्तैः सहचरितमुपेक्षानिमित्तमेवाधिपदमाह, आधि-दातुरेव चाधिरुपेक्षानिमित्तं, न ग्रहीतुरित्याधिभौमोपनिधिनिक्षेपेत्यनेन दत्तस्याधेः पर्युदासो न गृहीतस्येति न विरोधः । तस्मात् पश्यतोऽब्रुवत इति वचनमाधौ प्रतिगृहीत इत्यस्यापवादकं । आधिग्रहणक्रयणप्रतिग्रह-कर्तृणामाहितक्रीत-प्रतिगृहीतेषु गवाश्यादिषु योग्येषु दशवर्षाणि परभोगोपेक्षया स्वत्वहानिः । भूमौ तु विंशतिवार्षिकी, तेन वचनात् कारणत्वेनावधारितोपेक्षाकार्यभूतां स्वत्वहानिं ज्ञापयति । क्रयणादिरिव स्वत्वस्य कारणं यदेव तस्य ज्ञापकं, तेनोपेक्षकस्य स्वत्वहानौ भूतायां पूर्वस्वामिनः स्वत्वमनापादितमिति यथेष्टमन्यस्मिन्नाधिक्रयणादिकं क्रयणादिना परभूतया पूर्वेण वाध्यं, स्वामित्वेनैव तस्य कृतत्वादिति भावः । तेन भवति पूर्वस्थापवादकं अत इदं परिहृतं, किमिति भूमावूनविंशतिवार्षिको नववार्षिकश्च गवाश्यादौ भोगः प्रमाणं भवतीति । यदि हि दशविंशतिवर्षव्याप्यभोगस्य प्रमाणमन्यथाप्युपपद्यमानतयोच्यते तदा स्यादेवेतत्, किन्त्वाधिसिद्धस्वामिभावस्य या उपेक्षा तस्याहानिकरत्वं ज्ञाप्यते स्वामी ऋक्यक्रयसंविभा-गादिवचनेन । तस्मादस्मान्नेरियमुक्ता भुक्तेः प्रमाणाता भ्रान्तेः । दशविंशतिवर्षीया हेया सा तु प्रमाणज्ञैः । त्रैपुरुषिकी हि भुक्तिः पूर्वोदितलक्षणोपेता । स्वत्वचन्मात्राधीनस्वत्वफलत्वात् प्रमाणं सा । भूस्वामिना खलु अव्याहता त्रैपुरुषिकीभुक्तिर्निष्पाद्येव भोक्तुः स्वत्वं भूम्यादौ जनयति । तदाह कात्यायनः ।³

¹ Manu, VIII, 145—reads “अवहार्यौ भवेतां तौ दौर्घकालमवस्थितौ” for the second half. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 279.

² Narada, Rinâdânam, 82. Reads द्वि-दशाः समाः for हि दशाः समा । 0.

एतदपि त्रिपुरुषभोगमव्याहृतमेव प्रमाणमाह समाहारोपात्तयोर्लव्यभोगयोरव्याहृतमित्यन्वयात् ।
यत्र हेत्वन्तरादेव सन्निहितस्याप्युपेक्षा सम्भवति, न तत्र पुरुषभुक्तिः प्रमाणमित्याह बृहस्पतिरेव ।¹

“ भुक्तिस्त्रिपुरुषिकी सिध्येत्परोचान्नात्र संशयः ।
अनिवृत्ते सपिण्डत्वे सकुल्यानां न सिध्यति ॥
विभाज्य श्रोत्रियैर्भुक्तं राजामात्यैस्तथैव च ।
सुदीर्घेणापि कालेन तेषां सिधेन्न तद्भुनम् ॥
असक्तालस-रोगार्त्त-बालभीतपवासिनाम् ।
शासनारूढमन्येन भुक्तं भुक्त्या न हीयते ॥ ”

तथा कात्यायनः ।²

“ सनाभैर्वान्धवैर्वापि भुक्तं यत् स्वजनैस्तथा ।
भोगात्तत्र न सिद्धिः स्याद्भोगमन्येषु कल्पयेत् ॥
न भोगं कल्पयेत् स्त्रीषु देवराजधनेषु च ।
बालश्रोत्रियवृद्धे च प्राप्तेऽपि पितृतः क्रमात् ॥ ”

तथा मनुनारदौ ।³

“ दायसीमादायधनं निक्षेपोपनिधिस्त्रियः ।
राजस्रं श्रोत्रियस्वञ्च न भोगेन प्रणश्यति ॥ ”

प्रपितामह-पितामह-पितृपर्यन्तं क्रमात् प्राप्तेऽपि न प्रामाण्यं भोगस्येत्याह । एतेर्वचनैर्यत्नमहोपेक्षा-
हेतुस्त्रिपुरुषभोक्तृणां क्वचित् सपिण्डत्वस्वजन्यादिकं क्वचिद्वा भूस्वामिन एवाशक्त्यालस-रोगबालभीतप्रवासित्वा-
दिकं तत्र तत्र भुक्तेः प्रामाण्यं निराकुर्वन्तः सर्वत्र सन्निहितानामेव स्वामिनामुपदर्शितभोगोपेक्षाकारणाभावे
तदुपेक्षां भोगप्रामाण्ये कारणमाहुः । ‘असमस्तभोगविषयत्वे तु त्रैपुरुषिकभोगवचनानां । असक्तालसरोगार्त्ता-
दिव्यावर्त्तनमदृष्टार्थं स्यात् ॥ तस्मात्त्रिपुरुषभुक्तिः शक्तेर्दृष्टाप्युपेक्षिता कुरुते । स्वामिनमेवमस्वामिनमस्वा-
मिन एव तु स्वाम्यं ॥ यदा त्रैपुरुषिकफलभोगोपेक्षैव कारणाभावे । जनयति भोगोभोक्तुः स्वाम्यं विनिहन्ति-
पूर्वस्य ॥

ननु भवतु यथोक्तलक्षणस्य त्रैपुरुषिकभोगस्य क्रयणादिवत् कारणतया स्वत्वे प्रमाणं तदूर्वाचीनस्य
तदुपेक्षाकारणाभावेऽप्युपेक्षितस्य जीवतामेव त्रयाणां षष्टिवर्षभोगस्यान्यथानुपपद्यमानस्य कुतो न स्वत्वगमकत्वं ?
न हि सप्ताष्टवर्षभोगोऽप्यन्यथोपपद्यते किमुत चिरन्तनो गमयत्येवेति चेन्न, त्रैपुरुषिकवचनानामानर्थक्यात्.
अथास्य कारणाभावेनान्यस्य पुनरुपपत्त्याप्रमाणतेति चेन्न, तथापि प्रामाणाभावविशेषात् । उच्यते । स्वामि-
नाव्याहृता सतीति स्वामित्वाभावस्यैव त्रैपुरुषिकभोगात् स्वामित्वं नश्यति, भोक्तृणामेव तत्सम्भवतीति, त्रैपुरु-

¹ O.

² O.

³ Manu, VIII, 149. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 279, reads दायःसीमा बालधनं for the underlined words. Narada, Rinâdânam, 81, follows Manu.

विक्रयनस्याः । नैनामानराभावे सिद्धयस्यैव वागमनं प्रमाणत्वम् । अनपवात्याद्येनापि चतुर्कर्मिणि
 यद्विन्यासमभ्यासिदिवनानिदममर्थं स्यद्यत्नि । सन्दिग्धवागमविषयस्त्वन्विनी जीवन्तं यथाणां षष्ठिवर्ष-

भोगोऽनुपपत्त्याप्रमाणत्वम् । न च्छेदमशास्त्रैः । नथाह याज्ञवल्क्यः ।

“आगमस्य कर्ता येन सौमिभ्युक्तमर्द्धरेत् ।

न तस्युतस्युता वा सुक्तिरत्र गतिरसौ” ॥

पुत्रपौत्रवृत्तिरपि सुक्तिः प्रमाणं दृश्यात्, स एवाह

सौमिभ्युक्तः परेनःस्थानस्य षष्ठ्यो नमुद्धरेत् ।

न नत्र कारणं सुक्तिरगमनेन विनाकरो ॥

एवं विषये सुक्तिरगमनेन विना प्रमाण्य-निवृध्यात् अन्यत्र नदेवजागति नारदोऽपि ।

“नथाहृदंविवादेस्य प्रेतस्य अवरुतिः ।

पुत्रेण सौटेः सगोष्यो न न भोगाविवर्त्तयेत् ॥”

अथमपि निवृधेनात्यत्र निवर्त्तकत्वमनुजानीते । यत् न सत्यं सुक्तिस्य वागमनेन नदेयनत्सौक्तविषय-
 श्वम् । यदा सतिपत्रादिप्रसम्भवाद्येकालविषयमेतन् नतस्य-सुनोवेति नत्कालान्तिकमविषयं, एवञ्च
 आगमस्युक्तोद्येनेत्यादिवचनान्तपि आगमगोष्यनोविनकाले बोद्धव्यानि, नदेतिक्तस्य चत्वारिंशत्-पञ्चाश-
 द्षमभोगास्यान्यथावृत्तपद्यमानस्य स्वहृदयगतकालं न वारविधेत् शक्यते । न्यायमखानि अवरुतिरवचनानि
 नदेवृत्तयेतिव वचनोद्यनि ।

इति सकलमुनीनां सुक्तिवाक्यं विवक्ष्य ॥

स्वप्नस्य दृढं सौटेः गम्यते न्यायनञ्च ॥

स पुनरुपनिबन्धो (?) यद्युतां वृद्धिमतिः ।

भवति यदि न जाय अर्द्धया पाकेकतेषु ।

मया भावां निवृत्त्यां दृशं वापि पुरस्तरि ।

दृष्ट्यां विषयकपादेनिराकृत्य प्रपञ्चिनाम् ।

अथ विशिष्यते भावो मिथ्याकथने सत्यवादी भवेत् यथा,—

“राजदेहे श्राद्धाद्युं प्राणिनां वधहेतवे ।

विवाहे च मिषकथने मिथ्याया सत्यवाग्यते ॥”

नदेवेति भाषया उत्तरानर्द्धनार्द्धरस्य वा आभासत्वात् द्यौरपि च सद्धपत्तं किंवाया सुक्ति-
 लिखित-सावित्रकथाया अनुमानेन वा सद्धपत्तमात्रे दिवने वा लिखितकथनमवधायं जियने जयपत्रं
 दृश्यात् । तस्य च लक्षणमाह षष्ठ्यानिः

Yajñavalkya, II, 28, reads नमुद्धरेत् for नदृद्धरेत् ।
 Yajñavalkya, II, 29, * Seems out of place here.
 Narada, Kindānam, 98, reads “न न भोगे नदेवे” for the underlined words.
 Unknown.
 O.
 Unknown.

“यदृत्तं व्यवहारेषु पूर्वपक्षोत्तरादिकं ।
क्रियावधारणोपेतं जयपत्रे ऽर्थिनं लिखेत् ॥
पूर्वोत्तरक्रियायुक्तं निर्णयान्तं तदा नृपः ।
प्रदद्याञ्जयिने लेख्यं जयपत्रं तदुच्यते ॥”

मथा कात्यायनः¹ ।

“अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिवाक्यानि प्रतिज्ञावचनन्तथा ।
निर्णयश्च यथा तस्य तथा चावष्टतं स्वयम् ॥
तत्तद्यथाचरं लेख्यं यथा पूर्वं निवेशयेत् ।
सभासदश्च ये तत्र स्मृतिशास्त्रविदः स्मृताः ॥”

प्रतिज्ञापदेन च प्रतिपाद्यतया स्थिरौक्यतमुच्यते यथा तस्येति साक्षिवचनस्य द्वैधे सति षड्गुणवत्त्वा-
दिनायङ्गुणान्निर्णयोमतः । शेषं सुव्यक्तं । अत्र भाषोत्तरयोर्लिखनं पुनर्न्यायेन वादिनोरन्यथाप्रत्यवस्थान-निरा-
करणापेक्षं जयावधानस्य सम्यक्प्रदर्शनार्थं सर्व्वं, तेन निरूपका अपि निरपवादा भवन्तीति सर्व्वमनवद्यम् ।

मुनिगणवचननखनरत्नमणिमालैषा सुवचनगुणसंग्रथिता ।

विद्वत्कण्ठे प्रियाप्रिया शुशुभे ॥

पारिभद्रकुलोद्भूतः श्रीमान् जीमूतवाहनः ।

विदुषां परितोषाय निर्म्ममे न्यायमाहकाम् ॥

व्यवहारगणकथनं विना न तदादर-निवृत्तिः ।

भवति च नात्रादरः इति तद्विस्तारो न दोषकरः ॥ ० ॥

इति पारिभद्रमहामहोपाध्याय श्रीजीमूतवाहनकृता
व्यवहारमातृका समाप्ता ॥

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SOME CURRENT PUSHTU FOLK STORIES.

BY

F. H. MALYON,

21st Punjabis.



CALCUTTA :

PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS, AND PUBLISHED BY
THE ASIATIC SOCIETY, 1, PARK STREET.

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1912.

PREFACE.

Pushtu literature in general is rendered so invariably in the Peshawuri (Yusufzai) dialect,—the language in its purest form,—that it presents to the reader neither the peculiarities which characterize the speech of other divisions of the Pushtu-speaking family, nor even those other peculiarities which enter into the everyday conversation of the Yusufzai villager.

The following collection of stories may, therefore, possibly be of some interest as being an attempt to contrast the dialects of the three great divisions into which the speakers of so-called 'hard Pushtu' may roughly be divided,—Orakzai, Afridi, Yusufzai.

Stories Nos. 1-8 were chosen out of a number of similar tales recently taken down whilst up the Tochi. Simple tales of a simple folk, they are selected not for any pretensions to literary merit, but as being typical of the dialects of which it is hoped they may serve as an example.

Stories Nos. 9-10 were first heard in the evenings at a village 'hujrah' in the Yusufzai country whilst on leave there in 1909. 'Brother Nim Kuni' offers little of humour to recommend it to the European mind, but is included on account of its being a universal favourite among the younger generation in Yusufzai, where there is hardly a child but knows, and is eager again to laugh over, the oft-related exploits of Nim Kuni on his cat.

In the Pushtu script, endeavour has been made to reproduce as faithfully as possible the pronunciation of the tellers; and in the translation, to follow as closely as possible the mood and literal meaning of the original.

F. H. MALYON,

21st Punjabis.

BANNU :

5th March, 1911.

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SOME CURRENT PUSHTU FOLK STORIES.

I. STORY OF THE TIRAH FAQIR.

داسي خبر کوي چه يو تگ تيرا خاص په آپردو ته په پقيري جامي کنس لار وه - او په هغه خائي کنس يو جماعت کنس ناست وه - اول خلقو هغه د پاره تکاله را ورد - مگر هغه سري ويله چه زه بزک يم او ما ته دا تکالي اخي¹ ضرور نشته - بيا هغو خلقو روپي را وري - چه پقير بادشاه دغه خيز قبول کي نو هيره مهر و باني² به وي - هغه ويله چه زره م نه کيوي چه روپي و اخلم - تولو خلقو ويله چه دا هير ستر بزک دي نو مناسب دي چه دغه پقير مونر ته يوه معجزه³ و بنائي او فلاني غر نه چينه و باسي - دغه خبره هغو خوشه که⁴ او پقير ته ئي ويله چه مونر ته ته اخيله بزکي و بنايه - له فلاني غر نه چينه و باسه هغه پقير ويله چه هيره بنه خبره کوو⁵ - مگر تاسو ټول خلق جمع ورخي حاضر شو - او هغه خائي ما ته و بنايو چه کوم خائي کنس چينه ذوارو - تولو خلقو دغه خبره خوشه کړه او چيني خائي ئي و بنيل * * * * نو چه کومه ورخ مقرره کړي وه هغه خائي ته ټول خلق جمع شول - او پقير ته اول معلوم و چه په دي خائي کنس دا چينه غواړي او په آغه⁶ خائي کنس يو مشق اوبو نه دک په زمکي کنس ئي خنس کړي وه - هغه چه راښي تولو خلقو ته آواز و کړه چه اي خلق ! په دي خائي کنس به زه چينه و باسم - خو چه په سترگوسره اوبه و کسو⁷ نو يو دم درومو⁸ له دي خائي نه او پنځو ورخو پس بيا

1 Equivalent to ښخ

2 مهرباني

3 A miracle.

4 In the Orakzai and Afridi dialects, the past tense of کړل is commonly used in a contracted form, the medial ر disappearing.

5 In the Orakzai and Afridi dialects, the 2nd pers. plural of the verb terminates in و , and not in ئي as among the Yusufzai.

6 آغه = Yusufzai آغه

7 A peculiarity of the Orakzai dialect, the present tense of کتل being formed from the root کس and not from کول.

8 In Orakzai, and also Afridi dialects, the present tense of the verb نلل is frequently formed from the root دروم in preference to the roots لار or څخ.

را شو - ډيرې اوبه بد ويې پد دې نر - او پقيز نيزې سره په مشق گذار وگه - عشق نه اوبه روڼې شوې
 ټولو خلقو دغه يقين وگه چه پقيز چينه و باسته - هر سړي پقيز وټه بخشيش ورگه او چه شپه شو نو پقيز
 اخپل خونې¹ ته راځي او بيا له هغه ځايي په سپر² روان شه * * * * چه هغه³ وطن حاق پندځي
 ورځي پس وراغلل⁴ نو په هغه ځايي چه اوبه تر وتلي وي يو آتش مشق پروت وډ *

II. THE STORY OF THE GAY WIFE, HER STEP-SON, AND A LABOURER.

داسې خبر گوږي چه يو سړي وه چه هغه سړي⁵ يو خوئي وډ - بنځه ئي پد کور کښ نه وډ و
 لري روڼي⁶ جمع کي زن د پاره - بيا واده ئي وکړه ليکن هغه بنځه خرافه⁷ وډ - يوې ورځي دا سړي
 ورچنې⁷ لار دې چه بنځه وټه⁸ ئي څلور ياران راغلي دي او اخپلو کښ ئي دا خبرد وگه چه ميا به
 مونږ پلاني⁹ پټي کښ يوې کو - ته بيا راشه - بنځي وړ چه داسې کار وکو چه پلاني پټياري نه ورتي
 داني واخلو او هغه داني په لباري¹⁰ کښ وکړو نو زه به سم هغه پټي وټه در شم ولي چه هغه داني بد زه
 زمکي باند وکسم دا خبره د سړي خوي واوریده - چه ميا ئي شه نو دا ورکي پرت¹¹ او کومې
 داني تالي وي هغه داني دي ورگي گردې کي اخپل پټي طرف ئي تالي کي - نو دي بنځي
 ميا ئي چه بنه تکاله پخلي¹² وه هغه تکاله ئي روانه که زمکي باند به ئي داني کتي¹³ - پد هغي لباري
 تله اخپل ميره¹⁴ باند وراغله¹⁵ - ميره ئي وړ چه ته څه ته راځي - بنځي وړ چه تا پاردم تکاله را وړي
 ده - سړي وړ چه ډيره بنه دې¹⁶ خو بيا مه را وړه - چه هغه ځايي نه ستنه¹⁷ شوه نو مخ کښ يو

¹ A corruption of the Persian, خانه.

² سفر - خراب. and ب and ف in Pushtu are frequently interchanged.

³ د before a substantive in the possessive case is usually omitted among Orakzais and Afridis.

⁴ The use of و with the past tense of راغلل, although of course entirely irregular, is not uncommon among members of the above two tribes.

⁵ See Note 3, page 356.

⁶ See Note 2, page 356.

⁷ An adverb peculiar to the Afridi and Orakzai dialects.

⁸ وټه = to, an Orakzai form of the postposition.

⁹ See Note 2, page 356.

¹⁰ A common corruption of لار = road.

Peculiarly Orakzai. An Afridi would say آچت ته.

پخولي = پخلي.

= commonly abbreviated as above.

¹⁴ ميره, husband - used more commonly among Orakzais than خاوند or ځاختن.

See page 356, Note 4 (above).

The Orakzai and Afridi dialects frequently confuse genders, especially in the use of دې and د, وه and و.

پستانه. See page 365, Note 12. An Orakzai will generally use the word in its above shortened form.

زيارت وۀ - هغې بشخي وړ چه اي زيارت! زۀ يو سوال كوم - كه ته ما¹ سوال قبولوي * هغه وړكي په يو قبر كېس پټ شوي وۀ او آواز ئي و كۀ چه تا سوال قبول دي - خۀ سوال كوي؟ بشخي وړ چه ما په كور كېس يو وړكي دي چه هغه وړكي ما باند نڼ ډيره تگي كړي دۀ نو زۀ خواړم چه هغه اوس وړون شي * دي وړكي قبر نه بشخي وټۀ وړ - چه تاسو خونې كېس پلاني غوا دي - هغه غوا حلاله كو - نو غوښه چه هغه وړكي و خوري نو هغه به وړون شي * دا بشخه ډيره خوشحال شوه او كوم وقت ميري كور ته را نلۀ نو دي بشخي وړ چه مونږ يو خوي دي او دا هم ناخوړ دي نو مناسب دي چه هغه غوا حلاله كو - دي سړي وړ چه بله غوا به واخلو - مگر دي بشخي دا خبره نه منلۀ او سړي وړ چه ډيره ښه دي - هغه غوا ئي حلاله كۀ غوښه ئي دي وړكي باند و خورولۀ - چه غوښه خلاصه شوه بشخي وړكي نه پښتنه و كۀ چه خنكۀ ئي؟ هغه وړ - زۀ خو ډير تگړۀ يم مگر سترگو نظرم بالكل كم شه - اچ² نه كسم - بشخه ډيره خوشحال شوه او اخپلو يارانو وټۀ خواب و ليره چه تاسو را شو. ما خوي وړون شوي دي - اچ نه كسي - خلوړ ياران دي بشخي جمع كړل - ديگ ئي باند كۀ - خوي وټۀ ئي وړ چه په دي ديگ لاند اور بلوه - زۀ وړچني خم * په غوجلي كېس يوه كنده وۀ چه په هغي كېس بشخي ياران كښنولي وړ - چه كوم وخت دا بشخه وړچني ووتلۀ نو دي وړكي اوبه ښي گرم كي - كومي كندي كېس چه ياران ناست وړ نو دي وړكي ټولي اوبه هغو باند وړولي - هر خلوړ كس سړي مرۀ شو - چه بشخه را غلۀ نو اخپل ياران ئي مرۀ وليدو³ - دي وړكي وټۀ هغي ژړا و كۀ چه پلار وټۀ دا حال مه وايه - وړكي وړ ډيره ښه دي - اچري⁴ به حال ونه و ايم - بازار ته وړكي لاړ شه - يو خنكلي مزدور ئي را وست - هغه وټۀ ئي وړ چه مونږ په كور كېس يو سړي مر دي - هغه درياب كېس و غورزوه - يوه روپي بد در كوم - هغه سړي دا خبره خوښه كۀ او چه بيگي⁵ شه نو وړكي ته ئي وړ چه هغه مر سړي را و باسه وړكي وړ چه ډيره ښه دي مگر ته خيال و كړ چه دا مرده بيا را نه شي * هغه مزدور مر سړي په درياب كېس و آچوه - چه مزدور واپس وړكي خنخه راغي چه ما ته روپي راكړ - وړكي وړ چه هغه بيا راخلي دي - راشه چه دا سړي درياب په منخ⁶ كېس و آچوه - مزدور بل سړي هم سيند كېس و غورزوه

¹ In possessive pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons, the Orakzai and Afridi dialects as a rule drop the initial *د* and *س*, or, occasionally, substitute *د*. e.g. *خما* = *ما*, or *دما* = *تاسو* or *داسو*.

² *اچ*, A corruption of *هڅ*.

³ = *وليدل*: the addition of final *و* to the 3rd pers. plur. masc. past is very common colloquially.

⁴ *اچري* = *هڅري*

⁵ See page 358, Note 6.

⁶ *مينخ* = *منخ*

چه بېرته راښي وړکي غږ وکړه چې ابي مزدور - ته څه چل کوي چې دا مړ سړي بيا را کرزي دلي دي؟
 دي مزدور دريم ځل هم درياب کښ و اچول چې واپس راښي وړکي و چې ته توتي کوي هغه مړ سړي
 تا نه مخ کښ را ځلي دي - مزدور ډير په قهر شه - قسم ئي وکړه چې دا سړي زه بيا ډري نردم¹ - سړي
 ئي په درياب کښ و اچول - چې دا سړي بيا را نه شي - په دي وخت يو هندو را ځلي دي لانډو
 وهلو د پاره اخیل رام رام گورو گورو وائي - مزدور دا خيال وه چې هغه مرده درياب نه را وتلي دي - هندو
 ئي تنگ که درياب په منځ کښ و اچول * مزدور روان شه وړکي خونې پله² - چې نږدي شه يو ملا
 وه چې نمزه³ د پاره خونې نه وتلي دي - دي مزدور هغه باند خيال شه - په زړه کښ ئي و چې ابي
 مرده! خداي د و آخه⁴ - که ما نه مخ کښ بيا راځلي! هندو په جامي کيږي کله ملا په جامي! هغه
 ملا ئي هم تنگ که درياب ته ئي و اچول - ملا لاس و اچول - مزدور ئي پښي نه تنگ که - هر
 دوه درياب کښ غرق شو - بشکه او وړکي بيغمه شو *

III. THE STORY OF HAZRAT KHIZR, THE WOMAN, AND THE TWO HEADS.

يو سړي وه - يوه ئي بشکه وه - يو بل سړي هم ملگري ئي وه - دري واړه په يوې لباري باند تلو -
 ناکهانه چې په دي ځايي ځله را ځلو⁵ او هر دوه سړي ئي مړه کو - ځلونه چې مال ئي و آخسته لاړ شو -
 بشکه په اخیلو سړو پوري پاتي شوه - چې بيگي⁶ شه نو هغه ځايي باند حضرت خضر راښي - بشخي ته ئي
 و چې دنوسرو سرونه نږدي کر چې زه دعا وکم چې خداي دي سړي جوړ کي - بشکه زر پورته شوه - آښه
 سرونه ئي نږدي کو - او چې حضرت خضر دعا وکړه نو د رب په حکم سره دغه دوه سړي جوړ شو - مگر
 هغه سرونه غلط شوي وو - کوم چې بشخي د ميره سر وه هغه بل سړي سر سره بدل وه - يو هري ويله⁷
 چې دغه بشکه ما ده - بل سړي و چې ته دروغ وائي - دغه ما بشکه ده * دغه بشکه چا رسوي؟ ته
 انصاف وکړ *

¹ له بوردم = بري نردم - a peculiar colloquialism. This division of the syllables of certain verbs, and the insertion between them of *د*, or of the emphatic *د* (with aorist), or in certain cases of pronouns in the oblique case, is especially in vogue in the Yusufzai dialect.

² = طرف : a common word in colloquial Pushtu.

³ نمزه - نومز - نوز - نماز - all common corruptions corresponding to the *نمونه*, prayer, of the Yusufzai dialect.

⁴ A very general Pathan expression. In spite of its literal meaning being precisely opposite, the occasions on which it is used render its nearest English equivalent the 'Devil fly away with you' of the translation.

⁵ راغلو, used colloquially for *راغلل*. [Page 357, Note 3].

⁶ Among Orakzais, *bigi*, dusk, is commonly used instead of *mâkhâm*.

⁷ Orakzais and Afridis commonly make the 3rd pers. past of *ويل* in *ويله* in preference to *وو* or *ويل*.

IV. THE STORY OF THE THREE BROTHERS, AND THE RUBY.

داسي خېره خلق کوي چه يو سړي وه چه هغه سړي دري خامن وو - او دې سړي په آخپلو کوټي کښ دري ديگونه ن روپو خښ کړي وو - په هر دیک سر باند ئي يو لعل ايښي وه - چه کوم وخت دا سړي مرغه نو کشر ورور ته دا ديگونه معلوم وو چه دري دي - هر يو دیک باند يو يو لعل دي - يو لعل ئي پت گه - او کوم وخت چه دغه ميراټ ويشوله نو يو دیک باند لعل نه وه - مشر ورور وو چه معلوميږي چه دغه لعل په ورونرو کښ چا پت کړي دي - مگر داسي را ته معلوم نه دي چه منځني پت کړي وي يا کشري پت کړي وي - منځني وو چه ما هم داسي خيال دي چه په مونږ آخپلو ورونرو کښ غل شته ولي چه په دې ديگو نه نور اچوک¹ معلوم نه وه - کشر ورور هم په دې شان خبره وکړه - پير کوششت² وکړه - مگر دغه خبره نه لنډيدله - نه په نژدو کليو³ کښ چا لنډولي شوه - خو يو بادشاه وه چه هغه دوي⁴ لونه وي - خلقو ويله ورونرو وته چه هغي⁵ پيري اوشباري دي - که تاسو ورشو نو تاسو خبره به خلاصه کي * دغه هر دري کس روان شو - خه قدر منزل ئي وکړه چه يوه ونه ده چه پيره بنه سيوره⁶ دي - هغي ونې ن لاند کښناستو - مشر ورور وو چه په دې ونې لاند بنځه ناسته شوي دي - بل ورور وو چه دغه بنځه اُميدواره هم دي - دريم وو چه دغه بنځه مړه وړه هم دي * داسي هغو په عقل سره آخپلي خبري وکړي او چه دغه څائي نه روان شو نو په لياري کښ يو ورور خبره وکړه چه په دې لياري باند اوش تير شوي دي په يوي سترگي روند دي - دريم وو چه يو غاښ ن دي اوش هم نشته - او هغه کشري وو چه په دې اوش باند يو طرف غوري دي په بل طرف بيگنه دي * په دې څائي نه ورونره دري واره تير شو - چه ورسته⁷ طرف نه يو غبر و شه چه اودريغو! دري ورونره اودريدو - يو سړي راغي پښتنه وکړه چه ابي جوانو - تاسو په دې څائي کښ بنځه نه دي ليدلي؟ مشري ورور وو چه اُميدواره نه وه؟ بنځي ميره وو چه وه - دريم ورور وو چه مړه وړه نه وه؟ - بنځي چاختن⁸ وو چه مړه وړه وه - بيا هغو هر درو ورونرو وو چه

1 اچوک = هيج څوک : a common corruption.

2 کوشش = .

3 An alternative form of the oblique plural.

4 Alternative form of دره : peculiar to Afridis and Orakzais.

5 هغوي contracted from هغوي .

6 = Shade: a word in use chiefly among Orakzais.

7 ورسته = .

8 چاختن = څاختن , in Yusuf.

درومه آخپلي بنځي تپوخ¹ کوه - مونږ د تا بنځه نه دي ليدلي بنځي خاوند وړ چه دا څنگه خبره دي -
 چه تاسو نښکي ما وته تيمک و بنيلي - او اوس بيا وايو چه مونږ معلوم نه يو - ما سره تاسو شرع و کو
 يا آخپله بنځه را کو - دغو وروڼو وړ چه راڅه مونږ شرع پاره روان يو - دا سړي هم په دو سړيو سره روان
 هه - لږ مزل ئي و که چه ورسته طرف نه بل دغو و شه چه اي جوانو تاسو اودريو! چه دغه سړي اودريو
 نو يو بل تن راغي پښتنه تر و که چه اي سړيو په دي ځاي کښ تاسو اوس نه وه ليدلي ؟ هغو وړ
 چه په يوې سترگي وړند نه وه ؟ اوس خاوند خواب و که چه وه - دويم ورو وړ چه يو ځان ئي مات
 نه وه ؟ اوس خاوند وړ چه و ئي وه² - دريم ورو وړ چه يوه طرف بيگنه او بل طرف زوري نه وه ؟ اوس
 خاوند وړ چه وه - بيا دغو دريو ورو وړ چه آخپل اوس تپوخ کوه مونږ د تا اوس نه يو معلوم -
 اوس خاند³ دغو و که چه تاسو د ما غله يو - يا آخپل اوس را کو يا ما سره شرع و کو - دغو سړيو وړ چه راڅه
 مونږ شرع ته روان يو * کوم وخت چه هغه بادشاه څخه دا ټول سړي ورسيدل نو آخپل حال ئي بيان که -
 بادشاه وړ چه اول حال د بنځي وايو چه تاسو دغه بنځه څنگه پيژندي وه - اول ورو وړ چه اکثر د بنځي
 ناستي پلان⁴ وي - نو ما په دي سبب سره و پيژنده⁵ چه دا بنځه دي - دويم ورو وړ چه دا په
 کوم وخت پورته کيده نو دي زمکي باند لاس لگولی وه - نو ما و پيژنده چه دغه بنځه اُميدواره دي -
 دريم وړ چه دا بنځه چه زمکي نه پورته کيده نو اول تلي ئي واپس رستون⁶ شوي وه - نو زه په عقل
 سره پوهه شوم چه دا بنځه مره وړه دي - بادشاه وړ چه اي بنځي خاند! دا سړي ډير اوسيار دي - په
 عقل سره ئي پيژندلي دي - نه درومه - آخپلي بنځي تپوخ و کو - او هغه بنځي خاوند روان شه *
 بادشاه بيا وړ چه اوس د اوس حال وايو - هغه تاسو په کوم دستور سره پيژندلي وه - اول وړ چه اوس
 بل په ليارې باند تير وه نو ما وړ چه دا اوس دي - او ليارې يوه طرف وښه خوړلي شوي و بل
 طرف وليار⁷ وړ نو زه پوهه شوم چه دغه اوس په يوې سترگي کښ وړند دي - دويم ورو وړ چه زه په
 دي خبرې پوهه شوي وم چه دي اوس وښو کښ يو ځاي بل ځاي يو تار پريښلي⁸ وه نو زه پوهه

¹ The above conventional spelling has been adhered to in these tales, although among Orakzais the word is rather pronounced as though spelt, تپوس.

² A rare use of و in connection with the simple auxiliary for emphasis.

³ خاند = خاند.

⁴ See Note 2, page 356.

⁵ A vulgar variation of و پيژندل.

⁶ From و رستو: a corruption.

⁷ = ولاړ: a vulgar form of the word.

⁸ = پريښلي.

شوم چه يو غاښ ئي مات دې - او دريم ورور وړو چه يوه طرف مچان تلو بل طرف غلازي - نو زه پوهه شوم چه كوم طرف مچان څي نو په دې طرف غوري دې - بل طرف چه غلازي تلي¹ نو زه پوهه شوم چه دغه طرف بيگنه دې - بادشاه وړو چه اي اوبس والا! دغو سړيو په عقل سره پيژنداي دې اوبس والا روان شه په اخپل كار پسي * بادشاه دريو ورور وړو ته بيا وړو چه تاسو ډير اوبنيار يو - اوس څه خوارو - ورور وړو چه دا د لعل خبره خلاصه شي - چه كوم يو سړي غل وي هغه معلوم كه - بادشاه خواب وركړ چه ما دوي لونه دې - آذو نه پښتنه وكم چه دا خبره لنډوي شي - زه خو تاسو خبره نه شم خلاصولي بادشاه لور نه تپوخ و كه چه اي لوري! دري سړي شرع پاره راغلي دي مگر ډير اوبنيار دې - زه څه بن و بست وكم - لور ئي وړو چه دا كار به زه وكم - خو اول زه د دغو سړيو عقل وكم - بادشاه وړو چه ډيره بڼه دې - سل متي² خوي و كسه - بادشاه زادي وړو چه زه يوه چټي مشري و ته ليكم - او مشري و ته چټي كښ و ليكلو³ چه اي څوان! ته د ما ميله ئي - كوم څيز ته زړه كيږي؟ هغه وړو چه زه خو پلاو خورم - بادشاه زادي يو بڼه پسه و آخسته - پلاو ئي طيار كړ - آغه سړي چه تكاله و خوره نو بادشاه زادي وړو چه اي څوان! تكاله خوند وه؟ سړي وړو چه بڼه خو وه بادشاه زادي وړو چه كوم تصور وه؟ سړي وړو چه اسي وړو چه د سړي غواښه ما بانډ و خور و له - بادشاه زادي وړو چه ته لاړ شه ورچني كښينه - زه لاړه شم⁴ چه پسه خوند نه پښتنه وكم چه دا پسه كوم څيز نه پيداوي شوي دي - بادشاه زادي چه لاړه پسه خوند نه ئي تپوخ و كه چه دغه پسه څه څيز نه پيداوي شوي دي؟ پسه خوند وړو چه دا پسه پيداو شه نو په هغي ورځي د دې پسه مور مړه شوه - او د ما بڼڅه په هغه ورځو بوره⁶ شوي وه - او ما بڼڅي پسه ته اخپل تي وركول - نو دا پسه سړي په شودو سره كټه⁷ شوي دي - بادشاه زادي حيرانه پاتي شوه - و ئي و⁸ چه دغو سړيو⁹ خبره نه شم خلاصولي - دا سړي ډير اوبنيار دي * د دې بادشاه يو بلد لور وه - هغي بادشاه ته عرض و كه چه مهربان! زه به دغو سړيو خبره خلاصه كم - مگر ما بانډ نر نامه چيږده - بادشاه دا عرض خوش كه - اخپلي لور بانډ نر نامه چيږده¹⁰ - بادشاه زادي وړو چه اي

1 Contracted form of 3rd pers. fem. plural, past, of ڼل .

2 څل = Yusufzai مته .

3 Colloquial corruption of ليكل . See page 357, Note 3.

4 See page 363, Note 1.

5 پيدا = .

6 بوره = a woman whose child dies within a few days of birth.

7 كټه = Orakzai, substitute for Yusuf. پال = rear, tend.

8 See page 362, Note 2.

9 سړو = .

10 چيږده = softened among the Orakzais as above to كيږده .

ما وينځي - لاره شه - هغو سړيو ته ټکاله ور کړ - ور ته ووايه چه اوه آسمانونه دي - آسان وړه¹ دي - ستوري ځانړ دي - نو دي وينځي ته بادشاه زادي اوه نانن در کړي وو - خوښه او خوږي هم ئي و کړي وه - وينځې دوه نانن آخپله و خوږو - خوښه ئي هم و خوږه - باټي ټکاله ئي هغو سړيو ته ور کړه - ور ته ئي وړ چه بادشاه زادي قاسو باند سلام ويلي دي - پس سلام نه ويلي دي چه آسمانونه او دي - آسان وړه دي - ستوري ځانړ دي - هغو چه ټکاله و خوږه وينځي ته ئي وړ چه شاه زادي و ته مونږ سلام و کړه - پس سلام نه وايه چه آسمانونه پينځه دي - آسان شين دي - ستوري نشته - وينځه را غله - بادشاه زادي ته د دو سړيو خواب ئي وو - بادشاه زادي وړ چه تا ولي دوه نانن او خوښه او خوږي خوږلي دي - وينځي څه دذر کوه مگر هغي بنه و درېوله³ - او چه مبالئي شه نو هغي شاه زادي او بادشاه آغه دري وروڼه دربار ته راغلو - بادشاه زادي (کومه چه زر نامه ځان باند ايښي وه) وړ چه ابي سړيو ما⁴ خبره و آرو - زه قاسو و ته يو حکايت کوم - يوه د وزير لور وه - باغ ته سيل د پاره لاره وه - کوم وخت چه باغ ته ورسیده نو باغوان فورته⁵ شه کلونه ئي وزير لور پاره⁶ و گو⁷ - وزير لوري وړ چه ابي باغوان! څه غواړي؟ باغوان وړ چه اچ يم فکر نه دي - مگر يو عرض لرم - وزير لور وړ چه تا عرض منظور دي - وايه - باغوان وړ چه د ما عرض دا دي چه کومي ورځي ته واده شي نواړل شپي ما باند مهرباني وکړه يعنې هغي شپي ما باند ملاقات وکړه - وزير لور وړ چه ډيره بنه دي - پيغمه اوسه - کومي ورځي چه وزير لور واده شوه نو خپل ميره ته ئي وړ چه باغوان سره ما خو وعده کړي دي - که تا مهرباني وي نو زه به باغوان څخه ورشم چه ما وعده پوره شي - ميره وړ چه ډيره بنه دي - لاره شه آخپل وعده پوره که - وزير زادي روانه شوه چه ورچني ووتنه چه يومزري⁸ راغله - وزير زادي ووتنه ئي وړ چه زه ډير وگي يم - ته خدايي ما لاس لره را وستي - وزير زادي وړ چه ابي مزري - خدايي د پاره ما پريوده چه زه

¹ A word rarely used except by Orakzais, = overcast, cloudy.

² د و = وړ, an abbreviation used colloquially.

³ د درېوله = Yusufzai ټکول . Cp. Arabic root ذَرَبَ, dharaba.

⁴ In the Orakzai and Afridi dialects, the ح is dropped from the possessive pronouns ځما and ځمونږ. The preposition د is sometimes substituted.

⁵ See Note 2, page 356; = پورته.

⁶ Orakzais frequently omit colloquially the particle د in پاره د... .

⁷ A colloquialism, = و کړل.

⁸ A colloquialism = زمري: the transposition of consonants in a word is common among Pathans, especially the Yusufzais.

باذوان څخه لاره شم¹ - چه بيا باذوان نه را درومم نو بيا ما و خوره - مزري و چه ډيره بڼه دي - بېره² گوه - چه وزير زادي هغه ځائي نه روانه شوه نو ځل راڼي - وزير زادي ته ئي و چه شكر دي چه ته ما لاس و ته راڼي - تا باند به ډيري روپي و اخلم - وزير زادي و چه ډيره مهرباني دي چه ما ته يوه كينته فرصت راكي چه زه باذوان څخه لاره شم - او بيا چه واپس راشم نو بيا ما بوزه - ځله و چه ډيره بڼه دي - زر درومه - وزير زادي چه باذوان ته و رسیده نو باذوان ته ئي و چه فورته شه - عرض چه ما ته كړي و زه راڼي يم - باذوان فورته شه - سلام ئي و كه چه زه تا نو كړيم - پنځه ويشت روپي بچت دي باذوان څخه وي هغه ئي وزير زادي ته نيشكش³ وړ كي - و ئي و چه ته ډيره وفا لري چه ما سره ملاقات تا و كه - وزير زادي چه هغه ځائي نه روانه شوه ځله باند را ځله نو ځل خوبوالي⁴ و - وزير زادي و چه فورته شه ! نا وختيري⁵ كه ما بياني - ځل فورته شه سلام ئي و كه چه زه تا نو كړيم ولي چه تا ما سره ډيره وفا و كه - روپي وړ څخه وي - هغه ئي وزير زادي ته وړ كي - وزير زادي هغه ځائي نه روانه شوه - مزري باند راځله - مزري خوبوالي و - وزير زادي خبر و كه چه فورته شه مزري ! ما و خوره ! مزري فورته شه سلام ئي وزير زادي ته و كه - وړ ته ئي و چه شاباش ! ډيره وفا والا بڼه ئي بيا وزير زادي كومه چه دا حكایت دريو ورونرو ته كوله (چه نر نام خان باند ئي ايښي و) هغو ته و چه اي سړيو ! زه و ايم چه باذوان بڼه و كړو⁶ - تاسو په عقل كښ وزير زادي سره چا بڼه و كړو؟ مشري ورو و چه باذوان بڼه نه دي كړي - بڼه ميره كړي دي - منځني ورو و چه بڼه مزري كړي دي چه اته څنار آڼي په وفا څه پوهيدل - كشري ورو و چه بڼه غله كړي دي چه پريښه⁷ * بادشاه زادي چه د دو خبري اوريدي خپل پلار ته سلام و كه چه اي بادشاه ! اول ورو خپلي بڼخي خيال دي چه زړه ئي خوند سره لگيري - او دويم اخپلي كيدې خيال دي چه د مزري صفت⁸ كي - دريم ځل دي ځكه چه هغه و چه بڼه كړي دي - بادشاه و چه كوم كشر دي؟ نورو دو ورونرو و چه دنه دي - بيا بادشاه هغه كشري ته و چه ته اخپلو ورونرو ته لعل وركړ - درومو - تاسو خبره لنډه شوه *

1 = لارشم . This splitting up of the verb and treating the first syllable لار as an adjective is peculiar to the Orakzai and Afridi dialects.

2 = بېره = haste: frequently used by above tribes in preference to the commoner زر .

3 = نيشكش .

4 = Used in preference to the اوده of the Yusufzai dialect.

5 = ناوقت كيري .

6 = See page 362, Note 7.

7 = پريښه , Yusufzai .

8 = صفت .

V. THE STORY OF THE MAN WHO WENT TO FIND HIS LUCK.

په دنيا کښ خو يو نصيب دې چه موقع سړي ته پېښه شي يو عقل دې چه خپله موقع و نيسي که دغه آر¹ دوه نه وي سره - نو په يوشې اچ گزاره نه کيږي - ولي چه دوي زروڼه وو - نو يو ورور ئي ډير بڼه نصيب وه - او بل ورور ئي نه عقل وه او نه ئي نصيب وه - نو آخپل ورور نصيب نه پېښته و که چه ما نصيب چرته دې - هغه ورور نصيب وو چه پلاني ځنگل کښ خونېوالی دې - دغه سړي په آخپل نصيب پسې روان شه - په لياري کښ يو مزي وه - هغه له دغه سړي نه پېښته و که چه کوم ځائي ته شي ؟ سړي وو چه پلاني ځنگل کښ ما نصيب دې - آغه څخه خم - مزي وو چه ما پېښته هم و کړ چه زه ولي داسې ناجور یم او په اچ سره نه جوړېوم - سړي وو چه ډيره بڼه دې - او چه آغه ځائي نه لرڅه لاړ شه نو يو آس نماست² وه - دې سړي نه ئي تپوخ و که چه کوم طرف شي ؟ آغه ور ته آخپل حال بيان که او مخ کښ يوه ونه وه - هغي تر پېښته و که چه سړيا ! ته کوم ځائي له شي ؟ سړي آخپل زړه حال بيان که - وني وو چه ما تپوخ هم و کړ چه زد ولي په دي حال کښ وچه یم - سړي وو چه ډيره بڼه دې - کوم وخت چه آخپل نصيب څخه ورسیده نو آخپل نصيب ئي پورته که او په قهر سره ئي وو چه زه لوري نه مړ شوم او ته په ځنگل کښ خوب کوي - آغه وو چه تا عقل نشته - بيا سړي تپوخ و کد چه اي د ما³ نصيب ! مزي⁴ څه ناجور تيا ده - او څه سره به جوړ شي - آغه نصيب خواب و که چه مزي و ته و وايه چه ته کم عقل سړي و خوږه - نو شفا به و شي - او آس ته و وايه چه ته د يو چاختن و نيسه چه تا باند سوري و کي نو به تکړه شي - او وني ته و وايه چه د بيخ نه لاند اوو بادشاهانو خزانه ده - که هغه و باسي نو شننه به شي - سړي رستون⁵ روان شه - او چه دا خبره ئي و کړه نو وني وو چه که ما بيخ نه دغه خزانه و باسي نو ډيره مهربانگي⁶ به وي اوو بادشاهانو بادشاه به شي - سړي خواب ور که چه زه خزانه څه کوم ؟ ما نصيب وينس شوي دې - آغه به ما د پاره کار کوي - بيا چه آس باند راغي نو آس وو چه ما خواب څنگه دې - سړي وو چه ته چاختن و نيسه چه تا باند سوري و کي نو ته به جوړ شي - آغه آس وو چه ته ما چاختن ئي - ما و آخه - سړي

¹ Frequently thus pronounced in conversation, = هر .

² پړوت equivalent to the Yusufzai نماست .

In the Afridi dialect, the possessive pronouns are occasionally marked by the prefix دَ, e.g. دَ تا , دَ ما (cp. Yusufzai سقا , څما).

⁴ See Note 8, page 362.

⁵ From ورسندو : a corruption.

⁶ مهرباني .

وړ چه بل چوک¹ وگوره ما بخت وینس دی - هغه به ما د پاره آسونه راولي - او مزري ته راځي نو مزري وړ چه ما خواب څنگه وه - سړي وړ چه ته کم عقل سړي و خوړه نو به روغ شي - آغه مزري وړ چه تا ته نور چا څه خواب نه وه کړي - سړي وړ چه یو آس وه او یوي زني² خواب کړي - او آغه ټول حال ئي مزري ته بیان کړه - مزري چه دا حال ئي و آریده نو وړ چه ته هم ستر³ کم عقل ئي او پورته شه - آغه سړي ئي مرکه و خوړه هغه سړي¹ نقل نه وه چه خپل موقع و نه پيژند - نصیب ئي اچ پکار نه شه *

VI. THE KING'S TALE AND THE WAZIR'S. (A FAIRY STORY).

د بادشاه یو وزیر وه چه یوی ورځي و دکیدل⁴ بادشاه وړ چه ولي! څه چل دی؟ ته دکیري - وزیر وړ چه ډیره سخته ډر ما باند تیر شوی دی - هغه اوس ما په زړه شه - نو څکه زه و دکیدم - بادشاه وړ چه حال و وایه - وزیر وړ چه پلاني کال کنس زه بل وطن ته لرم - هالته⁵ په بازار کنس کړیدلم چه یو پقیر م و لیدل⁶ - پقیر وړ چه اچي څوان! چرته کړی؟ ما هغه پقیر ته حال بیان کړه - پقیر وړ چه ما سره راځه او چه ور سره روان شوم نو په یو کوهي باند راځلو - آغه پقیر زه په کوهي کنس و آچولم مگر کوهي په منځ کنس یو تکوری⁷ وه چه زه ور باند اسار⁸ شوم - چه ما کوز و کته⁹ چه هغه کوهي کنس داسي منگرونه اولرم دی! ټولو ما ته خولي نیولي دی - ما په زړه کنس و¹⁰ چه که زه په دی کوهي کنس پریوزم نو ما به و خوری¹¹ - او په بله ورځ چه یو کاروان راځي - هغو قافلہ والاو اوبو د پاره یوه بوته و آچوله ما هغه بوته تنگه کړله - کاروان والاو ته ما زه و که چه زه بني آدم یم - ما اسلک کو - هغو خلقو زه را و خپلولم - ما ټول حال هغو ته تیر کړه - چه بیا پستانه¹² بازار ته راځلم نو هغه پقیر ما بیا و لیدل - هغه

1 frequently changed to چ by Afridis and Orakzais: cp. هیچ, چاڅتن, etc.

2 Page 356, Note 3.

3 لبي = ستر. This adjective is very commonly used among Afridis.

4 درکيدل = Yusuf.

5 = هلته. Colloquially it is frequently pronounced as though there were an |, â in the first syllable.

6 Contracted, = وليده or وليده.

7 A word in use among Afridis and Orakzais, = a plank, beam.

8 اسار, = هسار, the initial s being occasionally dropped.

9 In the Afridi and Orakzai dialects, the transitive verb, past tense, in cases where the object is impersonal or understood, frequently takes the 3rd pers. sing. form in preference to the more grammatical 3rd pers. plural.

10 وړ, contracted from وړو.

11 In certain cases, the verb خوړل changes its ر into ر as above.

12 An essentially Afridi expression, = پورته, back.

ما ته ډيری ژړی وکړی چه تا د ما بچې ناروار کړو - بيا ئي هغه کوهي ته روان کم - چه دله ورا زلمه نو ما پټير ته وړ چه وکوره په دی کوهي کښ مزی دی - پټير کوهي په طرف ولیدل چه رښه مزی دی - ما ورسته نه تیل وهل - هغه پټير هغو منگرو و خورځ - زه تر نه خلاص شوم - بادشاه وړ چه اي کم بخت! که زه آخپل حال تا ته و وایم نو ته به هر شي - وزیر وړ چه ته هم آخپل حال وایه - بادشاه وړ چه د عربو ملک نه ما ته چا سوداگرو دوي آسونه را وسلي وړ چه بنوکالي² او رنگدار وړ - هغه آسونه ما خپلو نوکرو ته ور کو چه دا آسونه بنه خوشحال ساتو - هغو کوشش³ کوله - او یوي ورخي زه آسوانو⁴ لیدو د پارځ لارم چه آته آسونه څه رنگه دي - ما چه هغه آسونه ولیدلو چه ډير منده دي نو ما پښتنه و که چه دا خو ولي داسي خوار شوي دي - هغو اول حال نه ویله لیکن ما وړ اوس به وایو - نوکرو وړ چه تا مشري بنځه په هري شمي سوریري بل ځایي له ځي - په دي سبب تاسو آسونه منده شوي دي - بيا په زړه کښ ما وړ چه نن زه به دا حال معلوم کم. چه شپه شوه نو آخپلي بنځي سره خپلاسته او ځان م خوبوالی⁵ که - چه بنځي اچ شک نه راتله چه گند دا وینس دي بنځه فورته شوله روانه شوه او زه ور فسي په پټي پټي روان شوم - او چه بنځه یو ځر پله لاره زه هغي فسي وم - چه کوم وخت دا بنځه ځر ته و رسیدله نو په هغه ځایي کښ یو سمه⁶ وه چه په آغه سمه کښ بنځه نوله⁶ او زه ور فسي نوتم - ځان ما پټ که - چه و م کتل نو په هغه سمه کښ یو زینگی وه - چه بنځه ور څخه کښناسته - بيا زینگی په قیر سرد فورته شه - هغه بنځه ئي بنه و دروله - چه ته ان ولي ناوخت راغلي - بنځي وړ چه ما میړد ته بیجا خوب نه راتله زینگی وړ چه په لات منات م قسم دي چه عباد بادشاه سر را نه وړي چه زه تا سرد خبري بیا و نه کم بلکه نقصان به شي ما د لاس - بادشاه بنځي وړ چه تا په سر م قسم وي چه بما شپي زه د بادشاه صاحب سر به را وړم - زینگی دا خبره و اوریده او رضا شه - ما هم دا تولي خبري و اوریدی او چه کوم وخت دا نور تن آردوه⁷ اوده شوو نو زه فورته شوم زینگی سر ما پریده - آخپل محل ته روان شوم بيا دنه بنځه چه فورته شوه نو زینگی سر پري وه - دنه بنځه ډیره و ژاریدله - مگر خبر وخت خپل

² See page 356, Note 4.

Another Afridi word, = بنائسته .

A corruption: = کوشش .

⁴ آسونو = .

⁵ An Afridi word: = cave, pronounced like the English 'smut.'

⁶ See Note 7, page 371

⁷ هر دوه = .

A form of the verb met with only in the Afridi and Orakzai dialects: where this verb may be treated as an ordinary intransitive verb, instead of as a quasi-transitive verb, as required by the more grammatical Yusufzai dialect.

محل ته روانه شوه - بادشاه ئېي بنه و ليدل چه هسي نه وي چه دا كار بادشاه كړي وي - مگر اچ شك ئېي نه رانله - كوم وخت چه صبا ئېي شه نو ما بنڅي ته وو چه هندوانه را وړه - بنڅي خواب را كه چه په دي ورڅو څه هندوانه دي؟ ما وو چه ن ما ن آس خورجي كښ شته - بنڅه چه فورته شوه نو په كښ ن زينگي سر ئېي و ليدل * ما باند ئېي جادو وكه چه ما نه يو تور سپي جوړ شه - بنڅي له محل نه ورجني دا سپي و شړل - همسا ئېكانو وته ئېي خبر و كړ چه اى خلكو! ډير سخا¹ سپي دى! كه دا سپي مړ كه نو هغه سرى ته به ډير انعام وركم - ټول خلك ما فسې وتلو - هر چا به و چه كه ما لاس سره دا انعام راني - مگر زه و تبسم² اچا لاس لره و نه رانلم په يو ذره لره ورسيدلم - اخپل زره سره مصلحت م و كړ چه پلاني بنهر كښ يود بونئېي دى چه هغه هم ډيره جادوگړه دى - كه زه وړ شم نو ما به جوړ كي - په هغي بونئېي له روان شوم - چه وړ رانلم نو بونئېي په پښو كښ پريوتم - بونئېي چه دى سپي ته و كتل نو پوهه شوه چه كښ دا سرى دى مگر جادو سبب سره داسي شوى دى - هغي بونئېي جادو وكه - سپي بيا سرى شه - او بونئېي ته ما وو چه ما ته اسي جادو و كړ چه هغي بنڅي نه زه څناور جوړ كم - بونئېي خاوره دم كه چه دا خاوره و اخله - كوم څناور چه جوړوي هغه به جوړ شي - كوم وخت چه خاوره بيا اچوى هغه څناور نام و اخله * زه روان شوم - ټولو خلكو به سلامونه كولو - چه كور ته رانلم نو اخپلي بنڅي باند خاورى و احولي - ټپرى نام ما و اخسته هغي بنڅي نه چه ټپره جوړ شوه نو كلال ته ما وركه او وو چه دا ټپره و اخله - اخپل كار پر باند كود - او هغه بنه تنگ كړ - كلال همداسي گزاره كوله *

VII. A MODERN STORY OF TIRAH,—AND WHAT BEFELL ON THE WAY THITHER.

په رعيت ملك كښ يو سري په لياري باند تله نو زره سره ئېي فكر دا وه چه زه به كله اخپل ټپو په تيرا ووينم! او په دي وخت دي سري څخه يو ټپير مركري³ شه - دي ټپير ويله چه كه ما ته څه ټكاله راكي نو زه به تا ته د عقل خبري و بنويم - سري څخه پنځه نان⁴ وو او ټپير ته ئېي وړ كو چه ما ته پنځه عقل خبري و كړه - هغه ټپير وو چه اول خبره دا دي چه هر چا سره مركري شي نو اول ئېي

¹ Afridi, = bad, dangerous, vile.

² See page 372, Note 7. = ونبندلم.

³ = ملگري.

⁴ A word peculiar to Afridis and Orakazis. Translated as 'loaves,' the 'naghau' being considerably more substantial a form of bread than the 'chupatti'; generally its dimensions are some 18 inches in diameter and an inch or couple of inches in thickness.

نامه زده کوه - دويمه دا چه کوم کلي ته چه لاړ شي نو په زمکي کښينه خو پوري چه تا ته ئي نه وي ويلي چه اسك شه په کرسې بانډ کښينه - دريمه دا چه تا خخه خه شي وي نو هغه مه بيايه خو پوري چه تا نه پښتنه نه وي کړي چه پلاني شي ما ته و بيايه - څلورمه دا چه اچا سره شرط مه تړه ويلي چه شرط ډير خراف شي دي - پنځمه دا چه بنڅي و ته حال مه وايه ويلي چه بنڅه ډير خراف شي دي - کومه خبره چه له تا نه آوري نو په هغه سامت اخپل يار ته کوي خنگه چه يو سړي وه - خداى نه ئي دنيا خوښته - داسي سوال ئي کوله چه يا خداى ! ما ته روپي راگر خو نغري نه پاس - نو يو وي ورځي ورچني لاړ دي چه لره پښه ئي خوره شوه - خاوري ئي زمکي نه و اخستې چه يو ديگ ئي د روپو و ليدل نو دي سړي و و چه اى خدايا ! ما خو نغري باس خوښتي وي نو ته ورچني را کي زه دا نه اخلم ويلي چه که ما ته را کوي نو نغري پاس به را کي - هغه ټولي روپي ئي هغه ځالي بانډ پرېښلي چه کور ته راغي نو دا خبره ئي اخپلي بنڅي ته وکړه - بنڅه يو دم لاړه اخپل يار ته ئي و و چه ما مېره خو پلاني ځالي کښ روپي مندلي وي مگر هغه داوس نه دي را وړي - لاړ شه - اخپل څن د پاره ئي را وړه - دا خبره دي بنڅي يار هم خوښه کړه - په هغو روپو پسي روان شه چه لاړ هغه ځالي کښ ئي روپو ديگ و ليدل مگر چه کوم وخت سر ئي له ديگ نه پورته کړ نو ټول ديگ ئي له لتکو منگرو دک و ليدل - دي سړي فکر و کړ چه دا بنڅه د ما هم دښه دي - هغه ديگ سر ئي بيا کښه - ټول ديگ ئي را و اخسته او کوم سړي اول ليدلي وه په دغي کوهى کښ نغري نه پاس يوه دروڅه وه - په هغي دروڅي کښ ئي وړول - چه کوم وخت مېاي شه نو دا سړي نمونز د پاره پورته شه - څه ويني چه نغري ئي روپو نه دک دي - نو شکر ئي و که د خداى په درگاهه چه اوس د نغري د پاس را کړي ابي مساپر ! ته هم پوهه شه چه که تا څه خبره اخپلي بنڅي ته وکړه نو هغه خبره به پته نه شي . سړي کوم چه د تيرا په طرف تله و و چه ډيره ښه دي - اسي زه به و کم - نو دي سړي خخه يو بار وه او دا پقير کوم چه پنځه ناڅن ئي اخستي و هغه ځالي کښ بيل شه - لره څه مزل ئي وکړه نو وړي ور خخه و لويده - نو ورسته ئي پقير ته و چه ابي سړيا ! واسړيا ! دغه پقير اچ خواب نه ور کوه - چه دي ډيري سوري و کړي نو هغه پقير و و چه ابي کم عقلا سړيا ! تا له خو ما ويلي دي چه اول چه تا سره چوک مرکري شي نو هغه چوک نامه زده کوه - نو تا ويلي د ما نام نه زده کوله - خير ؟ هغه واري ئي

¹ Page 356, Note 2.

The Miridi dialect makes the past participle of پريښودل preferably as above, and not پريښودي as in Yusufzai.

ټول - A corruption of ټولمن .

⁴ Contracted. = کيښوده .

پر باند كړه خو ورڅو پس دغه سړي كوم چه عقل باند نائن وړ كړي وړ سر حد
 ونه راځي او يوه كلي ونه لار - نو هغه كلي كښ يو ډير ښه ځائي جوړ كړي وه - هر
 قسم كړسي په كښ پرته وي او دغه سړي هم لاره چه كومه كړسي ئي په زړه خوښه
 وه هغي كړسي باند كښناسته - يو ساعت پس يو سړي راځي يوه ښه چپير¹ ئي په دا
 مخ و وهل چه ته ولي په كړسي باند ناست ئي؟ دغه سړي څه عذر كوله ليكن هغه يوه
 بله چپير وړ كه - نو اچت له كړسي نه فورته شه او په زړه ئي كښ هغي خبري كومي
 چه پقير كړي وي راځي او ځان ته ئي وو چه ابي كم بخت! تا ته نائن باند څنگه ښه
 خبره كړي وه - كه ته د كړسي باند نه وي ناست نو ته به ئي ولي وهلي؟ لور ساعت
 پس چه په دي كلي كښ خلق جمع شوو نو ټولو خلقو به ويله چه پلاني سړي ښه ټوپك
 دي - چا به ويله چه پلاني ښه تماچه ده - دغه سړي چه دا خبره و اوریده نو زړ
 اچله تماچه ئي را واخسته چه تاسو وايو چه پلاني تماچه ښه ده نو ما تماچه خو هم وگورو
 چه دا څنگه ده - چه خلقو و ليدله نو كوم چه مشر سړي وه هغه و ويله چه دا تماچه خو
 ما ده - پلاني كال كښ د ما² كوته چا ماته كړي وه - نور اسباب ئي هم ډير وړي وړ
 يود دا تماچه وه - دا سړي تنگ كو! دا ځل دي! دا سړي حيران پاتي شه او په
 دي وخت هغه پقير كوم چه دغه ته عقل ښيلي وه په كلي كښ راځي - دغه سړي ونه
 حال زړ وړ - پقير خواب وړ كه چه ما خو تا ته وختي ويلى وو چه چا ته اخپل حال
 مد وايد ليكن تا د ما خبره باند عمل و نه كه - اوس تنگ شه! ليكن دغه كم عقل سړي
 وړ چه زه خو خداي و شرمولم - اوس م دغه بلا نه خلاص كړ - پقير وړ چه ډيره ښه ده -
 ته داسي وايد چه په پلاني سحرآ كښ د ما پلار دي تماچي سره چا مر كړي وه نو ما دا
 تماچه څنگه كلي په كلي كړولم چه دني تماچي موداي³ معلوم شي چه زه هغه سړي نه د
 پلار كښ و كم - اوس چه تا ويله چه دا تماچه د ما دي نو معلومېږي چه تا د ما پلار مر
 كړي دي - دغه سړي چه د پقير دا خبره و اوریده نو پقير ته ډير شكر ئي و كړ او
 لاره او هغه مشر كلي والا څخه په دغه شان سره دا خبره و كړه - هغه مشر كلي والا

¹ = Yusufzai, خپيره .

² Page 364, Note 3

³ = Owner, possessor. A word in fairly general use among Pathans of all tribes.

وُوجه خدای د پاره رپوت و نه کی - ما نه اوه سو روپی و اخله - دغه کم عقل سړي اوه سو روپی و آخستی - ډیر خوشحال شه - او سرحد نه روان شه چه ده. آخپل تپونه په تیرا کښ راښي نو خو ورڅو پس دا کم عقل سړي زده ته لار - زده کښ ني یوه هندوانه ولیدله نو کور ته راښي - بنڅي ته ئي و ویله چه ما خو پلاني زړ او پلاني ځاني کښ هندوانه لیدلي ده - اوس زه ورچني خم چه شرط و ترم چه په دي ساعت یا بل چوک اول هندوانه یا زه هندوانه را ورم - بنڅي و چه داسي شرط و تړه چه هر چا اول لاس چه کوم شی باند و لگول¹ نو هغه شی به ور کولي شي - دغه سړي د بنڅي خبره و منله - آجري² ته راښي نو دا شرط و کړه چه که چا اوس هندوانه را وړه نو هغه سړي کوم شي باند چه ئي اول لاس و لگول نو هغه شی به ور کولي شي - دغه سړي³ بنڅه آخپل یار ته خبر و لیوه چه ته شرط د ما ميري سره و تړه او هندوانه په پلاني ځاني کښ دي - نو کوم وخت چه خپل شرط پکښي او لاس لگوي نو بیا ما باند و لگوه - یار ئي دا خبره ر اوریدله نو اچت فورته شه آڅه زده ته لار هندوانه ئي آجري ته را وړه - دي سړي ته ئي و چه زه تا سره شرط ترم - کم عقل سړي خواب ور کد چه و باسه چه و وینو - یار بیا په بیري سره آخپله هندوانه را و آخسته کم عقل سړي چه و لیده نو و پیژنده چه دا هغه هندوانه ده کومه چه ما په غره کښ لیدلي وه - ډیر آنسوس په زړه کښ و که او ځان ته و چه تا ته څنگه په پنځه نانن باند خبره کړي و چه بنڅي ته حال مه وایه ! که چري ما دا حال آخپلي بنڅي و ته نه وې ويلي نو دي سړي ته څه معلومه وه - اوس که زه هغه پقیمر څخه بیا لار نه شم نو دا سړي ما په بنڅي باند لاس لگوي ! په دي فکر کښ کم عقل سړي زړ روان شه او هغه پقیمر ته کوم چه دي ته ئي عقل بنیلي وه نو هغه پقیمر ته ئي آخپل حال و ویل - پقیمر و و - تا د ما خبره بیا ماته کړي ده - دغه کم عقل سړي و چه بیا به اچري داسي و نه کم - چه ډیری ژړي ئي و کړي نو آخیر پقیمر رضا شه او و چه یوه اندرپایه را وړه - هغې اندرپایي ارکي⁴ باند ورینسو

¹ = لگوه or لگوله, the final ځ being dropped.

² = حجره.

³ Page 356, Note 3.

⁴ ارکي = rung (of ladder), a word peculiar to Afridi and Orakzai dialects.

ټوکي¹ و آچوه - نو چه تا د بنڅي يار لاس و آچوي نو هغو ورينمو باند به اول لاس و لگوي نو ته ور ته و وايه چه تا خدایي و آخله! چه ته يوه ارکي ورينمو نه تير شوي! بل نه تير شوي! ټول خو به نه آخلي! دغه کم عقل سړي کور ته روان شه - ډير ورينم لبي و آخسته - په اندرپايي ارکو باند لبي و آچوله - او دا بنڅه آخپل يار ته څرگنده کښناسنه په ټپو کښ - نو دې بل سړي کوم چه شرط کتلي وه - د هغه هم دا اراده وه چه زه په دې بنڅي باند به اول لاس و لگوم - چه اندرپايه باند راښي نو لاسونه لبي ختو² د پاره و لگولو³ - چه دوي ارکيو نه تير شه نو کم عقل سړي ورته وړ چه اي داوسا! ته اوس به ټول ورينم آخپل کور ته وړي - او پښي نه يار لبي تنگ که - کوز لبي را و نغول⁴ - آخپله بنڅه لبي خلاصه کړه د دې پقيړ په عقل سره څنگه چه امير هډزه صاحب ويلې دې چه :-
يا مرد شه يا د مردو شاگرد شه *

VIII. THE KING'S SON—AN ALLEGORY.

يو بادشاه وه چه هغه خوي نه کډه - په يوې ورځي يو پټير راښي - بادشاه نه لبي پښتنه و کړه چه ته ولي خپه لبي؟ بادشاه هغه پټير ته آخپل حال تير کړه - پټير وړ چه تا به خوي و شي مگر په اچ وچي سره هغه ورچني مه پرېورده د بادشاه خوي و شه او حکم لبي ور کړه چه دا ورکي په تخاني⁵ کښ ساتو - ورچني لبي مه و باسو - او دا ورکي خت شه - يوې ورځي په دروڅي نه ميرا سترگي⁶ رنرا نوتلي⁷ دې چه دې ورکي هغه رنرا و بدلله نو په زړه کښ لبي وړ چه دا کمل دې - هغه لبي تنگول⁸ مگر هغه په لاسو سرد نه تنگيدل⁸ - په دې وخت د بادشاه وينڅه راښله - ورکي ته لبي وړ چه خوان! که ورچني و وزې نو ډير کلونه به و وينې - دا څه کمل دې چه ته حرمان کوي! ورکي

1 Corruption of ټوکري, used colloquially among Afridis.

2 = ختلو.

3 = و لگول.

4 = و نغوله.

5 Literally, a cellar, inner apartment.

6 A picturesque expression peculiar to the Afridis and Orakzais.

7 Colloquially an Afridi drops the initial ن of the Yusufzai, نوتل = to enter.

8 In both these verbs the final ځ of the 3rd pers. sing. has been omitted: this clipping is exceedingly common in the Afridi and Orakzai dialects.

پلار ته غبرو کړه چه ما ورچني و باسه که نه وي نوزه به خان ويژنه - پلار ئي رضا نه وه مگر ناکام نه تخاني نه ئي هغه ورکي و کبله - چه دا ورکي ورچني و وتل نو سم بازار ته لاړه - او په هغه وخت بازار کس يو سري مر شوي وه - دي ورکي پښتنه و کړه چه دا سري ولي مر شوي دي - هغو سريو و ويله چه دا سري ناجوره وه - ورکي و و چه دا چا ناجوره کړي وه؟ ټولو خلقو خنديدو چه خداي ناجوره کړي وه - نور چوک داسي سري نشته چه چوک ناجوره کي - ورکي و و چه ما به هم خداي ناجوره کوي - خدو و و چه ته هم بنده ئي او ته به خداي ناجوره کي - دي ورکي چه دا خبره و آوريدله نو په هغه ساعت خنگل ته روان شه او هم منزل کوي او هم ژاړي - او په هغه خنگل کس پقيران و و - هغو پقيرانو دي ورکي نه پښتنه و کړه چه ولي ژاړي؟ ورکي آخپل حال و و ته و و - پقيرانو نه يو پقيرو و چه ته کښينه - تا ته خبره و کم - ورکي په هغه ځاي کس کښيناسته - پقيرو و چه اي ورکيا! يو سري بنکار ن پاره لاړ وه او ن بنکار ځاي ته و راښي¹ چه نوم ئي دنيا وه - چه و راښي نو په هغه ځاي کس يو خوني هاتي وه - هغه چه دا سري و ليدل² نو دي سري نسي³ روان شه - دا سري هغه هاتي نه و تښل او په هغه ځاي کس يو کوهي وه هغه ته دا سري کوز شه او دا هاتي چه مرگ ناهيد هغه کوهي باند اوريدل - دي سري په زړه کس و و که زه دي کوهي ته کوز شم نو دي هاتي نه به خلاص شم - چه کوز کوهي ته ئي و ليدل نو په هغه کوهي کس يو ستر اجدها وه او کوهي په منځ کس يو بوټي وه چه نوم ئي ژوندن وه - هغه ئي تنگي کړي او په هغه ځاي کس يوه ايگنه وه چه خلق و و ته ن دي دنيا تکاله او اوبه وائي نوم چه مو⁴ پر گذران کوو - نو چه هغه ايگنه دي سري و ليدل نو په هغه حال کس دېر

¹ A colloquial form, = وټنم.

The clipping of the ځ again. See above.

² Yusuf. و خندل. The Afridi dialect makes the infinitive of this verb خنددل. Cp. Note 8, page 366.

³ See page 356, Note 4.

⁴ = پسي = ټيډه or وليده =

⁵ A contraction, = وټنيدله or وټنيدله. The Afridi dialect has a curious method of pronunciation in regard to past tenses of this verb, the prefixed و being pronounced in very close association with the following ټ, upon which a letter a 'sukun' (to borrow an expression from Arabic grammar) is placed. The pronunciation in the present instance thus becomes 'woot khāl'.

مور = مور

خوشحال شه - په زړه نه ئي ټوله ويره ورکه شوه - ايگبنه ئي خورځه - کوم چه ډي سړي
 بوټي نيولي وه هغه بوټي ولي¹ سره يو طرف تور مټک² وه چه هغه خوري² او بل طرف
 سپين مټک² وه چه هغه بوټي ولي يوه يوه ئي غوسوله - او ډي مټکان شپه او ورځ ناميدو
 چه ن هغو غوسولو سره ن بوټي ولي کيږي - او اجدها کوم چه کوز وه ن هغه نوم قبر وه -
 خو سړي اچ فزا³ نه کوله - په بنه شان سره ايگبنه ئي خورځه څنگه چه
 عبد الرحمان ولي ډي چه :-

بيا را تلل په ډي دنيا بالوار نشته * چه هر چا بانډ وار تير شي په ډي دنيا

IX. THE LABOURS OF A HERCULES.

ورځو نه يوه ورځ وه چه يو بادشاه وه - ن هغه اوه ځامن وو - او ځامن ئي لوي شول -
 يوه ورځ خپل وزير سره جرگه ئي و کړه چه که ستا خوښه وي نو زه خوازم چه خپلو
 ځامنو له کوزدنه وکړم - او داسي ځائي کښ کويډن⁴ کول خوازم چه ن کوم بادشاه اوه لونه
 وي او ځما اوه ځامنو ن پاره په يو کور کښ کويډني و شي - نو زه به ډير خوشحال يم -
 وزير وو چه څنگه تا حکم را کړه زه به دا حکم منم وزير روان شه - څه مده سفر ئي
 وکړ چه ن لاري په مينځ يو سيند ور ته په مخ کښ راغي - ن هغه سيند په غاړه بانډ
 يو فقير ناست وه - و ئي و چه چرته څي؟ وزير و ويل چه سفر کوم بلي بادشاهي ته -
 فقير وو چه ډيره بنه ده - سفر و کړ - خو ځما يو نصيحت و آوره چه په ډي لاري ته
 سفر کوي له ډي طرف نو شپه مه کوه ن ډي سيند په غاړي بانډ او چه له هغي ډي
 نه سفر کوي نو هم دلته شپه مه کوه - دا ځما نصيحت ډي - ډي لار وزير روان شه -
 څه ورځي سفر ئي و کړه په بلي بادشاهي کښ و رسيد - هغه بادشاه فرمان چه څنگه ور ته
 کړي وه هغه شان ن ډي بل بادشاه په مخ کښ ئي و کړه - نو ن هغه بادشاه اوه لونه وي
 او چه ن وزير خبري ئي و آوريډي ډير خوشحال شه - څه مده وزير ئي ځان څخه
 هسار کړ ن پاره ن ډي چه ن خپلي بادشاهي سيل ئي کاوه بنه سيلونه ئي پر و کړه او

1 ولي = root.

2 See page 365, Note II.

3 پړوا = .

4 The common Yusufzai corruption of کيډن or کيډنه .

ډير لکاظ ئي و کړه - يوه ورځ ن بادشاه په مخ کښ وزير دا عرض و کړد چه که ستاسو اجازت وي نو زه به خپل بادشاه څخه لارشم - ځکه چه ډيرد مدد څنا په دي سفر تيرد شوله - زه خو اړم چه دا خوش خبره خپل بادشاه ته و رسوم - بيا هغه بادشاه چه کوم ن اونرو پلار وه - ده دا اقرار و ليکه چه دښي ورځي نه چه ستاسو پيغم را رسولي وه له هغه ورځ نه ما اوه واړه لوزره ستاسو څامنو ته کويدني کړي او زه ډير خوشحال يم - اوس دا وزير ستاسو په طرف در ليعوم چه څه ستاسو ن ملک دستور وي ن وادونو په هغه دستور سره ته راشه او خپلي اوه واړه ناهي بوزه - هغه وزير له دي ځايي نه رخصت شه او نيغ خپل بادشاهي ته لار - ډير سفر ئي و کړه - څه مده پس خپل بادشاه ته په تعظيم او تسليم ئي عرض و کړ او دا کاغذ چه کوم دي بادشاه ور کړي وه هغه کاغذ ئي په خپل بادشاه خدمت کښ حاضر کړ - بادشاه چه هغه و لوست نو ډيري خوشحالي ن هغه کاغذ په ليدو سره و ئي کړه - او ډيره تماشي ئي و کړه - پس له خوشحالي نه دا حکم ئي ور کړه خپلو وزيرانو ته چه تاسو ن وادونو بند و بست و کړي چه يو دم روان شوله دي ځايي نه او سفر و کړو چه دولي را وړ *

ن رواندو په مخ کښ وزيرانو سره جرگه ئي و کړه ن پاره ن دي چه کوم بادشاه زاده مونږ پريږدو خپلي بادشاهي کولو ن پاره - مشر وزير ور ته وړ چه کشري بادشاه زاده ډير اوبشار دي لائق دي - بادشاه وړ چه ډيره ښه ده - او خپل کشري څوي ته ئي وړ چه ته څما بادشاهي ته پاتي شه - او ده روان شه - شپږ واړه څامن ئي ځان سره بوتلل - سفر ئي و کړ ن هغي بادشاهي په طرف چه کوم بادشاه ئي دوست شوي وه - څه مده پس و رسيدل *

ن هغه ملک بادشاه ن دي شپږ څامنو پلار استقبال ته را و وته او ډير په خوشحالي سره ن لښکر او ن هر څيز بند و بست ئي و کړ - دږي څلور ورځي دي هلته ميلمانه شول او پس له دي نه دولي ئي را و اخستلي او را روان شول خپلي بادشاهي په طرف واپس - چه هغه سيند په منځ کښ ورسيدل چه کوم ځايي فقير وزير ته نصيحت کړي وه هغه نصيحت له وزير هيرد شوه له ډيري خوشحالي نه - هر څيز ډير وه - بادشاه حکم ور کړه چه ن دي سيند په څاري شپه کوو - شپه ئي و کړه - څوک نه څوک (چه وختي سحار پاڅيدلي دي) چه کوري څا

ګوري! یو لوي اجدھا قلاتي چاپیره وۀ - بیا هغه خپري ئي بادشاه ته بیان و کړي - چه بادشاه راغي حال ئي و خوت - بالکل ن و تلو لار ئي نه مندله - بیا حیران اودریده ن دغو بادشاه زانګانو مور شور کاوۀ او ژړا ئي کوله - اجدھا ور ته وړ چه دا خو قلا نه ده چه کوم ته ویني - زه خامار یم چه کوم له سیند نه وتلي یم - هیچري به تاسو پري نه ردم ژوندي چه خو پوري چه کشري بادشاه زاده هم نه وي حاضر کړي ما ته - دا خبره ن هلکانو پلار ته مور و کړه - ن هلکانو پلار خامار ته روان شه - بیا له خامار نه ئي دا تپوخ و کړه چه مونږ به څنگه خبر ور کړي شو - څکه چه تا ټول بند کړي یو - خامار ور ته وړ چه یو قاصد ستاسو پریښودي شم چه خبر یوسي - هغه قاصد لار او بادشاه چټي ور کړه چه په هغه کښ داسي لیکلي وو چه *

که ناست ئي نورا ولاړ شه * او که ولاړ ئي نورا روان شه چه دا قاصد ور ورسید بادشاه زاده ته - نو بادشاه زاده په هغه آن¹ کښ را روان شه - او ن خپل پلار په خدمت کښ را ورسید - بیا ئي پښتنه تر و کړله چه ما ن پاره څه فرمان دي؟ نو بیا پلار ئي وو خامار ته چه دغه څوي م حاضر دي - خامار وړ چه پیره بنه ده - تاسو ټول لارشي - رخصت شوي - خو کشري څوي ئي څان څخه هسار کړه • بیا کشري څوي وړ چه زه تا څه ن پاره هسار کړي یم؟ اوس حکم را ته کوه - خامار ور ته وړ چه ته څکه م هسار کړي ئي چه څما په سپیرو کښ بوراګان دي - او دغو بوراګانو زه پیر تنګ کړي یم - که ته چري ن بناپيري گل خندان ملک ته لارشي او هغه گل خندان په یو وزن سره خندولي شي نو ن هغی خولي نه به گلونه توي شي او دا بوراګان څما سپیرو نه به را وزي - بوي پسي به لارشي - نو زه به خلاص یم - دا څما ن پاره خدمت دي په تا باند - ده وړ چه پیره بنه ده - خامار ور ته وړ چه څومره سره زر ستا په کار وي له دي سیند نه اچت کړ او څان سره و آخله په سفر باند - ده و آخستل او روان شه ن سیند په غاري باند - ن سیند په غاري چه څه ورځي ئي سفر و کړ ن میوړ په بندر باند پښن شه - چه ګوري څه ګوري! چه دا دریاب موج کول او دا میوړي به وړه - ن دي بادشاه زاده ترس راغي - میوړ ته ئي وړ چه تاسو کم عقل ئي - ولي

دا ځائې نه پريږدي چه دا درياب هميشه تاسو خرابوي ميرو وړ نه وړ چه ډير قهرتون سم بو چه دي درياب څمونډ ډير خپلوان وړلي دي ځکه مونډ خپل ځان وړکړو - دي يادشاه زاده يو ديوال وړ ته جوړ کړ - دا ميږي په امان کړل - د ميرو چه نوم مشر ميږي وه هغه خپل وزير بادشاه زاده ته وړ کړه - چه که چري څه خدمت د په مونډ باند پيښي نو دا وزير په اور آچوه - بيا اميد دي چه مونډ ستا په خدمت کښ به حاضر يو - بادشاه زاده وړ باند سلام تليکم وړ له دي ځائې نه روان شه منځ ښ لار ته ته ته¹ څه مده سفر ئي وکړ او د منډکانو په کلي کښ وړ ورسيد - او چه گوري څه گوري! هغه مشر منډک دا نور منډکان ټکول او زغلول - دي بادشاه تر تپوخ و کړه چه دا ولي ټکوي زغلوي؟ ده وړ ته و ويل چه دا ډير نريب خلق دي - ما ته عاليه نه شي را کولي - په دي سبب ټکوم - بادشاه زاده وړ ته وړ چه که دي ځائې زه ماليه در کوم نو ته به دي پريږدي؟ مشر منډک ډير خوشحال شه او قبول ئي وکړ - مشر منډک د نورو په صلاح سره خپل بريت وړ کړ - بادشاه زاده له هغه ځائې نه رخصت شه - څه ورځي سفر ئي وکړ او په يو بيابان ځنگل کښ وړ ورسيد - يوه زمړکټي ئي په نظر راښله او ډيره ژړا وکړه - د دي بادشاه زاده ډير ترس او رحم راښي په زړه کښ تپوخ ئي تر وکړ چه ته ولي ژاړي؟ را ته و وايه که څه له ما نه خواړي - دي وړ ته وړ چه اي بادشاه زاده! هيڅ نور نه خواړم - ځما په دي ښي يوه ډره ماته شوي ده - زه د يستل خواړم که ته مهرباني وکړي - بادشاه وړ ته و ويل چه زه به دا و باسم خو ته به ما و خوري - اسي نه چه ټکي ما سره وکړي - دي و ويل چه هيچري بد تانه و خورم چه دا ازڼي و باسي - او که ما ته نصه راښي نو زه به په دي لرکي چک و لکوم او تا به نه خورم - دي سره ئي وکړه او دي ازڼي وړ له بادشاه زاده و باسته - دي زمړکټي يو خپل بچه بخشيش وړ کړه - هغه به دي بادشاه زاده لويوله - هغه ټهره شه دغه ځائې نه ئي سفر وکړ - چه کلي خندان کلي ته ورسيد بوي بوي کړه ئي شپه

¹ Cf. revatc Ham, ۸۲۰.

² Cf. note of a Yumzau village, especially among the Utmau Khel and Utmauzai.—مړک acquires the

و کړه - څه اشرافي ئي ور کړي چه څما د آس بندوبست و کړ - بوډي وو چه مونږ پخپله په کور کښ تنگ يو او ته آسونه ځان سره را ولي ؟ زه د نه پريږدم ! څه او وزه !

بيا بادشاه زاده نوري څه اشرافي ور کړي - دي ور ته وو چه زار به شم - د تا قربان به شم - ولي به تا شرم ! شپو نه يوه شپه راغله چه خيالات ئي کړي دي چه دا د گل خندان کلي دي - او موکانو ما سره اقرار کړي وه - او راشه ازمينت و کړه چه موکان به خپل قرار برابر وي که نه - د موک بريت ئي په اور په تيلي و سوزاوه - او څه مده پس موکان د سيلمي¹ راغلی - بيا ئي وو چه بادشاه زاده ! څه خدمت مونږ حاضر کوو ؟

بادشاه زاده دا حکم ور کړه چه څما د کت د لاند نه سورنگ و اخلي او د گل خندان کت د لاند و باسي - دا ستاسو خدمت دي په دي شرط چه خاوري هر طرح نه و باسي په زمکي کښ - دننه ئي پټوي ... دي دنه سي چل و کړه - بيا بلې شپي ته بادشاه زاده روان شه - په سورنگ کښ د گل خندان کور په طرف لار نو د گل خندان زړوکي پخپله را و آغست - خپل څادر په هني باند و آچوه - چه صبا ئي گل خندان پاڅيده او و کتل نو ډير افسوس ئي و کړ چه دومره بناپيري او څوکداران ولاړ او دا د بل سري زړوکي دي - نو خپلو نورو پيريدارانو ته وو چه داسي څوکداري بيا مه کوي او نن شپي ته زه پخپله څوکداري کوم - هغوي ټول لارل او دي پخپله څوکداري و کړه - چه شپه پخه شوه نو گل خندان اوده شوه - په دي کښ بادشاه زاده راغي - خپله کورته ور سره ئي بدله کړه - بيا صبا ئي چه شوه شاه زانگي پاڅيده - خيال ئي و کړ چه هېڅ څوک ما و نه ايدله - خو بيا اسي چل و شه - بيا دريمي شپي څوکداري او خبرداري په خپل ځان ئي و کړه - او کچه گوته ئي پريکوله او مالگه په کښ دوروله چه هېڅ خوب نن را نه شي چه شپه پخه شوه نو چه و ئي کتل شاه زاده د کت د لاند نه را و وته او چه د دي دور سترگي برابر شوي نو دواړه بي هوش پريوتل - چه بيا د شاه زانگي هوش راغي نو زر راغي او د و لگيدله چه شاه زاده اچت و کړي او خپل کت باند و آچوي - د هغه سر او تلي و ئي منبل - شاه زاده با هوش شه - بيا دي سره په خپلو کښ مجلس ساز کړ - او ډير خوشحال شو په دي مجلس باند - شاه زانگي تر تپوخ و کړ چه ته څنگه

¹ د سيلمي = united, in hosts.

راغلي ئي؟ داسي بيان شاه زاده رُکړ چه زه تا پسي راغلي يم او په لاري نښ تکلېفونه ليدلي دي - دي ور ته وړ چه خما بوتلل ډيره گرانه خبره ده - خو تا ته به خداي آسانه کي - ځکه چه زه ستا ملگري يم - او خما ن پلار دا شرطونه دي چه اورمبي سبي جنگوي - يو سبي به ستا وي او يو خما ن پلار دي چه هغه ډير زوراور دي - که ستا تقدير سم وي نو ستا سبي به زوراور شي - او شرط به وکښي - دويم شرط دا دي چه ن اوسپنه يوه گره کيودي په ميدان کښ او هغه گره هېڅ څوک نه شي ماتولي بغير خما ن خلو وينتونه - دا وينته که زه در کوم نو ن تبر ن لاستي کير چاپير و تړه او بيا په گره گزار وکړ او اميد دي چه مات به شي - دويم شرط دا دي چه ډير شرم په زمکي به وکړي - او زمکه به يوي کوي - او هغه شرم به ته ټول انروي - چه مجلس ئي اسي و شه - شاه زاده رخصت شه - ن سورنگ په لاري خپل ځائي ته لار - چه مېاي شه نو خبر ئي و ليوه ن بناپيرو بادشاه ته چه زه ن فلانکي ملک بادشاه زاده يم او ستا لور پسي راغلي يم - ن بناپيرو بادشاه ور ته خواب و ليوه چه ډيره بڼه ده - ته خما شرطونه پوره کړ او بيشک زه به خپله لور در کوم - بيا ور ته ن شرطونه حال ئي بيان کړ چه په فلانکي ورځ مونږ ن سپو جنگ به وکړو - نو دغه شاه زاده چه وه ن زمکتي بچي نه ئي سبي جوړ کړي وه - او ن جنگ مياد ئي ايښي وه - بيا چه هغه ورځ راغله او اورمبي گزار ن بناپيرو بادشاه سبي وکړ خو آخير چه ډير جنگ ئي وکړ نو نتيجه ئي دا وخته چه ن بادشاه زاده خناور ن بناپيرو بادشاه سبي مړ کړ - اسي دا اول شرط ئي وکښه - چه بله ورځ شوه نو هغه شرط راغي چه کوم ن اوسپني گره وه - بادشاه زاده چه ميدان ته لار تېر ئي په لاس کښ و اخست - هغه خبره له هغه نه هيره شوله چه شاه زانکي وينته ور کړي وو - کل دزي گزار په دي شرط مقرر وو - اول گزار چه بادشاه زاده وکړ نو هېڅ نه شه - دويم گزار ئي وکړ هم هېڅ نه شه - چه دويم گزار ته طيار شه نو ن هغو وينتو چه ور کړي وو ن ده په ياد کښ راغلل او ن تبر ن لاستي نه ئي چاپير کړ او گزار ئي وکړ - گره ماته شوه - ن بناپيرو بادشاه ډير حيران شه چه گوري دا جادوگر دي - چه ن ورستي شرط ورځ راغله نو ن بناپيرو بادشاه خپلو نوکرانو ته

حکم ور کر چه شرشم و کړي - او هل د ول¹ ئې یوي و کړي - هغه شرشم چه وۀ په تله ئې تللي وو - او بادشاه زاده ته ئې وو چه دا به اسي آنروي چه خو پوري چه دا شرشم بیا په تله پوره تول شي او که یوه دانه کم وي نو سر به د پریکوم - بادشاه زاده ئې میدان ته بوتله او د بنهر تول خلق را جمع شول - بادشاه زاده میفتح کنس خپل چلم اوبه کول - یو خو کس ور ته وو چه ته څنگه کم عقل سړي ئې چه ستا په سر دومره دروند پیټي پروت دي چه نور پر نه کیږي او ته هغه شان ري سوکي سوکي² ! بادشاه زاده ور ته خواب ور کر چه دا څه کار دي چه زه ئې په بیره و کړم - ما ته چلم را وړه - چه چلم ئې را وړه او دک کر نو د دې تلمې لگوي او هغه وزر چه کوم میږي ور کړي وۀ پر و آ ئې چوي³ - څه ساتت پس میږي راغلل او بادشاه زاده نه ئې تپوخ و کر چه څه خدمت دي؟ بیا ئې ور ته و ویل چه په دي پټي کنس یوه دانه شرشم پاتي نه شي - تول آنرول پکار دي - میږو ور ته وو چه بالکل مه یږیږه - او شروع ئې و کر په شرشم آنرولو باند - هغه شرشم د میږو یوه یوه دانه و رسیده او په تلي کنس ئې و آچوله - تر خو پوري چه له تول نه خالي یوه دانه فرخ⁴ وۀ - بیا بادشاه زاده میږو ته حکم ور کر چه یوه دانه فرخ دي - بیا د میږو مالک چه وۀ خواب ور کر چه څه نږ یو میږي گډ دي او په دي سبب نه دي رسیدلي - یو خو میږي ئې ور پسي و لیږل - هغه میږي چه گډ وۀ ئې ډیر و تکل - او دانه ئې له هغه نه را و آخستله او بادشاه ته ئې حاضر کړه - نو شرشم برابر شوو - بادشاه زاده هرط و گټه - ډیر خوشحال شه - او میږي ئې رخصت کړل - د بناپیرو بادشاه چه بادشاه زاده له میدان نه را وست نو یو دم خپل محل ته ئې بوتله او کل خندان سره ئې نکاح و تړه - دي سره هامل شوو - میش عشرت ئې کوله - چه څه مده تیره شوه نو خپل سخر ته عرض ئې و کر چه زه خپل وطن له تلل خواړم - بادشاه اجازت ور کړه او د هغه د تلو تول بند و بست چه د بادشاهانو بند و بست وي ئې و کر - او پس له هغې خپل وطن ته روان شه - او زمبي په خامار باند ملاقات ئې و کر - او هلته کل خندان ئې و خندوله او د هغې د خولي نه کلونه

¹ Literally, criss-cross.

² A colloquialism.—'Fiddling about.'

³ Page 358, Note 1.

⁴ = فرق. Like وقت, local pronunciation generally turns the ق into خ.

توي شول او د خامار سپيږمو نه بوراگان را کوز شول - خامار له سختي نه خلاص شه -
 بادشاه زاده بيا روان شه او خپل پلار بادشاهي ته ور ورسيد - په پلار نه بیره موی
 خوشحالي راغله - حکم ئي ور کړ چه نوښتونه ضروري *

قصي لاره پورته * زه راغلام کبور ته

X. THE STORY OF BROTHER NIM KUNI.

يو بادشاه وه - د هغه اوه بنڅي وي - خوي لور ئي يو نه وه - هر وخت به بیره
 خپه وه - يوه ورځ له ډير خيگان نه په کت کنس پريوت - يو فقير راڼي خير د پاره او
 ده ور ته خير را وړه - دي فقير له بادشاه نه تپوخ و کړه چه بادشاه! قربان د شه - ته
 ولي داسي خپه ئي؟ ده ور ته و و چه زه څکه خپه يم چه اوه بنڅي م دي او خوي
 م نشته - ده فقير ور ته و و چه ما سره راڅه - بهر له بهر نه و وتل - يوه بیره وه - هني
 بيري نه دي فقير په خپله دنکري باند اوه پانږي را غورولې - او بادشاه ته ئي و و چه
 دا پانږي يوسه - او خپلو بنڅو ته ور کړ يو يو پانږي - ده چه کور ته راڼي نو دي ته
 يو يو پانږي ور ئي کړلي - منوک راڼي او د يوي پانږي نيمه ئي و خورله - چه څه
 مده تيره شوه نو دي بادشاه ته اوه واره بنڅو نه خامن و شول - يو په کنس نيم کني وه
 د دي بنڅي چه کوم پانږي نيمه خورله - چه څه کال تير شول نو دي لکوټي تکره شه -
 نو دي شپږو خامنو ته پلار آسونه ور کوله - نيم کني له ئي پيشو و آخسنه سولي د
 پاره - نورو شپږو ته ئي نيزي ور کړلي برچه بازي د پاره - نيم کني ته يو دوک ئي ور
 کړه - ده برچه بازي به کوله - هيچا د دي شپږو وارو مورې نه شه - خو نيم کني چه پر
 راغي نو د هغو آسونو د لاند خپل پيشو په تاخت زلوه اچت ئي و آخست - دي شپږ
 واره چه دي - په نيم کني خپه شول. ده به ور ته و و چه مونږ سره به کړزه - خو دي
 به د آس د لاند پت تله - يوه ورځ بنکار ته وړل - دي و و چه به رخه مونږ پسي -
 خو دي ور پسي بيا تلي دي - دا نيم کني چه وه ډير اوښبار وه - و ډير تيره وه
 دي چه داسي څه منح وړل نو دي شپږ وکي شول - او فسوس ئي و کړ چه که
 آوس نيم کني وروځه وري نو مونږ ته دي باغ نه خټکې کښلي وو - نيم کني چه د

خبره ئې و آوريدۀ و و چه هانم! هانم! لار خټکي ئې را و کښل - دي شپږو چه ميوه ئې
 و خورۀ ماره شول. نو ده ته بيا ئې و و چه بيا لار شه بېرته مونږ پسي مه راځه - ده ور
 پسي بيا پت پت راځي او چه يوي خشکي ميري ته راځل نو په هغي کښ د يوي
 بودي کور وۀ چه هغه بودي سري خورۀ وۀ - دي بودي د دي شپه شوه¹ - ماښام چه
 هه دي شپږ بودي و خورۀ نو دي سري خوري ور ته و و چه تاسو اوده هغي - دي
 و یرېدل چه اوس به دي سري خورۀ مونږ و خوري - و ئې ويل چه که اوس نيم کني
 و ور وي نو هغه به څه چل جوړ کړي وۀ! بيا نيم کني ور ته و و چه وار مه خطا کوي
 هانم! نيم کني دي بودي ته و و چه مونږ به هاله اوده کيدلي يو چه مونږ له به مور
 پراتي پخي کړي - پراتي چه دي شپږ و خوري نو دي بودي و ويل چه اوده هغي -
 دي نيم کني و و چه مونږ ته به مور له سيند نه اوبه په ځمپل کښ را وړي نو مونږ به
 اوده شو - بودي لاره سيند ته - دي نيم کني خپلو ورونرو ته و و چه څي! اوس تبتني!
 ده لار و تبتيدل - بودي اوبه را نه وړي - ډيري ضي نه بېرته راځله خپل کور ته - چه
 هلته و رسيدۀ نو ميلمانه تبتيدلي و و - هغي و و چه ډيره ټکي و کړه! نو دا په مندي
 ور پسي څي - هغه شپږ واره لار کلي ته [رسيدل] - نيم کني ته بودي په لاري و رسيدۀ -
 چه و رسيدۀ نو نيم کني په يو سوري کښ نموت - دا بودي د سوري د پاس کښناسته -
 نيم کني په خپل دوک ئې و وهله چه تر کيدې پوري نموت او دا سري خورۀ مړه شوه -
 نيم کني په پيشو بان سور هه - راځي کلي ته - چه کلي کښ راځي نو ده و و چه ما
 خپل ورونره له مرک نه خلاص کړل - بادشاه ډير خوشحال هه چه دا نيم کني ډير اوسيار
 دي - نو بيا به په هغه خپلو ورونرو سره گرزيده *

¹ A vulgar idiom. Liter. 'Their night was [with] the old hag.'

I. STORY OF THE TIRAH FAQIR.

The story goes that an impostor, garbed as a faqir, went into Tirah, right amongst the Afridis, and there took his seat in a mosque. People at first commenced to bring him food (in welcome), but the fellow called out to them, "I am a Saint. Of food I have no need."

Thereupon the people started to bring him money (saying),

"Oh lord faqir! If thou wilt accept these alms, then thy kindness will be great."

The fellow replied, "I have no mind for taking money."

Then all the folk said, "This is indeed a great Saint! It is befitting that he should show us a miracle, and cause a spring to gush forth from such-and-such a mountain."

The idea pleased them, so they said to the faqir, "Show us then (a proof of) your holiness. Cause a spring to break forth on such-and-such a mountain."

The faqir replied, "It is well. All of ye be present on Friday. Moreover show me the mountain on which ye want a spring."

All the folk there were pleased, and showed him the site where the spring was to be.....

Now on the appointed day, all the people assembled in that place. The faqir, aware beforehand that this was the place where they wanted a spring, had buried in the ground a 'mussack' full of water. So when he arrived on the spot, he called out to the crowd.

"O ye people! In this place will I cause a spring to break forth. Only when your eyes behold the water, then straightway go ye hence, and return not again for five days! Then on this mountain will be much water."

So saying, the faqir seized a lance, and struck at the place where the buried 'mussack' was. The water spouted out. All the folk there were fully persuaded that the faqir had called forth a spring. Every man among them gave *backshish* to the faqir, and when night fell the faqir returned to his house, and thence set out upon a journey..... Five days later when the people of the neighbourhood gathered together, there was lying, in the place whence the spring had sprung forth, an empty 'mussack.'

II. THE STORY OF THE GAY WIFE, HER STEP-SON, AND A LABOURER.

It is thus related that (once upon a time) there was a man, who had one son. He had no wife (living), but he had saved up a few rupees wherewith to buy one.

He then got married again, but the woman turned out badly. One day the husband had gone out, when four swains of the lady arrived and commenced telling her, "To-morrow we shall be ploughing in such-and-such a field. So you come, too."

The lady replied, "Set to work in this fashion,—get some cooked grain from so-and-so the baker, and scatter it along the road · then I will go straight to the field, because I shall see the grain upon the ground (and follow it up "..... The husband's son overheard these words, and when next morning came, the youngster got up, and all the grain which had been sprinkled, he gathered together, and re-sprinkled in the direction of his own fields. Now, when it was light, the woman cooked some food, and set off with it, following up the grain upon the ground. She continued along that road, and came upon her husband. Her husband enquired,

"What have you come for?"

She replied, "I have brought you some food."

"All right, then. Only don't do so again," observed the husband

On her way back from that place there was a shrine ahead. The lady cried. "Oh shrine! I have a request to make, if so be that thou wilt grant it".... The youngster had hidden himself in a tomb (close by), and (from there) called out. "Thy request is granted. What is thy wish?"

The woman replied, "There is a brat in my house, who to-day has tricked me finely. I wish that he may now become blind."

The youngster, from out of the tomb, cried to the woman, "At thy home is such-and-such a cow. Kill the cow, and when the brat eats of its flesh, he will lose his sight."

The woman was exceedingly pleased, and when she reached her husband's house, she remarked, "There is the boy here, who is not well. It is advisable that we kill the cow."*

The man replied, "We will get some other cow."

The woman did not agree in the matter, so the man said, "Very well," and killed the cow. Some of the flesh he gave to the boy to eat.

When the youngster had finished it, the woman asked, "How are you feeling?"

He replied, "I feel very fit, only that my sight has grown very dim. I can't see anything."

The woman was exceedingly well pleased, and sent word to her swains (saying), "Come. My stepson has become blind. He sees nothing."

The lady assembled her four admirers, and setting the cauldron on the fire, said to her stepson, "Light the fire underneath. I am just going out".....

In the stable outside was a pit, and in this the lady seated her swains. So soon as she had gone away, the youngster made the water boiling hot (then taking it out), he capsized the cauldron upon the four swains in the pit where they were sitting (hidden). All four of them perished.

* *i.e.* in accordance with the common custom of 'Khziāt,' propitiatory alms or food given to secure the recovery of a sick person.

When the woman came back, she saw that her admirers were dead. She implored the youngster, "Do not tell your father."

"Very well," said he, "I won't ever tell him."

He set off for the bazaar, and got hold of a loutish labourer, to whom he said, "In our house there's a dead man. If you will throw him into the river, I will give you a rupee."

The man was very willing, and when dusk came, he said to the youngster, "Let's have out the dead man!"

The boy replied, "Very good. Only look to it that the corpse does not come back"

The labourer dropped the (first) dead man into the river, and rejoined the boy to ask for his rupee. The youngster said, "He's returned. Come and drop him into the stream again!"

So the labourer received another of the corpses and threw it into the river.

As soon as the workman reappeared where the boy was, the youngster shouted out, "Ho, *mazdur!* what tricks are you up to? Here's the fellow strolled back again!"

The labourer threw a third corpse into the river, but on his return, the youngster cried out, "But you mock me! The dead man has arrived (here) ahead of you."

The labourer flew into a great rage, and swore, "I'll not let the fellow off again."

He flung the fourth corpse well out into the river, so that it should not come back again. At this moment arrived a Hindu, intent on a swim, and repeating his 'Ram, Ram, Guru, Guru!'

The labourer jumped to the conclusion that the corpse had come back out of the river, so laying hold of the Hindu, he hurled him in too

Then the labourer set off for the youngster's house. As he approached he saw a mullah who had come out to say his prayers. The labourer's attention was attracted to him. He said to himself, "Hullo, corpse! Devil take you! You've forestalled me again! Sometimes you're in the guise of a Hindu, and sometimes of a mullah."

So he seized the mullah also, and the holy man went into the river after the others. (As he fell) the mullah made a grab, caught the labourer by the foot, and both fell into the river and were drowned.

So the woman and the youngster were quit of the whole affair.

III. THE STORY OF HAZRAT KHIZR, THE WOMAN, AND THE TWO HEADS.

There was a certain man and his wife, and another man who was their companion. All three were going along the road. Suddenly robbers appeared on the spot. They killed both of the men. They collected their booty and made off. The woman was left in the company of her two dead companions.

As dusk drew on, the Saint Hazrat Khizr came to that place. He said to the woman, "Put the (severed) heads of these men close (to their bodies), that I may pray God that he restore them to life."

The woman arose quickly, and put the heads in their places. And when Hazrat Khizr had offered up his supplication, then by the Lord's command the two men were again endowed with life. But their heads had become transposed. The head belonging to the woman's husband, had been changed with that of the other man. One of the men said, "This is my wife." The other man asserted, "You lie, she is mine"

Whose should the woman be? Reader, decide.

IV. THE STORY OF THE THREE BROTHERS, AND THE RUBY.

Folk relate that there was once a man who had three sons. In his house he had buried three jars full of rupees, and upon the mouth of each jar had put a ruby. When at length the father died, the youngest son was aware of these jars,—three, with a precious stone on each. So one of the rubies he purloined.

Now when it came to the time for dividing up the inheritance, on the mouth of one of the jars there was no ruby. The eldest brother said, "It would seem that one amongst us brothers has stolen the ruby. But this I cannot say, whether it is the middle one of us, or the youngest."

The middle brother replied, "I also am of opinion that there is a thief among us, inasmuch as no one else was aware of the existence of the jars."

The youngest brother expressed himself after the same fashion.

They tried thoroughly, but could not clear up the matter, nor could anyone in the neighbouring villages bring it to an issue.

Now there was a certain king, and he had two daughters. Folk advised the brothers (saying), "These maids are exceedingly clever. If you will go to them, they will decide this affair for you."

So the three brothers set out. They had gone some distance, when they reached a tree, underneath which it was fine and shady. So they sat themselves down there.

The eldest brother observed, "Under this tree a woman has been sitting."

"Likewise," said the next brother "the woman in question was *enceinte*."

"Also," remarked the third, "she was a runaway."

Thus exercising their intelligence they conversed, and presently when they had quitted the place, one of the brothers observed on the way, "Along this road has passed a camel who is blind in one eye."

"One of its teeth, too," said the second brother, "is missing."

And the youngest added, "On one side of it *ghee* was (loaded), and on the other side was some dung."

On leaving this place, the brothers were pushing forward, when from behind them came a shout of "Wait!"

The three brothers stopped, and a man came up and asked, "Young men, have you not seen a woman upon this road?"

The eldest brother said, "Was she not *enceinte*?"

"Yes," said the woman's husband.

"And was she not a runaway?" enquired the second brother.

"Yes," said the husband, "she was."

Then all three of the brothers said together. "Go. Make enquiry after your wife. For our part we have not seen her."

"Eh!" said the husband, "what nonsense is this? First you describe her correctly, and now you say you know nothing about her! Either you shall have the case tried with me according to the Sheri'at, or shall give me one of your own wives (in exchange)."

"Come then," said the brothers, "it is for (a decision according to) the Sheri'at that we have set out."

So the husband joined their party. They had all gone some distance further on, when another shout reached them from behind, "Hi, you young fellows! stop!"

When they had halted, up came another man, and asked, "Have you not seen a camel hereabouts?"

"Was it blind of one eye?" they enquired.

"It was," said the owner of the camel.

"Had it not a tooth broken?" said the second brother.

"That is indeed so," said the camel-owner.

"And was there not some dung upon one side of it," queried the third brother, "and *ghee* loaded upon the other?"

"Yes—yes. There was," said the camel-owner.

Then all three brothers said together, "Go, then, and search for your camel. Ourselves, we know nothing of it."

"You are robbing me!" screamed the camel-owner. "Either you give me a camel of your own, or I will have the law,—the law of the Sheri'at,—upon you!"

"Come along," said the brothers, "it is for the Sheri'at we are going".....

Now when the party of men reached the king's presence, they explained to him their situation.

The king replied, "First of all, deal with the affair of the woman,—how did you identify her?"

"Ordinarily," said the first brother, "(the impression) left where a woman has sat is of such-and-such a fashion. Hence I recognised that there had been a woman."

"Also," joined in the second brother, "when the woman arose, she placed her hand on the ground (to assist her): hence I recognised that this is a woman who is *enceinte*."

"Likewise," finished the third brother, "when the woman stood up, her first

foot-print pointed backward. Common sense then told me that the woman was a runaway.’’

So the king said, ‘‘ Oh you the woman’s husband! These men are clever, and what they have learnt, they have learnt by their own intelligence. Depart, then, and seek your wife.’’

And the woman’s husband went forth.

The king next said, ‘‘ Now tell me of the camel. By what means did you identify it ? ’’

The first of them replied, ‘‘ Upon the road were the tracks of a camel, so I said to myself ‘Here is a camel’—and on one hand the grass had been cropped by the roadside, and on the other hand had been left standing. Thus I learnt that the camel was blind in one eye.’’

‘‘ And I,’’ said the second brother, ‘‘ observed that among the grass where the camel had grazed, here and there a blade had been left (standing). So I knew from this the animal had a tooth missing.’’

‘‘ On one side (of the road),’’ concluded the third brother, ‘‘ were flies, and upon the other side were dung-beetles—Consequently I inferred that, where the flies were, upon that side (of the animal) was the *ghee*; and that, where the dung-beetles were, upon that side (of the animal) was dung.’’

The king said, ‘‘ O *Sarwan!* It is by their intelligence that these men have gained their information.’’

So the camel-owner, too, went off about his business.

The king then addressed the brothers again (saying), ‘‘ You are astute indeed—what is it you now wish ? ’’

The brothers replied, ‘‘ (We wish) for a settlement in the affair of the ruby. Whoever is the thief, pick him out (from among us).’’

The king said, ‘‘ I have three daughters; to them I will refer the matter. I myself cannot decide.’’

So the king said to his daughters, ‘‘ O my daughters, three men have come for a decision according to the Sheri‘at; but they are very cunning. What, then, shall I do ? ’’

One of his daughters replied, ‘‘ I will undertake the affair. But first I wish to test their cleverness.’’

The king said, ‘‘ It is well. You may try their mettle a hundred times.’’

‘‘ I will write a letter to the eldest,’’ said the princess, and to him she wrote, ‘‘ O young man, you are my guest.—What food do you fancy ? ’’

He sent a reply, ‘‘ I should like a *pillau*.’’

The princess procured a fine goat and the *pillau* was prepared.

When the man had eaten of it, the princess asked, ‘‘ Well, O youth, was the food appetising ? ’’

The man replied (dubiously), ‘‘ It was good, certainly’’

‘‘ What was there amiss with it ? ’’ questioned the princess.

‘‘ It was rather like eating human flesh,’’ said the man.

The princess said, "Sit outside for a while. I will make enquiries from the goatherd."

She went off, and questioned the goatherd concerning the animal. The goatherd said, "On the same day that this goat first saw the light, its dam died. Now, at the time, my wife had recently lost her own child within a few days of birth; so she nursed the young goat, which in truth was thus reared on human milk."

The princess was astonished, and reflected within herself, "I cannot settle affairs for such men. They are too astute."

Now the king had another daughter, and she made an offer to her father, saying, "O kind (one), I, then, will undertake to give a decision for these men; only do you make pretence that I am a man."

The king fell in with her idea, and arranged she should be called by a man's name.

The princess summoned her handmaiden (and said), "Go—take food to these men, and say, 'There are seven heavens.—The sky is overcast—(Yet) the stars are many.'"

Then the princess entrusted to a slave girl seven loaves, and also meat and *ghee*.

The girl (on the way) consumed two of the loaves herself, and also the meat and the *ghee* that was with them. The remainder of the food she handed to the three brothers, saying, "The princess gives you greeting: and after the greeting, says, 'There are seven heavens.—The sky is overcast.—(Yet) the stars are many.'"

They, when they had eaten the food, replied to the girl, "Give the princess our greeting: and thereafter tell her, 'The heavens are five.—The skies are clear.—Of stars, there are none.'"

So the handmaid went back, and gave to the princess the men's reply. The princess exclaimed, "Why did you eat two of the loaves and the meat and the *ghee*?"

The slave girl commenced to offer excuses, but her mistress caused her to be belaboured soundly.

Now when morning came the three brothers repaired to the durbar where sat (*liter.* of) the king and his daughter. The princess, who had taken upon herself a man's name, said,

"Ye men, listen to me. I will tell you a story. There was a wazir's daughter, who went for a walk in her garden. Now when she reached there, the gardener arose, and gathered for her flowers. The wazir's daughter said to him, 'O gardener, what wish you?'"

"Indeed I have not reflected," he answered, "yet I have a petition."

"Your request is granted," said she, "Speak!"

The gardener replied, "This is my wish, that on the day when you are married, that very evening your condescension may move you to visit me."

"It is well," she said, "let doubt not trouble you."

Now upon the day when the wazir's daughter was married, she said to her

husband, "There is a promise that I have made with the gardener. If you grant me permission, I will go to him, that my promise may be fulfilled."

Her husband replied, "Very well. Go, and fulfil your promise."

So the wazir's daughter set out, but scarcely was she upon her way (*liter.* outside), when a lion confronted her, saying,

"I am famished. God himself has given you into my hand."

"O lion," cried she, "for God's sake leave me, that I may go on my way to the gardener. When I return from him, then you may devour me."

"It is well," said the lion, "haste you."

As the wazir's daughter continued her way, a robber met her.

"Thanks be to Heaven," he said, "that you have fallen into my power. Over (selling) you I shall make many rupees."

"If you will show kindness," begged the wazir's daughter, "give me an hour's grace, that I may even reach to the gardener. Then, when I come back from him, you may carry me away."

The robber assented. "Hurry away," he said.

When the wazir's daughter at length arrived to where the gardener was, she exclaimed, "Arise. In fulfilment of your request, I have come."

The gardener arose, and made obeisance. He had with him twenty-five ashrafis, which were his savings, and these he now presented to the wazir's daughter, saying, "You keep good faith indeed,—that thus you visit me."

The wazir's daughter, when she departed thence, came again upon the robber, who had fallen asleep. She cried, "Rise up! It grows late, if (your intention is to) abduct me."

The robber, rousing up, made obeisance, saying, "I am at your service, for truly you have fulfilled your promise to me." He had with him some ashrafis, and these he gave to her.

The wazir's daughter, proceeding thence, came upon the lion—he, too, was slumbering.

"Lion!" she cried, "rise up and devour me!"

The lion arose; and he gave her greeting.

"Well done!" he exclaimed, "You are indeed a woman of your word."

Then the princess who had been relating the above story to the three brothers (she who had taken upon herself a man's name), said to them, "O men, I myself consider that the act of the gardener was praiseworthy; but who, in your own opinion, behaved well towards the wazir's daughter?"

"The gardener," replied the eldest brother, "was not so much the one who acted well; it was the husband."

"The good action," followed the middle brother, "belonged to the lion, that an animal (such as he), knew how to appreciate her keeping faith."

"The best conduct," declared the youngest brother, "was that of the robber; for he let her go."

The princess when she had received their replies, turned and bowed to her father, saying :

“ O king ! The first of these brothers is uxorious, for his sympathies are with the husband ; and the second brother is a glutton, for he praises the lion ; and the third is a thief, for he says, that the conduct of a robber is good.”

“ Which is the youngest of you brothers ? ” asked the king.

“ This,” said the other two brothers, “ is he.”

Then said the king to the youngest, “ Give back the ruby to thy brothers. And now go ye hence. Your dispute is settled.”

V. THE STORY OF THE MAN WHO WENT TO FIND HIS LUCK.

In this world, firstly, there is luck,—that a man may obtain an opportunity ; and secondly, intelligence,—that he may turn his opportunity to account. Without these conditions are both fulfilled, nothing ever will go right.

Now there were two brothers. One of them enjoyed excellent good fortune : and as for the other, he had neither intelligence nor luck.

So he questioned the fortune of his brother, saying, “ Where, then, is my fortune ? ”

And his brother’s fortune answered, “ It is asleep in such-and-such a wood.”

So the man set out to find it. Now upon the road there was a lion, who questioned the man, saying, “ Whither are you going ? ”

“ My fortune,” said the man, “ lies in such-and-such a wood. I go thither.”

“ Ask on my behalf, then,” begged the lion, “ what is the reason that I am thus ill, and why nothing seems to relieve me.”

“ Very well,” said the man ; and when he had gone a little further on, he found a horse lying, who asked, “ In what direction go you ? ”

The man explained to him.

Then some distance beyond, he met with a tree, which addressed him, saying, “ O man ! pray, what is your destination ? ”

When the man had spoken of his intention, the tree said, “ Enquire on my behalf also,—why am I thus leafless.” (*liter. dry.*)

The man agreed.

Now when he reached to where his fortune was he seized upon it, and ejaculated angrily, “ Here am I dying of hunger, and you asleep in a wood ! ”

“ You have,” replied his fortune, “ no cleverness.”

Then the man continued, saying, “ My fortune ! why is the lion ill ; and what will effect his cure ? ”

“ Tell the lion,” replied his fortune, “ that he should devour a fool : then will his recovery be complete. And tell the horse, that he should take a master who will ride him ; then will he grow strong. And tell the tree that under its roots lies the treasure of seven kings, and if this treasure be taken forth, then will the tree flourish.”

The man returned upon the same road, and upon his repeating what he had been told, the tree said, "If you will take out from among my roots this treasure, your kindness will be great; and you will be king (with the riches) of seven kings."

The man replied, "What good to me are riches? Here is my fortune who now has roused up, and she will work for me."

Then he came to the horse, which asked, "What reply do you bring me?"

"That you should take for yourself a master, who will ride you: then will you grow strong."

"You are my master," said the horse, "take me!"

"Look out for someone else instead," said the man. "My fortune has roused up now, and she will bring me many horses."

And then he came upon the lion who in turn questioned him, "What is my answer?"

"That you should devour a fool," said the man, "then you will be restored to your former health."

"Did you also obtain replies for anyone else?" asked the lion.

"Yes," said the man, "there was a horse and also a tree, for both of whom I obtained advice."

And then he set to, and related the whole story.

The lion, when he had heard him through, said, "You yourself are a superlative fool!" and, rising up, he killed and devoured him. * * *

He was a man of no astuteness, who could not recognise his opportunities, so his fortune profited him nothing.

VI. THE KING'S TALE AND THE WAZIR'S,—A FAIRY STORY.

There was a king, and it so chanced one day that one of his wazirs shuddered.

"Why?" said the king, "What is the matter? You are quivering?"

"A great fear swept over me," replied the wazir. "Only this minute it recurred to my mind; and therefore I trembled."

"Tell me about it," said the king.

"In such-and-such a year," began the wazir, "I went to a far-off country. There I was wandering alone in a market when I saw a Faqir. 'O boy,' said he to me, 'whither are you going?' I told him my case, and he then said, 'Come with me.' We set off, and came to a well, and into that well the Faqir cast me. But in the midst of the well was a ledge, and this broke my fall, and (clinging there), I looked below, and there the bottom of the well was filled with vipers and scorpions, whose jaws were gaping up at me.

'If I fall,' I said to myself, 'they will eat me.'

Now the next day came a caravan, and some of the people belonging to it let down a bucket to draw water. I seized the bucket and cried out to the caravan folk, 'I am a human being! Draw me forth!'

So they drew me forth, and I told them of all that had happened to me. And

when we again arrived back in the market, I once more perceived that Faqir ; and he fell to wailing and lamenting, saying, ' You have left my children hungry ! '

He prevailed on me to set out for the well a second time, but when we arrived there, I exclaimed to the Faqir, ' There is a lion in the well ! Look ! '

The Faqir leant over the well to see if there was in truth a lion ; and then from behind I gave a push, and the Faqir became the food of the vipers below. And so, for my part, I was rid of him."

The king responded, saying: " O ill-fated one ! Yet, if I relate my own adventures to you, you will sink (under the recital)."

The Wazir begged, " Do you also relate your story ! "

" From the country of the Arabs," commenced the king, " some merchants brought me two horses which were beautiful to look upon, and of a fine colour. I gave them to my own servants to be tended, and they kept them well.

Now one day I went forth to see how the horses were. And when I saw them, behold ! they were weak. I asked, ' Why are they in this wretched condition ? '

At first, the servants hesitated to answer, but I commanded, ' Speak ye this instant ! '

They said, ' Every night the chief wife of the king rides abroad on horseback. Therefore have the horses become weak.'

' To-day,' I said to myself, ' I will find out.'

When night came, I laid myself down by my wife's side, and feigned sleep. So soon as the woman had no longer any fear of my being awake, she rose, and started forth, I following her covertly.

Now as the woman headed (her steed) towards a mountain, I kept pace with her, and when she reached the mountain, there was a cave in it.

The woman entered the cave, and I entered after her, and hid myself.

Now when I looked around, I perceived in the cave a negro ; and the woman had seated herself beside him. But the negro sprang to his feet, and commenced to beat the woman unmercifully, saying, ' Why is it that to-day you have arrived so late ? '

' Overnight,' expostulated the woman, ' my husband was wakeful.'

' By Lât Manât I vow,' exclaimed the negro, ' that if to-morrow you bring not the head of the king your husband, I will never more hold converse with you, and will even do you hurt.'

' By your own head I swear,' the woman returned, ' to-morrow night I bring the head of my lord the King ! '

On this the negro was pacified. And I,—I heard all this that passed ; and by-and-by when those two others were asleep, I arose, and I severed the head of the negro from his body, and took the road back to my palace.

Now when the woman awoke, the negro lay there with his head missing ! And the woman wept bitterly, but after some while she set off for her home ; and (on arriving there), watched me the king narrowly, that perchance she might discover whether it was I who had done the deed. But there was nothing to arouse her suspicions.

Dawn came, and I the king, said to the woman, 'Bring me a water-melon!'

The woman replied, 'In this season, whence can one fetch water-melons?'

I answered, 'There are some in my horse's saddle-bags.'

The woman arose (and looked), and therein was the head of the negro.

Then did the woman cast a spell upon me, so that my form became that of a black dog, and she drove me forth from the palace, crying to the retainers—'O ye men! 'Tis a vile dog! Whoso kills it, shall be handsomely rewarded!'

The whole of the crowd turned out in pursuit, everyone hoping that the reward might be his. But I fled, and nobody could catch me.

So I made my way to a mountain, and I took counsel with myself, saying, 'In such and such a city there is an old woman: who, moreover, is a noted witch. If I go to her, she will relieve me.'

I set off to find the old woman, and when I found her I fell at her feet. Now when the old woman's glance fell on the dog, it occurred to her that perhaps this might be a man, changed by magic into this form. Thereupon the old woman performed an incantation, and the dog once more became a man!

And to the old woman I said, 'Teach me a spell such that I may turn that woman into an animal!'

The old woman blew upon some dust, saying, 'Take this dust, she will turn into whatever animal you wish, if you will pronounce the name of that animal, when casting again this dust upon the ground.'

I set out. All the people made obeisance to me. And when I came into my palace, I cast the dust upon the woman, pronouncing the word 'mule.'

When she had turned into a mule, I gave her to a potter. And I said to him, 'Take this mule, and employ her in your work, and ill-treat her thoroughly.'

And even so did he."

VII. A MODERN STORY OF TIRAH,—AND WHAT BEFELL ON THE WAY THITHER.

In British territory, a man was going upon his way; and as he went, he was saying to himself, "When shall I see my own tower in Tirah again?"

Now at this very moment, the man fell in with a faqir, who said to him, "If you will provide me with food, then I will give you some sound advice."

The man chanced to have with him five loaves, and he gave them to the faqir, (saying), "Give me five words of good counsel."

"My first advice, then," said the faqir, "is this,—with whomsoever you may find yourself in company on the road, first of all learn that man's name."

"Secondly," (continued the faqir), "this,—that into whatsoever village you enter, sit you down upon the ground until such time as they shall bid you rise and be seated upon a chair."

"Thirdly, this,—whatsoever property you have with you, do not produce it until they shall directly require of you (saying), 'Show such and such a thing.'"

“ Fourthly, lay wagers with no one, for a wager is an evil thing.”

“ Fifthly, do not disclose your own affairs to your wife,—for women, too, are evil, and whatsoever they hear from you, that very hour they will repeat it to their lovers. As, for example, there was once a man who prayed God for riches, and his prayer was after this fashion, ‘ O God, give me riches, even upon my hearth!’ One day he had gone forth, when he hurt his foot slightly. He took up a handful of soil (i.e. to rub it with), and as he did so, he perceived a jar of rupees (buried). But the man said, ‘ O God, I begged for them even upon my hearth, but thou givest them to me outdoors; and therefore I take them not, for if it were Thy will to bestow them on me, then wouldst Thou give them even upon my hearth.’ So the man left all those rupees where they were; and when he reached home, he told his wife of the occurrence. The woman immediately slipped off, and told her lover, saying, ‘ My husband found rupees in such and such a place, but the blockhead did not bring them. Go, then, and get them for yourself.’ The suggestion quickly commended itself to the lover, and off he went after the rupees. When he arrived at the place, he found the rupee-jar, but when he lifted the lid, lo! the whole jar was full of adders and vipers. Then into the man’s mind came the thought, ‘ That woman must be my enemy!’ So he replaced the lid, and raised the jar. Now, above the fireplace of the man who had seen the rupees first, was a skylight; and through this skylight the lover emptied (the contents of) his jar. When dawn came, the other man got up to perform his prayers, and what does he see but that his hearth is full of rupees. So he gave thanks to God, that, ‘ Now thou hast given them to me even upon my hearth.’ ” * * *

“ So, fellow-wayfarer,” (continued the faqir), “ you, too, may be sure of this, that whatsoever you tell to your wife, that matter will not remain a secret.”

“ Very good,” said the man who was on his way back to Tirah, “ I will act accordingly.”

Now it happened that this same man had with him a load; and at this point of their journey the faqir,—the same who had received the five loaves,—separated from him.

The man had gone on only a short distance further, when his bundle slipped, and he called out to the faqir from where he was in rear, “ Hi man! Ho man!”

The faqir, however, returned no answer; but when the man fell to screaming he at length replied, saying, “ O you foolish fellow! Indeed I warned you, that with whomsoever you find yourself in company on the road, first of all learn that man’s name. Why did you not take my advice?”

And with that he re-adjusted the man’s load. * * * * *

A few days later, our man,—he who had given the five loaves in exchange for counsel,—arrived on the Frontier, and directed his steps towards a village. Now in this village had been constructed a very pleasant (resting) place, with all manner of chairs there. So in the man went, and seated himself upon a chair that took his fancy. A moment later another man entered, and gave him a sound cuff over the head (demanding), “ What do you mean by sitting yourself on a chair?”

The man in reply began to make apologies, but on receiving another cuff, he got up off the chair; and the counsels of the faqir recurred to his mind, and he said to himself, "Ah you unfortunate creature! In exchange for the loaves, what was the advice you received? Had you not appropriated a chair, there would have been no reason for the other man to strike you."

A little while later, when some of the folk of the village gathered together, they fell to chatting, and saying, "So and so, and so and so has a fine rifle," and another would add, "So and so has a fine revolver."

When the man overheard these words, he quickly pulled out his own revolver, and exclaimed, "Say now, if you consider such and such a revolver a good one, then just look at mine. Tell me what you think of *this*?"

The people there having inspected it, the leader amongst them suddenly cried out, "But this is *my* revolver! In such and such a year my house was burgled, and many things were carried off,—among them this revolver. Seize this man! He's a thief!"

The wretched simpleton stood there thunderstruck. Just at this juncture who shou'd arrive in the village, but that very faqir who had before given him counsel. Hurriedly the man confided to him his predicament.

"Long ago I advised you against disclosing your affairs to anyone," was the faqir's reply, "and you have not acted upon my recommendation. Now, then, let them seize you!"

But the man implored him, and said, "God himself has put me to shame. Help me out of this trouble!"

"Very well," conceded the faqir, "then your best course is to reply to your accuser and say to him, 'In such and such a deserted spot someone murdered my father with this very pistol. Therefore have I been taking it from village to village that I might learn who is the owner of it and exact from him the blood money; and now,—since you say yourself that the pistol is yours,—it seems that I have found in you the man who killed my father.'"

The man, as he listened to the faqir's words, thanked him sincerely; then off he went to the leader amongst the villagers, and made this same reply to him.

"For God's sake do not report me to the authorities," exclaimed the village-leader. "Accept a present of seven hundred rupees from me!"

So the simpleton took the seven hundred rupees: and, very well pleased, crossed the Frontier. * * * * *

A few days after arriving back at the town where he lived, in Tirah, he went out in the direction of a mountain. There he found a water-melon.

He returned home and said to his wife, "In such and such a place, on such and such a hill, I have seen some water-melons. Now I am going out to lay a wager as to who shall first produce a melon within an hour,—myself or some other man."

"Lay your wager on these conditions," said the woman, "that on whatsoever object (the winner) shall first lay his hand that thing shall be his."

The man adopted this suggestion. He went off to the village meeting-house,

and made the bet (saying), "If anyone can produce a water-melon, then whatever object his hand first shall fall on, shall be his."

Meanwhile the man's wife sent word to her lover, saying, "Accept the wager with my husband. In such and such a place will you find water-melons. When you have won your wager, and may lay your hand on what you will, lay it on me."

Her lover received the message; and thereupon he rose, and going off to the mountain, fetched the water-melons back to the *hujrah*.

"I accept your wager," he said to the husband.

"Out with the water-melons, then: let us see them," said the simpleton.

The lover produced the water-melons with alacrity: the simpleton of a husband when he saw them, recognized them as the melons he had seen upon the mountain. In his heart he was exceedingly vexed, and he said to himself, "In exchange for those loaves, what was the advice you received?—that one should not disclose one's affairs to a woman! In the present circumstances, had I mentioned nothing to my wife, how could that man have known (the whereabouts of the water-melons). As it is,—unless I can manage to see the faqir about it,—it will be upon my wife that this man will lay his hand!"

With this idea in his mind, the simpleton of the husband set out in search of the very same faqir who had counselled him already.

He poured forth his story; the faqir replied, "Again, then, you have abandoned my advice."

"Never again," protested the simpleton, "will I act so," and at length, on his making many entreaties, the faqir was appeased.

The faqir said, "Get a ladder, and upon its rungs, tie pieces of silk. Then, when your wife's lover comes to set his hand upon something), it will be upon the silk that his hand will first fall. Thereupon say to him, 'Devil fly away with you! Already you have passed over the silk on one rung! And over yet another! You are not going to take it all!'"

The simpleton set off back to his home. He took a generous amount of silk, and fastened it on the rungs of the ladder. The woman was seated in full view in the (first story of the) tower, against (the coming of) her lover.

Now the intention of the gallant, after his winning the wager, was that the first object he set his hand upon, should be the woman.

When he reached the ladder, he grasped it, in order to ascend. Directly he had mounted a couple of rungs, the simpleton shouted out to him, "Hi, you grab-all! So it's the whole of my silk you would be carrying off home, is it?"

And without more ado, he seized the lover by the heels and hauled him down. So,—thanks to the cleverness of the faqir,—he kept his wife for himself. * * * * *

Even as the Amir Hamzeh says,—'Either be a man, or be a disciple of men.'

VIII. THE KING'S SON,—AN ALLEGORY.

There was once a King, who had no son, and upon a certain day there came to him a Faqir.

“Wherefor grieve you?” he asked the King.

The monarch unfolded to him his sorrow; then said the Faqir, “A son shall even be born to you: yet on no account suffer him to go from out (your doors).”

Now, it so came to pass that a son was born to the King; and the king commanded that he should be kept close in the women's apartments, and should not be allowed forth. And the child grew up.

One day, through the skylight, shone the rays of the Princely Eye (i.e. the sun) and when the child beheld them, he said in his heart. “These are flowers.” He tried to seize them, but they eluded his grasp; and at this moment approached a slave-girl of the King, and she said to him, “Little one! Were you to fare forth you would see many flowers. What are these that you should fret for them!”

On this the child cried out to his father, saying, “Take me forth; for if you refuse me, then will I kill myself!”

His father was very unwilling, yet (at length) from very helplessness he brought the child out from the women's apartments.

Now when the child came forth, he straightway went towards the market; and it chanced that at that very time a man had just died there.

“Why has this man died?” questioned the child.

“He was ill,” said the men who were there.

“Who made him ill?” continued the child.

Folk began to laugh, “God made him ill; there is none other who has power thus to make people ill,” said they.

“Will God make me ill, too?” queried the child.

“You, also, are one of mankind: so you, too, will God make ill,” replied they.

When the child heard this, he turned his steps from that instant towards the jungle; and he continued on his way (thither), weeping bitterly.

Now in that jungle lived Faqirs. “Wherefore are you crying?” they asked the child.

The child recounted what had happened to him; then from amongst the Faqirs, one of them spoke, saying, “Sit you down: for there is something I would say unto you.”

So the child sat down there, and the Faqir said, “O child! There was a certain man who went out to hunt, and he came to a place where there was game, and the name of that place was the World. And when he arrived in that spot, a blood-thirsty rogue-elephant was there, who, as soon as he set eyes upon the man, commenced to pursue him. The man fled from the elephant; and hard by was a well. Down this the man took refuge. And the elephant whose name was Death, took its stand over the brink of the well.

The man said to himself, "If I descend to the bottom of this well, then shall I escape from the elephant." But when he peered below him, he perceived an immense python: and half way down the well, was a little plant, whose name was Life.

Then the man laid hold of the plant, and within reach was a honey-comb,—which folk call 'This World's Food and Drink'—on which our existence depends.

When the man saw this honey-comb, he became exceedingly happy, notwithstanding the predicament he was in. All fear departed from his heart. He fell to eating the honey.

On one side of the root of the plant whereon the man had laid hold, was a black mouse,—who kept gnawing the root,—and on the other side was a white mouse,—who kept gnawing likewise. These mice were called Night and Day; by whose (constant) gnawing the plant (of Life) grows less. And the name of the python below was Tomb.

But the man heeded none of them. He was merrily eating his honey. * * * * *

For, as says Abdu-r-Rahman:—

He whose course in this world is run,
Comes not back to his own again!"

IX. THE LABOURS OF A HERCULES.

Once upon a time, there was a King who had seven sons. These sons grew up. One day the King took counsel with his Vizier, saying, "If you agree, then I wish that arrangements be made for my sons' betrothal; and I desire that the betrothals be made wheresoever there be a King with seven daughters, so that the betrothals of all my seven sons may be within one family. Then will great happiness be mine."

The Vizier answered, "I will obey your commands, even as you have given them." * * * * *

So the Vizier set out. He had journeyed on for some time, when he came to where a river lay in his road. On the bank was seated a Faqir. "Whither go you?" said he.

"I am on my way to another kingdom," said the Vizier.

"Good, good," replied the Faqir. "Keep on your way; only listen to a word of warning, when you are journeying upon this road from your present direction, do not pass the night upon the bank of this river; and should you be journeying from the opposite direction, even then do not spend the night here. This is my warning to you."

The Vizier pursued his road. He had pushed forward for some days, when (at length) he arrived in another kingdom whereof the King had seven daughters; and in the presence of this other King did he speak (*liter.*, do) according to the command which his own sovereign had laid upon him.

This other King was well pleased. For some time he detained the Vizier in his own company; forasmuch as he was then making a tour of his kingdom. He enter-

tained the Vizier well and showed him marked attention. Then one day the Vizier made a petition in the monarch's presence, saying, "If thou wilt grant me permission, then will I return to my own King; for it is now long since I set out on my travels, and I desire to convey these good news to my sovereign."

Then did the King,—he who was father of the seven daughters,—write and deliver a deed, saying,

"From the day when your message was delivered to me, have I considered all seven of my daughters as betrothed to your sons. And I am well pleased. Now do I send this your Vizier back to you: and whatsoever be the marriage customs of your country, according to those customs, come,—that you may conduct back with you the brides."

The Vizier took his leave thence, and returned straight to his own kingdom. He journeyed long. Then, after some time, with deference and respect he laid his representations before his King, and rendered to him the letter which the other King had given him.

When the monarch read it, he evinced the greatest pleasure at its contents; and long he looked at it. Then, mastering his joy, he gave orders to his ministers, saying, "Make all the arrangements for the marriages, that we may go hence forthwith, and proceed on our journey to bring back the bridal palanquins."

Before setting out, he consulted with his ministers as to which of the young princes he should leave to hold the regency. The chief minister, said, "The youngest of the princes is very clever: he is fitted (for the task)."

"It is well," replied the monarch: and to his youngest son he said, "Remain behind to (administer) my kingdom."

The King started, taking with him the remaining six sons, and journeyed towards the kingdom of the sovereign who had become his friend. After some time he arrived.

The ruler of the country himself came forth to meet the father of the seven sons; and with great pleasure made arrangements for escort and everything (needful). For three or four days the party remained as guests. And after this, they took charge of the bridal palanquins and set out again for their own kingdom.

When they reached to the river where the Faqir had given the Vizier his counsel, the Vizier, from excess of happiness, forgot the warning. Everything was there in abundance. The King gave the order that on the bank of the river they should halt for the night. And so they spent the night there.

In the morning, someone or other rose early; when, lo and behold! a gigantic python, like a fortress, was (coiled) around them.

The person who had risen (roused the King), and informed him. The King, when he came to ascertain for himself how the matter stood, found that indeed there was no way of escape. Then the mother of the princes began to make cries and lamentation.

"This which you see is no fortress. I am a serpent," said the reptile to her, "who have emerged from the river. Never shall you escape me alive, unless the youngest prince also be put into my power."

This speech the mother repeated to the boys' father. The latter again approached the serpent and asked him, "But how can we send him the news? You have encircled all of us!"

The serpent replied, "I will allow a messenger from among you to carry the news."

So the messenger started, and the King entrusted him with a letter in which he wrote thus:—

If you are seated, arise!
And if risen, set out!

When the messenger reached the young prince, the latter obeyed upon the instant; and within a short time he arrived in his father's presence, and asked, "What are the commands laid upon me?"

Then said his father to the serpent, "My son is before you."

"It is well," answered the python, "All of you may go,—you are freed." But the youngest prince he detained with him.

Then said the young prince, "Wherefore do you detain me? Tell me your will."

"For this reason have I kept you back," answered the serpent; "that in my nostrils are insects, and on account of them I suffer greatly. Could you but go to the country of the Fairy Laughing-Flower, and by some means or other cause her to laugh, then will flowers fall from her lips, and after these flowers will the insects come forth from my nostrils, being attracted by the perfume. Then shall I be relieved. This is the service I require of you."

"Very well," answered the prince. "Whatsoever gold you need," continued the serpent, "take it from this river, and carry it with you upon your journey."

The prince took what he wished, and fared forth, following the river's bank. When he had journeyed thus for several days, he came upon a city of ants, and lo! the river was agitated by waves, which were sweeping away the ants. The prince's compassion was roused. He said to the ants, "How foolish you are! Why do you not leave this place where the river constantly does you harm?"

"We are a perverse people," answered the ants. "This river has carried away many of our friends, and therefore we (are resolved to) sacrifice even our own lives."

The prince then built them a wall: so that the ants were in safety. Then did the queen-ant give the prince her wings, saying, "Should it ever happen that you have need of us, cast these wings upon the fire. Then, if all be well, will we be present in your service."

The prince wished them good-bye, and resumed his journey. He went straight ahead,—on, on, on—thus he journeyed for some time, till at length he arrived at the village of the mice. When behold!—the chieftain of the mice was beating his people and putting them to flight.

The prince asked him, "Why are you acting thus?"

"These are such poor folk," replied the chieftain, "that they cannot pay me my taxes. Therefore am I beating them."

“If I, instead, pay you their taxes, will you let them alone?” asked the prince.

The chieftain of the mice was well pleased, and agreed. Then, having conferred with the other mice, he gave the prince (some hairs from) his whiskers, (together with sundry instructions).

The prince took his leave thence, and continued on his way for some days. He came to a desolate jungle, and there a lioness appeared, weeping. The prince was very sorry for her, and pitied her.

“Why do you cry?” he asked. “Tell me if there is anything you wish of me?”

“O prince!” exclaimed the animal, “there is nothing else I want, only that in my foot a thorn has broken off; if you would show kindness, then I should wish this splinter withdrawn.”

“I would take it out,” said the prince, “only you would devour me! It may be that you are playing a trick on me.”

“Never will I devour you,” protested the lioness. “Pray, take out this thorn. And if (from the pain), anger should get the better of me, then will I bite upon this (block of) wood, and not harm you.”

So they arranged matters thus, and the prince drew out the thorn. The lioness, in return, gave him one of her cubs. The prince resolved to rear him, and the cub grew strong.

So once more the prince pursued his way, and when (at length) he arrived at the village (where lived) Laughing-Flower, he put up for the night at the house of an old crone. He gave her some ashrafis, saying, “Arrange for my horse.”

“We are already without enough room in the house, and you bring horses with you?” haggled the old woman, “I won’t allow you in! Go! Out you go!”

But the prince gave her some more ashrafis, and she said, “May I be your atonement and your sacrifice! Wherefore should I drive you forth!”

Now, one night, he reflected to himself, “This is the village of Laughing-Flower; and the mice made a certain promise to me. So come and let us see whether they will fulfil their promise or not.”

So he set fire to the whiskers of the mouse-chieftain, and a little while after the mice came in hosts.

“Prince,” said they, “what service do you wish of us?”

The prince gave his command, saying, “From beneath my bed drive a mine that shall emerge beneath the bed of Laughing-Flower. That is the service I require of you,—provided that you leave not the soil on my floor (to betray the mine). Hide it somewhere within doors.”

Thus did they. Then, the next night, the prince set out. Through the mine he reached the dwelling of Laughing-Flower, and there he dressed himself in her clothes. His own cloak he cast over her.

In the morning when Laughing-Flower awoke, she was very vexed, that, with

so many fairies and watchmen on guard, here should be the clothes of some other person.

To her sentinels she said, "Keep not such watch again: to-night I will even keep watch myself."

So they all went, and she remained keeping watch herself. When the night was advanced, Laughing-Flower fell asleep. At this time came the prince. He exchanged his robe for hers. Then, when morning came, the Princess Laughing-Flower arose.

"I have seen no one!" she marvelled, "yet again this has happened!"

The third night she again continued, herself, to keep watch and ward; and she made a cut in her little finger, and rubbed salt into it, so that sleep that evening should not come to her. When the night had drawn on, she beheld the prince emerging from the ground beneath her bed; and when the eyes of the two met, they were robbed of consciousness. The princess was the first to recover; she strove to lift him on to her own couch. She chafed his face and temples.

The prince recovered himself, and then they fell to talking. And they found their conversation a pleasure. The princess asked him, "How is it that you have come?"

"In search of you I came," declared the prince; and then he told her of his adventures on the way.

The princess said, "To carry me off is very difficult. Yet will God make it easy to you, for that I am your helper. These are the conditions my father has made,—first, there shall be a fight between dogs: one will be yours, and one will be my father's, which latter is very powerful. If your fortune hold good your dog will win, and you will gain the day. The second trial is this,—in an open plain they will erect a bar of iron which no one can break unless a lock from my hair (be with him). Such a lock, if I give it you, bind round the handle of your axe, and strike at the bar: which will then break. The third trial is this,—they will sow a large quantity of mustard-seed on the ground, and they will then plough the soil; all this mustard must you collect."

After they had thus spoken together, the prince took his leave, and returned by way of the mine, to his own house.

When morning came, he sent word to the King of the Fairies, saying, "I am prince of such-and-such a country: and I am come for the hand of your daughter."

The king sent a reply, "It is well. Fulfil the conditions I set; then certainly will I bestow on you my daughter."

Then he gave him details of the conditions,—that upon a certain day should be the fight between dogs.

Thereupon the prince in question made his lioness's cub to resemble a dog as far as possible: and awaited the time fixed for the battle. When the day came, the Fairy-King's dog dealt the first wound; but finally, after a long struggle, it befell that the prince's animal killed the hound of the Fairy-King.

So did the prince gain the first of his successes. Next day came the test of the

bar of iron. The prince went forth into the plain, grasping his axe in his hand. But he forgot that the princess had given him a lock of her hair.

Altogether, three blows were allowed him. To the first blow that he delivered, there was no result. He struck yet again,—still nothing happened. He was ready for the third blow, when he recollected the lock of hair that had been given him. Winding it about the axe-handle, he struck. The iron bar was cloven.

The King of the Fairies marvelled greatly, thinking that mayhap this was a sorcerer.

When the day of the last test came, the King of the Fairies commanded his servants to sow mustard-seed. They ploughed in criss-cross fashion, and (first of all) weighed the mustard-seed in scales.

“This will you gather together again,” they said to the prince, “until the weight of the mustard-seed in the scales is once more correct. And if there be but one grain short, then will your head be the penalty.”

Then they led the prince out to the plain: and all the people of the city were there gathered together. The prince,—in their midst,—proceeded to prepare the water for his ‘hookah.’

“What a foolish man you are!” remonstrated some of the bystanders. “With the most difficult task possible hanging over your head, here you are fidgetting about in this fashion!”

“What kind of a task is this, that I need set to in haste!” replied the prince; “Bring me my ‘hookah.’”

When they had brought the ‘hookah,’ and filled it, he set a match to it, and placed therein the wings which the queen-ant had given him. Soon after came the ants.

“What is our work?” they asked the prince.

“That in this field not a single grain of mustard-seed remain,” replied he. “All of it must be collected.”

“Have no fear whatever,” said the ants, and they commenced to gather in the mustard-seed. The ants’ mustard-seed came in grain by grain; and they replaced it in the scales, until only one grain remained to complete the full weight.

Then the prince gave orders to the ants, telling them that a grain was missing. The leader of the ants said, “One of our number is lame: therefore has he not yet arrived,”—and sent one or two ants after him. They belaboured the lame one thoroughly, and taking the grain of mustard-seed from him, carried it to the prince.

The mustard-seed was complete; the prince had gained his hazard!

He was delighted, and gave the ants leave to depart.

The King of the Fairies conducted him from the plain, and carried him straight to his palace: and there he celebrated his marriage with Laughing-Flower.

So they were united, and passed their days in happiness and joy.

When some time had elapsed, the prince requested permission of his father-in-law to revisit his own country.

The Fairy King granted his request: and for his going, made all such arrangements as are befitting to royalty. So the prince set out for his own kingdom. First of all, he visited the python: and there he moved Laughing-Flower to laugh, and from her mouth fell flowers, so that the insects quitted the great serpent's nostrils, and thus relieved him.

Then the prince again took the road, till he arrived in the kingdom of his father. His father was overjoyed, and gave orders for the clarions to be sounded.

* . My story is done, *
* So off home I run. *

X. THE STORY OF BROTHER NIM KUNI.

There was once a King who had seven wives, but neither a son nor a daughter. He was always unhappy. One day, from excess of grief, he was lying upon his couch. A Faqir came begging for alms, and the King gave to him.

“O King,” said the Faqir, “may I be your sacrifice! What is it that grieves you?”

“I am sad,” replied the monarch, “because, although I have seven wives, I have no son.”

“Follow me,” said the Faqir, and he went forth from the city. A great tree was there, and with his staff the Faqir brought down seven leaves. These he gave to the King, and said, “Take these, and give to each of your wives a leaf.”

So when the King again reached his home, he did so. A mouse came, however, and ate half of one of the leaves.

Some time after each of the King's seven wives bore to him a son. But one of these was ‘Nim Kuni.’—Of the double members of the body he had but half his proper allowance. He was the son of the woman of whose leaf the mouse had eaten half.

As years passed, the sons gradually grew up and the King procured a cat for Nim Kuni, for him to ride upon. To the six other sons, the monarch gave lances for tent-pegging,—to Nim Kuni he gave a clothes-prop. Then they used to tilt. Not one of the others could transfix the peg, but Nim Kuni coming along at it, galloped underneath their horses, and carried it off.

Now the six in question began to dislike Nim Kuni. They used to say to him: “Do not come about with us,”—but he used to accompany them by stealth, riding underneath their horses.

One day they went out to hunt, telling him not to follow them; but Nim Kuni did so.

Now Nim Kuni was very clever, and exceedingly strong in body. The six others, as they went along, became hungry; and commenced to be sorry, saying, “If Brother Nim Kuni were here, from this garden hard by he would obtain us some melons.”

“Here I am! Here I am!” exclaimed Nim Kuni as he heard these words, and fetched them the melons.

When they had eaten the fruit, and were satisfied, they said to Nim Kuni, “Now you may go back again. Do not follow us.”

But he again followed on their tracks by stealth.

They came to an arid plain, in which was the house of an old hag, who fed upon the flesh of men. They put up for the night at her abode. When dusk fell, the six of them ate their meal, and the hag said, “Now you may go to sleep.” But they were afraid, thinking, “Now will this old man-eating hag devour us.”

They said among themselves, “If only Brother Nim Kuni were here, he would devise some way of escape.”

“Be not dismayed!” cried Nim Kuni (coming forward).

He said to the old hag, “We will go to sleep after you shall have prepared for us a tasty fry.”

When the six had eaten of the fry, the hag said, “Now sleep.”

Nim Kuni replied, “We will sleep when you shall have brought us, in a sieve, water from the river, Mother.”

The hag went off to the river.

“Off you go! Flee!” exclaimed Nim Kuni to his brothers. And they did.

The hag found she could not bring the water, and in a fury she came back to her dwelling. When she arrived, her guests had flown!

“What a trick to have played me!” she exclaimed, and started running in pursuit of them.

Six of the brothers made good their escape and arrived in their own village. But the old hag overtook Nim Kuni on the road. As she came up, Nim Kuni took refuge in a hole. The hag seated herself on the brink.

Then Nim Kuni thrust at her with his clothes-prop, so that it impaled her, and she died.

Nim Kuni mounted his cat, and made his entrance into his own village. And on his entrance, he admitted that he had saved his brothers from death. The King his father was overjoyed, saying, “How clever Nim Kuni is!”—and thereafter he was admitted to the companionship of his brothers.

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THE CHANK BANGLE INDUSTRY.

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The Chank Bangle Industry ; its Antiquity and present Condition.

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Superintendent of Pearl and Chank Fisheries to the Government of Madras.

INTRODUCTORY.

At the present day the general use of bangles made from sections sawn from the shell of the sacred Indian chank or conch (*Turbinella pyrum*, Linn.) is confined to the people of Bengal and of certain of the adjacent provinces. In India proper the custom does not appear to range further west than Behar, nor further south than Orissa. On the north and east the limits are less determinate as there the peoples are wilder and the means of obtaining articles of ornament difficult and uncertain. We may say, however, that throughout Thibet from Ladakh in Kashmiri Thibet to the Kham country in the east, the women, whenever their means and opportunities permit, wear heavy and coarsely-made bangles manufactured from this shell. In Assam and Bhutan the same custom is observable, but owing to the diversity in origin and to the differences in the manners of the tribes in this region, the custom is sporadic ; in one valley all the women may wear these ornaments ; in the next valley or in the adjacent hill villages none may be seen.

The women of Bengali race are the main observers of this practice, and were the fashion of wearing chank bangles to become obsolete among them, the industry would languish and probably soon die out. It is they alone who provide a market for richly carved and highly polished chank bangles ; their humble sisters among the Santáls, Kochhi, Thibetans, and Maghs are satisfied with plain or rudely carved bangles without polish—they prefer strength and quantity to ornamental designs and fine finish.

The industry of bangle-cutting, as will be detailed in the following paper, is located at the present day almost entirely in Bengal. Dacca is the chief centre of the manufacturing trade, Calcutta the emporium where the raw material is gathered from the different chank fisheries in the south of India and in Ceylon and whence the shells are distributed to Dacca and numerous local centres scattered throughout the length and breadth of Bengal.

The following notes are intended in part to show that in ancient days the custom of wearing these peculiar ornaments was widely spread throughout the greater part of India and that bangle-workshops were equally widely scattered, from Tinnevely in the extreme south to Kathiawar and Gujarat in the north-west, through a long chain of factories located in the Deccan. The general condition of the industry as it

exists at the present day in Bengal will be described with such notes as I have been able to gather with regard to the various tribes and castes whose women now wear bangles made from the chank shell.

I. THE ANTIQUITY OF THE INDUSTRY.

(a) *Its existence in Tinnevelly at the beginning of the Christian era.*

Reference to ancient Tamil classics furnishes evidence scanty but indubitable of the existence of an important chank-cutting industry in the ancient Pandyan kingdom in the early centuries of the Christian era. Similar evidence is also extant of a widespread use of carved and ornamented chank bangles in former days by the women of the Pandyan country which may be considered as roughly coextensive with the modern districts of Tinnevelly, Madura and Ramnad, forming the eastern section of the extreme south of the Madras Presidency.

Among the more important references which prove the ancient importance of this industry on the Indian shore of the Gulf of Mannar, is one contained in the "*Maduraiikkanchi*," a Tamil poem which incidentally describes the ancient city of Korkai, once the sub-capital of the Pandyan kingdom and the great emporium familiar to Greek and Egyptian sailors and traders and described by the geographers of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. under the name of Kolchoi. From the purity of the Tamil employed in this poem and the similarity of the names of the towns, ports and goods mentioned incidentally with those employed by Ptolemy and the author of the "*Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*," we may date it as approximately contemporaneous with the writings of these authors and certainly not later than the 2nd or 3rd centuries A.D.

In one passage (LL. 140—144) the Parawas are described as men who dived for pearl oysters and for chank shells and knew charms to keep sharks away from that part of the sea where diving was being carried on. Another passage depicts the city of Korkai, then a seaport at the mouth of the Tambraparni, as the chief town in the country of the Parawas and the seat of the pearl fishery, with a population consisting chiefly of pearl-divers and chank-cutters. The great epic, the *Silappathikāram* or "*Lay of the Anklet*," written about the same period by a Jain poet, gives further information about Korkai from which we gather that on account of the great value of the revenue derived from the pearl fishery, this city was a sub-capital of the Pandyan realm and the usual residence of the heir-apparent, boasting great magnificence and adorned with temples and palaces befitting its wealth and importance.

Another valuable reference to the chank trade is contained in two Tamil stanzas which chronicle a passage at arms between a Brahman and Nakkirar, the celebrated poet-president of the Madura Sangam in the reign of the Pandyan king, Nedunj Chelivan II, who flourished probably about the beginning of the 2nd century A.D.

The Brahman, named Dharmi, presented to the Sangam a poem purporting to be composed with the aid of Siva. Nakkirar, the President, in spite of its alleged divine origin, criticized the poem mercilessly, and rejected it as unworthy of literary recognition. The Brahman took revenge by presenting another poem also purport-

ing to be inspired by Siva; in it he held the President up to ridicule on account of his caste trade in the following pungent lines :—

“ அங்கு கங்கு கிண யரிவா னி னொ ய யூ சி ப்
 பங்கு ம்பட யி ன் ன கொ ண் ப ம்ப பி ட் சங்கு த ன்
 கீ ர் கீ னொ ய யூ க் கி ண கீ ரி ன் னொ வெ ண் க யி னொ
 ய ர ர ய டு ன் ன த் த வ ன் . ”

which may be literally translated as follows :—

“ Is Kiran fit to criticize my poem ? Spreading his knees wide, his joints loosened (by the labour), does he not saw chanks into sections, his ghee-smeard saw murmuring the while kir-kir ? ”

Besides the insult intended to be given, the verse contains a play on the President's name and the sound given out during the sawing of chank shells.

The reply of Nakkirar was, “ Chank-cutting is indeed the calling of my caste ; of that I am not ashamed. But of what caste is Sankara ? ” (one of the many names of Siva). “ We earn our livelihood by cutting chanks ; we do not live by begging as he did ”—an allusion to the fable popularized by the Brahmans wherein Siva is represented as a mendicant seeking alms with a skull in his hand as begging bowl.

சங்கு கறு ம்பட தெரு க ன் கி ண க் சங்கு ர ன் னொ க் கி ண க்
 பங்கு ம்பட யி ன் னொ னொ னொ ப டி டி ர மெ சங்கு
 ய ரி ன் னொ னொ னொ னொ னொ னொ னொ னொ னொ னொ னொ
 யி ன் னொ னொ னொ னொ னொ னொ னொ னொ னொ னொ னொ

Dharmi's description of a chank-cutter's trade is wonderfully vivid in the original Tamil; in a dozen words he paints a realistic word-picture of a cutter's workshop—the men seated on the floor with knees widely spread and depressed outwards almost to the ground to give free play to the great crescentic two-handed saw monotonously droning a single note as it cuts its way laboriously through the hard substance of the shell.

Tradition has it that Nakkirar, the chank-cutter President of the Sangam, was a Parawa by caste. It would be most appropriate if this be correct as we have already seen that at the beginning of the Christian era chank-fishing and chank-cutting were among the important trades carried on in Korkai, the chief settlement of the Parawas in early days and the emporium then known to Greek sailors and traders as Kolkhoi.

No Parawas to-day are engaged in chank-cutting, although they still largely monopolize the shore industries of Tinnevely, where they continue as from time immemorial to provide a large contingent of the divers required for the exploitation of both the Pearl and the Chank Fisheries of the Gulf of Mannar.

It is noteworthy that though their women do not now wear chank bangles their

children under two years old are often given roughly-made chank bracelets to wear in the belief that such will protect them against the baneful influence of the evil eye, from vomiting and from a wasting disease called *chedi* which appears to be rickets. The disease is reputed to be caused by the child being touched or approached by a woman during her menses! This custom has now been abandoned or is perfunctorily performed by some of the better class Parawas, but the great majority, including naturally the whole of the poorer and the more ignorant sections of the community, continue to adhere strongly to the custom. These bangles are roughly finished and with the crudest of ornamentation; they are made by Muhammadans at Kilakarai, their chief settlement on the coast of the Gulf of Mannar.

The evidence furnished by the Tamil classics of the existence of an extensive chank bangle industry in the extreme south of India during the height of ancient Tamil civilization, 1200 to 2000 years ago, has received unexpectedly conclusive corroboration within the present year (1912) through discoveries which I have made on the sites of the once-famous Tamil cities of Korkai and Kayal (now Palayakayal). These cities are now represented by mounds of rubbish adjacent to villages still bearing the appellations of their celebrated predecessors. At Korkai which, as already noted, flourished from a date well antecedent to the Christian era down to some indeterminate time prior to 1000 A.D. when the accretion of silt at the mouth of the Tambraparni drove the inhabitants to build another city (Kayal) at the new mouth of the river, I made the greatest find. There, on the landward outskirts of the village, I unearthed a fine series of chank workshop waste—17 fragments in all. The whole number were found lying on the surface of the ground in a place where old Pandyan coins have from time to time been discovered according to information gathered in the village. The fragments unearthed all bear distinct evidence of having been sawn by the same form of instrument, a thin-bladed iron saw, and in the same manner as that employed in Bengal at the present day. Eight fragments represent the obliquely cut “shoulder-piece,” six consist of the columella and part of the oral extremity of the shell, and the remaining three are fragments of the lip—all show a sawn surface, the positive sign of treatment by skilled artisans.

At Kayal or Palayakayal (*i.e.* Old Kayal) as it is now termed, the daughter city of Korkai, which flourished in the days of Marco Polo and which appears to have grown rich as Korkai gradually passed away as a seaport owing to physical changes in the delta of the Tambraparni, I found an excellently preserved sawn shoulder-piece, with marks of the apex having been hammered in after the present-day habit in Dacca workshops. This was found on the surface in an open space within the present village. Time did not allow me to prosecute a detailed search, but in my own mind the single fragment found is conclusive evidence of the industry having once been located here. No shell-cutting of any description is now carried on anywhere in this neighbourhood.

Again, at Tuticorin, I have found a sawn and hammered shoulder-piece of typical form, hence as the three discoveries were all made at places which *in turn* have been the head-quarters of the chank-fishery, I am fully convinced that at all three, chank-

bangle workshops formerly existed, to treat on the spot this product of the neighbouring sea. Why the seat of the bangle-cutting trade became transferred or limited to Bengal is obscure and may never be satisfactorily elucidated; I am, however, inclined to suggest the hypothesis that the decay of the industry in Tinnevely may have been consequent upon the Muhammadan invasion. The date of the passing away of the chank-cutting industry I am inclined to put tentatively at about the fourteenth century, a time which marks the close of unchallenged Hindu supremacy in the south, the spoliation of the vast riches of the Pandyan cities by the Moslem and the heyday of Arab sea-power on this part of the Indian coast. With the depression and decay entailed by the loot and ruin of their enormously wealthy temples and long prosperous cities by the invaders under Malik Kafur, it is far from improbable that the particular trade here referred to became disorganized within the Pandyan realm and forced into a different channel, the whole of the shells being exported to Bengal to be cut there instead of being treated, at least in part, locally at the seat of the fishery.

(b) The Former Existence of Bangle Factories in the Deccan and in Gujarat and Kathiawar.

I have been unable to obtain any evidence from ancient Indian writings of the existence elsewhere than in the extreme south of the country of any ancient custom of wearing bangles cut from chank shells. Probably such references do exist, and if this be so, I trust the present notes may elicit their quotation by scholars who are familiar with the ancient Sanscrit and Gujarati classics, the most probable sources of information.

Fortunately, in this absence of written records, archæology has important evidence to offer, and although it is difficult to date the greater portion of this testimony with any exactitude, it offers irrefutable proof that the industry of chank-cutting and the custom of wearing chank bangles had once much less restricted geographical range than at the present day. The largest collection of remains demonstrating this fact is the Foote collection of Indian prehistoric and protohistoric antiquities in the Madras Government Museum. This valuable series comprises several thousands of palæolithic and neolithic implements and weapons, together with multitudinous fragments of pottery and other artifacts assigned to the neolithic and succeeding prehistoric periods. For us the main interest centres in the numerous fragments of chank bangles and chank workshop cuttings and waste represented in the collection. Many of these were found associated with undoubted neolithic stone implements, while others were mingled with potsherds of less readily determinable age. The collection includes worked specimens of bangles in a fragmentary condition from the following districts and provinces in India :—

Mysore.	Hyderabad (Raichur Doab).
Bellary.	Kistna.
Anantapur.	Gujarat.
Kurnul.	Kathiawar.

The localities in Mysore, Bellary, Anantapur, Kurnul and Hyderabad adjoin one another and form a solid block or district in the southern Deccan, some 250 miles from north to south and 150 miles from east to west. The find in Kistna District is of separate importance as it consists of two fragments of finished bangles associated with Buddhist objects (lead coins, head of figurine, etc.) which cannot of course be considered prehistoric.

The localities in Gujarat and Kathiawar form a second well-marked geographical area, being situated around the Gulf of Cambay and adjacent to a coast where chanks are fished at the present day.

Omitting Kistna District, Mr. Bruce Foote's collections and explorations indicate only these two localities as centres of ancient chank-working in an examined area which extends from Tinnevely on the south to Rajputana in the north, an area inclusive of the whole of Central and Southern India.

In order to be in a position to decide the age of these chank fragments it will be most satisfactory if I tabulate in the following pages the various sets and give such details as Mr. Bruce Foote supplies in his descriptive catalogue of the collection, with such commentary on each as may be pertinent to the subject at issue.

MYSORE.

Srinivaspur in Kolar Taluq. No. 202.¹ Six fragments of chank bangles associated with iron slag, No. 202 (158), the half of a weathered basalt celt and large quantities of fragments of pottery. The particular place where the above were found was to the east of the big tank at Srinivaspur, "where several acres of ground are covered with much comminuted earthenware lying in a thin layer, With the pottery I found half a celt of basalt minus its butt but weathered and trimmed at its cutting edge. Half a dozen pieces of broken bangles of chank shell occurred scattered about in the layer of potsherds. Noteworthy among the broken sherds are the vase bases Nos. 202/83—91 of highly polished brown, or red and brown colours." A flat sherd, No. 202—99, is described as "black half polished with an impressed pattern like many small tents; a similar fragment was found by Mr. R. Sewell at Gudivada in the Kistna district." The age of these potsherds, etc., is stated by Bruce Foote both on page 11 and on page 23, volume 2, as apparently neolithic. In my opinion, however, the presence of chank bangle fragments found among the pottery indicates the age to be considerably later than neolithic days and at a time when iron was freely employed as I cannot admit that chank shells can be sawn and bangles made therefrom without the use of a metal saw; the association of a fragment of iron slag is significant. Apart from this, the presence of No. 202/99, described as decorated with a similar pattern to that upon some fragments of a fine vessel found at Gudivada in the Kistna District, is evidence in favour of the comparatively late date of these Kolar specimens. The Kistna ones belong certainly to historic times as they comprise lead coins, a terra cotta head of a figurine, very

¹The numbers noted are those given in Mr. Bruce Foote's "Catalogue Raisonné," Madras Government Museum, 1911.

classic in appearance, apparently belonging to early Buddhist times. With the Kistna specimens fragments of chank bangles are also associated.

BELLARY.

(a) Manakurti Hill, 1353. "Columella of a chank shell, upper end ground." Found at the same place were a small flake scraper of chert and a small quartz flake. [Note.—Similar fragments of chank columellas are used by some hill tribes in N.-E. India as ear or hair ornaments.]

(b) Nagaldinni, Adoni Taluq, 1442/77—79. Three fragments of chank bangles came from made ground, east of Nagaldinni, Adoni Taluq, 40 miles north-east of Bellary, associated with a large number of neolithic flakes and cores of chert and agate.

(c) Nagaldinni, Adoni Taluq, 1456/16—57. A large number (42) of chank bangles were also turned up by the plough in fields at an old site near the Tower Rock, Peté, 3 miles west of Nagaldinni, associated with shell beads (Cowry, *Natica* and *Nerita*) and pottery which Bruce Foote says is "probably of Iron Age" (all these bangle fragments lack ornamentation; they are of the simplest and most primitive form and bespeak either lack of skill on the part of the workers or primitive taste on that of the wearers). Santal and low-caste Hindu women in Bengal at the present day wear somewhat similar bangles in the form of gauntlets consisting of from 8 to 12 separate rings.

(d) Mugati, Adoni Taluq, 1457/38 & 39. Two fragments of chank bangles were associated with numerous flakes, cores, strikers, etc., of chert and agate obtained from a site on a low hill, west of Mugati, Adoni Taluq.

(e) Sandurvallam, 1516, B, C & D. At a site west of Sandurvallam, 15½ miles north-east of Bellary, two fragments of worked chank bangles and a working fragment of chank shell were found. The only objects associated with these were a portion of the lid of an earthenware vessel and a piece of reddle or earthy haematite ground upon one side. [The discovery of a single working fragment is insufficient evidence that this was once the site of a bangle factory; in Bengal to-day the working sections cut in the Dacca workshops are largely distributed to other towns to be carved and polished.]

(f) Hampasagra, on the Tungabhadra, 1518/5—23. The discovery of eighteen fragments of chank bangles and a shoulder portion of shell sawn off as in the cutting up of shells for bangles, from made ground on the right bank of the Tungabhadra, east of Hampasagra, 53 miles west of Bellary, furnishes evidence of the extensive use of chank bangles in ancient days in this neighbourhood. With them were beads made of entire *Paludina* shells, and fragments of *Cypraea moneta* and of a *Nerita*. The fragments show considerable skill in engraving patterns upon the outer surface—Mr. Bruce Foote places the age as late neolithic or early Iron Age (p. 75, Vol. II). It is quite probable that this was the site of a bangle factory for while the presence of a working section is not sufficient evidence, that of a waste fragment such as is cut off the shell when sawing it into working sections, is almost conclusive, because

there is no object in transporting waste to a distance from the factory. Usually such wastage is burned to make lime, shell lime being highly valued in India for white-washing and fine stucco work.

(g) Hadagalli, 1518/a, b & c. From made ground in the north bank of a nullah, at Huvina, near Hadagalli, 65 miles west of Bellary, came a single bangle fragment with 2 cowries (*Cypraea moneta*).

(h) Raidrug, 1552/1. A fragment of a bangle found on a village site south-east of the Tope, Raidrug.

(i) Malyam, 1565/156—158. The mounds south of Malyam, Raidrug Taluq, yielded three fragments of chank bangles. From the same mounds came three fragments of scrapers made of *Unio* shell, together with a flake of specular iron, and an oval disc of earthy haematite having two faces and a side ground. Also much pottery which Mr. Foote says is “*probably neolithic*,” and a small neolithic celt and diorite corncrusher; however, on p. 24, Vol. I, he refers to the Malyam pottery as of “*typical Iron Age*.” Half of a hone (1557) of slaty lime-stone, deeply worn by use, is a notable find at this site. With the bangle fragments, etc., was a marginal scute of the carapace of a species of Turtle.

(k) Bellaguppa, 1574/4—11. From an old site north of Bellaguppa, came a fragment of a working section of chank shell, an entire *Cypraea moneta*, four fragments of scraper made of *Unio* shell, and three fragments of chank bangles; associated with these were a neolithic celt, a fragment of a corncrusher, some pottery and two metal fragments, one being possibly part of a bronze ring.

ANANTAPUR DISTRICT.

(a) Havaligi Hill, Gooty Taluq, 2088/2—9. Eight fragments of chank bangles without incised ornamentation were found on an old site on Havaligi Hill, an isolated granite hill in Gooty Taluq, 40 miles north-west of Anantapur.

These were associated with a granite-mealing stone and several celts, hammers, flakers and corncrushers chiefly of basalt and diorite and all of neolithic facies, together with a large number of chert and agate flake artifacts, many of which were serrated and biserrated. Mr. Bruce Foote (*loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 81) says, “*Exactly for what purpose they*” (these highly worked flakes) “*were made is problematic unless indeed they were used for working the patterns on chank shell bangles*. Some are really delicate objects the preparation of which must have required much time and great care.” Numerous cores of both chert and agate were found here. [*Note*.—In connection with the above suggestion as to the probable use of the flakes it must be noted that from the same site came 2085, a fragment of iron slag, which indicates a knowledge of iron, a much more suitable material for chank working tools than chert or agate flakes, however carefully worked. Besides, the remains give no indication of this site having been the scene of a bangle factory, as all the fragments are worked and just the fragments which we see when bangles being broken accidentally or purposely are thrown aside by the wearers.]

Bruce Foote says (*loc. cit.*), “*There are many signs of continued habitation on*

the middle and eastern parts of the hill, especially the latter, in the shape of mealing places, mostly small and deepish ovals; the shallower hollows are of much larger size superficially."

(b) Tadpatri Railway Station, 2106—a. The only other find of chank bangle remains was one of a plain unornamented bangle washed out of made ground, north of Tadpatri Railway Station; at the same place were found cores of red jasper and of chert and a fragment of steatite vessel showing signs of having been turned on a lathe. All these remains are classed as neolithic by Mr. Bruce Foote.

CUDDAPAH.

(a) Mundlavaripalli on the Papaghni River. No. 2203. A large number (29) of fragments of chank bangles from left bank of Papaghni River, at Mundlavaripalli, Kadiri Taluq. Three exhibit carved patterns such as may be made by a saw or a file, the others without incised carving.

With them were associated a large and remarkable series of fragments of old pottery to which Mr. Bruce Foote assigns a neolithic origin (*loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 23). No particulars are given as to the depth below the surface at which these remains were found, or whether they were found loose on the surface.

KURNUL DISTRICT.

(a) Bastipad on the Hindri River. No. 2258. A most important find was made by Mr. Bruce Foote in 1888, on the left bank of the Hindri, opposite the village of Bastipad, of large numbers of interesting potsherds, fragments of finished and unfinished chank bangles, and over a score of pieces of chank shells of exactly the same character as those now produced in the cutting up of chanks in Dacca bangle workshops. A piece of iron slag and another of specular iron were also produced by the same site, together with a broken celt and an oblong hone both made of diorite, and some neolithic chert flakes.

These remains appear to have been collected from the surface of ploughed fields as Mr. Bruce Foote says the pottery was mostly much broken up by the ploughing of the fields which had come to occupy the old site in which they had been buried. This site must have been a populous village in olden times to judge from the quantities of potsherds found, and there can be no doubt that one of the industries of this ancient village was that of chank bangle manufacture. The waste pieces and the ring sections cut from the shell are precisely what we meet with in Bengal workshops at the present day. The striations made by the slicing saw are still clearly to be discerned, and their regularity and the straightness of the cut are the same as those produced by the big semilunar fine-toothed saw now in use in Dacca factories for this purpose. The presence of the hone and the two pieces of iron have a direct bearing on this matter. The evidence taken altogether disproves completely to my mind, the possibility that the bangle fragments found here and in other localities by Mr. Bruce Foote were produced by neolithic people using finely serrated chert or

agate flakes as suggested by him (*loc. cit.*, p. 81, Vol. I). Had such been the case the shell sections and the waste fragments cut off in the course of sectioning—the shoulder of the shell and the lip portion of the mouth whorl—would not exhibit the perfect regularity and evenness of sawn surface which they do. It is quite possible to cut a ring section from a chank-shell by means of a flint “saw” but the task is one involving prodigious difficulty and the waste pieces must necessarily be broken and chipped off in the process in consequence of the impossibility of cutting cleanly through the shell owing to the smallness of the tool and the thickness of its back. Only a thin blade, such as the employment of iron or steel permits, will perform the task of sawing off the shoulder or the lip portion in one continuous operation and without breaking off the waste parts piecemeal as the sawing progresses, as must necessarily be the case if a small thick-backed stone tool be employed.

The hone found may conceivably have been used for rubbing down the thickness of the edge of the iron saw employed, as at Dacca to-day, or in sharpening the edge of the chisel-edged implement used in sharpening the teeth of the saw itself.

RAICHUR DOAB (S.-W. HYDERABAD).

The country lying between the Tungabhadra and the Kistna, the Raichur Doab, appears to have been thickly populated in prehistoric times by the same race as has left great numbers of implements scattered through the present districts of Kurnul, Cuddapah and Bellary. Three sites have yielded remains of bangles and of these one has undoubtedly been a manufacturing centre where the raw material has been cut up and worked into bangles for sale to the people of the district. This ancient factory was located near Maski, on the right bank of a tributary of the Tungabhadra. Exhibits 2783—63 to 2783—85 are typical chank workshop waste exactly similar to what I have seen in Dacca factories. There are examples of obliquely cut “shoulder pieces” with the apex purposely smashed in as in modern rejects from a Dacca factory, of fragments of the columella and of cut-off “beaks.” Fifty-three fragments of worked bangles are also shown and a considerable proportion, 2783—25 to 2783—35, exhibit traces of ornamentation in the form usually of cross grooves. Associated with these chank artifacts are numerous neolithic chert flakes, scrapers, and cores, also a fair quantity of old pottery which Mr. Foote regards as of iron age (p. 23, Vol. I), though I am personally inclined to place the age considerably more recent for reasons to be stated later. The find of a broken iron blade, 2783*a*, at this site is of the utmost importance; it may well be the remnant of a small hand-saw such as is used to-day by Bengal workmen for roughing out much of the line decoration so characteristic of bangle ornamentation.

Fragments of chank-bangles have also been found at two other places in Raichur Doab—at Kotegallu, Ling Suger Taluq and at Rawalkonda. In both cases they were associated with neolithic implements, basalt celts and very numerous chert and agate flakes; a considerable number of the Rawalkonda flakes have biserrate edges. At Kotegallu, the objects had been turned up during ploughing and at Rawalkonda they appear also to have been surface-finds; hence in my opinion the significance

and value of the association of the bangle fragments with undoubted neolithic artifacts are largely impaired.

It may be remarked in passing that the Kotegallu and Rawalkonda bangle fragments are of the crudest patterns and show no signs of incised carving.

KISTNA DISTRICT.

In Southern India, apart from the southern region of the Deccan, the only find of chank bangle remains has been at Gudivada in Kistna District. The two fragments there found are without decoration, and their approximate age is more easily assignable than that of any specimens from other localities; the associated objects are undoubtedly early Buddhist in their origin, consisting as they do of four lead coins, a terracotta figurine head modelled on classic lines, earthen spindle whorls, and several polished black potsherds, one piece having distinctive decoration similar to a fragment found near Srinivaspur in Mysore associated with several fragments of chank bangles.

GUJARAT AND KATHIAWAR.

Mr. Bruce Foote's labours prove that the custom of using chank bangles was widely spread and that chank-bangle factories were numerous in these two provinces in ancient times.

The finds which he records are as follows :—

In Kathiawar :—

(a) Damnagar, Amreli Prant.—In the fields (presumably upon the surface) north of the camping tope at this town a great number of chank bangles in a fragmentary condition were found, and of these 41 pieces are represented in the Museum collection. Three working fragments were also found at the same place, together with a couple of cowries and a Trochus shell ground upon three sides. Associated were such neoliths as a basalt corncrusher, a bloodstone hammer, and chert and agate cores.

(b) Babapur.—At this village, situated 13 miles westward of Amreli, the alluvium of the left bank of the Shitranji river yielded a large and important series of neolithic chert flakes, scrapers, slingstones, and cores in association with 13 fragments of finished chank bangles, together with two working fragments and part of the columella of a chank. Several of the flint flakes are worked upon one or both edges, and one of the bangle fragments exhibits a chaste design executed with considerable delicacy (pl. xvi, fig. 3615-1). The other bangles are of plain and crude design.

(c) Ambavalli.—Seventy-one fragments of broken bangles from an old site at this place are represented in the Museum collection (Nos. 3622-1 to 65 and 81-89). Of these the greater number are ornamented by pattern grooving and many show an elaboration of design as great as those now manufactured in Bengal. The designs in many instances are precisely the same as those in vogue to-day. Seventeen of the finest examples are shown on pl. xvi, borrowed from the Foote catalogue.

Associated with these bangle fragments were numerous portions of sawn sections of chank shells, constituting the rough working material required by the bangle carver (pl. xvi, fig. 3622-64); 33 fragments are shown (Nos. 3622-63 to 65 and 90 to 110).

With the exception of a few unimportant potsherds the only other object of importance found at this site was a small iron knife with tang. No stone implements were discovered, and no information is given as to the precise conditions under which any of the exhibits were found; presumably they lay on the surface of the ground examined.

(d) *Sonnaria*.—Fragments of two chank bangles of simple pattern apparently found on the ground surface. Fig. 3623, pl. xvi, shows the simple semi-cylindrical pattern of one fragment. A chert scraper comes from the same locality.

(e) *Kodinar*.—On the surface of Mr. Foote's camping ground were found several sawn portions of chank shell, two being shoulder slices such as are found in the wastage from a bangle workshop.

(f) *Válábhipur* (the modern *Walah*).—From the ruins of the ancient city Mr. Foote obtained a large and most interesting series of chank-bangle fragments, 62 in number, whereof ten of the most noteworthy are reproduced on pl. xvi under No. 3493. With them were a smaller number (seven) of sawn working sections. A few marine shells (*Nerita*, *Nassa*, *Ostrea*, and *Conus*) were also found among the ruins.

In Gujarat :—

(a) *Sigam*, on north bank of the *Heran River*.—Five weathered sawn working sections of chanks are represented in the collection from this site. No finished remains of bangles were seen. The site yielded a variety of neolithic flakes and cores and two sandstone hammers or pestles. No indication is given of the precise mode of occurrence, but I conclude they were all surface finds.

(b) *Kamrej*, 12 miles north-east of *Surat*.—The summit of a small islet in the *Tapti* river at this place yielded three sawn shoulder slices (workshop waste) of chank shells and a single fragment of finished bangle. The latter is remarkable for the peculiarity and elegance of its pattern, a broad and closely worked zig-zag groove such as I have never seen either among ancient bangle fragments or on any of the present-day productions of *Bengal*. It is figured as No. 3066-*b* on pl. xvi.

With these chank remains were two fragments of sandstone hammers.

This site is notable as being on an islet in the *Tapti* river protected against assault by steep and almost inaccessible sides—a place very defensible and therefore an ideal place for the settlement of craftsmen.

(c) *Mahuri*, in *Vijapur Taluq.*—From “an old site at the head of the gully system which cuts deep into the alluvium of the *Sabermati*” at this place, a series of working sections and waste pieces of chank shell were found sufficiently numerous and varied to convince me, after examination of the fragments, that a bangle workshop undoubtedly existed here at a remote period. The presence of sawn waste associated with sawn working sections is conclusive.

Of completed bangles the remains found were few (eight are shown in the collection), but of these, three are of special interest on account of the elaboration of ornament exhibited. Two of these fragments are of broad bangles richly carved in patterns (fig. 3310 6-7, pl. xvi) very closely approximate, if indeed not identical, with

forms in use at the present day. The third fine example is a tiny fragment (3310-8), of the narrow form of bangle known as *churi* in Bengal, usually worn in sets of three on each wrist. The other fragments found are of simpler patterns.

An interesting associated find was that of a small "finial" carved out of shell, probably mother-of-pearl (fig. 3310-5, pl. xvi). It is identical in form with a mother-of-pearl nose-pendant now in use among the poorer castes in some country districts in Bengal. An example which I purchased in Eastern Bengal is carved from the shell of a river mussel (*Unio* sp.). From the alluvium at Mahuri whence the bangle fragments came, a few neolithic implements, chert flakes and scrapers principally, were unearthed, together with several noticeable pieces of pottery. Of the latter, one is of special importance as it affords some evidence better than the neoliths touching the age of the bangle factory once situated at this place. It is a small headless figure of a sacred bull, of polished earthenware, red externally and black within. Two garlands are indicated around the hump by means of rows of tiny impressed punctures, and there can be little doubt that it is of early Brahmanical age.

(d) Kheralu.—A single fragment of a sawn working section of chank shell was found on the surface of the loess at this place.

Eight sites can clearly be indicated as probable centres of this industry, namely, (a) Sigam, Hiran Valley, Baroda Prant, (b) Kamrej, on the Tapti, (c) Mahuri, on the left bank of the Sabarmati, Baroda State, with (d) Ambavalli, (e) Damnagar, (f) Kodinar, and (g) in and on the alluvium of the Shitranji river above Babapur, all four in Anireli Prant, Kathiawar, also (h) Válabhipur in Vala State, Kathiawar. At all these places working fragments of chank shells have been found. The most important sites appear to have been those at Mahuri in Gujarat and Ambavalli and Válabhipur in Kathiawar. The unworked sections and waste pieces of shells found at these three places are so numerous and so characteristic in their form of stages in shell-bangle manufacture that we are perforce compelled to admit these sites as having been in old times locations of important factories, a conclusion to which further weight is given by the discovery at each of these places of fragments of completed bangles, in many instances of highly decorated patterns. At Ambavalli and Válabhipur fragments of finished bangles are especially plentiful, and as may be seen by reference to pl. xvi where two bangle fragments from Mahuri (No. 3310), one from Babapur (No. 3615), ten from Válabhipur (No. 3493), one from Kamrej (No. 3066) and seventeen fragments from Ambavalli are figured, ornamentation is well executed and exhibits considerable taste, a high degree of skill, and undoubtedly the employment of effective tools of several sorts—saws, drills and files. Iron is the only metal suitable for making tools fit for carving the extremely hard substance of chank shells, and it is of the greatest interest and significance that at the Ambavalli site, associated with the many fragments of worked and unworked chank circlets found there, an iron knife with a tang was discovered which from personal examination I am satisfied may well represent such a chank-saw as is to-day in common use in Bengal chank factories for cutting patterns upon the bangles.

From a consideration of the details given above a certain number of facts and conclusions of importance emerge, to wit :—

(a) In all cases the fragments of bangles and of chank shells appear to have been surface finds. In several cases this is definitely stated and in the remainder wherever no statement of horizon is given, the context points to a like provenance. From this it follows that association with neolithic artifacts in itself has little value or significance; both neoliths and chank fragments are practically indestructible by atmospheric weathering agencies, and their association may merely connote the fact that particular surface areas have suffered little or no denudation or change since neolithic times, whereby the broken implements and discarded ornaments of a later age have mingled with those of an earlier one. Or it may be the result of the artifacts of different ages having been weathered out of different alluvial strata in such way that they come eventually to lie together at a lower level of the original ground or else in some newer river deposit into which floods may have rolled them.

(b) The facts already noted that all sections of chank shells, working pieces as well as wastage scraps, show cleanly sawn surfaces as verified by examination of the originals now in the Madras Museum, and that these surfaces show series of striæ *often at two or more angles to one another*, are sufficient to negative the tentative suggestion made by Mr. Bruce Foote (*loc. cit.*, vol. I, p. 81, and vol. II, p. 132) assigning a neolithic origin to the workmanship. Neither serrate nor biserrate chert flake saws, however delicately made, could possibly produce such cleanly sawn sections as we see represented in the collection. The aid of thin metal saws must be invoked, and it is most significant that in two instances (Ambavalli in Kathiawar and Muski in the Raichur Doab) fragments of iron knives were found associated with the remnants of chank working-sections. In several other cases (Srinivaspur in Mysore, Havaligi Hill in Anantapur, and Bastipad in Kurnul) pieces of iron slag were found in association.

As the working sections of chank shell retain visible evidence of being sawn by means of a metal (iron) saw, and as iron fragments are frequently associated with them, the evidence is to me satisfactory that the age of the former cannot possibly be neolithic; knowledge of the manufacture of iron into somewhat elaborate tools—saws, files and drills—must have been possessed by the bangle makers. This would appear therefore to rule out the early iron age, when iron weapons and tools were of primitive design.

Incidentally this conclusion is likely to affect the estimate of age accorded to the potsherds so frequently associated with fragments of chank bangles and to render doubtful their identification as neolithic or even of early iron age.

(c) Three sites alone give other than negative evidence in regard to age. These are Gudivada in Kistna District, Válabhipur in Kathiawar and Mahuri in Gujarat. The remains at the first named are indubitably Buddhistic while the occurrence of a figurine of a bull with a double garland round the hump points distinctly to an age when the adherents of Brahmanism were in the land, holding in especial reverence Siva's sacred bull. Most important find of all was that made in the ruins of Válabhipur, for the history of this old city is fairly well known; the dates of many of the great events that happened there are known and the descriptions of two Chinese Buddhist

pilgrims who visited the city are extant. The story of Válabhipur goes back some centuries before the Christian era and for long it was the seat of the Válabhis, a Rajput race, and the centre of their rule, till A.D. 766 when the last of the line was overthrown by Arab invaders from Sind. Válabhipur was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang in the course of his fifteen years' sojourn in India (A.D. 630-645) and by I. Tsing in the succeeding century. Both pilgrims describe it as a large and flourishing city and a great centre of Buddhist learning, its streets and schools crowded with students. The reigning dynasty, themselves of the Brahman faith, appear to have been tolerant of Buddhism like many of their contemporaries. In Hiuen Tsang's day the latter religion was still followed by great numbers of the populace, especially in Orissa and Southern India; elsewhere Hinduism was rapidly becoming the popular religion and the mass of the people were of this faith when the last Valabhi dynasty ended in A.D. 766.

As the chank is a religious symbol both to Hindus and to Buddhists, we may reasonably conclude that the remains of chank bangles found in Válabhipur were made for the use of the women of the town and neighbourhood not later than the eighth century. The trade must have been long established at that time to judge by the excellence of the work turned out, which fully equals that of average Bengal workmanship of the present day.

Taking all facts into consideration I am inclined to date the majority of the bangle fragments found in the Kathiawar and Gujarat sites as roughly contemporary with the Válabhipur specimens, or at most not antedating them by more than 300 to 400 years.

To date the Deccan chank bangle factories is more difficult; one outstanding fact is the simplicity of all the patterns. The great majority are devoid of ornament save for a boss roughly carved at one side. This plainness of design would seem to bespeak less skill on the part of the Deccan workman than on that of his fellow craftsman in Gujarat. If that be the explanation, and if it be not due to lack of taste or of the means to pay for good work on the part of the buyers, then we may reasonably date the majority of these fragments back to the first few centuries before or after the beginning of the Christian era. The presence among the pottery mixed with the bangle fragments found near Srinivaspur in Mysore of a flat sherd similar in pattern to one found with the Buddhist remains at Gudivada in Kistna District is noteworthy as lending further countenance to this conclusion.

(d) The finds made argue that apart from Tinnevely in the South two other great centres of chank-bangle manufacture and usage existed, one in the Southern Deccan, the other adjacent to the coast of Kathiawar. It is most probable that other centres of the industry did exist, but at present there is little direct evidence to this effect. For instance it is not likely that an industry which was firmly established in Eastern Bengal at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in India¹ and of Tavernier's travels in the seventeenth century, and which continues to flourish at the present day, should be of modern growth.

With regard to the third known seat of the industry in ancient times, that which

¹ "Garcia da Orta writing in the sixteenth century states that the chank was then an article of importance in the Bengal trade, though less valuable than formerly."

flourished in the early centuries of the Christian era in the Tinnevelly District, its geographical location in the coastal section of the Pandyan Kingdom made it the natural centre and home of a great chank-cutting industry. The Pandyan sovereigns were from time immemorial overlords of the Pearl and Chank Fisheries of the Gulf of Mannar and Palk Bay, the most important source of supply of the raw material then and now, and it is a curious vagary of trade that the present seat of the industry should be situated 1500 miles from the scene of the fishery.

From the fact that among a few widely separated castes, sub-castes and tribes of the extreme south of India, including among others the Kotas of the Nilgiri Hills and certain sections of the Vellalans and Idaiyans in the inland Coimbatore District, the custom prevails of wearing chank bangles for ceremonial reasons, we may also reasonably infer the former wider prevalence of the custom. Indeed it is probable that the custom was at one time prevalent throughout a large section of Southern India.

Kathiawar and adjacent Gujarat are also both maritime provinces, and this geographical situation is the key to the location of a chank-bangle industry in those provinces in early times; the coast of Kathiawar is the only considerable source of chank shells apart from the Gulf of Mannar and Palk Bay. No chank cutting is done either in Kathiawar or Gujarat; the women there have abandoned their former habit of wearing chank bangles and all the shells fished on the Kathiawar coast are exported to Bengal where they are known in trade as "Surti" shells, as Surat was the mart for them prior to the rise of Bombay.

Why the Southern Deccan should once have been the home of a shell-cutting industry is not so easy of explanation, seeing that it is situated in the heart of the country and distant from 400 to 500 miles from the nearest sources of supply (Rameswaram and the Tanjore coast). Possibly the location of this trade in the Deccan was due to the superior skill as craftsmen of the people in these districts inherited from expert stone-using ancestors who found in the tough quartzite and trap rocks of the district more suitable material for their weapons and tools than the men to the southward where intractable gneiss constitutes all the rocky outcrops. Certainly in prehistoric times Bellary, Kurnul, and Cuddapah were more thickly populated than the country to the south if we may judge from the evidence of the number of stone implements found respectively in these two sections of India. The neolithic remains of these Deccan craftsmen show their makers to have been comparatively highly skilled workers and with the discovery of the use of iron, haematite ore being abundant in Bellary, the men of this district may reasonably be supposed to have developed special skill in the working of the new material into tools and in the manufacture of many articles, ornamental as well as useful, with the aid of these improved tools. Add to this the natural conservatism of tribes isolated from the coast by hill ranges—the customs and manners of the Deccan tribes have been less changed by contact and intermixture with surrounding races than the majority of the tribes or races living in the coastal plains. To these inland people the wonder of the great shell honoured by their gods would appeal vividly; the mystery, to them, of its origin would confer added importance and as we find the wild hill tribes of Assam and Bhutan do at the present day, they

would end by endowing ornaments made from it with mysterious powers of ensuring well-being and good luck, even as the Buddhist cartmen of Ceylon and their Hindu brethren throughout the Southern Carnatic adorn their bulls with a chank shell as a charm against the evil eye.

The chank shells for the Deccan bangle workshops may have come from the Tanjore coast, this being the nearest source of supply. The Tanjore fishery appears to have been fairly lucrative down to the middle of the 19th century when economic changes caused a collapse of the industry. Tirumalavassal at the mouth of one of the northern branches of the Kaveri is the centre of the chank fishery on this part of the coast and is not far from the site of Kaveri-pattanam, once chief port of the Chola kingdom and in the height of its prosperity in the early centuries of the Christian era. From Kaveri-pattanam to the inland districts of Kurnul and Bellary the transit of goods would be comparatively easy and safe; coasters would be used to the mouth of the Kistna, 350 miles to the north, whence river craft would carry the goods direct to their destination, 200 miles inland. Or it may be that the shells required in the industry were fished further south, in the neighbourhood of Adam's Bridge, for we have the statement of Cosmas Indicopleustes, circa 545 A.D., of place called Marallo, on the continent opposite Ceylon, where a shell called by him *Κοχλίους* (Kochlious)¹ was produced in quantity. Again, a chank fishery, the most productive in the world, exists to-day off the N.W. coast of Ceylon and direct communication by means of large native craft has existed from time immemorial between the north of Ceylon and the port of Masulipatam, for centuries the Eastern sea-gate of the Deccan. The cause of the cessation of chank industry in the Deccan, Gujarat, and Kathiawar is probably to be looked for in the constant strife which kept India in a welter of blood through the six centuries of Muhammadan dominance in the land. From the days of Mahmud of Ghazni, in particular the northern and central portions of India were harried by successive waves of fanatic invaders sweeping down through the North-west passes, and from the thirteenth century onwards to the end of the seventeenth the story of India is that of an unceasing contest between Muhammadan and Hindu for power on the part of the former and for existence and religion on that of the latter. Well may certain old Hindu customs have disappeared; during the worst periods when the intolerance of the conquerors was at its height their influence was often exerted towards the suppression of Hindu customs, and this, combined with the dislocation of trade consequent upon the general insecurity of the country and the frequent recurrence of raids and widespread warfare, may be considered the main reasons for the decay of the chank-bangle industry in the Deccan and Cambay provinces, as well as in Tinnevely in the South. A striking confirmation of this conclusion is afforded by Garcia da Orta, a Portuguese writer of the sixteenth century, who says:—“This chanco is a ware for the Bengal trade, and formerly produced more profit than now and there was formerly a custom in Bengal that no virgin in honour and esteem could be corrupted unless it were by placing bracelets of chanco on her arms; but, since the Pathans came in, this usage has more or less ceased and so the chanco is rated lower now.”

¹ In the Norman-French dialect still spoken in Jersey and the other Channel Islands, the common whelk (*Puccinotta*), which is the European representative of the Eastern chank, is known as *coqueluche*.

II THE PRESENT CONDITIONS AND METHODS OF THE INDUSTRY.

- (a) Preliminary.
- (b) Present centres of the trade.
- (c) Volume and importance of the trade.
- (d) The trade varieties of shells employed.
- (e) Details of bangle manufacture.
- (f) The economic position of the trade.
- (g) The castes and tribes who use chank bangles.

(a) *Preliminary.*

At the present day, chank cutting, save for some insignificant work done in Kilarai on the Ramnad coast near Pamban, has long been a forgotten art in the south of India, in Kathiawar and in Gujarat. It flourishes solely in Bengal and Assam, with its headquarters at Dacca. No fishery for chank shells exists off the Bengal coast ; the industry depends entirely for an adequate supply of the raw material upon imports obtained by way of the wholesale market at Calcutta.

The best quality of shells used in the trade comes from the fishery carried on departmentally by the Government of Madras off the coast of the Tinnevely District, a fact which makes an intimate knowledge of the methods and trade customs both of the wholesale merchants and the cutters who convert the shell into bracelets, a matter of considerable importance to the Government named. In consequence of this I received instructions in 1910 from the Madras Government to proceed to Bengal and there institute an enquiry into the present condition and course of the trade in chank shells.

A tour through the two Bengals in September, 1910, was accordingly made ; the chief distributing centres were visited, wholesalers and retail buyers were interviewed, and all the processes and variations of manufacture were investigated at representative workshops in Dacca, Dinajpur, Rangpur and other principal working centres. In the following pages an endeavour will be made to present the salient features of the present condition of the trade—to give an account of the course of business from the time the shells are exported from their various districts of origin till they pass into the hands of the workpeople ; an attempt will be made to trace the principal enhancements of price as the trade filters through the hands of the various middlemen and to estimate the final (total) wholesale value of the finished products in order that the great industrial importance of the industry may be adequately realized. The technical and artistic aspects of the industry will also receive due attention, these sections being illustrated by a series of photographs illustrative of the various stages in the manufacture and ornamentation of a chank bangle.

Prior to the enquiry upon which the present notice is based, our knowledge of the industry was most meagre. Scarcely any definite information has been recorded, save for a few generalizing sentences contained in a short article by Mr. Edgar Thurston

in Bulletin No. 1 of the Madras Government Museum, 1894, and paragraph references of the same type and brevity in official and other works dealing with the commercial products of India. My first enquiries on reaching Calcutta were to verify this apparent lack of definite knowledge concerning the course and details of the industry. It was not difficult to do so, for from enquiries made at the Indian Museum (Economic Section) I found that this trade had never before formed the subject of Government inquiry, that the exhibits in the Museum are limited to examples of shells as fished at Tuticorin and elsewhere and to finished specimens of the commoner types of bracelets and armlets in use in N.E. India; and that the longest published notice is one of a page in length in Sir George Watt's volume on "Indian Art at Delhi, 1903." This last is not of any importance; it has apparently been compiled from notes made upon an exhibit by a Dacca manufacturer at Delhi. Save for giving an illustration of a Dacca shell-cutter at work, it does not throw any further light on the subject, and on several of the few details mentioned I have found the statements erroneous, e.g. that where it says "as a rule only one bracelet can be cut from each shell."

(b) *Present Centres of the Trade.*

Tavernier in his travels through India in the seventeenth century noted the existence of an extensive trade in cutting bracelets and charms from "sea-shells as large as an egg." According to V. Ball's translation of this work (London, 1899), Dacca and Patna were then the centres of this industry, Tavernier stating that it gave employment to more than 2,000 persons in these towns. Dacca to-day remains the chief working centre, but the mention of Patna was a mystery to me till I found that another busy and long-established working centre exists near the district town of Pabna. No industry of this nature exists at Patna, and I have no hesitation in concluding that the Patna of Tavernier's "Travels" is an editor's misrendering of the name of the less well-known town of Pabna.

At the present day almost all the shells of the common chank or conch used in the bracelet-making industry are imported into Calcutta in the first instance. A few go occasionally to Chittagong, where bracelet cutting is carried on by Muhammadan workmen for supply to the neighbouring hill tribes. With this exception Calcutta is the sole emporium for chank shells.

The importers and wholesale merchants in Calcutta are chiefly men closely identified with the Dacca shell-cutters; they are either Dacca born or belong to Dacca families who have settled in Calcutta for trade reasons. Most of these chank importers are related to one another, their families for generations having followed a similar vocation. They are indeed the representatives of lines of hereditary middlemen. The majority have establishments in Dacca for the cutting of shells and the manufacture of bangles, but their chief profits arise from wholesale dealing. A few Muhammadans from the Tamil coast (Labbais) are also concerned in the wholesale trade, having been admitted thereto as their special local knowledge is of much value to their Calcutta partners or principals as the case may be; these men act as local experts and buying agents at the fishery centres in Ceylon and South India.

Under ordinary conditions the chief Calcutta importers have a business agreement among themselves, a form of co-partnery or syndicate by which the purchases are pooled and divided on a definite agreed basis. By this means they are usually able to maintain a monopoly of the trade and to a large extent to dictate their own terms both to the owners of the various chank fisheries and to the trade buyers in the Bengal manufacturing towns.

The Bengal chank-cutters originally were all Hindus and belonged exclusively to a professional subdivision of the Vaisya caste ; at the present time the Dacca workers all belong to this subdivision, known throughout the Presidency as Sankhari Vaisyas or simply Sankharis, or, as the word is corrupted in Eastern Bengal, Shakharis. They in consequence claim to be entitled to wear the sacred thread and at Dinajpur actually do wear it.

The workers in Pabna District are also of the same caste, together with the descendants of a number of chank-cutting families which have emigrated from Dacca and Pabna from time to time to various other towns scattered throughout the two Bengals. Besides the Vaisya Sankharis who are occupational chank-cutters by caste, a large number of Muhammadans follow the same trade. In several centres, they even outnumber the Hindu workers, and at Dinajpur for example, whereas only four families of Vaisya Sankharis follow the calling of their ancestors, from 80 to 100 Muhammadans earn their living at this trade.

Dacca, as in Tavernier's day (seventeenth century), when it was the capital of Bengal, continues to be the headquarters of the chank-cutting trade and the chief mart for the purchase by dealers and hawkers of the finished article. From Dacca, also, are exported to other towns in Bengal large quantities of sawn shell sections in the rough to be carved and finished locally. In Dacca the shell-cutters' quarter, the Shakhari Bazaar, is located in the heart of the city ; it consists in the main of a long and narrow street, devoted exclusively to this one trade. Usually the preliminary processes and the work of shell-cutting are carried on in partly open sheds or verandahs at the rear, whereas the carving, lacquering, and finishing of the shell sections proceed in rooms and verandahs open to the street.

The workers appear to be very conservative and have the reputation of being exceedingly clannish. Educationally their condition is or was till quite recently distinctly backward. Their quarter was held in ill-odour by their fellow-townsmen as the reputed scene of frequent robbery and undetected crime. Of recent years trade has been very good, and with increased prosperity and greater municipal and police supervision the Shakhari Bazaar has shown marked material and moral improvement. When I visited this locality the streets and the houses appeared up to the average of working-class quarters of an Indian city. Personally I met with perfect courtesy, and I am glad to be now enabled to express my appreciation of the helpful attitude shown towards myself by everybody with whom I conversed, as well as the workpeople themselves and their employers. My enquiries necessitated many questions and much cross-examination upon details of work and of trade, and never once did I meet with discourtesy or impatience.

Dacca became the manufacturing centre of the chank-bangle trade in modern times chiefly owing to its geographical situation at the present-day centre of bangle-wearing. To-day the wearing of chank bangles is virtually confined to Bengal and to the hill-tribes to the north and east of Eastern Bengal. The custom ranges from the home of the Santáls in the West of Bengal, to Assam and Manipur on the East, from the Sunderbands in the South to Thibet and the Himalayas on the North. From Dacca, the Brahmaputra and its branches enable the peddlers of bangles to penetrate to the trading posts of the wild Naga, Bhutea, and Khasi tribes, while the river network of the Ganges delta gives cheap transit to the westward. The importance conferred upon Dacca by the Emperor Jehangir when he made it the capital of Bengal was a contributing factor, the importance whereof we can judge by the strength of the tendency, apparent at the present time, for the centre of the manufacturing section of the industry to shift to Calcutta in the wake of the import trade now concentrated wholly at the latter port.

As a consequence of the centralizing influence which from reasons of economy tends to create factories at or near the port of import, Calcutta now ranks next to Dacca as a manufacturing centre ; large numbers of bangles have been produced there of late years. So far, however, its trade is a low-grade one dealing chiefly with the poor quality sub-fossil shells shipped annually in great quantities from Jaffna in the north of Ceylon. These cheap shells are utilized in the production of the commonest grades of bangles. With a few exceptions the patterns followed are crude, the workmanship rough and without regard to finish, deficiencies matched by the bad taste and wretched execution characterizing the lacquered coloration when present.

Nadia is a third centre where chank shells are largely cut up both for conversion locally into bangles and for distribution to bangle-workers in other centres. Other bangle-factories are situated in the districts of Sylhet in Assam and Mymensingh, Chittagong, Pabna, Rangpur, Dinajpur, Murshedabad, Jessore, Kulna, Burdwan, Bankura and Balasore, showing a widespread distribution throughout Bengal. Many factory groups are however of small numerical importance, often consisting of no more than three or four families.

My experience generally has been that the chank-workers' hamlets are situated as a rule in outlying villages served by the worst possible of roads. Haragash in the Rangpur District is a typical instance. This large village, a long straggling collection of hamlets covering a considerable area, lies about eleven miles outside of the district town of Rangpur. The special hamlet inhabited by the bangle-workers is known in consequence as Shakharipara ; out of a total of about 90 workpeople, some 70 are Vaisya Sankharis, the remainder being Muhammadaus. There are four principal employers of labour ; of these three have intimate business relations with Dacca houses importing therefrom all the bangle sections they require ; the fourth employer obtains his requirements from Murshedabad and Nadia where he has factories for the sawing of the shells into working circlets. No sectioning of shells is done in Haragash, where work is confined to rubbing down the rough sawn sections to the required degree and to incising standard patterns with the aid of files and small handsaws. Distribution

of the finished products is made by the intermediary of itinerant vendors who resort to Haragash at periodical intervals to buy fresh supplies. These bangle peddlers buy parcels worth anything from Rs. 100 up to Rs. 1,000 at a time. Most of them have had business relations with the Haragash firms extending over many years, and so being well known, have no difficulty in obtaining credit till their return, three or even four months later.

The Rajbansi, Kochhi and Paliya castes of Hindus, inhabiting Rangpur, Dinajpur, and Jalpaiguri Districts and the terai of Darjeeling, are the chief buyers of Haragash bangles, which consist largely of compound gauntlets of from ten to twelve rings in each set. The best centres of sale are Dhubni, Goalpara, Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar.

Dinajpur is another typical local centre. In the town itself the quarter where the chank-workers live is known as Shakhari Patti, and this, in view of the small number—four families only—now engaged in the industry, suggests its greater importance in former days. Indeed the men state that their numbers now are much reduced. They claim to be descendants of a colony from Chatmohr, in Pabna District, and are in consequence of the Vaisya caste, and wear the sacred thread (see pl. xiv, figs. 9 & 10).

Of recent years Muhammadan workers have entered into competition with the regular caste workers, and to-day the bulk of the local trade has passed into their hands. They form a separate settlement at Maljhar village near Rajapara Ferry Ghat, a short distance from Dinajpur. In all there are about 100 of these Muhammadan work-people engaged in bangle-making as against the four Vaisya Sankhari workshops, each employing five to six men. The piece-work system is in use.

The Dinajpur Sankharis do not produce their own working sections; all they require are obtained in the rough from four wholesale dealers (Hindus) belonging to Nadia who are located at Sahibganj, a small place a few miles east of Dinajpur. The shell sections sold at Sahibganj are said to be sawn at Nadia from shells brought from Calcutta. The Vaisya employers at Dinajpur usually purchase from Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 worth of sections at a time from the Sahibganj dealers on two to three months' credit. These working sections are tied up in strings of hundreds and packed in baskets at Nadia or Dacca, as the case may be, whence they are forwarded to their destination in charge of an employee; wherever possible preference is shown for transit by a country boat as the safest method in the case of brittle articles such as bangle sections.

The bulk of the Dinajpur trade consists in the production of bangles to meet the requirements of the lower castes—people who require broad, strong, serviceable bangles not readily broken in the course of their day's labour. Fully 75 per cent. of the production is thus accounted for, considerably less than 25 per cent. being medium and high grade work suitable for Hindu ladies of good caste. Further, while the latter only care at most to wear one or two pairs of narrow bangles, their poor sisters of humble position are keen to possess and wear as many as they can get upon their forearm—a set covering a length of 3 inches and sometimes even more is quite common among the Paliya and Santál women who form the bulk of the *clientèle* of the Dinajpur workshops.

In the other Bengal local centres work proceeds on similar lines, varied only in detail to meet the particular demand or fashion prevailing among the women of the surrounding district. Generally the bulk of the work is in the hands of the Sankhari caste except where Muhammadan competition has become keen, or where the town is outside of Bengal proper. Such an example is Chittagong, where the chank-bangle trade is monopolized by Muhammadan cutters. At this centre large shells only are in demand as they are required for the production of the very broad massive bangles or armlets favoured by the hill tribes served from Chittagong.

(c) *Volume and importance of the Trade.*

Commercially important as the trade in chank shells and bangles still is, it appears to have been considerably greater in former times. Thus in Simmonds' "Commercial Products of the Sea" it is stated that "frequently 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 of these shells are shipped in a year from the Gulf of Mannar. In some years the value of the rough shells, as imported into Madras and Calcutta, reaches a value of £10,000 or £15,000." I have been unable to check the accuracy of these figures—the present-day production averaging not more than 2,500,000—but from the considerably greater revenue derived by the Indian Government from the chank fisheries off the Tinnevely and Tanjore coasts during the first half of last century, the estimate probably gives an accurate statement of the value of the fisheries 50 to 100 years ago.

Overfishing in certain localities, decrease in the numbers of the diving community, and lessened demand for chank bangles are the chief causes of a decline that dates back beyond the acquisition of the royal monopoly of chank fishing by the Madras Government in the early years of the nineteenth century. Garcia da Orta has already been cited (p. 15) for the statement that in the sixteenth century the chank trade with Bengal "formerly produced more profit than now," his explanation of the decline being the lower rates given in his day owing to the custom of wearing chank bangles in Bengal having declined "since the Pathans (Muhammadans) came in."

In the second half of the seventeenth century Tavernier visited Dacca and records that more than 2000 persons were engaged in the chank-bangle trade in Dacca and Pabna, "all that is produced by them being exported to the kingdoms of Bhutan, Assam, Siam, and other countries to the north and east of the territories of the Great Mogul" (p. 267, Vol. II, English translation, London, 1889). He further mentions the visits of Bhutan merchants to Dacca whence they took home for sale "bracelets of sea-shells, with numerous round and square pieces of the size of our 15 Sol coins. Elsewhere (*loc. cit.*, p. 285) he characterized this trade as "large."

Besides the trade in chank bracelets, Tavernier (*loc. cit.*, p. 267) states that "all the people of the north—men, women, girls and boys—suspend small pieces of the same shell both round and square from their hair and ears." He also refers to a custom which prescribed that when a man dies "all his relatives and friends should come to the interment, and when they place the body in the ground, they take off all the bracelets which are on their arms and legs and bury them with the defunct."

Coming to our own days we find that according to the Bengal Customs returns the following are the declared values of chank shells imported into Calcutta during the past five years :

*Table showing the Value of Imports of Chank Shells into Calcutta
from 1905 to 1910.*

	1905-06.	1906-07.	1907-08.	1908-09.	1909-10.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
From Ceylon ..	1,44,772	1,89,280	86,515	1,81,223	1,66,060
From Madras : -					
Chief Port ..	1,583	14,435	324	2,842	1,648
Other ports ..	32,172	21,622	5,265	52,399	66,371
Travancore ..	114	Nil.	592	Nil.	500
Bombay ..	6,744	13,730	3,823	2,305	4,298
Total ..	1,85,385	2,39,067	96,519	2,38,769	2,38,877

Except in respect of the Ceylon imports the weight of the shells unfortunately is not available.

For Ceylon they are as follows :—

1905-06 ..	10,941 cwt.	..	Approximately. 6,000 bags.
1906-07 ..	15,125 ,,	..	8,000 ,,
1907-08 ..	7,259 ,,	..	4,000 ,,
1908-09 ..	15,962 ,,	..	8,500 ,,
1909-10 ..	12,480 ,,	..	6,500 ,,

Approximate annual average .. 6,600 bags of 250 shells each.

For our purpose it is of importance to know the number of shells from each producing district ; after careful consideration of the comparative statistics given above taken in conjunction with information gleaned when in Ceylon and from men in the trade in Calcutta, and with the exact knowledge we have of the Madras production, I am able to state with comparative certainty that the imports into Bengal for all practical purposes may be estimated to average 21 lakhs per annum divided as to origin thus :

Ceylon ..	1,650,000 shells.
Tuticorin ..	250,000 ,,
Rameswaram ..	150,000 ,,
Other sources ..	50,000 ,,
Total ..	2,100,000 shells

The actual Ceylon production is larger, amounting in normal years to not less than 20 lakhs, but a considerable proportion is not exported, being too small in size or too inferior in quality to be of use for bracelet manufacture. In years when a pearl fishery is held in the Gulf of Mannar, the production of chank shells usually decreases considerably (from 25 to 33 per cent.), while in favourable seasons with no counter attraction of a pearl fishery to divert the attention of the diving population, the annual yield may go well beyond the average given.

The Tuticorin and Ramnad annual export of shells although together they amount to four to five lakhs only—roughly one-fifth to one-quarter of the total Bengal consumption—have an importance much beyond what we should infer from their numerical ratio. They are the elite of their kind on account of the purity of their colour and of the high vitreous polish they are susceptible of; for these reasons they are necessary for all work of the best quality—all ornamental bracelets must be made from these shells. Jaffna or Ceylon shells on the average serve only for second and other yet inferior qualities of work. Hence while the cutters will give Rs. 160 per 1000 for Tuticorin and Ramnad shells, those from Ceylon range between the limits of Rs. 30 and Rs. 100 per 1000, the bulk inclining to the lower price rather than the higher.

The first circle in the distributing wholesale trade for many years past has been in the hands of a ring of merchant middlemen who have successfully maintained until now a strict monopoly of the Calcutta import trade. The principal men in this combine hail from Dacca, maintaining however offices and godowns in Calcutta where some members of each firm usually reside; most of these merchants are related to one another, their families for generations back having followed a similar vocation. They are indeed the representatives of lines of hereditary middlemen. The majority have establishments in Dacca for the cutting of shells and the making of bracelets, but their chief profits arise from wholesale dealing. Calcutta being a far cry from the Gulf of Mannar, the combine, as I may term for brevity this association of exclusive wholesalers, has seen fit for business reasons to admit to their circle a Labbai trader of Kilakarai in order to have the advantage of special local knowledge in conducting their operations in South India and in maintaining intact their monopoly. He is in fact their local expert and managing agent in South India. It is in his name that the combine usually bids when the Tuticorin shells are offered for tender, and it is in his name that the combine rents from the Ramnad zamindari the chank fishery off the island of Rameswaram and the coast of Ramnad. Last year a Dacca speculator entered into competition with the chank combine for the Tuticorin shells with the consequence that to defeat his tactics, they increased their bid Rs. 22 per 1000 beyond that paid for the preceding season's catch (from Rs. 99-9-7 to Rs. 121-9-9 per 1000).

By having the Ramnad lease and the whole of the Tuticorin catch the members of the combine obtain complete control of the market for the quality necessary for ornamental bracelets. They also, I believe, in some degree control the Ceylon trade and are thus able to dictate, within certain limits, their own terms of sale. I believe that each member of the ring pays a fixed proportion of the cost of the working of the combine and receives a corresponding share of or in the shells imported. This com-

Merchants sort the shells bought, in accordance with the established custom of the trade, into nine grades from No. 1 to No. 9 inclusive.

The relative sizes of the nine grades are as follow :—

Grade 1.	Shells above 4 inches in diameter.
.. 2.	.. between $3\frac{3}{4}$ and 4 inches in diameter.
.. 3.	.. .. $3\frac{1}{2}$.. $3\frac{3}{4}$
.. 4.	.. .. $3\frac{1}{4}$.. $3\frac{1}{2}$
.. 5.	.. .. 3 .. $3\frac{1}{4}$
.. 6.	.. .. $2\frac{3}{4}$.. 3
.. 7.	.. .. $2\frac{9}{16}$.. $2\frac{3}{4}$
.. 8.—	.. .. $2\frac{3}{8}$.. $2\frac{9}{16}$
.. 9.	.. .. $2\frac{1}{4}$.. $2\frac{3}{8}$

A variable proportion of grade No. 9 (between $2\frac{3}{8}$ and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter) is added to the bags, as the cutters object to any large proportion of this grade, on account of the difficulty of utilizing any large number of bracelets of such small diameter. No shells under No. 9 ($2\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter) are mixed with the assorted size ; these smallest size shells are kept separate and sold apart from the others.

Shells worned on the larger whorls are also excluded from the bags, but if the apex only be slightly affected no objection is made to inclusion as this part is of no value, being smashed in prior to slicing up the shell.

The present tendency is towards enhanced prices partly because of competition, actual or threatened, and partly because of the increasing prosperity of the chank-bangle industry. The former cause is fortuitous and may be transitory, the latter substantial and giving promise of continuance owing to the increasing demand for chank bracelets by the better class Hindu ladies of Bengal. The Bengal Swadeshi movement has been the principal factor as the people were asked to discontinue the use of foreign-made glass bangles (almost all made in Austria) and to resume the wearing of chank bracelets according to the custom of their ancestors. A second factor of considerable and increasing force is the marked advance in the artistic quality of the bracelets turned out. Some firms produce beautiful and harmonious designs, infinitely more artistic and pleasing to the eye than any of the gaudy glassware imported from Europe. The higher caste Hindu ladies who a few years ago were rapidly discarding chank bracelets as regular adornments fit only for the use of low-caste people, are resuming the habit—a change due undoubtedly to the Swadeshi movement reinforced by an increase of skill and taste on the part of the more enterprising firms.

Transactions between wholesale dealers as well as the sale of shells and ring-sections are almost always for credit, usually for periods of two to three months. Losses occur but seldom, for the “combine” would at once refuse to deal with defaulters, and workers who cannot or will not pay, or who give trouble, find the sources of supply of the raw material required in their trade cut off ; they must make their peace with the middlemen or quit business—a drastic alternative which ensures the due performance of promises made to sellers.

The trade at the present time enjoys marked prosperity and the individual worker earns high wages according to Indian standards. It is a poor workman who cannot earn one rupee per day ; remuneration is by piecework, and as the workers are trained to this trade from the earliest age they can rub a shell-circle upon a grindstone, few are not expert workmen by the age of 20. Even boys of 7 and 8 years old are able to earn 4 annas a day at rough filing. Skilled hands earn from Re. 1 to Re. 1-8 per day, and those capable of carving elaborate patterns command considerably higher rates. The appearance and conduct of the men generally give the impression of superior intelligence ; I found them quick to catch my meaning when engaged in cross-examining them upon the details of their trade, and they showed the utmost courtesy and patience in their efforts to render matters plain to me.

(d) *The Trade Varieties of Shells Employed.*

Chanks from different localities have distinguishing characteristics well known to the Calcutta and Dacca dealers ; they constitute in fact a considerable number of local races differing little in appearance to the casual eye, but readily distinguished by these shell experts who are able to say at a glance whence any particular shell has come. As a consequence of these local varieties having differing physical characters, their price varies and the shells from each locality are kept and sold separate during the first series of wholesale transactions. Among the wholesalers at least eleven varieties and qualities are recognized. They may be summarized as under :—

1. *Tuttikutti*.—Shells obtained from the Madras Government fishery off the coast of Tinnevely. These form the finest and most valued quality, from which the choicest bracelets are manufactured. They are marked by a well-balanced and elegant form, neither squat (as in the Negapatam or Tanjore type) nor greatly elongate (sub-fusiform) as in shells from the Andamans. The regular and gradual increase in the size of the whorls enables this form of shell to be cut to greatest advantage, and gives a maximum number of large sections. The shell is of a perfect opalescent whiteness and of great hardness and evenness of texture, qualities which render it susceptible of a high polish.

In seasons previous to 1909-10, when the Calcutta buying combine were able to buy these shells practically at their own price, they were disposed of wholesale by these men at from Rs. 35 to Rs. 38 per bag of 250 shells, or Rs. 140 to Rs. 152 per 1000, on credit terms.

2. *Ramessari*.—These are the shells fished off Kilakarai and the island of Rameswaram under licence from the Ramnad zamindari. The quality approaches that of Tuticorin very closely but is esteemed slightly inferior, and fetches about Re. 1 to Rs. 2 less per 100, not so much in respect of the quality of the individual shell as because of the larger number of smaller grade shells present, due to lack of fishery regulations designed to safeguard the immature. Good selections, however, will at times fetch prices equal to those of Tuticorin shells, and by one of the tricks of the trade, these shells appear to be lumped frequently with Tuticorin shells as of equal quality in sales made to the bracelet-cutters in outlying villages, as these men appear not to

know of the existence of this grade and of the slight difference in quality between it and that of Tuticorin.

3. *Jammaipatti*.—An inferior quality of Ramnad shell fished off the mainland to the north of Mandapam—thence to Tondi. An inferior shell, small and of poor quality, price about Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 per 1000.

4-7. *Patti*.—This is the generic name for “live” shells fished off the north and north-western coasts of Ceylon. There are several recognized grades of patti, the principal being :—

4. *Nayakhad patti* or standard patti is the best grade.—The shells so distinguished are of good working size, thick in substance, and of good colour; the best of them approach closely the Rameswaram quality and fetch wholesale from Rs. 70 to Rs. 100 per 1000 in the Calcutta market. The name is said to be the Bengal equivalent of Neduntivu, otherwise Delft, an island near Jaffna, where the majority are fished. Some shells of the same good quality also come from the waters immediately north of Mannar Island.

Other qualities are :—

5. *Small Patti*, of same quality as grade 4, but of inferior size and sometimes inferior colour. Worth Rs. 30 to 45 per 1000 in Calcutta.

6. *Thin Patti*.—Shells of inferior thickness obtained from certain Jaffna waters. Worth about Rs. 25 per 1000.

7. *Mixed Patti*.—Neither this nor the preceding grade has come actually under my observation. The present quality is said by the dealers to consist of mixed shells of inferior quality and colour imported from Singapore via Jaffna. The value ranges from Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 per 1000 in Calcutta.

8. *Dhola*.—Dead, sub-fossil chanks from the shallow muddy lagoons in the neighbourhood of Jaffna, Ceylon. These are found by probing with an iron rod in the soft mud. They are chalky and lustreless and are used for the cheapest and most inferior grades of bracelets. A considerable proportion of the large sizes are found and these sell for Rs. 5 to 6 per 100 in Calcutta; the small sizes from Rs. 3 to 4 per 100.

This quality is the one principally employed in making the compound bracelets or gauntlets of 10 to 12 rings affected by low-caste Hindu women in Northern Bengal—Paliya caste very largely.

9. *Gharbaki*.—A class of squat shells badly adapted for economical cutting coming from the Carnatic coast, from Point Calimere in the South to Madras in the North. To the defect of shape, they add that of colour, these shells being frequently distinguished by a marked redness of the inner surface. They are also said to be more brittle than Tuticorin shells and not to give the high glaze when polished as do the latter shells. *Karamukhi* is a term sometimes employed for those of this quality which are characteristically tinted a dirty brick-red at the mouth opening. They vary greatly in quality and may fetch anything from Rs. 40 to 80 per 1000 in Calcutta. Good average quality, such as are fished on the Tanjore coast, should fetch Rs. 80 per 1000 wholesale in Calcutta without difficulty. A certain number of inferior shells with an undue proportion of small sizes come from the French territories of Pondi-

cherry and Karikal ; it is possible that these in part are fished in British waters and surreptitiously carried to French territory owing to the rule in force in Tanjore and South Arcot to confiscate all undersized shells brought in for sale to Government. The price of these French shells rules usually from Rs. 20 to Rs. 25 per 1000 less than for shells fished off the British districts, owing to the larger proportion of small sizes present.

10. *Duani*.—These shells are fished off the Travancore coast. They are large and of excellent quality. They come packed in cadjan mats, the large separated from the small. The former fetch from Rs. 14 to Rs. 18 per 100 according to size, the smaller Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 per 100. The larger run 100 to a bag—the smaller 200 to 250 per bag. The total quantity imported into Calcutta seldom exceeds 100 bags per annum.

11. *Surti*.—The name is a corruption of Surat as these shells were originally shipped from that port before the rise of Bombay. They are fished almost entirely off the Kathiawar coast ; often very large and of fine quality. They are recognized as of two sub-grades, of which the larger fetches Rs. 22 to Rs. 25 per 100 while the smaller runs from Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 per 100. The quantity imported is said to be about 80 bags large (100 shells to a bag) and 120 bags of small (300 to a bag). It must be understood that the prices given above are approximate only ; they represent the average value during the past two or three years.

The sawn rings supplied from the wholesale cutting factories at Dacca and some few other centres to local bangle workshops widely scattered throughout Lower Bengal, are distinguished and sold under a different series of trade terms. The range of these terms undergoes considerable reduction at this stage, as it is now only a matter of the quality of the working section or ring and not of size and shape in addition to colour and quality as is the case with regard to the classification of shells.

The grades of shell-sections recognized by bangle workers in outlying districts are usually five in number, and are as follows :—

First quality, *Titkutti*.—The working sections sold under this title vary in price from Rs. 17 to Rs. 22 per 100 pieces according to size and quality—the average working out at about 3 annas each. As is indicated by the name, these sections should be cut from Tuticorin shells of perfect quality. In actual practice, the highest quality of Rameswaram and a quantity of the best selected Ceylon shells from Neduntivu and Mannar are usually utilized for the production of Titkutti rings. These are usually bought on credit in Rs. 100 to Rs. 300 lots.

This particular quality is required almost exclusively for the manufacture of highly ornamented bangles of *churi* and *bala* descriptions as both these require to be highly polished, and for this purpose the Tuticorin grade is the one best adapted on account of its great hardness, fine grain and perfectly white colour.

The second quality, termed *Jádki*, also hails from the Tuticorin and Rameswaram fisheries, but is slightly inferior to the Titkutti grade which forms a "selected" quality. The inferiority of the Jádki grade is expressed usually in some slight defect in respect of colour or the presence of a worm hole. The price of working sections made

from this quality is from Re. 1 to Rs. 2 per 100 less than similar sized Titkutti ones.

Patti is the 3rd grade, priced from Rs. 2-8 to Rs. 3-8 per 100 sections less than those of the Titkutti grade. They are cut from good quality Jaffna shells. The large compound bangles so freely used by Santál women are made from this quality.

The 4th grade, *Dhola*, is cut from dead shells imported from Ceylon. The price for useful-sized sections ranges from Rs. 8 to Rs. 12 per 100 or from Rs. 5 to Rs. 6 per 100 less than for Patti.

The 5th and most inferior grade is *Alabila*, cut from the smaller sizes of Jaffna dead shells. The wholesale price varies from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 per 100 sections.

(c) *Details of Bangle Manufacture.*

Being an industry widely scattered over a large area—the two Bengals and Assam—it is to be expected that considerable variations in the conduct of manufacture should prevail. In large centres such as Dacca and Calcutta a great part of the work is carried on by capitalists employing workpeople on piecework; elsewhere it is largely a home or family industry carried on by the head of a household with the aid of his sons and relatives.

In Dacca, the industry falls into two chief divisions, one engaged upon the preparation of working sections of the shell which may either be wrought into the finished product by other craftsmen in the town or else exported to other towns where the trade is limited to the ornamentation of working sections sawn from the shells elsewhere.

The preparation of working sections is carried out usually in shady sheds in the backyards of the employers. In a typical one six sawyers were employed. The shell first passes through a preparatory treatment for the purpose of extracting the columella and thereby reducing the amount of labour necessary in sawing the shell into sections. To admit of this a slice of the lip is first sawn off; it is then comparatively easy to break through and shatter, by way of the mouth opening, the majority of the various septa connecting the columella with the outer wall of the shell. The apex of the shell is next smashed in and the apical septa destroyed, so releasing the columella, already set free in its oral portion; the shell is now open from end to end. The tool employed for breaking away the columella is a hammer fashioned on the principle of the well-known geologist's hammer, sharp-edged on one end of head and square on the other.

The shell is now ready for the sawyer, who sits on the earthen floor tightly wedged between two short stakes of unequal length driven into the ground. Against the longer, measuring some 15 inches above the ground, the worker's back is supported, while against the shorter, only 4 to 5 inches high, his toes are pressed. The space between the two stakes measures no more than 18 inches, hence the workman although he sits with his knees widely separate is very tightly jammed between the rests. This is found essential as it is necessary that his limbs should be rigid during his work, as

† This fragment of the columella is utilized by some hill people for making into rude ear or hair ornaments!

his feet have to function as a vice during the sawing of the sections, the shell to be cut being placed between the right heel and the toes of the left foot.

After the columella and lip of the shell are removed, a disc of hard wood is placed over the mouth aperture of the shell to provide a firm purchase for the foot pressed against this side of the shell. The worker is now ready to begin sawing the shell into sections. For this purpose he is provided with a heavy hand-saw of great apparent clumsiness. The iron blade, as seen in figs. 3 & 4, pl. xiii, is of a deep crescentic form ending in an attenuate horn at each end. A little way from each of these tapered extremities the end of a long iron tang is rivetted to the back of the saw; the further ends of the two tangs are connected by a thin cane cross bar or handle lashed by twine to the tangs which are covered with a serving of the same twine. It is noteworthy that the tangs are not straight but have a hook-like bend near the attachment to the blade. The latter is of stout forged iron plate 2 mm. thick except for a distance of one inch from the cutting edge where it is worked down to a thickness of 0.6 mm. Between the tangs the back of the saw is protected by a piping of iron. A saw of this description costs about Rs. 10, each workman providing his own. After sharpening, a new saw is adorned on each side of the blade with a number of red spots as auspicious marks.

In beginning work, the shell is placed somewhat obliquely between the feet, the apex directed to the right and away from the worker, who places his left hand on one twine-covered tang of the saw and the other on the horn of the blade at the opposite extremity. Balancing the saw carefully in his hands, he applies the edge to the shell and begins a vigorous to and fro movement of the saw from side to side, the course of his hands being through a segment of a circle at each swing. Several times he pauses momentarily to adjust the shell anew as the work progresses. On an average it takes $4\frac{1}{2}$ minutes to saw once through a shell. The number of working sections given by a single shell is determined according to the shape and size of the shell and the thickness of the sections desired. For the narrow *churi* bangles as many as ten sections may be obtained from a good-sized shell, but for the broad *bala* bangle three are a good average. If 5 sections are cut from a shell, the shell has to be sawn through six times, so we must count five minutes as the minimum time required to cut off a working section. To this must be added the time occupied in resharpening the saw, a frequent requirement owing to the great hardness of the shell. Fortunately the method employed is an expeditious one. It consists merely in going over the whole length of the cutting edge in a series of taps with a light chisel set hammerwise in a wooden handle (fig. 4, pl. xiii). The taps are quite lightly given, the serrations very numerous and very shallow.

In Dacca, a skilled cutter is paid at the rate of Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 per 100 shells sawn up, but for this remuneration he has to prepare the shells for cutting, a slow and tedious operation, and has to provide his own tools. One hundred working sections per day is the limit of production per man working upon shells previously prepared ready for sawing. In practice it is usually considerably less owing to various delays normal as well as unforeseen—the repeated sharpening required by the saw, a badly

prepared shell, a cut heel due to a slip of the saw, and often enough, a touch of fever. Shell slicing calls for the possession of a highly trained eye, perfect steadiness of hand and arm, and an ironlike capacity to sit for long periods in a position of great discomfort. Unless in a perfect condition of bodily fitness such work is an impossibility. During apprenticeship few men can endure the strain sufficiently long to accustom their body to the habit of the strained position, the constant and monotonous attention required by the saw and the extreme fatigue of the occupation. As a consequence the sawing of working sections is limited to a few centres and a good cutter is a valuable asset to his employer. To retain a hold upon these men, employers willingly give large advances in cash to them, sometimes amounting, I was told, to as much as Rs. 200 per head ; the usual advance ranges between Rs. 100 to Rs. 200. Whenever an exceptional need arises for the expenditure of a considerable sum—it may be a marriage in the family or cost of death ceremonies—a further advance from the employer is relied upon to meet the emergency. The excess beyond a certain sum will be gradually liquidated thereafter, leaving a standing advance at the debit of the workman which on both sides is not expected to be repaid unless the employee decides to quit the service of his master, a virtual impossibility in the case of such improvident people as these cutters are, unless he takes service with another employer who is willing to pay up the whole indebtedness and so take over the debt as well as the workman.

Hitherto the Dacca and other shell cutters have employed no machine saws. They believe that no machinery is capable of cutting the shells without damage, basing their belief on the results of an experiment with some form of machine saw tried some years ago. The cutters allege that the impact of the saw upon the shell was to cause innumerable small fractures which rendered bracelets made from the sections thus cut fragile and liable to break much more readily than when the sections are cut by means of the hand-saw. It is probable that this effect was produced by the machine used, but it does not follow that there are no machine saws on the market capable of cutting shells without ill-effect on their substance. Probably the machine used had a saw carrying teeth too coarse or too large in size. I noted as a striking and characteristic feature of the hand-saw employed, the extreme minuteness of the teeth along the edge, and further that their form is dentate, not serrate, that is, the axis of the point is vertical and not oblique. The latter characteristic enables the saw to cut equally well whether sawing from right to left or conversely. As already noted, so small and weak are the teeth that to sharpen such a saw a series of taps along the edge of the blade with a chisel set hammerwise in a handle is sufficient for the purpose.

The further stages in the manufacture of chank bangles vary within wide limits, dependent upon the market to be served. Some of the processes require no great skill and may be carried out by cheaply paid labour ; others necessitate a long training and great expertness on the part of the workers. Of the former is the preliminary rubbing down to smoothness and regularity of the inner and outer surfaces of the working sections. The first stage after the latter come from the sawing shed is to remove as much as possible of the inwardly projecting " beak " which is the remnant of the septum between adjacent whorls left after removing the columella. This

projection has to be chipped off with the utmost care as this part of the ring is its weakest point as it marks the junction of adjacent shell whorls, and if the work be done roughly or carelessly, the ring is frequently fractured at this place. The tool used is a small form of the hammer used to break away the columella and the apex, one end of the head being sharp, the other blunt. With its aid any acutely projecting portions of the margin are also broken off in order to reduce to the utmost the labour of rubbing down. It may here be noted that owing to the shell having to be cut obliquely and not transversely to the long axis the sections appear to be cut askew, particularly those below the shoulder of the shell, and in consequence the ring in transverse section shows one outer obtuse and one outer acute angle; when the latter is specially prominent it is usually reduced by careful chipping with a light sharp-edged hammer.

The rubbing down of the inner surface of the working circlet is accomplished in an ingenious manner by means of a wooden spindle 18 to 20 inches long, covered with an abrasive coating of fine river sand embedded in a rough lac basis. Several sections are threaded on the spindle which is wedged tightly between the low stool whereon the grinder sits and some rigid second support—a tree trunk outside the house or a post of the verandah workshop. Smoothing is effected by rubbing the rings up and down the spindle till the required effect is attained. For this work, the pay given in one workshop visited was 5 annas per 100 sections finished, plus $1\frac{1}{2}$ anna per 100 as the cost of the lac in which the abrasive is incorporated. The lac used is a coarse quality obtained from the Garo hills and elsewhere in Assam. If the bangles to be made are of the heavy plain pattern required by low-caste Hindu women, the sawn (lateral) surfaces of the section are now ground down upon a fine-grained sandstone slab reputed to come from Mirzapore, near Benares. This stone is not unlike the small gravestones used by Muhammadans in some districts; it measures usually 16 in. \times 8 in.

A typical compound bangle made at Haragash in Rangpur District in considerable quantity has the outer face of each section formed of two planes meeting medially at an obtuse angle. The original form of the working ring in transverse section being rectangular, considerable labour is required to rub down the outer face of each ring to the requisite pattern owing to the crude form of the tool used; the work is simple, and with an abundant supply of cheap labour, employers feel no need to seek for improved methods. For grinding the outer face of bangles to this pattern the workers receive Re. 1 per 100.

More highly finished bangles necessitate decoration by means of carving, drilling, polishing and lacquering. For carving, small tenon saws and files are used; preference is given to the former whenever possible as it is more flexible, expeditious, and durable than files. The greater part of patterns composed of straight lines and grooves are graved in this way by a small saw of the pattern shown in figs. 8 & 9, pl. xiv. The edge is of the same minutely dentate form as in the two-handed shell-saws, and is sharpened in similar manner by means of a chisel-edged hammer. An ornamentation frequent on common bangles for countrywomen is where a V-shaped groove passes circumferentially around it. This is produced by two cuts

made by this saw finished off by filing; when this groove is made in bangles where the outer face has in addition to be first ground to an obtuse circumferential angle, the worker in one factory visited was paid at the rate of Rs. 4 per 100 bangles for these two operations.

The rest used by bangle carvers to support the working sections exhibits some variation in style according to locality. In Dacca a primitive-looking tripod of three thin sticks is employed, two short, the third long. The two former are lashed together in inverted V-form, in such way that a twisted bridge of string connects the two near the apex. Through the opening thus formed one extremity of a long stick is thrust to the extent required, thus providing a rough tripod with a short projecting arm at the apex. With the aid of this primitive implement, the carver, who squats at one side of it, has all the support he requires while sawing or filing patterns upon the bangle.

In the northern districts of Eastern Bengal, bangle decorators commonly use a less makeshift-looking rest. In this the two short legs of the tripod are formed of a permanent A-shaped frame made of teak having two short thick legs and a small aperture bored through the upper solid part (fig. 8, pl. xiv). When in use one end of a bamboo rod, $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, is thrust through the aperture in the wooden A-frame, thus forming the required tripod rest. The projecting end of the bamboo is whittled down till it is of suitable thickness to suit the workman's taste.

All remuneration is on the piecework system, with rates varying according to the difficulty and time required by each different pattern of bangle. A few examples will serve to show the wide range in rates. Thus the work of carving and polishing narrow; highly carved churis of the design figured in fig. G, plate xv, sold wholesale at Rs. 2-4 per set of six, is paid for at the rate of one rupee for the set, while the workmen receive only two rupees per 100 bangles when these are of the plain 5-piece armlets made for Paliya women at Dinajpur. The monkey's-head pattern of bala bangle figured on plate xv (fig. C) is carved and ornamented with red and green lac at the rate of one rupee for three pairs. Red marriage bangles showing an incised pattern cost from four to five annas per pair to prepare, inclusive of the charges for grinding, engraving and lacquering.

Lacquering.—In Bengal, owing to the custom prevailing there among Hindus which requires a bride to put on for the marriage ceremony two red-coloured chank-bangles, a considerable trade exists in lacquering and decorating bangles in this colour in the manner prevalent in each particular district. Besides these marriage bangles, sankhas as they are termed, a small amount of decorative lacquering in other colours is placed upon certain patterns of *bala* bangles, worn by better class Hindu women as ornaments and apart from their obligatory marriage sankhas.

The lac employed is ordinary lac bought in the local bazaars where also the needful pigments are obtained.

The preparation of the coloured lac is done by the workpeople themselves in many workshops, and I was fortunately able on one occasion to be present during the making of a stick of red lac such as is used in colouring red sankhas. For the

vermilion that is required, a quantity of the purplish-red crystals of *hingól* (cinnabar) are obtained. This is ground down to a fine powder upon a disc-shaped stone of fine-grained granite or gneiss by means of a pestle consisting of a short stumpy pebble, roughly conical in shape (pl. xiv, fig. 10). One tola weight of *hingól* to three tolas' weight of shellac is the proportion employed. When the pigment has been sufficiently reduced, two-thirds of the total amount of shellac requisite is first fashioned by heat into the form of a small cup within which the powdered *hingól* is placed, the remaining third of shellac being warmed to pliability and then used to close the aperture of the cup. The next stage is to thoroughly amalgamate the contained powder with the lac walls of the cup, a process calling forth a great amount of dexterity. The whole mass is deftly rotated over a charcoal fire till soft and pliable and then kneaded thoroughly for a considerable time by the help of two short sticks of the size and length of lead pencils. The softened mass is twisted about over the fire and repeatedly "wound" from the end of one stick to that of the other and back again, the operation being repeated till incorporation be complete. The mass is then formed into a pencil-shaped stick and is ready for use.

In the lacquering of a bangle a short segment of the circle is heated over a small charcoal fire made in the cavity of a wide shallow chatty, a portion of the bangle being laid directly upon the glowing lumps of charcoal. As soon as hot enough, the workman removes the bangle and rubs the warmed portion with the end of the thin stick of lac. A small length only is covered at each application as the bangle soon becomes too cool to melt the lac sufficiently; it is replaced upon the coals and then a fresh segment is covered and so on till the whole circumference has been worked over. In incised patterns required to stand out red upon a white ground, this effect is obtained by scraping over the surface with a small tool shaped like a bradawl.

(f) *Economic Position of the Trade.*

At the present time the industry enjoys considerable prosperity. The demand for bangles suitable for low-caste Hindu women and for the hill tribes is a stable one, influenced by no fluctuations of fashion and dependent only upon the general well-being of the province. When food supplies are abundant and at a normal level, and work readily procurable, women of the labouring classes are able to indulge their fancy in bangles; their tastes are conservative, and a good demand in consequence is experienced for arm ornaments made from the chank shell. The Swadeshi movement has assisted this industry materially, particularly among the more well-to-do castes, and during the height of the agitation the demand for more highly ornamented chank bangles increased markedly and gave a much-needed impetus to the manufacture of bangles of the more elaborate patterns. This factor now exercises less influence on the trade, its place being taken by the more healthy influence for good exercised by the advertisement of the best productions of Dacca at the provincial exhibitions held from time to time during late years. Several of the leading Dacca manufacturers occasionally stage exhibits, sometimes even sending workmen to demonstrate the methods employed. These exhibitors have had the enterprise to make up a number

of chank-shell ornaments in semi-European style—flower pattern bangles, long chains, brooches, buttons and even small figures of gods ; for these there appears to have been a remunerative demand capable of considerable extension as the manufacturers and dealers become more enterprising. An excellent advertising move would be for them to arrange with the dealers in Indian artwares at the great cities most visited by tourists to stock a quantity of the best and most ornamental chank productions turned out by their workshops ; both because of the intrinsic beauty of many of these articles and of the interest attaching to their origin and to the custom prescribing their use among a great section of Indian tribes and castes, such articles should find many purchasers among European and American ladies.

As offset to these favourable factors is the tendency among the women of the better classes to discontinue as far as possible the use of chank bangles in order to emphasize their disassociation from low-caste customs ; and in the endeavour to be more “fashionable” in the style of their personal ornaments, they wish where possible to procure gold bracelets, and where their means will not allow they too often prefer to wear gaudy glass bangles of European make.

In Dacca and Calcutta labour in the less skilled branches of the industry is abundant and wages are low in consequence. Highly skilled men can, however, command good pay, and were they of a provident disposition they should be very well-off.

At the small centres located in country districts, living and conditions of labour are greatly superior to those prevailing in the large towns. There is a fairly regular and stable local demand to rely upon, the necessaries of life are cheaper, and temptations to waste earnings in outbursts of self-indulgence are few ; the open surroundings also conduce to a healthier tone both of mind and body than do the slums of Dacca. Best of all, in many places the bangle-maker has some agricultural occupation to afford other interests in life, to give a healthful change from the monotony of a sedentary occupation and a means whereby his savings may be put to remunerative account. In one district I found the local Sankharis engaged in tobacco cultivation as a secondary occupation. Elsewhere I found many of these bangle-cutters cultivating plots of paddy or of jute in the season. The relative importance of the two callings varies considerably as is natural, but they are largely complementary, as there are so many intervals in small cultivation after the crop has been sown when the fields require almost no attention, that a Sankhari has no difficulty in carrying on both satisfactorily. Under these circumstances, these men are quietly prosperous ; they earn good wages from their chank trade, their fields supply almost all their food, and their houses, fairly roomy and well built and fairly well ventilated, are made of grass, thatch walls as well as roof, the supports and rafters of bamboos which grow luxuriantly everywhere around. Many families are reputed to possess good savings in cash, the money being buried as is still the usual habit of country people of this class in Bengal.

(g) *The Castes and Tribes who use Chank Bangles.*

Although evidence is strong in favour of the belief that the custom of wearing chank bracelets was in old times prevalent throughout the length and breadth of

India, more especially in the Tamil country, in the Deccan, in Kathiawar, Gujarat, and Bengal, at the present day only in Bengal and the hill districts to the west, north and east does the custom continue to be widely observed and of notable social importance.

In Bengal and wherever in the adjacent provinces of Assam, Behar and Orissa there are colonies of the Bengali race, every married woman of castes which are completely Hinduised is bound to possess a pair of chank bangles lacquered in vermilion as one of the visible tokens of her married state ; the red sankha indeed is as necessary of assumption during the marriage ceremonies as is the performance of that other Bengali custom of smearing a streak of vermilion on the forehead or down the parting of the bride's hair or as the wedding ring of Englishwomen. Garcia da Orta's curious statement quoted on page 17 is to be explained in the light of this custom ; his informants doubtless meant to convey no more than that among the better classes an essential part of the marriage ceremony consisted in placing chank bracelets on the arms of the bride. The women of castes holding good social status appear however to have no great liking for the custom particularly if their husbands be well-to-do, and I was informed that they frequently lay them aside temporarily in favour either of handsomely carved ornamental chank bangles or replace them, when the means permit, by gold and jewelled ones. Even chank bangles are sometimes ornamented with gold and set with precious stones ; the price of these may reach several hundreds of rupees. The great majority of married women, however, wear them permanently, never removing them so long as their husbands are alive. Occasionally sankha (marriage) bangles are made in two sections secured together after the bangle is placed on the wrist by means of tiny bamboo pins as it is otherwise impossible to pass one of the right size over the hand without great difficulty and the infliction of acute pain.

In spite of the rapid spread of a desire for bracelets of more showy appearance there are a very large number of prosperous Hindu households, especially in the country districts, where the womenfolk remain attached to the old and less ostentatious custom of wearing chank bangles solely as ornaments. Among these conservative folk a large demand exists for the handsome products of the Sankhari workshops. The ornamental bangles made to meet these requirements are of two kinds called respectively *bala* and *churi*. The former are broad bangles worn one on each wrist. The *churis* on the contrary are always quite narrow, generally $\frac{1}{6}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ inch in width, and usually of conventional scroll design worn in a set of three on each wrist.

The use of these ornamental bangles (*bala* and *churi*) and also of the red marriage bangle is limited almost entirely to the thoroughly Hinduised sections of the Bengali people, more particularly to those inhabiting the districts in the north, south, and east of Bengal, together with the Hindu communities settled in Assam. Baishnab women, however, do not wear these bangles according to the Collector of Birbhum, Mr. Rai Amrita Lal Mukerji, Bahadur. According to the information received from a Muhammadan source women of the lower classes of this community in Dacca, Darjeeling and Assam are said also occasionally to wear chank bangles as wrist ornaments.

As elsewhere in India, it is the invariable custom in orthodox Hindu households for widows to discard all their jewellery on the death of their husbands. In the case of chank and glass bangles, it is usual for the widow to break and throw them away on the first occasion when she bathes after her husband's death. They never resume the use of similar bangles except in the rare cases where widow remarriage is permitted. Tavernier says:¹ "When a man dies, all his relatives and friends should come to the interment, and when they place the body in the ground they take off all the bracelets which are on their arms and legs and bury them with the defunct." This burial of the widow's bangles with the dead may still be continued by some castes, but as earth-burial is now rapidly being displaced by cremation as orthodox Hinduism secures a firmer hold on the people, this custom must tend to die out. Generally, in Bengal, Hindu women wear *Sankhas* as visible tokens of the possession of living husbands; the Hindu Shastras are said to enjoin their use as it is believed that they contribute to the prosperity and longevity of the husbands.

Tuticorin and Rameswaram chanks are necessary in the manufacture of both bala and churi bangles as these require to be made from the finest quality of shells—those possessing a pure white porcellaneous appearance and a dense well-conditioned substance susceptible of high polish.

Among Bengal castes of inferior social status, particularly those whose physical characteristics bespeak Dravidian descent and whose customs are not yet thoroughly Hinduised, the use of chank bangles in the form of massive gauntlets made up of numerous separate bangles is very prevalent. Prominent among these are the widely spread Kochh tribe in their two principal subdivisions of Rajbansi and Paliya. It is largely to supply the women of this tribe with their characteristic ornaments that the chank bangle workshops in Dinajpur and Rangpur exist, as in these districts the tribe has its chief settlement with an approximate total of one million individuals. Kuch Behar and Jalpaiguri account for another half million, while considerable numbers are found also in Purniah, Maldah, the Darjeeling Terai, Bogra, Murshedabad, Nadia, and Dacca. The Rajbansi and Paliya gauntlets are composed usually of ten separate bangles. As the wearers belong largely to the labouring and agricultural classes, the bangles forming these gauntlets are broad and thick, frequently without any ornament whatever; where decoration is attempted, it consists of simple line patterns made of shallow groovings which impair very little the strength of the bangle and yet are effective and elegant. Neither are they usually polished, hence dead shells from Jaffna are largely employed in this manufacture, although inferior shells of the better qualities from the Indian side are also extensively made use of.

The Muchi is another numerous Bengal caste where the wearing of numerous chank bangles is a distinctive custom among the women. This is a leather-dressing and cobbler caste, socially a shade higher than the allied Chamárs from whom the Muchis appear to be an offshoot. One of the obvious distinctions between the women of these castes lies in the character of the bracelets worn. Thus while the female Chamár prides herself on huge bracelets of bell metal adorning her arms, the Muchi woman

¹ Tavernier, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 285.

always substitutes chank bangles. The Múchis, like the Paraiyar of the South, are largely the caste drummers of the province and, as they are fond of the violin and the pipe, are employed as musicians at Hindu weddings.

In Western Bengal and in Behar the Santáls take the place occupied by the Rajbansi and Paliyas in North-Eastern and Eastern Bengal as the chief chank-bangle wearing tribe. Many of their women follow the same habit of disposing of a number of chank bangles, three to five usually, as a massive cuff-like gauntlet or compound bracelet. These people being generally poor, the quality employed for these compound gauntlets is inferior, and red and yellow lac is freely used upon them to enhance their appearance and to disguise imperfections. Dead shells are usually employed by the cutters for Santál bangles. Many women are too poor to afford these ornaments and others belong to families which do not observe the custom. In Birbhum, which may be taken as a representative district, it is estimated that about half the Santál female population follow this custom. Sometimes Santál girls wear chank bangles from an early age, but generally they are assumed at marriage. The custom appears to have no religious significance, and marriage is often performed without the assumption of these bangles, which are worn rather for ornament than for any serious motive. Alike with their Hindu sisters, the Santál women break and throw away their bangles on the occasion of widowhood, reassuming others however, if they wish, should they remarry.

Risley states that the Santáls in point of physical characteristics may be regarded as typical examples of the pure Dravidian stock,¹ and in view of the similar origin attributed to the Kochh tribe which includes both the Rajbansi and the Paliya, this becomes a matter of great significance as well as of much difficulty, for whereas the Kochh people are professed Hindus, the Santáls hold the animistic beliefs characteristic of non-Hinduised Dravidians. However Oldham, as quoted by Risley,² states that the adhesion of the Kochh tribe to Hinduism is comparatively recent as shown by their customs as regards burial, food and marriage.

The section of the Kurmi caste found in Chota Nagpur and Orissa also wear chank bangles. In view of what has been said above in regard to the Dravidian origin of the Kochhs and Santáls, it is of importance to find that Risley³ considers this territorial section of the caste as undoubtedly Dravidian, as shown by their physical characteristics, religious beliefs and social customs. He adds that in Manbhum and the north of Orissa, it is difficult to distinguish a Kurmi in appearance from a Bhumij or a Santál. In their religion the animistic beliefs characteristic of the Dravidian **races** are overlaid by the thinnest veneer of conventional Hinduism, and the vague shapes of ghosts or demons who haunt the jungles and the rocks are the real powers to whom the Kurmi looks for the ordering of his moral and physical welfare.

Alike with the Santáls the internal structure of that branch of the Kurmi caste living in Chota Nagpur and Orissa is founded upon a distinct and well-defined totemism

1 "The Tribes and Castes of Bengal," vol. ii, p. 225.

2 Risley, *loc. cit.*, vol. i, p. 492.

3 *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 530.

in which a large proportion of the totems are still capable of being identified. Risley¹ enumerates 60 totemistic sections or septs among this caste, among which is one termed SANKHAWAR whose members are prohibited from wearing chank-shell ornaments. Among the Santáls, the place of this sept is taken by one called SANKH, wherein all individuals are forbidden, under pain of caste punishment, the use of the chank shell in any form; they may neither cut, burn, nor use the shell, nor may the women of this sept use it in personal adornment.²

The prevalence of the use of chank bangles among these Dravidian races, the present animistic beliefs of the Santáls and Chota Nagpur Kurmis, and the comparatively recent renunciation of the same cult by the great Kochh tribe, taken in conjunction with other facts and especially with the widely spread archæological finds detailed elsewhere in these pages, point to the use of chank bangles as having had a purely Dravidian origin and as having been a custom prevalent and solidly established among at least certain sections of the race throughout India anterior to the advent of the Aryan invaders and the rise of the Brahmanic faith. The cult of the chank would therefore appear to be one adopted (and modified) by the Brahmans from the religious beliefs which they found indigenous to India.

Finally, in the hill tracts of Chittagong, we find the women of the Maghs, a race of Indo-Mongolian extraction and Buddhists by religion, using very broad unornamented sections of chank shells as bracelets in similar manner as we shall next see is the habit in Thibet and Bhutan, inhabited by other Mongolian races. To supply the needs of the Maghs, bangle cutters are established in Chittagong; these workpeople are chiefly Muhammadans and the work they do is of the roughest and crudest description in conformity with the undeveloped artistic tastes of their customers who appear to wear these bracelets rather as charms than as ornaments. Broad arm ornaments of similarly simple form are used by the Papuans and by the inhabitants of several groups of the Melanesian islands; sometimes round the wrist, sometimes on the upper arm above the elbow. I do not know, however, whether the shell employed in these instances be *Turbinella* or not. Among these island tribes it is the men who wear these shell ornaments.

Outside of Bengal and Assam the only considerable demand for chank bracelets comes from Thibet and Bhutan. The trade is one of long standing for Tavernier in 1666 found Bhutanese merchants taking home from Pabna and Dacca bracelets sawn from "sea-shells as large as an egg." He also states that 2000 men were occupied in these two places in making tortoise shell and sea-shell bracelets, and "all that is produced by them is exported³ to the kingdoms of Bhutan, Assam, Siam and other countries to the north and east of the territories of the great Moghul" (*loc. cit.*, p. 267).

Now "Bhot" happens to be the native name for the southern section of Thibet inhabited by a settled population, in contradistinction to Chang, the northern region inhabited by nomads, while Bhutea is still used to denote people of Thibetan race

¹ Risley, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii, appendix, p. 88.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. xliii.

³ Evidently a *lapsus pennæ* as the custom of wearing chank bangles was even more prevalent in Tavernier's day among Bengali women than it is to-day.

living on the southern slopes of the Himalayas.¹ Hence Tavernier's meaning will be correctly read if we substitute Thibet and Bhutan wherever he uses the word Bhutan, more particularly seeing that Thibetan trade has long been in the hands of Bhutanese intermediaries, and Bhutan repeatedly claimed as a dependency by the rulers of Thibet. Thibetan manuscripts² make it clear that the present state of Bhutan originated in a colony of Thibetans; the relations between the two countries have always been most intimate. The chain which bound Bhutan to Thibet may have been a loose one, but history shows that it was held by Thibet and tightened on occasions. Tavernier's time was antecedent to the Chinese re-assumption of sovereignty over Thibet in 1720, and coincided with a period when Bhutan was tributary directly to Thibet and so may have been included as a portion of Thibet in the view of foreigners.

Warren Hastings also appears to have used the word Bhutan as synonymous with Thibet in his earlier letters to the first mission he despatched to open up trade relations with Thibet, at a time when trade with the latter country was carried on through the Bhutan passes by the intermediary of Bhutanese merchants. When Bogle, Warren Hastings' emissary, reached Bhutan in 1774, he found the trade of the country almost entirely in the hands of the Deb Raja, his ministers and governors, who held the monopoly of it both with Bengal and Thibet. Trade with Bengal was maintained by means of annual caravans to Rangpur and there was also trade with Dinajpur. Warren Hastings subsequently established an annual fair at Rangpur for the benefit of Bhutanese merchants whose expenses were paid by the Bengal Government, who also erected stables for their horses and houses for themselves.³ From Rangpur and Dinajpur the Bhutanese took back stocks of Malda cloth, coarse linen, hogs and salt fish as the major items of trade, while among the smaller were counted supplies of tortoise shell, coral, amber and chank ornaments. The last-named commodity comprises in present-day trade massive single piece bangles without ornamentation, tabular pieces of shell and some of the columellæ which are broken out from the shells before they are sawn into circlets.

Chank bangles appear to be worn very generally throughout Thibet, from Ladakh in the West to the Kham country in the East. Neve records⁴ seeing the poorer women in Kashmiri Thibet wearing broad shell-bangles, in shape like a cuff, on both wrists, while on the march of the British expedition to Lhasa in 1904 they were noted as in frequent use by Thibetan women. This ornament is assumed early in life while the hand is still small and pliable; after a few years it becomes impossible to remove it without breakage, which these women will suffer only in the last resort, as it cannot be replaced except by one of large diameter which will fit more loosely on the arm they like. A medical officer who accompanied the Thibet Mission has informed me that in one instance a Thibetan woman was brought to him for the treatment of a festering wound on the wrist. On examination the cause of the trouble was found

¹ The common designation of Thibetans settled in Sikkim is Lhopa Bhotia, literally Thibetans of the south. Risley, *loc. cit.*, vol. i, p. 217.

² J. Claude White, "Sikkim and Bhutan," p. 288, London, 1909.

³ J. Claude White, *loc. cit.*

⁴ "Beyond the Pir Panjal," London, 1912.

to be the presence of a chank bangle so small that the wrist had been wounded and circulation impeded ; gangrene was imminent, and although the woman was loth to part with her bangle it had to be filed off to save the hand.

The export of round and square discs of chank shell to the Buddhist countries of the North appears to be much less than in Tavernier's time, as it is now insignificant. From information gleaned in Dacca, it would appear that these tabular pieces are sometimes worn suspended from the hair as charms, and my informants stated that this custom is found principally among Thibetans (Bhuteas as they termed them) and also to some extent among the Naga and Khasia peoples. Among the Nagas, these discs are employed as necklaces and also to ornament the men's hair-bedecked helmets. As already noted, some Bhutea tribes are also said to wear the columella of the chank as an ear ornament, and Prince Henri d' Orleans¹ found the women of the wild Lissus, a section of the Lolo tribe, mountaineers living in the upper valley of the Mekong in Yunnan, employing chank-shell discs to ornament their Chinese caps. It may be that these Lissus and cognate tribes represent those chank-jewel wearers whom Tavernier refers to as belonging to the kingdom of Siam. In this latter country at the present day I know of no utilization of chanks in personal adornment.

The chank is one of the eight lucky signs recognized by Buddhists of the Northern cult, and as such is constantly reproduced in Buddhist ornamentation in Thibet and Bhutan. It may therefore be inferred that the use of it in personal adornment has a like reason ; whether in the form of a bangle, an ear ornament, or a breast disc, it is employed as a talisman to ensure good fortune, and possibly even as a charm against the evil eye, as is the chank shell placed on the forehead of draught bulls in Southern India.

¹ "From Tonkin to India," English translation, London, 1898.



FIG 1. THE INDIAN CHANK-CENTRAL TYPE OF FORM.



FIG 2. CHANK-SHELL WASTE FROM ANCIENT BANGLE FACTORY SITES AT KORKAI, KAYAL, AND TUTICORIN (2 UPPER ROWS). COMPARED WITH WASTE FROM DACCA (BOTTOM ROW, WHERE ALSO A WORKING SECTION IS SHOWN).



FIG 3. SECTIONING CHANK SHELLS IN A DACCA WORKSHOP.



FIG 4. SHARPENING A CHANK SAW, DACCA.



FIG 6. RUBBING DOWN THE INNER SURFACE OF A CHANK WORKING SECTION. DINAJPUR.



FIG 5. BREAKING AWAY THE REMAINS OF THE SEPTUM FROM A SAWN CHANK CIRCLE (WORKING SECTION)

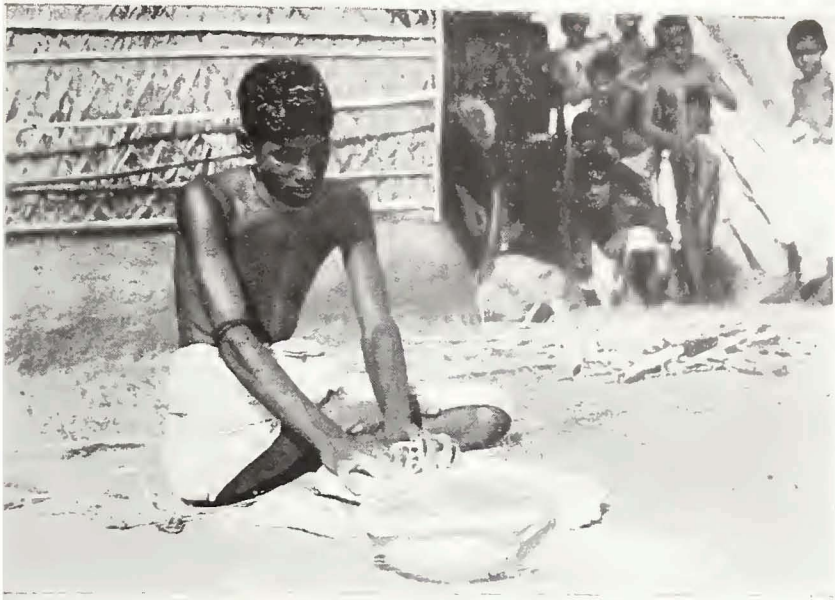


FIG. 7. FORMING A SIMPLE RIDGE PATTERN BY RUBBING DOWN THE SECTIONS ON A STONE. RANGPUR.



FIG. 8. CARVING AN INCISED PATTERN. RANGPUR.

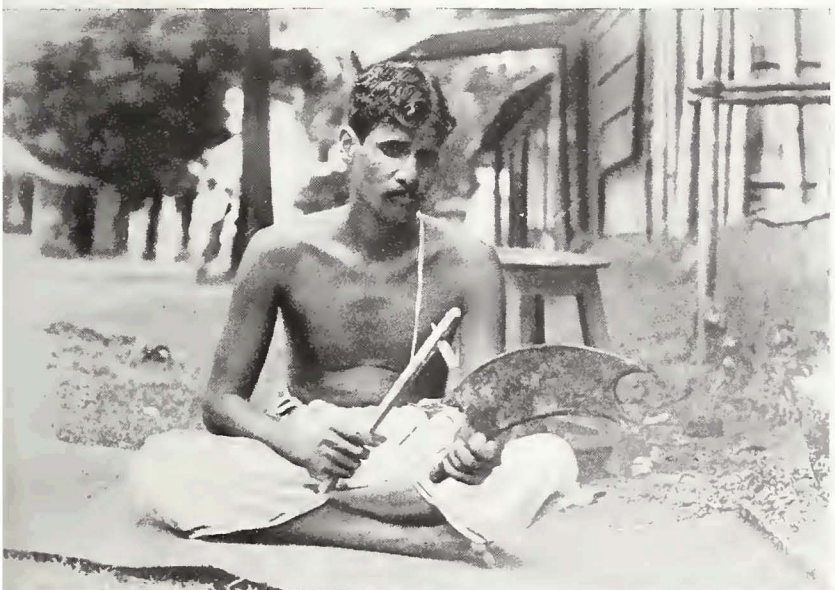


FIG 9. SHARPENING AN ENGRAVING SAW. DINAJPUR.



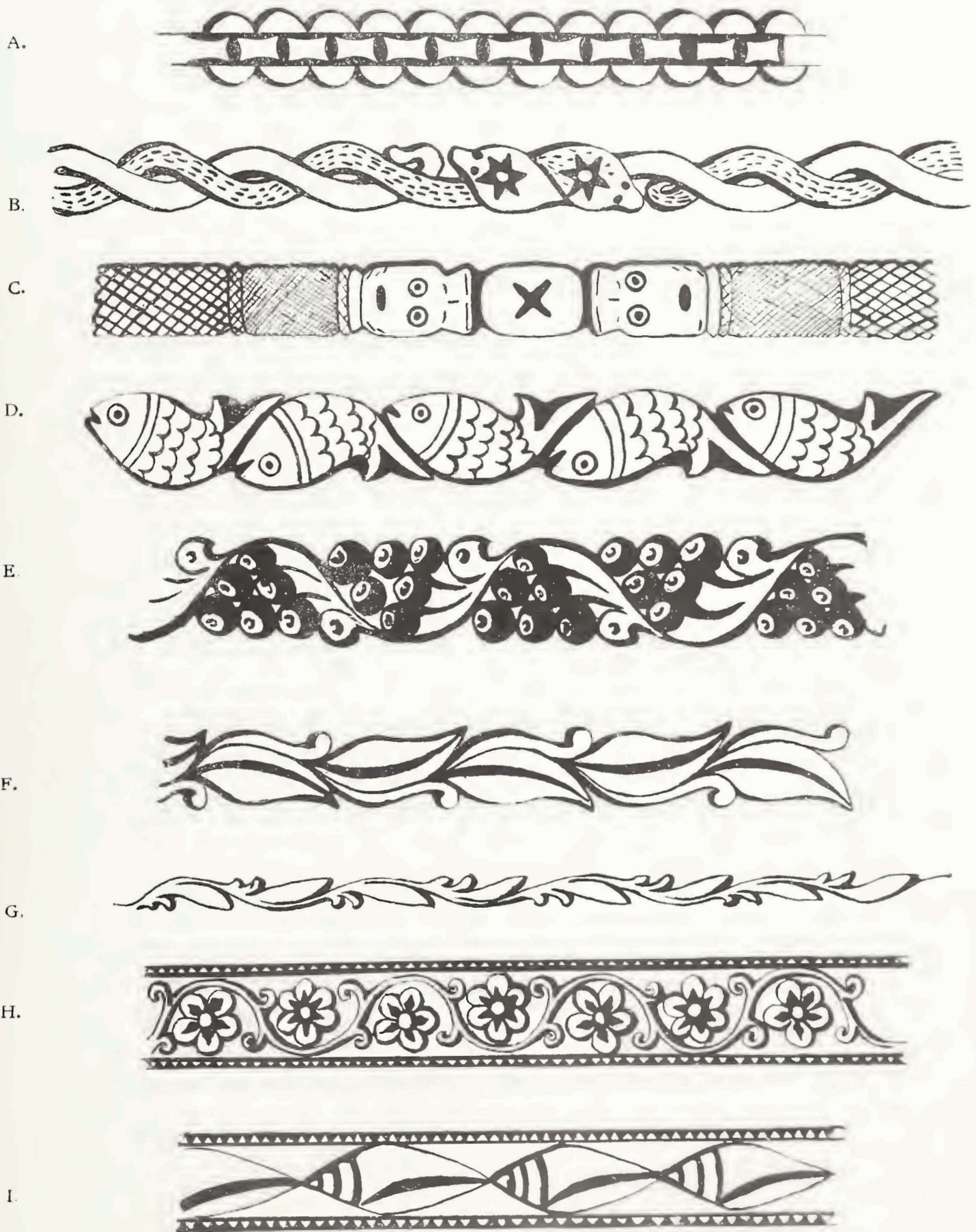
FIG. 10. RUBBING DOWN CINNABAR (HINGOL) TO COLOUR LACQUER RED. DINAJPUR.



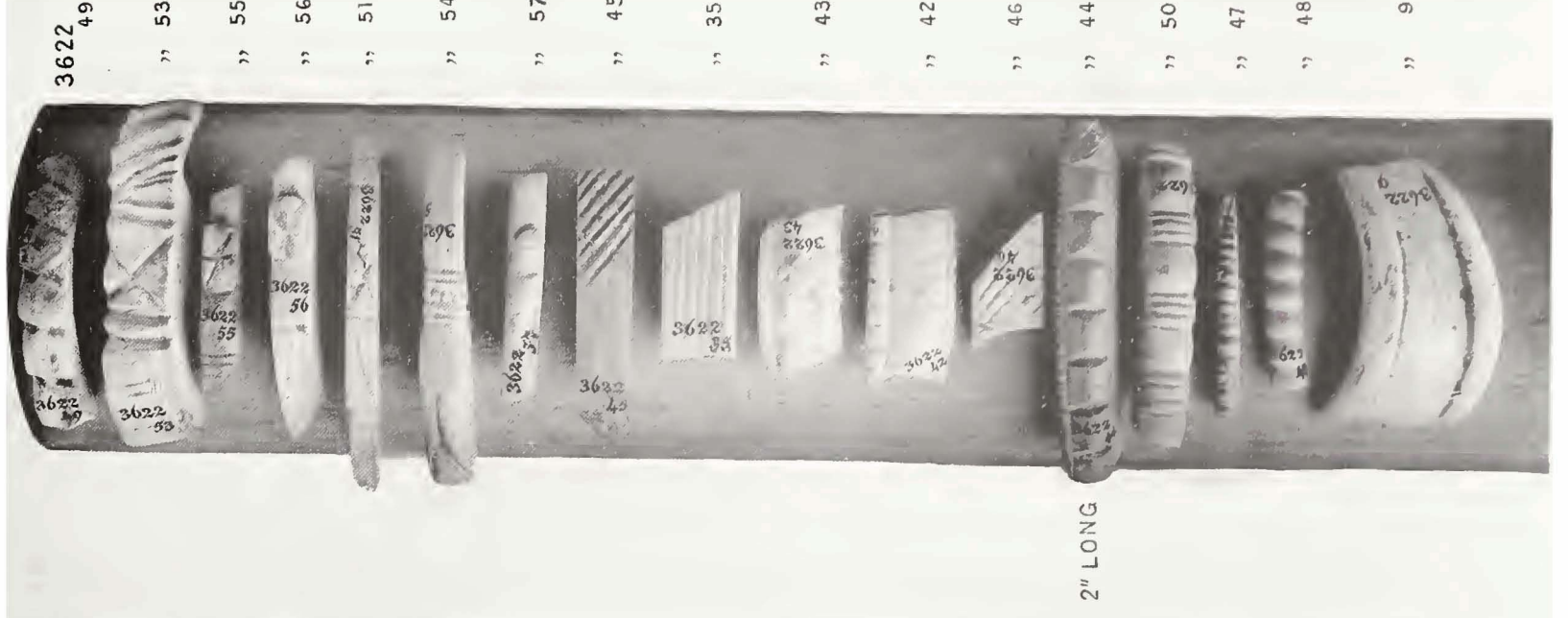
FIG. 11. LACQUERING MARRIAGE BANGLES. DINAJPUR.



FIG. 12. METHOD OF USING REST WHEN FINISHING OFF AN INLAID LACQUER PATTERN DINAJPUR.



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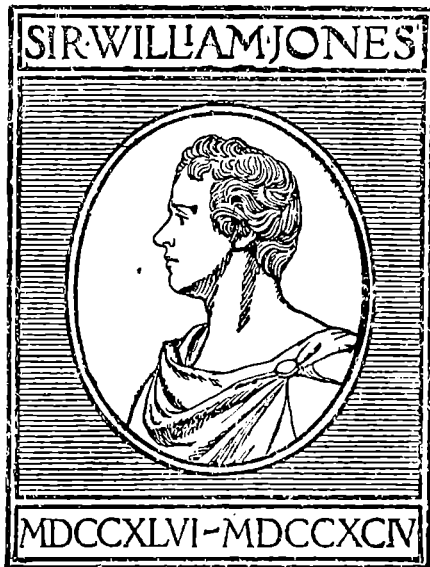
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

VOL. III, No. 8, pp. 449—514.

CATUHṢĀTIKĀ BY ARYA DEVA.

EDITED BY

MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA HARAPRASĀD ŚHĀSTRĪ, M.A., F.A.S.B., C.I.E.



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PREFACE.

The following fragments of Āryadeva's Catuḥṣatikā with their commentary by Candra Kīrti are published from 23 old palm leaves written on in Newari character of the 11th century. I had great difficulty in arranging the leaves, as the old leaf-marks have been obliterated in all the leaves except one. That one leaf is marked 15. The last owner of the manuscript marked the other leaves from 16 to 38, leaf 29th belonging to a work on grammar. He has done his work so badly that his 36th leaf contains the colophon of the first chapter, while the 15th leaf, which has the original leaf-mark, contains that of the third chapter. It was after a careful comparison with the Tibetan translation in collaboration with my esteemed friend Dr. Satiṣa Candra Vidyābhūṣaṇa that I could put the leaves in their proper order.

A comparison with the Tibetan translation revealed the fact that the original Catuḥṣatikā contained three hundred and seventy-five verses in the Anuṣṭup metre, which with sixteen long colophons, would count to a copyist, 400 Ślokas. Hence the name Catuḥṣatikā. These three hundred and seventy-five verses are divided into sixteen chapters, the majority of which contain 25 verses each. In a few only the number of the verses is less than 25.

From a comparison with the Tibetan translation the commentary appears to have been written by Candra Kīrti. The commentary is written in beautiful prose, enlivened in the first 8 chapters with pretty stories and anecdotes taken both from life and literature; and in the last 8 chapters, with philosophical speculations both Buddhistic and Brahmanical. The only author quoted by name in these fragments of the commentary is Buddha pālita, whom the commenator calls Ācārya. Candra Kīrti is well known by his commentary on the Mādhyamaka Kārikās of Nāgārjuna, and also by his work entitled Madyamakāvatāra which is known in Tibetan version only.

The author Āryadeva is said to have been a pupil of Nāgārjuna, and as such, must have flourished about the end of 2nd century A.D. One of his treatises in Sanskrit entitled Cāritra-viśuddhi-prakaraṇa was discovered by me in 1897 at Kaṭmaṇḍu, and published in the Asiatic Society's Journal for that year; and Catuḥṣatikā is a discovery of another work in Sanskrit by Āryadeva. The work is often quoted under the name of Śataka in Candrakīrti's commentary on the Mādhyamaka Kārikās of Nāgārjuna. For instance, in Bibl. Budh. Edition of the same work, p. 71, we read :—

यथोक्तं शतके :—

सर्वं एव घटो दृष्टो रूपे दृष्टे हि जायते ।

ब्रूयात् कस्तन्वविद्नाम घटः प्रत्यक्ष इत्यपि ॥

एतेनैव विचारेण सुगन्धि मधुरं मृदु ।

प्रतिषेधयितव्यानि सर्वान्यत्तमबुद्धिना ॥ Ch. XIII. 1. 2.

These verses are not to be found in these fragments. But there is another quotation in page 173 of the same :—

यथोक्तं शतके । अलातचक्रनिर्माणस्वप्नमायाम्बचन्द्रकैः ।
धूमिकान्तःप्रतिखला मरीच्यम्भैः समो भवः ॥

In a note the editor, M. Louis de la Vallee Poussin, says that this is the 25th verse of the 13th chapter. This agrees with the last verse of the 13th chapter of our fragments.

There is another quotation in page 199 :—

यथोक्तमार्यदेवेन । यस्तवात्मा ममानात्मा तेनात्मा नियमान्न सः ।
नन्वनिद्येषु भावेषु कल्पना नाम जायते ॥

The editor in a note says this is from Śātaśāstra X. 3. This agrees with the 3rd verse of the 10th chapter in our fragments.

Another quotation is in page 220 :—

यथोक्तमार्यदेवपादैः । यथा बीजस्य दृष्टोऽन्तो नचादिस्तस्य विद्यते ।
तथा कारणवैकल्यात् जन्मनोऽपि न सम्भवः ॥

The editor says this is from Śātaśāstra VIII. 25. This is the last verse of the 8th chapter in our fragments.

The fact that Catuḥṣatikā is called Śātaśāstra both by Candrar Kīrti and M. Poussin led me to think that the Śātaśāstras registered by Nanjio under the name of Āryadeva may perhaps be the same work as Catuḥṣatikā. Acting under this impression I obtained from my friend Professor Takakusu of Tokio, a copy of the Śātaśāstra with the commentary of Vasubandhu or Vasu. My young friend and pupil Dr. Kimora read the work for me and pronounced it to be a different work. He says it has 20 chapters of five Sūtras each, making a total of a hundred sūtras, but that ten chapters, being of no use to China, were not translated into their language. Dr. Kimora's description of the work does not tally with that of Nanjio, who says that it has eight chapters only. There is another work entitled Śātasūtra by Āryadeva registered by Nanjio. But it is only the Vaipulya version of the former.

The following table will show the distribution of verses in the various chapters of the Catuḥṣatikā and their number in each in the fragments published :—

Chapter.	Total number of verses in each chapter.	Number of verses.	Number of verses in the fragments.
I.	25.	1 to 25.	19, 21, 22, 25 = 4.
II.	25.	26 to 50.	32 to 37 = 6.
III.	25.	51 to 75.	73 to 75 = 3.
IV.	25.	76 to 100.	76, 77, 89 to 92, 98 to 100 = 9.
V.	25.	101 to 125.	101 = 1.
VI.	25.	126 to 150.	0 = 0.
VII.	23.	151 to 173.	159 to 169 = 11.
VIII.	24.	174 to 197.	175 to 186 192 to 197 = 18.
IX.	25.	198 to 222.	198 to 204, 222 = 8.
X.	25.	223 to 247.	223 to 226, 233 to 238 = 10.
XI.	14.	248 to 261.	253 to 259 = 7.

Chapter.	Total number of verses in each chapter.	Number of verses.	Number of verses in the fragments.
XII.	14.	262 to 275.	265 to 272 = 8.
XIII.	25.	276 to 300.	288 to 300 = 13.
XIV.	25.	301 to 325.	301 to 21 = 21.
XV.	25.	326 to 350.	343 to 50. = 8.
XVI.	25.	351 to 375.	351, 352. = 2.
			----- 129.

Mañjunātha and Thwanimmathappa, the joint Indian and Tibetan translators of the text of *Catuṣṣatikā*, say that this work was composed in the Sinhalese country on the other side of the great sea. It also says that the country of the composition of the work is now, at the time of the translation, under the possession of the Musalmans. Nanjio says that Ārya Deva was a native of South India (not Ceylon as in Eitel) and a disciple of Nāgārjuna. There is a life of Ārya Deva in five leaves translated by Kumārājīva into Chinese between A.D. 401 and 409. Āryadeva is also called Nilanetra, on account of his having two spots, as large as the eyes, on the cheeks. It is also said by Nanjio that his real name was Candra Kīrti. I think that the later writers confounded the author with the commentator.

Chandra Kīrti, the commentator, was an opponent of Candragomi, who lived between 630–940, viz., during Yuan Chauang's stay in Eastern India. He quotes in his commentary on *Mādhyamakakārikā* from *Tathāgataguhyaka*, one of the 9 dharma of the Nepalese and a work of the Tantrika Sahajia sect. His commentary was translated into Tibetan by the Indian Paṇḍit Bamse Raṭna-vajra and Lama Thwanimmathappa. Like the text the commentary has no Chinese translation.

Catuhśatikā by Arya Dera.

Edited by MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA HARAPRASĀD ŚHĀSTRĪ, M.A., F.A.S.B., C.I.E.

चतुःशतिका by आर्यदेव ।

..... सहचारिणौ ॥ 19.

यस्य हि भवतोऽन्यस्य वा दृष्टैर्योगः प्रियस्तस्य तैरेव वियोगः कथमप्रियः । ननु यत्रैव मन्ताने योगस्तत्रैवावश्यम्भावी वियोगोऽपीति योगवियोगौ चोभावपि दृश्येते सहचारिणौ । तस्माद्योगार्थिना वियोग
+ + +

[२] राधनं कृतं । श्रीर्मस्यादिति तेन वरो लब्धो यथास्य गृहं प्रविष्टस्य श्रीर्गृहं प्रविष्टा तदनु-
लगा च कालकर्णी, स श्रियं पृच्छति स्म, कैषा, आह कालकर्णीति । स आह । न पुनर्नयास्यार्थे वरो
लब्धः । सा प्राह । यत्राहं तत्रैषा अवश्यमिति । एवं यत्र संयोगः + + + + +

[३] खं एवं सर्वसंयोगसुखं वियोगदुःखानुषक्तमेवं यस्य वडिशामिषभक्षणमिष्टं तस्यावश्यं वडिश-
वेधोद्धरणमपीति । अत्राह, यद्यप्यन्ते वियोगो नियतस्तथाप्यादौ संप्रयोगमहत्वात् नासौ गण्यत इति ॥
अतिक्रान्तस्य नास्यादिरन्तो नागतस्य वा केन ते + + + + +

[४] प्रयोगप्रभावितः । अनागतस्याप्यविद्यावत एवान्ताभावेऽसावपि अप्राप्तत्वात् तदात्मकः । तदत्रा-
नवराजजातिसंसारमहार्णवपतितस्य प्रतिक्षणं विनश्वरत्वात् । संसार + + + र्थेन यः संयोगः स क्षणिकः ।
तदेवमतौतानागतसंगृहीतो विप्रयो + + + + +

[५] स्यातिसूक्ष्मत्वात् संयोगदर्शने सति वियोगदर्शिना सदैव संवेगवता भाव्यं । अन्यभार्यापहरण-
विवादवत् । कश्चित् पुरुषो देशान्तरं गतस्तस्य प्रोषितस्य भार्याऽन्येन + + + + + मममीप-
स्थेन श्रुतं श्रुत्वा च विटगृहं गत्वा तत्कालकृतेन + + + + +

[६] तात्कालिकवियोगेन तन्त्रं शोधितं । अत्राह । यद्यपि महान् वियोगस्तथापि ऋतुसम्पदा-
क्षिप्रचित्तत्वात् नासौ चिन्थत इति । उच्यते

शत्रुवत् यान्ति ते काला नियमेन क्षणदयः ।

सर्वथा तेन ते रागः शत्रुभूतेषु तेषु मा ॥ 21.

इह खलु यस्मात् तव जीवितं क्षणल + + + + +

७ महारिषु तेषु कालेषु भवतो रागो मा भवत्विति । मित्रमुखेनावस्थितारि(नि)परिज्ञाहवत्
 तत्परिज्ञानकुशलेन भवितव्यमप्रमादचारिणा । वृद्धदासीदुःखानुबन्धनवत् । यथा वृद्धदास्याः च + + + +
 परिभवदोषाच्च स्वा + + + +

८ शिरमभिलषति । एवमितरेणे+ । [नचास्य] कुतश्चित् सुखमस्ति । तदेवमेनां संस्कारधर्मा-
 मभितः स्थितामपि चानुचिन्तयता संविद्यमानसेन युक्तमनुरूपमाचरितुम् । किं पुनः + + + + + [३६क]

ते ।

विप्रयोगभयाद्गेहान्न निर्गच्छमि [दुर्मते] ।

[विविच्य] नाम कर्त्तव्यं कुर्याद्दण्डेन को बुधः ॥ 22.

इह बन्धुजनविप्रयोगः कष्ट इति तद्गयात् गेहान्न निर्गच्छमि दुर्मते । तदपि यदा तदा च मृत्युवशात् नियम + + +

[२] देयं करं कृत्स्नमहत् दुःखमनुभूय पश्चाद्दति ग्रामीणा, नान्यथा, एवमवश्यत्कृत्यं बन्धुजनं मृत्युना त्याज्यंतेऽबुधा नात्मना त्यजन्ति । अत्राह यद्यवश्यं बन्धुवर्गस्याज्यस्तथापि सुतमुत्पाद्य [पृष्ण] + + + द्वाहे तस्माद्गृहभारमुत्सृज्येति वा तथता] परिसमाप्तं कृत्वा निर्गमि + + + +

[३] व मया वनं गन्तव्यं किन्तु कर्त्तव्यशेषं किञ्चिदस्ति तत्कृत्वा यास्यामीति तदेतत् यत् क्रियते. यदर्थं च क्रियते तदुभयं कृत्वापि यदि पुनः परित्याज्यमेव तेन तर्हि कृतेन को गुण इत्यकर्त्तव्यमेवैतत् । तस्मान्न तदपेक्षया कालक्षेपो युक्त इति ।

कृत्याकृत्यविचार + + +

[४] ति तस्मात्फलं गृहीतं सोऽन्येन पृष्टः किमनेन करिष्यमीति । स आह । प्रचान्य परित्यज्यामीति । एवं यदि विषयाः परित्याज्याः किं तैः पर्यन्विष्टैः यथाहि कश्चित् सार्थिको गमन + + पाषाणं निर्घषयितुमारब्धः स पृष्टः किं करोषीति तदेव निर्दर्शयति स्म + + + +

[५] ज्ञेयानि । यद्यप्यर्थतो वनगमनं प्रधानं तथाप्यात्मात्मौयमंगवतोस्माद्गृहमुत्पद्यत इति । उच्यते ।

नियमाद्विद्यते यस्य मर्त्योऽहमिति भावना ।

तस्य सङ्गपरित्यागात् मृत्योरपि [भयं कु] तः ॥ 24.

इह यस्य कस्यचित् प्राज्ञस्यागमानुसारेण मरणधर्माहमिति भावना नि + + +

[६] तावद्भयं नास्ति । कुत एव वनगमनात् पुत्रवियोगात् वा भयं भविष्यतीति । अतो मरणानुस्मृतिभावनायामेव योगः करणीयः । निर्विषीकरणाङ्गुलीयकरबन्धनवत् । सविषान्नपरित्यागवच्च । यथाहि निर्विषीकरणाङ्गुलीयकं करे वध्यते । तथा विद्वद्भिः क्लेशा + + + +

[७] गेन निःश्रेयसमिति ।

आचार्यार्यदेवीये बोधिसत्त्वयोगाचारे चतुःशतके नित्यविपर्ययासप्रहाणोपाय-

सन्दर्शनं प्रथमं प्रकरणं समाप्तम् ॥ १ ॥

उक्तत्वावत् प्रथमेन प्रकरणेनानित्यनित्यमिति विपर्ययासस्य प्रहाणोपायः । + + + + +

[८] सति शरीरे अध्यात्मसमुत्थानि चतुरत्तराणि चत्वारि व्याधिग्रतान्युत्पद्यन्ते धातुवैषम्यनिमित्तानि बाह्यजानि च लोष्टदण्डशत्रुशीतोष्णदंशमशकशरीरसृपादिमंस्यर्शनिमित्तानि । तस्माद्नेकदुःखोदयहेतु + + + + +

तथा दुःखस्य पात्रं भवति । अपि वा सुखेन भावयितुमशक्यत्वात् तद्विपरीत + + + + +
गम्यते तथाहि ॥

शरीरं सुचिरेणापि सुखस्य स्वं न जायते ।

परेणाभिभवो नाम, स्वभावस्य न युज्यते ॥ 32.

सुचिरेणापि कालेन तेस्तैः सुखोपभोगनिमित्तैर्विषयैरुपचर्यमाणमपि सुखस्य स्वं शरीरं न जायते दुःखस्वभावत्वात् । यथा नाम कठिनस्वभावानां त्रपुसीसरजतसुवर्णादीनां यद्यप्यग्निमंयोगाद्द्रवत्वं भवति । तथापि तेषां द्रवत्वं स्वं नैव भवति, कठिनस्वभा[र]वत्त्वात् । तथा शरीरस्य दुःखस्वभावत्वात् । अनात्मौघेन सुखेन सुचिरेणापि न शक्यमात्मौघत्वं कर्तुमिति दुःखमेव शरीरम् ॥ कोकिलपोतवत्, यथा कोकिलपोतः काकेन सम्बर्द्धितः कोकिलस्यैव भवति न काकस्यैवं न सुखस्य शरीरम् । भवति चात्र ।

दुःखात्मकं शरीरं, सुखस्य किं स्वीकरोषि मोहान्ध ।

नहि जातु कृष्णलोहं सुचिरादपि हेमतां यातौति ॥

स्यादेतत्, मद्पि दुःखं नामंविदितमनर्थायतनम् । तथाह्येके जात्या प्रभृत्यामरणा[र]न्ता एकान्त-सुखिनो दृश्यन्ते ! अग्रसत्त्वाच्च महति पदे निवेशितास्यास्तद्भासद्भान् सम्बेदयन्ते । तत्कथं दुःखात्मकं शरीरमिति । उच्यते ॥

अग्र्याणां मानसं दुःखमितरेषां शरीरजम् ।

दुःखद्वयेन लोकोयमहन्यहनि हन्यते ॥ 33.

द्विविधं खलु दुःखं शरीरं मानसञ्च । तत्र य एते सर्वसुखोपकरणमप्यन्नाः अग्राः अग्र-कुलीना महाभोगास्तेषां स्थूलेच्छानां महतः पदस्याभीप्सितस्य दुरापत्वात् ईर्ष्यावाङ्मतेनेष्टलो [४] भजं मानसं दुःखमनपायि तेषां । ये पुनरेव नीचकुलीना अग्रन-शयन-शरण-वसनविप्रहीणा अधमत्वात् शरीरेण दुःखेन हता एवेति कुतः कस्यचित् सुखावकाश इत्येवम् सर्व एवायं लोको दुःखद्वयेनाह-न्यहनि हन्यते । तस्मादत्र न कश्चित् स्वभावेन सुखी विद्यते ॥ अधिकृतहस्त्यारोपितदर्शनमन्युपरि-तोषणवत् ॥ केनचिद्राजा हस्तिनि दुर्दान्ते कश्चिदारोपितो वाहयेति । तेन च स हस्ती सम्यक् प्रेरि[त]स्ततो राजा परितुष्टेन सम्मानितः । तस्य पुरुषस्य सम्मानं दृष्ट्वा हस्त्यधिकृतः पुरुषः दुःखी समृत्तः । ततोऽस्य भयाद्दौर्म्भनस्यमुत्पन्नम् । द्वितीयश्च हीनपुरुषस्तेन राजा तस्मिन् हस्तिन्यारोपितो वाहयेति । तेन न शकितः । स राजा शरीरेण दुःखेन योजितः । अधिकृतस्य च परितोष उत्पन्नः । तत्रैकस्य मानसं दुःखमभूत् द्वितीयस्य शरीरं । तद्वत् महतामवमानान्मानसं दुःखमुत्पद्यते हीनाना[र]न्ते ताडनाच्छरीरम् । भवति चात्र । दुःखद्वयेन लोकं विहन्यमानं स्वभावदुःखात्तं दृष्ट्वा कस्मिन् ब्रूयात् सुखीति करुणात्मकः पुरुष इति । अत्राह । यद्यपि दुःखद्वयं विद्यते । तथापि तन्महता सुखेनाभिभूतं न जायते इति । उच्यते । कुतः सुखस्य महत्त्वं दुःखविधेयस्य कल्पनाख्यस्यापि धर्मस्य प्रतिवद्धवृत्तित्वात् । तथाहि ॥

कल्पनायाः सुखं वश्यं वश्याद्दुःखस्य कल्पना ।

अतोस्ति किञ्चित् सर्वत्र न दुःखाद्दुःखलवत्तरम् ॥ 84.

यदा खल्वयं पुरुष एवं कल्पयते दाताहमौश्वरोहमिष्टानिन्द्रियार्थानुपभुञ्जेऽहमिति । तदास्त्वेवं परिकल्पयतो मानसं सुखमुत्पद्यते । सुखममर्पिणामपि परतस्तदपायमाशङ्कमानानां भोगविच्छित्ति-कल्पनया पुनस्तन्मानसं दुःखं निवर्त्तत इत्येवं सुखस्योत्पादनरोधयोः कल्पनाविधेयत्वात् कल्पनायाः सुखं वश्यं भवति । दुःखन्तु नैवम् । नह्यस्ति काचित् कल्पना या दुःखस्योपघातासामर्थ्य[८]मुपरुन्ध्या-दित्यतः सुखवन्न दुःखं कल्पनावश्यम् ॥ यत्तु खल्विदं दृष्टविषयमभोगसुखं या च सुखोदयानुकूला कल्पना, तदभयमपि दुःखमुपजातमुपहन्ति । तथाह्येन्द्रियार्थमुपभुञ्जानोपयमन्यतमेन दुःखेनाभिभूतः रुह कल्पनया तत्सर्वं सुखमपहाय दुःखमेव प्रतिसम्बन्धे न सुखं ॥ तदेवं सुखकल्पनाया दुःखविधेयत्वात् दुःखमेव बलवत्तरं न सुखम् । सपत्नीपुत्रमत्कारदुःखितावत् । सप[२२]क]नीद्वयस्यैका मृतपुत्रा द्वितीया मपुत्रा । तत्र या मृतपुत्रा सा तं सपत्नीपुत्रं मत्क्रियमाणं दृष्ट्वातीव शोचति स्म । सा पृष्ट्वा कस्मात् मृतमभीष्टं शोचस्येति । सा प्राह नाहं तं शोचामि अपि तु एतमहं सपत्नीपुत्रो जीवतीति । सा परेण ममयेन सपत्नीपुत्रे ग्लाने ग्रामान्तरं गता । कतिपयैरहोभिस्त्रं ग्रामं उपसृष्ट्वा ; मृतकश्च तस्मात् निहृद्यते । तदैवं कल्पितम् । स एव सपत्नीपुत्रो मृत इति । एवञ्चास्याः परिकल्प्यातीव सौमनस्यं जातम् । वृश्चिकेन चा[२]ङ्गावयवे दृष्ट्वा । तदस्याः कल्पनावशेन सौमनस्यं जातं विषदुःखेनाभिभूतम् । अतो न दुःखाद्दुःखलवत्तरं किञ्चित् क्वचिदस्ति । आह चात्र ।

विपर्यासाद्यतो जातम् सुखं तस्मात् सुदुर्लभम् ।

दुःखन्तु भूतनिर्व्यातन्तस्मात्तदलवत्तरम् ॥

अत्राह । यद्यपि सुखं दुर्लभम् तथापि शरीरस्थापीडाकरत्वात् तदात्मौयम्, वक्त्रपि दुःखं पीडाकरत्वात् परमेव भवति इति । उच्यते ।

कालो यथा यथा याति दुःखवृद्धिस्तथा तथा ।

तस्मात् कडेवरस्यास्य परवद्दृश्यते सुखम् ॥ 85.

यस्य खलु शरीरकालो यथा यथा वर्द्धते बाल-कौमार-यौवन-स्थाविरेषु तथा तथा दुःखस्या-तिवृद्धिर्दृष्टा न सुखस्य । यस्माच्चैवम् विवर्द्धमानस्य शरीरस्य पृष्ठतः पृष्ठतः सुखमपसर्पति, तस्मादस्य शरीरस्य दुःखमेवात्मौयं दृश्यते सुखन्तु परभूतमिति । दीर्घाध्वगवत् । यथा दीर्घाध्वगस्य दिने दिने तीव्रतरं श्रमदुःखं पथ्यदनपरिचयदुःखं च भवति एवं सर्वकालं पृथक्जना यथा[४]यथा चिरं जीवन्ति तथा तथा जरादुःखमनुप्राप्नुवन्ति मरणस्य चाभ्यासीभवन्ति । आह चात्र ।

स्नेहादिवास्य दुःखं पुरतः पुरतः प्रयाति यन्नित्यम् ।

त्यजति च सुखं शरीरं परवत् तस्मात्परं भवति ॥

अत्राह । यद्यप्यस्य शरीरस्य दुःखं स्वभावः तथापि सुखहेतुप्रतीकारो यस्माद्विद्यते तस्मान्नात्म-शरीरादुद्देगः कार्य इति ॥ उच्यते ।

व्याधयोऽन्ये च दृश्यन्ते यावन्तो दुःखहेतवः । [५]

तावन्तो न तु दृश्यन्ते नराणां सुखहेतवः ॥ 36.

इह शरीरस्य दुःखहेतवो यावन्तो दृश्यन्ते, अध्यात्मसमुत्थिता धातुवैषम्यहेतुका व्याधयः अन्ये च बाह्याः शीतादिनिमित्ता अनिष्टमंस्पर्शाः । तावन्तोऽध्यात्मवाह्यहेतुकाः सुखहेतवो अस्य शरीरस्य नैव दृश्यन्ते । यद्य चान्याः सुखहेतवोऽनेके च दुःखहेतवः शरीरस्य तस्मात् सुखहेतुसङ्गावात् दुःखान्नोद्देशः करणीय[६] इति । तन्न । राजदुहित-स्वयंवरप्रार्थनावत् । वैश्रवणदुहितहरणमान्धातवत् च । ये राजदुहितरं स्वयंवरं प्रार्थयन्ते ते दुःखेन मंथुज्यन्ते । एकस्यैव हि सा सुखहेतु भवति न सर्वेषाम् । वहवश्च प्रार्थयन्ते न चामादयन्ति ततो दुःखिनो भवन्ति । तथा मत्त्वानां वहवो दुःखहेतवोऽन्यास्तु सुखहेतवः । तथा वैश्रवण-दुहितहरणे मान्धातवत् अनेकदुःखहेतवो भवन्त्युभयो[७]र्वलवत्त्वात् न तु तथा सुखहेतवः । आह चात्र ॥

सुखमुद्विन्दुप्रतिमं दुःखन्तु समुद्रवारिमङ्गाशम् ।

काये मत्वा विद्वांस्तत्र सुखं मन्यते नु कथम् ॥

अत्राह । यदि सुखं नाम न स्यात् नाम्य वृद्धिर्दृश्येत । यस्माच्च सुखस्य दृश्यते वृद्धिस्तस्मात् सुखमस्तीति । उच्यते ।

सुखस्य वर्द्धमानस्य यथा दृष्टो विपर्ययः ।

दुःखस्य वर्द्धमानस्य तथा नास्ति विपर्ययः ॥ 37

सुखस्य हि यथा यथा वृद्धिर्भवति । तथा तथा तस्य वर्द्ध[८]मानस्य विपर्ययो दृष्टः । यदि च स्वभावेन सुखं स्यात् न त + + + + + षः स्यात् सुखस्य तु वर्द्धमानस्य तथा विपर्ययोऽस्ति न दुःखस्य । तथाहि ॥ सुखमभिवर्द्धमानं कालप्रकर्षणावगीतं अल्परसमाजायते । दुःखं पुनरभिवर्द्धमान-मधिक[९]रमन्तापकर्कशं सुतरां शरीरं चेतश्चोपहन्ति । तदेवं वृद्धौ विपर्ययाभावात् दुःखस्वभावं शरीरं न सुख[१०] स्वभावतोऽस्ति । मान्धातपतनव[११] [३२]

कस्यचिद्राज्ञो नैमित्तिकेनावेदितं वर्षं पतिष्यति यस्तेनाम्भसा कृत्यं करिष्यति स उन्मादं गमिष्य-
तीति । अथ राजा स्वार्थं कूपश्चादितस्तच्च वर्षं पतितं तत्स(स्व ?)जनस्तेनाम्भसा कृत्यं कृत्वोन्मत्तोऽपि मन्त्रेक-
प्रकृतित्वात् आत्मानमेवं स्वस्थं मन्यते राजानमुन्मत्तं । ततो राजा तदर्थमुपलभ्य तदेवाभ्य उपयुक्तं मा-
मामुन्मत्त इति परिकल्प्यावहसेयुर्विनाशयेयुर्वा इति । एवं यद्येक एव मूर्खो स्यात् स कुष्ठोव वर्ज्यत यदा तु
सर्व एव मूर्खिणस्तदा कुत्रै[२]षामशुचिसंज्ञा भविष्यति । क्वचिच्च देशे सर्वो जनो गलगण्डाभिभूतः परम-
विरूपः तत्र चान्यो दर्शनोयो गतः स तैः परिवर्ज्यते परमविरूपोऽङ्गविकल इति । आह चात्र ।

यदि निर्दोषः स्यान्नोकः सर्वोऽपि तत्र रज्येत ।

दोषस्तु विद्यते यस्मान्तस्मात् सन्तस्तमुञ्चन्ति ॥

अत्राह । यो नाम युवा भूत्वा सर्वोपकरणसम्पन्नं युवतिजनं तुश्या नोपभुक्ते स जीवलोके परम-
वञ्चितो भवति । तथा हि सुरभिगन्धामोद[३]सम्वासादस्य तदशौचमपनुद्यते । तत्र शुचिं सेवमाना-
नामदोष इति । उच्यते ।

प्रतिनासिकया तुष्टिः स्याद्धीनाङ्गस्य कस्यचित् ।

रागोऽशुचिप्रतीकारे पुष्पादाविद्यते तथा ॥ 73.

यथा कश्चिदपनीतनासिको वहन् कृत्रिमां नासिकां सकलाङ्गमात्मानं मन्यते तुष्टिञ्च गच्छति ।
स हि बालजातीयतया यथैव स्वकाथप्रतिनासिकया लज्जितथं तथैव तुष्टिं जनयति । तथै[४]व कामेषु
प्रकृत्या लोलजातीयस्य बालजनस्य मोहादशुचिप्रतीकारेषु सुरभिकुसुमगन्धालङ्कारादिष्वशरीरस्वभावेष्वा-
प्यतः सरागो भवति । प्रतिविधानेन शुचिमात्मानं परञ्च मन्यते । न हि कुसुमादयः समुद्रहन्तोऽपि
स्यायिनं गन्धातिशयमलमेनं लशुनमिव वासयितुम् । घृतलिप्तविडालनासिकास्त्रादनवत् । सुवर्णनासिका-
दर्शनतुष्टिवच्च । यथा विडालस्य घृतेन नासिकां अ[५]क्षयित्वा रुक्षान्नपिण्डी दौयते, स तां स्नेहयुक्तामन्यते ।
यथा च नासिकावियुक्तः प्रतिनासिकां सोवर्णीं कारयित्वा तां दृष्ट्वा तुष्टिमुत्पादयति । एवं पुष्पादिभिरशुचि-
प्रतीकारं कृत्वा काये रागमुत्पादयन्ति । आह चात्र ।

ब्रणोऽयमस्य कायस्य गन्धमाल्यांशुकादिषु ।

ब्रणलेपनभूतेषु मोहात् संरज्यते जनः ॥

अत्राह [६] अस्ति रागस्य कारणं पुष्पादयो, यदि च न स्यात् कारणं, न तैः कायेषु जनो
रज्येतेति । उच्यते ।

शुचि नाम न तद्युक्तं वैराग्यं यत्र जायते ।

न च सोऽस्ति क्वचिद्भावो नियमाद्रागकारणम् ॥ 74.

स्वभावेन खलु शुचि नाम वस्तु न किञ्चिदस्ति । तत्र तावद् यदनुपहतदर्शनाः प्रचरितामेध
बीजदर्शनं कायमीचमाणा विरज्यन्ते । तस्मान्तद्वैराग्यकारणत्वात् पुरौषपुञ्जवत् शरीरं शुचित्वेनानुपपन्नं

पुष्पादयोपि नि[७]यमाद्रागकारणत्वेनानुपपन्नास्तत्रापि वैराग्यस्य मद्भावात् । तथाहि कामवैराग्यलाभिनां तेष्वपि वैराग्यमुपजायते । अपि खलु स्वभावेन न हि किञ्चिन्नामास्ति यन्नियमेन रागकारणं स्यात्, तथाहि पुष्पादीनामपि शुचिसंज्ञितानां पर्युषितानामन्यथाभावात् प्रातिकूल्यमुत्पद्यते । यदि तेषां स्वभावेन शुचित्वं स्यात् नान्यथाभावः स्यात् । तस्मान्न तेषु स्वभावेन शुचित्वमस्ति । यदि च नियमात् पुष्पादयो भा[८]वा रागस्य कारणं स्युस्तत्र सर्वेऽपि सर्वदापि रागं जनयेयुर्न चैतदेवमिति । न पुष्पादयो रागस्य कारणं युज्यन्ते । एकस्त्रेष्टानिष्टदुहितदुर्गनवत् । कश्चिद् वणिगभिजातायां दुहितरि प्रवासं गतः स कालान्तरेणागतः । सा चास्य दुहिता प्राप्तयौवना तस्याधिष्ठानस्य वहिरुद्याने कन्याभिः सह क्रौडति स्म । तस्य तां दृष्ट्वा तीव्रो राग उत्पन्नो यदा तु श्रुतं दुहिता तवैषेति तदा विरक्तः [१५ क] एवं न स कश्चिद्भावास्ति यो नियमेन रागाय भवति । यत्र च वैराग्यमुत्पद्यते तदशुचिरव-
गन्तव्यम् । आह चात्र

तत्रैव रज्यते यस्मात् तत्रैव च विरज्यति ।

तस्मान्नियमतः मिद्धं न रागस्यास्ति कारणम् ।

तदेवमशुचि शरीरं यथा दुःखमनित्यं च तद्विहितं पूर्वं प्रतिपादयिष्यति अनात्मत्वं, त एते चत्वारो विपर्यासाः इदं न चिन्त्यते किमेते चत्वारो विपर्यासाः एकस्मिन् पदार्थे सम्भवन्त्याहोस्वित् नेति । उच्यते ।

अनित्यमशुभं दुःखम[१]नात्मेति चतुष्टयम् ।

एकस्मिन्नेव सर्वाणि सम्भवन्ति समासतः ॥ 75.

यत् खलु संस्कृतं प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नं तदनित्यं चणिकत्वात् । यच्चानित्यं तदशुभमुद्वेगकरत्वात् । यच्चाशुभं तद्दुःखं पीडाकरत्वात् । दुःखञ्च यत्तदनात्मकमस्वतन्त्रत्वात् तदेवमेकस्मिन्नेव स्वभावे समासतः चत्वारो विपर्यासाः सम्भवन्ति । न चैतत् संविद्यमानमपि वालेर्विपर्यस्तैः परिच्छिद्यते । परिकल्प्यते तु तद्विपरोतत्वं भावानाम् । तदर्ह[३]ति प्राज्ञः यथास्थितमनित्यत्वादिकं भावानामधीत्य नैःस्वाभाव्याधिगमे चेतः समुत्साहयितुम् । पिशाचीस्वभावदर्शनभौतवत् । कस्यचित् पिशाची पत्नीरूपेण व्यवस्थिता स तां पत्नीवदुपचरति । यदा तु तेन तस्याः दुःखोत्पादनेन वीभक्ततया अविधेयतया अनात्यन्तिकत्वेन स्वभावो दृष्टस्तदा भौतो नैषा मम पत्नी पिशाच्येति । तदा तस्यां विरज्यति । एवं संस्कृतस्वभावदर्शना विरज्यन्ति [४] प्राज्ञाः । आहचात्र ।

यत् संस्कृतं न तन्नित्यं यदनित्यं न तच्छुभम् ।

न सुखं तत् यदशुभं यद्दुःखं तदनात्मकम् ॥

चत्वारो विपर्यासा एकस्मिन्नेव संस्कृते सम्भवन्ति यतस्तस्मात् सर्वे क्लेशा अवस्तुका इति

अशुचिचिन्तानाम तृतीयं प्रकरणम् ।

अत्राह । उक्तस्त्रयाणां विपर्यासाणां प्रहाणोपायः । चतुर्थस्य विपर्यासस्येदानौमुच्यतां प्रहाणोपाय इति । उच्यते ।

अहं ममेति[५] वा दर्पः सतः कस्य भवेद्भवे ।

यस्मात् सर्वेऽपि सामान्या विषयाः सर्वदेहिनाम् ॥ 76.

अहंकारममकारौ खल्वपि राजन्याधिक्येन वर्त्तते इति । तयोः प्रतिषेधेन भूयसा राजैवानुशास्यते । तत्राहङ्कार आत्मन उत्कर्षविशेषपरिकल्पनादपजायते अहं प्रभुरिति । ममकारस्तु स्वीकृतार्थवशित्व-कल्पनायामुपजायते । ममेमे विषया इति । दर्पो दृप्तता [६] गर्वो मद इत्यर्थः । भवः संसारः कर्मक्षेत्र-परायत्तस्य जन्ममरणपरम्परया गतिपञ्चकपर्यटनं । तत्र वर्त्तमानस्य कस्य नाम विदुषो ऽहंकारममकाराभ्यां दर्प उत्पद्यते । यदि हि कस्यचित् क्वचित् असाधारणमीश्वरं स्यात् तदा युज्येतास्य तदालम्बनो दर्पोऽहमेवेषां विषयाणां स्वामी ममेव चैते विषया इति वशित्वदर्शनात् । न चैतत् संसारपर्यापन्नस्य बालस्य मम[७] वति । तथाहि सर्वसत्वसाधारणकर्मनिर्जाताः सर्वे रूपाद्यो विषयाः तदेषु सर्वसत्वसाधारणपरिभोगेषु साधारण-तरु-षण्ड-मण्डपादिष्विव न युक्तोऽहंकारममकारपरिग्रहादृर्पः । राजनटवत् । यथा राजनटो मुहूर्त्तेन नटो मुहूर्त्तेन राजा मुहूर्त्तेनामात्यो मुहूर्त्तेन ब्राह्मणो गृहपतिर्दासश्च भवति । तथा राजा-नवस्थितः । पञ्चगतिरङ्गनाटनात् । भवति चात्र ।

ऐश्वर्यभोगसम्पदा य[८]स्मात् पुण्येन लभ्यते ।

तस्मात् कर्मात्मके लोके न दर्पो युज्यते सतः ॥

अत्राह । यस्मात् सर्वारम्भो राजन्यधिकृतः तस्मादधिकारनिमित्तस्तस्य दर्पो युज्यते इति । उच्यते ।

गणदासस्य ते दर्पः षड्भागेन भृतस्य कः ।

जायतेऽधिकृते कार्यमायत्तं यत्र तत्र वा ॥ 77.

ममुद्भूतादत्तादानेऽपि प्राथमकल्पिके लोके क्षेत्रपरिरक्षार्थं प्रतिबलः पुरुषो महाजनेन धान्य-षड्भागवेतनेन भृतः । कथन्ना [१५]

१न्तं तदाग्निना सर्वस्यानानि दग्धानि । तत्र बहूनि प्राणिमहम्नाणि घातितानि तस्य तेन राज्ञानुमोदितम् । तदेवं यत्र मौढ्यं तत्र दया न विद्यते । यत्र दया नास्ति तत्र कुतः पुण्यावाप्तिः । राज्ञां चैव सर्वमस्ति । अत एषां गोपायतामपि धर्मो न संभवति । आह च ।

अहिंसा मूलं धर्मस्य यस्मादाहुः कृपात्मकाः ।

तस्मान्न विद्यते धर्मो निर्दये तु नराधिपे ।

अत्राह । ऋषिप्रणीतेन ह्यत्र धर्मेण हिंसां कुर्वतोऽपि राज्ञो नास्यधर्म इति । उच्य[२]ते ।

ऋषीणां चेष्टितं सर्वं कुर्वीत न विचक्षणः ।

हीनमध्यविशिष्टत्वं यस्मात्तेष्वपि विद्यते । 89.

ऋषीणामिह कायवाङ्मनसां विचेष्टितं सर्वमेव पण्डितेन न कर्त्तव्यम् । यस्मात् ऋषिष्वपि हीनमध्यविशिष्टत्वं विद्यते । तत्र यस्य शास्त्रे हिंसा कारणवशात् धर्मो भवति स हीनः । यस्य स्यान्न स्यात् इति मंग्रयः स मध्यः । यस्य त्वधर्म एव हिंसेति स विशिष्टः । तस्मात् सर्वेषां ऋषीणां शास्त्रमप्रमाणम् । तत्र यदिष्टमृषिप्रणीतेन ह्ये[३]व धर्मेण हिंसां कुर्वतोऽपि राज्ञो नास्यधर्म इति तन्न । विश्वामित्रवशिष्ट-जामदग्न्यवत् । विश्वामित्रवशिष्टजामदग्न्यानां चौर्याभक्ष्यभक्षणागम्यगमनप्राणातिपातश्रवणात्, तत्र विश्वामित्रस्य चौर्यमभक्ष्यभक्षणं च श्रूयते अपचेभ्यः किल श्रमांसमपजिहीर्षुणोक्तम् ।

न ते शक्यं तर्तुं जीवता कर्म पापं प्रायश्चित्तं ह्येतदस्मद्विशेषात् ।

मृतश्चाहं तर्तुं पापमेतन्न शक्तः तस्माद्धेतत् भक्षयिष्ये श्रमांसं ॥ [४].

वशिष्टोऽचमालायां चण्डाल्या[५] अचिप्रतिपन्नः श्रूयते । ततः किल पुत्रा आज्ञाता इति । जामदग्न्येनापि वत्सापहरणकोपात् कार्तवीर्यस्यार्जुनस्य वाङ्महसं पातितं, एवं ह्याह ।

दान्तस्य क्षमिणोऽपि दुर्जनजनै स्तैस्तैर्बलीकत्रणैः

सामर्षं क्रियते बलादपि मुनेर्व्युत्क्रान्तधैर्यं मनः ।

गोर्वत्सापनयेन दोहममये हम्भारवैस्तत्कृतं

यद्रामस्य सुनिर्मलस्य परशोधारां प्रविष्टा नृपाः ॥

[५] तथा तेनैव मात्रा संचोदितेन त्रिःसप्तकृत्वः पृथिवी निःक्षत्रिया कृता । एवं च किल तस्य मात्रोक्तम् ।

ऋजुना मृदुना तपस्विना शतशो मान्यतमेन चाहवे ।

न जगस्य विनाशकारणं न परैरेकमपि व्यपेक्षितम् ॥

अपकारमयेन कर्मणा न नरस्तुष्टिमुपैति शक्तिमान् ।

अधिकां कुरु वीर यातनां द्विषतां मूलमशेषमुद्धर ॥ इति ॥

ततस्तस्य धनुर्निनादशब्दः श्रूयते ।

प्राकारशृङ्गाण्यतिवर्त्त[६]मानो
गृहाणि भिन्दन्निव पार्थिवाणाम् ।
स जामदग्न्यस्य धनुर्निनादो
जग्राह केशेष्विव कार्तवीर्यम् ॥

आह चात्र, न तत् प्रमाणं कर्त्तव्यं शास्त्रमात्मार्थपण्डितैः ।
यस्यार्थं पुरुषाः कृत्वा ब्रजेसुर्दुर्गतिं ध्रुवम् ॥

शास्त्रार्थं हि प्रमाणीकृत्य स्फौतां वसुमतीं सम्यक् परिपालितवन्तो यस्मात् पुरातना राजान-
स्तस्मादपि शास्त्रं प्रमाणम् । उच्यते ।

पुत्रवत् पालितो लोकः पुरतः पार्थिवैः [७] शुभैः ।
मृगारण्यौकतः सोऽद्य कलिधर्मसमाश्रितैः ॥ 90.

कलियुगात्पूर्वात्पन्नैः पार्थिवैश्चक्रवर्त्यादिभिः शुभैर्युक्तायुक्तपरीक्षकैः धर्मानुकूलं शास्त्रं प्रमाणी-
कृत्याधर्मानुकूलं परिवर्ज्य दशकुशलकर्मप्रतिष्ठितैः प्रियैकपुत्रकवत् जगत्प्रेमानुगतैः पालितो लोकः ।
साम्प्रतं तु कलियुगोत्पन्नैः पार्थिवैः स्वचित्तदौरात्म्यपरायत्तैरर्थमात्रदृष्ट्यापरैरधर्मानुकूलं शास्त्रं प्रमाणीकृत्य
धर्मानुकूलमुत्सृज्य त[८]थायं लोको निःकरुणैरुदासितो यथा मृगारण्यौकत इत्यतोऽपि नाधर्मयुक्तं शास्त्रं
प्रमाणमिति । अपरिसंजातेक्षुस्त्रेषु पौडनवत् । यो हि दस्युर्मोहादपरिसंजातमित्तुं पीडयति सोऽनर्थमेव
करोति नार्थं, तद्वत् राजा चेत् पालनीयान् न पालयति, न तस्यैहिकार्था न पारत्रिकः । अपुण्यकरणात् ।
आह च ।

स्वराष्ट्रपरराष्ट्रेषु न विभागकृतोऽत्र यत् ।
प्रजा भवन्ति सुखिनः तच्छास्त्रं संस्कृतं बुधै[१६क]ः ॥

अत्राह । राज्ञः खल्विह शत्रूँश्छिद्रेषु प्रहरतो नास्त्यधर्मः शास्त्रदृष्टित्वादिति ।

उच्यते । क्षिद्रप्रहारिणः पापं यदि राज्ञो न विद्यते ।

अन्येषामपि चौराणां तत् प्रागेव न विद्यते । 91.

यदि खलु शत्रूनन्यान् वा क्षिद्रेषु प्रहरतो राज्ञः पापं न विद्यते । ननु राजतस्करादन्येषामपि
चौराणां धनारक्षकाणां किञ्चित् क्षिद्रं प्राप्य परधनमप्रहरतां क्षिद्रप्रहारित्वात् प्रथमं पापेन न भवितव्यम् ।
क्षिद्रप्रहारित्वेन तेषां ज्येष्ठभूतत्वात् । पश्चाद् राज्ञो [२] न चैतदेवमिष्टमित्यतो यदिष्टं राज्ञः क्षिद्रेषु
प्रहरतः पापं नास्तीति तन्न । अजितसेनराजपुत्रवत् । केनचित् किल राज्ञा अमात्यः प्रोक्तो यदा मे
मरणं भवति तदा अस्रद्भातरमजितसेनं राजकुमारमभिषेच्यसौति । ततस्तेनामात्येन तस्मिन् राजनि मृते
क्षिद्रप्रहारिणा स राजकुमारो घातितः । आत्मना च तद्राज्यं अवष्टब्धं । तस्यातीवाकीर्त्तिं लोके प्रतिष्ठिता
पापाचार इति । परत्र चापुण्यम् । तद्वत् राज्ञां क्षिद्रप्रहा[२]रिणां कथमकीर्त्तिः पापञ्च न भविष्य
तीति । आह चात्र ।

यत् कृष्णं कर्म कृतं न तस्य संजायते फलं शुक्लम् ।

नहि पूतिवृचबौजाच्चम्पकवीजाङ्गुरो भवति ॥

अत्राह । राज्ञो रणमुखे शत्रून् जित्वा महान् परितोषो भवति स्वशौर्यविक्रमार्जितां च धन-
मस्यदमनुपश्यतः । अथास्य रणे मृत्युर्भवति, तदा ध्रुवमस्यात्मनः परित्यागात् स्वर्गगामित्वमिति । उच्यते ।

सर्वस्वस्य परित्यागो म[४]द्यादिषु न पूजितः ।

आत्मनोपि परित्यागः किं मन्ये पूजितो रणे ॥ 92.

इह द्यूतमद्यवेश्याङ्गनासु विषदं सर्वस्वमपि परित्यजन्तः पुण्यभाजो न भवन्ति । व्यसनानुपदत्वात्
तत्यागस्य न सज्जनमनांमि आराधयन्ति । एवं आत्मभावपरित्यागो रणे न पूज्यते । तस्यापुण्याय-
तनत्वात् । कथं हि नाम युद्धे संसंभ्रमभिवाधतः कृपाविपर्यासात् परस्मिन्निष्ठुराग्रयस्य विनिपातनाय
परशिरमि विनि[५]विष्टदृष्टेः समुद्यतायुधस्य परेण विनिपातितस्य स्वर्गगमनं सम्भावयितुं युज्यते । तत्र
यदिष्टं रणमुखे ध्रुवं मृतस्य स्वर्गगमनमिति तन्न । आभीरीश्वशुरशरीरदानवत् । काचिदाभीरी
भर्त्तरि प्रोषिते श्वशुरमतीवावमन्यते स्म । अथ स वृद्धाभीरः तस्मिन्नागते पुत्रे तमर्थमावेदितवान् । एवं
चाह, यदि ते पत्नी पुनरप्यस्मास्ववमानं करिष्यति न ते गृहे वक्ष्यामीति । स च न स्त्रीभीरुः पि[६]-
तभक्तश्चातः तां परिभाष्याह । स[१] चेत् त्वं पितरमवमन्यसे, न ते मम गृहे वासोस्ति । दुःकरमप्यस्य
कुरु दुर्द्वैयञ्चास्मै प्रयच्छेति, तथा तथैव प्रतिज्ञातम् । अथ मा पुनः प्रोषिते भर्त्तरि चकितचकिता
परेणादरेण श्वशुरस्य शुश्रूषां चकार । स्नानानुलेपनमाह्वदानान्नभोजनपानादिना प्रणीतेन दिवस-
मुपस्थाय रात्रावुष्णोदकेनास्य पादौ धावयित्वा तैलेन म्रक्षयित्वा वस्त्राण्यव[७]मुच्य निर्व्वसना दुष्टयोगा-
हितेन क्रमेण शयनमारोढुमारब्धा । वृद्धाभीर आह । पापे किमिदमारब्धमिति । आभीर्याह ।
भर्त्ताहमुक्ता दुष्करमपि त्वयास्य कार्यं । दुर्द्वैयमपि देयमिति न चास्माद्दुष्करतरमस्ति दुर्द्वैयाच्च दुर्द्वैय-
मिति । वृद्धाभीरोऽब्रवीत् । एष उपायो हीतो निर्गमनाय, तुष्टा भव । न पुनरिह गृहे स्थास्यामीति
उक्त्वा निर्गतः । स चास्य पुत्र आगतः । पितरमपश्यन् पत्नीं पृच्छति । सावोचत् । स्वामिन् न मम
कि[८]ञ्चित् परिहीणं परेणादरेण स मया ऋतुमुखेन स्नानानुलेपनभोजनादिनोपचरित इति सर्व्वं
निवेदयति । ततस्तेन स्वामिना निर्भर्त्य गृहान्निःकामिता । पिता च प्रसाद्य स्वभवनं प्रवेशितः । यथास्या
आभीर्या दुष्टभावायाः शरीरप्रदानं न पूजितम् । एवं राज्ञां दुष्टचेतसां रणे जीवितपरित्यागो न पूजितः ।
लोके च दुष्टत्वात् मद्यादिषु सर्व्वस्वपरित्यागो न पूजित इति । आह च ।

रणे मृतस्य गमनं मेरुष्ट [१६]

कर्मणा ।

विप्रोपि कर्मणा शूद्रः केन मन्ये न जायते । 98.

यदि हि इदानीं अक्षत्रियोऽपि क्षत्रियकर्म कुर्वन् क्षत्रियो भवति । शूद्रोऽपि हि नाम ब्राह्मण-
कर्म कुर्वन् ब्राह्मणो भविष्यति प्रतिगृह्णन्नधीयानश्च ; तथाप्यन्योन्यदीयं कर्म समाचरन् स एव स्यात् ।
तत्र यदिष्टं कर्मणा क्षत्रियो भविष्यतीति । तन्न । नौपारगमनवत् । यथा नौः पारं गच्छत्यागच्छति ।
तत्र नद्याः उभयकूलस्थितौ ब्रुवाते नौः पारं गता नौः पारंगतेति । न च किं[२]चित् मिद्धं पारमस्ति ।
स एवासिद्धः ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियो वा । यदि शूद्रः कर्मणा क्षत्रियो भवत्येवं विप्रोऽपि कर्मणा शूद्रो
भविष्यति । आह च ।

सद्यः पतति मांसेन लाक्ष्या लवणेन च ।

अहेण शूद्रो भवति यो विप्रः क्षौरविक्रयी ॥

इत्यादि । आह चात्र ।

कर्मणा यदि वर्णाः सृजातिस्तत्र न कारणम् ।

न च दाभ्यां भवन्त्येते जातिः प्राग्दूषिता यतः ॥

अत्राह । राज्यैश्वर्येण हि महता महतो जनस्य श[३]क्तौत्यैश्वर्यसंविभागं कर्तुं कालेन यतः तस्मात्
महतैश्वर्यमेष्टव्यं राज्ञेति उच्यते ।

पापस्यैश्वर्यवद्राजन् संविभागो न विद्यते ।

विद्वान्नाम परस्यार्थं कः कुर्यादायतीवधं ॥ 99.

सत्यं राज्ञा महदैश्वर्यं महता कालेनोपार्जितं ; शक्यं महाजनस्य सन्निभक्तुं तत्तु न विना महाजन
पौड्या शक्यं निष्पादयितुं, अवश्यं च महाजनपौड्या महता पापेन भवितव्यं, यथा[४]शैश्वर्यं संविभज्यते
नैवं तन्निमित्तमवद्यमुपचितं सन्निभक्तुं पार्यते केवलमेकाकिनैव तद्दुःखमनुभवितव्यम् । तत्कोऽयमपण्डितः
परस्मै अल्पोपकारार्थं सन्निभक्ष्यामीति अनल्पानर्थप्रदानदक्षमसाधारणमवद्यमुपचित्त्वायत्या वधमात्र नः
कुर्यात्तदिदं ह्यियः स्थानं न मदस्य । महिषोपघातवत् । शूनिकदारकवच्च । यथा महिषः स्व[५]परार्थं
एकेन हन्यते बहुभिः परिभुज्यते । घातकस्यैव पापम् । तथा राजा राज्यहेतोः पापं कर्म करोति, बहुवश्य
परिभुजते । तथाच शूनिकदारकोऽधर्मभयान्न मारयति । स च स्वजनेनोच्यते मारय त्वं यस्तत्राधर्मो
भविष्यति स सर्वेषामस्माकं समतया भविष्यतीति । तेनोपायेनोक्तं महती मे शिरमि वेदना तां भाजयथेति ।
त ऊचुर्न शक्यत इति । स प्राह । तत् कथमपायवेदना[६]समतया भविष्यतीति । आह चात्र ।

अनित्यमिह लोके यत् परत्र च सुखावहम् ।

तत् कर्त्तव्यं मनुष्येण परत्र सुखमिच्छता ॥

अत्राह । राज्ञः खल्विह महत्यैश्वर्यं अवश्यमेव महता मानेन भवितव्यमिति उच्यते ।

दृष्ट्वा समान् विगिष्टांश्च पराँश्चक्तिसमन्वितान् ।

ऐश्वर्यजनितो मानः सतां हृदि न तिष्ठति ॥ 100.

परत उत्कर्षमात्मनः पश्यतो मानः स्यात् । स चानवस्थितः परापेक्ष एवेति न विद्वांसो [७] मन्यन्ते । तस्मात्पहाय मानं जगते हितमाधित्सुना गुरव इव स्वामिन इव परे नावमन्तव्याः । तदेवं कुर्वाणाः स्युरेव ते भाजनं सम्पदां, जगदाराधनप्रवृत्तत्वात् वासुलपत्नीवत् । वासुलब्राह्मणस्य पत्नी कथयति स न मत्सदृशी स्त्री काचित् स्त्रीरूपेण पृथिव्यां संविद्यते न च त्वं मामनुरूपेण वस्त्रालङ्कारेणार्चयामीति । मा तेनोपायेन रुद्रनाम्नो राज्ञोऽन्तःपुरं प्रवेगिता । तस्यास्तत्र परिचारिकां दृष्ट्वा रूपमदो न[८]ष्टः श्रीमेव राजपत्नीम् । तथा राज्ञाऽत्मनः समान् विगिष्टांश्च दृष्ट्वा मदं चाहङ्कारञ्च युक्तं त्यक्तुम् । आह चात्र ।

दौने राजनि तावत् मानो राज्ञो न युज्यते कर्तुम् ।

तुल्ये श्रेष्ठे च नृपे कुतोऽवकाशोस्ति मानस्य ॥

अहङ्कारविपर्ययासप्रहाणोपायन्नाम चतुर्थं प्रकरणम् ।

अत्राह कुतः पुनरिमे सुभाषितरत्नाशया यथास्थितलौकिकार्थतत्त्वप्रतिपादका वैराग्यहेतवो लभ्यन्ते । उच्यते, बुद्धेभ्यो [१७क] भगवद्भ्यः । कौदृशाः खलु बुद्धा भगवन्तः, महाकरुणावेगात् सर्वथानिन्द्याचिन्त्या-शेषजगदर्थसम्पादनपराः ।

तथाहि । न चेष्टा किल बुद्धानां अस्ति काचिदकारणा ।

निःश्वासोऽपि हितायैव प्राणिनां संप्रवर्त्तते ॥ 101.

बुद्धा भगवन्तः सर्वजगदनुग्रहाशयक्षिप्रकर्म्मनिर्मितत्वात् “यथाप्रत्ययं फलमिति” जगद्धिताधानो-दयदक्षाभिः समोहाभिः सकलं जगदनुगृह्णन्ति । नहि सास्ति काचित् कायपरिस्पन्दलक्षणा चेष्टा या मत्त्वोपकारानुपयोगिनी[२]ति, आस्तां ज्ञानपूर्विका तावच्चेष्टा योऽप्ययं प्रेरकचेतनाविशेषाक्षेपनिरपेक्षः स्वरमवाही जन्मनः प्रमृद्यामरणादहर्निशमनुवर्त्तते निश्वासः सोऽपि नामैषां प्रवर्त्तते जन्मभृतां हितायैव । तथाह्येषां बुद्धानां भगवतां निश्वासा विनिर्गत्योपरि नरकभाजनानां महान्तः कालमेघा विपरिणमन्ते, कञ्जलाञ्जनराशय इव नारकजनमनोहराः संच्छादिताशेषनरकभाजनमण्डलाः पटुमधुरनिरन्तर खनि वृत्तेराह्लादयन्तो नारकान् खच्छ-खादु-शौतोन्मक्तवार्योर्धैर्निवारयन्तो नारकाग्निम् तत्प्रत्ययमपेतदुःखानां नारकाणां कस्यानुभावाद्विदमुपनतमस्माकमिति मीमांसापरिगतहृदयाणां, मनःप्रसादायतनतायागता-चिन्त्यरूपकायमन्दर्शनेनावर्जितचित्तमत्तानां बुद्धे भगवति अभिप्रसादान्वयक्षयिताशेषाकुशलकर्म्मराशौनां तदश्वयमेव च समाक्षिप्तमोक्षभागीयानां अत्यन्तोपकारा[४]न्निःश्वासोपि हितायैव प्राणिनां संप्रवर्त्तते । एव-मन्वत्रापि योज्यं । तदेवं मतिमानवमितसंसारदोषः तत्क्षयोद्युक्तः सर्वथा यथोपवर्णितसुभाषितरत्नाधारे त्रिभुवनगुरौ बुद्धे भगवति प्रसादपुरःसरमर्हति मनो निवेशयितुम् । पाराशरकुलभिक्षुवत् । कश्चित् भिक्षुः पाराशरकुलं गतः । स यन्त्राचार्यगृहं प्रविष्टस्तेन निमन्त्रितो मम गृहे त्वया वर्षा करणीया । अहं

पिण्डपातं[५]दास्यामीति । तेन तथैव कृतं । तस्य च प्रामादस्याधस्तात् बहूनि यन्त्रकार्यकरणे पत्राणि सन्ति । ततस्तेन स भिक्षुः प्रासादे स्थापितोऽत्र त्वं यथेच्छसि तथा तिष्ठेति । स तस्मै निर्गताय चीवरमूत्र्यं दत्त्वा भृतकवेतनं ददाति स्म । भिक्षुराह । न ते मया किञ्चित् कर्म कृतं कस्मात् वेतनं ग्रहीष्यामीति । दानपतिराह । न त्वं मुहूर्त्तमप्यकर्मक इह गृहे केनचिद्वीर्यापथेन स्थितः । पत्रा[६]णि चास्य दर्शयति, लाभं च तत्कृतं । यथा तस्य भिक्षोर्न कश्चिद्वीर्यापथोऽस्ति योऽस्य नोपकाराय भवेत् तद्यन्त्रवाहनेन । एवं भगवतो बुद्धस्य न काचित् कायवाङ्मनश्चेष्टास्ति यास्या वा अनर्था वा स्यात् । आह च ।

शरीरवाचो मनसां प्रवृत्तिः स्वार्था मुनेर्नास्ति न चाप्यनर्था ।

महाकृपाविष्टविशुद्धबुद्धेः परोदयाद्यैव पुनः प्रवृत्तिः ॥

तं चोपासौनाः सर्वव्यसनान्यति[७]वर्त्तन्ते । यावन्मरणभयमिति । तथाहि ।

यथा, सर्वस्य लोकस्य मृत्युशब्दो भयङ्करः ।

प्रियजीवितवियोगकारकत्वात् ।

तथायं सर्वविच्छब्दो मृत्योरपि भयङ्करः ।

यतः तद्विशेषसौमानसमतिवर्त्तन्ते तथागतस्य वर्त्मनः सम्यगनुष्ठातारस्तथानुष्ठानं वीजानि च कुशलमूलानि तथागतनामधेयश्रवणादाधौयन्ते । यथा चोक्तं भगवता ये मम नामधेयं श्रोष्यन्ति सर्वे ते त्रयाणां यानानां [८] अन्यतमेन यानेन परिनिर्वास्यन्तीति । बन्धनमोक्षबन्धनाधिकृतज्वरवत् ! कश्चिद्वन्धनाधिकृतः पुरुषो राजकुलेन स्थापितो यस्य सर्व्वबन्धनमायत्तम् । राज्ञा च पुत्रे जाते सर्व्वबन्धनमोक्षो घोषितस्तेन च शब्देन सर्व्वलोको हर्षितः । सचैवैको बन्धनाधिकृतो भीतो ज्वरितश्च तं बन्धनमोक्षशब्दं श्रुत्वा । एवं तथागत उत्पन्ने सर्व्वलोकः प्रीतो वर्ज्जयित्वा मारम् । आह चान्तगः, बुद्ध इत्येव घोषो [१७]

गौतानि चकार । यथास्य राज्ञः स्नेहविपर्ययानवस्थानाच्चोन्मादः तद्वत् पृथक्जनानां । विद्वान्मस्तस्मात् स्नेहविपर्ययात् चिन्तानवस्थानादनुचिन्तयन्त्युन्मादम् । तथाह्येषां यत्रैव विषये तीव्राभिव्यङ्गस्तत्रैवातीव-परित्यागो दृश्यते, तत् को भवस्यन्नूयादन्मत्त इति । आह चात्र ।

उन्मादात् कर्मैवानर्थं कुरुते नरस्य नोन्मादः ।

न ह्युन्मादश्चित्रं करोति पुरुषं यथा कर्म ॥

तदेवं सूनास्थानसमवादान्मादस्थानत्वाच्च पण्डितैः परिवर्जनीयो भवः, स च सर्वकर्मप्रवृत्ति-निरोधेन परिवर्जयितव्यः । अस्ति चास्य भवस्य परिवर्जनोपायः सर्वकर्मक्षयः, स कथं भवतीति तदुपायावेदनाय आह ।

हीयमानां रुजं दृष्ट्वा गमनादौ विपर्यये ।

सर्वकर्मक्षये तेन करोति मतिमान् मतिम् ॥ 159.

यथा गमनादिजनिता रुजः चक्रमणादिपरिवर्जनेषु पूर्वाविधपरिचयात् अनुपूर्वं हीयन्ते, तथा सर्वेण सर्वरुजः सर्वकर्मापच्छेदैस्ततः स[२]कलोच्छेदमन्वयमानः कुशलः सर्वकर्मक्षयायायं यतते, तथा अन्योऽपि यतमानस्तां जातिं लप्स्यत इत्यास्यातद्यो यत्रः सर्वकर्मक्षयलभ्ये. सर्ववेद्यित्वनिरोधरूपेण मतिमता निर्वाणे, दीर्घाध्वगवत् । यथा दीर्घाध्वगो यथा यथा गच्छति तथा तथा दुःखीभवति विषयस्य अमदुःखेन पथ्यदनपरिचयदुःखेन च, तथा बालाः संमाराध्वनि वर्तमाना आश्रयदुःखेन शुभक[४]र्मपरि-क्षयदुःखेन च बाध्यन्ते । अथवा दीर्घाध्वगो गमनदुःखेन पीडितः स्थानमारभते ततोऽस्य गमनदुःखं परि-वर्तते, स्थानदुःखमपि निषद्यया, निषद्यादुःखमपि निषद्यया, यदि पुनर्निषद्यादुःखपरिखिन्नस्तत्त्यागा-दन्यदीर्घ्यापथान्तरं नारभते तदास्तेर्यापथिकदुःखनिवृत्तिरत्यन्तं सम्भाव्येत । एवं सर्वकर्मक्षयेऽपि वाच्यम् । तदेवं सर्वकर्म[५]क्षयः सर्वदुःखनिवृत्तिकारणमिति सर्वकर्मक्षये मतिमता मतिः कार्य्येति । आह चात्र ।

यथा सुखं चैतमिकं श्रेष्ठं कायसुखादपि ।

तथा कर्मक्षयसुखं क्लेशक्षयसुखादिह ॥

इतश्च युक्तः संमारात्यागो धीमतां भयकारणत्वात्, तथा हि ।

यदैकस्यापि कार्य्यस्य दृश्यते नादिकारणम् ।

तदा कस्य भयन्न स्यात् दृष्टैकस्यापि विस्तरम् ॥ 160.

इह एकस्यापि तावत् कार्य्य[६]स्य भौतिकस्य, वातिकस्य वा पैत्तिकस्य वा पूर्वंपारम्पर्येण परीच-माणस्य आदिकारणं यदा न दृश्यते अनादिमत्त्वात् जगत्प्रवृत्तेरेवमेवैकस्यापि कार्य्यस्थानन्तं सविस्तरं दृष्ट्वा तदा कस्येह पुरुषस्थाधिगतभयस्य जगत्प्रवृत्तिदर्शने भयं न स्यात् । युक्तत्वस्यापरिमितप्रबन्धगडनदुःमञ्जर-तरायां संमाराटव्यां नित्यमेवोद्विजितं, त[७]दनु रूपं च योनिशः प्रधानं भावयितुम् । घटवत् । यथा हि घटेऽनेकप्रत्यया मृत्पिण्डदण्डचक्रसूत्रोदकपुरुषप्रयत्नाद्यो दृश्यन्ते घटकरणे तावत् प्रागेवान्येषां गुरुतराणा-मर्थानां निष्पादने । आह चात्र ।

कालस्थानन्तत्वादादिश्च न विद्यते यतो जगतः ।

तस्माज्जन्तोर्दुःखं पूर्वां कोटिं समाज्ञातुम् ॥

अपि च । यदयमभिलषन् तृष्णया परिस्पन्दते, तस्य यदि नियोग[त्]तः सिद्धिः स्यात् युक्त-
स्पन्दितुं तस्य च ।

सिद्धिः सर्वस्य कार्यस्य नियमेन न जायते ।

नियमेन कृतस्यान्तः किं तदर्थं विहन्यसे ॥ 161.

इह हि सर्वस्यैव कार्यस्य प्रारब्धस्य नियमेन सिद्धिर्भवति वा न वा । सिद्धस्य तु सर्वस्यैव
कार्यस्य नियमादवश्यमेव विनाशो भवति । तत्र यस्य कृतस्य सुचिरादप्यवश्यमेव नियमतो विनाशः किं
तदर्थमयं बालो विहन्यत इति । [२० क] अतोऽवधूय जालिनीं तदुच्छेदाय यतितव्यम् । कुम्भकारपाक-
वत् यथा कुम्भकारपाके सिद्धिरनैकान्तिकी निष्पन्नानाञ्च कुम्भकारभाजनानां नियमतो विनाशस्तथा
सर्वेषां लौकिकानां कार्याणां सिद्धिरनैकान्तिकी । आह चात्र ।

सर्वेषां भावानां कृतकत्वान्नास्ति नियमतः सिद्धिः ।

तस्माद्भावस्तेषां नियमेनैव ध्रुवो नाशः ॥

यथा च कायस्य ध्रुवो विनाशः । तथा कर्मणोऽपीति प्रतिपादयन्नाह ।

यत्नतः क्रियते [२] कर्म कृतं नश्यत्ययत्नतः ।

विरागोऽस्ति न ते कश्चिदेवं सत्यपि कर्मणि ॥ 162.

इह खलु महता यत्नेन बद्धभिः साधनोपायैः कर्म क्रियते तत्तु महता प्रयत्नेन बद्धभिरपि साधनैः
कृतमयत्नादेव कायवद्विनश्यति । तदेवमतिमहत्पुरुषकारधनमपार्थक्यमिति कर्मणि कथं नाम, न स्याद्वैराग्य-
म्बिदुषः । तत्पुनः पुनस्तत्कर्मचरणाद्विरागाभावो जड़तामेव वेदयते, तत्क्रियतां वैराग्याव[र]मरः । न हि
निष्ठुरा वृत्तिरूपकुर्वति शोभते ; पर्वतशिलारोपणवत् । यथा पर्वतमूर्द्धनि शिला यत्नेनारोप्यते अयत्नेन
पतति तथा सर्वलौकिक्यः प्रवृत्तयः । आह चात्र ।

हेतुप्रत्ययसामग्र्या कर्म संस्क्रियते यतः ।

तस्मात् यत्क्रियते यत्नात्तद् वैकल्याच्च नश्यतीति ॥

अत्राह यद्यप्ययत्नात् कायं नश्यति तथापि सुखहेतुत्वान्न तत्र वैराग्यं भवतीति । उच्य[ते] ४ ।

अतीतस्य सुखं नास्ति नाप्यप्राप्तस्य विद्यते ।

वर्त्तमानोऽपि यात्येव अमोऽयं कस्य नाम ते ॥ 163.

अतीतस्य तावत् विज्ञानस्य सुखं नास्ति निरुद्धत्वात्, अनागतस्यापि सुखं नास्ति अप्रप्राप्तत्वात्,
वर्त्तमानस्यापि सुखं नास्ति स्थित्यभावात् । तदेवममति सुखे तेनानुग्रहाभावात् सुखमभोगलालमस्य योऽयं
सुखहेतुकर्मोपार्जनममो भवतः स कस्य [पू] कृते भवतु, विफल एव सर्वथा सुखहेतुपाज्जनपरिश्रमो-
पा[या]यास इत्यभिप्रायः । नदौतौरगृहकरणवत् । केनचिन्नदौतौरे गृहं कृतं स च प्रदेगः स्फुटितः ।

ततोऽन्यदनुतौरमेव कृतं सोऽपि स्फुटित एवमनवस्था जाता, एवं तस्य गृहकर्तुः महांश्च अमो, न च अम-
फलावाप्तिः । तथा सर्वलौकिक्यः प्रवृत्तयः । आह चात्र ।

चित्तचणचपलगतेः [६] कस्यार्थं सञ्चिनोषि कर्माणि ।

कालत्रयेऽपि यस्मात् परौक्ष[३]माणं सुखं नास्ति ॥

अत्राह । यद्यप्येवं तथापि स्वर्गसुखार्थमवश्यमेव कुशलं कर्म कर्तव्यमिति । उच्यते ।

स्वर्गा निरयतुल्योऽपि विदुषां स्याद्भयङ्करः ।

सर्वथा दुर्लभस्तेषां भवो यो न भयङ्करः ॥ 164

तत्र विविधसंक्लेशाय द्वारत्वात् तीव्रतरविषयसम्भूतक्लेशाग्निसन्दीपितत्वात् [७] मोहभूयस्त्वात् च
स्वर्गमपि निरयवद्भयङ्करत्वात् परिवर्ज्यन्ति^{१९} विद्वांसः । ततश्च येषामनवगीतसुखसम्भोगरमणीया स्वर्गसम्पद्
तथा न जनयन्त्यास्यां तेषां तदन्यत्र भवे श्मशानभूमाविव कुतो रतिः । अपिशब्दश्चात्र भिन्नक्रमः स्वर्ग-
शब्दानन्तरं द्रष्टव्यः । तिष्ठतु तावदन्यो भवः । स्वर्गोऽपि विदुषां निरयतुल्य इति व्याख्येयं । बालबन्धन-
मोक्षणवत् । तद्यथा बालो नाम राजा बभूव [८] क्रूरप्रकृतिरूपस्तौहृणशासनः । तस्य बन्धनागारे यः
प्रवेश्यते स करचरणप्रौवासु पञ्चभिर्वन्धनैर्गाढम्बध्यते । स यदा न कदाचिदुपायेन कञ्चिन् मोचयति तदा
रक्षापुरुषाणामाज्ञापयति । अयं सर्ववन्धनेभ्यो मोक्तव्यः किन्तु येनैकेनेर्यापथेनेच्छति यावदायुः स्यास्यते ।
तेन सुगुप्ते स्थापयितव्य इति । “एष देवेति” राज्ञ आज्ञां शिरसि कृत्वा नून कुर्वन्ति । तत्र यो [१०]
बालराजबन्धनान्मुक्तो भवति तस्य बन्धनेन तुल्यं मोक्षणमपि भयङ्करमेव दुःखविशेषान्तथान्येषामपि महात्मनां
नरकतुल्यस्तेषां कोन्योऽस्ति भवस्तद्विशिष्टो यो न भयङ्करः स्यात् । यथा बलिः सर्वलोकाधिपत्यं दत्त्वा
बद्धः । किमयमन्यद्वा मुक्तो दृश्यते । तथा येषां स्वर्गोऽपि दुःखहेतुत्वात् निरयसमस्तेषां कोन्यो भवा-
न्तरोऽस्ति यो न भयङ्करः स्यात् । अपि च । यथा खलु पण्डिताः संसारदोषप्रत्यवेक्षानिपुणा दुःखाग्नि-
ज्वालापरिगतमेकान्तदुःखं संसारं यथावदौच्यन्ते तथा खलु

संसारदुःखं जानीयात् यदि बालोपि सर्वशः ।

गच्छेदत्यन्ततो नाशं सह [२] चित्तेन तत्क्षणम् ॥ 165.

यदुःखमाकारयन्त आर्याः संसारादुद्विजन्ते तद्यदि पृथग्जनः शक्रुयादध्यचयितुं तदा तत्क्षण-
मेवास्य गतधा विशीर्येत हृदयमनवबोधान्त्वयमभिरमते संसारे । कृतज्ञतामहाकरुणाभ्यां तु सत्त्वोप-
काराभिप्रायधैर्यावष्टब्धं संसारदुःखमार्याणाम् न तथोद्वेगकारणमिति न तेषामत्यन्तो नाशः शक्यः सम्भाव-
यितुम् ।

पृथग्जनस्तु मत्कायदृष्टानुगमा[३]त् प्रतिपन्नभावनावैकल्यात् परमाणुशो नियतं विशीर्येत यदि
सर्वथा संसारदुःखं जानीयात् । यत्राभ्याहतवत् बालनायकवच्च । कश्चिद्यत्नेणाभ्याहतः, स च यत्नेन न
दृष्टः, तस्यैतदभवत् । अदृष्टे तावत् तस्मिन् यत्ने ईदृक् दुःखमुत्पन्नम् यदि दृष्टः स्यात् ततो मे तुषमुष्टिवत्
काये विशीर्येत स्यादिति । यथा च बालनायक आधिपत्यलोभात् जी[४]वित गृह्णाति एवं

यदि बालोऽपि संसारदुःखमधिगच्छेत् तद्भयात् सर्वभवपरित्यागादत्यन्ततो नाशं गच्छेन्नोक्षमित्यर्थः ।
आह चात्र ।

यथा बुद्धा विजानन्ति फलं पापस्य यादृशम् ।

तथा बालो विजानीयात् स भवेत् तत्क्षणं जिनः ॥

अपि च संसारे क्रियासु सामर्थ्यवतः समोहमानस्य सुखं स्यात् । स च निरूप्यमाणः ।

अमानी दुर्लभः शक्तो मानी नास्ति घणान्वितः ।

उक्तः सुदुर्लभस्तेन ज्योतिर्ज्योतिःपरायणः ॥ 166.

शक्तस्यैव क्रियासु पुरुषकारेणोपात्तसुखवेदनाय विषयोपार्जनात् उपात्तपरिरक्षणञ्चावश्यमेव पुरुषस्य मान उपजायते । मानतश्चायमात्मानं विशेषतः परिकल्पयन्नधिकमसहमानस्तदपजिघांसया निर्दयो भवति निर्दयस्य चास्यापायपर्यवसान[६]तया + + + + सम्पदो यतोऽस्य सुखानुभवः सम्भाव्येत । अत एव भगवता ज्योतिर्ज्योतिःपरायणः पुद्गलो दुर्लभः इत्युक्तं कुलभोगैश्वर्यज्ञानमानेन नियतमधःपतनात् । जामदग्न्यवत् । यथा जामदग्न्येन शक्तेन मानित्वात् त्रिःसप्तशतः पृथिवी निःक्षत्रिया कृता नैर्घृणादतिदुर्लभो यच्छक्तोऽमानी स्यात् मानौ च घणान्वितः स्यात् । यत एवम[७] तोऽवोचद्भगवान् दुर्लभो ज्योतिर्ज्योतिःपरायण इति । यद्येवं मानिनः पापाचरणादपायनिष्ठा इति गर्हिता विपर्ययेण ब्रह्ममानिनः स्वर्गसुखसाधनधर्मा-
चरणात् प्रशस्यास्ततश्च तैरेकान्तेन गर्हितः संसार इत्युच्यते । धर्मोऽपि वैपरीत्यादयुक्तः सङ्गस्तथा हि ।

निवृत्तिविषयस्येह विषयः किल लभ्यते ।

केनापि हेतुना धर्मा विपरीतोऽपि स स्मृतः ॥ 167.

यः किल[८]विषयेष्वनास्यस्तान् विषयान् परित्यजति ब्रह्मचर्याभ्युपगमात्, तस्येह च्युतस्य ईश्वरकुले स्वर्गेषूपपन्नः तेन लोके नाङ्गीकृतश्चेति नात्राभिनिवेशो ज्यायान्, तिताडयिषुमेषवत् । यथा मेषस्ताडयितु-
मिच्छन् दूरतोऽप्यनिवृत्तः यथा विषयार्थी निवृत्तविषयः । एवं तावद्भर्मा विपरीतत्वात् त्याज्यः । यदपि तद्भर्माफलमैश्वर्यं तदपि वशित्वाभावाद्विविधव्यसनस्थानत्वाच्च, ना[१८क]स्येयं विदुषा । तथा हि ।

पुण्यस्य फलमैश्वर्यं तच्च रक्ष्यं सदान्यतः ।

कथं नाम तदात्मीयं यद्द्रक्ष्यं सर्वदान्यतः ॥ 168.

पूर्वकृतस्य हि कर्मणः फलमैश्वर्यं तच्चात्मीयसंज्ञितं तच्चेह सदैव संरक्ष्यते प्रत्यर्थिभ्यो, यदि तदा-
त्मनौनं स्यान्नैव प्रत्यर्थिभ्यो रक्षणीयं स्यात् । यच्च परैराच्छेद्यत्वात् मततमाधीयमानरक्षाविधानं कथं तदा-
त्मीयमिति शक्यं वक्तुम् । तदयं रक्षाविधाननिरन्तरः परमनिर्वृतः कदा नाम विषयरममास्वादयेत् । तस्मा-
त्फलमप्यस्य नानु[२]ग्रहाय पर्याप्तम् । गुरुवत् । यथा गुरुः नित्यमेवानुवन्द्यो नित्यं चापमत्तेन भवितव्यं शरौ ।
तथैश्वर्यं पुण्यबलनिर्जातं तच्च राजादिभ्यो नित्यमेव रक्ष्यम् । यच्च सर्वदा रक्ष्यं कथं तदात्मीयं भवति ।
अनवस्थितत्वाच्च लौकिकस्य धर्मस्य तत्रास्या न ज्यायसौ । तथाहि

या या लोकस्थितिस्तांतां धर्मः समनुवर्त्तते ।

धर्मादपि ततो लोको बलवानिव दृश्यते ॥ 169.

लोको हि यां यां स्थितिं व्यवस्थापयति देशकुलगोत्राचारव्यवस्थया कन्यादानोद्धहनादिकं तां तां [३] धर्मः समनुवर्त्तते । तस्यास्तस्या स्थिते धर्म इति प्रसिद्धिगमनात् । न चैष स्वभावव्यवस्थितस्य न्यायो युज्यते, यद्देशकालभेदयोरन्यथात्वादन्यथा स्यात् । ततो नात्रात्यन्तादरो युक्तः । दुहितृविवाहवत् । केनचित् पुरुषेण यवनेषु गतेन यवनः कश्चिदग्निं प्रज्वाल्य तस्माद्ग्रेर्विद्यया शब्दं निश्चारयन् दृष्टो दुहिता कल्पते भार्या भवत इति । स च पुरुषोत्यन्तरागचरितो दुहिता च तस्य स्वदेशे रूप[४]यौवनवती तिष्ठति । ततस्तेन पुरुषेण तस्य यवनस्य सकाशात् सा विद्या महता प्रयत्नेन द्रव्यप्रदानेन चार्थिता । स्वदेशं च गत्वा स्वां दुहितरं भार्यां कर्तृकामोऽग्निमिच्छति तमर्थं वाचयितुं । तेनाग्निनोक्तं अन्यथास्य देशस्थितिरिति । एवं धर्मादपि लोको वक्तवानिति । अत्राह । अभिलषितविषयममुत्यादमन्तरेण सुखवेदनानुभवो नास्ति । स च विषयोत्यादः वृत्तपुण्यानामेव यस्मात् सम्भव[५]ति । तस्मात् विषयार्थिना कर्त्तव्य एव धर्म इति । उच्यते ।

विषयश्च शुभनेष्टो विषयः स च कुत्सितः ।

श्रेयान् यस्य परित्यागो निष्पन्नेनापि तेन किम् ॥

योयमिहेष्टपञ्चकायगुणात्मको विषयो रूपशब्दगन्धरसस्पर्शव्यमङ्गितः स शुभेन कर्मणा लभ्यते । स एव सत्त्वानां मोक्षकामानां कुत्सितोऽमेध्यलिप्तगात्र इव श्या, यस्य च श्रेयान् परित्यागोऽनर्थमूलत्वात् अनित्याशुच्य ६ नात्मकत्वेनानिर्दृष्टिकरत्वात् रागादिक्लेशोत्पादकत्वेन प्रमादस्थानत्वाच्च निष्पन्नेनापि तेन न किञ्चित् प्रयोजनमिति व्यर्थ एव विषयफलधर्मापार्जनश्रम इति त्यज्यतामधर्म इव धर्मोऽपि सङ्ग इति । कम्बोजभैचरणवत् । कश्चित् भिक्षुः कम्बोजेषु जनपदेषु भिक्षां गतः, स केनचिदुक्तः शब्देन कार्यार्थं मा तावदत्र किञ्चिद्वक्ष्यसि पिण्डपातं चरन्नवहास्यो भविष्यसि । एषास्मिन् वि[७]षये मर्यादा । तेन चञ्जना अद्भुधानतया तथा कृतम् । ततस्तेन जनकायेन विज्ञातोऽस्मत्स्यर्द्धिना यन्त्रमेतत् तेन पुरुषेण कृत्वा अस्माकमनुप्रेषितमित्यहोऽस्योन्मेषनिमेषादि पुरुषवदुपपादितमेव सर्वं, प्रत्यङ्गानि वर्णयामास । ततस्तेरपि तादृक्षाण्येव यन्त्राणि कृत्वा प्रेषितानि तस्य पुरुषस्य । ततस्तेन पुरुषेणोक्तम् तस्य भिक्षो व्वाच- मिदानौ भाषस्व तत्सन्निरोधादिति । तेन तथाकृतमारोग्यादि-वाग्निश्चारिता । ततस्ते विस्म[८]यापन्ना एवमूचुः । अशक्यमेतदस्माकमनेन रञ्जिता वयमिति । स शठः भिक्षुप्रतिरूपः स्वरूपपरिज्ञानात् कुत्सित एव भवति तद्वदेतदिति । अत्राह । यद्यपि विषयस्य कुत्मितत्वात् विषयमाधनो धर्मा निष्प्रयोजन- स्तथापि आजारमास्वादसुखगुरुणि राज्यानोति तदर्थं राजाधिपत्येषु प्रवर्त्तितव्यमिति । उच्यते । नैव हि सर्वेषामाजया कार्यं सम्भवति । ततश्च ।

कार्यं नास्त्यनुपायस्य तस्य धर्मा निरर्थकः ।

यस्य हि समौहितार्थमग्निद्विरन्यथा न सम्भवति स [१८]

चिद्राजः पुत्रोऽतीव प्रियः स कदाचिद्भृत्यतः स तेन राज्ञा संग्रामे निर्जित्य गृहीतः । तस्य च राज्ञः तद्दोषदर्शित्वात् तस्मात् स्नेहो विगतः । एवं दोषज्ञे सर्वत्र रागो न तिष्ठतीति न केवलं सर्वदोष-दर्शित्वाच्चिरं नास्ति रागः । इतश्च तत्प्रहाणं न सम्भाव्यते रागवत्स्वभावत्वात् । तथा प्रतिपादयन्नाह ।

तत्रैव रज्यते कश्चित् कश्चित् तत्रैव दुष्यति ।

कश्चित् मुह्यति तत्रैव तस्मात् कायो निरर्थकः ॥ 175.

रञ्जनीयवस्त्रायत्तोदयो हि रागस्तच्च रञ्जनीयं [२] वस्तु स्वरूपामिद्धम् । यदेव ह्येकस्य रञ्जनीयं तदेवापरस्य द्वेषणीयं वोपलभ्यते । यदि च रञ्जनीयं वस्तु स्वरूपतः स्यात् । तत् सर्वदा सर्वस्य च तथैव स्यात् । नल्लेष नियमो दृष्टः । तथाहि । यत्रैको रज्यते, तत्रैवापरो दुष्यति । तत्रैवापरो मुह्यति । तस्माद्विषय-कामः स्वरूपामिद्धत्वात् शून्यः । न चैवं रञ्जनीयवस्तुशून्यताभावना-तत्परस्य योगिनो रागप्रहाणं न सम्भाव्यत इति विद्यत एव रागप्रहाणम् । [३] मातृपत्नीदासीवत् । कस्यचित् पुरुषस्य पत्नीद्वयं तत्रैका मात्रा सह तिष्ठति । द्वितीया तु विना मात्रा । तत्र यदासौ माता दुहितरं पश्यति तदा तुष्टा भवति । तामेव दृष्ट्वा सपत्नी दुःखिता भवति । दासी तु दृष्ट्वा दासीना भवतीति । नास्ति रागादीनां आलम्बनस्य स्वरूपमिद्धिः । एवं तावदालम्बनासिद्ध्या रागाद्यसिद्धिं प्रतिपाद्य हेत्वसिद्ध्यापि रागाद्यसिद्धिं प्रतिपादयितुका [४] म आह ।

विना कल्पनयास्तित्वं रागादीनां न विद्यते ।

भूतार्थः कल्पना चेति को ग्रहीष्यति बुद्धिमान् ॥ 176.

संकल्पप्रभवो रागो द्वेषो मोहश्च कथ्यते इतिवचनात् ।

विषयेषु अयोनिग्रः कल्पना रागादिसिद्धिकारणम् । ततश्च येषां सत्यामेव कल्पनायां अस्तित्वं भ्रुवम् तेषां रज्जुकुण्डलके परिकल्पितसर्पवत् स्वरूपामिद्धिरवसीयते । यस्तु स्वरूपसिद्धिं रागादीनां [५] अभ्युपैति, नियतं तेन कल्पनापेक्ष्यजन्मत्वं स्वरूपसिद्धिविरुद्धं नाभ्युपेतव्यम् ॥ यदि ह्यसौ भूतोऽर्थः किमर्थं तदस्तित्वे कल्पनापेक्ष्यते । अथापेक्ष्यते कथमसौ भूतार्थः । इत्येवं सोपपत्तिकागमाल्लोकावभासितचित्त-सन्तानत्वान्न विद्वांसः स्वरूपसिद्धस्य कल्पनाजनितत्वमङ्गीकुर्वन्ति । जडास्तु यथाकथञ्चित् विपर्ययात् प्रवर्तन्ते ध्यायिगिरःकपाल [६] वत् । कश्चिद्भ्यायी चित्तविभ्रममनुप्राप्तः कपालं मम गिरसि लग्नमिति । तस्य केनचित् अन्यत् कपालं पातितं एतत् तव गिरसः पतितमिति । स च तथेत्यवगम्य स्वस्यो जातः । कल्पनाविगमात् । अत्राह । विद्यत एव रागादीनां स्वभावो बन्धनत्वात् । तथाहि स्त्री पुरुष-विषयेण रागेण पुरुषेण सह वद्धा, नातिक्रमति पुरुषम् । पुरुषश्च स्त्रीविषयेण रा [७] गेण, स्त्रिया सह वद्धो न परित्यजति स्त्रियमिति । उच्यते ।

कस्यचित् केनचित् साङ्गं बन्धो नाम न विद्यते ।

यथैव हि रागः कल्पनापेक्ष्यजन्मत्वात् स्वभावासिद्धः तद्वत् स्त्रीपुरुषयोरपि स्वरूपामिद्धत्वात् कस्यचिदर्थस्य केनचिदर्थेन सह नास्ति स्वभावतो बन्ध इति । न बन्धकारणत्वात् रागः स्वरूपतः सिध्यति । अथाप्यवधूयेत्यं विचारं परेण सह परस्य बन्धः परिकल्प्यते । ए [८] वमपि

परंण मह बद्धस्य विप्रयोगो न युज्यते ॥ 177.

यदि हि परस्य स्वरूपतो बन्धनकारणत्वं स्यात् तदा स्वरूपस्यान्यथाभावाभावात् मुक्त्यभाव एव स्यात् । विप्रयोगो विमोचो विमुक्तिरित्यनर्थान्तरम् । अस्ति च मुक्तिरिति नास्ति स्वरूपतो बन्धनकारणत्वं परस्य । अस्ति बन्धनकारणे कुतो बन्ध इति स्वभावशून्या एव रागादयः स्वभावशून्यतादर्शनात् प्रक्षीयन्त इति शक्यमास्यात् । कृष्णावदातवलीवर्द्धसंयो[२१क]जनवत् । यथा न कृष्णो बलीवर्द्धाऽवदातस्य रूयोजनाय, नाप्यवदातः कृष्णस्यापि तु युगरभ्रं तथा नेन्द्रियाणि विषयाणां नापि विषया इन्द्रियाणा-मपि तु योत्र च्छन्दरागस्तद्वन्धनमिति । यद्येवं विचारात् क्लेशा निवर्तन्ते तत् किमित्यजितक्लेशाः प्रायो दृश्यन्ते । गम्भीरधर्माधिमुक्तिविरहात् । तथाहि ॥

अस्मिन् धर्मेऽल्पपुण्यस्य मन्देहोऽपि न जायते ।

भवः मन्देहमात्रेण जायते जर्जरौकतः ॥ 178.

अनादिसंसारभ्रमविपर्ययासमन्दर्शनोह्यवि[२]द्वान् प्रतिविम्बोपमेषु पदार्थेष्विदं सत्याभिनिविष्टः स्वभाव-शून्यतोपदेशं प्रपातमिव मन्यते । शून्यविमुक्तिहेतुकुशलविरहितचित्तमन्तानत्वात् तथाविधस्य हि मतस्यास्मिन् शून्यताधर्मे किमेवं नैवमिति सन्देहोऽपि न जायतेऽन्यत्र विपरीतनिश्चयात् । ततश्च मुक्तिहेतुविपर्यस्तत्वात् कुतोऽस्य मोचः । यदि त्वयं केनापि हेतुना शून्यताधर्म उपदिश्यमाने संग्रयमुत्पादयेत् किमयं धर्म एवं नैवमि[३]ति ; नियतमस्थानेनापि सन्देहमात्रेण जर्जर एव संसारो जायते । स हि यदैवमित्यवलम्बते मोस्याङ्गः क्रमेण क्लेशतस्करोच्छेदाय सम्यद्यते । यद्वा संग्रयितो निश्चयेनार्थी सोपपत्तिकागमवलात् सम्यग्दर्शनो निश्चितः क्लेशक्षयाय संसारोच्छेदं करिष्यतीति । सन्देहकालेऽपि जर्जर एवास्य संसारो लक्ष्यते तद्भेदानुकूलावस्थावस्थितत्वात् । राक्षसो[४]हौतवालाहकमश्वराजपरिमोक्षितवत् । यथा भग्नवाहनः स्वार्थवाहो राक्षसो[४]हौतः पतित्वेनोपचर्यमाणस्तदा दक्षिणस्या दिशो निवार्यमाणो न कदाचित्त्वया दक्षिणा दिक् गन्तव्येति । स मन्दिह्यमानः कस्मादेषा मां वारयतीति गतस्तत्र वालाहकमश्वराजमागस्य तस्याः राक्षस्याः निर्मुक्तः समुद्रपारञ्च मंप्राप्तः । यदि चास्य मन्देहो नाभविष्यत् न तस्या [५] राक्षस्या वियुक्तोऽभविष्यत्, न च समुद्रपारं प्राप्तोऽभविष्यत् । यश्चायं स्वभावशून्यगालक्षणे धर्मे यस्मिन् मन्देहोऽपि भवस्य जर्जरत्वाय संवर्तन्ते, तस्य भगवता प्रथमचान्तिवर्णमुपादाय यावत् मोक्षप्तावदपरिहानिर्दृष्टिश्चोपवर्णिता नत्वेवं लौकिकानां धर्माणाम् । ते हि विपाकक्षयादपि चोयन्ते प्रत्ययवैकल्यादपि न प्रवर्तन्ते । न हि प्रजापारमि[६]ताऽनधिष्ठिता दानादयः ममर्थाः जात्यन्धा इव सर्वज्ञतानगरमनुप्राप्तमित्युवाच गान्ता । तदेवं ॥

आत्मा ह्याद्यस्य धर्मस्य वृद्धिमेवोक्तवान् मुनिः ।

तत्र भक्तिर्न यस्यास्ति सुव्यक्तं बुद्धिमान् न सः ॥ 179.

यो ह्यत्यन्तोपकारिणि धर्मं वृद्धिप्रकर्षवति नोत्पादयति भक्तिं, स चेमस्थाने भयदर्शित्वात् मूढता-सेवात्मनो जडः प्रकटयति । तदित्यं मूढता माभून्ममेति [७] विदग्धिः स्वभावशून्यतादर्शने भक्तिराखेया । शर्करामोदकवत् शलाकामुद्रावच्च । यथा शर्करामोदकः सर्वत आस्वाद्यस्तथा । यथा कस्यचित् पुरुषस्य

विद्याद्वयं सिद्धं । तत्रैकया शलाकां परिजप्य सर्व्वस्याधुपशमनं करोति द्वितीयया मुद्रां दत्त्वा । अथ तेन कस्यचित् स्निग्धस्योच्यते । गृहाण त्वं एतत् [विद्या]द्वयमुपकारस्ते भविष्यति । तेन न गृह्येतम् । अथास्यास्मिन् मृते स्निग्धे महाव्याधिरुत्पन्नः । स चाचिकित्स्यः तेनैव कालगतः । किं पुनरिमे पदार्थाः शून्या एव सन्तः वैराग्यार्थं शून्यवद्दृश्यन्ते ; अथ प्रकृत्या एव शून्या इति व्यपदिश्यन्ते इति । उच्यते ॥

नाशून्यं शून्यवद्दृष्टं निर्वाणं मे भवत्विति ॥ 180.

किं कारणं यस्मात् ।

मिथ्यादृष्टेन निर्वाणं वर्णयन्ति तथागताः ॥

अन्यथावस्थितस्य वस्तुनो यदन्यथादर्शनं तन्मिथ्यादर्शनम् । यदि च स्वभावशून्याः सन्तः पदार्थाः स्वभावशून्या इति दृश्येरन् तदा मिथ्याद[२१]^१र्शनादेव निर्वाणाधिगमः स्यात् । न च मिथ्यादृष्टेः पुद्गलस्य निर्वाणाधिगमं बुद्धा भगवन्तो व्यवस्थापयन्ति । सम्यग्दृष्टिपुरःसरेणैव यथा निर्वाणप्राप्तिव्यवस्थापनात् ; ततश्च मायावत् प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नत्वात् स्वभावशून्या एव सन्तो भावाः शून्याः स्वभावेनेत्यधिगम्यन्ते यथास्थित-पदार्थतत्त्वदर्शनावदातसन्तानैः समारोपार्थवादान्तकल्पनामलामलिनैरार्यैः । रात्र्यां वेत्तकपेयप्रेषणवत् । कश्चित् वेत्तको गुरुणा [१] रात्र्यां पेयस्यार्थमभीक्ष्णं प्रेष्यते । अथ कदाचित् स तेनोच्यते । नैतत् कल्पते भिक्षूणां कथं त्वं पिवसौति । स प्राह पानीयमिति । तेनाप्यन्यस्मिन्नहनि पानीयमेवानीतं । स प्राह । कस्मादन्यदेव-मानौतमिति । आमणेरः कथयति । यदा त्वं पानीयमेवेति कृत्वा पिवसि तत् कोत्र विशेष इति । यदि खलु स्वभावशून्या एव पदार्थाः किमर्थमविद्यादिना क्रमेण सत्वभाजनलोकस्य प्रवृत्तिरूपदिश्यते । [३] ननु स्वभावपरमार्थत्वात् स्वभावशून्यतैव केवलमुपदेष्टव्येति । नैतदेवम् । नैव हि लौकिकं प्रवृत्त्यात्मकम् परमार्थं पूर्वं सदुपदिश्य शक्यं स्वभावशून्यतालक्षणतत्त्वमादर्शयितुमिति । तत्त्वावतारसोपानभूतत्वात् प्रवृत्त्युपदेशोऽपि कर्त्तव्यः । सर्व्वसङ्गपरित्यागेन निवृत्तिसुखावाप्तिनिमित्तं स्वभावशून्यतोपदेशोऽपि कर्त्तव्यस्तत्र तथागते प्रवचने ।

लौकिकी देश[४]ना यत्र प्रवृत्तिस्तत्र वर्ण्यते ॥

परमार्थकथा यत्र निवृत्तिस्तत्र वर्ण्यते । 181.

यत्र संसारप्रवृत्तिक्रमोऽविद्यासंस्कारादिना क्रमेणाहेत्वेकहेतुविषमहेतुविनाशार्थं स्वभामान्यलक्षण-संज्ञावकल्पनया दिश्यते ; ज्ञातव्यं विदुषा प्रवृत्तिस्तत्र वर्ण्यत इति । यत्र तु प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादस्य स्वभावानुत्पादस्वभावशून्यतोपदिश्यते ; तत्र संसारप्रवृत्तेर्निवृत्तिर्वर्ण्यते । स्वभावश्[५]न्यतापरमार्थावगमात् सर्व्वत्रासङ्गवतो वेदनास्वदृष्ट्या तृष्णाप्रत्ययो यानादिकारणनिरोधेन जातिजरामरणादेः सर्व्वथा निरोधात् । विलप्रवेशवत् । यथा विलप्रवेशे मा काचिदुपकरणप्रवृत्तिः ; सर्व्वामावुच्छृष्ट्या न तथा किञ्चित्प्रयोजनं क्रियते । तथा सर्व्वं लौकिक्यः प्रवृत्तयो निस्साराः परित्यक्त्या विदुषा यस्मात् प्रवृत्तिधर्म इति । यद्येवं[६] परमार्थकथायां न किञ्चिदस्ति । शून्यत्वात् सर्व्वभावानां तदा सर्व्वभावः प्रसज्यते । सर्व्व-

भावाच्च न किञ्चित्कर्त्तव्यं स्यात् । कर्त्तृकर्म्मक्रियादीनां सर्वथाभावात् । अभावाच्च क्रियादीनां न स्यात् मोक्षः इत्यतः सर्वमेवायुक्तमित्युच्यते ।

किं करिष्याम्यसत्सर्वमिति ते जायते भयम् ॥ 181.

विद्यते यदि कर्त्तव्यं नायं धर्मो निवर्त्तकः ।

यत एव हि सर्वमसत् अत एवायं प[७]रमार्थधर्मः प्रवृत्तिनिवर्त्तको युज्यते । तत्किमिति निवृत्त्यर्थं सर्वाभावं क्रियाद्यनधिष्ठानन्नं समीहते । अथ हि नामात्रापि प्रवृत्ताविव कर्त्तव्यं स्यात् तदा क्रियाफलस्यापि परार्थस्य प्रवृत्तेः मैव प्रवृत्तिरिति कथमयं धर्मो निर्वाणावाहकः स्यात् । मृगदृष्ट्यावत् । यथा हि मृगदृष्टिणा पानीयसंज्ञां जनयति न च तत्पानीयं भवति । यस्य तु तत्र परितर्षा जायते स तत्रैवानर्थं समापद्यते । तथा स्कन्धेष्व[८]त्संज्ञा । यतस्तु निवर्त्तके धर्मो न किञ्चित् कर्म्मस्ति तस्मात् शून्यपक्षः श्रेयानिति । यस्तु शून्यतामार्गं रज्यति । विपरीते स स्वभावपक्षे दुष्यति तमुपालभते ।

स्वपक्षे विद्यते रागः परपक्षस्तु तेऽप्रियः ॥ 182 B.

न गमिष्यसि निर्वाणं न शिवं द्वन्द्वचारिणः । 183 A.

द्विविधो हि पक्षः समासतः स्वपक्षः परपक्षश्च । तत्र यदि स्वपक्षे ते रागोऽस्ति शून्यपक्षः श्रेयानिति, परपक्षश्च ते मिथ्ये[१८]क]ति कृत्वाऽप्रियः । न गमिष्यसि निर्वाणम् । न ह्यत्र नयप्रतिघटतस्य द्वन्द्वचारिणो निर्वाणमस्ति । सर्वत्र हि उदासीनाः सङ्गच्छेदादनपायसुखैकरमं शिवमाप्नुवन्ति । आचार्य्यसंघसेनवद्वत् । कश्चिद्दुःखराचार्य्यसंघसेनात् शास्त्रं श्रुश्रूषति । स कदाचित्तेनोक्तं(?) उपासको भवेति । सोऽप्यन्यतमस्मिन्नहनि तमाचार्य्यमुवाचाचार्य्य उपासकोऽहं संवृत्तः । किं कारणं इति । ब्राह्मणान् दृष्ट्वा घातयितुमिच्छामीति । अत्राह । यद्यपि नि[९]र्वाणं परमसुखं सकलोपद्रवरहितत्वात् । तथापि तदशक्यं प्राप्तम् । तत्राप्युपायस्यातिदुःकरत्वात् । भवस्त्वयन्नसाध्यत्वात् यस्मात् सुखेन प्राप्यते । तस्मात् तत्र न प्रवृत्तिरिति । उच्यते । विपरीतमवधारितं यस्मात् ।

अकुर्वाणस्य निर्वाणं कुर्वाणस्य पुनर्भवः ॥ 188 B.

निश्चिन्तेन सुखं प्राप्तं निर्वाणं तेन नेतरः । 184 A.

कुगलाधिक्रियासु निरस्तव्यापारेण निश्चिन्तेन निर्वाणमवाप्यते । तस्मात् सुखं प्राप्तं निर्वाणम् । कुगला[३]कुगलादिप्रवृत्तिसाध्यत्वात् तु निर्वाणादितरः पुनर्भवो न सुखेन प्राप्यते, न विदुषोऽप्रयत्नलभ्यं निर्वाणमवधूय युक्तं विविधव्यापारपरिखेदलभ्यं पुनर्भवमर्थयितुम् । आरोग्यवल्लमाधनवत् । बहवो ह्यरोगस्य वल्लमाधनाय दृश्यन्ते प्रत्ययाः । यदा तु नेच्छन्ति किञ्चिदपि विशेषं तदा सर्वैः प्रत्ययैरनर्थी भवति । यदि खल्वकुर्वाणस्य निर्वाणं तत् किमर्थं त्व[४]यात्र शास्त्रे अनित्याद्यर्थप्रतिपादनं क्रियते । संसारभुक्तं जगत्संमाराद्देजनार्थं । तथा हि ॥

उद्देगो यस्य नास्तीह भक्तिस्तस्य कुतः शिषे ॥ 184 B.

निर्गमश्च भवादस्मात् खगट्टादिव दुष्करः ।

संमाराद्द्विग्रचेतास्तत्रिःमारनाय निर्वाणं भजते । यस्तु नास्त्युद्देगः स किमिति तदर्थयते ।

तद्द्वेगाभावादेव च भवान्निर्गन्तुं अल्पबुद्धयो नोत्सहन्ते । यथा स्व[५]गृहमल्पसारमपि व्यामङ्गपरिच्छेदस्य दुःकरत्वात् न त्यक्तुं पार्य्यते । तादृशमेतत् । बन्धयानप्रार्थनवत् । बन्धः कश्चिद् वधायोत्सृष्टः सद्यो हन्तव्य इति । स च यानं प्रार्थयते स्म । एवमत्र भवगतानामपौच्छा न निवर्त्तते । अपि तु । विषयसुखसम्भोग-सुलभानि गृहाणि त्यक्तुमाढ्यानां मा भूत् तत्सामर्थ्यान्निर्वाणं च गन्तुम् । येषान्तु व्याधिदारिद्र्यादीनां दुःखहेतूनां प्रतिविधानास[६]म्भवस्तेषां युक्त एव संसारपरित्यागः । तथा हि ॥

दुःखाभिभूता दृश्यन्ते केचित् मरणकाङ्क्षिणः ॥ 185.

ते तदा केवलं मोहान्न गच्छन्ति परं पदम् । 186 A.

व्याधिविप्रयोगदुःखान्विताः केचिदात्मस्नेहमपास्यातटादप्यात्मानं उत्सृजन्ति । तथैव यदि संसारं दुःखतो निवार्यात्मस्नेहमत्यन्ताय उद्धुरेथुरदूरे निर्वृत्तिसुखस्य वर्त्तरन् । विपर्यामितदर्शनास्तु मो[७]हान्तथा न प्रवर्त्तन्ते ये निर्वाणं नासादयन्ति । पेयापीतशयितवत् पेयौषधसन्देहवच्च । कश्चित् पेयान् पीत्वा शयितः स भूयस्या मात्रया दुःखौ संवृत्तः ; तथा बाला यथा यथा सुखं प्रार्थयन्ते तथा तथा दुःखिततमा भवन्ति । यथा कश्चिद्दौषधं पास्यामीति उपस्निग्धः स चोपस्नेहात् सन्दिग्धो जातः किमौषधं पेयं कतमद्वा पेयमिति स व्याधेर्न मुक्तः । तथा सर्व्वबालपृथक्जनाः दुःखोपद्रवस्नेह[८]द्रवीकृतक्लेशा अपि सन्तः अज्ञानव्याधिविनाशाय विरागौषधपानसन्दिग्धाः क्लेषौषधमपीत्वा सर्व्वक्लेशव्याधिनिर्मात्तात् परं पदं नाधिगच्छन्ति । अत्राह । यद्येवं सर्व्वपरित्यागेन निर्वाणमेवार्थनीयं तत्राप्राप्ये भावनाकथवास्तु तत्किमर्थं भगवता दानश्रीलकथे अपि विहिते इति उच्यते । त्रिविधो हि सत्त्वधातु[ः] हीनमध्यमोत्तमभेदात् तद्भेदायै भगवतो देशनावैचित्र्यम् । [१८]

स्य विधेयः ॥ वाङ्मदारकवत् ॥ यथा वालदारको नान्यथा भाषया शक्यते बोधयितुम्, तथा पृथक्जनो लोकाः । अतएव लोकावतारोपायत्वात् सदमदादिदेशनानां, भगवता ।

सदसत् सदसच्चेति नोभयं चेति कथ्यते । 192.

पश्वाभ वदग्नेनमलक्षालनाय सदिति कथितम् । भावाभिनिवेशप्रहाणायसदिति कथितम् । उभयाकारदग्नेनत्यागाय सदसदित्यावेदितम् । सर्वाकारप्रपञ्चोच्छेदाय नोभयमिति प्रकाशितम् । अपि च त्वमेव तावद्विचारय । [२]

ननु व्याधिवशात् पथ्यमौषधं नाम जायते ।

व्याधयः प्रतिविधातव्याः । तेषां च निदानभेदादनेकमौषधं नैकमेव सर्वत्रोपयुज्यते । तादृशमेतत् । यत्प्रेतप्रव्रजितधर्मपानीयदानवत् यत्प्रत्यवस्थितदर्शनवच्च । यथा त्रयो भ्रातरः, तत्रैकः प्रव्रजितः, द्वितीयो यत्तः सम्वृत्तः महर्द्धिकः, तृतीयः प्रेतः संजात उल्कामुखः, तावुभावपि तस्य भिक्षोः सकाशं गतौ । ततः तेन भिक्षुणा तस्य यत्तस्य मदहेतुजापनार्थं दौः[३]शील्यदोष उद्भावितः प्रेतस्य तु पानीयप्रदानेन ज्वलनदुःसहदुःखमुपगमय्य दःखहेतुजापनार्थं मात्मर्यदोषो जापितः । एवं सत्वाशयवैचित्र्यात् धर्मदेशनावेचित्र्यं भवति । यथा कस्यचित् पित्रा कन्यका देशान्तरे याचिता । स चास्य पिता कालगतः स मात्रोच्यते । गच्छ तां कन्यकामवलोकयितुं, तत्र पितृवयस्यो यत्त एवंनामा तमर्थयस्वेति । तेन तथाकृतं । अथ स यत्तः तं विमा[४]नेन वैहायसं गृहीत्वा गतः । पुरुषश्चाभ्यागच्छति । स तेन यत्तेण पुत्र उक्तो गच्छेनं त्रामयस्वेति । तेन तथाकृतं । आगत्यैतं पृच्छति, किमर्थं चैष पुरुषः त्रामितइति । स प्राह, एष प्रव्रजितो नाहमस्य तेजः सहे । अथ तेन तं नगरं नीत्वा स पुत्र एकान्ते स्थापितः । तत्कन्यान्वेषणार्थं नगरं प्रविष्टः । तस्य च यत्तस्य तां कन्यकां दृष्ट्वा रागः समुत्पन्नः, सा तेन गृहीता, स च पुत्रः चिरम[५]सौ किं करोतीति स्वयं गतो यावत्तेनैव गृहीतां दृष्ट्वा स तेनैव विज्ञप्यते । मुञ्चैनां कन्यकां स्मृषा ते भवतीति । धर्मदेशनापि तद्वत् ज्ञेया । आसां च सदमदादिदेशनानामध्यात्मचिन्ताऽप्रवृत्तत्वात् । येषां नोभयदेशना एषा परमार्थदेशना तस्मिंश्च परमार्थं ।

सम्यद्गृहे परं स्थानं किञ्चिद्गृहे शुभा गतिः ।

तस्मादध्यात्मचिन्तायां कार्या नित्यं मतिर्बुधैः ॥ 193.

परमार्थज्ञानेन [६] खलु सम्यद्गृहे परमार्थं परं स्थानं प्राप्यते निर्व्वाणम् । ईषत् किञ्चित् दृष्टे शुभा देवमनुष्यगति भवति । यस्माच्च सम्पूर्णज्ञानदर्शने निर्व्वाणं प्राप्यते । असमाप्ते च शुभा गतिः । तस्मादध्यात्मचिन्तायां विदुषा नित्यमेव बुद्धिः कर्तव्येति । इभ्यकुलचौरासद्भूमनिमन्त्रणवत् । कश्चित् चौरोऽभीष्टान् विहारं गच्छति स्म । स केनचित् भिक्षुणोक्तः प्राभृतमस्मद्भ्यः प्रतिगृहाणेति । स [७] प्राह कीदृशं प्राभृतम्, भिक्षुत्वात् । धर्मप्राभृतम् शिखापदं गृहाणेति । स प्राह । प्राणातिपातादत्तादानमृषावादेभ्यो विरक्तुं न शक्यं किन्तु काममिथ्याचारादिरमासीति । स ततो विरम्य राजकुलं चौर्याय प्रविष्टः । तत्र चासद्भूमण

निमग्नितो, न च तेनेष्टं, स चार्थो राज्ञोपलब्धः । तेन मर्व्वस्तङ्कारविभूषिता स्त्री तस्माद्यनुप्रदत्ता मन्मानितश्च । एवमेवास्यां अध्यात्मचिन्तायां नियतं फ[लं] निर्वाणं व्यवस्थाप्यते । अथ कुतश्चित् प्रत्ययवैकल्यात् ।

इह यद्यपि तत्त्वज्ञो निर्वाणं नाधिगच्छति ।

प्राप्नोत्ययत्नतोऽवश्यं पुनर्जन्मनि कर्मवत् ॥ 194.

यद्यपौह जन्मनि तत्त्वदर्शनाभियुक्तो विरागावसानं न लभते । परमार्थज्ञाननिष्पन्दादप्रयत्नादवश्यमेव पुनर्जन्मनि स निर्वाणं प्राप्नोति कर्मवत् । यथा नामेह कृतस्य नियतस्य कर्मणः फलं यद्यप्यस्मिन् जन्मनि नास्ति, तस्य त्ववश्यमेवा[२२क]न्यजन्मनि फलं भवति । आश्रमभरणरोपणवत् । यो ह्याश्रमभरणं कृत्वा वीजमविनाशय रोपयति स यद्यपि सद्यः फलं नासादयति वीजानाखादन-(नं) कृतं तथापि कालान्तरे महान्तमर्थं आसादयति ॥ यद्येवं तत्त्वज्ञानमस्ति । किमर्थं मुक्ता न दृश्यन्ते, दृश्यन्त एव च केचित् । अपि खलु ।

सर्व्वकार्येषु निष्पत्तिश्चिन्त्यमाना सुदुर्लभा ।

न च नास्तीह निर्वाणं युक्ता मुक्ताश्च दुर्लभाः ॥ 195.

न च केवलं विराग एव दुर्लभदर्शनो[२]ऽपि खलु सर्व्वारम्भाः दुरवसेयफलोदयाः । न हि चिन्तैव फलसाधिका । किन्तर्हि हेतुप्रत्ययसामग्रीसमूहितफलनिष्पादिका ? सा च हेतुप्रत्ययसामग्री दुर्लभा तस्मादिह चिन्तया सर्व्वकार्येषु सुदुर्लभा निष्पत्तिः । तद्वदिह शासने यद्यपि निर्वाणमस्ति । तथापि कल्याणमित्रवैकल्यादध्यात्मं च योनिशो विकल्पाभावात् युक्ताः सुदुर्लभाः, यस्मात्ततो मुक्ता अपि दुर्लभा भवन्ति । अस्मा[३]न्न शक्यं मुक्तादर्शनात्तदभावः प्रतिपत्तुम् । चाण्डालीफालालेहनवत् । यथा चाण्डाली चौर्य्येणाभियुक्ता तद्दोषविमुक्ता अपि सती नोत्सहते फालालेहनं कर्त्तुं कथमहं चण्डालत्वेनाशुचिस्वभावा देवसन्निधौ फालालेहनं करिष्यामौति । यदि पुनः कुर्यात् मुच्येत ततोऽभियोगात् । एवं केचिद्वाला हीनमात्मानं मन्यमाना नोत्सहन्ते बुद्धत्वाय [४] घटयितुम् । यदि पुनर्न्यायेन घटेरन् लभेरन् बुद्धत्वमवश्यम् । कथं पुनरेतदवसातुं शक्यं, यदेवं चिरकालप्रवृत्तस्य क्लेशगणस्य त्रयोऽस्तीति ॥ उच्यते

श्रुत्वा शरीरनैर्गुणं क्षणं रागो न तिष्ठति ।

प्राप्तस्तेनैव मार्गेण सर्व्वस्यापि ननु क्षयः ॥ 196.

यथेह चिरकालं ममत्वाभिरक्षितस्य शरीरस्य विचित्रैर्भोगैरूपलालितस्यापि वि[पू]रागधर्मणाकृतज्ञस्य नैर्गुणं श्रुत्वा पण्डितस्य तत्क्षणं रागो न जायते, तथा तेनैव मार्गेण वैराग्यजनने सुभावितेन चिरकाल प्रवृत्तस्यापि रागस्य सर्व्वस्यैवात्यन्तशो ननु क्षयः प्राप्तः । ततश्च सर्व्वस्यैव वाह्यस्य चाध्यात्मिकस्य च वस्तुनः स्वभाषशून्यतयासारत्वदर्शनात् निरवशेषरागबन्धनच्छेदान्मुक्तिः । चाणक्यमौर्वर्णपरित्यागवत् । श[६]क्रोम्यह मनेनोपायेन बह्वपि सुवर्णं कर्त्तुमित्येवं योगाचारशरीरनैर्गुणश्रमणमात्रकेण क्षणमात्रं रागस्थानवस्थानं दृष्ट्वा तमेव मार्गं अभ्यस्यति । शक्याम्यहमनेनोपायेन मार्गेणात्यन्तं रागनिवर्त्तनं कर्त्तुमिति । अत्राह अनादि कालप्रवृत्तस्यास्य जन्मसन्तानस्य कथमन्तो भविष्यतीति । उच्यते ॥

यथाबीजस्य दृष्टोऽन्तो न [७] चादिस्तस्य विद्यते ।

तथा कारणवैकल्यात् जन्मनोऽपि न सम्भवः ॥ 197.

यथा नाम चिरकालप्रवृत्तस्यास्य हेतुफलपरम्परया प्रवर्तमानस्य बीजसन्तानस्यानादिमतोऽन्तो दृष्टः, अग्निदाहात्, तथानादिकालप्रवृत्तस्य परम्परया हेतुतः प्रवर्तमानस्यानादिमतोऽपि विज्ञानबीजजन्मनः कारणवैकल्यात् पुनः सम्भवो नास्ति । क्लेशापेक्षं हि कर्म जन्माक्षेप्तुं पर्याप्तम् । ते च क्लेशा ज्ञानतेजः स्यगाद्भावं गतास्तदयमसमर्थः कर्मसहायाभावाद् जन्माक्षेप्तुं एवमयमवमितजन्मासीति भवति दीपवत्, मृष्टतिलवत्, विहायमपरिव्राजकवत्, वृक्षवच्च । यथा दीपस्य प्रत्ययेषु अमत्सु स्थितिर्न भवति सत्सु भवति । यथा मृष्टानां तिलानां विरोहणन्न भवति । विहायमपरिव्राजको मनःशिलां साधयित्वा तद्धेतोर्विहायसा गच्छति स्म ; यदा तु मान्येन पुरुषेण विद्यापहता त[१२] 'दा हेत्वभावात् पतितः । यथा च वृक्षस्य मूलोत्पाटनान्न पुनर्बृद्धिर्भवति हेत्वभावात् । तथा भावाभिनिवेशहेत्वभावात् न रागादीनां क्लेशानामुत्पत्तिर्भवति । न च कर्मवशात् बोधिसत्त्वानां प्रवृत्तिरपि तु प्रणिधानवशात् । तस्मात् सर्वगतिभावदर्शित्वेन परमदुःकरतममत्यद्भुतं बोधिसत्त्वस्य यत् सत्त्वार्थं घटते ; सत्त्वं च नाभिनिविशते किञ्चिदिति । उक्तं चाचार्य्यवृद्धुपालितेन ।

पश्यन्नपि जगच्छून्यं जन्मदुःखनुत्सया । [२]

सुचिरं यदस्मि क्लिष्टस्तन्नाम परमाद्भुतम् ॥

तच्च सर्वजगत्स्वभावदर्शित्वं यथा भवति । तथोत्तरत्र प्रकरणैरष्टाभिः प्रतिपादयिष्यति ।

आचार्य्यार्थ्यदेवौये बोधिसत्त्वयोगाचारे चतुःशतके पारिकर्मिकप्रकरणमष्टमम् ।

ममनुकान्तप्रकरणजलप्रक्षालितचित्तसन्तानस्य तत्त्वामृतदेशनापात्रस्य शिष्यस्याचार्य्योऽतः परमवशिष्टैः प्रकरणैः यथास्थितपदार्थतत्त्वा [३]धिगमाय तत्त्वविनिश्चयमारभुक्तामः संस्कृतस्योदयव्ययत्वेनामारता-मुद्गावयन्नाह ॥

सर्वं कार्य्यार्थमुत्पन्नं तेन नित्यं न विद्यते । 198 A.

कार्य्यार्था हि प्रवृत्तिः लोके न स्वाभाविकी । तथाचाहु लौकिकाः कार्य्यकृतोऽयमस्य स्नेहो न स्वाभाविक इति । संस्कृतस्य च भूतभौतिकचित्तचैतलक्ष्यलक्षणादेरेकस्यैकस्योदयाभावात् यथासम्भवं कलाप[४]रूपस्यैवोत्पादः । तस्य कलापस्य मिथःकार्य्यकारणावस्थानात् । यस्मिन् सति यद्भवति, यद्भावे च यन्न भवति तत्तस्य कारणं इतरत् कार्य्यमिति । पृथिवीमन्तरेण भूतत्रयस्याभावात् । सत्याञ्च भावाद्भवति कार्य्यप्रयोजना पृथिव्याः समुत्पत्तिरित्येवं सर्वमेव संस्कृतम् यथास्वं कार्य्यार्थमुत्पन्नम् । यच्च कार्य्यार्थमुत्पन्नं तत् नित्यम् । नि. ५ त्यगद्स्य स्वभावसत्यमारवस्तुद्रव्यपर्यायत्वात् । तद्भावेन, निःस्वभावसत्यमसार-मवस्त्वद्रव्यसंस्कृतमिति गण्यते । अतएवोक्तं भगवता चक्षुः समृद्धे शून्यमात्मना आत्मीयेन च नित्येन

ध्रुवेण शाश्वतेनाविपरिणामधर्मेणेति । तथा चक्षुः चक्षुषा शून्यं अकूटस्याविनाशितामुपादाय । तत्कस्य हेतोः प्रकृतिरस्येषेति [६] अतएव तन्मृषा मोषधर्मकं यदेतत् संस्कृतमित्युवाच शास्ता । एतच्च वचनम् वक्ष्यमाणयुक्त्युपेतं, तन्निश्चित्याचार्य्यं आह ॥

तस्मान्मुनिमृते नास्ति यथाभावस्तथागतः ॥ 198 B.

अशैत्यकायवाङ्मनोमौनयोगान्मुनिर्बुद्धो भगवान् । स एवानित्यशून्यतोपदेशेन यथा भावानां स्वभावस्तथागतो बुद्धस्तथागत इत्युच्यते नान्यो विपरीततलोपदे[७]शेन यथास्थिततत्त्वार्थानभिमम्बोधात् यथाचोक्तम् ।

अतीता तथता यद्वत् प्रत्युत्पन्नाप्यनागता ।

सर्वधर्मास्तथा दृष्टाः तेनोक्तः स तथागतः इति ॥

अथवायमन्योर्थः । यत् समुदयधर्मि तदवश्यं निरोधधर्मि जातिप्रत्ययं जरामरणमिति चोपदेशात् । यदुत्पन्नं तस्य कार्यं विनाश एव तदर्थत्वादुत्पादस्येत्यतः सर्वकार्यार्थमुत्पन्नम् । तेन नित्यं न विद्यते स्वभावो न वि[८]द्यत इत्यर्थः । यत एतदेवं तस्मात् मुनिमृतेनास्ति यथा भावस्तथागतः । अस्यार्थः पूर्ववत् । अथवा वेदनात्रयवेदनौघकर्माणां कालदेशावस्थाविशेषसंवेद्यानां तैर्विना कर्मफलसंवेदनाभावात् तदर्थ-माध्यात्मिकं वाह्यत्वा वस्तु सम्भवात् सर्वं कार्यार्थमुत्पन्नम् न स्वरूपत एव व्यवस्थितम् तेन नित्यं न विद्यते । यदि हि तत् स्वरूपतो व्यवस्थितं स्यात् स्वरूपस्थानपायित्वा [३ ४ क] नित्यमेव स्यात् । न च तथास्तीति । तेन नित्यं न विद्यते । स्वभावशून्यं सर्वमित्यर्थः । सा चेयं शून्यता तथागतेतरशास्त्रप्रवचनानुपदिष्टा इत्याह । तस्मान्मुनिमृतेनास्ति यथाभावस्तथागत इति । तार्किकास्तु व्याचक्षते । परेण यत् कार्यार्थमनुत्पन्नत्वेनाभ्युपगतं तदुत्पन्नं कार्यार्थत्वादुत्पन्नकार्यार्थवदिति । तदत्रानुदयव्यवताम् परिकल्पितानां पृथिव्यादिपरमाणूनां खपुष्पादिवत् तावदस्तित्वमा[२]स्यातुमशक्यम् । न चाविद्यमानानां कारणत्वमारोप्य उत्पादसिद्ध्याऽनित्यत्वसाधनं न्याय्यं । कार्यार्थत्वस्य स्वतएवासिद्धत्वात् प्रसिद्धहेत्वङ्गीकरणे चातिप्रसङ्गात् अयुक्तवस्त्वभ्युपगमाच्च परस्य निवारणीयत्वान्न युक्तं नित्यं कार्यार्थत्वेनाभ्युपगन्तं । न चानेन परप्रतिज्ञाया अनुमानविरोधोद्भावनं न्याय्यम् । तस्योभयप्रसिद्धेनैवोद्भावनात् । यस्यापि स्वोभयप्रसिद्धे [३] नानुमान-वाधासम्भवात् स्वप्रसिद्धेनाप्यस्ति अनुमानवाधेति नूनं तस्याप्यर्थप्रतिपादनाकौशलमेव स्यात् । न हि विद्वान् सुखप्रतिपाद्यमर्थं दुःखेन प्रतिपादयितुमाद्रियते । अपि चाकाशस्यापि चक्षुर्विज्ञानाङ्कुरोत्पत्तौ कारणत्व-भिधानात् सूत्रान्ते षट्धातुपाठाच्च पुद्गलप्रज्ञप्तिनिमित्तत्वादनैकान्तिकत्वमेव स्यात् [४] कार्यार्थत्वस्य ।

कारणं विवृतिं गच्छत् जायतेऽन्यस्य कारणमिति ।

न्यायात् नास्याकाशस्य कारणत्वमिति चेन्नैतदेवम् तत्र हि क्रियते येन तत् कारणमिति जनक एव हेतुरभिसमोहितः कारणत्वेनाङ्कुरस्येव वीजं । निमित्तभावमात्रेण त्वाकाशस्यापीष्यत एव कारणत्वमेवं ह्यनिश्चयमाणे सूत्रशास्त्रयोरविरोधो नोद्भावितः [५] स्यात् । न चाचार्य्यः सर्वथा निःस्वभावभाववादित्वात् हि उत्पत्तिमुखेनानित्यतां प्रतिपादयति । तत्त्वाधिकारात् उत्तरत्र तस्या अपि नित्यतावत् प्रतिषिध्य-मानत्वात् । वक्ष्यति हि ।

“ उत्पादस्थितिभङ्गानां युगपन्नास्ति सम्भवः ।

क्रमशः सम्भवो नास्ति सम्भवो विद्यते कदेति ॥ ”

ग्रास्तेपि चोक्तं

अनित्ये नित्यमित्येवं यदि ग्राहो विप[६]र्ययः ।

अनित्यमित्यपि ग्राहः शून्ये किन्न विपर्यय इति ॥

अपिच वस्तुनो लोकमिद्धत्वात् तत्मिद्धावनुमानपरिग्राहो निःप्रयोजन एव । योऽप्यवस्तुनो वस्तुसत्तां मौक्यात् प्रतिपद्यते सोऽपि मामान्यजनप्रमिध्या शक्यत एव विवक्षितमर्थं ग्राहयितुं । वस्तुतत्त्वसाधने चावयव-
त्रितयस्यापि माध्यवदमिद्धत्वादमभव एवार्थ[७]साधनस्येत्यतस्तार्किकानां व्यर्थ एव तर्कप्रणयनश्रमो लक्ष्यते ।
तथाच लौकिका अनधीततर्कलक्षणा अपि सन्तो लौकिकार्थनिश्चयनिपुणा यद्यथास्थितं वस्तु तत् तथैव
प्रतिपद्यन्ते प्रतिपादयन्ति चापरेभ्यः । अपि चानित्यताया लोकप्रतीतत्वात् यत्र लोकोपि तामवस्थति तत्र
न शक्यत एव तद्वक्तुं विपरीतार्थाभिधायी तथागत एवेति । यस्तु स्वलक्षणमारोप्य लोको नित्यतां प्रति-
पद्यमानः तस्य वस्तुनो मृत् षामोषधर्मकत्वेनाप्रतिपत्तेः सर्वत्र तथागत एवाविपरीतदर्शीति युक्तं ।
अत्राङ्गरेके । सत्यं यत् कार्यार्थमुत्पन्नम् न तत् नित्यं भवतीति । ये ह्यभयाङ्गविकलाः पदार्थास्तद्यथाकाशा-
दयो मनःपर्यन्ताः ; येपि चैकाङ्गविकलाः पदार्थाः तद्यथा पृथिव्यादिपरमाणवस्ते नित्या भविष्यन्ति ।
तेषाञ्चास्तित्वनित्यत्वानवगमान्नाविपरीतदर्शी तथागत इति । तेषां मतस्यायुक्ततामुद्गावयन्नाहाचार्यः ॥ [३ ४]

अप्रतीत्यास्तिता नास्तीति । यथास्त्वं हेतुप्रत्ययायत्तोदयानां सुखादीनां अस्तित्वमुपलभ्य कथमय-
मर्थापत्त्याऽप्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नानां नास्तित्वं न प्रतिपाद्येत । अर्हद्येवायं स्फुटतरमेषां गगनोत्पलादीनामिवासत्त्वं
प्रतिपत्तुं । तच्चेन्न प्रतिपद्यते नियतमस्य तैमिरिकस्येव समारोपकृतं दर्शनवेकृतं उपलक्ष्यत इति अतोऽप्रती-
त्यास्तिता नास्ति । स चैष न्यायः कालवस्तुदेशभेदभिन्ने पदार्थे सर्वत्राव्यभिचारी आह [२] कदाचित्
कश्चिदिति । यतश्चैतदेवं ॥

न कदाचित् क्वचित् कश्चित् विद्यते तेन शाश्वतः ॥

पूर्वाङ्गेन सिद्धस्यैतन्निगमनं । यदा चैवमप्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नत्वात् परिकल्पितानां पदार्थानां सत्वनित्यत्वेन
तदा मिद्धं तथागतस्याविपरीतदर्शित्वं तथाहि तेन सच्च सतो ज्ञातं यत् प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नं । असच्चासतः
परपरिकल्पितमप्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नं चेति । येपिच सर्गप्रलययोराविर्भावतिरोभावमात्रेण महदादेरभू[२]
त्वाभावतिरस्कारेणाभिव्यक्तिमात्रतया नित्यतां प्रतिपन्ना न कश्चित् प्रतीत्योदयमिच्छन्ति तेऽप्युक्तदूषणं
नातिवर्त्तन्ते । अथ स्यात्, सुखादयस्तावत् प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नाः सन्ति । तेषां च समवायिकारणमात्मा न
चामतः समवायिकारणत्वं न्याय्यमित्यतस्तत्कार्योपलम्भादस्ति तावदात्मा । स चैष नित्यः सदाकारणत्वात् ।
यदस्ति न चास्य कारणमुपलभ्यते तन्नित्यं [४] । सति चात्मनि तज्जातीया अपि पदार्था भविष्यन्तीति ।
अत्रोच्यते । स्युक्तज्जातीयाः पदार्थाः यद्यात्मैव स्यात् । नत्वस्ति । कथं कृत्वा ; यस्मात्, न विना हेतुना
भावः, भावः स्वभाव आत्मेति पर्यायाः । स विना हेतुना न सम्भवति । तथाहि परेणैवास्याकारणत्व-
मभ्युपेतं तच्च निर्हेतुकं खरविषाणादिवन्नास्तीति मिद्धम् । आकाशादिभिरनैकान्तिकतेति चे[५]त्

तेषामपि तद्देवास्तित्वस्य निषिध्यमानत्वात् । अथैवं दोषपरिजिहीर्षयाभ्युपेतविरुद्धमपि हेतुमत्त्वमङ्गीक्रियते ।
एवमप्यसत् ।

होयते नित्यत्वं यस्मात् हेतुमात्रास्ति शाश्वतः । 199.

हेतुमत्त्वात् सुखादिवदित्यभिप्रायः । यत एतदेवं ।

तेनाकारणतः सिद्धिः, सिद्धिर्नैत्याह तत्त्ववित् ॥ 200 B.

उक्तं हि भगवता

प्रतीत्य धर्मानधिमुच्यते विदू, न चान्तदृष्टी, य करोति निश्चयं ॥

स [६] हेतुप्रत्यय जानती अहेतुप्रत्यय नास्ति धर्मतेति ॥

अस्या देशनाया यथोपवर्णितोपपत्त्यनुगमाद्विपरीतार्थवित्तथागत एवेति सिद्धं । अथ स्यात् घट-
सुखादेः कृतकस्यार्थस्यानित्यत्वमुपलभ्यार्थापत्त्याऽकृतकस्यात्मादेर्नित्यत्वं भविष्यतीत्येतदप्युक्तं । यस्मादेवमिष्य-
माणे कृतकस्य घटसुखादेरस्तित्वमुपलभ्य, तद्विपर्ययेणार्थापत्त्याऽकृत[७]कस्यात्मादेर्नास्तित्वमापन्नमिति ।
तदेव प्रतिपादयन्नाह ॥

अनित्यं कृतकं दृष्ट्वा शाश्वतोऽकृतको यदि ।

कृतकस्यास्तितां दृष्ट्वा नास्ति तेनास्तु शाश्वतः ॥ 201.

न चाविद्यमानस्य नित्यत्वं नापि सदेवानिद्यं वस्तु । अथ स्यादाकाशाप्रतिसंख्यानिरोधप्रतिसंख्यानिरोधानां
अभिधर्मशास्त्रपरिपठितानां अकृतकानां सतां नित्यत्वास्तित्वेनाभ्युपगमादकृतकस्यासत्त्वप्रतिपादनमभ्युपेतेन
वाध्यते इ[८]त्येतदपि नास्ति यस्मात् ॥

आकाशादीनि कल्पन्ते नित्यानीति पृथग्जनैः ।

लौकिकेनापि तेष्वर्थान्न पश्यन्ति विचक्षणाः ॥ 202

रूपाभावमात्र एवाकाशव्यवहारान्न किञ्चनाकाशं नाम वस्तुरूपमस्ति । रूपान्तराभावे तु रूपिणा-
मुत्पत्तिप्रतिबन्धाभावात् ; स एव रूपान्तराभावो भ्रमस्यान्तः काशन्ते भावा इत्याकाशमित्याख्यातः ।
तदस्यावस्तुसतोऽकिञ्चनस्य नामधेयमात्रोपदेशव्यामूढैरभिधर्मशा[३८]स्ते वैभाषिकैर्यद्वस्तुत्वमारोपितं न तत्
प्रमाणमिति न तेनास्माकं अभ्युपगमवाधाचोदनं न्याय्यं । तथाहि, पदार्थस्वभावपण्डिता आकाशाभिधाने
प्रयुज्यमाने, लौकिकेनापि ज्ञानेनाभिधेयं नाम [न] किञ्चित् स्वरूपमुपलभन्ते यथा पृथिव्याद्यभिधानेषु
काठिन्यादिकं । किमुत पदार्थस्वभावज्ञानावस्थाः सर्वं वाह्यं चाध्यात्मिकं च वस्तुनुपलभमानास्तस्य
स्वरूपमुपलभ्यन्त इत्येवमप्रतिसंख्यानिरोधप्रतिसं[९]ख्यानिरोधयोरपि वक्तव्यं । नित्यत्वं तेषामकिञ्चनत्वे-
नानन्यथाभावाभावमात्रद्योतकं न विधानमित्यतो नास्याकाशादीनां नित्यत्वमिति । अत्राह नित्यमेवाकाशं
विभुत्वात् । यदनित्यन्न तद्विभुः । तद्यथा घट इति । अत्रोच्यते । यद्यप्यजातस्यासत्त्वप्रतिपादनेन तदधिकरण-
सर्वाधेयासम्भवोप्यर्थादुपपादितस्तथापि परमतप्रसिद्धपदार्थस्वरूपविशेषापाकरणमुखेन [३] तन्मतस्यायुक्तता-
मुद्दिभावयिषुः आकाशस्य विभुत्वप्रतिषेधेन नित्यतामपाकर्तुंकाम आह ॥

प्रदेशिनि न सर्वस्मिन् प्रदेशो नाम वर्त्तते ।

तस्मात् सुव्यक्तमन्योपि प्रदेशोक्ति प्रदेशिनि ॥ 203.

आकाशस्य येऽवयवान्तेऽस्य प्रदेशाः, तैः प्रदेशस्याकाशं तस्मिन् योऽन्यसंयोगो प्रदेशः स तदितर-
संयोगिनि प्रदेशे वर्त्तते । यदि हि वर्त्तत तदा [४] तेनाभिन्नदेशस्यापि घटस्य सर्वगतत्वं स्यात् ; न चैत-
दस्तीत्ययुक्तमेतत् । अपिच यदि प्रदेशोपि सर्वत्र वर्त्तत सोऽपि व्यापित्वात् प्रदेशिवत् प्रदेशाभिधानभाग
स्यात् । प्रदेशाभावाच्च प्रदेशिनोप्यभावः स्यात् । अथैतद्दोषपरिजिहीर्षया प्रदेशिनि [न] सर्वस्मिन् प्रदेशो नाम
वर्त्तत इत्यभिमतं । तदावश्यं सुव्यक्तमन्योपि प्रदे[५]शोक्ति प्रदेशिनौत्यभ्युपेयं । ततश्चासर्वगतप्रदेशवतः
आकाशस्य प्रदेशिनो घटादिवत् विभुत्वमवहौयेत । न च परस्परव्यतिभिन्नप्रदेशमात्रव्यतिरेकेण
प्रदेशौ नाम कश्चिदुपलभ्यत इति कुतोऽस्यासिद्धसत्ताकस्य नित्यत्वमिति न नित्यमाकाशं । अथाप्यस्य
निरवयवत्वात् प्रदेशित्वं नाभ्युपेयते । नन्वेवं स[६]ति घटादीनां तेन न संयोगोपि स्यात् । स हि तेषां
संयोगः सर्वात्मना वा स्यादेकदेशेन वा । न तावत् सर्वात्मना, घटादीनामपि प्रत्येकं सर्वगतत्वप्रसङ्गात् ।
तस्मादवश्यं प्रदेशसंयोगिनो घटादय इत्यभ्युपेयं । तथाचाभ्युपगच्छतो नियतमयं यथोक्तो दोषो न नापद्यते ।
यथोक्तदोषप्रसङ्गाच्च न नि[७]त्यमाकाशमिति ।

कालवादी तु मन्यते कालकृतौ जगद्व्युत्पत्त्युपसंहारावुपलभ्य कालसद्भावोनुमीयते । तथाहि
सत्स्वपि वीजक्षितिसलिलज्वलनपवनाकाशाश्वेषु प्रत्येषु न सर्वदाङ्कुरादेरुदय उपलभ्यते । अथ कदाचि-
देवोपलभ्यते । तदवस्थानविरोधिकालसन्निधाने च निवर्त्तते । तदेवं ॥

यस्मिन् भावे प्रवृत्तिश्च निवृत्तिश्चोपलभ्यते ॥ 204.

स तथानुमित[८]:कालो नामास्ति, तस्य च सतोपि कारणानुपलभान्नित्यत्वमिति । ननु चैवं
सति नित्यत्वात् कालस्य तदायत्तोदयानामङ्कुरादीनां सदैवोत्पादः प्राप्नोति । अथ सतोपि न कदाचित्
कार्यक्रियासूपनतव्यापारतास्येति कल्पेन एवमपि सैवास्याःसत्वमापादयिष्यति । अथ सतोपि वीजादिवत्
कार्यप्रवृत्तियोग्यात्मातिशयासम्मुखीभावान्नास्ति सर्वदाका—[३८]

मिव संसारनिवृत्तिर्न स्यात् । विशेषाभ्युपगमेन विकारमद्भावादनित्यः स्यात् । अनित्यस्य च कारणत्वं स्यात् । ततश्च दुःखसन्तानसदृश एव स्यात् । एवं च सति स्वभावत्यागः स्यात् । तस्मात् न युक्तमस्यात्मानमभ्युपेतुं । अभ्युपेत्यापि हि यत् परं प्रति प्रतिपादनासामर्थ्यात् उक्तदोषाच्च परित्याज्यं किन्तेनाभ्युपगतेन प्रयोजनमिति त्यज्यतामात्मवादः । यद्येवं मुक्तावस्थायां मुक्तात्मनोऽप्यसद्भावः । संस्काराणाञ्चापुनरुत्पत्त्या सर्वथा परिचयरूपं [२] परमार्थसंज्ञकं निर्वाणं वर्ण्यते । तदलमनेनेदृशेन परमार्थनार्थितेन, इत्यतः आत्मकामस्य ॥

वरं लौकिकमेवेदं परमार्था न सर्वथा ।

लौकिके विद्यते किञ्चित् परमार्थं न विद्यते ॥ 222.

नैव हि आत्मकामो लोचनामयसम्पातशङ्कया अद्वैतोत्पाटनमनुतिष्ठति करोति तु आमयोपघातमेव । तथा संसारदुःखोद्विग्नस्य दुःखत्याग एव ज्यायान् । न तु सर्वथा सर्वाभावः । सर्वाभावे हि सति सर्वस्य सुखस्याप्युच्छि[२]त्या न किञ्चिदनेनात्मन उपकृतं भवति । ततश्च वरं लौकिकमेवेदं । लौकिके हि त्वया किञ्चिदङ्गीक्रियते यत्प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नमुपादाय च प्रजप्तं; किञ्चिन्नाङ्गीक्रियते यत् तौर्धिकैरभूतमारोपितं सखाभावं च भावानां । अथवा यदत्तफलमतीतं कर्म, तत्फलञ्चानागतम् प्रत्युत्पन्नाश्च संस्कारा इत्येतत् तव लौकिकेनास्ति । तदवशिष्टं नास्तीति वरमेतल्लौकिकं य[४]त्र न सर्वाभावः । परमार्थस्तु सर्वथा न श्रेयान् सर्वथाप्यात्मनोप्यसद्भावादिति ।

बोधसत्त्वयोगाचारे चतुःशतके नित्यार्थप्रतिषेधोनाम नवमं प्रकरणम् ।

अत्राह । यद्यात्मा नाम कश्चित् स्वरूपतः स्यात् तस्य निर्वाणे सर्वथोच्छेददर्शनात् ।

नास्त्यहं न भविष्यामि न मे ऽस्ति न भविष्यतीति ।

परिशुद्धितस्य स्यादेवं

वरं लौकिकमे[५]वेदं परमार्था न सर्वथा ।

लौकिके विद्यते किञ्चित् परमार्थं न विद्यते ॥

न चात्मा नाम कश्चित् स्वरूपतः सम्भवति । यदि हि स्यात् स नियतं स्त्रीत्वेन वा स्यात् पुरुषत्वेन वा नपुंसकत्वेन वा । ततोन्वयस्य कल्पनान्तरस्थाभावात् । द्विविधं ह्यात्मानं वर्णयन्ति तौर्धिकाः । यदतान्तरात्मानं वहिरात्मानञ्च । तत्रान्तरात्मा [६]नाम यः शरीरागारान्तर्व्यवस्थितः शरीरेन्द्रियसंघातस्य तत्र तत्र प्रवर्तयितान्तर्यापारपुरुषो जगदहङ्कारनिबन्धनः कुशलादिकर्मफलोपभोक्ता प्रतितन्त्रमनेकविकल्पभेदभिन्नः । वहिरात्मा तु देहेन्द्रियसंघातरूपोन्तरात्मनो अपकारीव । तत्र यस्मावदयमन्तरात्मा स यदि स्त्रीत्वेन परिकल्प्येत तदा तस्याजहत्स्वरूपत्वात् जन्मान्तरपरिव[७]र्त्तपि लिङ्गान्तराप्रतिपत्त्या नित्यमेव स्त्रीत्वं स्यात् । न चैतद्दृश्यते, व्यत्ययोपलम्भेः स्त्रीत्वादौनामात्मगुणत्वाभावाच्च । एवं पुंस्त्वे नपुंसकत्वे च वाच्यं । तदेवम् ;

अन्तरात्मा यदा न स्त्री न पुमान् न नपुंसकं ।

तदा केवलमज्ञानात् भावस्तेऽहं पुमानिति ॥ 223.

पुमानित्युपलक्षणत्वात् अहं स्त्री नपुंसकमहमिति सर्वमेवाज्ञानाद्भवति । विचार्यमाणस्य वस्तुसत्त्वस्य तथाऽसिद्धत्वादज्ञानं सुद्धा [८]नान्यत्त(स्त)थापरिकल्पकारणं युक्तम् । रज्जुस्वरूपापरिज्ञाने सर्पाधारोपवत् इत्यभिप्रायः । एवं तावदन्तरात्मनो यः स्त्रीत्वादिपरिकल्पो नासौ वस्त्वनुविधायीति स्थितं । अथ मन्यसे वहिरात्मनो लिङ्गान्येतानि स्त्रीपुन्नपुंसकत्वानि, तत् सम्बन्धादन्तरात्मन्यपि परिकल्प्यन्त इति ॥ स्यादेतदेवम् यदि वहिरात्मनोऽप्येतानि युज्यन्ते । कथं कृत्वा । इहाकाशस्य ता[३ एक]वन्महाभूतत्वायोगाच्चत्वार्येव महाभूतानि । यस्यापि पञ्चमहाभूतानि तस्याप्याकाशस्य शरीरारम्भकत्वायोगाच्चत्वार्येव महाभूतानि कारणभावं प्रतिपद्यन्ते ॥ तेषु च स्त्रीपुन्नपुंसकत्वानि स्वरूपतो न विद्यन्ते । यदि स्युस्तदा तत्त्वभावानु-
रोधात् सर्वदेहानां नियतलिङ्गता स्यात् । कललादपि च लिङ्गोपलब्धिः स्यात् न चैतदस्तीत्यतः ।

यदा सर्वेषु भूतेषु नास्ति स्त्रीपुन्नपुंसकम् ।

तदा किं नाम तान्येव प्राप्य स्त्रीपुन्नपुंसकम् ॥ 224.

किन्नामात्र कारणं यत् स्वरूपतो लिङ्ग[२]रहितानि महाभूतानि प्राप्य स्त्रीपुन्नपुंसकानि देहानां सम्भविष्यन्ति । तदेवं वहिरात्मनोपि स्त्रीपुन्नपुंसकत्वानामयोगात् केवलमज्ञान + + + तवायमभिप्रायः, पुमानहं स्त्री नपुंसकमहमिति । येषु च खट्वावृचयो[ः]स्तनादिलोमशलादेर्निमित्तस्याभावादन्यथा स्त्रीत्वा-
दौनि कल्पयन्ति । तेषामपि कल्पनामात्रं न वार्यते । तवाप्ययं समानप्रसङ्ग इति चेन्नैतदेवम् । मम हि निःस्वभावाः पदार्थाः प्रतीत्यममुत्पन्नत्वात् न च निःस्वभावस्य [३] यथाप्रत्ययमन्यथाभावो न युज्यते चित्रपुरुषमायाङ्गनादिरूपस्येवेत्यदोषः । स्वभाववादिनस्तु स्वभावस्यान्यथात्वाम्भवात् यथास्वभावं लिङ्गनियमः प्रमज्यते । तदेवं पुमानहमित्येवमादौनां कल्पनानां मोहमात्रसम्भूतत्वाद्युक्तम् तल्लिङ्गवत् आत्मनः स्वरूपतो ऽस्तित्वम् । इतश्चात्मा स्वरूपतो नास्ति । यदि ह्यात्मा स्वरूपतः स्यात् स यथैकस्याहङ्कारस्यालम्बनं तथा [४] सर्वेषामप्यहङ्कारस्यालम्बनं । न हि लोके अग्नेरौष्यं स्वभावः कस्यचिदनौष्यं भवति । एवं आत्मा यदि स्वरूपतः स्यात् सर्वेषामात्मेति स्यात् अहङ्कारविषयश्च । न चैतदेवम् तथा हि ॥

यस्तवात्मा ममानात्मा तेनात्मा नियमान्न सः ।

यो हि तवात्मा त्वदहङ्कारविषयः आत्मस्नेहविषयश्च स एव ममानात्मा भवति असदहङ्कारा-
विषयत्वादात्मस्नेहाविषयत्वाच्च । यत [५] एतदेवं तेन नियमान्न सः । यश्च नियमादात्मा न भवति स स्वभा-
वतो नास्तीति त्यज्यतां अमदर्थे आत्माधारोपः । यद्यात्मा नास्ति क्व तौ इमौ अहङ्कारात्मस्नेहावित्याह ।

नन्वनित्येष्वभावेषु कल्पना नाम जायते ॥ 225.

यथोपवर्णितेन न्यायेन स्वरूपसिद्धस्य स्कन्धव्यतिरिक्तस्यात्मनः सर्वथाभावात् नन्वनित्येषु रूपवेदना-
मंजामंस्कारविज्ञानाख्येषु भावेष्वाम्भवेति कल्पना[६]स्वभूतार्थारोपणं क्रियते आत्मा सत्त्वो जीवो जन्तुरिति । यदाहीन्धनमुपादायाग्निरेवं स्कन्धानुपादाय आत्मा प्रजप्यते, स च स्कन्धेभ्यस्तत्त्वान्यत्वेन पञ्चधा च निरूप्यमाणः स्वभावतो नास्तीत्युपादाय प्रजप्या परिकल्प्यत इत्येवमनित्येषु संसारेष्व्वात्मपरिकल्पना भवतीति स्थितम् ।

अत्राह। अस्यैवात्मा स्वभावतः प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तिकारणत्वात्। यदि ह्यात्मा न स्यात् कः शुभमशुभं [७] वा कर्म कृत्वा तत्फलं सम्बेदयेत्। स हि शुभमशुभम् वा कर्म कृत्वा जातिगतियोन्यादिभेदभिन्ने त्रैधातुके कर्मानुरूपं जन्मप्रबन्धमनन्तप्रभेदं सुखदुःखफलोपभोगनिबन्धनमासादयति। स ह्यभिसंस्कर्त्ता च, प्रत्यनुभविता च, स हन्यते चाधर्मेन स्पृश्यते मुच्यते च। तस्मादस्ति स्वरूपत आत्मेति। किं पुनरयमात्मा जन्मान्तरपरिवर्त्तेषु देहभेदविकारमनुरुध्यते, अथ न। यदि तावन्नानुरुध्यते, त[त्]दा किमनेना- किञ्चित्करेणात्मपरिकल्पनेन। अथानुरुध्यते, तदा नियतं तव

देहवद्विकृतिं याति पुमान् जन्मनि जन्मनि।

ततश्च; देहान्तेनान्यता तस्य नित्यता च न युज्यते। 226.

नासौ देहादन्यो देहविकारानुविधायित्वात् देहैकदेशवन्नापि नित्यो देहादन्यत्वात्। देहस्वात्मवत् इत्ययुक्त आत्माधारोपः। स हि प्रतिक्षणविनश्वराणां संसाराणां अवस्थानाभावात् कर्मफलसंबेदनाय नित्यमात्मानं प्रतिपन्नः। [३७]

मत्स्य निःप्रयोजनमेवेन्धोपार्जनमिति, तददेतत् । ततश्चास्य महदादेर्विकारग्रामस्य विफलैव प्रवृत्तिरिति व्यर्थ एवास्य शास्त्रे प्रक्रियाप्रणयनश्रमो लक्ष्यते । अथ स्याच्चैतन्यशक्तिरूपः पुरुषः तस्य चक्षुरादिकरणव्यापारनिबन्धनबुद्ध्याभिव्यक्तेः चैतन्यवृत्त्यभिव्यक्तेरुपभोक्ता हि पुरुषः स विषयोपभुक्तिक्रियाभिनिवृत्त्याविषयं चेतयते । मा ह्यस्य विषयोपभुक्तिश्चैतन्यवृत्त्यात्मिका क्रिया, मा च न विना चक्षुरादिना करण[२] ग्रामेण भवतीति कुतोऽस्य विकारग्रामस्य वृथात्वमिति । उच्यते । यदि चैतन्यवृत्तिस्वरूपं तदास्य क्रियया धर्मानतिक्रमेण भवितव्यम् । कश्च क्रियाणां धर्मा द्रव्याश्रयत्वं चलत्वं च । तथाहि ॥

आविनाशाच्चलं नाम द्रव्यं नास्ति क्रिया यथा ॥

द्रव्यव्यापाररूपा हि क्रिया सा चोदयात् प्रभृत्याविनाशाच्चला । तथाहि वृक्षादयः, पवनाभ्युपनिपातमन्तरेण नारब्धक्रियास्तिष्ठन्त्यविचलाः [३] कम्पनक्रिया लेषा पवनादिप्रत्ययसम्पातादुपजायमाना आविनाशं चलतां नातिवर्त्तते । यस्मादेतदेवं ।

पुरुषोस्ति न चैतन्यमिति तेन न युज्यते । 233.

यथा वृक्षादयः चलनक्रियाप्रारम्भात् प्रागवस्थायां वृक्षाद्यात्मना द्रव्यरूपेणोपलभ्यन्ते, नैवं पुरुषः । स हि चैतन्यरूपमात्रत्वात् न तद्भूतिरिक्तः । द्रव्यरूपत्वाभावाच्च चैतन्यरहितेनाप्यात्मना[४]स्तीति न शक्यते कल्पयितुम् ; ततश्च पुरुषः संविद्यते न चैतन्यमिति न युज्यते । यच्चैतन्यशक्तिसङ्गावात् पुरुषस्यास्तित्वं कल्पेत तदप्ययुक्तं । निराधारायाः शक्तेरसङ्गावात् ; यथा चैतन्यवृत्तिव्यतिरिक्तः पुमान्न सम्भवति एवं शक्त्यवस्थायामपि चैतन्यशक्तिमात्रव्यतिरिक्तः पुरुषो नास्ति । ततश्च निराश्रया नास्ति शक्तिः शक्त्यभावाच्च शक्ते र्व्यक्तिरूप[५]भावोपयोगित्वेन यच्चक्षुरादीनां सोपयोगित्वं कल्पितं तदयुक्तमेवेत्यविचलमेतत् ।

करणं जायते मिथ्या चैतन्यं शाश्वतं यदि । इति ।

अपि चायं पुरुषो यदि चैतन्यव्यक्तेः पूर्वं चैतन्यशक्तिरूपः स्यात् तदा ॥

चेतनाधातुरन्यत्र दृश्यतेऽन्यत्र चेतना ॥

चैतन्यस्य द्वैरूप्यकल्पनायां अन्यत्र पृथक्त्वेन चेतनायाः चेतनाधातुश्चेतनावीजं चेतनाशक्ति[६]दृश्यते त्वया । चेतनाशक्तेश्चान्यत्र पृथक् चेतनाधातोश्चेतना प्रवर्त्तमाना चेतनाधातुसमानदेशा प्रवर्त्तते । दृष्टान्तमाह ॥ द्रवत्वमिव लोहस्येति ॥ यथा लोहं द्रवतामापद्यमानं लोहदेशाभिन्नदेशं भवति तद्वत् । वीजाङ्कुरयोर्ह्याविर्भावतिरोभावदर्शनान्न समानदेशता । न च पुरुषस्याविर्भावतिरोभावविति समानदेशमस्ति । अत एवाचार्यो लोहस्य द्र[७]वतादृष्टान्तमाह ॥ न च चैतन्यशक्तिरूपात् पृथक् पुरुषोस्ति व्यक्तस्ततोऽनन्यत्वात् । तदयं शक्तिरूपापन्नो व्यक्तिरूपतामापद्यमानः ।

द्रवत्वमिव लोहस्य विकृतिं यात्यतः पुमान् ॥ 234.

विक्रियमानत्वाच्च लोहवदेव नास्यात्मनो नित्यत्वमिति सिद्धम् । अन्ये पुनराहुः । नैव च्छस्माकं चैतन्यरूपः पुमान् किं तर्हि ॥

चैतन्यञ्च मनोमात्रे महांश्चाकाशवत् पुमान् [८]

आत्मा हि प्रतिशरीरे सर्वप्राणभृतामाकाशवत् विभुः, तस्य च मनोमात्रसंयुक्ता चेतना न सर्व-
व्यापिनी । मनश्चात्मनः परमाणुमात्रप्रदेशसंयुक्तं । तेन मनसा संयुज्य पुरुषस्तदभिन्नदेशं चैतन्यमुत्पाद-
यति । ततश्च यथोक्तदोषानवसरोऽस्मत्पक्षः इति । उच्यते यतएव ह्याकाशवदिति महतः पुरुषस्य
मनोमात्रे चैतन्यमभ्युपेयते ननु त्वया ॥

अचैतन्यं ततस्तस्य स्वरूपमिव दृश्यते ॥ [९] 235.

एवं सत्यचेतन एव पुरुषः प्राप्नोति । न हि परमाणुमात्रप्रदेशचेतनासम्बन्धेन सचेतनः पुरुष इति
युक्तं वक्तुं । न हि लवण-परमाणुमात्रसम्पर्कात् गङ्गाहृद्जलं मलवणमिति शक्यं सम्भावयितुं, तदृदेतत् द्रव्यं
चात्मा चैतन्यञ्च गुणरूपं तयोः परस्परभेदात् अचेतन-स्वरूप एव पुमान् । न चास्याचेतनस्य घटस्येवात्मत्वं
कल्पयितुं न्याय्यमिति न युक्तं आत्मा ॥ यदि चायमात्मा प्रति[३५]सत्त्वं सर्वगतः स्यात्तदा ॥

परस्त्वेति किन्नाहमहं सर्वगतो यदि ॥

यदि भाविकया कल्पनया अहं सर्वगतः सर्वव्यापौ स्यामाकाशवत् तदा सत्त्वान्तरेष्यं मदात्मनः
सद्भावात् किमिति तस्य तस्मिन् ममेवाहङ्कारो नोत्पद्येत । एवं ह्यस्य सर्वगतत्वं युज्यते, यदिह ममेव
परस्यापि मदात्मनि स्यादहङ्कारः । न च परात्मनास्य मदात्मनः परशरीरे युक्तमावरणं । न हि परात्म-
देशेऽस्मदात्मनोऽसद्भावः सर्वात्मना[२]व्यापित्वाभ्युपगमात् । यदा च समानदेशता तदा न तेन तस्यावरणं
शक्यं कर्तुमिति प्रतिपादयन्नाह ॥

तेनैवावरणं नाम न तस्यैवोपपद्यत इति ॥ 236.

समानदेशत्वात् स्वात्मस्वरूपस्यैव स्वात्मना नास्यावरणमिति अहङ्कारविषयत्वं परात्मनोपि प्रसज्यते । तेनैवं
भवतीति न सर्वगत आत्मा । एवं तावदुभयमतेष्यात्मनोस्तित्वं अयुक्तमिति प्रतिपाद्य गुणानामपि
मकल[३]जगत्कर्तृत्वासम्भवेनायुक्तरूपतां प्रतिपादयन्नाह ॥

येषां गुणानां कर्तृत्वमचैतन्यञ्च सर्वशः ।

तेषामुन्मत्तकानाञ्च न किञ्चिद्विद्यतेऽन्तरम् ॥ 237.

सत्त्वरजस्तमांसि त्रयो गुणाः तेषां सास्यावस्था प्रधानं प्रसवावस्था प्रकृतिः । सेदानौ त्रिगुणात्मिका
प्रकृतिरचेतनापि सती, पुरुषस्य विदितविषयोपभोगौस्तुत्यात् पुरुषेणाभेद्यं प्रतिपद्य मक[४]लं विकारग्रामं
प्रसूते । तत्र चायं क्रमो, यदुत, प्रकृतेर्महान् महानिति बुद्धेः पर्यायः महतोऽहङ्कारः स च त्रिविधः ।
मालिको राजसस्तामस इति । तत्र मालिकादहङ्कारात् पञ्चबुद्धौन्द्रियाणि श्रोत्रं त्वक् चक्षुः रसनं प्राण-
मिति । पञ्चकर्मेन्द्रियाणि वाक् पाणि पाद पायूपस्थाख्यानि । उभयात्मकं च मनः इत्येकादश प्रवर्तन्ते ।
राजसादहङ्कारात् [५] पञ्चतन्मात्राणि शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसगन्धाः । तन्मात्रेभ्यो भूतानि आकाश-वायु-तेजो-
वायु-जल-पृथिव्याख्यानि । तामसस्त्वहङ्कार उभयोरहङ्कारयोः प्रवर्तक इत्येवं प्रकृतिविकाररूपत्वात् मकलस्य
विकारग्रामस्य त्रयो गुणाः प्रवर्तका इत्येवं येषां वादिनां गुणानां कर्तृत्वमचैतन्यञ्च इति अभिप्रायः ।
वस्तुतल्वविचक्षणाः तेषामुन्मत्त[६]कानाञ्च न किञ्चिद्विद्यतेऽन्तरम् इति पश्यन्ति । उन्मत्तको हि नाम

विपुलविजानमनिः । स हि विपुलविजानेन विज्ञानेन, यथा हि न प्रतिपद्यते, विपरीतव्यापारवति
 अमर्त्यस्य प्रवृत्तिः, तथा चायमपि सांख्यः । अवेननानां गुणानां कठनं शक्यं प्रतिपादयन् यथा
 व्यस्यतिनः तथा न प्रतिपद्यते, विपरीतव्यापारवति, अमर्त्यस्य [७] प्रवृत्तिनि नृस्य प्रवृत्तिसङ्घः स
 मयते । अपि चास्यायं पुरुषो विकारव्यापारकर्म व भोक्तृ व । गुणस्य कर्तारो न तु भोक्तारः नदेव
 कर्तृत्वमभोक्तृत्वञ्च निरूपयित्वा गुणानामावेदयन् अत्यन्तार्थकनामाभावेनः प्रकटयतीति प्रतिपादयन्नाह ॥

कर्तृत्वम विजाननि षट्पादोत्पत्त्युत्पत्त्या गुणः ।

भोक्तृत्व न विजाननि किमर्थकमनः परम ॥ 238.

युक्तिविरुद्धत्वात् लोकासम्भनत्वात् [८] चास्य मनस्य नानःपरमर्थकनरमस्त्वितिभिप्रायः । इत्येवं ताव-
 द्गुणानां कर्तृत्वमर्थकं ।

यस्याप्यातीव कर्ता धर्माधर्मायोः फलस्य वीपभीकृति महत्तस्याप्यातीवो लिख्यत्वमर्थकं ॥
 यस्यात् क्रियावच्छेद्यतां नास्ति ॥ इह करोतीति कर्ता नस्य क्रियानिवृत्त्यनं कर्तृत्वं । नद्येकिञ्चिद्
 कृत्वात् नित्यैतुकः कश्चिद् कर्तृति र्भूयते । सति च क्रियावत्तः लिखनस्य क्रियाप्रागव [९] ॥

सि । तथाहि तस्यानागतभावव्युत्पा[द]हेतुप्रत्ययैर्वर्त्तमानता भवति । न चैवमसंस्कृतं स्वरूपात् प्रच्यवत इति नास्यसंस्कृतवन्नित्यत्वमिति । एवमपि कल्प्यमाने ।

विनापि जन्मना भङ्गादनित्यो यद्यनागतः । 253.

एवं तर्हि ॥

अतीतस्य न भङ्गोऽस्ति स नित्यः किं न कल्प्यते ।

यदि स्वरूपप्रच्युतिसङ्गावादानागतस्य नित्यत्व + + + + + तीतस्य तर्हि स्वरूपप्रच्युति-
नास्तीति स नित्य इति कल्प्यतां ।

कस्य वा पदार्थस्य शक्यमनित्यत्वं कल्प[र]यितुं । यदा च न शक्यते तदा सर्वपदार्थानाम-
नित्यत्वस्यासम्भवान्नित्यतैव सम्भाव्यते । तत्र तावत् ॥

अनित्यो वर्त्तमानोयमतीतश्च न जायते । 254.

यस्तावदयं वर्त्तमानः पदार्थः तस्य तावदनित्यत्वं नास्ति । स हि वर्त्तमानत्वात् स्वभावादच्युते-
वर्त्तमान इति व्यपदिश्यते । यस्य चानित्यत्वं स वर्त्तमान एव न भवत्यभावेनाभिसम्बन्धात् । भावाभावयोश्च
युगपदसम्भवात् । वर्त्तमानस्यानित्यत्वं न सम्भवति । अतीतस्या[र]प्यनित्यत्वं न सम्भवति । विनष्टो ह्यतीत
उच्यते । न च विनष्टस्य पुनरपि विनाशो न्याय्यो निःप्रयोजनत्वात् आश्रयाभावात् अनवस्थाप्रमङ्गाच्च ।
एवं तावत् अनित्यो वर्त्तमानोयमतीतश्च न जायते । न च वर्त्तमानात्यतीतौ मुक्त्वा तस्यानित्यत्वस्य
द्वितीयोवकाशो युज्यत इत्याह ॥

ताभ्यामन्या द्वितीयापि गतिस्तस्य न विद्यते ॥ 255.

उत्पन्नस्य यदा नित्यताश्रयस्थानि[४]त्वमसम्भाव्यं तदोत्पत्तिशून्यस्यानागतस्याकाशादेरिव तत्स्या-
दित्यत्यन्तमसंगतम् । न चानित्यतारहितस्याकाशादेरध्वत्रयकल्पना युक्तिमतो तद्वत् स्वभावभाववादिनो
न युक्तं अध्वत्रयम् । अत्राहास्येव अनागतो भावस्तस्य सत्सु प्रत्ययेषु जन्मदर्शनात् । नह्यसतः पूर्वं, पश्चात्
जन्म युज्यते बन्ध्यापुत्रादेरिव । ततश्च जन्मदर्शनात् अस्त्वेवानागतो भाव इति । एवमपि कल्प्यमाने । [५]

यः पश्चाज्जायते भावः स पूर्वं विद्यते यदि ।

न मिथ्या जायते पक्षस्तेषां नियतिवादिनाम् ॥ 256.

य उत्पादात् प्रागवस्थो भावो हेतुप्रत्ययैः पश्चात् जायते स यदि उत्पादात् पूर्वं स्वरूपतो-
ऽस्तीति कल्प्यते एवं सति नियतिवादिनां प्रतिनियतस्वभावं निर्हेतुकं पुरुषकारशून्यं उपपत्तिविरुद्धं
जगद्वर्णयतां नाभ्युपगमो मिथ्या स्यात् । न च न [६] मिथ्या तेषां वादस्तत्पक्षस्य दृष्टादृष्टविरोधात्
पुरुषकारानपेक्षत्वात् तेषां जगत्प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादाभावस्तदभावाच्च खरविषाणवत् सर्वं जगदग्राह्यं स्यादित्य-
युक्तो नियतिवादः । यदि चास्यानागतसङ्गावादिनो न्याय्यः स्यात् तदा नियतिवादिनामपि वादो न्याय्यः
स्यादित्ययुक्तो नागतार्थसङ्गाववादः । इतश्चायुक्तो यतः ॥

संभवः क्रियते यस्य प्राक्सो[७]ऽस्तीति न युज्यते ।

सतो यदि भवेज्जन्म जातस्यापि भवेद्भवः ॥ 257.

यस्यार्थस्य हेतुप्रत्ययैरुत्पादनं सम्भवः क्रियते, स जन्मनः पूर्वमप्यस्तीति न युज्यते । यदि हि तस्यास्तित्वं स्यात् तदा सतो विद्यमानस्य पुनरपि जन्म स्यात् न च सतः पुनरपि जन्म न्याय्यं, निःप्रयोजनत्वात् अनिष्टप्रसङ्गात्, आसंसारमेकस्यैवार्थस्य पुनरुत्पादेनापरिसमाप्तोदयस्य सतः तत्पदार्थान्तराप्रवृत्तेर्हेतुफलभावव्याघातः स्यात् [८] अस्ति चेयं हेतुफलभूतानां पदार्थानां मन्तानानुवृत्तिरिति न युक्तो नागतपदार्थसङ्गावस्य वादः । अत्राह ॥ यदि अनागतं न स्यात् यदेतदनागतार्थालम्बनम् योगिनां प्रणिधिज्ञानं यथार्थं न स्यात् । अस्ति चैतद्यथार्थं योगिनां ज्ञानं, यथार्थानागतार्थव्याकरणात्, तस्य च तथैव भावात् न ह्यमत्सु बन्ध्यातनयादिव्वेतकमभवति, तस्मादस्त्वानागत इति । उच्यते । तात्त्विकया कल्पनया [२३क] दृश्यतेऽनागतो भावः । केनाभावो न दृश्यते । उत्पादात् प्रागवस्थायामनागतो भावो नास्ति स्वरूपत इति प्रतिपादितम् । यदि चाविद्यमानः पदार्थो योगिभिर्दृश्येत बन्ध्यापुत्रादयोपि दृश्येरन् । द्वयोरपि तुल्यं स्वभावामत्त्वं तत्रैको दृश्यते नेतर इति न युज्यते । किं पुनः योगिनो नागतं नेच्छन्ते । यथा भवान् परिकल्पयति तथा नेच्छन्ते । यथाभूतेनानागतेनार्थेन वर्त्तमानावस्थेन भवितव्यम् । तेषां प्रणिधिबलाच्चिप्रसमाधिविशेषे [३] षात्तु ज्ञानमुत्पद्यमान-तथा-पदार्थाकारं परिकल्पयदुत्पद्यते । नतु वर्त्तमाननीलालम्बनविज्ञानवत् तु तज्ज्ञानं मन्निहितवस्त्वाकारानुकारि जायते तत्तस्य ज्ञानार्थस्य वर्त्तमानत्वप्रसङ्गात् । वस्तुमत्पदार्थवादिनो हि यावत्तस्य वस्तुनोऽस्तित्वं तावत्तथास्वरूपस्यैव पदार्थस्वरूप[न]धिगमस्तदास्य तद्वस्तु सर्वथाभावात् खरविषाणप्रख्यमिति द्वयवादानतिक्रमात् अस्य सर्वमेवाभिसमीहितं दुर्घटं जायते । [३] निःस्वभाववादिनस्तु सर्वथा वस्तुस्वरूपस्यासम्भवात् भावकल्पना दूरोत्सारिता । येन ह्युत्पत्तयं न तस्य नास्तित्वं, यदि ह्यस्य नास्तित्वं स्यात्तदास्य खरविषाणादिवदुत्पादो न स्यात् । अथास्यास्तित्वं स्यात्तदा वर्त्तमानस्यैवोत्पादो न स्यादस्ति चास्योत्पाद इति सिद्धोयमद्वयवादः । यत एवास्य नास्तित्वं नास्ति तत एवानागतदर्शनमविरुद्धं यतश्चास्तित्वं नास्ति तत [४] एवानागतव्यपदेशोपि सिध्यति । एष च लौकिको व्यवहारो न परमार्थ इति नात्रैकान्तोपपत्तिरवतार्यते । बुद्धानां भगवतां यदनागते ज्ञानं तत् पूर्वप्रणिधानाधिष्ठानाच्चिप्रयथार्थप्रतिपादकशब्दश्रुतिबलाधानात् तथाविधधर्मश्रवणसम्बर्त्तनीयकर्मविशेषप्रभावपरिणतविज्ञानसन्तानाः तथाकारानुबिद्धविज्ञानोदयान्तथागताधिष्ठानात् तमर्थं प्रतिपद्य[५]माना यथार्थं प्रतिपद्यन्ते । कालान्तरेण च तमर्थं वर्त्तमानीभूतं तथैवावगच्छन्तोत्येवमनागते बुद्धानां ज्ञानं व्यवस्थाप्यते । न तु पूर्वधर्मस्वभावव्यवस्थितास्ते किञ्चित् पश्यन्त्युदाहरन्ति चेत्यलं प्रसङ्गेन । एवं तावदनागतपदार्थसङ्गाववादिनो नागतदर्शनासम्भवः । अपि च । यस्यानागतोर्थः स्वरूपतोऽस्ति, तस्य न तदूरे स्यात्, अस्ति चास्य दूरत्वं । दूरं धर्माः कतमे अ[६]तीतानागताः । अन्तिकं धर्माः कतमे प्रत्युत्पन्नाः इत्यभ्युपगमादनागतमस्य दूरे, तच्चास्य दूरत्वमयुक्तमिति प्रतिपादयन्नाह ।

विद्यते नागतं यस्य दूरं तस्य न विद्यते । 258.

वर्त्तमानस्य विद्यमानत्वादित्यभिप्रायः । यश्चानेन कल्याणमित्रसम्पर्कधर्मश्रवणेन्द्रियपरिपाकादिकाद्भाविनः प्रत्ययाद्दानगौणाद्यात्मको धर्मः मोष्यनागतार्थसङ्गाववादित्वाट[७]स्येवेति । तदा ।

धर्मा यद्यकतोष्यन्ति नियमो जायते वृथा ।

वदथमस्य काववाङ्मनसां संयमः स धर्माऽस्यैकान एवास्मिन्नि नदृपञ्जनाय नियममभ्यर्त्सि दृषा ।
 तेन विनिपातस्यसम्भवात् । अथास्य तेन नियमेन तस्य धर्मस्य कश्चिद्विशेषो निष्पाद्यते, स एव विशेषः
 पूर्वमसन्(ते)त् पश्चात् क्रियते इति व्याख्यातस्य तर्हि सद्भावमादिदेवमिति प्रतिपादयन्नाह—

अथ खल्योऽपि कर्तव्यः सत्कार्यस्य न संशयः । 259.

अपि च । वस्त्वानित्याः संस्कारा इत्यभ्युपगमस्यैवास्त्ववृष्यव्यभिचारोऽदिदेवित्यनया यददित्यलं तस्य
 पूर्वोपरयोर्भागीनयोर्दिवनमसत्त्वेन भवितव्यं; एवं वृत्त्यानित्यत्वं सिध्यति । अयोदेवान् पूर्वोपरयोरेषवस्ययोरेत्या-
 दित्यलं स्यात्तदास्य +++ वापद्यते । अथानेनानित्यत्वंमूर्त्तिक्रियते तदास्य अनित्ये सति सत्कार्यं कथं नाम [२३]

वृत्त्या मोक्षावाप्तिरिति निश्चयः । यदा चैवं सर्व्वत्यागेन सर्व्वपाषण्डिनां निर्वाणमभिमतं तदा न किञ्चित् मयात्रापूर्व्वमुपचरितम् यदैमुष्यकारणं भवेत् । येषामेव हि पदार्थानां निर्वाणे पुनरप्रवृत्त्या निवृत्तिरभिसमौहिता तेषामेव मया नैःस्वाभाव्यप्रतिपादनपरेण शास्त्रेणामदर्शनकटा + + + + + + + + + + निर्वाणनगरगामिमार्गपरिशोधनमनुष्ठितं, तत्किमिति हृदि भयममदालिख्य भवान् विभे[२]ति । आधोयतां मनःपरितोषः, क्रियतां आत्ममादयं धर्म्म्या, निवेश्यतां चेतसि सांक्लेशिकवस्तुनिवारणकथा । ननु च यदि सर्व्वपाषण्डिनामप्ययमेवाभिप्रायः यदुत सर्व्वत्यागेन निर्वाणमिति ; कः पुनर्भवतस्तौर्यिकानाञ्च विशेषः । अयं विशेषो यत्तौर्यिकानां सर्व्वत्यागाभि[प्राय]मात्रं न तु पुनः सर्व्वत्यागोपायाख्यानमनुपदिष्टे च सर्व्वत्यागोपाये

किं करिष्यति स त्यागं त्यागो[२]पायं न वेत्ति यः ।

सर्व्वत्यागाशयेऽपि स्थिततौर्यिकमतावलम्बी त्यागोपायानभिज्ञः किं त्यागं करिष्यति । यन्न जानाति सर्व्वधर्म्मस्वभावशून्यतालक्षणं सर्व्वत्यागोपायं परमार्थसत्यम् । अतएव ।

शिवमन्यत्र नास्तीति नूनं तेनोक्तवान् मुनिः । 265.

इहैकः प्रथमश्रवण इह द्वितीयो यावच्चतुर्थः । शून्याः परप्रवादाः श्रवणैरित्यमुनैवाभिमन्धिना मुनिनैवमु[४]क्तमिति निश्चयते अस्मादेव च सर्व्वत्यागोपायसमाख्यानात् सर्व्वत्रैव भगवतो बुद्धस्य ज्ञान-प्रवृत्त्यव्याघातेन यथार्थगाम्यत्वं प्रतीयते । तौर्यिकानां च सर्व्वत्यागोपायसमाख्यानमार्थवैकल्येनेतरत्रापि पदार्थजाते विपर्य्यस्तविज्ञानता सिद्धत्वान्न साध्या (marginal note अनिष्ट सिद्धेः) । ननु च तत्रापि अपर्य्यन्तत्वात् ज्ञेयस्यातीन्द्रियेष्वर्थेषूपदिष्टेषु अममत्त्वात् ते[५]षां संग्रह एव जायते किमसावर्थो यथोपदिष्टस्तथैवाहोस्वित् अन्यथेति । न हि तद्विषयं निश्चयकारणरूपीति । तत्राप्युच्यते ॥

बुद्धोक्तेषु परोक्षेषु जायते यस्य संग्रहः ।

इहैव प्रत्ययस्तेन कर्त्तव्यः शून्यतां प्रति ॥ 266.

न हि सर्व्वे भावाः प्रत्यक्षज्ञानगम्या अनुमानगम्या अपि विद्यन्ते । शक्यं चात्रानुमानं कर्त्तुं दृष्टान्तमद्भावात् । इह त्या[६]गोपायः सर्व्वधर्म्मस्वभावशून्यता । सा चाशक्या केनचिदन्यथात्वमासादयितुं ; सूक्ष्मश्रायमर्थो नित्यसन्निहितोऽपि सर्व्वजनममत्त्वात् तस्य चोपरत्या सर्व्वधर्म्मस्वभावग्राहविनिवारण-मुखेनोपपादिता यथावत्ता । अत्रैव तावदास्थीयतां निश्चयः । किमेवमेवैतत् उताहोऽन्यथेति अथात्रास्ति किञ्चिदनिश्चयकारणं तदुपदिश्यतां यदि तन्न निराकृतं [७] उक्तवक्ष्यमाणप्रकरणप्रतिपादितनिश्चयेन । न च शक्यमनेन स्वल्पमप्यनिश्चयकारणं किञ्चिदभिधातुमिति सिद्ध एवायं दृष्टान्तः तदश्चान्यदप्यसमन्वय-प्रतिपादकवचनं भगवतो यथार्थमिति प्रतीयताम् खनयेनैव तथागतोपदिष्टत्वात् स्वभावशून्यतार्थाभिधायक-वचनवदिति कुतो बुद्धोक्तेषु परोक्षेषु संग्रहावकाशः । न च तथागतवत्तौर्यिकानामपि शक्यम[८]विपरौ-तार्थाभिधायित्वमवसातुं तेषां दृष्ट एव विपर्य्यस्तत्वात् । तथाह्यप्य लोकस्य तैर्नित्यकारणपूर्व्विका प्रवृत्तिरुप-दिश्यते । सा चाशक्यप्रतिपाद्या दृष्टविरुद्धा चोपपत्तिविरुद्धा चेत्येवम् ।

लोकोयं येन दर्दृष्टो मूढ एव परत्र सः ।

न हि सम्पूर्णं चन्द्रमसि व्याहृतदर्शनमामर्थ्यो ध्रुवमन्वर्तौ वापश्यतीति सम्भाव्यं । तद्वदयं तीर्थिको लोकस्य सत्त्वभाजनाख्यस्य हे[२४ क]तुफलशामूढत्वात् स्थूलमेवार्थं तावद्यदा न सम्यगोचते, तदा कथमयमतिस्वल्पं विदूरदेशकालव्यवहितं सप्रभेदमर्थं ज्ञास्यतीति सम्भाव्यवितुं शक्यम् । तदिमं तीर्थिकं स्वयमत्यन्तविपर्ययासितदर्शनं मृगदृष्ट्याजलवदनुपासनीयम् तत्त्वदर्शनामलजलपिपासवः संसाराध्वपरिश्रम-
क्लमापनोदाय ।

वञ्चितास्ते भविष्यन्ति सुचिरं येऽनुयान्ति तम् । 267.

अपर्यवसानापरकोटिके संसारे ते वत वञ्चिता भविष्यन्ति ये यथार्थशास्तरं [२] बुद्धं भगवन्त मवधूय दृष्टादृष्टपदार्थस्वभावव्यामूढं मोक्षकामतया तीर्थिकमनुयास्यन्ति । कस्मात् पुनरेते मोक्षकामा[न्त]-
मेवं विपर्यस्तदर्शनं तीर्थिकमनुगच्छन्ति । स्वभावशून्यताधर्मापदेशश्रवणभयात्तद्भयं^१ नास्यहं न भविष्यामि
न मेऽस्ति न भविष्यति इत्यालम्ब्योक्तासात् । तत्रायं सुचिरमहंकारममकाराभ्यासाद् एव कल्याणमित्रपरि-
ग्रहात् सुचिराभ्यस्तमपि भावस्वभावाभिनिवे[३]शं मलवत् त्यक्त्वा ।

स्वयं ये यान्ति निर्वाणं ते कुर्वन्ति सुदुष्करम् ।

बुद्धो भगवान् स्वयं भूत्वा स्वयमेव निर्वाणपुरमुपयाति तस्मैत्यं दुष्करकारिणः ।

गन्तुं नोत्सहते नेतुः पृष्ठतोऽप्यसतो मनः ॥ 268.

न केवलमसतां अहङ्कारममकारव्यवस्थितानां स्वयमेव निर्वाणं गन्तुं मनो नोत्सहते ; अपि खलु
यथोपवर्णितस्य नेतुः पृष्ठतोऽप्यस्यासतो निर्वाणं [४] गन्तुं मनो नोत्साहं प्रवेदयते । कस्मात् पुनरन्यस्य नेतुः
पृष्ठतोऽप्यसतः पुद्गलस्य निर्वाणं गन्तुं मनो नोत्सहते शून्यतायां चासात् । कस्य पुनरस्यां चासो भवतीति
यस्य भवति तं प्रति प्रतिपादयन्नाह ।

चासो नारभ्यतेऽदृष्टे दृष्टेऽपैति स सर्वशः ॥

नियमेनेव किञ्चित्ज्ञे तेन चासो विधीयते ॥ 269.

अव्युत्पन्नशास्त्रसंकेता हि गोपालादयः शतशोऽप्युपदिश्यमानायां शू[५]न्यतायां सर्वथा तदनुप्रवेशा-
भावे सत्यदृष्टत्वात् शून्यतार्थस्य तेषां चासो नोत्पद्यते । तस्मिन् क्षणभङ्ग इव तद्भ्यामूढस्य नारकाशावि-
मिश्यादर्शनोपस्तम्भसन्तानस्य दृष्टेऽपैति सर्वशः । दृष्टे हि शून्यताख्ये धर्मे स मन्त्रामस्त्यण्डितानां सर्वथापैति
भयनिमित्तात्मात्मौयाभिनिवेशविगमात् । रज्ज्वासुपयातसर्पविपर्ययास्य रज्जुदर्शने सति सर्पभयापगमवत् ।
य[६]स्तु किञ्चिज्जानाति तस्य नियमेनावशंभावितया चासो विधीयते । न हि सुशिक्षितो मत्तगजावाहको
हस्तिन्युक्काल्यमानस्ततो विभेति नापि तत्वाहनोत्सुकोऽत्यन्तमूर्खो ग्रामीणः । स हि तत्पातादिदोषा-
दर्शनाद्वाहनमेव बद्ध मन्यमानो न ततो विभेति । किञ्चिज्जस्त्वतितरां विभेति, आत्मनस्तदासनापरिजयं

^१ A later hand cuts out झ and writes on the top र।, retaining the 'ya' inserted between झ and च by the original writer of the MS., making the whole o. भयातुरायन्नास्त्रौहं which gives no meaning.

मन्यमानः । अपि खलु सर्वकार्येष्वेवं प्रवृत्तौ किञ्चिज्ज्ञस्य नियतं चासौ भवति । न विदिततत्त्वस्य वैशारद्यात्, नाप्यत्यन्तानभिज्ञस्य माहसम्भारितत्वात्, किञ्चिद्विज्ञस्य त्रस्यति, किमेतच्छक्यं न शक्यमिति विमर्शात्पादात् । किमर्थं पुनरमी किञ्चिज्ज्ञा उत्तरं पदं न पर्येषन्ते, यावतैषां ज्ञातव्यपरिसमाप्तिर्भवतीति । उच्यते, चासात् । किं पुनस्तासस्य कारणम् । आहानभ्यासस्तस्य पुनः किं कारणम् विपरीताभ्यासस्तदेव प्रतिपाद[८]यन्नाह

एकान्तेनैव वालानां धर्मोऽभ्यासः प्रवर्तके ।

धर्मान्निवर्तकान्तेषामनभ्यासतया भयम् ॥ 270.

संसारप्रवृत्त्यनुकूलो हि धर्मः प्रवर्तकः पृथग्जनपर्यापन्नायाञ्च भूमौ स्थितानां पृथग्जनानां प्रवर्तक एव धर्मोऽभ्यासः । स्वभावशून्यता हि निवर्तकोधर्मः संसारनिवृत्त्यनुकूलत्वात् + + + + स्य परिपन्थी आत्मस्नेहस्तदनुगतचित्तसन्तानत्वात् पृथग्जनास्तत्त्वावर्तकाद्धर्मात् सुत[१४]^१रां विभ्यति । स्वभावशून्यतां प्रपातमिव मन्यमाना न तां यथावत् प्रतिपत्तुमुत्सहन्ते । तदेवमविद्यासान्द्रान्धकारप्रच्छादितपदार्थतत्वेऽनुपलभ्यमानापरकोटिके संसारमहाटवीकान्तारे प्रनष्टसन्मार्गस्य कस्यचिन्नाम पुद्गलस्य भवति स्वभावशून्यताकथायां चेद्भक्तिः स तदनुकूलप्रत्ययोप + + + + + च्चीयमानप्रसादः शून्यतायां भवति, तथा कार्यं करुणावता कृतज्ञेन च भ[ग]वति तथागते । सद्गु[१]र्मान्तरायनिमित्तं च कर्मात्मनो महाप्रपातहेतुं परिजिह्वीर्ष[द्भ्यः] संकटमप्यवगाह्य दर्दयमपि दत्त्वा संग्रहवस्तुचतुष्टयेण संगृह्य सद्गुर्मांस्यं सद्गुर्मा-भाजनेभ्य उपदेष्टव्यः । यस्तु न केवलं यथोपदिष्टं न बद्ध मन्यते । अपि तु

विघ्नन्तस्य यः कुर्यात् वृत्तो मोहेन केनचित् ।

कल्याणाधिगतिस्तस्य नास्ति मोहे तु का कथा ॥

मोहेन केनचिदिति ईर्ष्या-मात्सर्य-कौसीद्य-भय-श्रोत्रविद्वेषादिना तत्त्वोपदे[३]शभाजने जने यस्तत्त्वदेशनश्रवणादिविघातकं करोति । तस्य सुगतेरपि तावदेव मनुष्यात्मिकाया नास्ति सम्भवो नियतमपागमनात् किमुतास्य मोचकथावकाशः स्यात् । किं ह्यनेन स्वपरसन्तानयोर्नापकृतम् । तेन हि निःशेषाग्रामुखव्यापिनः स्फुटरालोकस्थाध्वत्रयाप्रतिहतप्रभावृत्तेः प्रतिदिनमविद्यान्धकारोपघातायोपचीयमानालोकनिचय[४]स्याशेषजगदाश्रयावभामनसमर्थस्य प्रजाप्रदौपस्य सन्तानेन समुपजायमानस्य विघातोऽनुष्ठितः । एवमेव परात्मनोरत्यन्तापकारितां संपश्यता भगवता तथागतेनोक्तम् ।

“श्रीलादपि वरं संसो नतु दृष्टेः कथञ्चन ।” इति ॥

सूत्रे उक्तम्, वरं श्रीलविपन्नो नतु दृष्टिविपन्न इति । तदस्य तथागतस्य वचसः सोपपत्तिकता-मुद्गावयन्नाचार्य्य आह ।

“श्रीलेन गम्यते स्व[५]र्गो दृष्ट्या याति परं पदम्” इति ।

श्रीलविपत्ति हि सूपचीयमानमृदुमध्याधिमात्रक्रमाणां प्रेततिर्यङ्गरकोपपत्तिफला विपाकेयत्ता-

परिच्छेदेन प्रवर्तते यद्याक्रान्तसम्यग्दर्शनेष्वार्येषु न व्यापद्यते । शीलविशुद्धिस्वनाक्रान्तसम्यग्दर्शनानां पृथग्-
जनानां प्रकर्षेण स्वर्गफला । दर्शनविपत्तिस्तु मृदतरा चेत् सायसंख्येयशतमहसैरपि शीलविपत्तीनां
अशक्या[६]विपाकमहत्तया समीकर्तुमपि प्रागेव जेतुम् । अथ चेदस्य पुद्गलस्य कथमपि प्रत्ययात् सम्य-
ग्दर्शनसम्पत्तिराजायेतार्यमार्गोत्पादात् । तदाथमवश्यमवधूयानादिसंसारप्रवृत्तमविद्यान्धकारमशेषमलधातु-
पुरस्कृतो निर्वाणमुपयायादित्येवमतिमहार्घतामस्य तच्चदर्शनस्यावेत्तैतदविघाताय विदुषा यतितव्यम् । न
चानेन तद्विघातभयद[७]र्शिना मता सर्वत्रैव अनवधार्य पात्रविशेषं एतन्नैरात्म्यदर्शनं उपदेष्टव्यमपात्रेषु ।
अपात्रे हि तदुपदेशोऽनर्थायैव स्यात् । अतएव च ।

अहङ्कारो [५]सतः श्रेयान्तु नैरात्म्यदर्शनम् ।

नैरात्म्यधर्माधिमुक्तिविरहितो ह्यात्मग्राहाभिनिविष्टोऽसद्गर्भसमाश्रयादृष्टिगहनानुचारी अमञ्जित्यु-
च्यते । तस्यासतो वरमात्मदेशना दुश्चरितनिवृत्त्यनुकूलत्वात् तस्याः । तथाह्यसावात्मस्नेहानुगमाद्धि [८]
तमात्मनाभिवाञ्छन् दुश्चरितनिवृत्तिं बद्ध मन्यते । निवृत्तपापस्य चास्य सुगतिगमनं भवति सुलभम् ।
नैरात्म्योपदेशस्तस्य प्रतिषेपविपर्ययासबोधाभ्यां कायचित्तमन्तानं नियतमुपहन्ति । तदेवं

अपायमेव यात्येकः शिवमेव तु नेतरः ।

नैरात्म्यदर्शनविप्रतिपन्नो ह्यविद्वान् अपायमेव याति न शिवं । यस्तु नेतरः स शिवमेव याति
नापायम् । इतरशब्दोऽयमनुत्कृष्टवाची । कश्चा[२५ क]नुत्कृष्टो विपरीतं शून्यतार्थमधिगच्छति प्रति-
क्षिपति वा तत्रतिषेधेन नेतरः । नेतर इत्युत्कृष्ट इत्यर्थः । यतएव शून्यतोपदेशादितरोऽपायनिविष्टस्ततएव
शून्यतोपदेशान्नेतरो निर्वाणनिष्ठो जायते । शून्यतादर्शनप्रत्ययः (यं) सर्वत्र सद्गुणपरित्यागाग्निरहितक्लेशवर्त्मगणो
नियतं निवृत्तिमुपयाति । किं पुनरिदं नैरात्म्यनाम यदसत्सु नोपदेष्टव्यं सत्सु चोपदेष्टव्यमिति तत्-
प्रतिपादयन्नाह ॥

अद्वितीयं शिवद्वारं कुदृष्टीनां भ[२]यङ्करम् ।

विषयः सर्वबुद्धानामिति नैरात्म्यमुच्यते ॥

यत् अद्वितीयं शिवद्वारं तन्नैरात्म्यं यत् कुदृष्टीनां भयङ्करं तत् नैरात्म्यम् । यो[विषय]यः सर्व-
बुद्धानां तन्नैरात्म्यमुच्यते । तच्चात्मा नाम भावानां यदपरायत्तस्वरूपस्वभावः । तच्च धर्मपुद्गलभेदात् द्वैतं
प्रतिपद्यते । धर्मनैरात्म्यं पुद्गलनैरात्म्यञ्चेति । तत्र पुद्गलो नाम यः स्कन्धपञ्चकस्योपादानाख्यस्योपादाता
स्कन्धानुपादाय प्रज्ञयते । स च स्कन्धेषु पञ्चधा [३] मृग्यमाणो न सम्भवति । धर्मास्तु स्कन्धा घनधातुसंग्रहिताः
पदार्थास्तदेषां धर्माणां पुद्गलस्य च यथास्वं हेतुप्रत्ययाधीनजन्मत्वात् उपादाय प्रज्ञयमानत्वाच्च स्वायत्त-
मपरायत्तं निजमकृतकरूपं नास्तीति पुद्गलस्य धर्माणाञ्च नैःस्वाभाव्यं व्यवस्थाप्यते । यस्य चार्थस्य स्वरूपसिद्धि-
र्नास्ति तस्य केनान्येनात्मनास्तु सिद्धिरिति । सर्वथा अमिद्धस्वलक्षणा ए[४]व पदार्थाः मूर्खजनस्य विमत्वाद्-
केनात्मना प्रतीत्य चोपादाय वा वर्तमाना मूढधियां सद्गास्पदं सम्भवन्ति : यथास्वभावन्तु सम्यग्दर्शनैः प्रति-
भाव्यमाना धर्मपुद्गलयोः सद्गुणपरिचयश्च निर्वाणवाप्तिकारणं । नैरात्म्यमद्वितीयं शिवद्वारं भवति । निर्वाण-
पुरप्रवेशाय एकमेवासहायमेतत् द्वारं । यद्यपि शून्यतानिमित्ताप्रणिहिताख्यानि त्रीणि विमोचमुखाणि ।

तथापि [५] नैरात्यदर्शनमेव प्रधानम् । विदितनैरात्यस्य हि भावेषु परिशीणमङ्गस्य न क्वचित् काचित् प्रार्थना कुतो वा निमित्तोपलम्भ इत्यद्वितीयमेव शिवद्वारमेतत् नैरात्यम् । तच्चैतत् कुदृष्टीनां भयङ्करं कृशिता दृष्टयः । नैरात्ये हि वस्तुनः सर्वथानुपलम्भात् कुदृष्टीनां वस्तुस्वरूपपरिकल्पममाश्रयनात् अन्यन्तविनाशदर्शनात् भयङ्करमेतन्नैरात्यम् । विषयः सर्वबुद्धा[६]नां नैरात्यं । सर्वबुद्धानामिति आवक-प्रयेकबुद्धानुत्तरसम्यक्मम्बुद्धानां ज्ञानविशेषविषयत्वेनावस्थानात् विषयः सर्वबुद्धानामित्युच्यते धर्मशरीरा-व्यतिरेकवर्तितां वा सर्वेषां सम्यक् मम्बुद्धानामावेदयन्नाह विषयः सर्वबुद्धानामिति । विशेषणमालय-नैरात्यमुक्तमाचार्य्येण एतच्च नैरात्यं सता मन्दधियो नोपदेष्टव्यम् यस्मात् ॥

अस्य धर्मस्य ना[७]न्तोऽपि भयमुत्पद्यतेऽसतः ॥ 271.

असतो ह्यस्य धर्मस्यातिदुर्गाधगम्भीरत्वात् नैरात्यशब्दश्रवणादपि भयमुत्पद्यते । तथा हि ॥

बलवान् नाम को दृष्टः परस्य न भयङ्करः ॥

बलवन्नैरात्यदर्शनं सर्वामदृर्शनोन्मूलनसमर्थत्वात् ॥ दुर्बलममदृर्शनमुन्मूलनीयत्वात् । नियतञ्चेतत् यद[ब]लवान् सबलादि[भे]तीति । तस्मान्न दुर्बलस्य कुदृर्शनेनात्मीकृतचित्तसन्तानस्यायं धर्मः उपदेष्टव्यो भयहेतुरिति क्त्वा । ननु [८] च उपदेष्टव्य एवायं धर्मः सकलकुदृर्शनप्रमाथित्वात् । तथाह्य[व]श्यं परप्रवा-दिनः सह धर्मैर्न निग्रहीतव्याः । ततश्च वादार्थिना सता परमतविजिगीषुणायं धर्मोऽपात्रेष्वप्युपदेष्टव्य इति । उच्यते नैतदेवं यस्मात्

वादस्य कृतगो धर्मः नायमुक्तस्तथागतैः । 272.

यदि चायं धर्मः वादस्य कृते++++स्यात् स्यादेतदेवं न त्वयं वादार्थ उपदिष्टो विमोक्षमुखेनोप-देयात् ॥ यद्यप्येवं [२५]

स्थः पश्येत्तद्रूपं पश्येद्विषयदेशं वा गत्वा पश्येदगत्वा वा उभयथा [च] दोष इति प्रतिपादयन्नाह ।

पश्येच्चक्षुरादूरे गतिमद्यदि तद्भवेत् ।

अत्यभ्यासे च दूरे च रूपं व्यक्तं न तच्च किम् ॥ 288.

यदि चक्षुषः प्राप्तकारित्वात् विषयदेशं गच्छेत् । तदोन्मिषितमात्रेण न चन्द्रतारकादीनर्थान् गृह्णीयात् । + + + + + + + + +

तुल्यकालं विप्रकृष्टविषयग्रहणयुक्तं गतिकालस्य भिन्नत्वात् । पश्यति च चक्षुरन्मि[२]षितमात्रेण समीपस्थवत् विदूरदेशस्थमपि इत्ययुक्तमे[त]त् । यदि [च] प्राप्तकारि चक्षुः स्यात् तदात्यभ्यासेऽपि पश्येत् अस्मिन्[१]मञ्जनशलाकां वा दूरे च व्यक्तदर्शनं स्यात् न चैतत् सम्भवतीति अयुक्तमेतत् । अपि च यदि चक्षुर्गत्वा विषयं पश्यति तत् किं विषयं दृष्ट्वा विषयदेशं गच्छति उत अदृष्ट्वा । उ[भ]यथापि दोष इ[ति] प्रतिपादयन्नाह ।

गतेन न गुणः कश्चित् रूपं दृष्ट्वाचि याति चेत् ।

द्रष्टव्यं नियमेनेष्टमिति वा जायते वृ[३]था ॥ 289.

यदि रूपं दृष्ट्वा रूपदेशं चक्षुर्यातीति कल्प्यते । गतेन तेन गमनेन चक्षुषो न किञ्चित् प्रयोजनं । विषयदर्शनार्थं हि चक्षुषो गमनं स च विषयः पूर्वमेवेहस्थेन दृष्ट इति [न] किञ्चिद्गमनस्य प्रयोजनम् । अथादृष्ट्वा गच्छति तदा दिदृक्षितविषयदर्शनं नियमेन न प्राप्नोति । अदृष्ट्वा ह्यत्यस्येवानभिलक्षितदेशगमना- दृष्टव्यस्य नियमेन दर्शनं न प्राप्नोति । अ[४]थैतद्दोषपरिर्जिहीर्षया यदि,

गृह्णीयादगतच्चक्षुः पश्येत् सर्वमिदं जगत् ।

यस्य नास्ति गतिस्तस्य नास्ति दूरं न चावृतम् ॥ 290.

यो हि मन्यते चक्षुः श्रोत्रमनोऽप्राप्तविषयमित्यागमाद्प्राप्तवि[ष]यमेव चक्षुरिति तं प्रति उच्यते । प्राप्तकारितामात्रप्रतिषेधपरत्वात् आगमस्य तावद्विरोधः । कश्चित् विधेः प्राधान्यं, यत्र तस्याविरोधः । कश्चित् प्रतिषेधस्य प्रा[५]धान्यं यत्र तद्विरोधः । तदत्र विधेरसम्भवात् प्राप्तकारिताप्रतिषेधमात्रेणाप्राप्त- विषयत्वं व्यवस्थाप्यते । विधिमुखेन त्वप्राप्तविषयत्वे कल्प्यमाने इहस्यमेव चक्षुः सर्वं जगत् पश्येत् । यस्य हि गतिर्नास्ति तस्य कुतो दूरं । समीपस्योपि हि अनेनार्थोऽगत्वा द्रष्टव्यो विदूरस्थेऽपीति दूरकतोपि विशेषो न स्यात् । यदा चागत्वा पश्यति तदिहस्यमिव [६] विदूरमपि पश्येत् । गतौ हि सत्यां आवृते गतिविधा- तादावृतं नेचत इति युक्तम् । यदा त्वगत्वा द्रष्टव्यं तदावृते गतिप्रतिबन्धाभावाद्नावृत इव दर्शनं स्यात् । यदि च दर्शनस्वभावं चक्षुः स्यात् तदा स्वभावस्य सर्वत्रैवाव्याघातात् स्वरूपमपि पश्येत् । तथा हि लोके,

स्वभावः सर्वभावानां पूर्वमात्मनि दृश्यते ।

ग्रहणं चक्षुषः केन चक्षुषैव न जायते ॥ 291.

यथा [७] चम्पकमल्लिकादिषु सौगन्ध्यं पूर्वं स्वाश्रय एवोपलभ्यते, पश्चात् तत्सम्पर्कात्तेलादिष्वपि । यथा चाग्नेरौष्णं, स्वतोव्यवस्थितं तद्योगात् परतोऽप्युपलभ्यते । एवं यदि चक्षुषोर्दृशनस्वभावं स्यात् तदा

स्वात्मन्येव तावद्दर्शनं स्यात् । कस्मात् पुनश्चक्षुषो ग्रहणं चक्षुषैव न भवति । भावानां स्वभावस्य च स्वात्मन्येव प्रथमतः विद्यमानत्वाच्चक्षुषैव चक्षुषो ग्रहणं न्याय्यं । न चक्षुः स्वात्मानं पश्यतीति [८] लोष्ट्रादिवत् परदर्शनमप्यस्य न सम्भाव्यते । यस्तु मन्यते न केवलस्य चक्षुषो रूपदर्शनसामर्थ्यमस्ति अपि तु त्रयाणां चक्षुरूपचक्षुर्विज्ञानानां सामर्थ्यां सत्यां रूपदर्शनं भवतीति तदप्यसारं यस्मात्,

चक्षुषोस्ति न विज्ञानं विज्ञानस्य न दर्शनं ।

उभयं नास्ति रूपस्य तै रूपं दृश्यते कथम् ॥ 292.

चक्षुषस्तावत् विज्ञानं नास्ति न हि चक्षुर्विषयं विजानाति अविज्ञानस्वरूपत्वात् । भौतिकं हि चक्षुस्तस्य ज[२६]क]ङ्गत्वात् विषयबोधो न सम्भाव्यत इति एवं चक्षुषोऽस्ति न विज्ञानम् । नापि विज्ञानस्य दर्शनमस्ति । विज्ञानं हि विजानाति न तु पश्यति । यदि तु विज्ञानं पश्येत् तदा तस्यापि रूपदर्शनं स्यात्, विज्ञानसद्भावात् । रूपस्य तुभयमपि नास्ति; न विज्ञानमवबोधस्वरूपत्वात्, नापि दर्शनं रूपालोचनाभावात् । यदा चैवमन्योन्यार्थविकल्पानौन्द्रियविषयविज्ञानानि तदा तत्सामर्थ्यामपि सत्यां नैव तै रूपं दृश्यते इति सम्भावयितुं शक्यम् । रूप[२]दर्शनाङ्गविकलत्वात् अन्धसमुदायवदित्यभिप्रायः । यदा चैवं रूपस्या(१?)-दर्शनासम्भवः; तदा को नामार्हति तत्त्वविद् रूपं दृश्यते इति वक्तुं द्रष्टुं वा । यथा च तत्त्वविद्मार्हति रूपं द्रष्टुं एवं शब्दमपि श्रोतुं नार्हति रूपदर्शनवत् शब्दश्रवणस्यासम्भवात् । इह यदि शब्दः श्रूयते । स श्रवणदेशं संप्राप्तो वा श्रूयेतासंप्राप्तो वा? यदि तावत् संप्राप्तः श्रूयते, स श्रवणदेशं व्रजन् शब्दं वा कुर्वाणो व्रजन् निःशब्दो वा? त[३]त्र यदि पूर्वः कल्पस्तदा,

न वक्ता जायते केन शब्दो याति ब्रुवन् यदि ।

अथ यात्यब्रुवंस्तस्मिन् प्रत्ययः केन जायते ॥ 293.

ततश्च वक्तृत्वात् देवदत्तवत् शब्दोऽसौ न भवति । अथाब्रुवन् याति तदा तस्मिन् शब्दे निःशब्दे व्रजति शब्दोऽयमिति कस्यावसायो भवेत् । न चागृहीतस्यास्तित्वमिति न युक्तमेतत् । किञ्चान्यत् ।

प्राप्तश्चेत् गृह्यते शब्दः तस्यादिः केन गृह्यते ।

न चेति केव[४]लः शब्दो गृह्यते केवलः कथम् ॥ 294.

यदि ओत्रेन्द्रियस्थानं प्राप्तः शब्दो गृह्यते प्राप्तयाहिलाच्छ्रोत्रस्य, शब्दस्यादेर्ग्रहणनास्ति न चान्यदिन्द्रियं तस्य ग्राहकं सम्भवतीति । नैव केनचिदस्यादि गृह्यते, ततश्चागृह्यमाणत्वाच्छब्द एवासौ न भवतीत्यभिप्रायः । नवद्रव्यकत्वाच्च शब्दपरमाणोः । न च एति केवलः शब्दः । भवता च शब्दमात्रमेव ओत्रेण गृह्यते न गन्धादय इति न [५] युज्यते । यदा शब्दस्याग्रहणमस्तु यदा गन्धादयोपि गृह्यन्ताम् न चैतदेवमिति न प्राप्तविषयत्वं शब्दस्य । अथ यदेतदुक्तं

प्राप्तश्चेत् गृह्यते शब्दस्तस्यादिः केन गृह्यते । इति

यदि तस्यादि न गृहीतस्तदा को दोष इति; अयं दोषो यदस्य शब्दत्वमेव विशीर्यते तथा हि ।

यावन्न श्रूयते शब्दस्तावच्छब्दो न जायते ।

अशब्दस्यापि शब्दत्वमन्ते तच्च न युज्यते ॥ 295.

यो न श्रूयते [६] सोऽश्रूयमानत्वात् गन्धादिवत् शब्द एव न भवति । अथ मन्यसे यदा श्रूयते तदा शब्दो भविष्यतीति । एतदप्यसम्भाव्यम् । न हि गन्धादेः पश्चात् शब्दत्वं दृष्टं तददेवास्यापि शब्दस्य पश्चात् शब्दत्वमयुक्तमिति । एवं तावदिन्द्रियाणां विषयग्रहणासामर्थ्यमुद्भाव्य मनसोऽपि विषयग्रहणासामर्थ्यमुद्भावयन्नाह ।

वियुक्तमिन्द्रियैश्चित्तं किं गत्वापि करिष्यति ।

यदि चित्तं विषयदेशं [७] गत्वा विषयं परिच्छिनत्तीति कल्प्यते तदयुक्तम् । इहेदं चित्तं इन्द्रियसहितं वा विषयदेशं गच्छेत् केवलं वा न तावदिन्द्रियसहितं याति इन्द्रियाणां देह एव सदा सन्निधानात् । गमने च सति देहस्य निरिन्द्रियत्वप्रसङ्गात् । अथ केवलं गच्छति, तदापि

वियुक्तमिन्द्रियैश्चित्तं किं गत्वापि करिष्यति ।

न हि चक्षुरादीन्द्रियद्वारतिरस्कृतस्यास्य रूपादिदर्शनसामर्थ्यमस्ति अन्धादीनामपि दर्शनादिसङ्गावप्रसङ्गात् । अ[८]थापि कथञ्चित् विषयदेशगमनेनार्थोपलब्धिरस्य परिकल्प्यते तदाप्यपर्यवसानत्वात् अर्थबोधस्यानिवृत्तौ सत्यां ।

एवं सतीह जीवोद्यममनस्कः सदा न किम् ॥ 296.

अचिन्तक एवात्मा सर्वकालं प्राप्नोति न च अचिन्तकस्यात्मकत्वं सम्भावयितुं युक्तम् स्तम्भादिवदचिन्तकत्वात् । तदेवं युक्त्या विचार्यमानानां इन्द्रिय + + + + + सम्भवात् स्वरूपसिद्धिरसती । यदि ह्येषां स्वरूपसिद्धिः स्यात् तदोपपत्त्या विचार्यमा[९]णा यथास्थितेन स्वरूपेण स्फुटतरमुपलभेरन्; न चोपलभ्यन्ते । तस्मात् स्वभावशून्या इति सिद्धम् । यदि, तर्ह्येषां स्वभावो नाम नास्ति तत्कथमेषां विशेषपरिच्छेदात्मिका संज्ञा पदार्थविशेषव्यवस्थाहेतुत्वेनोपदिश्यते । उच्यते । सत्सु पदार्थेषु तद्विशेषपरिच्छेदात्मिका संज्ञा स्यात् । तेषाञ्च पदार्थानामसत्त्वं प्रि + + + + + स्वरूपसिद्धिः स्यात् किं खल्वेष विषयपरिच्छेदः सर्वथा नास्ति, न नास्तीति स्वभाव[१०]स्य विद्यमानत्वात् । तथाहि

मनसा गृह्यते योऽर्थः पूर्वदृष्टो मरौचिवत् ।

सर्वधर्मव्यवस्थासु स संज्ञास्कन्धसंज्ञकः ॥ 297.

इह चक्षुः प्रतीत्य रूपञ्च, चक्षुर्विज्ञानमुत्पद्य, निरुध्यमाणं, सहेन्द्रियविषयैर्निरुध्यते । तस्मिन्निरुद्धे पूर्ववदृष्टो योऽर्थः स एव पश्चान्मनसा गृह्यते, कथं पुनरसन्निहितस्य ग्रहणं संभाव्यत इत्याह । + + + + चिकायां जलमस्ति । अपि च हेतुप्रत्ययवशात् प्रवर्तत एव जलाकारसंज्ञा एवमविद्यमा[११]नस्वरूपेपि पूर्वगृहीतेऽर्थे मरौच्यामिव यद्विकल्पकं विज्ञानमुत्पद्यते तत् सर्वधर्मव्यवस्थाकारणम् । सर्वधर्मव्यवस्थाकारणत्वाच्च स एव संज्ञास्कन्ध इत्युक्तः तथाविधसंज्ञाविशेषसंप्रयोगात् संज्ञावशान च सर्वधर्मव्यवस्था विज्ञातव्या, न पुनः पदार्थस्वरूपनिबन्धना, स्वभावस्य सर्वथाऽयुज्यमानत्वात् । यद्येवमस्ति तर्हि स्वभावतः संज्ञास्कन्धः । न हि तस्मिन्नसति सर्वधर्मव्यव[१२]स्था शक्या कर्तुमिति । उच्यते । मापि हि

संज्ञा विज्ञानसंप्रयुक्तत्वात् विज्ञानव्यतिरेकेणामतौ । तदपि च विज्ञानं संज्ञाव्यतिरेकेनासिद्धत्वात् स्वरूपतो नास्ति । यस्मात्

चक्षुः प्रतीत्य रूपञ्च मायावत् जायते मनः ।

न हि तद्विज्ञानमुत्पादात् प्रागस्ति यदुत्पत्तिक्रियाश्रयत्वेन प्रवर्त्तते, सत्स्वपि चक्षुरादिषु प्रत्ययेषु विज्ञानस्य स्वरूपामभवात् । उत्पत्तिक्रियाया अप्रवृत्तेरुत्पादो [५] न युज्यते । उत्पद्यते चैतद्विज्ञानमित्यतः किं निश्चेतुं पार्यते, अन्यत्र मायाधर्मतायाः । उक्तं हि भगवता, तद्यथा भिन्नवः मायाकारो वा मायाकारान्तेवासी, चतुर्लहापथे विविधं मायाकर्म्म विदग्धयेत्तद्यथा हस्तिकायं रथकायं पत्तिकायं तं चक्षुष्मान् पुरुषः पश्येत् निधायेत् योनिशश्वोपपरीक्षेत तस्य तं पश्यतो निधायतो योनिशश्वोपपरीक्षमाण[६]स्य असतोऽप्यस्य ख्यायात् रिक्ततोऽपि तुच्छतोऽपि अमारतोपि । तत्कस्य हेतोः ? किमस्मिन् मायाकृते सारमस्तीति । एवमेव यत्किञ्चिद्विज्ञानं अतीतानागतप्रत्युत्पन्नम् आध्यात्मिकं वा वाह्यम्वा औदारिकम्वा सूक्ष्मं वा हीनं वा प्रणीतम्वा यदा दूरे यदा अत्यन्तिके तद्विद्युः पश्येत् निधायेत् योनिशश्वोपपरीक्षेत तस्य तत् पश्यतो निधायतो योनिशश्वोपपरीक्षमाणस्य अ[७]सतोऽप्यस्य ख्यायात् रिक्ततोपि तुच्छतोपि अमारतोपि रोगतोपि गण्डतोपि शल्यतोप्यघतोपि अनित्यतोपि दुःखतोपि शून्यतोप्यनात्मतोपि अस्य ख्यायात् । तत्कस्य हेतोः ? किमस्मिन् विज्ञानस्कन्धे सारमस्तीति । यथोपलभ्यते विचार्यमाणस्य तथा स्वरूपामभवात् मायायुवतिप्रख्यं विज्ञानमिति शक्यमवसातुं । ततश्च सूक्तमेव तच्चक्षुः प्रतीत्य रूपञ्च मायावज्जायते मन इति । य[८]दि पुनरस्य स्वरूपं स्यात् तदा स्वरूपतो

विद्यते यस्य रुद्धावः स मायेति न युज्यते ॥ 298.

न हि लोके स्वभावात् शून्या सम्भूता स्त्री मायेति युज्यते । एवं विज्ञानमपि स्वरूपतो विद्यमानत्वात् मायोपमं न स्यात्, उपदिश्यते च मायोपमं विज्ञानमतो निःस्वभावं विज्ञानं, यदा च निःस्वभावं विज्ञानं, तदा निःस्वभावविज्ञानसंप्रयुक्ता संज्ञा निःस्वभावा इति स्थितम् । अत्राह । आश्चर्यमेतन्नचेन्द्रियाणां कथ- [२७क]मपि विषयग्र[ह]णं मन्भाव्यते उत्पद्यते चक्षुः प्रतीत्य रूपाणि च विज्ञानमिति । उच्यते किमेतदेवाश्चर्यं त्वया दृष्टं ददं किं नाश्चर्यं यन्न निरुद्धान्नानिरुद्धात् वीजादङ्कुरोदयो युज्यते, उत्पद्यते च वीजं प्रतीत्याङ्कुरः । तथा कृतस्योपचितस्य कर्म्मणो निरुद्धस्य न कचिदवस्थानं सम्भवति । कल्पशतमहस्त्रान्तरित- निरोधादपि कर्म्मणः साक्षादुत्पद्यत एव फलं । घटादयश्च स्वकारणात्तत्त्वान्यत्वेन विचार्यमा[२]णा न सम्भवन्ति तथाप्युपादाय प्रज्ञप्त्या मधूदकादीनां मन्धारणाहरणादिक्रियानिष्पादनयोग्या भवन्ति । तदेवं

यदा न किञ्चिदाश्चर्यं विदुषां विद्यते भुवि ।

इन्द्रियाणां गतावेवं तदा को नाम विस्मयः ॥ 299.

कार्यं हि स्वकारणमनुविदधद् दृश्यते; गो गौः, अश्वोदश्वः, शालेः शालिरित्यादीनां भूतानां रूपशब्दादीनाञ्च विधिरेष न दृश्यते । तथा हि कायेन्द्रियग्राह्यत्वात् महाभूतान्यचा[३]क्षुषानि अत्राव- णानि तेभ्यश्चाक्षुषं रूपं श्रावणः शब्द उत्पद्यत इति; परमेतदाश्चर्यं । एवं घ्राणादिविषये चक्षुरादिषु च योज्यं । अथवा नैवेद्यमिन्द्रियाणामर्थगतिर्विस्मयकारणम् यदि हीन्द्रियाणामेव केवलमर्थगतावेतत् वैचित्र्यं

स्यात् तदैतद्विस्मयस्थानम् । यदा तु सर्वमेव यथोदितेन न्यायेन जगद्विदुषां विस्मयकरं इन्द्रजाल[४]मिव तदा नेदमाश्चयं । प्रदेशवृत्तिर्हि किञ्चिदसम्भावनीयमुपलभ्यमानं विस्मयकरं जायते, न सर्वत्रैव तुल्यरूपं । न ह्यग्रेरौष्यं विस्मयायेति । अतएवाजितस्वरूपत्वात् यथाप्रत्ययं तथा तथा विपरिवर्तमानत्वाद्विदुषां ।

अलातचक्रनिर्माणस्वप्नमायाम्बुचन्द्रकैः ।

धूमिकान्तःप्रतिशुक्लामरीच्यभ्रैः समो भवः ॥ 800.

यथा सजलस्येन्धनस्याशु[५]भ्राम्यमानस्य तद्गतदर्शनविपर्यासनिबन्धनत्वाच्चक्राकारोपलब्धिर्भवति । न च तत्रास्ति चक्रस्वरूपलेगोपि । यथा च निर्माणानि समाधिविशेषप्रत्ययसम्भूतानि विचित्रक्रियाविशेषनिष्पादनात् सद्भूतयोगिसंज्ञादर्शनमनोविपर्यासादुत्पादयन्ति ; ते तु चित्तचैत्तेन्द्रियरहितत्वात् न सद्भूता योगिनाम् । यथा च सिद्धसंप्रयुक्तविज्ञानसमा[६]युक्तात्मभावप्रत्ययः स्वप्नात्मभावो जाग्रदात्मभाव इव आत्मनि स्नेहविपर्यासनिबन्धनः ; स चासद्भूतः प्रबुद्धस्य तथा दर्शनाभावात् । यथा च मायाकारयन्त्रनिबन्धना मायाकृतयुवतयस्तत्स्वरूपानभिज्ञानां चित्तमोहनपरा एव सद्भूतस्त्रीशून्या जायन्ते । यथा च जलचन्द्रः सद्भूतचन्द्रशून्यः प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादवलात् तथोत्पद्यमानः चन्द्रवि[७]पर्यासनिबन्धनो भवति वालानां । यथा च प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादवलादेव तथाविधकालदेशनिमित्तानि प्रतीत्य धूमिका जाता विदूरस्थानां सद्भूतधूमविपर्यासनिबन्धना भवति । यथा च गिरिगङ्गरोद्रादीनां अन्तः प्रतिशुक्ला प्रतीत्य जायमाना सद्भूतशब्दाभिमानं जनयत्यविदुषाम् । यथा च मरीचिका देशकालविशेषसन्निहितादित्यरश्मिप्रत्यया जलस्वरूपविविक्ता विदूरस्था[८]नां जलविपर्यासं जनयति । यथा चाभ्राणि विदूरतः पर्वताद्याकारं विपर्यासमुपजनयन्ति : एवमविदुषां यथावत्प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादस्वभावाकुशलानां अविद्याविपर्यासाक्षिप्तकर्म्मप्रत्ययो विज्ञानादिजन्मसागरः स बाह्येन भाजनेन + + + + + + + + + + मृषामोषधर्मकः स्वभावशून्य एव सन् वालजनविस्मयादकः प्र[९७]तिभाति । विदितधर्मस्वभावाश्च सर्वत्रैव सद्भूतपरि + + + + + + + + + + भवन्तीति । स्थितमेतत् अलातचक्रादिवत् निःस्वभावः संसार इति ।

बोधिसत्त्वयोगाचारे चतुःशतके इन्द्रियार्थप्रतिषेधोनाम त्रयोदशं प्रकरणं समाप्तम् ।

अत्राह यदि प्रतीत्य समुत्पन्नत्वात् अलातचक्रादिवन्निःस्वभावो भवः कस्य तर्हीदानीं स्वभावोऽस्तु । न कस्यचित् पदार्थस्य स्वभावः शक्यः कल्पयितुम् । तथाविधस्य पदार्थस्य सर्व[२]थानुपलभ्यमानत्वात् । तथा हि ॥

आयत्तं यस्य भावस्य भवेन्नान्यत्र कुत्रचित् ।

सिध्येत् तस्यास्तित्ता नाम क्वचित् स च न विद्यते ॥ 801.

यदि हि कस्यचित् पदार्थस्य निष्पत्तौ क्वचित् किञ्चिदायत्तं न स्यात् तदा अस्य अपरायत्तस्य स्वतन्त्रस्य स्वत एव व्यवस्थितत्वात् स्वभावतोऽस्तित्वं कल्पयितुं युक्तं । न तेष मन्भवोऽस्ति यद्वेतुप्रत्ययायत्तजन्मनां परायत्तता न स्यात् । अहेतुको वा पदार्थः कस्यित् मन्भवेदिति । यतश्चैवं निर्हेतु[३]क[त्]प्रसङ्गात्

कस्यचित् पदार्थस्य क्वचित् स्वरूपनास्ति । तस्मात् नास्ति कस्यचित् स्वभावः, स्वभावाभावात् च अलात-चक्रवत् नास्ति स्वभावसिद्धिरिति स्थितम् । यदि च अमी पदार्था अलात-चक्रादिवत् विमम्बादकाः विमम्बादकत्वाद्वस्तुका न स्युस्तदा नियतमुपपत्त्या विचार्यमाणा जातरूपादिवत् स्पष्टतरमुपलभ्यमानस्वरूपाः स्युः । न चैते विचाराग्निमन्तापिता विपर्यामनिबन्धनत्वात् स्वरूपा[४]भावं नासादयन्ति । न हि वस्तुप-पत्त्यापि युज्यते, सर्व्वथा तस्य विमम्बादकत्वात् । अत एवाचार्य्यो वस्तुभिनिवेशाग्निथिलीकरणाय अतःपरं यथा च घटादीनां स्वरूपं न सम्भवति तथोपपत्तिमाह ।

रूपमेव घटो नैक्यं घटो नान्योस्ति रूपवान् ।

न विद्यते घटे रूपं न रूपे विद्यते घटः ॥ 802.

इह यदि घटो नाम कश्चित् पदार्थः स्यात्, स दर्शनेन्द्रियग्राह्यत्वात् रूपाद्भेदेन वा परिकल्पि[५]तो-ऽभेदेन वा, तत्र तावत् रूपमेव घटो नैक्यं न यदेव रूपं स एव घटः इति रूपघटयोरैक्यं न भवति । यदि हि रूपघटयोरैक्यं स्यात् तदा यत्र यत्र रूपं तत्र तत्र [घट इ]ति सर्व्वत्रैव रूपे घटः स्यात् । पाकजगुणोत्पत्तौ रूपविनाशे घटविनाशः स्यात् । न चैतत् सम्भवतीति रूपमेव घट इति नास्त्येकत्वम् । अथैतद्विषयपरिजिहीर्षया रूपादन्यो घटो रूपवान् प[६]रिकल्प्येत । तत् यथार्थान्तरभूतैर्गोभिर्गोमान् देवदत्त इत्येतदप्युक्तम् । यस्मात् घटो नान्योस्ति रूपवान् यदि रूपादन्यो घटः स्यात् स्वरूपनिरपेक्षो गृह्येत, न हि गोभ्यो व्यतिरिक्तो देवदत्तो गोव्यतिरेकेण न गृह्यते तद्वत् घटोपि रूपनिरपेक्षो गृह्येत । न च गृह्यते इत्यतो रूपव्यतिरिक्तो घटो नास्ति । यदा च नास्ति तदा कथमसम्बन्धमानस्तद्व[७]त्तथा गृह्येत । न ह्यविद्यमानो बन्ध्यातनयो गोमानिति व्यपदिश्यते । एवं रूपवान् घट इत्यपि न युज्यते । अन्यत्वा-सम्भवादेव च रूपघटयो राधाराधेयकल्पनाया अपि नास्ति सिद्धिरिति “न विद्यते घटे रूपं न रूपे विद्यते घटः ।” रूपघटयोरन्यत्वे सति घटे रूपं इति स्यात् कुण्ड इव दधि, रूपेऽपि घट इति स्यात् कट इव देवदत्तो, न चैतत् सम्भवतीति नास्ति [७] घटः स्वभावतः । यस्य च नास्ति स्वभावः, उपलभ्यते च तदलातचक्रादिवत् स्वभावशून्यं । अपि च यथा आत्मा स्कन्धा न भवति कर्तुरात्मनः कर्मणश्चोपादान-स्यैकत्वप्रसङ्गात् स्कन्धबन्धोदयव्ययभाक्त्वप्रसङ्गात्, आत्मबद्धत्वप्रसङ्गाच्च । एवं घटोपि रूपं न भवति । उपादानोपादानोरेकत्वप्रसङ्गात् । + + + + + घटबद्धत्वप्रसङ्गात् । यथा च आत्मा स्कन्धेभ्योऽन्यो न भवति पृथग्ग्रहणप्रसङ्गात् निर्हेतु[८]कत्वप्रसङ्गाच्च । एवं घटोपि रूपव्यतिरिक्तो न भवति पृथग्ग्रहण-प्रसङ्गात् निर्हेतुक[त्व]प्रसङ्गाच्च । यथा चात्मा स्कन्धेभ्यस्तत्त्वान्यत्वकल्पनाभावात् स्कन्धवान् आत्मेति न व्यपदिश्यते । तद्वदेव रूपघटयोस्तत्त्वान्यत्वकल्पनाभावात् रूपवान् घट इति न व्यपदिश्यते । यथा च स्कन्धेभ्यो + + + + + स्कन्धेष्वात्मा इति द्विधापि न युज्यते, एवं घटे रूपं रूपे घट इत्यपि कल्प[९]नाद्वयं नोपपद्यते । यथा च रूपापेक्षया घटे कल्पनाचतुष्टयं न सम्भवत्येवं सर्व्व-प्रजप्रकारणापेक्षं चतुष्टयं न सम्भवतीति नास्ति स्वरूपतो घटः । यथा च घटः स्वभावतो नास्ति तथा सर्व्वभावा अपि स्वभावतो मृग्यमाणाः न सन्तीति सिद्धा भवत्यलातचक्रादिप्रख्यता भवस्य । अत्राङ्गरेके यद्यपि रूपघटयोः + + + + + [घटयोरन्यत्वमस्ति यस्मादन्य एव घटोऽस्माकमन्यथैव

च सत्ता । सत्ता हि नाम महासामा[१]न्यं घटश्च विशेषो द्रव्यं सत्तायोगात् सदिति व्यपदिश्यत इति तान् प्रत्युच्यते ।

वैलक्षण्यं द्वयोर्दृष्ट्वा भावादन्वो घटो यदि ।

घटादन्वो न भावोपि किमेवं न भविष्यति ॥ 303.

घटादिद्रव्याणामनुप्रवृत्तिलक्षणत्वात् सामान्यो भावः । व्यावृत्तिलक्षणत्वाच्च घटो विशेषलक्षणः इति । यदि तयो वैलक्षण्यं भावघटयोर्दृष्ट्वा भावादन्वो घटो भवति । एवमेव वैलक्षणात् घटादपि किमर्थं भावोऽन्वो न भवि[२]ष्यति । ततश्चान्यबुद्धिध्वनिप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तमन्यत्वमपरमनुप्रवृत्तिलक्षणं न कल्पयितव्यम् । वैलक्षणादेव अन्यबुद्धिध्वनिप्रवृत्तिसिद्धेः कल्प्यते चापरमन्यत्वं इति नास्ति । तर्हि भावघटयोर्वैलक्षणापेक्ष-
मन्यत्वम् ततश्च यदुक्तं ।

वैलक्षण्यं द्वयोर्दृष्ट्वा भावादन्वो घट इति

तन्न यथा च भावोऽनुप्रवृत्तिलक्षणत्वाद्घटादन्य एवमन्यत्वमप्यनुप्रवृत्तिलक्षणत्वात् घटा[४]दन्यत् स्यात् । न च तस्यान्यत्वस्यापरमन्यत्वं अन्यबुद्धिध्वनिप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तमस्ति । यदि स्यादन्यत्वानामपर्थवसानदोष स्यात् । अथ विनैवान्यत्वेन अन्यबुद्धिरन्यत्वे भवति तद्वदेवान्यत्रापि सम्भाव्यतामित्यलमन्यत्वेनाकिञ्चित्करेण-
परिकल्पितेन । असति चाऽन्यत्वे नास्ति कुतश्चित् कस्यचित् अन्यत्वमिति सिद्धम् । अपि चेदं चिन्त्यते किम्भूतायाः सत्ताया अन्यत्वेन योगो[५]ऽस्तु । किमन्यभूताया अनन्यभूताया वा । यद्यन्यभूतायास्तदा व्यर्था-
ऽन्यत्वेन योगः । अथानन्यभूताया एवमपि विरुद्धेन अन्यत्वेन योगात् अन्यत्वेन योगो न प्राप्नोति । अन्यत्वाभावाच्च घटादन्वो भाव इति न युज्यते । ततश्च लोके विपर्यासं प्रमाणीकृत्य घटस्वरूपमेव बहुबुद्धि-
ध्वनिप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तत्वात् भाव इति व्यवस्थाप्यते । तस्य च [६] रूपाच्चतुर्धाविचार्यमाणस्य नास्ति स्वभाव इति तत्त्वविदपेक्षयालातचक्रादिवत् स्वभावशून्यो घट इति सिद्धम् । अत्राह । विद्यत एव घटो गुणाश्रयत्वात् न ह्यसत् गुणाश्रयो दृष्टः । भवति च गुणाश्रयो घटः एको घटो द्वौ घटाविति । एकत्वाद्यो गुणपदार्थसंगृहीता घटाश्च द्रव्यम् । द्रव्याश्रयित्वञ्च गुणानां सम्भवतीति [७] अतो गुणाश्रयत्वा-
दस्यैव घट इति । अत्रोच्यते । तन्मतेन ॥

एको यदि घटो नेष्टो घटोप्येको न जायते ।

पदार्थभेदात् यदि एको घटो न भवतीति मन्यसे घटोपि तर्ह्येको न भवति यथैकत्वं एकसंख्या घटो न भवति एवं द्रव्यत्वेनैकसंख्यायाः पृथग्भूतत्वात् घटोप्येको न भवति । द्वित्वादिति भावः । अपि च अस्य घटस्य एकरूपस्य च एकसंख्यापरिकल्पे वा[८]नेकरूपस्य वा ? यद्येकरूपस्य तदा व्यर्थैकत्व-
कल्पना । अथानेकरूपस्य तदापि विरुद्धत्वादयुक्तैव । तस्माल्लोके घटस्वरूपस्यैव असन्निहितार्थान्तरस्य एककल्पना विज्ञेया । अथ द्रव्याश्रयिणो गुणा इति कृत्वा एकत्वयोगात् घट एवैको भवति न त्वेकत्वं व्यर्थं भवति । अत्रोच्यते ॥

न चायं समयोर्यागः तेनाप्येको न जायते ॥ 304.

योगो नाम समयोरेव भवति, [२८] ^१न विषमयो स्तत्रैकगुणो दृष्टो घटश्च द्रव्यं द्रव्यगुणयोश्च समता यस्मान्न भवति तस्मात् तयोर्योग एव न भवति योगाभावात् तत्र यदिष्टमेकत्वयोगात् घट एवैको भवतीति तन्न । यदि चात्र योगो दृष्टः तदा एकेनापि घटस्य योगः स्यात् घटेनाप्येकस्य । स च नैवं भवतीति योग एवानयोर्नापपद्यते । योगाभावाच्च नैवैको घटो भवतीति न घटोप्येक इति । तदत्र पूर्वार्द्धेन कारिकाया यो[१]गमभ्युपेत्य दूषणमुक्तं, उत्तरार्द्धेन तु योगाम्भवे दूषणमुक्तं । अपिशब्दश्च दूषणकारणसमुच्चयार्थो द्रष्टव्यः । अपि चेदमयुक्ततरं परममये दृश्यते यत् द्रव्याश्रयिणो गुणा व्यवस्थाप्यन्ते न गुणाश्रयिणो विशेषगुणाः । युज्यते च गुणानामपि गुणाश्रयित्वम् । इह यत्परिमाणो घटस्तदाश्रयेणापि रूपेण तावतैव भवितव्यम् । ततश्च द्रव्यद्रूपस्यापि महत्त्वं प्राप्नो[२]तीति ।

यावद्द्रव्यं यदा रूपं तदा रूपं महत्त्वं किम् ।

यदा यावद्द्रव्यं यावान् द्रव्यस्थायामविस्तारात्मकः सन्निवेशः तावत् रूपं रूपस्यापि तावानेवायामविस्तारात्मकः सन्निवेशः इति परेणाभ्युपगम्यते । तदा नियतमणुमहति द्रव्ये रूपेणापि तत्राणुमहता भवितव्यम् । तत् किं न खल्वत्र कारणम् यत् द्रव्यरूपस्य अणुमहत्त्वे नेष्येते । अथ स्यात् रू[४]पं गुणोऽणुत्वं महत्वमपि च गुण एव न च गुणे गुणस्य सन्निवेशो भवतीति समय एषोऽस्माकम् । ततश्च यद्यपि यावद्द्रव्यं रूपमपि तावदेव, तथापि सिद्धान्तविरोधभयात् रूपस्याणुत्वमहत्त्वे न स्त इति । उच्यते ॥

समयो जायते वाच्यः प्रतिवाद्यपरो यदि ॥ 305

यदि हि तव स्वयूथ एव प्रतिवादी स्यात् तन्नित्यर्थं युक्तं तव सिद्धान्ताभिधानम् तस्य तदाधि[५]तुमसामर्थ्यात् । यदा तु प्रतिवादी परस्त्वं प्रति सिद्धान्तविरोधोद्भावनमकिञ्चित्करम् सिद्धान्तनिराकरणप्रवृत्तत्वात्तस्य । युक्तिलोकविरोधोद्भावनन्तु तं प्रति ज्यायः, तद्वारेण तस्य निवारयितुं शक्यत्वात् । तस्मादपरिहार एवायं यदिद्मागमविरोधोद्भावनमिति स एवाविचलो दोषः । इति नास्ति भावघटयोरन्यत्वम् । तदत्र, [६] सत्तान्यत्वप्रतिषेधेन अन्येषामपि घटत्वादीनां सामान्यविशेषाणां प्रतिषेधो विज्ञेयः । संख्यावत् सामान्यगुणानां महत्ववद्विशेषाणामिति । अत्राह । उक्तो भावस्य घटादिभ्योऽन्यत्वप्रतिषेधः घटस्य तु स्वभावाप्रतिषेधादस्यैव स्वरूपतो घटाख्यो भाव इति । अत्रोच्यते—

लक्षणेनापि लक्ष्यस्य यत्र सि[७]द्धिर्न विद्यते ।

संख्यादिव्यतिरेकेण तत्र भावो न विद्यते ॥ 306.

इह घटमत्वयोर्व्यावृत्त्यनुवृत्तिलक्षणं ब्रुवता घटस्य व्यावृत्तिलक्षणं व्यवस्थापितं परेण । तदमुना लक्षणेनापि लक्ष्यस्य नास्ति सिद्धिः । नहि व्यावृत्तिमात्रेण शक्यं वस्तुस्वरूपं निर्द्धारयितुं यन्नक्ष्यतया सेत्स्यति । एकत्वावत् गुणत्वाद्घटो न भवति । अणुर्महदिति रूपादयश्च गुणत्वादेव घटा[८]ख्यान भवन्ति । सत्तापि द्रव्यगुणकर्मसु सामान्यात् घटो न भवति । तदयं संख्याणुमहद्रूपादिभ्यो व्यावृत्तमान इत्यंस्वभाव इति न शक्यं व्यवस्थापयितुं । तदेवं । यत्र परवादिपक्षे लक्षणेनापि लक्ष्यस्य घटस्वरूपस्य नास्ति सिद्धिः तत्र पक्षे संख्यादिव्यतिरेकेण सिद्धस्वरूपेण घटाख्यो भावो न विद्यते । ततश्च स्वभावशून्यो घट इति सिद्धम् । [३० क]

अथवा संख्यारूपादयो घटस्य लक्षणम् । तैर्लक्ष्यमाणत्वात् घटो लक्ष्यस्तस्य लक्षणेनापि पृथक् स्वरूपसिद्धिरशक्या कर्तुम् । संख्यादिव्यतिरेकेण तत्स्वरूपस्यानुपलभ्यमानत्वात् यदि हि तन्नक्ष्यं स्वरूपं लभते तदा नियतं संख्यादिव्यतिरेकेण गृह्येत इदं तत् संख्याव्यतिरिक्तं घटस्वरूपमिदम् । पुनरस्य संख्यादिकं लक्षणमिति न चैतदेवमित्यतः ।

लक्षणेनापि लक्ष्यस्य यत्र सिद्धिर्न विद्यते ।

संख्यादिव्यतिरेकेण तत्र भावो न विद्यते ॥

इ[२]ति नास्ति स्वभावतो घटः । उक्तस्तावन्नक्ष्यलक्षणयोरन्यत्वप्रतिषेधः । येषां तु रूपादिभिर्घटस्यैक्यमिति सिद्धान्तः, तत्रप्रतिषेधायेदमुच्यते ॥

घटस्य न भवत्येक्यमपृथक्त्वाद्धि लक्षणैः ।

एकैकस्मिन् घटाभावे बद्धत्वं नोपपद्यते ॥ 307.

रूपादीनि खलु नानालक्षणानि । येषां तैः पृथक्कं घटस्येष्ट तेषां रूपादिभिर्लक्षणैरपृथक्कं घटस्यैक्यं नोपपद्यते बद्धभिरनन्यत्वात् । स्यात्तत्र मतं यदि घटस्यैक्यं न भवति [३] हन्त बद्धत्वं प्राप्नोति । अत्रोच्यते । यस्माद्रूपादिष्वेकैकस्मिन् घटस्याभावो दृष्टस्तस्माद्बद्धत्वमपि नास्तीति । अत्राह । यदि रूपादिभिर्लक्षणैरपृथक्त्वात् घटस्यैक्यं नास्ति, तेषां परस्परसंयोगाद्घटस्यैक्यं भविष्यतीति । अत्रोच्यते ।

न ह्यस्पर्शवतो नाम योगः स्पर्शवता सह ।

रूपादीनामतो योगः सर्वथापि न युज्यते ॥ 308.

तत्र सृष्टिः स्पर्शः कायेन्द्रियग्राह्यता स्पर्शा[४]स्यास्तीति स्पर्शवत् । स्पृष्टव्यमेव कायेन्द्रियग्राह्यत्वात् स्पर्शवत् । तेन स्पर्शवता स्पृष्टव्येन रूपगन्धरसानामस्पर्शवता योगः संयोगः संस्पर्शा न सम्भवति । यथा घटस्याकाशेन । यत एतत् एवं रूपादीनामतो योगः सर्वप्रकारं न सम्भवति । यदा च न सम्भवति तदान्योन्यसंस्पर्शकृताद्रूपादीनां विशेषात् समुदायनिबन्धनो घट इति यदुक्तं तन्न युक्तम् । अथ विना[५] प्यन्योन्यसंस्पर्शेन तत्समुदाय एव घट इति स्यात्, एतदपि नास्ति । यस्मात् ॥

घटस्यावयवो रूपं तेन तावन्न तद्घटः ।

यस्मादवयवो नास्ति तेन नावयवोपि तत् ॥ 309.

रूपादिसमुदायरूपस्य घटस्य प्रत्येकं रूपादयोऽवयवभूतत्वात् घटव्यपदेशभाजो न भवन्ति । घटोऽवयवो, अवयवाश्च रूपादयः इति रूपन्तावत् अवयवत्वात् घटो न प्राप्नोति । यथा च रूपं एवं [६] गन्धादयो वाचाः । ननु च रूपस्यावयवत्वादास्ति तर्ह्यसावयवो नाम कश्चित् । न ह्यवयविनिरपेक्षा अवयवा युज्यन्त इति । उच्यते इह रूपादीनां प्रत्येकं घटत्वाभावे कुतः कश्चिदवयवो । न हि रूपादिव्यतिरेकेण अवयवो नाम परिच्छेत्तुं पार्यते । न चापरिच्छिद्यमानस्वरूपस्य सत्त्वमास्यातुं शक्यमित्यमत्रवयवो । यस्माच्चावयवो नास्ति तस्मात् रूपं अवयवत्वेनापि न सम्भाव्यत इ[७]ति न स्त एवावयवावयविनौ । इतश्च रूपादिसमुदायो न घटः । यस्मात्,

सर्वेषामपि रूपाणां रूपत्वमविलक्षणम् ।

एकस्य घटमद्भावो नान्येषां किञ्च कारणम् ॥ 810

सर्वेषामपि रूपाणामिति रूपस्कन्धमंगटहैतत्वात् रूपगन्धादयो रूपाणौत्युच्यन्ते । तानि रूपाणि घट इव पटादिष्वपि सन्ति । न च तानि घटादिभेदेऽपि स्वलक्षणं व्यभिचरन्ति, सर्वत्रैव तुल्यलक्षणत्वात् । [८] तत्र यथैकस्य रूपस्य घटत्वेनावस्थानं तथान्यस्यापि घटादिसम्बन्धिनो रूपस्य कस्मात् घटत्वेनावस्थानं नेष्यते । युज्यते तु तस्यापि घटत्वेनावस्थानम् लक्षणाभेदात् घटावस्थितरूपादिवत् । एवं त्वनभ्युपगमे कारणमेव न सम्भवति । ततश्च सर्वेषामेव घटत्वं प्राप्नोति । यदा घटस्यापि घटत्वं न प्राप्नोति । यथा च घटादीनामभेदप्रसङ्गः । एवं रूपगन्धादीनामप्यभेदः प्राप्नोति ए[९]कस्मात् घटादनन्यत्वात् । अथ मन्यसे यद्यपि घटादन्यत्वमेषां रूपस्य रसादिभ्यो भेदोस्ति, तस्मादभेदप्रसङ्गाभावः इति । एतदप्ययुक्तमिति प्रतिपादयन्नाह ।

रूपमन्यद्रसादिभ्यो न घटादिति ते मतम् ।

स्वयं यस्तैर्विना नास्ति सोऽनन्यो रूपतः कथम् ॥ 811.

यदि भिन्नेन्द्रियग्राह्यत्वाद्रसादिभ्यो रूपमन्यद्व्यवस्थाप्यते । घटादपि तद्रूपमन्यत् इति किं न व्यवस्थाप्यते । रूपादन्येभ्यो रसादिभ्यस्तस्य व्यतिरि[३०]क्तत्वात् रसादिस्वात्मवत् रूपादन्य एव प्राप्नोति । न चान्यत्वमिष्यत इति अयुक्तमेतत् । यदा चैवं रूपादीनां घटकारणत्वं न सम्भवति तदा नियतं

घटस्य कारणं नास्ति ॥

न च कारणरहितस्य स्वत एव निर्हेतुकं कार्यत्वं सम्भवतीति ।

स्वयं कार्यं न जायते ॥

यत एव चास्य निर्हेतुकं कार्यत्वं न सम्भवति ।

रूपादिभ्यः पृथक् कश्चित् घटस्तस्मान्न विद्यते ॥ 812.

रूपादिव्यतिरेकेण कार्यभूतस्य घटस्यानुपलभ्यमानत्वात् नास्ति रूपादिव्यतिरिक्तो [२] घट इति सिद्धं । अथ मन्यसे नैव हि रूपाद्युपादानो घटः किं तर्हि स्वावयवानि कपालानि कारणान्यपेक्ष्य घटस्य कार्यत्वं कपालानां च कारणत्वमिति, एतदप्ययुक्तमित्युद्भावयन्नाह

घटः कारणतः सिद्धः सिद्धं कारणमन्यतः ।

सिद्धिर्यस्य स्वतो नास्ति तदन्यत् जनयेत् कथम् ॥ 813.

यदि घटकारणानि कपालानि प्रतीत्य घटः सिध्यति, तानीदानीं कपालानि किमपेक्ष्य सिध्यन्ति । न हि तावत् तानि स्वभावसिद्धा[३]नि, निर्हेतुक[त्व]प्रसङ्गात् । अथ तेषामप्यन्यत् कारणमिष्यते, न तर्हि कपालानां स्वरूपसिद्धिरस्ति, तेषामपि कारणान्तरशर्करिकापेक्षत्वात् । येषां च कपालानां स्वतः सिद्धिर्न भवति कथं तान्यन्यत् स्वरूपतः साधयिष्यन्ति इत्यतोऽप्यसन् घटः । यतश्चायं घटप्रतिषेधको विधिरेष एव सर्वकार्याणामसिद्धौ योज्यः । अत्राह । समुदितानां रूपादीनां घटाभिधा ४ नात न रूपादिवज्जत्वेऽपि घटवज्जत्वप्रसङ्ग इति । तदप्ययुक्तं, समूहस्यैव असत्वात् तथा हि ॥

समवायेऽपि रूपस्य गन्धत्वं नोपपद्यते ।

समूहस्यैकता तेन घटस्येव न युज्यते ॥ 314.

समुदिता अपि रूपादयो न समुदायावस्थाः स्वं स्वं लक्षणं विजहति, ततश्च समुदायावस्थायां रूपस्य स्वरूपापरित्यागात् गन्धत्वं न सम्भवति । एवं अनेकाग्रयस्य समूहस्यैकत्वं न सम्भाव्यते । [५] स हि समुदायो रूपादिभ्यो न व्यतिरिक्तस्ते च रूपादयः परस्परतो भिद्यन्ते, रूपादिभ्यश्चाव्यतिरिक्तसमुदायः कथमेकः स्यात् । दृष्टान्तमाह घटस्येवेति, यथा

घटस्य न भवत्यैक्यमपृथक्त्वात् विलक्षणैरित्याद्युक्तं ।

तवेहापि

समूहस्यास्ति नैकत्वमपृथक्त्वादिलक्षणेः ।

इत्येवम्—

समूहस्यैकता तेन घटस्येव न युज्यते ।

ततश्च समूहस्यासम्भवात् रूपादिसमूहेऽपि घटकल्पना न युक्ता यथोपवर्णितेन च विचारेण ।

रूपादिव्यतिरेके[६]ण यथा कुम्भो न विद्यते ।

वाय्वादिव्यतिरेकेन तथा रूपं न विद्यते ॥ 315.

रूपादिव्यतिरेकेण यथा कुम्भो न सिद्धः एवं कुम्भप्रज्ञप्तिपादाना अपि रूपादयो वाय्वादिमहाभूत-चतुष्टयव्यतिरेकेण न युज्यन्ते निर्हेतुकत्वप्रसङ्गात् । यथा च वाय्वादिव्यतिरेकेण रूपगन्धादेरसम्भवः । एवं महाभूतानां अन्योऽन्यव्यतिरेकेण सिद्धभावात् रूपादिसिद्धभावमु[७]द्भावयन्नाह ॥

अग्निरेव भवत्युष्णमनुष्णं दह्यते कथम् ।

नास्ति तेनेन्धनं नाम तदृतेऽग्निर्न विद्यते ॥ 316.

इह अग्निर्दग्धा भूतत्रयं दाह्यं, तदेतदिन्धनाख्यं भूतत्रयं अग्निरेव दहति नान्यः । इन्धनमेव च दह्यते नान्यत् । तत्रेन्धनं यदि अग्निरुष्णं दहति तदा अग्निरेव तदुष्णं भवति, नेन्धनम् । अनुष्णस्यापि दाहासम्भवात्, अनुष्णमपि नेन्धनम् । तदेवं सर्वथापि दाह्यस्यासम्भवान्नास्ति तेनेन्धनं नाम यद्भूतत्रयात्मकं स्या[८]त् । यदा चैवमग्नियतिरेकेणेन्धनं नापरं सम्भवति तदा इन्धनाभावे निर्हेतुकोऽप्यग्निर्न सम्भवतीति तदृतेऽग्निर्न विद्यते । अत्राह । अनुष्णात्मकमेवेन्धनं काठिन्यादिरूपत्वात् । तच्चोष्णस्वभावेनाग्निनाभिभवादुष्णं भवति । उष्णं च सदह्यत इति । एवं अपि कल्प्यमाने इन्धनाख्यो अर्थः ॥

अभिभूतोऽपि यद्युष्णः सोऽप्यग्निः किं न जायते ॥ 317.

यद्यग्निनाभिभूतः इन्धनाख्योऽर्थोऽनुष्णस्वभावोऽप्युष्णो भवतीति कल्प्यते । [९] सोऽप्यग्निरुष्ण-रूपत्वात् । ततश्च स एवेन्धनाभावः ॥

अथानुष्णपरोऽप्यग्नौ भावोऽस्तीति न युज्यते ॥

अथाभिभूतोऽप्यसावर्थाऽनुष्ण एवेत्येते । स तर्ह्यग्नेः परोऽपि भावः इन्धनाख्यं भूतत्रयमुष्णविरुद्धत्वात् अनुष्णस्वभावं अग्नावस्तीति न युज्यते । ततश्च भूतत्रयरहितमग्निमात्रमेव स्यात् । न चैषां महाभूतानामन्योन्यं

विनाभावः । यदि स्यात्, सिद्धान्तविरोधश्च स्यात् अग्नौ चापरस्य पदार्थस्यैवनाख्यस्या[३१]भावात् निर्हेतुकत्वज्ञानेः स्यादित्युक्तमेतत् । अथ मन्यसे तेजोद्रव्यपरमाणौ भूतत्रयस्याभावात् विनापीन्धनेनास्ति एवाग्निरिति । उच्यते ॥

इन्धनं यद्यणोर्नास्ति तेनास्यग्निरनिन्धनः ॥

ततश्च स एव निर्हेतुकदोषः. अतएव चाहेतुकदोषप्रसङ्गात् वैशेषिकाणामिव स्वयूथानामयुक्तो द्रव्यपरमाण्वभ्युपगमः । वैशेषिकपरमाणुवादश्च नवम एव प्रकारे निषिद्धत्वात् न पुनर्निषिध्यते यथा अग्नेरहेतुकत्वप्रसङ्गभौत्याणावि[२]न्धनस्वभावः परिकल्प्येत ॥

अणुरेकात्मको नास्ति स्यात्तस्यापीन्धनं यदि । 318.

यद्यणोरिन्धनमस्तीति कल्प्यते न तर्हि तेजोद्रव्यपरमाणुरेकरूपोऽस्ति इत्यभ्युपेयं । न च केवलं परमाणोरेवैकात्मकस्याभावः । अष्टानां द्रव्याणां सहोत्पादनियमादपि खलु तदन्वस्यापि पदार्थस्य ॥

तस्य तस्यैकता नास्ति यो योभावः परीक्ष्यते ।

यथा भूतानामेकात्मकत्वं नास्ति, तदितरस्मिन्नितरसद्भावात् ; एवं भौ[३]तिकमपि केवलं नास्ति भूतैर्विनाऽहेतुकत्वप्रसङ्गात् । एवं चित्तेन विना चैत्ता न सम्भवन्ति । नापि चैतैर्विना चित्तम् । तथा लक्षणे-र्जात्यादिभिर्विना लक्ष्यं रूपादिकं नास्ति, नापि लक्ष्येण विना निराश्रयं लक्षणं सम्भवति । यतश्चैवमेकस्य पदार्थस्य कस्यचित् सिद्धिर्नास्ति, तदा एककाणां समुदायाभावे सति अनेकसिद्धिरपि दूरोत्सारितैवेत्याह ॥

न सन्ति तेनानेकेऽपि येनैको[४]ऽपि न विद्यते । 319.

एकस्यापि सिद्धौ सत्यां समुदितानामपि नास्ति सिद्धिः । अथ स्यात् ? स्वयूथं प्रत्येव एतद्दूषण-मुपपद्यते । सहोत्पादनियमाभ्युपगमात् परं प्रति तु नेदं दूषणम् नित्यानां पृथिव्यादिपरमाणूनां तदितर-भावसद्भाववियुक्तानां अस्तित्वेनाभ्युपगमात् । इति तत्राप्ययुक्ततामुद्गावयन्नाह ॥

भावास्तयो न सन्त्यन्ये तत्रैकोस्तीति चेत् मतम् ॥

एतदप्यसम्यक् । [५] किं कारणम् ॥

त्रित्वं येनास्ति सर्वत्र तेनैकत्वं न विद्यते ॥ 320.

परस्यापि हि न कश्चित् एको नाम पदार्थोऽस्ति । यस्मात् तत्रापि पृथिवीपरमाणौ द्रव्यत्वमेकत्वं सत्त्वम् चेत्येतत् त्रितयमस्ति । तथा गुणे गुणत्वं सत्त्वमेकत्वञ्चेति यस्मात् त्रितयमस्ति तस्मात् न कश्चित् एको नाम पदार्थोऽस्ति । तथा माह्वस्य त्रिगुणात्मकं सर्वमित्येकः कश्चित् पदार्थो ना[६]स्तीति न कश्चिदकं दूषणं इति वर्तते । अपि चायं दूषणमार्गः सर्वेषामेव वादिनां पक्षनिराकरणाय विदूषा प्रयोक्तव्य इति शिष्ययन्नाचार्य्य आह ॥

सदमत् सदमच्चेति सदमन्नेति च क्रमः ।

एष प्रयोज्यो विद्वद्भिरेकत्वादिषु नित्यगः ॥ 321.

एकत्वं अन्यत्वं उभयं नोभयं इत्येकत्वादयः । एतेष्वेकत्वादिषु पक्षेषु वादिना व्यवस्थितेषु स[७]द-सत्त्वाद्युपलक्षितो दूषणक्रमः स्वधिया यथाक्रममवतार्यः । तत्र सत्कार्यवादिनः कार्यकारणयोरेकत्वमिति

पक्षः । तस्य हि कारणात्मना तत्कार्यं व्यवस्थितमेव सत्कार्यात्मना विपरिणमते । न ह्यसत् शक्यं कर्तुं ।
यदि ह्यसन्नोत्पद्येत तदा सर्वतः सर्वसम्भवः स्यान्न च सर्वतः सर्वसम्भवो दृष्टः चौरादेरेव प्रतिनियत-
दध्यादिदर्शनात् । तदस्य वादिनः कार्यकारणयोरेक[त्वा]भ्युपगमात् सदेव कार्यमुत्पद्यत इत्येवमेकत्वपक्षः ।
तस्मिन्नेकत्वपक्षे सत्कार्यवादपरामर्शेन नित्यं दूषणमभिधेयम् । तच्चोक्तम् ॥

स्तम्भादीनामलङ्कारो गृहस्यार्थं निरर्थकः ।

सत्कार्यमेव यस्येष्टमित्यनेन । तथा

सम्भवः क्रियते यस्य प्राक्सोऽस्तीति न युज्यते ॥

मतो यदि भवेज्जन्म जातस्यापि भवेद्भवः ।

धर्मा यद्यत्कृतोऽप्यस्ति नियमो जायते वृथा ॥

अथ,— [३१]

सम्भवः^१ ।

जायमानो न तस्यास्ति स्यात्तस्याप्यन्तरं यतः ॥ 848.

यस्य वादिनोऽन्तरेण विना मध्यं विना अतीतानागतस्य द्वयस्य नास्ति सम्भवः । + + + + +
जायमानो नास्ति । कथं कृत्वा “स्यात् तस्याप्यन्तरं यतः” यथा जायमानस्यातीतानागतान्तर्वर्त्तित्वं ।
एवं तस्यापि जायमानस्य जाताजातरूपस्य मध्येन भवितव्यम् । यदपेक्ष्य जाताजातव्यवस्थानं स्यात् तच्चैत-
दशक्यम् । जाताजातयोरन्तरा तृतीयं जायमानं नाम व्यवस्थापयि[२]तुं सर्वत्रैव जाताजातयोरन्तरा
जायमानकल्पनानवस्थाप्रसङ्गात् । अत्राह । नैवाद्भूजातो जायमानो यतो यथोपवर्णितदोषप्रसङ्गः स्यात् ।
किन्तर्हि यस्य निरोधे जातः पदार्थो भवति स जात(तः) प्रागवस्थारूपोर्था जायमान इत्युच्यते इति तदेव
प्रतिपादयन्नाह ।

जायमाननिरोधेन जात उत्पद्यते यतः ।

ततोऽन्यस्यापि सङ्गावो जायमानस्य दृश्यते ॥ 844.

यस्माज्जायमाननिरो[३]धेन जातः पदार्थो भवति । तस्माद्भूजातव्यतिरेकेणापि अस्यैव जाय-
मानः पदार्थ इति । अत्रोच्यते ।

जातो यदा तदा नास्ति जायमानस्य सम्भवः ।

यदा तावदयं पदार्थो जात इत्युच्यते तदा जायमानं नास्ति । जायमानासम्भवाच्च जात इत्येवं
नास्ति । अतो जातेन जायमानोऽनुमौयेत । अथ जातोऽपि जायमानः स्यात् । तस्य तद्दुत्पादासम्भवो
जा[४]तत्वादिति प्रतिपादयन्नाह ।

जात उत्पद्यते कस्मात् जायमानो यदा तदा । 845.

यदा जात एवार्थो जायमान इत्युच्यते । तदा स जायमानोऽर्थः कस्मादुत्पद्यते इति परिकल्प्यते ।
सिद्धत्वाद्वात्पादपरिकल्पोऽस्य न युक्त इत्यभिप्रायः । ततश्च जायमानो जायत इति न युज्यते, अत्राह ।
जन्माभिमुखत्वाद्जातोऽपि जायमानो जात इत्युच्यते । ततश्च जात एव जाय[५]मानो न चास्योत्पाद-
वैयर्थ्यमिति । एवमपि यदि ॥

अजातो जात इत्येवं जायमानः कुतः किल ।

यद्यजात एव जायमानः पदार्थो जन्माभिमुख्यात् परेण जात इति कल्पितः । जाताजातयोः

भेदाभावात् घटाभावः तदा किं न विकल्प्यते ॥ 846.

जातावस्य एव हि पदार्थो घट इत्यभिधीयते । जाताजातयोश्चैक्यात् प्रागभावेन जातोऽपि घटो
प्रभा[६]व एवेति स्यात् न चैतत् सम्भवतीत्ययुक्तमेतत् । अथापि स्यात् । नैव जायमानाजातयोर्भेदाभावः ।
उत्पत्तिक्रिययाविश्रमानो हि पदार्थो जायमान इत्युच्यते । स च ॥

अनिष्पन्नोपजातान्तु जायमानो बहिष्कृतः । 347.

यद्यप्यनागतात् अनिष्पन्नरूपोऽपि पदार्था जायमानो बहिर्व्यवस्थापितः ।

तथापि जायते जातो यतो जाताद्बहिष्कृतः ॥

य[७]था अजाताज्जायमानो बहिष्कृतः क्रियावेशात् एवं जातादपि बहिष्कृत एवानिष्पन्नरूपत्वात् ततश्चाजात एव जायत इत्यापन्नमिति नास्ति जायमानं नाम । न च केवलं जाताद्बहिर्भूतत्वाद्जात एव जायते । इतश्चाजात एव जायते । यस्मात् परस्य ॥

नासीत् प्राग्जायमानोऽपि पश्चाच्च किल विद्यते । 348.

तेनापि जायतेऽजातः आमीच्छब्दश्चिरानुक्रान्ताभिधायी नामीनाभूदि[८]त्यर्थः । योऽसाविदानीं जायमानत्वेन व्यपदिश्यते स नासीत् प्राक्शब्दस्त्ववधिवचनः । वर्तमानावस्थायाः प्रागतीते काले स जायमानोऽर्थाऽविद्यमानोऽपि पश्चात् किल जायमानो भवति । अतोऽप्यजात एव जायमानो भवति जनिक्रियावेशकाले । ततश्चाजातत्वेनाभूतत्वं न चाभूतस्यालब्धात्मभावस्य निराश्रया जनिक्रिया प्रवर्तितुमुत्सहते । इत्याह ॥

नाभूतो नाम जायत इति ॥ [३३क]

अपि च ॥

जायतेऽस्तीति निष्पन्नो नास्तीत्युक्तं उच्यते ।

अस्तीत्यनेन निष्पन्न उच्यते, निष्पन्न एव हि पदार्थाऽस्तीति । जायतेऽस्तीति भवतीत्यर्थः । नास्तीत्यनेनाप्युक्तोऽनिष्पन्न उच्यते । तदेतदवस्थाद्वयं विरह्यम् ।

जायमानो यदा भावस्तदा को नाम स कृतः । 349.

इत्यमयं पदार्था भवतीति जायमानावस्थो भावो यदा न शक्यते व्यपदेष्टुं तदासावनिर्द्धार्यमाणस्वरूपत्वादसन्नेवेति युक्तमवसातुम् । तदेवं यथोपवर्णितेनवि[२]चारेण जायमानस्यासम्भवात् ।

कारणव्यतिरेकेण यदा कार्यं न विद्यते ।

प्रवृत्तिश्च निवृत्तिश्च तदा नैवोपपद्यते ॥ 350.

यदा कारणात् पृथग्भूतं कार्यं विचार्यमाणं न सम्भवति । तदा निराश्रया प्रवृत्तिः कार्यस्योत्पादो निवृत्तिश्च कारणस्य विनाशश्च न विद्यते । तदेवं परीक्ष्यमाणा भावा स्वभावसिद्धा न भवन्तीति हेवं मायोपमता गत्वावशिष्यते भावानाम् । तदेनां बाललापिनीं मायां व्यामूढजनसम्मो[३]हनीं अमूढजनविस्मयकरौ अवेत्य विधूयेदंसत्याभिनिवेशसमुत्थां पदार्थदृष्ट्यां सकलजगदनुग्रहाय महाकरुणावोधिचित्ताद्वयज्ञानत्रयं अनुत्तरज्ञानोदयवीजभूतमभिमुखीकृत्य यथावदवसितसंसारस्वभावः क्लेशदुःखाग्निज्वालाबलीदृभुवनत्रयागारमध्यगतमन्त्राणं जगदीक्षमाणः पिण्डीकृताग्रेषजगद्भुवनसम्पत्तैः क्षणे क्षणेऽन्यथा वान्यथा वा [४] संसारमपि कायचेतसोरूपनिपतद्भिरप्यकातरौ युगपत्पिण्डीकृताग्रेषजगद्दुःखोपनिपातेरासंसारं समु-

त्साहितैकैकवीर्यक्षणः सकलस्य जगतः सर्वाकारज्ञताज्ञानरत्नधननिचयोदयकारणं विदुषो भवोत्पत्तिरित्य-
वेत्य सर्वाकारज्ञताज्ञानोदयेन सकलस्य जगतः संविभागं चिकीर्षता पुनरपि युक्तं भवमुपात्तमिति ।

बोधिसत्त्व [५] योगाचारे चतुःशतके संस्कृतार्थप्रतिषेधो नाम पञ्चदशं प्रकरणम् ।

समनुक्रान्तैः पञ्चदशभिः प्रकरणैः शास्त्रकाव्ये परिममापय्य शास्त्रारम्भप्रयोजनं कृत्वान्यशेषपरिहारं
चोपदर्शयन् षोडशं प्रकरणमारभते ।

केन चिद्धेतुना शून्यमशून्यमिव दृश्यते ।

तस्य प्रकरणैः सर्वैः प्रतिषेधो विधीयते ॥ 351.

नानवधार्थं यथा [६] र्थां शून्यतां कश्चिच्छक्तः संसारे मङ्गमवधूय निर्वर्णसृष्ट्यामुत्पादयितुम् ? स च
शून्यतार्थां जगतामतीवोत्रामकरत्वादप्रियावेदननिपुणपुरुषेण राज्ञः प्रियभार्यामरणक्रमावेदनमौमनस्योत्पा-
दनवत् कथापि युक्त्या विदुषावतार्यः । अहङ्कारममकारस्नेहविपर्यस्तो हि लोकोऽनित्य एव वस्तुनि क्षणभङ्ग-
दर्शनात् संस्कारमात्रप्रवाहस्य स [७] म्यगर्थानवसायात् शून्यतादर्शनविवन्धभूतां नित्यतामवधार्थं प्रत्यवतिष्ठ-
मानो जगत् अशून्यमेव प्रतिपन्नः । तदस्याशून्यताप्रतिषेधाय प्रथमप्रकरणप्रारम्भ इत्यादि योज्यम् ।
स्वभावविरहितार्थश्चात्र शून्यतार्थ इत्यसकृदावेदितम् । तदेवं केनचिद्धेतुना स्वभावरहितमपि वस्त्वेवाशून्यं
येषां ख्याति तेषां तस्यामद्वाहहेतोः सर्वैः पञ्चदशभिरपि प्रकरणैः प्रतिषेधो विधीयते । यद्येवमर्थमे [८] षां
प्रकरणानामारम्भो नन्वतएवाशून्यत्वं सिद्धं भावानाम् । तथाह्येषां प्रकरणानां वक्ता तावत् भवानस्ति
प्रकरण + + + + हेतुव्यावर्त्तको हेतुरस्ति । वचनञ्चेदं प्रतिविशिष्टार्थकतावधिध्वनिममुदायरूपं
पञ्चदशप्रकरणात्मकमस्तीति वक्तृवाच्यवचनानां सङ्गवात् सिद्धमशून्यत्वं भावानामिति व्यर्थ एव भवतः सर्व-
प्रकरणप्रारम्भपरिश्रमायाम इति प्रतिपादयन्नाह ।

यदा वक्तास्ति वाच्यञ्च न शून्य- 352. [३३]

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(LATIN TEXT).



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Illustrations.

Facsimile of the title-page to face p. 532.

Facsimile of fol. 138*a*. to face p. 672.

Facsimile of the Map facing fol. 4*b*. to be placed at the end.

Errata.

At p. 523, l. 1 from top, read 140*b* for 104*b*.

At p. 531, l. 18 from top: The building with a gable roof near Bibi Mariam's *kothī* is not the only one of its kind at Fatehpur Sikri.

INTRODUCTION.

In 1909, the Rev. Father A. Van de Mergel, S.J., submitted for my inspection an old MS. volume, the title of which ran thus:—

ANTONIÍ, MONSERRATI, SACERDOTIS, E, SOCIETATE, JESV:

Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius.

“A commentary of the Embassy to the Mongol, by Anthony Monserrate, Priest of the Society of Jesus;” in other words, Monserrate’s account of the first Jesuit Mission to Emperor Akbar, under Blessed Rudolf Aquaviva (1580-1583).¹

In 1907, I pointed to the existence of an anonymous account referring to this subject, and fathered it on Monserrate;² but, of all places, I little expected that what turns out to be the original of a much more valuable document than I had anticipated would have been discovered in Calcutta.

With its faded red cloth over the cardboard covers, its grey leather round corners and back, the binding looks quite modern. On the back near the top, appears in gold: MONSERRATI | SACERDOTISE | covering a similar inscription older in date and now scarcely traceable.

“Monserrati Sacerdotise.”—It is not the binder who was responsible for this Latin, but the Librarian, as the brackets in blue pencil on the title-page testify to this day.

Below: XVI L 27, in black, on a strip of paper pasted to the back. These figures recur in blue pencil on the recto of the fly-leaf between the title and the cover, and I find them a third time stamped in printer’s ink almost right in the centre of the title-page. This is the press-mark of the Metcalfe Hall Collection or Calcutta Public Library, as appears from the Catalogue of that Library, Edn. 1898, p. 9.

In the centre of the title-page have been drawn with a pair of compasses sets of concentric rings: three sets of two, the outer one of three. Within the smallest circle: the monogram of the Society of Jesus, IHS, with three nails below. Between the second and third set of circles we read: *Jesus pars hæreditatis meæ, Ps. 15,*

¹ Monserrate was born at Vic de Ozona (Catalonia) in 1536. His father, who had known St. Ignatius of Loyola at the Universities of Spain, related such marvellous things about him that, from early childhood, young Anthony felt an attraction towards the Society of Jesus. Admitted in January 1558 at Barcelona, he professed the Humanities, and became Prefect of Studies at Lisbon. During the “great plague” of 1569, he devoted himself with uncommon zeal to the care of the sick, and, when the scourge had abated, he begged help for waifs and orphans, and founded the famous convent of St. Martha. In 1574, he embarked for India with the glorious band of 39 Missionaries headed by Fr. Alexander Valignani. Cf. C. SOMMERVOGEL, S.J., *Biblioth. de la C. de J.*; E. DE GUILHERMY, S.J., *Mémoires de la C. de J., Assistance d’Espagne*, vol. I. 384. A full account of his life is to be found in Fr. Anth. Franco’s S.J. *Imagem da Virtude em o Noviciado . . . de Lisboa, Coimbra, M.DCC.XVII*, pp. 278-301.

² Cf. my brochure: *Jesuit Missionaries in North India and inscriptions on their tombs at Agra (1588-1893)*. Calcutta, Catholic Orphan Press. 3 and 4, Portuguese Church Street, 1907, p. 7.

and again, between the third and fourth sets: *Funes ceciderunt mihi in præclaris*, Ps. 15.¹

Below this: *Ad P. Claudium Aquaviva totius Societatis Præpositum*.

In pencil, and in a different hand: *Sanaæ, 7 Idibus Januarii 1591*.² The year, first written in pencil, was traced again with ink. Close by, in the right margin, by Fr. Monserrate apparently, but in a different ink, a microscopic note: *Expeditio ad Chabul | 6 Id. Feb. | 1581 | 44b.* |³

In the right margin, at the top, near Fr. Monserrate's name in the title, a pencil mark: *Missionarius | cum P. Rodolfo | Aquaviva | A. S. H. 1582*.

I turn to the verso of the title-page and learn that the MS. was at one time in the Library of Fort William College (Calcutta),⁴ whence it must have passed into the Metcalfe Hall Collection, and thence into the Imperial Library; for, at the bottom of the page occurs a red quadrangular seal with the words: *Transferred from Imperial Library, 7 Apr. 1903*.

Transferred, and whither? To St. Paul's Cathedral Library (Anglican), Calcutta, where the Rev. W. K. Firminger discovered it in 1906.

Mr. W. Corfield suggested the following explanation for the curious blunder which brought the MS. into St. Paul's Cathedral Library. When the Metcalfe Hall Collection was, a few years back, merged into the Imperial Library and stock taken, the Librarian must have considered the work as "one of purely theological interest."

"It is with propriety," he added, "that the book has become the property of the Cathedral Library, for it passed from Lord Wellesley's Collection of Fort William to the Metcalfe Hall Collection, and was most probably given to the College by its Vice-Principal, the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, the man to whose strenuous and successful efforts was due the creation of the See of Calcutta in 1813."⁵

Whatever may have been Dr. Buchanan's connections with the See of Calcutta, the fact that he presented the book to Fort William College is, I am afraid, a mere assumption of Mr. W. Corfield's.

There can be little doubt that the MS. was originally a precious heirloom of the Jesuits in India. Considering the extreme rarity of the work and its importance for the history of the Society, it would have been guarded with jealous care. What then brought it to Calcutta? I shall try, further on, to answer this query as well as the present state of our knowledge allows.

For the present let me continue the description of the MS. and point out that on the recto of the title-leaf, just above the title, I read: "IP46" in printer's ink.

¹ Evidently an allusion to Monserrate's six and a half years' captivity in Arabia.

² "At Sanaa, on the 7th before the Ides of January, 1591."—Of course, it ought to be 7 *Idus*. Kābul in Afghanistan. "44b" refers to fol. 44 verso.

³ This college was founded by Marquis Wellesley on May 4th, 1800.

⁴ Cf. *Bengal Past and Present*, Calcutta, 1908, No. 2, p. 184. In his lecture on the Bengal District Records before the Indian Section of the Royal Society of Arts, January 18th, 1912, the Rev. W. K. Firminger gives 1906 as the date of his discovery. Cf. *The Englishman*, Calcutta, February 6th, 1912. The discovery was announced at the time in the Calcutta newspapers.

Another library mark this, which had been covered with a strip of white paper. To the left of "IP46" are three letters in pencil, almost faded: E. 93. This is a press-mark again, the explanation of which I have been able to ascertain with the help of Pandit Gobin Lal Banerjee of the Board of Examiners, Park Street. It occurs against No. 1017 of the printed *Catalogue of the books in the Library of the College of Fort William*. The catalogue bears no date, but a note added in the volume by Colonel G. S. A. Ranking, and referring to *Proc.* vol. xv., p. 393, tells us that it was prepared in 1818. The entry under No. 1017 (p. 73) is as follows: "*Monserrati Sacerdotis e Societate Jesu, Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius*: an octavo MS. in Latin, 1581. Written on the cover: Monserrat's Mogul Embassy. E. 93." This inscription on the cover is no more to be seen. The book must have been rebound since. From a MS. catalogue of the books transferred from Fort William College Library to the Calcutta Public Library Society on January 30th, 1836, we learn that Monserrate's MS. was one of them.¹

We can account, therefore, for all the library-marks, except IP46, and can trace the history of the MS. as far back as 1818. IP46 is the oldest mark of all. Did it not belong to one of the former houses of the Jesuits in Goa? It is scarcely possible to establish this in India. Most of the books of the Jesuit houses in Goa were shipped off to Lisbon, to the "Torre do Tombo," under Pombal,² and the late events in Portugal make it still more difficult to compare notes. We suggest, however, that if the catalogues of our Goa libraries have been kept, the Monserrate MS. will be found entered in them.

I come to a closer inspection of the volume.

On the verso of the title-page we have a list of Monserrate's authorities, which goes far to prove that he approached his subject with most of the geographical and historical lore of the ancients at his fingers' ends. The Bible, Commentaries of the Bible, the Jewish historian Josephus, St. Jerome, Trogus Pompeius, Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny, Apollodorus, Solinus, Lucanus the Poet, Diodorus of Sicily, Paul Jovius, Bishop of Nocera, Æneas Silvius (later Pope Pius II), St. Antoninus (Archbishop of Florence), the *Speculum Historiarum* of Vincentius, Anthonius Coccus Sabellicus, Raphael Volaterranus, and João de Barros had all been examined. Among his authorities of "inferior" rank, Monserrate mentions Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo and Peter Mexia, the latter of whom derived his knowledge of the wars of Timur "from

¹ These catalogues are in the Archives of the Board of Examiners, Park Street.

² Mr. J. A. Ismael Gracias, of Pangim (Goa), writes to me that the Bibliotheca Nacional of Goa contains only two or three insignificant and damaged books formerly belonging to the Jesuits of Goa. In 1776, he adds, one Mr. Diancour, of the Paris Academy, came to Goa and bought some of the MSS. formerly in the Jesuit Archives. —Sir J. Emerson Tennent in the introduction to his *Ceylon* (Vol. I, xxviii) writes: "Within the last few years, the Trustees of the British Museum purchased from the library of the late Lord Stuart de Rothesay the diplomatic correspondence and papers of Sebastião Jozé Carvalho e Mello (Portuguese Ambassador at London and Vienna, and subsequently known as the Marquis de Pombal) from 1738 to 1747, including sixty volumes relating to the history of the Portuguese possessions in India and Brazil during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Amongst the latter are forty volumes of despatches relating to India entitled *Collecção Authentica de todas as Leys, Regimentos, Alvarás e mais papeis que se expediram para a Índia, desde o estabelecimento destas conquistas. Ordenada por breveiro de 28 de Maio de 1754*. MSS. Brit. Mus., No. 20,861 to 20,900"

Baptista Ignatii, Fulgosus, Platina, Matthew Palmeyro, and Cambinus, the Florentine." As may be seen, it is no easy matter, in a place like Calcutta, to check the references to this host of writers. Several of the authors quoted are not to be found even in J. C. Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire* (Paris, 1863, 6 vols.).

Below this catalogue, Monserrate takes as his motto: "*In pondere, numero et mensura.*"

There is a preface to the work. Monserrate's preface will repay reading. At first it took no small amount of pains to decipher the three centuries old writing. The text, though written as a whole in a uniform hand, is full of deletions and additions made at a later period. These notes often run down the margins and have sometimes been badly mauled by the knife of the binder.

F. 1a. "Anthony Monserrate, of the Society of Jesus, to Father Claudius Aquaviva, General of the whole Society. Greeting.

"Such was the diligence of the ancients that they would note down most carefully the every-day occurrences of their travels. When Alexander the Macedonian undertook his expedition into Asia, he entrusted Eratosthenes with the care of this matter. Antiochus Nicator, son of Seleucus Nicator, commissioned Artemidorus to do the same. Julius Cæsar took this labour upon himself, when he wrote the *Commentaries* of his wars. The Kings of Persia, as we read in Esdras, were not less careful; for the "Chroniclers," who were said to record the "events," were ordered to omit nothing of what happened.' In later times, many who journeyed either by land or sea imitated this diligence, and by their devotion to the excellent studies of Geography, History and Nautical matters, they added not a little to the treasures of the Republic of Letters.

"For this and many other reasons, ever since the days of our Father Ignatius of happy memory, who was the first to prescribe it, it has become customary in the Society of Jesus to write down whatever occurs. Roderic Vincentius,² the Superior of the Province of the Society in India, what time we set out to go to Zelaldin Equebar, King of the Mongols, charged me to record whatever would happen both on the way and during our stay with the King. The nature of my calling and the rule of the Society imposing on me the obligation of obeying to the letter, I so conformed to his order that, every day, at night, for full two years and a half, I committed to writing the events of that day. In this daily labour of a chronicler, I have described
F. 1b the various particulars which my travels and circumstances brought under my notice. These are: rivers, towns, countries, the customs and manners of peoples, temples, religions, the leanings—simulated leanings, it is true,—which the King, when we had come to his court, manifested towards the religion of Christ, as also the kindness which, from mere self-interest, he affected towards Rodolf, to whom had been confided

¹ "*Nam, qui ab accidentibus appellabantur, et scribere accidentia dicebantur, regum imperio nihil quod accideret narrantibus quam litteris commendarent.*" There is a reference in the left margin to *Esdras* 3, 2. The reference is to III *Esdras* 2, vv. 17 and 25: "Rathimus ab accidentibus," and "Rathimus, qui scribebat accidentia." The Greek has: τὸ πρῶτον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.

² Ruy Vicente.

this weighty Mission, and towards his companions; again, Rodolf's zeal, consummate prudence and remarkable erudition, and our disputations with the Agarenes;¹ next, the Chabul war, which was marked by great tenacity of purpose and superior statesmanship on the part of Zelaldin, and ended successfully by the flight of Hachim; finally, the joyful ovations that signalized this triumph.

“When, after my return, some of the Fathers of our Society, men commendable for their age, prudence and literary accomplishments, heard me read my notes, rough and incomplete as they were, considering that they had been taken down on the tramp (*cursim*), they urged me warmly and in no common terms to write them out in full, in what manner and order I might judge best. And, as in other matters of greater moment, I had made it my practice to defer to their enlightened opinion and judgment, I scrupled to differ from them in what was ultimately to be submitted to your examination and would stand or fall on the strength of your opinion.

“It is now eight years since I put my hand to the task. The sixth year after I had started with it, Peter Martinus,² the Superior of the Indian Province, sent me to Ethiopia, and the time for taking ship being at hand, I was forced to desist from my literary pursuits. Nor did I find again favourable time or place to return to the work, save when, in the neighbourhood of Dofar,³ a town of Arabia (that is, Sabæa), close to Atramis⁴ (where frankincense is collected), I was captured by our enemies the Agarenes and sent on to Eynan, where King Ommar, an Agarene, granted that my books and my scanty and modest furniture should not only not be destroyed, but returned to me. He kept me in honourable confinement; for he gave me four months' leisure to correct my writings and add to them what was still wanting. By a singular favour of God, my captivity brought me no other bodily sufferings than the restraints of my prison. What consoled me was the society of Peter Paes, a priest,—which allowed me to make my confession—the reading of sacred books, and my breviary,⁵ wherewith I could pay to God night and day my tribute of prayer. But, when those four months were spent, I was once more compelled to lay down my literary weapons; for, I was told to leave for Sanaa, where lived the Turkish Viceroy, an Epirote by birth. The Turks commonly call him Arnaut,⁶ after the chief town of his country; ours call it Alessio[?].⁷ He affected to treat me with the same kindness, and ordered my books to be restored to me. Consequently, I returned to my writings, corrected and enlarged them, and freed them from erasures.

“Whether the work is written in a manner worthy of the Society and will afford any utility to the reader, I must leave to your judgment. For my part, unless self-

¹ “Agarenes,” *Agareni*, in Monserrate means “Muhammadans.” We find the word applied by him to the people of Arabia and Morocco. Fr. L. Delaunoy, S.J., offers the very likely suggestion that the word is not derived from Agra, Akbar's capital, but from Agar, the mother of Ismael.

² Peter Martins or Martinez.

³ Dhafar. Cf. *Āin-i-Akbarī*. (Jarrett's transl. III. 51.)

⁴ “*Juxta Atramitem.*” Hadramaut.

⁵ *Sacrorum epitome*. He had written first: *sacrorum breuiarium*.

⁶ Dr. J. Honigberger in his *Thirty-five Years in the East*, London, 1852 (2 vols. in 1), p. 1, speaks of “seven thousand Arnauts” or Albanian-Turkish soldiers.

⁷ “*Allanesium.*”

love blind and deceive me, I am of opinion that it will not prove useless to the students of Geography and Antiquity, especially to those of Ours, who apply themselves to the classics, when they come across historical matters concerning India.

“Whatever pertains to the Mission of our Priests, to their sojourn at the King’s Court, and the issue of the Chabul war, I wrote down truthfully, as it all happened and I saw with my own eyes. [As to the particulars concerning Cinguisan, Temurbeg, the Scythians and the Mongols, which I have, so to say, borrowed and inserted after my narrative, at the end of this first book, I learned them, in the first place, from King Zelaldin himself; then from a journal containing an account of the travels of a certain ambassador of Henry IV, King of Castille, to Temur;¹ finally, from many writers of no mean authority.

“I have divided the work into two books: this, the former one, is an account of the first Mission to the King of the Mongols; the latter contains, by way of appendix and scholium to the former, what appertains to the Geography and Natural History of India *intra Gangem*, the customs of the ancient aborigines and the present-day natives.]² In two other books, which I have added to the two former ones, I describe on the same plan, in the first, my departure for Ethiopia; in the second, the Geography and Natural History of Arabia.³

“In these writings—I say it without presumption—I have endeavoured, for the sake of the Professors of our schools, to correct, clear up and conciliate, as modestly and temperately as possible, not a few passages of the Geographers and Historians who deal with matters Indian or Arabian.

“Would to God that my labour redound to the glory of God’s name and to the advancement of knowledge, which we must not only ardently wish, but strive after with all our might. If, in your wisdom, you judge that this double object has been attained in my two-fold study, I believe that it will amply commend itself to you. Farewell.

“At Sanaa, the 7th before the Ides of January, in the year of the Lord one thousand five hundred and ninety-one.” [Jan. 7, 1591.]

Several passages in this preface call for comment.

It is plain, first, from the many deletions and accretions, which the author alone

¹ Allusion to the *Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timur*, of which C. Markham gave an English translation in 1859. Hakluyt Society, London.

² The passage in [] is a later improvement by Mouserrate on the following: “As to those particulars concerning Cinguisan, Temurbeg, the Scythians and the Mongols, which, for the sake of Zelaldin, I added by way of perargon at the end of the work, I learned them, in the first place, from King Zelaldin himself; then, from a diary of the travels of an ambassador of Henry IV, King of Castille, to Temur; finally, from Strabo, Q. Curtius, Pliny, Ptolemy, Diodorus, Justinus, Sabellicus, Antoninus of Florence, Pius II, and Paul Jovius of Nocerra, authors of no mean authority. I finished the work at Sanaa and added another work—[at first: “another small work, a kind of small appendix or scholium.” Then, after changing the word “*opusculum*”=“small work” to “*librum*,” Mouserrate erased: *a kind of small appendix or scholium*] in which I described what appertains to Natural History and to the customs of the ancient aborigines and indigenes, customs which agree with those of the present-day natives.”

The last words have been partly cut away by the binder. We reconstitute the sense, as best we can.

³ The reference to his two books on Ethiopia and Arabia was written at a later date, as appears lower down by his allusion to his “two-fold” study, where his two books on India are alone meant.

could have introduced into the text, that the Calcutta MS. is not a copy, but Monserrate's original MS., such as it came from his pen in his prison of Sanaa.

This, in brief, is the earlier history of the volume. After his return from Fatehpūr to Goa, at the end of August (?), 1582,¹ Monserrate prepared to go to Portugal and Rome in company with Abdul, Akbar's Ambassador,² the same who had come to Goa in 1579 and invited the Jesuits in Akbar's name to Fatehpūr. But, as only one ship was to set sail for Portugal that year, and it was deemed below the dignity of Akbar's representative to go to Lisbon without a suitable escort, Abdul and Monserrate were requested to wait till the next year. Monserrate lost no time in sending to Europe a report of his late experiences at Fatehpūr and of his journey to Kābul. Prince Frederic von Schleswig-Holstein (Graf von Noer) wrote in 1880:

“An excellent report (anonymous) dated from Goa, Nov. 26, 1582, is in my hands. It describes the state of things at Akbar's Court, and is a copy from the Spanish Archives obtained by the good offices of Don Pascual de Guayangos.”³

Count von Noer's copy may be still in existence; but, that of the Spanish Archives seems to have met with a different fate. “When I was at Madrid,” writes Clements Markham, “Don Pascual de Guayangos gave me a copy of a very interesting Spanish Manuscript by an anonymous missionary (probably Aquaviva) who describes the personal appearance and habits of Akbar. It was left at the Asiatic Society, before Mr. Vaux's time, and was mislaid. Don Pascual has also mislaid the original, so that the loss is irremediable.”⁴

From the quotations made by Count von Noer regarding the Gujarāt and Kābul campaigns I concluded in 1907 that the “excellent anonymous report” was the work of Monserrate.⁵ On better grounds now than then am I justified in concluding the same.

Through the kindness of a confrère in Europe, I received in 1910 a photographic facsimile of the “anonymous report” from Goa, November 26, 1582. It is in Portuguese, covers pp. 7¼ foolscap, and was sent ‘*2a via*,’ *i.e.*, it was a duplicate. How many copies were made of it at Goa, or how many in Europe, we do not know. The copy before me is not in Monserrate's own hand, though evidently it is one of his lucubrations. Excellent as it is, it is a very inferior document compared with the Calcutta MS. At best, it is a rapid character-sketch of Akbar, an abstract of Monserrate's diary.⁶ Between September (?) and November 26, 1582, Monserrate had little time, and, besides, what he could not write then, he expected to be able to relate by word of mouth the next year in Portugal. The next year all was changed. In February 1583, Blessed Rudolf Aquaviva left Akbar's Court. There was no hope

¹ Monserrate had arrived at Surat, on his way back to Goa, on August 4th, 1582. Cf. fol. 103b. 3.

² Cf. MS. fol. 104b. 1.

³ Cf. COUNT VON NOER, *The Emperor Akbar*, translated and in part revised by Annette S. Beveridge, Calcutta, Thacker, 1890, vol. I, pp. 331-2.—von Noer's *Kaiser Akbar* had appeared in 1880.

⁴ Cf. *Akbar, An Eastern Romance*, by Dr. P. A. S. Van Limburg-Brouwer. Translated from the Dutch by M. M. with notes and an introductory life of Akbar by Cl. R. Markham, London, Allen, 1879, p. xxxi.

⁵ Cf. VON NOER, *Kaiser Akbar* (1880), Vol. II, pp. 11-12; 77-78; 81-82; 97-98. Cf. also *Jesuit Missionist—Emperor Akbar*, by E. D. MACLAGAN, C.S., from notes recorded by the late GENERAL MACLAGAN, R.E., *Journ. Ind. Soc.* 1896, p. 47.

⁶ I have published it in *J.A.S.B.*, 1912, pp. 185-221.

of Akbar's conversion. The first Jesuit Mission to Akbar's Court had come to an end, and the projected embassy was allowed to lapse.

During the next six years (1582-88), Fr. Monserrate was employed in or near Goa, and, as he tells us, he utilized his leisure hours in drawing up a methodical relation of his stay in North India. Then came the order to proceed to Ethiopia. Captured at Dhufar in Arabia, in December 1588, or January 1589, he was sent on to "Eynan" (Ainad), to "King" Omar.

If we combine, at this place, the information contained in the preface with the notes at the end of the book, we gather that he spent the four months of his captivity at Eynan in correcting and adding to his notes. "I finished this commentary," he writes, "at Eynan in Arabia, on the day of St. Anthony of Padua in the month of June of the year 1590."¹ During the subsequent march on Sanaa, he was robbed of his MSS. by the Turks, but the Turkish Viceroy had them restored to him. "My copy (*exemplar*) was taken by the Turks; but I received it back at Sanaa, on the day of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, in the month of October of the same year."² Again, he tells us that he finished making a fair copy of the original on December 11th, 1590. "*Finem describendi et ab exemplaris litturis vindicandi feci Senaa in Arabia, ferijs D. Damasi PP. mensis Decembris anni 1590.*"³ Finally, the preface is dated from Sanaa, January 7th, 1591, and insists on the fact that the work was free from erasures.

In fact, the Calcutta MS., which appears to have been written with a quill, is in a uniform hand from fol. 1 to fol. 140 verso. The suppressions, corrections, and additions were made at a later date, as is plain from the different kinds of ink employed and the nature of some changes introduced into the text or marginally.

Some additions were made after his return from captivity in Arabia. Monserrate was six years and a half a captive in Arabia. Ransomed thence with Father P. Paez, he returned to Goa (December 1596). An old man now, he was posted to Salsette to recover his health "*tanquam in asyllum quietis causa,*" and died there on March 5th, 1600. Evidently, the note introduced into the preface about his account of the journey to Ethiopia and about his MS. on the Geography and Natural History of Arabia could have been written only at the end of his captivity in Arabia, when a long sojourn had made him thoroughly familiar with the country. Judging from the writing, I conclude that that note was not penned till after Monserrate's return to Goa. At fol. 105*a.*, there is an allusion to the third Jesuit Mission to Akbar's Court, under Fr. Jerome Xavier. This Mission had left Goa only on December 3rd, 1594, and Monserrate could hardly have heard of it before his return to Goa. Besides, at fol. 138*a.* 3 we have an allusion to the death of 'Abdullah Khān, king of Samarqand and Bukhārā, who died on Febr. 12, 1597.⁴

We can recognize at least six stages in the composition of the MS.: the 1st, the

¹ June 13th, 1590. Cf. fol. 140*b.*

² October 21st, 1590. Cf. *ibid.*

³ "I finished this copy, and freed it from the erasures of the original, at Sanaa in Arabia, on the day of St. Damasus, in the month of December 1590." (December 11th).

⁴ Cf. KEENE-BEALE'S *Orient Biogr. Dict.*, s.v. 'Abdullah Khān.

text from fol. 6*a* to fol. 104*b*; the 2nd, the preface, the list of geographical names, and the map; the 3rd, a few corrections, mostly marginal, written more boldly and in a blacker ink than the previous two writings; the 4th, the Index written at one stretch with a very sharp quill. The remarks added at the third stage have been embodied in the Index. The 5th, corrections and additions written with a bad spluttering pen; the ink is oxidized and has left in many places a metallic lustre of gold and silver; most of the remarks in Portuguese belong to this period. The 6th, the greatest number of the additions and corrections; these are written in a very small hand, and the ink is oxidized. I judge that the 5th and 6th periods are posterior to Monserrate's return to India. The 6th certainly is. While editing the text, I have not drawn attention to these different stages, except in one or two cases, where it helped to understand the meaning.

There are 140 folios, numbered on the recto only and 14 folios (unnumbered) of Index. References to the foll. are marked, e.g.: 6*a*. 4, 6*b*. 3, where 6 means the leaf, *a* and *b* the recto and verso, 4 and 3 the subdivisions of the text on each page. There are on an average twenty-five lines to a page. Leaf 5*a* and 5*b* are missing; but there is a separate leaf containing a map and marked 5 on recto, blank on verso. At verso of fol. 14 of the Index, we find the oval library seal of Fort William College Library having an Urdu, Hindi and Bengali inscription. The Hindi inscription runs: किताब कालिज फोर्ट वलियम [Book of the Fort William College]. Size between covers (0^m. 21 × 0^m. 15).

We may notice further that the MS. was divided into fascicles of 32 pages, each fascicle bearing a different letter of the alphabet, thus: B (fol. 27*a*), C (fol. 33*a*), D (fol. 49*a*), E (fol. 65*a*), F (fol. 81*a*), G (fol. 97*a*), H (fol. 113*a*), I (fol. 129*a*).

There are also traces of an attempt at dividing the work into four books. Monserrate gave up the idea, however, and cancelled these divisions. At fol. 39*a*. 4, opposite *Hæc regis benevolentia*, he wrote Lib. 2; at fol. 105*a*. 3, opposite *Fuit vero Rodolfus*, Lib. [3?]; at fol. 106*b*. 4, opposite *Jamvero ad Zelaldinum*, Lib. 3; finally, at fol. 140*a*. 4, Lib. 4, cancelled with the note: *Ac cum Zelaldini genus, &c.*

The Calcutta MS, as is evident from the preface and an inspection of the contents, constitutes only a small portion of Monserrate's writings.

Monserrate tells us in his preface that to the volume now before us—let us call it Bk. I—was added a “short appendix” with geographical, historical and ethnological observations. Later, he altered the word *opusculum* to *liber*. I can account in some way for this correction and the fact that the “short appendix” grew to the size of a “volume.” A large proportion of the pages of Bk. I. has been cancelled or bracketed by Monserrate. The information in them is mostly of a geographical and antiquarian character. The conclusion is this: Monserrate must have considered that his description of cities, tombs and ruined temples, his excursions into the history of the past, and his considerations on Indian manners and customs broke too often the thread of his narrative of the Mission. He wanted to do away with these *hors-d'œuvre*, as he considered them, and worked them out with other materials in Bk. II, his “appendix.” Unfortunately, Bk. II remains to be discovered. Sometimes, Mon-

monserrate warns us in a marginal note that he has changed his mind as to the extent of the passages to be transferred elsewhere. *Isto se ha de escrever*, "this is to be written," he notes, meaning: "This must remain as part of this first Book, my history of the Moghul Mission." The note of warning implies, also, I believe, that, as the MS. of Bk. I had, after so many changes, taken again the form of a rough copy, he intended to write it out again, in the abridged form he contemplated. Did he ever do so? I note that at fol. 97*a*. he writes "tudo esta trelladdo," which would mean: "all is transcribed." But are there in existence copies of this abridged form? Probably not. If we have to trust our bibliographers, neither Bk. I, the Calcutta MS., nor Bk. II is known in Europe. Fr. C. Sommervogel, S.J., (cf. the last edition of *Biblioth. de la C. de J.*) and Monserrate's biographers knew nothing of them.

The Calcutta MS. is, therefore, all the more valuable. For, supposing Bk. II to have been lost, much of its contents is still preserved in our MS., and whatever Monserrate may have thought of his *hors-d'œuvre*, the descriptions of towns and ruins interspersed in the narrative are of paramount interest to the historian and antiquarian, and detract little, if at all, from the continuity of the story.

Concerning Monserrate's other writings, it would seem that no copies of his account of a journey to Ethiopia and his captivity in Arabia [Bk. III], nor of his Geography and Natural History of Arabia [Bk. IV] have yet been discovered. Fr. C. Beccari, S.J., who is now editing, at the expense of the Italian Government, some sixteen volumes of old Jesuit records regarding Ethiopia, is not aware of them. He mentions only two letters of his: one dated Sanaa, 22nd July 1593, and indicating to the General in Rome how it would be possible to free him and his companion from captivity; the other, a short letter in Portuguese, dated from Goa, December 7th, 1596, and addressed to the General of the Society, in which he announces his liberation from captivity.¹ There is another letter on the same subject by Fr. Peter Paez, S.J., dated Goa, December 17th, 1596.²

If Monserrate's Bks. III and IV be lost, we have, at least, as a compensation for the loss of Bk. III, Fr. P. Paez' *Storia d' Etiopia*, of which Bk. III (chh. 15-22) gives a long account of Paez' and Monserrate's captivity. Fr. Emmanuel d'Almeida touches on the same subject in his *Historia de Ethiopia a alta* . . . Bk. V, chh. 1-7.³

¹ I have a photographic facsimile of this letter. It covers little more than a page. The signature and address are clearly in Monserrate's handwriting. He signs "Monserrate," not "Monserrat."—See in *J. A. S. B.*, 1896, p. 76, what happened at Akbar's Court at Lahore, when a letter of Monserrate's about his captivity was read before the Emperor by Fr. Jerome Xavier.

² These letters have appeared in Fr. C. Beccari's *Rerum Æthiopicarum Scriptores*, Vol. X, Romae, C. de Luigi, 1910, Nos. 126, 139.

³ Cf. C. BECCARI, S.J. *Notizia e Saggi di opere e documenti inediti riguardante la storia di Etiopia durante i secoli XVI, XVII, e XVIII* . . . Roma, 1903, p. 11, and s.v. Monserrate. I have no means of discovering to what work the following extract from Monserrate's Menology alludes: "Travelling with Fr. Peter Paez from Mascat to Zeila, in order to penetrate into Ethiopia, Monserrate was cast by a violent tempest upon the coast of Dabar, laden with chains and fetters across the sands through the desert of Hadramaut as far as the town of Ainad, where the King of that country reigned. He found still the account of the captivity of these two apostolic men, first at the court of the petty King of Zeila, next at the court of the Turkish Pasha of Yemen, who claimed them as slaves of the Grand Signior and ordered them to be brought to the prisons of Sana, finally on the hulks of Mocha, where they were chained to the oars with the other slaves . . ." Cf. E. DE GUILHERMY, S.J., *Mémoires de la C. de J., Assist. d'Espagne*, Vol. I. p. 384. The

To return to Monserrate's *Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius*, what do we know of the earlier vicissitudes of the volume? I am sorry to say that I can ascertain very little with certainty. So much is sure, that none of our bibliographers was acquainted with the work, and that none of the biographers of Bl. Rudolf Aquaviva utilized it. It is not mentioned, for instance, in the long list of Bartoli's authorities at the beginning of his *Missione al Gran Mogor*, and though I have addressed myself to three of the best authorities on Jesuit bibliography in Europe, H. Hafner (Holland), C. Beccari (Rome), and the Editor of the *Monumenta Historica S.J.* (Madrid), no information has been elicited.

In 1907, I wrote that a report of the Provincial of Goa, dated November, 1590, contained a reference to Monserrate's MS.¹ The passage is as follows: "Father Anthony Monserrate states that when the Emperor took him on an expedition [to Kābul] which he at one time made, he had with him five thousand elephants, exclusive of those used for baggage, and that in the whole Empire there are 50,000 elephants stationed for warlike purposes at various centres."² The latter part of this statement about the 50,000 elephants does not occur in the Calcutta MS., and it is evident that the Provincial did not quote from the Calcutta MS., since in 1590 Monserrate was still at work on it in Arabia. Nor is the passage found in the abstract made by Monserrate in 1582, to which I alluded above.³

Even Father Francis de Sousa, S.J., who wrote his *Oriente Conquistado* at Goa from materials "da nossa secretaria de Goa," does not seem to have been acquainted with Monserrate's *Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius*. It is true, de Sousa acknowledges openly his indebtedness to Monserrate's MSS. in his *Oriente Conquistado*,⁴ and most of the incidents related by him concerning the journey of the three first Jesuits to Fatehpūr are, indeed, to be found in our MS., but there are so many details not traceable in it that I must conclude he was in possession of letters written by Monserrate and his companions from the various stages of their journey to Fatehpūr. de Sousa may have had Monserrate's Bk. II. As for his remarks on the Tibetans,⁵ they do not seem to be taken either from Bk. I. or from Monserrate's report of November 26th, 1582, alluded to above. If de Sousa had had Bk. I, the MS. before us, the wonder is that he should not have made greater use of it. We do not detect any *ad litteram* quotations. None the less, we have reasons enough to assert that Monserrate had brought back his MSS. from Arabia, and we may well suppose that

reference must be to one of the following of de Guillhermy's authorities: JUVENCIUS, *Hist. Soc.*, part 5a. lib. 22, n. 13, 15, pp. 701, 703; FRANCO, *Ann. glorios.*, 5a Mart., p. 136; TELLEZ, *Chronica S. J. na Provincia de Portugal*, t. 2, l. 3 c. 40 and 43; IDEM, *Historia geral da Ethiopia*, pp. 209—229; DU JARRIC, *Hist. des choses . . . memorables . . . advenues . . . es Indes . . .*, liv. 1, ch. 20, p. 322; liv. 2, ch. 9, p. 615; ch. 11, p. 630; D'OULTEMAN, *Tableaux des bestes mages signaléz . . .*, p. 259.

¹ Cf. my *Jesuit Missionaries in North India* . . . , *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

² Cf. C. D. MACLAGAN, *Jesuit Mission to Emperor Akbar*, in *J. As. Soc. Beng.* 1890, p. 93.

³ In the Calcutta MS we find at fol. 48a. 3, that about 500 fighting elephants and camels accompanied the Kābul expedition; at fol. 51b. 2 we read that Akbar kept at his own expense 5,000 elephants, 15,000 horse and a very large number of foot-soldiers. In time of war, his vassals were required to bring in their quota.

⁴ Cf. *Oriente Conquistado*, Lisboa, MDCCX, Vol. II, C. I, D. II, §§ 43—48, 53—64. Father F. Gobker S. J. made use of this work in his *The First Christian Mission to the Great Moghul*, Dublin, Gill, 1897.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, C. I, D. II, § 63.

after his death, in the College of Salsette near Goa, they had found their way to the Jesuit Archives of Goa.

I come to the allusions to Monserrate's writings in Colonel Wilford's geographical and historical studies contributed to the *Asiatick Researches* of Calcutta. "The original MSS. of Monserrate's travels is in my possession," he writes.¹ (*As. Res.*, XI, 1807, p. 230, n. 1.) And again, in a paper published in 1851, but written in reality 40 years earlier, we read, after a Latin quotation from Monserrate: "The original MS. is in my possession." (*Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1851, p. 247). Strange that, on the ground of his hazardous theories,² Wilford should, in this matter too, have been disbelieved.³ Wilford was, no doubt, very bold, but throughout his writings there is a ring of honesty which cannot be mistaken. To the quotations adduced by the Hon'ble E. D. Maclagan: *As. Res.* (1807) IX, 57, 212, 230, I can add the following: *Ibid.* (1799) VI, 496, 497; (1805) VIII, 324, 328; IX (1810), p. 73; (1822) XIV, 454; *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* (1851), 242, 247, 248, 266, 269, 271, 473, 481. In all these passages Monserrate's "MS." is openly acknowledged, and what is interesting, though very galling, is that Wilford's quotations do not refer to the Calcutta MS. at all, but to Monserrate's Bk. II now lost. This is clear from many passages, *e.g.*, from what he quotes concerning the thirteen basso-relievo figures upon a rock-temple at Gwalior, which Monserrate said looked like the figures of Our Lord and his twelve Apostles. (*As. Res.* IX, 212). That passage is, indeed, found in the Calcutta MS. It is one of the many bracketed ones which Monserrate intended (?) to transfer to Bk. II; but, whereas it occurs on the verso of fol. 17 of the Calcutta MS., Wilford—the only time that he refers to the pagination of the MS. in his possession—quotes p. 164. Again, the texts quoted in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* (1851), pp. 247, 266, and the note taken from a map by Monserrate (*ibid.*, p. 271) are not to be found in the Calcutta MS. I conclude then that Wilford had in his possession the original of Monserrate's Bk. II.⁴ A

¹ MSS. is here used as a singular by Wilford.—"The original MSS. of Monserrate's travels" would seem to refer to the Calcutta MS. rather than to Monserrate's Bk. II; but, the text quoted does not occur in the Calcutta MS.

² In 1851 some of the members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal requested to have Wilford's *Comparative Essay on the Ancient Geography of India* published "in the hope that the conjectures and even fallacies of such a man as Col. Wilford would not prove uninteresting." Cf. *J. A. S. B.*, 1851, p. 227.

³ Cf. E. D. MACLAGAN, *Op. cit.*, *J. A. S. B.*, 1896, pp. 49-50.

⁴ Wilford died at Benares. Over his tomb in the Old Civil Cemetery we read: "Sacred to the memory of Francis Wilford, Lieutenant-Colonel in the Engineer Service of the East India Company, aged 71 years, deceased on the 4th September 1822. Encouraged by the liberality of the Government of British India, he fixed his residence at Benares in the year 1788, devoted his life to retirement and study, eminently qualified by previous education, extensive erudition, a true intellect and indefatigable zeal. He made himself master of the classical language and literature of the Hindus, and applied his knowledge to the eradication of the dark periods of antiquity, with a success that perpetuates his own reputation and the honour of the British name in the East. In the social relations of life his merits were proportioned to his talents, and the abilities of the scholar were reflected by the virtues of the man."—We have searched in vain for Bk. II in the Board of Examiners' Library, the Imperial Library, and the As. Soc. Library of Calcutta. I hoped I had traced one of Col. Wilford's descendants in Capt. A. Wilford, 5th Light Infantry, Nowgong (Central India), but he tells me on the authority of some biographical work, the reference to which was unfortunately mislaid, that Francis Wilford was a native of Hanover, who came to India in 1781, as an officer with the foreign troops sent by the British Government. E. A. H. Blunt thinks he was a Swiss. Cf. his *List of Inscriptions on Christian Tombs . . . Allahabad*, 1811, p. 104, where some interesting facts on Wilford's career have been put together.—We have collected in App. B the texts of Monserrate quoted by Wilford.

clenching argument in this direction is Wilford's note in *As. Researches*, XIV (1822), p. 454, where he quotes Monserrate in connection with *Cuccurri Divá*, a place in Arakan. At foot he adds: "In an autograph MS. of the author, in my possession. The *Padre* wrote about the year 1590, in the prisons of Senna in Arabia." Now, no mention of this place occurs in the Calcutta MS., either in the text or in the map. Besides, our MS. is clearly dated (cf. end of preface), whereas Wilford's was not, it would seem.

It is not impossible that Wilford's MS. should still come to light. Judging from the extracts made by Wilford, we may say that the importance of such a discovery cannot be overrated.

How did Wilford obtain *his* MS.? He does not tell us. One of the suggestions that might be made is that Bk. II, and perhaps also the Calcutta MS., had found its way from Goa to the Jesuit College of Agra, and that Wilford obtained his volume from Father J. Tieffentaller, S.J. In the eighteenth century, the Jesuits in North India played a conspicuous part as scholars and scientists. We have all too soon forgotten the honourable position they occupied at the Court of the Moghul Emperors, what they did at the Court of Jay Singh II of Jaypur, as astronomers,¹ or again, what valuable services were rendered by them to Indian Geography, in particular by Fr. J. Tieffentaller.² If Monserrate's MSS. on India were not already at Agra, where they would have been more useful generally than at Goa, Tieffentaller might have procured them from Goa. He would naturally have been looked up to by his confrères as the man best fitted to utilize those materials. Then came the suppression of the Society in the Portuguese dominions in 1759. Fathers J. Tieffentaller and Francis Xavier Wendel were soon the only quondam Jesuits left in North India. Neither of them could now obtain from their brethren in Europe the assistance they would formerly have received for the publication of their valuable writings. Both addressed themselves to strangers and freely bestowed on them the fruits of their labours and those of their predecessors. Tieffentaller sent his learned geographical and historical disquisitions to Anquetil du Perron and Dr. Krutzenstein of Copenhagen.³ Father Wendel presented Colonel Popham with a map and a MS. memoir on the land of the Rajputs and other Provinces to the S.-W. of Agra, both drawn up "in 1779 by P. Wendle."⁴ If they were so liberal towards strangers with their own MSS., they may be supposed to have been not less generous with those of others. Wilford received from Fr. Wendel an account of the travels of Czernicheff, a Russian, from Bokhara to Kashmir in 1780. In the same way he obtained from Fr. Tieffentaller extracts from Otter's works which the Father had procured from Europe (cf. *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1851, p. 240). He saw Fr. Tieffentaller at Lucknow in 1784, one

¹ The Rev. Fr. S. Noti, S.J., St. Xavier's College, Bombay, has published a monograph on this subject: *Landes- und volk des königl. Astronomen Dschaising II, Maharadscha von Dschaiapur*. Berlin, D. Reimer, 1911, 8vo, pp. vii + 104, 28 illustr. in text, 8 photograv., 2 coloured maps. Mks. 8.

² Cf. REV. S. NOTI, S.J., *Joseph Tieffentaller, a forgotten Geographer of India*, Bombay, 1906.

³ What became of the papers sent to Copenhagen? For the list of them, Cf. C. SOMMERVOGEL, S.J., *Annales de la Société de Géographie*, Paris, 1847, Vol. I, p. 107.

⁴ Cf. JAMES RENNELL, *Description histor. et géogr. de l'Indostan*, Paris, Poignée, 1800. Vol. I, pp. XXI-XXII, 198, 199; Vol. II, p. 242.

year before "the good old man's death." (Cf. *As. Res.*, 1807, IX, p. 212). It is very tempting to suggest that somehow or other Wilford obtained Monserrate's MS.—Bk. II—from the old man at Lucknow. Tieffentaller having died without natural heirs, Wilford might have considered himself justified in keeping what no one would be able to turn to better use than himself. On the other hand, what tells strongly against this assumption is that no allusion to Monserrate's MSS. is to be found in Tieffentaller's *Beschreibung von Hindustan*, and yet both Bk. I and Bk. II would have been most useful for his geographical disquisitions. Several other theories suggest themselves: that the MSS. escaped the seizure of the Jesuit papers at Goa in 1760; or again, that they formed part of the booty seized by the Muḥammadans in the College of Agra before 1735. Fr. Emmanuel de Figueiredo, S.J., wrote in 1735 from "Mogor" that the "first and original" documents of the Agra Mission Archives had disappeared in such a raid.¹

Whatever explanation be true, there remains a mystery to clear up in connection with the Calcutta MS. At some date already distant, it was diligently studied by an Englishman, a geographer, a scholar, a man with all the tastes of a Wilford, and yet I cannot determine by whom.

I alluded in the beginning to certain pencil-marks on the title-page. Similar pencil-marks, which I take to have come from one and the same hand, occur in the margins here and there. In certain striking passages, every line has been scored under. "N.B." the anonymous annotator writes repeatedly. In the case of two double entries in the Index, he strikes out one. The geographical and antiquarian portions in particular caught his eye.

From fol. 2*b* to fol. 4*b* we have in the MS. a double column of names of towns, rivers, mountains and countries passed through by Monserrate in the course of his travels. The longitudes and latitudes are all given, and a quite scientific map drawn to scale—the earliest known for portions of India so far north as Lahore and Kābul, and a marvel of accuracy for the time—appears on the recto of the extra leaf marked 5.

Who but an Englishman and one interested in geography wrote *Right* near "Tanissar," (Long.) 116° 50', (Lat.) 29° 43'; *Right* near "Sultanpur," 114° 20', 30° 25'; *Right, I think,* near "Calanur," 115° 41', 31° 39'? For "Panchangari" 116° 2', 31° 30', he corrects the minutes of latitude to 40'; for "Mancot" he corrects (Long.) 117° 30' to 116° 30'; in the case of "Ruytas" [Rotas], he puts Lat. 33° 10' for 33° 15'.

He was a scholar, too. In the margin of fol. 6*a*.,—the writing seems still the same—he notices in Latin that fol. 5 is missing and suggests that the loss should be made good by an examination of the Index—a search which yields good results—or by a reference to A. Botelho's *De Christiana apud Mogorem religione*.

He had a knowledge of Persian or Urdu, at all events; for he transliterates *Zelaldin* and *Akbar* into Persian characters (fol. 6*a*).

He calculates the age, the dimensions and the position (115° ½, 33° ½) of an obelisk, attributed to Rāmachandra, near Ruytas [Rotas], which Monserrate places in Long. 114° 1' and Lat. 33° 23' and describes at fol. 66*a*. 3. He notes with

¹ Cf. FATHER STOCKLEIN'S *Weltbott.* No. 595.

equal care a second obelisk also attributed to Rāmchandra and situated, according to Monserrate, in the small plain where Akbar encamped after descending the Western slope of the Khaiber Pass. (Long. $110^{\circ} 43'$; Lat. $34^{\circ} 20'$. *Monserrate*.)

Finally, from a note on fol. 82*b*., it is evident—for the writing seems always the same—that our anonymous annotator had consulted Monserrate's Bk. II. The note is in Portuguese: "*Vide Achegas pera o 2^{do} Livro. Fo. 30b,*" i.e. "See Additions for Bk. II, fol. 30*b*."

Is Wilford the author of the pencil-marks? A comparison with his handwriting would readily settle the question; but, where are specimens to be obtained? On the other hand, how is it that no allusion to the obelisks is to be found anywhere in Wilford's writings, or that he did not utilize the tables of longitudes and latitudes? Is it likely, too, that Wilford would have presented the MS., and that without Bk. II to Fort William College before 1818, four years at least before his death?¹

How did the mysterious annotator—we shall call him X.—know anything of Father Anthony Botelho's *De Christiana apud Mogorem religione*? It is worth copying his note as it stands. Of Akbar's embassy to Goa in 1579, part of which is missing in the Calcutta MS., he writes on fol. 6*a*: *Caret folium 5 ubi relatum fuit quomodo Zelaldin (seu Hacabar) terras Bisnagar, Visapor & quaecumq; Mogorem Bengalamque interjacent bello vastavit. Forte juxta Bengalam in Romanos Sacerdotes incidit. Vide Ant^o Botelho De Christiana apud Mogorem Religione, p. 1. Vide INDEX operis hujus. Voce Sacerdotes. Suppleri posset ex A. Botelho De Christiana apud Mogorem Religione incipiente ad calcem Summa memorand. Rerum quæ apud Magni Mogoris vidit & Scheda ⊕ conseq.* Copies of Fr. Botelho's little treatise *De Christiana apud Mogorem Religione* must be rare enough. There is a copy in the possession of the Society of Jesus, and another in the British Museum, *Marsden MSS. in Catalogue of Addit. MSS., Vol. I (1824-41)*. Compare with the title at fol. 1 of No. 9855: *Summa memorandarum rerum, quæ [sic] apud Magni Mogoris Regnum vidit, et obseruavit Pater Antonius Botelho [a seal?] Societatis Jesu Goanæ Prouincia Præpositus Prouincialis intra sexennium, quò illic Superior uixit, et Missionarius.* From notes sent me by Mr. W. R. Philipps I know that a new section begins at the top of leaf 14, entitled "*De Christiana apud Mogorem Religione.*" This ends at the back of leaf 16. Leaves 1-16 are in Latin; leaves 17-46 are in Portuguese: the Latin being an abridgment of the Portuguese. The writing looks the same throughout. There is no date or signature.

Fr. Botelho went to Agra as Visitor at the end of 1647, and must have arrived at his destination in the beginning of 1648. His name appears on one of our catalogues

¹ In 1870, the question of the whereabouts of the Monserrate MS. mentioned by Wilford was mooted by R. R. W. Ellis in *Notes and Queries* (1870, Vol. I, p. 161) in answer to a question by Col. H. Yule (cf. *ibid.*, p. 50). But Mr. Ellis' answer is as disappointing as Col. Yule's query was interesting. Col. Yule called for information about a countryman of his one George Strachan of the Merns, a Scotchman, Jesuit and Oriental traveller, temp. Jac. I. Pietro della Valle met him at Combru (Bender Abbas) in 1622, and though he enters into many details of Strachan's history, "he was to all appearances ignorant of the fact that Strachan was a Jesuit." Cf. DELLA VALLE'S *Travels* edited by Gancia (Brighton, 1843, Vol. II, pp. 50 and 437). Mr. Ellis' reference to one of Wilford's extracts from Monserrate (*As. Res.*, IX, 212) is beside the mark entirely. There is no allusion to Strachan in Monserrate, nor could there be. Monserrate had died in 1600, and Strachan did not go to the East till several years later.

for 1648 as: Anthony Botelho (Senior), Visitor and Rector [of Agra]. His name appears again in 1649, but no longer in the next extant catalogue of Mogor for 1653. A note by the late Fr. J. B. Van Meurs, S.J., tells me that he wrote his *De Moribus et natura religionis Mogorensis* during his Provincialate, in 1670.¹

How Marsden got possession of the 10 volumes of MS. Annual Letters and documents regarding Japan and China, Goa, Cochin and their Missions is more than we know. Was the Calcutta MS. part of the Goa spoils which Marsden secured apparently during his sojourn in Sumatra? But then, why was it not presented by him with his other books either to the British Museum or to King's College?²

My conclusion, then, is that Monserrate's Bk. I has never been made use of. The Calcutta MS. is a unique copy, nor will the epithet "excellent," which Graf von Noer applied to a much inferior composition by Monserrate, be found exaggerated. In presenting it to the learned world, I anticipate that his *Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius*, the earliest known account of Northern India by a European since the days of Vasco da Gama, will take rank as a first-rate authority.

My reason for publishing the Latin text in the first place is to preserve the original from further mishaps. I do not contemplate undertaking a translation. The work of the translator and annotator will be one of no ordinary difficulty. Several passages almost defy translation, for the simple reason that we are too little acquainted with the condition of many things in Monserrate's time. As a case in point, I refer to his descriptions of temples, palaces, and ruins. I believe that a translation will do justice to the text only when a host of scholars will have focussed on the original the light of research.³ Besides, so many unpublished materials on the Jesuit Missions in Mogor, Tibet and Bengal, of which not a few will further elucidate the present work, have now accumulated under my hands that even a long lifetime will scarcely suffice to dispose of them all. I cherish, therefore, the hope that the task of translating and annotating this work will commend itself to someone better qualified and circumstanced than myself.

¹ Cf. *J. A. S. B.*, 1910, *The Marsden MSS. in the British Museum*, pp. 448, 453, sqq., and *A Jesuit Father's Account of India in the time of Shāh Jahān*, by Mr. H. Beveridge, in *The Indian Magazine and Review*. London, A. Constable, pp. 264-266.

² Father C. Beccari states—on what authority?—that Marsden acquired "at Goa" Fr. d'Almeida's *Historia de Ethiopia a alta*, an original autograph, and presented it to the British Museum in 1837. Fr. Botelho's *Summa memorandum rerum* forms part of the same Marsden Collection, and the fact is that nearly all the letters in Add. MSS. Vols. 9854 and 9855, Brit. Mus., are letters from the Jesuit Missionaries in Mogor addressed to the Provincial of Goa.—I may mention that the Calcutta MS. contains a detached leaf with notes by some theologian, a sort of *promptuarium*, referenees to an Italian work. The writing is almost illegible. I have pasted it on, at the end of the MS.

³ I have translated and commented on Monserrate's description of Delhi in *J.A.S.B.*, 1911, pp. 99-108. Mr. J. P. Thompson has since pointed out to me that the Aśoka pillar mentioned by Monserrate is not the "golden-pillar" of the Kotila, but the pillar of the Jahānumā. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 100 n. 3. Blochmann's Persian text of the *Āīn* gives 5 kos as the length of Firoz Shāh's "third" tunnel to Old Delhi. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 104. I have returned to Monserrate's measurements (40 stadia) of Firoz Shāh's "tunnel" in *J.A.S.B.*, 1912, *Firoz Shāh's Tunnels*, pp. 279-81. The passages on Lahore and Rānuchandra's obelisks have been translated by Dr. J. P. Vogel, the archæologist; I have added a translation of fol. 83 and 84a on the Bedaulat caves. Both are intended for *The Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, Lahore.

Finally, some passages were communicated to Mr. E. D. Maclagan, in illustration of *Fray Manrique's Travels in the Panjab*. Cf. *ibid.*, Nos. 1, 2.

I refrain from analysing here more fully the contents of the MS. Suffice it to say that Monserrate's account of the Kābul campaign (1581-82), about which the Muḥammadan historians teach us very little (Cf. ELLIOT, *Hist. of India*, Vol. V, *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*, pp. 421—427), occupies fully a hundred pages (fol. 39*b* to fol. 92*a*). And, since the subject continually crops up, I may as well announce that no revelations are to be expected about John Philip de Bourbon, or Akbar's Christian wife. Monserrate's silence in the latter instance is all the more insignificant, as he labours to explain Akbar's leanings towards Christianity from the fact that some of his remote ancestors had been Christians. Akbar appears indeed to have had a Christian wife, but this must have been later. As for the appellation of *Bībī Mariam kī koṭhī* at Fatehpūr, the reader will discover in this book (fol. 35*b*. 3—fol. 37*a*. 2) good reasons to believe it commemorates to this day the house and domestic (?) chapel which Bl. R. Aquaviva and his companions had close to the Emperor's lodgings. Monserrate states that the Fathers had only to cross a door to be within the Emperor's quarters. This is true of Bībī Mariam's *koṭhī*. Hence, the name would commemorate the fact that it contained the picture of Our Lady, "Bībī Mariam," which Akbar came repeatedly to venerate in 1580. Close to Bībī Mariam's *koṭhī*, there is a small separate building with a gable roof, the only one of its kind at Fatehpur. I failed to notice it on my visit to the place in December 1912; but, Father Felix, O.C., of Maryābād, Gujranwālā Dt., Panjab, showed me a photograph of it. It looks altogether like a European construction, and would have answered the purposes of a chapel for the few European and Armenian Catholics then at Fatehpur. A small line of low penthouses, within the courtyard of Bībī Mariam's house and built against the outer wall of the Emperor's quarters, might have contained the Fathers' kitchen. Local tradition still connects it with a kitchen.

A word or two in explanation of the editing of the text.

I have removed nearly all the abbreviations, but have imitated the spelling as closely as possible. Earlier versions of the text appear as foot-notes. In the main, the old-fashioned but systematic punctuation has been preserved. My reason for doing so was that I did not wish to obtrude any personal interpretation of the text in the case of the more difficult passages. I have, however, in many cases used full stops and capitals where the original did not. Lastly, as the text runs on without a break, I have paragraphed it to make the reading more easy and agreeable, and enable the reader to find more readily what he is in search of. With the same purpose in view, I have introduced marginally directions as to the contents. In doing so, I have adopted for proper names and place-names the orthography of the new *Imperial Gazetteer*, 26 vols. Names not identified have a mark of interrogation. Any remarks within [] are mine.

Finally, let me record my obligations for valuable suggestions to Revv. FF. F. Opdebeeck, S.J., Paul Lefebvre, S.J., and C. Martindale, S.J.

St. Xavier's College, Calcutta.

IP46

E 93

ANTONII, MONSER-
RATI, SACERDOTIS, E,
SOCIETATE, IESV:
XVI L. 27

Missionarius
cum P. Rodolfo
Acquaviva
A. S. H. 1582.

Mongolicae · legationis · Commentarius.

I H S.

Ad P. Claudium Aquaviva totius Societa-
tis Præpositum :—

Sanáa 7 Idibus Januarii 1591

Exped. ad Chabul
6° Id. Feb.
1581. 44b.

Explanations of the original Title-Page.

IP46: presumably a press-mark of one of the Jesuit houses in Goa.

E 93: the press-mark of the Fort William College Library. Cf. Preface, p. 3.

XVI L. 27: the press-mark of the Metcalfe Hall Collection. Cf. Preface, p. 1.

Missionarius | cum P. Rodolfo | Acquaviva | A[nno] S[alutis] H[ominum] 1582 | : pencil-note from a later hand and refreshed by myself.

Sanáa 7 Idibus Januarii 1591: pencil-note apparently from the same hand as the previous note. I refreshed it. The year '1591' had been traced out in ink.

Expeditio ad Chabul 6° Id. Feb. | 1581. 44b. | This remark, which was in ink, was almost illegible. I traced it out again. 44b refers to the verso of fol. 44, where the date for the beginning of the Kābul campaign is given again.

Around the monogram of the Society of Jesus. *Funes ceciderunt mihi in præclaris.* Ps 15. *Iesus pars Hæreditatis meæ et calicis mei.* Ps. 15.

COLLEGE OF FORT WILLIAM.¹

Celebriorum authorum nomina quibus dictorum fidem substruximus.

Biblia Sacra.

Bibliorum interpres.

Josephus Antiquitatum Judaicarum et belli Judaici scriptor.

D. Hieronymus in locis Heb.— Trogus Pompeius.

Ptholomæus . Geographiae author.

Strabo, Plinius, Apollodorus, Solinus, Lucanus poeta.

Raph. Volaterranus. Anthonius Coccus Sabellicus

Æneas Syluius qui postea Pius 2^{us} Papa, de 2^a Asiæ parte.

Diodorus Siculus. Paulus Jouijs, Episcopus Nucerinus, in Elogijs et Commentarijs Turcicarum rerum.

D. Anthonius Florentiæ Archiepiscopus in 3^a parte Summæ Historiarum.

Speculum historiarum Vincentij.

Joannes Barrus Lusitanus in Asia Decade 2^a.

Inferioris notæ.

Petrus Mexia² in Sylua uariæ lectionis qui res Temuri decerpsit ex Baptista Egnatij; Collectaneis Fulgosi; parte 2^a Geog. Pij 2ⁱ; Platina in Vita Bonifacij 9ⁱ; Matheo Palmerio in Addit. Chron.; Cambino Florentino in Hist. Turc.

Rodericus Gonsaluius e Clauigijs in diurnorum itinerum ad Temurum descriptione.

In pondere, numero, et mensura.

TRANSFERRED FROM

Imperial Library, 7 Apr. 1903.

¹ MS. note.

² Pencil-note by anonymous annotator: *Lib. II. Cap. XXVII*, in the margin opposite.

F. 1a.

P. CLAUDIO AQUAUIUA TOTIUS SOCIETATIS
JESU PRÆPOSITO,

ANTONIUS MONSERRATUS EIUDEM SOCIETATIS
SACERDOS

S. P. D.

Ita fuit priscorum hominum diligentia ut, dum iter agerent, omnia quæ vnus cuiusque diei euentus attulisset diligentissime in aduersaria referrent. Cuius rei curam Alexander Macedo Eratostheni dedit, cum Asiaticam expeditionem instituit, *Antiochus autem Nicator, Seleuci Nicatoris filius, Artemidoro.¹ At Iulius Cæsar eum laborem ipsemet subijt, et bellorum quæ gessit commentarios conscripsit: *hoc ipsum Persiæ reges, ut in Esdra habetur, factitarunt; nam qui ab accidentibus appellabantur, et scribere accidentia dicebantur: regum imperio nihil quod accideret, præteribant, quin litteris commendarent.¹ Quorum diligentiam plerique postea tum terra tum etiam mari imitati sunt; qui Geographiæ, Nauticæ, et Historiæ optimis studijs dediti, literariæ Reipublicæ non mediocri accessione, penu cumularunt.

*Esdræ, 3.
Cap. 2.¹*

Ac cum in Societate Iesu, hac et alijs de caussis, ut omnia quæ eueniunt perscribantur jam inde a fœlici Ignatij patris nostri memoria, qui primus ut ita fieret edixit, in mores inductum sit: ne ab optimo instituto religiosus uir Rodericus Vincentius Societatis in Indiæ prouincia præpositus discederet, quo tempore ad Zelaldinum Iquebârem Mongolorum Regem proficiscebamur, mihi curam imposuit, ut singula quæ cum in itinere, tum etiam dum cum Rege uersaremur acciderent scriptis mandarem. Cui cum ad amussim parere ex meæ uitæ ratione et Societatis instituto deberem, ad eius me imperium ita comparauit, ut singulis diebus noctu biennium integrum cum dimidiato quicquid eius diei tulisset euentus litteris committerem. Quo singula perscribendi quotidiano labore, quicquid iter ac tempus uarium dederunt, complexus sum.

*A. S. H.
1582.²*

F. 1b.

Ita uero sunt flumina, urbes, regiones,³ hominum mores, templa, religiones. Ac postea quam ad Regem uentum est, eius *quam præferibat⁴ erga Christi religionem *simulata quidem⁴ pietas. Erga Rodolfum, cui data erat grauissimi eius negotij prouincia, et erga eius socios *ambitiosa fucataque⁴ beneuolentia. Tum ipsius Rodolfi

Later addition.—The remarks at foot apply to the text between the * and the figure.

¹ Pencil note by X., *i.e.*, the anonymous annotator. The date is wrong.

Deleted after "regiones": agrorum amœnitates.

⁴ Later addition.

ardor, multa cum prudentia scientiaque coniunctus. Ad hæc, disceptationes cum Agarenis pro Christiana religione. Bellum Chabulicum quod¹ magna cum animi constantia et miro consilio,* Hachimo² fugato Zelaldinus confecit: ac denique ipsius ouatio et triumphus.

Quæ omnia cum adhuc rudia et inchoata, ita uti cursim exceperam, post reditum, uiris quibusdam e nostra Societate ætatis, prudentiæ et omnis *literaturæ³ laude præstantibus perlegissem, non paucis ac uulgaribus uerbis me uti uia et ordine quæ potiora iudicarem exscriberem sunt adhortati. Quorum præstans iudicium ac sententiam cum alijs in rebus maioris momenti sequi, iam antea consueuissem, nolui committere ut ab eis ea in re discederem quæ ad tuam tandem trutinam referenda et ex tua grauissima censura aut admittenda aut reijcienda esset.

Et iam octauus agitur annus cum operi manus admouere cœpi. Sexto vero ab inchoato opere anno,⁴ me ad Æthiopiam a Petro Martinio Indiæ prouinciæ præposito missum* in scribendi studio atque opera cessare⁵ tempestiuum ad nauigandum mare coegit. Nec antea tempus et locum redeundi ad opus nactus sum, quam mihi ab hostibus Agarenis ad Dofárem Arabiæ (ea est Sabæa) iuxta Atramitem (ubi thus legitur) urbem capto, et Eynanum transmisso Rex Ommaris Agarénus paruam ac tenuem suppellectilem ac libros saluos esse et reddi et me in liberali custodia esse permisit. Nam datum est mihi quattuor mensium otium quo scripta corrigere et quæ *desiderabantur⁶ adijcere potui. Nihil enim, *singulari Dei beneficio,⁷ seruilis acerbitatis || aliud *corpore⁸ perferebam, *quam ergastulum.⁹ Erat enim mihi solatio in primis sodalis meus Petrus *Paesius¹⁰ sacerdos *propter exomologesim,¹¹ deinde sacri libri, atque ad nocturnas et diurnas preces recitandas persoluendasque sacrorum *epitome.¹¹ At vero, posteaquam illud quattuor mensium spatium exegi, arma litteraria ponere iterum compulsus sum. Indicta est enim mihi profectio Sánaam, ubi Turcicus pro Rege *præses¹² degit. Verum cum ille qui genere *erat Epirota¹³ (Arnautem uulguis *Turcarum a principe eius gentis urbe, nostratium Allanesium dicit) eadem comitate me tractare dissimulasset, et libros mihi dari iussisset, ad institutum laborem redij et purgatum auctumque opus lituris uindicavi.

Quod an ex ratione et more Societatis scriptum sit et an aliquid emolumenti legentibus sit allaturum tuum erit indicium. Equidem, nisi mihi ἡ φιλαυτία palpum

1 Deleted after "quod": 1st: pro Mahommedica superstitione contra Christi fidem a Mahommede, principe fratre illatum; 2ndly: pro Mahometica superstitione contra Christi fidem ab Hachimo principe fratre illatum.

2 1st: eo.

3 Later marginal note by M.: literatura simplex t.

4 Marginal pencil-note by X.: A. 1582 + 6 = 1588.

5 1st: a scribendo manum referre.

6 1st: desiderabantur. M. added later marginally: desidero, i latinum, non vero grecum y.

7 1st: Dei erga me magno beneficio.

8 Later addition.

9 1st: quam sacrosancto sacrificio minime potiri, et sacris alijs sacerdotij functionibus non perungi.

10 1st: Pelagij;—2ndly: Paysius.

11 1st: breuiarium.

12 1st: Prætor.

13 1st: est Panno.

obtrudat, et imponat: opinor non futurum inutile Geographiæ et Antiquitatis studiosis, nostris præcipue qui humaniorum litterarum authores uersant, si *in rerum Indicarum historiam deueniant.¹

Enimuero quæ ad nostrorum Sacerdotum profectionem, et apud regem moram, et belli Chabulici exitum spectant, bona fide ita perscripsi uti res habuit ac ego ipse oculis perspexi. Quod uero attinet ad illa quæ ueluti assumpta et aduentitia extra institutæ narrationis ordinem de Cinguiscono, Temurbégo, de Scythis Mongolisque ad huius primi libri calcem adieci, ea ab ipso in primis Zelaldino Rege, deinde a quadam diurnorum itinerum descriptionis ephemeride *quam Henrici quarti Castellæ Regis apud Temurum legatus quidam confecit,² postremo a scriptoribus quamplurimis quarum est autoritas non uulgaris accepi.³ Tandem opus in duos libros distribui, quorum hic prior primæ ad Mongolorum regem profectionis esset commentarius, *alter⁴ ipsius quasi appendix et *σχόλιον*, in quem ea contuli quæ ad situm et historiam naturalium rerum Indiæ intra Gangem ac priscorum ab-*[originum et indigetum]⁵ hominum pertinent qui memoria nostra in ea *[degunt].⁶

F 2b. *Duobus reliquis libris quos prioribus adiunxi eodem ordine profectionem in Æthiopiâ priore, altero Arabiæ situs et rerum naturalium epitomen conscripsi⁷ qua una et eadem opera non pauca Geographorum et Historicorum loca, qui res Indicas *et Arabicas⁸ tractant, (quod sit absque arrogantiâ dictum) in nostrarum scholarum moderatorum gratiam quam modeste ac temperanter potui castigare, elucidare et conciliare contendere. Utinam cum ea diuini nominis laude et animorum utilitate quam par est non solum animo cupere sed etiam omnibus uiribus uestigare. Quæ duo si utrumque opus tuo grauissimo iudicio præ se ferre uideatur, satis superque tibi esse commendatum duco. Vale.

*Sanaæ⁹ septimo Idus Januarij anni Domini millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo primo. 7^{to} Janu
arii 1591.⁹

¹ 1st: in res Indicas deueniant.

² Later addition.

³ Some words erased here and not decipherable.

⁴ 1st: alius.

⁵ Portions cut off from the margin and restored.—This paragraph from "Quod uero attinet. . ." ran at first thus:

Quod uero attinet ad illa quæ ueluti parergon de Cinguiscono, Temurbego, et Scythis Mongolisque in Zelaldini gratiam ad operis calcem adieci, ea ab ipso in primis Zelaldino Rege. deinde a quadam diurnorum itinerum descriptione quam Henrici quarti Castellæ Regis apud Temurum legatus quidam confecit, tum ab Strabone, Q. Curtio, Plinio, Ptolomeo, Diodoro, Justino, Sabellico, Antonino Florentiæ, Pio secundo et Paulo Iouio Nucero quorum est autoritas non uulgaris accepi. Tandem Sanaæ operi finem imponi et alium librum [1st: aliud opusculum quasi appendiculam et scholium] adieci in quod ea contuli quæ ad naturalium rerum et priscorum aboriginum et indigetum morumque ipsorum (qui cum huius ætatis indigenarum moribus conueniunt) historiam pertinent.

⁶ Later addition—Before the * X. wrote in pencil: Æthiopica & Arabica.

⁷ Later addition.

⁸ 1st: Senaa.

⁹ Pencil-note by X.

F. 2b. NOMINA, LONGITUDINES ET LATITUDINES INSIGNIORUM URBIUM, OPPIDORUM, FLUMINUM, MONTIUM ET REGIONUM, QUÆ NOSTRIS SACERDOTIBUS AD EQUĒBAREM MONGOLORUM REGEM EUNTIBUS AB URBE GOA AD URBEM NICOPOLIM (FATTEPUR), DEINDE NICOPOLI CHABULUM PROFICISCENTIBUS OCCURRERUNT.

		Long.		Lat.				Long.		Lat.	
		G.	M.	G.	M.			G.	M.	G.	M.
	Goa	109	30	15	30	Couleca	109	53½	20	26½	
	Xeul	109	15	18	40	Paharnera (<i>Mons idoli</i>)	110	7½	20	26½	
	Carania	109	15	18	50	Balsar (<i>Bucephala</i>) ..	109	58	20	39	
	Taná (<i>Tanis</i>) in insula Sal-	109	20	19		Gandiui (<i>Pulipula</i>) ..	110		20	45	
	seti.					Nausari (<i>Nusaripa</i>) ..	110	3	20	58	
	Bassayu	109	21	19	20	Beará	110	50	21	7½	
	Daanu	109	35	19	50	Surate (<i>Comanes</i>) ² ..	110	15	21	20	
	Daman	109	41	20	19	Varque Sarai (<i>Vici</i>					
F. 3a.	Cossumba	110	30	21	30	<i>diuersorium</i>) ..	118		26	23	
	Vasarai	110	45	21	30	Goalier	118		26	42	
	Dayta	111	45	21	30	Commariá	117	30	26	50	
	Cucuramundá ..	112	7½	21	45	Daulpúr (<i>Alba urbs</i>) ..	117		26	53½	
	Peaz (<i>Cepe</i>)	112	20	21	45	Fattepur (<i>Nicea</i> , i.e.,					
	Talaudá	112	7½	22		<i>Nicopolis ab Equebáre</i>					
	Sultanpur (<i>Basilipolis</i>) ..	112	30	22		<i>condita anno 1571</i>) ..	116	30	27		
	Cradhá	113		21	45	Agara metro[polis] ..	117		27	19	
	Chittiuará (<i>Pantherowicus</i>)	113	19	21	45	Bal (<i>Bos</i>)	116	21	27	30	
	Brandpur	113	40	21	20	Maturá	116	2	27	30	
	Rha (<i>Via</i>)	112	43	22	2	Anumanth (<i>Simiorum</i>					
	Auazus Metrop[olis] ..	113	2	22	10	<i>janum</i>	116	12	27	43	
	Cendué	113	45	22	6½	Delinum Christianorum					
	Bamanque gam (<i>Bragma-</i>					<i>olim metropolis</i> ..	115	58	28	38	
	<i>narum oppidum</i>) ..	113	45	22	20	Sonipát	116	15	28	45	
	Suraná	114	7½	22	20	Panipát	116	40	29	10	
	Mandhoum metrop[olis]					Carnár	116	50	29	19	
	Maluanorum	115	1	22	30	Tanissar ³	116	50	29	43	
	Dectan	115	30	22	40	Bad (<i>malum</i>) ³	116	50	29	53½	
	Usen (<i>Usena</i>)	116	15	23		Gagaque Sarai (<i>Gagæ</i>					
	Sannareá	116	47	23	20	<i>diuersorium</i>) ..	116	38	30	15	
	Sarangpur (<i>Naucleropolis</i>)	117		23	20	Satcombé ⁴	118	30	30	15	
	Berzeá	117	54	23	20	Sarind (<i>limes Indiæ</i> , i.e.,					
	Pimpildár	118	7½	23	30	<i>caput</i>)	116	20	30	23	
	Siurange	118	7½	23	58	Paél	115	38	30	33½	
	Saddoá	118	7½	24	30	Machiuará (<i>Vicus pis-</i>					
	Coylarazus	118	7½	25	5	<i>cium</i>)	115	50	30	44	
	Cypirinum	118	22	25	40	Sultanpur (<i>Basilæa</i>) ³ ..	114	20	30	25	
	Naroár	118	7½	26	10	Ludianá	115	23	30	23	

F. 3a.

¹ Later marginal note by Monserrate.

² Minutes of latitude changed in pencil to 10' by X.

³ X. writes: 'Right' near these places.

⁴ "The distance to Satcombé was given in common coss to him" X. writes marginally in pencil.

F. 3b.
Col. 1.Long.
G. M.Lat.
G. M.*Capita seu fontes quorundam fluminum qui*
[sic] *in sinum Barigazenum effluunt.*F. 3b.
Col. 2.

	Long. G. M.	Lat. G. M.
Dungari ..	115 37	31 10
Gandiuani ..	113 57	31 7½
Gouindiuari ..	114 10	30 40
Cancárque gam ..	118 42	31 15
Pachangarí ¹ ..	116 2	31 30
Calanur ² ..	115 41	31 39
Pargana Peytan ..	117 9	31 39
Lahor metro[polis] ..	113 59	31 39
Nagarcott ..	116	31 53½
Xergar (<i>domus leonis</i>) ..	114 21	31 57
Xunigacarque Sarai ..	114 57	32 3½
Sámba ..	116 19	32 19
Qhunja (<i>ager sanguinis</i>) ..	115 27½	32 20
Saddarí ³ ..	115 20	32 23
Mancot ⁴ ..	117 30	32 26½
Jamúdib ..	116 6	32 40
Rnytas ⁵ ..	114 59	33 15
Obeliscus Rhamchandi ..	114 1	33 23
Rhauadum ..	114 0	33 40
Gagar ⁶ ..	113 39	33 39
Nilabh ..	112 30	33 40
Azará ..	112 30	33 57
2 Saygí ..	111 40	33 57
1 Oppidum rixæ ..	111 23½	33 57
3 Pirxaur ..	111 20	34
[sic] Caybarí gatte ..	110 59	34 15
Caybar ..	110 43	34 20
Bixaur ..	110 23½	34 30
Gelalabad ..	110	34 40
Sanghe cephet ..	109 45	35
Albaric ..	109 20	35 30
Chabul metropolis ..	108 50	36

*Hic est
ordo horum
trium oppi-
dorum, iuxta
quem commu-
tandi [sic]
sunt sed non
ipsi numeri.⁷*

	Long. G. M.	Lat. G. M.
Taphi ..	113 16	22 3
Naruadá ..	118 40	22 45
Machipara ..	118 45	23
Paharbatí ..	118 45	23 20

In Gangem.

Jamona ..	118 30	30 20
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In Indum.

Chambal ..	118	27
Ambalá ..	118	30 45
Satanulge ..	119	31 19
Beà ..	117 20	31 45
Raoy ..	116 7½	32 1
Cingaro ..	116 7½	32
Naní ..	116 57	32 33
Xenao ..	116 20	32 40
Behet ..	117 30	32 45
Ind ..	119 15	32 15

Commixtiones.

Jomanis et Gangis.

F. 4a.
Col. 1.*Divertigia.⁸**Ostia.*F. 4a.
Col. 2.

Jomanis ad urbem Deli- num ..	116 2	28 38
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¹ Lat. 31° 40'. [X.]² "Right, I think." [X.]³ Lat. : 32° 33'. [X.]⁴ Long. : 116° 30'. [X.]⁵ Lat. : 33° 10'. [X.]⁶ Later marginal note by Monserrate: A situ Gagaris oritur discrimen in descriptionibus; quapropter ex diurnorum itinerum descriptione emendandæ sunt ut proxime ad illam mutæ distantie et viæ ductus depingantur Chabulum usque.⁷ Later note by Monserrate.⁸ This column was erased by Monserrate up to: Ad Surate.

F. 4a. Col. 1.		Long.		Long.		Long.		Long.		F. 4a. Col. 2.
		G.	M.	G.	M.	G.	M.	G.	M.	
Ad Mathuranum ..		116	2	27	30					
Ad Agaram ..		117		27	19					
Satanulge ad Machiuara		115	51	30	45					
Ad Ludiana ..		115	24	30	24					
Bea ad Pachangari ..		116	1	31	29					
Gouindiuar ..		114	8	30	38					
Raoi ad Lahurum ..		114		31	39					
Xenao ad Qhunja ..		115	27½	32	20					
Behet ad Rhutasium ..		114	59	32	41					
Indi ad Azara ..		112	30	33	58					
Ad Nilabh. . .		112	30	33	41					
Coæ ad Gelalabadum ..		110		34	40					
Samballi ad Daulpurum ..		117		26	53					
Naruadæ ad Seunarea ..		116	47	23	21					
Ad Bamanque gam ..		113	45	22	19					
Taphi ad Sultanpurum ..		112	30	21	59					
Ad Peaz ..		112	20	21	44					
Ad Surate ..		110	15	21	21					
		<i>Montes.</i>								
		Balagate montes qui oræ								
		maris Indici, a iugi								
		Comareni fronte, quae								
		habet 112 40 7 15								
		ad Daytam Sarzetæ								
		seu Birgí reguli ur-								
		bem, quae habet .. 111 45 21 30								
		impendet, et Brand-								
		purum, quod habet.. 113 39 21 20								
		diuertit ubi frontem								
		exporrigit et metam								
		figit. ¹ Sunt uero ho-								
		rum montium ab urbe								
		Goa hæc iuga notoria								
		ad 116 33								
		protendit, cuius medi-								
		um fere habet .. 118 30 30								
		Balnatque thile .. 114 40 33								
		Caspus qui à .. 117 33								
		attingit .. 111 36 30								
		cuius medium fere ha-								
		bet 114 34 45								
		Baalá mons .. 110 20 34 25								
		Caiberi iugum sea Pahar-								
		ueti fauces .. 110 59 34 15								
		Beedaulat 110 23½ 34 30								
		Caucasius 108 50 36								
		Paharopanísus .. 108 50 36 40								
		<i>Regiones quarum mediæ distantie sic</i>								
		<i>habent, in ora maris, & itinere.</i>								
		Conghan habet .. 109 20 16 20								
		Decan 109 10 18 42								
		Gusarat, pars .. 112 21 22½								
		Auaz 112 22								
		Maluá 118 24 40								
		Industan 116 19 28 45								
		Arachosiae pars .. 115 32								
		Both et Bothant .. 110 32								
		Mansariör. . . 121 32								
		Casmir 118 33								
		Chabul 109 35 30								
		Quæ omnia proposita descriptio. in sequenti								
		tabula ante oculos ponet. ²								
F. 4b. Col. 1.		Long.		Long.		Long.		Long.		F. 4b. Col. 2.
		G.	M.	G.	M.	G.	M.	G.	M.	
Sanquili		109	41	15	45					
Argao		109	20	18	40					
Sanguicá Carnala, duo										
iuga		109	22	18	45					
Camón		109	40	19	21					
Assaryñ		109	30	19	30					
Rupes fastigiata ad or-										
tum Danuú oppidi ..		109	42	19	50					
Tres cumuli ad arcem										
Damán		109	49	20	20					
		<i>Ultra Balagate.</i>								
Paharnerá		110	10	20	7½					
Auazus mons, qui a Cen-										
duá, cuius sunt ..		113	45	22	6½					
ad Ansotum, quod										
habet		110	22	21	57½					
recta ducitur uersus										
solis occasum et præ-										
fecturam unam Ge-										
drosiæ continet, cui										
tres reguli imperitant,										
cuius medium ferme										
habet		112		22						
Mandhou mons ..		115	1	22	30					
Naroar saltus ..		118		26						
Vindij montis frons quae										
Sequirino ueteri im-										
pendet, ubi condita est										
ab Equébar Nicea ..		116	30	27						
Imaus qui se a ..		119	30	28						

¹ Correct to: impendent . . . diuertunt . . . exporrigunt . . . figunt. ² Cf. map at the end and App. C.

The loss of fol. 5 can be remedied in various ways:--

1. The index to Monserrate's *Mongolica Legationis Commentarius* contains the following entries:

Zelaldinus, magnus Mongolorum Rex, 5a. 2.

Antonius Cabralius ad Equebarem legatus, 5a. 3.

Antonius Noronius, Indiæ pro Rege præses, 5a. 3.

Lusitanorum constantiam Zelaldinus periclitatur, 5a. 4.

Lusitanorum uirtus et fortitudo, 5b. 1.

Petrus Tauarius, patritius Lusitanus, 5b. 3.

Sacerdotes Societatis Jesu duo in Gangaride, 5b. 4.

Ismael Culicanus, 5b. 4.

Egidius Joannides Gangaridis Archimystes, 5b. 4.

2. Cf. Monserrate's *Relaçam do Equebar, Rei dos Mogores*. Appendix B.

3. Cf. J. B. PERUSCHI, S.J., *Informatione del Regno e Stato del gran Re di Mogor*, Brescia, P. M. Marchetti, 1597.

This is based for the greater part on No. 2.

4. Cf. D. BARTOLI, S.J., *Delle opere del Padre Daniello Bartoli . . . Vol. XXXVIII. Delle Memorie Istoriche, Libro quarto*, Torino, Marietti, 1847, C. XXIV, pp. 347-355.

5. Cf. DANIEL BARTOLI, S.J., *Missione al Gran Mogor del Padre Ridolfo Aquaviva* Roma, MDCCXIV, pp. 7-14.

[p. 7] "There at Fatipùr, a town and Court built by himself, Achabàr often conversed with a certain Portuguese called Pietro Tavàres, a clever man, the Captain of a harbour in Bengala, who served him in the military profession. The King would sometimes discuss with him jestingly and mockingly about the Moorish religion which he [Akbar] professed, not that he discovered any truth in the Alcoran, but solely because, [8] being born and bred in that religion, his only reason for not abandoning it was that he did not know what other religion to embrace. If the disputations of his Mulas did not satisfy him, those of the Bramans, satisfied him still less. Once, in one of these conversations, he asked Tavàres what was the value and truth of the scriptures of the Christians, and how far their doctors could defend them. Tavàres started speaking, to the best of his knowledge, about the Old and the New Testament, and about the Fathers of the Society. He said what he thought would give a good opinion of their life, and added in praise of their talents that, if His Majesty were pleased to call from India some two of them, he hoped they would in a few days bring him to a knowledge of the truth, whereas he was losing his time in trying to discover it in the disputations of the Mulas and the Bramans. And as for the Fathers, he [Akbar] had come to esteem them those last three years as men of great integrity of life. This, because two of them, having come to preach in his dominions in Bengala, and finding that the Christians there defrauded his Royal Exchequer of the taxes they rightfully owed for anchorage, and of the annual imposts agreed upon between them, obliged them to make restitution. A large sum was thus recovered, and the King, wise as he was, on hearing of it

from his ministers, [9] marvelled at the measure and highly commended the probity of the Fathers, as also the holiness of the Christian law, since it would not allow in its followers any disloyalty or injustice even towards foreigners and enemies. Later, he summoned to his Court from Satagan in Bengala, where he was Vicar, Egidio Anes Pereira; but, as he was a man of more virtue than knowledge, and the King cared only for curious questions and subtleties, he succeeded indeed in giving him a good opinion of the innocence of life of a Christian, wherefore the King cherished him and royally rewarded him with honours and gifts; but he would not humour the King in what he desired above all, getting him to fight and dispute with the enemies of the Christian faith, who, though at loggerheads among themselves for all the rest, were agreed and unanimous on the one point of attacking it.

Accordingly, and at Pereira's prudent advice, Achabar sent Ebadola, one of the nobles of his Court, and an escort of honour, together with an Armenian Christian named Domenico Perez, as interpreter, bearing letters for the Archbishop, the Viceroy and the Fathers of Goa. Solemn and long were the demonstrations of honour and welcome with which the Ambassador of so great a King, [10] come on so worthy a mission, was received in September 1579. In fact, the same celebrations were accorded him which were customary on the arrival of Viceroys newly come from Europe to take up the government of India. Not less—considering their zeal for the honour of God and for the propagation of the Faith—was the spiritual consolation all felt, particularly the Fathers. It was but fit, since they had for many years made every endeavour, though always in vain, to bear the name of Christ into Mogor; and now, suddenly and against all expectation, they saw the King himself open the gates to them, and not only invite them, but request them to enter. All congratulated the Fathers, and manifested in words and deeds their unfeigned joy. Some augured, others promised that their going would result, to the honour of the Church and the advantage of Portugal, in the conversion of a king and his kingdom. For, as happens on such occasions, people speculated openly and sanguinely on how King Achabar was bidding fair to become a Christian ere long. Letters from there and ocular testimony corroborated the view that the only trace of Maomettanism in him was that he was circumcised and wore to some extent the Maomettan dress; [11] but, he did not observe a whit its ceremonies and rites; nay, he detested it as a sect of vile animals, not of reasonable beings, and spoke of it with contempt all the evil he could. In the Alcoran, which is Maomet's gospel, he believed no more than in the dreams of a fool or the fables of a romancer. As a proof of it, they said that, when there was question of taking a wife, he chose a Gentoo rather than a Saracen. He fasted rigorously every Friday, a feastday according to Moorish ritual and sacred as Sunday is with us, and on those days he would send to a few Christians then with him at Fatipùr the food of his own table. On hearing of a Christian who had denied the faith and donned the turban, he had him brought before him, and rebuking him bitterly for his impiety, he said, "And what miracles have you seen Maomet perform, that you should forsake your law for his?" And as the apostate excused his action, saying that he had been driven to it merely to escape the

pinch of extreme poverty, he provided him liberally with the means of subsistence, and made him resume the dress and profession of a Christian. He kept a devout image of the Queen of Heaven with the Infant Jesus in her arms, and bowed to it and worshipped it before the Barons of his Court. A coarse and impious Mulasso, who had dared to blaspheme the perpetual [12] virginity of Mary, had been banished from the Court, and had been within an ace of having not only his tongue pulled out, but his throat cut. Finally, he had not unfrequently said that he wished to erect for the Fathers, either in Agrà or in Lahòr, or in his own city of Fatipùr, a church which would eclipse in size and magnificence our St. Paul's at Goa. In addition to those more proximate dispositions preparing him to receive from God the light of Faith and the grace of salvation, Achabar possessed other excellent natural qualities. a keen intellect, earnestness in searching after the truth, sagacity in discerning falsehood, and those moral virtues which every Christian ought to pride on. He had a tender love for the poor, and did good to whoever had recourse to him. He was upright and impartial in the administration of justice, and when he wanted, he was so terrible that a mere glance of his eye lighting on any one meant for his attendants that they must cut him down. Withal, he was so circumspect and slow in dealing with criminals, that the death-sentence was not executed against any condemned person, until his royal "Maître des requêtes" had asked his leave three times the same day. A great admirer of all noble virtues, he was ready to honour with dignities and wealth, and admit to his familiarity and intimacy, any man, [13] even of the lowest pedigree, who possessed in a more than ordinary degree accomplishments for peace or war. Still, in this he took the useful precaution that those whom he raised to such eminence should have no cause for pride, as is but too often the case with such as rise from a low degree to high estate. For this, he ordained that, whatever the dignity to which any of them had been raised, some instrument of his former office should be carried before him in public. There was one distinguished for his valour; but, as he was born a poor labourer, a squire was always carrying before him on top of a lance a golden hoe, both to recall him to a sense of modesty at the thought of his humble extraction, and of gratitude for one who, in his case, had changed a peasant's hoe into a general's staff, and from a rustic had set him in command.¹ These, with not a few others of the same kind, were the worthy considerations then made in praise of Achabàr.

"The Ambassador, conducted from the S. Iago, which lay two or three nautical miles off Goa, made his solemn entrance, the whole of the Portuguese nobility welcoming him. A part of them met him as he alighted on the shore; the rest expected him at the palace. [14] A great train of cavaliers then accompanied him to our College of St. Paul, where he presented to the Provincial the letters of his King with the amplest patents, so that, from their first entrance into the states of his Crown up to their arrival at his Court of Fatipùr, the Fathers who were to be sent might be received, provided for and, if need be, protected, as persons

¹ Qasim Khàn, Akbar's chief engineer, is meant. Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1912, p. 201 n. 4.

belonging to His Majesty's own household, by the Viceroy and the Governors of the Provinces through which they would pass. This done, he betook himself to the Church, and, on entering, before the threshold, he and those of his suite, Maomettans like himself, removed their footgear, as they are wont to do on entering their mosques. After this token of humble reverence he proceeded to the tomb of the Apostle St. Francis Xavier. He then exposed through Perez, the interpreter, the object of the embassy and handed the King's request. The letters, translated into our tongue, run exactly thus:—

[Follow the translation of Akbar's well-known letter, and some particulars on the preparations for the Mission. Cf. pp. 15-16.]

6. Cf. FRANCIS DE SOUSA, S.J., *Oriente Conquistado* , Lisboa, MDCCX, Vol. II, C. I, D. II, §§ 43-48, 53-64.

We extract the following:—

⁴³ [146] Equebar, the great Emperor of the Mogols,¹ wrote this year² to the Viceroy of India, to the Archbishop Primate, and to the Father Provincial Ruy Vicente, asking two Religious of the Society for the sake of explaining to him the Faith of the Gospel and the Law of Christ. His letter to the Provincial ran thus: * * For Father Provincial, in the name of God. Forman of Zalaldin Mahamed Equebar Xâ, by God's hand appointed. Let the chief Fathers of the Order of St. Paul know that I am their great friend. I send thither Ebadola, my Ambassador, and Domingos Pires, to ask for two learned Fathers, and let the Fathers bring with them the chief books of the Law and the Gospel, that I may learn the Law and its perfection, for I wish to be acquainted with the Law of Jesus the Nazarene. And I ask earnestly that, as soon as the same Ambassadors have arrived there, they should not fail to come with them and to bring at the same time the books of the Law. Let them know that I shall receive with all possible honour the Fathers who will come, and when I shall be informed of the Law and its perfection, as I wish, they will be free to return whenever they like, and I shall send them back with many honours and favours. And let them not fear at all to come, for I take them under my protection. Written in December of the year fifteen hundred and seventy-eight. * * The Ambassador was received at Goa with the pomp and magnificence becoming the King who sent him and the hope which his mission gave rise to. The Fathers received him with many marks [147] of affection and kindness. He brought two mules for the Fathers, and instructions for all the Governors of the lands through which they should pass to give them whatever would be necessary, and an escort of soldiers for their safety. The Emperor sent also a large alms for the Misericordia of Goa, and a large quantity of porcelain and plates, to feed the poor out of.

[Follows an account of the extent of Akbar's dominions and of his genealogy.]

¹ de Sousa notes that the word is properly *Mongals*. "not Mogols, as we say, and still less Mogors, as the Portuguese commonly say." Cf. *ibid.*, p. 148.

² The letter was dated December 1578, but the Ambassador reached only in September 1579.

14 [148] The occasion which the Mogol had for calling the Fathers, was the following:—Though King Equebar was a Moor by profession, as all the Mogols are, the sect of Muhammad (*Mafamede*) did not satisfy him, and he felt inclined towards the Law of Christ on account of the information given him by some Portuguese; he revered the cross and sacred images, especially those of Christ Our Lord and of His holy Mother, and so did many grandes of his Court. Once he asked a renegade Christian what miracles he had seen Muhammad perform that he should have become a Moor; and he ordered him to take off his turban and live like a Christian. That he might have a living, he gave him an honourable position. He banished from the Court a certain Caciz who thought ill of the purity of the Queen of Angels. These good dispositions of Equebar were greatly increased by the action of two Fathers of the Society, who had gone on a mission to Bengala. Adopting the safer and more probable opinion, where perchance the contrary opinion is probable, they refused absolution to the Christian merchants who did not pay the taxes justly due to the Mogol. Fr. Antonio Vaz, one of the two Missionaries, sought to exonerate the consciences of the Portuguese in the matter of these restitutions. Through Pero Tavares he obtained from the King a deed condoning to our merchants all the taxes of which they had defrauded the exchequer up to the present year 1579, and he wrote to this effect to the Viceroy of India. It was a case for applying our proverb:

Moor, what thou hast not rightly got,
Do give it us for love of God.

From the uprightness of the two Missionaries in Bengala, and the petition of Pero Tavares, his favourite, the King concluded to the purity and truth of the Law of Christ; and, wishing to be more fully instructed in it, he summoned a virtuous priest called Gileanes Pereyra, to know from him what he had still to learn. Pereyra possessed more virtue than letters; hence, after answering what he knew, he said to the King that he was a dunce compared with the men of letters to be found in Goa, and that His Majesty might call for some to be fully informed of all the mysteries of the Gospel. And as [149] the fame of the Fathers of St. Paul was flying on broad wings all over Industan, this was the reason why we were chosen to go to Equebar. We speak the truth, and do not boast of the choice. Some suspected, with much foundation, that Equebar's wish was to make a compromise between Christ and Muhammad, to devise a new law,—a compromise between the falsehoods of the Alcoran and the truths of the Gospel,—and thus obtain from the world the title of Lawgiver; that for this he sought the aid of the Fathers, just as Muhammad helped himself with the Monk Sergius, a Nestorian heretic. But, if such was the King's intention, he did not choose the right secretaries.

45 When the Ambassador's proposal was known, great difficulties came in the way of the Fathers' going. The Count Viceroy, who had much experience of India, was of opinion that the Fathers should not go to the Mogol. He feared that Equebar sought to keep them as hostages, and thus oblige the Captains of Damaõ, Dio, and of the armadas of the North to overlook his encroachments

(*desordems*). Fr. Ruy Vicente, the Provincial, on the contrary, asked with much insistence leave for sending the Fathers. From the information he had received such apprehensions were baseless, whilst there appeared solid hope of greater conquests to the Faith and of advantages to the State. The Viceroy entrusted the matter to the Archbishop, D. Henrique de Tavora, and asked him conjointly with D. Frey Matheos, Bishop of Cochim, D. Frey Leonardo de Sà, Bishop of China, and D. Joaõ Ribeyro Gayo, Bishop of Malaca, then at Goa, to decide what would be of greater service to God our Lord. After discussing the matter, and weighing the reasons for and against, the Illustrissime Prelates answered His Excellency as follows:—

Resolution of the Prelates of India concerning the Mission to the Mogol.

Answering to what I, Archbishop of Goa, and the Reverendissime Lord Bishops of Cochim, Malaca and China, and the Licentiate Andrè Fernandes, our Provisor, have been asked by the Senhor Count Viceroy, whether we should let go, without asking securities from the Court of the Mogol, the Religious of the Company of Jesus, whom King Equebar invites through the formans (*formoës*) of his Ambassador: and considering the weightiness of the matter, which, if it succeeds, imports for the conversion of so many souls: considering also the earnestness with which the King asks for the said Fathers, and for the Gospel of Christ our Redeemer, whose name he pronounces, touched it would seem by divine grace, since, [150] as St. Paul says, no man can say or name the Lord Jesus but by the grace of the Holy Ghost: considering with what freedom, danger and courage the servants of God preached the Gospel, even to enduring a glorious martyrdom, and that it would be a scandal to the infidels, if the said Fathers did not go in answer to such an invitation, it seems good to me and to the said Lord Bishops, and to the said Provisor that His Excellency should send the said Fathers and let them go with the same Ambassador, who came to fetch them, without other securities than those of Divine Providence, though not without the greatest favours and credit possible, trusting in Our Lord and His divine power and goodness, for whose honour and glory the said Fathers are going, that He will guard them from dangers, help them in so holy an enterprise, and bring about the conversion of so powerful a King, who, should he become a Christian and embrace our Law with his peoples, will be to the Church of God in Asia another Constantine, for the total ruin of the sect of Muḥammad, just as Europe had for the extirpation of idolatry and the spread of the Christian Religion. And should he have acted from mere curiosity (which we do not deny is possible), as in the time of Archbishop Dom Gaspar, our predecessor of happy memory, was the case with the Idalxâ, who sent to fetch Fathers and books of the law, without any further good result, we must believe, on the strength of his forman and safe-conduct, that he will let them return freely to us in peace and with honours, as he promises. Were it artifice and malice, and should he treat the Fathers badly, they will earn everlasting glory and the State will have the right to conquer his ports and seize his ships, in punishment of his having persecuted the Ministers of the Gospel, and broken both

his word and the law of nations. And if the said King should hinder the Fathers and not let them come, we judge that the State has, in such a case, no other obligation to effect their freedom than one of charity, if it can easily be done. This being the opinion of the said Lords, they have here signed on the tenth of November 1579. Done by Sebastiaõ Coelho, the said Lord Archbishop's servant.

46 This answer of the Prelates of India determined Dom Luis de Ataide to grant to the Father Provincial the permission, so urgently asked, of sending the Fathers to King Iquebar. For the enterprise were appointed Father Rudolfo Aquaviva, a man of great learning and virtue; Father Antonio de Monserate, a person of singular prudence; and Father Francisco Enriques, born in the East, who, besides being a man of great edification, was well versed in Persian, the language spoken by the chief men of that Court. They left our [151] fortress of Damaõ on the thirteenth of December of the same year.

[*Follows a long account of the journey and a short narrative of the Mission.*]

7. Cf. *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1896, *Jesuit Mission to the Emperor Akbar*, by E. D. Maclagan, C.S., from notes recorded by the late General R. Maclagan, R.E., pp. 28—113.

8. Cf. F. GOLDIE S.J., *The First Christian Mission to the Great Moghul*, Dublin, Gill, 1896.

1^o 6a. 1 ¹* de, quasi ad tridui moram euocatus, ad regem adire coactus est.² Ad quem cum
 Fr. Julian uenisset, ac cum eo de religione ageret, rogaretque Rex, num multi essent, apud nos
 Pereira. sacerdotes? dixit, esse quidem multos, et eorum quam plurimos, se multo doctiores.
 In primis uero, Societatis Sacerdotes commemorauit. De quibus jam antea et ab
 2 Ismaele, et a Tauario audierat. Qua de caussa, illos quam celerrime | accersere, apud
 se, statuit, et anno salutis septuagesimo nono, post millesimum, & quingentesimum,
 legatos cum de alijs maximis suis rebus, tum de duobus e Societate Sacerdotibus
 Akbar's obtinendis, ad Indiae *praesidem,³ et ad Goanum Archiepiscopum misit. Literas uero
 letters to Goa. 3 eodem prope exemplo, atque in eandem omnino sententiam, | ad Societatis etiam, in
 ea Prouincia Praepositum dedit, quae sic habebant.

“Mandatum Zelaldini magni,⁴ Regis a Deo constituti. Primarij patres ordinis .D.
 Their con- “Pauli, scitote me, uobis esse amicissimum. Ego isthuc Ebadullam legatum
 tents. 4 “meum, et Dominicum Petrium mitto qui meis uerbis, a uobis | duos Sacerdotes,
 “viros eruditos, ad me mitti exorent, qui praecipuos legis libros, atque Euangelium
 “aduehant, et legem, et quod in ea summum, atque in omni genere perfectum est,
 “addiscam: nam eam perdiscere exopto, ac ne cunctentur, cum ijsdem legatis, cum
 1^o 6b. 1 “primum isthinc proficiscentur, venire: et simul legis libros afferre.” Intelligant
 “vero, me Sacerdotes, qui uenerint humanissime, quoad eius fieri poterit, atque
 “honorificentissime accepturum: eorumque aduentum, magnae mihi uoluptati futu-
 “rum: et, ut illa cognouero, quae cognoscere, de lege, et eius perfectione, atque
 “absolutione cupio: illis redire licebit, cum primum libebit. Ego uero, plurimis |
 2 “honoribus et muneribus, illos auctos dimittam. Nihil uero venire reformident.
 “Nam ego in meam fidem, illos accipio. Valete.”

3 *Cuius quidem epistolae fides, etsi Aegidianij, qui cum eo⁶ jam annum cum dimi-
 diato uersabatur, | et Tauarij, portus praetoris, epistolarum testimonio statueretur:
 Opinions qui bene sperare, de Regis animo, atque uidentis Patres studio, iuebant: non
 divided. 3 mediocrem dubitationem, cum Praesidi, tum etiam Archiepiscopo, ac Praeposito
 Prouinciæ, cæterisque omnium ordinum hominibus, attulerunt. Quare *Ludoui-
 4 cus Athaidius⁶ praeses, qui plurimum | consilio, atque prudentia ualebat, ea de
 re, ad Senatium praesulum, qui tum Goæ aderant, et nobilium Lusitanorum, ac
 iurisperitorum referre constituit. Dixerunt itaque singuli sententiam, et cum multi,
 in eam orationem ingrederentur, non oportere hominis Agareni, promissis fidem
 haberi: quoniam quod referebatur, ad religionem pertinebat, omnium fuit senten-

¹ Marginal pencil note by X.: Caret folium 5, ubi relatum fuit quomodo Zelaldius (*i.e.*, Hacabar) terras Bisnagar, Visapor, et quaecumq; Mogorem Bengalamque interjacent, bello vastarit. Forte juxta Bengalam in Romanos sacerdotes incidit. Vide Ant^o Botelho *De Christiana apud Mogorem religione*, p. I. Vide *Index* operis hujus sub voce *Sacerdotes*. Suppleri posset ex A. Botelho *De Christiana apud Mogorem Religione* incipiente ad calcem: *Sunt uero in eand. rerum quæ apud Magni Mogoris uidit*, et scheda ⊕ conseq.

² This was erased by Monserrate.

³ Ist: praetorem.

⁴ In the right-hand margin a pencil-mark: *جلال الدين* (Jelal o diu) nomen quod cum imperio assumpsit *كبر* Akbar. [X.].

⁵ Ist: Hactenus Zelaldini epistolae exemplum. Cuius quidem fides, etsi sacerdotis illius qui, ab ipso Gaopetio euocatus, cum eo.

⁶ Later addition in the margin: Ludouicus Athaidius Atouguiae dynasta.

F. 7a. 1 tia, ut Archiepiscopi, et cæterorum præsulum, staretur iudicio. Senatum *Henricus
 Decision of Tauoraus¹ Archiepiscopus habuit cum præsulibus, * qui senatus una omnium eadem-
 the Bishops. que sententia, Regis postulationi concessit et statuit ut duo,² ad eum, ut flagitabat,
 2 Societatis Sacerdotes mitterentur. Quo patrum decreto, cum nullus præsi, reli-
 quus esset dubitandi | locus, * Rhoterigium Vincentinum, Præpositum Societatis,³ è
 uestigio accersit, eique præsulum sententiam exposuit, et se in eam pedibus ire
 dixit, quod fuit Præposito gratissimum. Ille enim, sic erat animo, erga Regis
 postulationem affectus, ut maxime exoptaret, pijs illius (ut uidebantur) uotis satisfieri.
 3 Itaque accepta à præside | schedula, qua præsulum consultum continebatur, * postea-
 quam ad eos Sacerdotes retulit, quibuscum consilium capere, ex instituto Societatis
 Rudolf ap- opus erat,⁴ Rudolfo Aquauiuæ, eius protectionis prouinciam *tradidit.⁵ Cui postea
 pointed. se binos socios adiuncturum significauit. *Dicerem, quanta animi, non solum
 4 lætitia, | uerum etiam uoluptate, quasi e cœlo delapsum, hoc oraculum, Rodolfus
 ex ore Præpositi acceperit: nisi alio in loco, ejus uirtutes commemorare, in animo
 haberem.⁶ At præses, ubi ex Præposito intellexit, Rodolfo, protectionis *onus esse
 F. 7b. 1 impositum,⁷ consilium laudauit, illique ad iter comteatum dari iussit. *Ac cum
 His depar- ad eum, Rodolfus adijisset, ut ualediceret, ipsum religiosa oratione commonitum
 ture. dimisit.⁸

At uero Præpositus, iam tempestiuo mari, cum alterum e socijs, qui Persicam
 linguam callebat, Rodolfo assignasset, ipse cum eo nauem conscendit, et octauo die
 Fr. F. Goa | Xeulum uenerunt, inde Damanum, vbi Rodolfo *tertium comitem⁹ assignauit.
 Henriquez. 2
 Chaul. Ac cum quadriduo ibi constitissent,¹⁰ Damano, Rodolfus, et comites profecti sunt.
 Damān. *Quos deduxere Præpositus, et alij sacerdotes ac municipes arcis ad milliarium a
 Fr. A. 3
 Monserrate Damano, qui a se uicissim | discesserunt, non sine mutui amoris significatione, quem
 utrinque, uis lacrymarum, non obscuris indicijs testata est.¹¹ Qui sub noctem, in
 Oroar? pago quodam (pagus Oroar dicebatur), iuxta utriusque regni fines, constiterunt.
 Pärnera. Et insequenti luce Zelaldini regionem ingressi, trans fluuium montis Neræ, qui
 indigenarum lingua Paharnerà | dicitur, ac fines Lusitanorum et Mongolorum di-
 uisit, Balsarem, (quod oppidum Bucephalam, vel caput bouis, eorum lingua sonat)
 uenerunt: biduo Nausarinum, at Suratem tertio a Damano die.
 Bulsār. Nausarinum caput, et sedes est, quorundam hominum qui se Persas, et Jézénos
 Navsāri. uocant, ex Jéze Persiæ ciuitate, || genere Gaberæi, quos Lusitani Cuarínos¹² uocant.
 Surat. Hi candidi sunt colore, sed reliqua corporis habitudine, et studiorum, atque

F. 8a. 1 uocant, ex Jéze Persiæ ciuitate, || genere Gaberæi, quos Lusitani Cuarínos¹² uocant.
 The Pārsis Hi candidi sunt colore, sed reliqua corporis habitudine, et studiorum, atque
 of Navsāri.

¹ Later addition in the margin. Henricus e Tauora, Indiæ Archiepiscopus.

² Ist: quorum una fuit atque eadem sententia, ut flagitationi Regis satisfaceret, et duo.

³ Later addition in the margin: Rodericus Viuentius, Societatis Jesu in India præpositus.

⁴ This was bracketed later; but Monserrate changed his mind and wrote in the margin: ysto se ha de escreuer.

⁵ Ist: demandauit.

⁶ Cancelled later.

⁷ Ist: curam esse demandatam.

⁸ Cancelled later.

⁹ Ist: tertium, ueluti auxiliarium, comitem.

¹⁰ Erased here: ipso St^o Luciæ festo die.

¹¹ Cancelled later.

¹² Query by X.: Lamas?

exercitiorum propensione, vestitu, cultuque religionis, Judæis quam simillimi, quo etiam nomine passim a Lusitanis uocitantur, nec ipsi omnino diffitentur. Nam, et
 2 sibi genus esse ab Abrahamo concedunt, ob | quam etiam caussam, more Hebræorum
 *maribus¹ summam cutem *circumcidunt.² Quoto ab hinc anno, Christus aduenerit,
 ex librorum suorum monumentis, apte subducunt. *Eorum nota, quae illis mutuo
 conuenit ut a reliquis gentibus distinguerentur, quasi quodam religionis signo, linthea
 vel gossipina xyliinaque uestis est, ad fœmur usque demissa, circum oram consuta,
 3 cui ante | pectus, qua caput inducitur, útrâque extremitas suta nectitur, et sinus
 quidam relinquitur quadratus, latitudine quattuor digitorum, qui rationale illud,
 quod Hebræi Theraphim nominant, videtur referre, in quod inferre quippiam susceptis
 religionibus prohibentur. Hanc uestem, laneo cingulo, textili, eoque oblongo, quo
 4 possit sæpius circumduci, | succingunt: quem quidem cingulum semper gestare
 religione obstringuntur. Si cadauer contingant, inquinantur. Mortuos, non educunt
 per uestibulum, et hostium [sic] domus, sed parietem, retro atque a tergo perrumpunt,
 eosque non efferunt,³ || *in humeros, sed pedibus colligatos, humique stratos et
 F. 8b. 1 resupinos trahunt;⁴ nec igne, nec sepulchro iusta soluunt: sed in locum quendam
 demittunt, altis parietibus circumseptum, ne feris sit liber aditus: quasi beatius
 sit, a volucris laniari, et comedi, aut solis ardoribus torreri, quam flammis, aut
 2 iniecta humo *tectos⁵ absumi.— | Domi, quicquid aquæ fuit reliquum, effunditur .
 ea quibus vita functus utebatur, nulli amplius utilia esse possunt. Quæ quidem
 omnia, Judæorum superstitionem, non solum adumbrant, sed exprimunt. At hi
 tot religionibus Judæorum impediti, ignem et solem colunt, igni templa extruunt .
 3 pontificem, et *fani antistites ac flamines fati consecrant,⁶ | recenti butyro, vel
 optimo atque odorifero oleo, flammam nutriunt. Si *compellantur⁷ iure iurando
 aliquid affirmare; nullum est *iustius sacramentum,⁸ quam si succensis prunis,
 vrinam instillent: quod si facere *recusent,⁹ nulla eis habetur fides. Singulis diebus,
 4 *mane, barbare perstreptentes precantur.¹⁰ | *Notis¹¹ literarum proprijs utuntur.
 Sacrorum suorum arcana, *lingua quam soli periti intelligunt,¹² uno quodam uolumine
 retinent: quod tria continet: sacrorum religiones; scita legesque maiorum; Mago-
 rum augurandi, || et diuinandi scientiam, quod genus sapientum habebatur in

1 Later addition.

2 Ist: præcidunt.

3 Ist: Eorum tessera, qua a reliquis gentibus distinguuntur, quasi quadam religionis nota, linea vel gausapina vestis est, ad femur usque demissa, circumquaue consuta, cui ante pectus, qua caput inducitur, útrâque ora consuitur, et locus quidam relinquitur quadratus, qui rationale illud quod Hebræi Theraphim nominant, videtur referre, in quod si quid inferant, religionem violant. Hanc uestem, laneo cingulo, textrini operis, eoque oblongo, quo possit sæpius circumduci, accingunt: quod quidem semper gestare religionibus adiguntur. Si cadauer domus, sed perrupto pariete, retrorsum: quos non efferunt.

4 Ist: in feretrum, sed pedibus colligatos, reptando trahunt.

5 Later addition.

6 Ist: sacrificulos consecrant.

7 Ist: adigantur.

8 Ist: sacratius iuramentum.

9 Ist: detrectent.

10 Ist: preces, barbare perstreptentes, inane persoluunt.

11 Ist: figuris.

12 Ist: lingua solis peritis nota.

Persis. Lacte, butyro, oleo, oleribus, legumine et frugibus uescuntur, a vino se abstinent. Uxoribus nuntium remittere, si libet, permittuntur. Adulteris mulierculis nares præscindunt, et meretricium [*sic*] quæstum facere permittunt. Porro animis
 2 sunt ita efferatis, ut nihil, a reliqua exlegum turba differre uideantur. Nam si quid aduersum, *infensumque¹ illis eueniat, immaniter sibi manus mortemque afferunt. Atque horum hi sunt mores.²

Sacerdotes, *ibi,³ mensem fere consistere, coguntur. Nam legatus nolebat iter
 3 antea inire, *quam lunam salutasset,⁴ | eo quod mos sit Agarenis, ut auspicato aliquid
 A month at aggrediantur, lunam opperiri, ut se post accessum ad solem ostendat, *quo⁵ eam
 Surat. salutent. Verum non inutilis, aut ociosa fuit hæc mora. Nam dum Agareni cessant,
 Persian illi Persicæ linguæ diligentem operam dederunt. Confluebant vero in eorum hos-
 pitium | plurimi, quibus ipsa nouitas cupiditatem iniiciebat, videndi homines,
 uultu, atque ornatu, sermone, ac religione peregrinos, et hos scientiæ, ac pietatis
 F 9b. 1 opinione, ab eo Rege uocatos, quo nullum existimabant esse || potio-
 Pictures rem. Quibus illi, effigiem Jesu Christi, et Mariæ Virginis, ostendebant: quarum aspectu, ita afficie-
 shown and bantur, ut eas non solum religiose oscularentur, sed etiam capitibus suis sancte
 revered. imponerent. Eo usque omnibus hominibus, a natura inditum est, ut existiment,
 2 uenerationem habere iustam, quicquid excellit; quamuis plerumque | in excellentiæ,
 iudicio *multi⁶ decipiantur: aut obstinatione quadam sententiæ, *ne officium et
 cultum tribuant, audacter et impudenter recusent.⁷

Illud uero non modo mirabile sed prodigio simile euenit, cuidam ex *Gabraeorum⁸
 genere, quos Judæos, vel Samaritas *opinamur, qui⁹ cum multa in controuersiam
 3 uocaret, | dum Rodolfus, scriniolum forte fortuna recludit, in quo Stephani Protomar-
 tyris, et aliorum aliquot Sanctorum reliquiæ seruabantur, e uestigio pauefactus, ingenti
 Relics of St. clamore edito, retrorsum exsiliuit, et amenti similis dixit, si hic sunt mortuorum
 Stephen, the Protomartyr. ossa, non possum hic consistere, quin et has, quibus operior | vestes, disrumpam, et
 4 dilacerabo. Cui Rodolfus pacatissime, æque sapienter, ac Christiane respondit, "Nos
 ossa mortuorum non circumferimus, sed uiuorum," et scrinium obserauit. Ille uero
 ex metu confirmatus, intermissam controuersiam instaurauit.¹⁰ ||

Alluitur Surate, Taphæi flumine, quod se in mari sex miliaribus ab oppido
 F. 10a. 1 effundit. Arce ingenio loci, et operis munitione, ac ducentorum equitum sagittario-
 Surat de- rum præsidio, instructa; lacuna uero, longe latissima, et operis artificio, omnium
 scribed. quæ in India uisuntur pulcherrima, ornatur. Structura enim marmorea, et | quibus-
 Lake. dam gradibus atque areis distincta, ducentos pedes lata, magno ambitu oculos
 2

¹ ist: aut triste.

² The whole of this paragraph was bracketed by Monserrate, with the marginal note at fol. 8a.1: "ab hoc loco interserenda alibi."

³ ubi in MS., and ist: Surate.

⁴ ist: quam lune litasset.

⁵ ist: ut.

⁶ Later addition.

⁷ ist: impudenter et impie officium et cultum tribuere detrectent.

⁸ ist: eorum.

⁹ ist: opinamur, ac paulo ante commemorauimus, qui.

This paragraph is cancelled in the MS., with the note in the beginning: "iam sunt descripta."

delectat. In eius medio, turris pulchre extracta, excitatur, cui nauicula inseruit, cum eo, recreandi animi caussa, *municipes confluunt.¹ Sepulchro etiam exornatur Qhojâ Sophâris, qui ob suam perfidiam, et perditos mores a nostratibus | scriptoribus sæpenumero commemoratur: quod est exoterica quidem structura, sed diligenter, et magna cum operis, et pecuniæ consumptione elaboratum. Cui adhærescit, cuiusdam alius nebulonis bustum, Æthiopis genere, religionis Christianæ etiam desertoris, et hostis, qui Qhojâ Sopharis primipilus fuit, quem pro sancto contribules, non | alia de caussa colunt, quam quod a Garsia Tauoræ præfecto Damanensis arcis necatus sit a quem mulierculæ, coronas, et florum fasciculos, comportant. Frequens est in ea mercatorum conuentus, et nauium concursus: amne || ab ipsis faucibus, ad urbem ipsam, præalto, ac lato, ad quam est tutus portus.²

3
Tomb of
Khwājā Za-
far (Coje Zo-
far), † June
24, 1546;
nd of Cide
Meriam, 4
† 1562.

F. 10b. 1

³ Cæterum legatus paratis camelis, et alijs vehiculis, quibus commeatus, et merces eueherentur, posteaquam lunæ litauit, manum suorum eduxit, et ultra oppidum, ad eius portas, castra fecit. Postridie, *i.e.*,⁴ octauo Kal. Februarij castra mouit, quod fuit sacerdotibus | iucundissimum, qui superstitiosam hanc cunctationem non probabant; et adeundi regem, quem Christiana sacra suscepturum confidebant, incredibili desyderio æstuabant, et milliario confecto, *trans Mophim amnem, est nunc Taphi,⁵ non longe a Rhaënéro castra posuit.

They leave
Surat, Jan.
24, 1580 N.S.

2

Ränder.

Est Rhaenerum, *vulgus Lusitanorum Raynel uocat,⁶ castellum bellica gloria celebre, ex aduerso Surate, | tanquam Abydi, Sestus, positum. Cujus municipes, cum Lusitanis, magna cum fortitudinis laude, sæpe, uicti tamen, manus et arma conseruerunt.⁷

3

⁸ Ex eo loco, postera die, profectis, in non mediocre discrimen, duo ex socijs, et reliquus Christianorum comitatus, deuenerunt. Nam, cum ex Sacerdotibus vnus, qui propter morbum lectica portabatur, | a lecticarijs, qui concitato cursu, studio deponendi sarcinam, iter agunt, longe abstractus esset, et præfecto Suratæ, iuuenum satellitio stipato, occurrisset: dum is illum salutat, et ille pauca interrogat, qui pone veniebant, parum abfuit quin a satellitibus || præfecti, qui præiuerant, et exteræ gentis aspectu offensi, hostiliter eos inuaserant, clamantes, "Franci! Franci!" cæderentur. Verum aduentante citatis equis et curru, hinc præfecto, illhinc legato, diuino euenit nutu, ut antea turba sedaretur, quam vnus ex Agarenis, a quodam Lusitano confossus, periret: qui si perijsset, eius mors exitium nostratibus attulisset.

Jan. 25, 1580.

4

Monserrate
ill. Danger-
ous meeting.

F. 11a. 1

Abdul and
Mirân Sultân
of Surat.

The orthography of the place-names in our marginal index is that of the new Imperial Gazetteer. Places not identified have a ?.

¹ Ist: municipes frequentissime confluunt.

² The whole of this paragraph is bracketed or cancelled. The words cancelled are: Sepulchro etiam exornatas . . . fasciculos comportant.

³ There is an evident confusion and mixing up of the Old and New Styles in the dates of this itinerary. The New Style came, however, into operation in India only in October 1583. Cf. *Oriente Cong.*, Lisboa edn. ii, 183. Even if we suppose with Fr. de Sousa (*ibid.*, ii, 15) that the party left Surat on January 15, 1580, O.S., we find that they had reached Sultânpur nine days later; here they rested three days, and, crossing the "Avaz" or Satpurâ Range in four days, arrived at Sindwa (*Cendwâ*). From Sindwa to Surana near the Narbadâ there must have been several stages more; yet, it was at Surana, on January 31, that they witnessed the eclipse of the moon. From other accounts we know that the journey from Surat to Fatehpur took 43 days, and that Fatehpur was reached on Feb. 27 or 28, O.S.

⁴ What we represent here and elsewhere by '*i.e.*' is in the MS. represented by 'h' or 'i'.

⁵ Ist: transmissoque amne.

⁶ Later addition.

⁷ This paragraph is bracketed in the MS.

⁸ In the margin by M.: Isto se ha de escreuer daqui pera abayxo ate onde diz: Enimvero Auguz. (i. e., 1. 11. 11)

2 Duo uero Sacerdotes, in periculo constituti, eum qui præibat, peremptum existimauerunt, quem consequuti, quasi e cœlo sibi datum, amplexi sunt.¹

Jan. 26. Sequenti luce arx occurrit, ex lapidibus delubrorum gentilitiorum, quæ Agareni deiecerunt, extracta. Laudandi quidem eo nomine, si non alijs plurimis nominibus,

Hindu feast. Floating lamps on the Tapti. 3 excuato cucurbitæ putamine, iniecto oleo, et imposito myxo, atque inflammato, superioris anni errata expiant, in hunc modum. Nudi amnem intrant, capiti suo, lychnum illum inflammatum imponunt, sensim se mergunt, quoad lychnus, a profuente correptus, abducitur, | qua expiatione, se mundos existimant. Vocantur hæ ferie ab illis Satamia: eo quod, septimo die lunæ undecimi mensis habeantur. *(Is ex eorum instituto est Ianuarius).²

Sultanpur. Ab ora fluminis profecti, Sultanpurum, quod Basilæipolis redditur, nona die a F. 11b. 1 Surate ventum est, ipsis Agarenicorum sacrificiorum ferijs, quarum || feriarum causa, ut legatum præstolarentur, Basilæipoli triduo consederunt. *Inde Auazi iugum

Sindwa. transuerti, Cenduanum³ quadriduo uenerunt. Enimuero Auazus mons, in longitudinem, uersus mare, ad occidentem solem, millia passuum septuaginta quinque: in Avās Mts. Sātpurā Range|. latitudinem uersus aquilonem, sexdecim patet. itinere quidem angusto, et difficili, quo | uix singuli cameli ducerentur, et carri humeris hominum sublatis, transueherentur. *Nam per loca syluestribus sepibus densa atque aspera iter agebatur.⁴ Inde latrones

Wild mountaineers. impune hominem, ex legati cohorte, peremerunt. Huius montis incolæ simulachris deseruiunt. A tribus regibus, quorum unus est ueluti reliquorum imperator, gubernantur.

3 Cum Mongolis | bellum ita gerunt, ut dum vna eorum factio, pacto foedere, cum Mongolis, conquiescit, reliquæ duæ factiones, eos crudeli, et exitioso bello conficiant, superiores sæpe, communi nonnunquam marte, nunquam acie sua, a Mongolis profligata. Hos efferatos, et truces homines (cum abiecti sint, agrestes, et barbari, latrocinijs | 4 assueti, rudi armatura, hoc est, arcu arundineo et breuibus sagittis, ijsque rubiginosis, proterui tamen, cupidi, elati, et ad rem plus æquo auidi) nullo equitatu, nullis tormentis bellicis instructos, ingenium et situs loci plurimum iuuat. Plerisque enim

F. 12a 1 in locis, occurrunt syluæ et nemores, ac præruptæ rupes; quæ loca, præsijs, et propugnaculis firmant. Hostes uero ex insidijs, et loco uepribus, et dumetis septo undique, et uestito, non aperte, ac palam, eminus adoriuntur. *At uero angustissimæ semitæ, quibus altissimæ rupes impendent, ut facile perpauca, prohibere hostes possint, efficiunt: quorum si incursionem atque impetum excipere nequeant, se in syluam

2 densam atque asperam abstrudunt.⁵ Eius tractus princeps | ciuitas, in qua ipse imperator habitat, sicuti mons ipse, Auazus dicitur, amplissima quidem uallorum ambitu, Their lair at Avāgarh or Barwāni. sed tuguriorum humilitate, despiciatissima.⁶

¹ This paragraph is bracketed in the MS., but Monserrate wrote later in the margin (f. 10b. 3): "isto se ha de seruer daqui pera abayxo ate onde diz: 'Enimuero Auazus.'"

² Later addition, and 1st: Februarius.

³ 1st: Inde superato Auazi iugo Cenduanum.

⁴ 1st: Nemus uero densissimum impendebat.

⁵ 1st: aditus uero angustissimi, quibus . . . prohibere hostes possint. The principal verb was wanting. The correction and addition was made later.

⁶ This paragraph is bracketed in the MS. from: Enimuero Auazus mons.

- Surana, Jan. 31, O.S. Cæterum Cendvano, aspero nimium itinere, per montes et conualles, Suránam uentum est. Cum Suranæ essent, ea nocte, ad undecimam horam, pridie Kal. 3 Februarij, | luna laborauit, qua pius, ac religiosus Lusitaniæ Rex Henricus, purpuratus *Pontifex, ut insequenti anno perlatum est, de uita decessit.¹ *Hinc præcelso ac præpotenti Regi eadem qua natus est dies finem attulit uitæ. Ac non pauci prodigio illud astruxerunt quod, qua die in hanc lucem editus est, Ulyssiponensis ager niue candente emicuit. Insolitum enim est in eo conuentu ob aëris temperiem ningere. Qua uero die uitæ concessit, luna defectum est perpessa. Et quod ad vitam ab eo actam attinet, uir sane fuit apprime pius ac religiosus. Quid uero lunæ defectus portenderit, Lusitanorum labores et æumnæ, quæ Henrici mortem sequutæ sunt² . . . [*one line cut from near the margin.*]
- Crossing the Narbadā. Haud ita procul a Surána, Naruada fluuius, qui Amadabæam alluens Barocij exit in mare, occurrit. *Hyberno quidem tempore alueo latissimo et profundo aquam profluentem, eamque uberem, usque eo multis locis gerit ut, nisi po[n]te vel nauicula transitus coniungatur, transmissio præcludatur; at uero uado peruius est æstate cum aquæ pluuiæ subsidunt.³ Piscosus | est, et liquore adeo pellucenti, ut barbati, et turtures ac minutissimi calculi numerari possint. Ripæ denso scirpo, et salutifera amaraco uestiuntur. Annem transgressi, biduo ad amplissimam urbem Mandho uenerunt.||
- F. 12b. 1 Murorum huius urbis ambitus, et ædificiorum, quæ extant, magnitudo, et eorum quæ ceciderunt ruinæ, indicant, qualis fuerit, dum floreret. Muri enim circuitus, etiamnum, ijs locis integri, qui obiecto prærupto saxo non muniuntur, uiginti 24 Miles of walls. 2 quattuor fere millia passuum patet. Est autem in montis fastigio, *æquo et plano loco | posita,⁴ omni ex parte, altissima conualle, et locis inuijs circumdata. Unum tantum habet, ac perangustum aditum, auatione nunquam carere potest, sunt enim plurimi in ea lacus, et fontes; uberrimæ, et dulcis aquæ, *et iuges putei.⁵ Ea parte, qua uia, et aditus est in urbem, sursum uersus in difficili cliuo quinque muri 5 Rows of walls. 3 objiciuntur, | ut expugnari nisi inedia, et fame afflicta vix queat. Quam, [licet] Agarenorum incuria, et ingenita barbarie, qui perpauca scriptis, posteritatis memoriae, History confused. 4 eaque dubia, et incerta atque anilibus fabulis plena, mandant: a quo, et quando condita amplissima urbs fuerit, cognoscere certo, nemo queat . tamen | structura murorum recentem, et ab Agarenis esse ædificatam, certa coniectura duci possumus. Quos A recent Mughamadan town. 5 fuisse genere Mongolos accepi, ex alia quidem gentilitate, ab hac quæ nostro hoc F. 13a. 1 sæculo, celebri fama || peruagatur. Ferunt enim, annis abhinc ducentis, Mongolos, ut nouas sedes quærent, e suis magalibus, in Indiam excurrisse, et Mandhoi, tum propter loci naturam, qui est ad arcendos hostes accommodatus, tum propter agri, imò uero totius tractus, qui Malüanum dicitur, fertilissimam regionem, consedisse. 2 Qui | tamen postea, a Patanæis, multis prælijs debilitati, et in unius Mandhoi angustias compulsi, et arctati, septenni tandem obsidione, uicti, ac profligati sunt. Nam Taken from the Mughals by the Pathāns.
- 1 1st: Pontifex diem clausit, ut . . . perlatum est.
 2 Later addition. Instead of the missing words, I suggest: "satis explicuit."
 3 1st: Hyberno quidem tempore latissimus atque altissimus, æstate uado transitur.
 4 1st: et latissima ac planissima area posita.
 5 1st: puteique lautissimi.

Patanæus rex, qui exercitum ducebat, cum omnia tentasset, et perspectum satis,
 3 exploratumque haberet, nullis machinis, se posse ciuitate | potiri, nisi eam, inedia,
 fameque fatigatam, *in tantas angustias compelleret, ut se in deditionem redigi
 pateretur,¹ castrorum loco, quæ ad portas prope muros habebat, septa, et propug-
 nacula, ædesque, in quibus milites agerent, *exstrui,² et ciuitatem *institutui,³ artifi-
 4 intercipi, | a suo equitatu, qui uias obsidebant, eamque potissimum, qua retro, atque
 F. 13b. 1 a tergo urbis, asperum quidem, atque infestum, || quod pedites reptando, uix
 conficiant, iter est, diligenter præcepit. Qua potitus, eam deiici, soloque æquari
 iussit. Visitur in ea uasti, è ferro, tormenti fragmentum, quod nescio qua supersti-
 2 et uenerationem adhibent. | * Post hanc huius urbis perniciem et exitium⁴ perampla
 Basilica, antiquorum regum domicilium, in qua prouinciae *præses⁵ habitat . *arx
 munitissima et sepulchrum Regum inchoatum quidem, nullo unquam, ut puto
 3 spectandum.⁶ Nam ex medio quadratæ areæ, quæ cubitis | quinque, e terra erecta,
 superiore sui parte, octoginta pedes lata, inferiore, fornicibus, et peristilis, circum-
 quaque cingitur, *camera surgit fastigio globato et rotundo,⁷ lata uiginti, alta pedes
 4 quadraginta, ad crepidinem, *et altitudine eadem ad fastigium.⁸ Ex quattuor
 areæ angulis, turres excitantur, septem pauimentis | (quorum singula interualla,
 cubitis quinque sursum feruntur) et octonis angulis, distinctæ. Quibus | fenestræ
 F. 14a. 1 insunt, uersus quattuor uentos, e quibus, more Agarenico, precesiones indicuntur.
 Est enim, e regione sepulchri, ædes maxima, simili magnificentia, et apparatione.
 Porro in sepulchro, conditi sunt Reges, genere Mongoli tres, et unius eorum institutor.
 2 Cæterum singuli tumuli, tesserulis, crustis, | et vermiculato emblemate picti sunt.
 Asseruantur etiam, pro tumulis, subsellia deaurata, quibus reges utebantur, quasi
 3 regie dignitatis insignibus, ut sunt apud nos, sceptrum, et corona. *Extat⁹ etiam
 templum, Christiano more ædificatum: inferiore quidem parte, utrinque delubris
 fornicatis, ad aras extruendas | ornatum: superiore, totidem triclinijs, etiam fornicatis,
 aperto transitu, ex uno, in alterum, usque ad aræ maximæ sacellum. Verum illud
 forsitan nonnullis incredibile, et falso memoriæ proditum uidebitur . sepulchrorum, et
 4 tumulorum agrum, sex mille passus, extra muros protendi: quod, quamvis *hyper-
 bole¹⁰ | simile sit: haud magnopere quispiam mirabitur, si qua magnificentia, et

1 ist: in deditionem compelleret.

2 ist: excitari.

3 ist: adornari.

4 Later addition.

5 ist: prætor.

6 ist: Arx uero munitissima; sepulchrum uero Regum . . . absolvendum, fabricæ artificio . . . spec-
tandum.

7 ist: fornix rotunda surgit.

8 ist: cui semi-orbis, eadem latitudine impositus, ipsam claudit.

9 ist: visitur.

10 ist: portenti; 2ndly: hyperbato.

- F. 14b. 1** sumptu sepulchra || condere soleant Agareni, cognouerit. Nam cum sibi persuadeant, omnes quotquot è uita discedunt, diuis cœlitibus, eo solum adscribi, quod Mahameddo nomen dederint, eos, ædificatis accurate sepulchris, ex sua æstimatione, diuo dignis honoribus, prosequuntur. Ea sane in re, et quod diuis honores, et uita
- 2** functis | sepulchra, statui oportere sentiant: perditis quibusdam, nostri sæculi, hominibus doctiores, et meliores. Mandhoum quidem sic habet.¹
- Mächhiwāra R. Ujjain.** Biduo ab hac amplissima urbe, Usenam Machipāræ fluuio vicinam, uenerunt. * Huius conditor fertur Birbitcremas, quem ut Deum, et omnium fabrilium artium |
- 3** inuentorem, Gedrosia uniuersa, et circumuicinæ prouinciæ uenerantur, cui superstitioni occasionem præbuit, hominis, ad fabriles artes propensio, et ingenium. Nam cum plurimum potentia, et opibus ualeret, erat enim Rex, magnorum, multorumque operum architectus, sui memoriam, in plerisque | uetustis templorum ædificijs, quæ
- Vira Vikramāditya.** adhuc extant, reliquit. Nam cum passim, huiusmodi peruetusta || templa occurrant · si quærat, “Quisnam hoc templum posuit?” respondetur, “Birbitcremas.” Si uero architectus, aut faber lignarius rogetur, “Cui tamquam Deo pietatis officium, et cultum tribuis?” respondet, “Birbitcremæ.” Cuius quidem ratio construendi,
- 4** etiamsi a Romanæ fabricæ splendore, multis spatijs superetur, | uia tamen, ac ratione constat, neque est oculis spectantium iniucunda.²
- A burial.** Usenæ cum essent, noctu senem quendam gentiles, * in deos a se relatum,³ qui è uita ad inferos discesserat, picto inauratoque feretro impositum, in pompa, tanta
- 3** religione, ad rogam ferebant, ut è uia, qua erat eundem, minutissimas | paleas, et stipulas amouerent: et in acerris, circa feretrum, suffimenta ponerent, et odores incenderent. Mirum sane, fucatae sanctitati, ab impijs non denegari, quod ueræ detrahitur, a malis, Christianæ fidei, desertoribus.⁴
- Sārangpur.** Usena biduo Sarangpurum, * trans riuulum,⁵ quo ad occidentem solem alluitur, |
- 4** uenerunt. Hic sedes, et domicilium * erat,⁶ eius qui pro Rege, eum tractum gubernat. Sarangpuri postea quam || triduo quieuerunt, * trans Paharbatium flumen, post triduum
- F. 15b. 1** Pimpaldarum prætergressi sunt; quod solstitiali orbi subest, deinde Siurangem, peruenerunt.⁷
- Pipaldhār. 23° 46' Long. N. 77° 43' Lat. E. Zila Bhilsā. Sironj.** Natura soli, et cœli Siurangini, grauis, et pestilens est · quo fit, ut plurimas venenatas bestiolas, ex earum genere, quæ uel serpunt, uel gradiuntur, è rimis, et |
- 2** latibulis tectorum producat: ac nocte quidem, lectos frequentissimæ nepæ infestant: quæ, si aculeo feriant, tetros cruciatus cient. Locis uero palustribus, lacertæ
- Vermine. Crocodiles?** quædam innascuntur, arentibus, atque humidis locis, æque assuetæ, quæ morsu
- 3** necant. In dumetis, et uepribus, discolor *Regulus* nascitur: qui aspectu | perdit.
- Chameleons.** Is medio corpore, ad caput ruber, ostro elegantior, reliquo uero corpore, crocei

¹ The whole of the description of Mandhu is bracketed in the MS.

² This paragraph is bracketed in the MS. from: Huius conditor fuit . . . (fol. 14b. 2.)

³ *ist: diuis a se scriptum.*

⁴ This paragraph is bracketed in the MS.; but, Monserrate wrote later in the margin: *Ysto se haa de escreuer.*

⁵ *ist: transito riuulo.*

⁶ *ist: est.*

⁷ *ist: transmissoque Paharbatio flumine, post triduum Pimpaldarum superarunt, quod solstitiali orbi subest, Surangem postea peruenerunt.*

- coloris, qui in fuscum desinit, oculos inspicientium, colorum uenustate allicit: verum hoc ei à natura, Dei erga homines beneuolentia, inditum est, ut si homo anteuertat |
 4 eius conspectum, *Regulus¹ non sustineat, uti de lupo narratur, sed quam ocysissime
 *potest,² in latebras sese proripiat, et recondat. Quod si malo alicuius hominis, |
 F. 13a. 1 captus ipsius forma, ut cætera id genus animantia, prior oculos, in hominem incautum, et alias res agentem, aliquamdiu defigat, misero homini (si eius regionis hominibus fides habenda est: qui hoc ita se habere firmissime asseuerant) omnino e vita migrandum est. In hoc discrimen, quidam e Sacerdotibus uenit, qui pulchritudine |
 2 bestiolkæ inuitatus, fugientem tamdiu persecutus est, quoad se Regulus in sarmentis, et uepreculis abdidit: ubi uero in hospitium uenit; et ab incolis, quodnam illud genus lacertæ esset, interrogauit, non aliter mirati sunt, quod *regulo conspecto³ superaret, quam *Melitæi,⁴ quod ictus a bestia .D. Paulus, incolumis permaneret. | **Act. 28.**
 3 Ea uero, magnitudine *muris est qui uocatur nitedula,⁵ speciem ferens, eius lacerti, qui uento uescitur, obiectoque sibi proxime colore inficitur, ac chamæleon dicitur. Plerique eius municipij contribules, præter morem cæterorum eius conuentus municipalium, in tuguriolis rotundis, humilibusque habitant. Agricultura, quamuis tenui
 Round huts. 4 agro, | et angusto, uiuunt. Ager .n. saxeto undique cingitur, unde existimo tantam uenenatorum colluuiem præcipue scorpionum emanare.⁶
- F. 16b. 1 Siurange, exacto triduo, Naroarim | petunt, difficili sane ac, periculosa uia. Nam
 To Narwar. ab oppido Cyperino, solitudo quædam, et collis perangustus et amnis occurrunt, Sipri. quæ a sibi proxima ciuitate nomen mutuuntur. *E quibus⁷ agrestes oppidani, confisi, se tuto, atque impune posse *prædas facere:⁸ solent ex insidijs, *prætereuntes⁹ inuadere, *expilare, diripere.¹⁰
- 2 Est uero ciuitas | Naroaris . in *collis¹¹ radicibus posita, cui arx imminet, *in Narwar de- æquata montis planitie explicata.¹² Verum iniuriâ cœli, *cum undique omnes uenti scribed. erumpant,¹³ adeo sæui turbines in ea existunt, ut nisi huic iniuriæ arcendæ, atque adeo superandæ Deus, et natura magnam loco marmorearum tabularum copiam tribuisset, nullis tegulis tecta constare potuissent.¹⁴
- 3 His diebus, | circa .15. diem lunæ Februarij, nouendiales ferias Agareni: Idæa Muharram. sacra gentiles habebant. Nouendiales feriæ, ob honorem Assani, & Hosseni, Mahameddi, ex Fatima filia nepotum, patre Halide suscipiuntur. Quos narrant, ut

1 1st: bestiola.

2 Later addition.

3 1st: bestiola conspecta.

4 1st: Rhodij; 2ndly: Mitilenæi.

5 1st: magnitudine nitedule est

6 The whole of this paragraph is bracketed in the MS.

7 1st: quibus.

8 1st: prætereuntes deprædari.

9 1st: eos qui iter agunt.

10 Later addition.

11 1st: monticuli.

12 1st: in area monticuli ædificata.

Later addition.

14 This paragraph is bracketed in the MS.

- 4 aui *leges stabilirent¹ ac propagarent, cum bello superati, cum | suis copijs, a Christianis fuissent: ingentes cruciatus fuisse, ab exlegibus *(uti ipsi dicunt)² per-
 F. 17a. 1 pessos, iussosque nudis pedibus prunas premere: ob quam caussam nouendialibus || inedia se affligunt, legumine tantum uescuntur, statis diebus, pro concione, labores illorum quidam e suggestu percensent, quorum oratione, vniuersus cœtus se lamentis, lacrymisque dedit. Deinde extremo feriarum die structos, et incensos uicatim rogos,
 2 saltu transiliunt, postea calentes cineres, pedibus dispergunt. Interea | dum hæc agitantur, inconditis, et barbaris clamoribus, Assan Hossen inclamant. Neque vero
 Holl festival. gentilium Idæa sacra, ijs sunt, insana superstitione, inferiora. Nam quindecim fere dierum spatio, puluerem in sese mutuo, et in prætereuntes quoscunque, impune iaciunt, lutoque seipsos et obuios quosque inficiunt, ac e fistulis, infectum rubrica |
 3 imbrem eiaculantur, tandem ad sordida sacra sordidati, decima quinta luce accedunt . quo die, Matri Deorum, quam varijs nominibus appellant, (ueteres Romani Cybelem, et magnam matrem, et Idæam dicebant) arborem et genere, et similitudine palmæ affinem, inani superstitione, atque anili consecrant: consecratæ, quasi in Deos |
 4 relatæ libant, et uota nuncupant. Ad extremum, cum sponponderint, se in annum proximum, aliam *dedicatuos,³ nocte per triuia, pro domibus, *lignorum strues⁴ magna torrium congerie construunt: quas canendo lustrant: ac, tandem consecratam, atque adeo execrandam stipitem, igne consumunt.⁵||
- F. 17b. 1 Naroari, Goalerim, bidui itinere, ventum est. Arce munitissima, et Regio domi-
 Gwalior. cilio, in fastigio rupis, ad cuius radices, ciuitas posita est: Goaleris exornatur. Et ad arcem quidem, uno tantum, eoque aspero, ac difficili itinere aditur. Pro foribus,
 Elephant effigies elephantis, uasta, et immanis spectatur. In rupe locis præruptis, ædes tum
 statue. 2 sacræ, | tum profanæ subterraneæ, excauatæ sunt. Et quod Sacerdotibus, non
 Curious mediocrem admirationem attulit, in pariete vestibuli, unius templi, tredecim simu-
 sculptures. lachra insculpta, cingulo tenus, cernuntur, rudi quidem opere: quorum medium, habitu, situque, Christi: reliqua sex, dextrorsus, sinistrorsusque posita, Apostolorum
 3 faciem, afferre uidebantur. | Attamen, quod insignibus alijs carerent, quibus Chris- tiani sacras effigies, honestare solent, non satis constare potuit, quorum essent.
 Former Constat uero, ab Agarenis qui simulachra promiscue, nullo adhibito delectu, detur-
 Christians. bant, et effringunt, non esse positas. Nec tamen nos latet, annis abhinc trecentis,
 4 eam regionem Christianos coluisse, | qui uarijs Agarenorum prælijs (heu dolor) victi, et profligati sunt, nomine Christiano prorsus, ex hominum memoria, animisque euulso. Cuius rei pœnas (si saperent) se luere, ex eo maxime deprehenderent, quod
 F. 18a. 1 a nebulonibus præstigijs, ac fallacijs passim eluduntur. || Namque, paucis ab hinc
 Bābā Kapūr annis, in hac eadem ciuitate, nebulo quidam, cui nomen erat Baba Capurius, Maham-
 and drinkers meddi sectator, fuit, qui Bacchi exoletos mores, et instituta potione quadam,
 of post. instaurauit, quæ ex papaueris putaminibus aqua dilutis, conficitur. Opinabatur

¹ Ist: sectam assererent.

² Later addition.

³ Ist: statuturos.

⁴ Ist: focos.

⁵ This paragraph is cancelled in the MS.

homo perditus, in eo beatitudinem esse positam, si omni sensu quis careat, nec
 2 corporis | morbos, nec animi ægri- tudes patiat, quin magis, quodam sensuum
 lenocinio semisopitus, deliniatur. Cumque id oppio effici animaduertisset, cui tamen
 si quis assuescat, in discrimen incidit præmaturæ mortis, ex papauerum siliquis,
 3 siliquis incisus effluxit, | æque maturitatem sunt consequutæ, demptis seminibus,
 in aquam conijciuntur, tamdiuque subiguntur, donec humor quasi vinum coloretur.
 Qui posteaquam paulisper resedit, in uas aliud reticulo interiecto, tenuissimi lini,
 transfunditur, et expurgatur, eiusque iam ad potandum parati *ipsi pharmacopæi¹
 4 magnis crateribus se proluunt. Abstinent | vero carnibus, cepa, allijs, et id genus
 cæteris, tum deinde fructibus, sed oleo diligentissime, quod post oppium, et post
 hanc potionem haustum, est mortiferum. Vescuntur tantum legumine decocto, et
 dulciculo aliquo cibo, tum demisso inter genua capite, Endymionis somnum dor-
 miunt. Cum uero, in eo semper stertendi uitio, turpi inertia, ad desidendum,
 F. 18b. 1 amplissimus locus pateat, id ille castitatis splendore, usque eo cohonestatum iri
 putauit, ut potius admirationi, quam reprehensionem, se obnoxium fore non obscura
 spe, et cæca expectatione duceretur. Nam ea est huius potionis natura, ut impu-
 2 dicos corporis, | ad uoluptatem motus, innato frigore reprimat, quo factum est, ut
 opinione sanctitatis, et honorificum sepulchrum, et templum in hoc municipio
 Babā Kapūr's obtinuerit. Ad cuius tumulum, assidue excubant, seu potius procumbunt, ex eius
 tomb. sectatoribus, *saltem² triginta, quibus crastinus dies, nihil dat ad cogitandum.
 3 Nouus | hic Epicuræorum coryphæus, plurimos nactus est, qui ei nomen dederunt,
 Akbar, one viros quidem principes, et in ijs regem ipsum Zelaldinum magnum: qui omnes ab
 of his fol- eo pharmaco, quod uulgari eorum lingua, postum dicitur, Postinos se dici honorifi-
 lowers. cum arbitrantur.³
 4 *Goaleri, ad oram Sambáli fluminis uentum est, qui secus Daulpurum | fluit,⁴
 The Cham- quod Maluani regni et Delinini, uel Indici, limes est, ac loci natura, hominum
 bal R. industria, atque labore munitissimum. Fuit enim anteaquam sub vnus imperium,
 Dholpur. ditionemque Del nini et Maluani caderent, Delinitorum propugnaculum firmissimum,
 F. 19a. 1 sicuti Goaleris, Maluanorum. Ac natura quidem loci, ea est ut equitatu, nihil fere
 bellica laude dignum, præstari queat. Nam cum procul inspectantibus peramplus,
 æquus, et planus ager appareat, est tamen, tot salebris, et asperitatibus subsiden-
 2 et angustissimis | semitis, ad iter cum periculo redire: aut in manus hostium, uel
 latronum incidere periclitetur. Daulpurum uero Latinis, erit Alba urbs.⁵ Et
 Sambáli quidem *flumen, magnum⁶ est, atque ad littus *Gedrosicum uersus⁷

¹ Later addition.

² 1st: ut plurimum.

³ This paragraph from "arce munitissima" (fol. 17b. 1) is bracketed in the MS.

⁴ Cancelled in the MS.

⁵ Bracketed in the MS. from: quod Maluani . . . (fol. 18b. 4.)

1st: flumen, quod eam alluit. magnum.

⁷ 1st: Gedrosicum Arachosicumque uersus.

occidentem solem fertur, tantundem vero ab Agara ubi sedes est regni, abest, atque a

3 Fatteपुर, | ubi magnus Rex degit: hoc est, iter bidui. Quo Sacerdotes a legato

To Fatehpur. deducti sunt.

Remarks on
the journey.
1. The coun-
try.

Toto hoc itinere conficiendo, illud in primis, animaduersum est, a littore maris
versus septentrionem, quasi per quosdam gradus, regiones semper ascendisse, easque
quibusdam ueluti areis, ut fieri solet in hortis, qui in cliuo positi sunt, attolli; quibus

4
2. Hindū
temples de-
stroyed.
F. 19b. 1

sunt pro ripis, | ipsi montes.¹ Secundo deinde loco, obseruatum est. Agarenorum
diligentia, omnia idolorum delubra, quæ plurima erant deiecta esse. Verum ipsorum
incuria, iisdem locis et alijs, in quibus aliquod uestigium simulachri reperitur, || a
gentilibus, in omnium oculis, sacrificia fieri, suffimenta poni, oleum atque unguenta

3. Idolatry
replaced by
Muhammad-
an supersti-
tion.

fundi, humum floribus spargi, coronas appendi. Ac pro gentilium delubris (quod
tertio loco adnotatum est) innumera prophanorum, et sceleratissimorum hominum
Agarenorum sepulchra, et ædículas, in quibus pro diuis inani superstitione coluntur,

2 esse erecta. Quæ res Sacerdotum | misericordiam, non sine lacrymis, et dolore
maximo commouebant. Quis .n. misericordia eorum non frangatur, qui in perniciem
animarum suarum, vitia pro uirtutibus, scelera pro miraculis admirantur? et perditis-
simos nebulones, pro sanctissimis uiris reuerentur?

3
Fatehpur.

At vero Sacerdotes, ubi urbem procul conspexerunt, maximas Deo | immortalis
gratias egerunt, qui se incolumes, ad suscepti itineris metas perduxerat. Deinde
urbis amplitudine, ac magestate, sunt non mediocriter delectati. Urbem ingressi,
desuetudine peregrini cultus, omnium ad se oculos conuerterunt, qui non satis sese
expediebant, sed ignoratione impediti, in magna hæsitatione hærebant, | quinam illi
4 essent homines *atrati,² inermes, togati, petasati, tonsi, rasi que.

Akbar.
F. 20a. 1
Presenting
an Atlas.

Perducti tandem sunt ad Regem. Quos Rex, ubi ex editiore loco aspexit, ad se
propius iussit accedere. Cui pauca interroganti, librum || Geographiæ tradiderunt,
ab Archiepiscopo Goano dono missum, quem libenter accepit. Ac cum eorum
aspectu, non mediocriter oblectaretur, tamen, tum ne suum animum proderet, tum
ut grauitatem seruaret, nihil nimis indulgenter loquutus est, sed breui se subduxit:

Kapūr Tā-
lāw? Dau-
lat Khāna.
Portuguese
dress.

2 at vbi paulisper intus constitit, eos ad se in interius domicilium, | et locum, qui
dicitur, Capūr, Talaū adduci iubet; ut suis uxoribus spectaculum daret, tandem
in aliud impluuium, quod Daulatqhanà vocatur, perduxit. ubi occasionem arripuit,
ex subitis imbribus: et more Lusitano pallium purpureum, aureis fibulis induit,

3
800 Gold
Mohurs
refused.

3 filiosque eodem vestitu, et pileis Lusitanicis prodire iussit. ut ea | re hospitibus
gratificaretur, quibus etiam octingentos aureos nummos numerari iubebatur. At cum
Sacerdotes ei respondissent, se non eò uenisse, ut aurum quærent; nec omnino ut
acciperent, efficere potuisset, temperantiam eorum admiratus, inter aliquot Lusitanos,

4
Portuguese
at Court.

4 qui ex Tuarij (quem supra commemorauimus) comitatu remanserant | diuidi impe-
rauit, et intus sese recepit. *Sacerdotes,³ regis uoluntate perspecta, læti in hospitium

¹ Cancelled in the MS. from; Et Sāmbali (fol. 19a. 2.)

² In MS.: attrati.

³ Ist: sacrific

deducti sunt. His enim significationibus, *Regem ad Christi cultum et puram religionem demigraturum sibi¹, certo pollicebantur.

F. 20b. 1

Lenten fare
at Fr. J.
Pereira's.

Postero die, ab eo Sacerdote, quem a Gangaride accersitum, cum Rege uersari supra demonstrauius, perhumaniter, et (quod quadragenariæ inediae dies essent) piscibus, frugaliter extracta mensa, accepti sunt. A quo deinceps, quo loco res

Comparing
notes.

nostræ religionis, apud Regem essent, intelligere conati sunt. Qui in primis respondit, | ab eo reuerentiam aduersus Christum, et Deiparam Virginem adhiberi, parumque abesse, quo minus Diuinum honorem, Christo tribueret. Deinde quæ ab illo in Euangelio præcepta sunt, Regem non tantum probare, sed laudibus extollere.

Akbar's
psychology.

Mirari uero, tanto studio coli castitatem a Christianis, ut vir unam tantum fœminam, in | matrimonio habeat, et sacerdotibus uxore, fœminaque omnino interdicator.

Verum dicere, sui aciem iudicij, quasi per caliginem perstringi, cum audiret in uno Deo trinas personas · Deum filium habere ex uirgine, laborasse in cruce, in eaque a Judæis necatum fuisse, fore tamen ut non diffiteretur, ea uera esse si sibi persuaderent, |

Euangelii librum a Deo prodijsse. At Christi miracula libenter audire, illis fidem habere: at uero de Mahamedde longe aliter sentire · nebulonem & impostorem ||

F. 21a. 1

fuisse · qui confictis a se mendacijs, homines a mente dimouisset; ac cum in triclinio, suspensas ymagines Christi, Mariæ, Moysis, et Mahameddis haberet, a tergo relinquens Mahameddem dixisse, hæc ymago est Christi, illa Mariæ, hæc Moysi, ista Mahameddis ·

2 quo significare uoluisse, quid ipse de illo sentiret. Ad summam, | ne de singulis agatur, hæc ab illo Sacerdote, de Regis animo cognita, et Sacerdotibus enarrata, lucem quamdam ipsis attulerunt, ut qua deinceps uia, insistendum esset, apertius exploratum haberent. Summo quidem studio, ante nostrorum Sacerdotum aduentum, cum

3 non exigua, ipsius voluntatis, erga Christianam fidem significatione, | Regem Ægidius (hoc. n. nomen illi Sacerdoti erat) instituere conatus est: uerum incitia interpretis, quominus maiores progressus faceret impeditus est, eoque adductus, ut pro fide

Ordeal of
fire.

4 *stabilienda² flammis, et incendio conflagrare, et ab igne pati, non semel, aut iterum constanti animo, cuidam conditionem | proponenti, ut difficilis disputatio relinqueretur, se paratum esse reciperet.³

F. 21b. 1

Fatehpur de-
scribed.

Ist Fattepurum (quod Nicopolis dici potest) a Rege nuper, cum primum confecto bello Gedrosico Agaram, ad suas sedes redijt, ædificatum, in quadam quasi fronte, cuiusdam montis, quem antiqui Vindium (ut opinor) dixerunt · qui ad ocasum centum milliaria uersus Azmírim procurrit, loco quidem saxoso, et parum amœno, iuxta uetustum oppidum, quod propterea, Purána Siquiris dicitur. Purána .n.

2 eorum lingua, ueterem sonat, at Siquiris loci nomen est. | Verum auri gaza regia, in primis, deinde optimatum, qui in Regis curia versantur pecunia, ut qui principis

New Sikri be-
gun in 1571.
Cf. fol. 3a.

uoluptati magno studio inseruiunt, nouem annorum spatio, ædificijs mirabiliter, et magnifice auctum, et exornatum est. Præcipua tamen ipsius ornamenta sunt, aula

3 ipsa Regis, cuius est ambitus latissimus, et impendet | uniuerso municipio, pulcher-

¹st: Regis conversionem sibi.

²st: statuenda.

Everything is cancelled in the MS. from " secundo deinde loco " (fol. 19a. 4).

rimo prospectu; deinde ædes maxima, fornicibus subnixa, cuius etiam area amplissima est; tum Circus, ubi elephantes decertant, gladiatorum spectacula *eduntur,¹ lignea pila, malleis quoque ligneis pulsa, ex equis luditur, deinde balneæ, ad hæc 4 negotiatorum uicus, qui passibus | fere quingentis, in longum patet, ubi mira et uaria est, mercium omnis generis *abundantia et copia,² tum hominum, qui prope innumerari, in ea constipantur, maxima frequentia. Ac ne aquæ penuria laboraretur, stagnum || industria laboreque comparatum, longum passus duo mille, latum sesquimille. Illud uero Rex, in hunc modum, fieri edixit. Vallem quæ subsidebat, et imbris hyeme complebatur, qui tamen, aut elabebantur, aut exsiccabantur, paulatim eo loco, quo defluebant, magno uallo sepiari iussit ne fluerent. Qua una, 2 eademque opera, aquæ penuriæ succurrit, | et cœli grauitati consuluit. Nam ubi sol ad occasum uergit, placidissimum aërem efflat, quo *calores,³ qui sunt eo in loco maximi, *temperantur, ac præterea summa cum amœnitate stagni Rex ludorum diebus quibus ad illud descendit se reficit.⁴ Verum ut eius urbis, reliqua ornamenta præteream, murorum arcis circuitus, quem frequentissimæ turres exornant duorum 3 millium passuum est, quattuor tantum portis: Agarena | ad ortum, Azimirina ad occasum, Circi uersus septentrionem, Daulpurina ad austrum. Verum porta Circi, qua 2 frequenter Rex descendit ad Circum, pulchritudine reliquis antecellit. Elephantum enim pro foribus, proboscide sublata effigies duæ, eadem qua ipsi sunt magnitudine, ad unguem fabricatæ | (existimes opus Phidiæ) quasi portam asseruent, constitutæ sunt, 4 quæ magnam loco magestatem conciliant. Juxta Circum, pyramis excitatur, a qua lapides uersus || Agaram, ad orientem solem, et Asimirim ad occasum, more Romano, emenso sesquimilliaro numerantur. Ac cum Zelaldinus Agaræ ageret, hortatu cuiusdam Sophi (genus est hominum, qui tum sapientiam, tum pietatem profitentur) qui in *gurgustio,⁵ in hac rupe degebat: Agara relicta Siquirinum commigrauit. |

Est quidem Agara, urbs amplitudine, atque antiquitate præstantissima, quam Jomanes fluuius alluit, in qua Zelaldinus magnus, natus, educatus, et Rex patre e uiuis, graui, et miserabili casu sublato, primum renunciatus est. Nam cum pater, 3 cui erat nomen Emaumus, Delini in solario aulæ deambularet, | et ut fit, arundini innixus, ad crepidinem tecti incumberet, labente scipione, præceps in hortum actus est. Qui ex tam horribili, ac tam repentino casu interiit. Erat vir studijs litterarijs excultus, et studiosorum amator, at in re bellica, non multum acer, et strenuus, 4 contraquam Zelaldino euenit, qui litterarum | ignarus, bellica uirtute clarus est.

Itaque Agaræ natus, cum primum salutatus est Rex, sedem regni || quæ Delini erat, iam inde a Christianorum regum temporibus, in eam transtulit; aulamque, et arcem struxit, ea laxitate, ut facile magni oppidi amplitudinem superet. Inclusit enim arcis, et aulæ septis domos optimatum suorum, horrea, ærarium, armamentarium, equorum stabula, propolarum, et opificum, pharmacopolarum, et tonsorum, omnium

1 In MS.: æduntur.

2 1st: multitudo.

3 1st: æstus.

4 1st: refrigerantur.

5 1st: tuguriolo.

- 2 denique curialium | operarum, domunculas & tabernas. Ea vero lapidum coag-
 2 Kings on mentatione, ut nulla interiecta calce, commissuræ vix appareant, quod etiam efficit,
 elephant statues. coloris lapidum, per omnem murum, eadem cohærens, et continuata venustas · rubro
 .ii. sunt omnes colore. Pro foribus, statuas duorum regulatorum posuit, quos ipse
 3 fistulæ tormento traiecit, elephantumque | statuas, ea magnitudine, qua uiui esse
 solent, quibus illi uehebantur: quæ essent, veluti trophæa, et suæ virtutis, ac rerum,
 bello cum laude gestarum, monumenta. Ac si ut uolebat cecidisset, sapienter
 Wealth and quidem egerat, nam · Agara et cœli clementia, et soli ubertate, et amne, hortorum-
 size of Agra. que amœnitate, celebritate uero omnis generis hominum, tum etiam | magnitudine,
 4 omnibus fere, eius regionis, ciuitatibus antecellit. Est enim passuum duobus millibus
 lata, longa quattuor; nihil in ea, ad usum, et commodum humanæ uitæ, ex ipsa etiam
 F. 23b. 1 et aurificum magnus est in ea conuentus. | Gemmæ, et margaritæ sunt quamplurimæ,
 auri argentique magna uis, equi Persici, et Tartaraci [*sic*] permulti. Denique omnibus
 copijs, et omnium rerum abundantia, circumfluit. Quo fit ut annonæ difficultas,
 insolenter, et raro eueniat. Ad hæc quod in medio sita sit, et quasi umbilicus totius
 2 regni, facile Rex cum res postularet, quoquo versus | ire, et a suis undequaque conueniri
 poterat. Verum ut sunt res humanæ, aliter quam sperabat res cecidit. Nam
 A haunted absolute iam opere, ubi Rex nouam arcem, et aulam incolere cœpit,* lemures,¹ diuino
 palace. id permittente numine, domos percurrere, rursus prorsum cursitare, omnia conuellere,
 3 mulierculas, et pueros territare, lapides | iacere, omnibus denique nocere *instituunt.²
 Ac fuissent fortasse, hæc incommoda, si latius se non fudissent, ferenda. Verum in
 Regis liberos, Dæmonis sese effudit audacia: quos biduo, aut triduo postquam nati
 Death of A.'s essent, enecabat. Et binos, aut ternos eripuit. Quare tanto damno commotus, quod
 children. uideret se posteritate cariturum, ad Sophum adit, | quem in rupe ad Siquirim degere,
 4 solitarium diximus, et ei, quæ a Dæmone pateretur damna exposuit. Ille ut quam
 Agra aban- ocyssime Agara, in eum locum demigret Regi persuadet. Dicto e uestigio paruit, et
 doned. uillam, paruam quidem, sed regia magnificentia, quam citissime ædificari iussit, ||
 F. 24a. 1 quæ breui in Basilicam euasit.

Jam uero Sacerdotes, ubi paulisper, ex itineris lassitudine recreati, ad regem sunt
 iterum euocati: ad id opus manus admouerunt, cujus caussa tam diuturna, et longin-
 March 3, qua peregrinatio suscepta fuerat. Eius rei hanc occasionem captauerunt. Quinto
 1580, O.S. 2 nonas Martij, Sacra Biblia quattuor linguis scripta, | septeno uolumine, in aulam
 The Bible in deportauerunt, eaque regi uidenda exhibuerunt, quæ ille religionis caussa, coram
 7 volumes. suis satrapis, et *religionum magistris,³ non solum est osculatus, sed suo super
 A.'s rever- imposuit capiti, rogabatque, quoniam in uolumine, esset Euangelium? Quod ubi
 ence for reperit, religiosius, est ueneratus. Deinde Sacerdotes, ad se in priuatum triclinium,
 them. 3 cum Biblijs | seuocauit · quæ iterum, *magna adhibita reuerentia erga illa, et cum
 gaudio,⁴ euoluit: uoluitque ut sibi commodarentur, eaque in eodem triclinio, ubi

¹ 1st: malus dæmon.

² 1st: instituit.

³ 1st: sacrificulis.

⁴ 1st: magna cum reuerentia et gaudio.

solet frequentissime commorari, inclusa eleganti thecæ, et librorum dignitati, accom-
 1st Discus- modatæ commisit. Hinc data est ansa, ad disputationem, in qua, noctu accurate,
 sion. 4 cum *magistris¹ et literarum peritis, de fide et authoritate Sacrarum | Scripturarum,
 The Bible quibus Christiana religio nititur: de vanitate, et mendacijs libri, cui ipsi credunt,
 vs. the Qo- tanquam diuinitus dato, quem Mahameddes, ut alia taceam, refersit fabulis in-
 rān. F. 24b. 1 numeris, ijsque futilitatis, summæque leuitatis plenis, disputatum² est. || Et Euangelio
 quidem, vetustissimos Moysis, et Prophetarum libros, testimonium dare, nec ipsum
 Alcoranum, quamuis cum Euangelio, pugnet, atque adeo, maxime seiuncta, ab
 Euangelio, et contraria dicat; effugere potuisse, quin ipsi non solum ueritatis, sed
 etiam sanctitatis, testimonium tribueret. Ait enim non vno loco, datum esse a Deo
 2 Opt. | Max. Euangelium Christo: quanquam inepte quidem, eius author affirmet,
 librum *compactum et coagmentatum,³ a Deo Christo fuisse traditum, sicuti Moysi
 Torah, *i.e.*, lex · Davidi Zabur, *i.e.*, Psalmorum liber, sibi vero (dabitur enim venia,
 quod tot barbaras uoces confarciam) Alfurcanum. Enimuero, Alfurcano, a nemine
 3 testimonium | dari; ac diuina ope, factum est, eo aduersarios deduci, ut eorum
 argumentis refutatis, ipsi ijs, quæ aduersus libri sui disciplinam obijciabantur,
 nequirent satisfacere, ac propter Regis conspectum, pudore a disputando refugerent,
 et tandem omnino conticescerent.

4 Vbi disputandi finem fecerunt, Rex | seorsum Sacerdotes abduxit: “Satis,”
 Congratu- inquit, “superque mihi a uobis est satisfactum, et uestræ legis religio, placet: verum
 lations and warning. “ quoniam hi scelerati sunt, admonitos uos volo, ut in agendo et loquendo cauti sitis,
 F. 25a. 1. “ unum || opto, ut quonam pacto Deus Opt. Max. trinus sit, et unus explicetis, deinde,
 “ quî filium habeat, de virgine hominem factum. Etenim mihi vel hæc duo, difficiliora
 “ uidentur, quam ut intellectu capere possim.” Quibus illi: “ quod ad *mystagogos⁴
 “ attinet, ut tibi morem geramus, non quod nobis ab ipsis timeamus, deinceps ut
 2 “ præcipis, in agendo cum ipsis, | cauti erimus. Quod uero ad id attinet, quod
 “ exoptas, a Deo postula, qui affluit, et omnibus profuse, ac liberaliter condonat, ac
 “ cum animi demissione, ad audiendum accede.” Apud Regem plurimum ualuit,
 quod Sacra Biblia, tot linguis scripta, nihil diuersum continere deprehenderentur, sed
 3 idem unumquodque idioma redderet, tum quod | Alfurcanum, in latinum sermonem
 conuersum (quod Diui Bernardi accuratissimæ diligentiae, acceptum ferendum est)
 Latin trans- perinde bene, ac eius *mystagogi,⁵ nostri Sacerdotes callerent: quod eos inæstos,
 lation of the et animo grauiter affectos, vehementissime cruciabat, ac *consumebat,⁶ tum quod
 Qorān. nostri Sacerdotes, sententijs consentirent, at uero sui, de rebus Alfurcani, in disputa-
 4 tionibus | a se mutuo dissentirent,⁷ quod Regi magnopere displicebat. Ac prima
 quidem, cum Agarenis *mystagogis,⁸ congressio sic habuit.

2nd Dis- Post tres dies de beatitudine, secundo disputatum est, quam Muhammedes,
 cussion. F. 25b. 1 impijssime || ac mendacissime asseuerat, epulationibus et turpibus delicijs, et alijs
 Heavenly rebus, toto cælo diuersis, ab ijs quas Sacræ Litteræ affirmant, contineri.
 bliss.

1 Ist: sacrificulis.

2 From “quinto nonas” (fol. 24a. 1) the anonymous annotator underlined every line in pencil. In the margin he wrote: *N.B.*

3 Ist: compaginatam.

4 Ist: sacrificulos.

5 Ist: sacrificuli.

6 Ist: perturbabat.

7 In MS.: dissentirentur.

8 Ist: sacrificulis.

3rd Dis-
cusson. Post dies aliquot, Mahameddis arrogantia, argumentum ad tertio disputandum
2 dedit. Nam cum in Alcorano scribat, Christum iustum fuisse, et absque crimine,
et matrem habuisse virginem, | quæ eum ex Diuino Spiritu concepisset, ipsumque non
M u h a m -
mad his own
witness. ex hominis cuiusquam satu, ortum esse; se vero peccatorem, et simulachrorum
cultorem; nec ulla miracula edidisse: impudenter tamen, et arroganter, se Christo
3 esse maiorem, et potiolem affirmat. Et cum Sacerdotes dicerent, impudentem &
ridiculum eum hominem esse, qui in sua re | sui ipsius testimonio abuteretur: (nam
cum testimonium, rei confirmandæ causa sumatur, ab alio quam a se veritatis
testimonium peti oportet) et Christo quidem graue testimonium, cum Prophetas
4 uiros clarissimos qui eius aduentum prænuntiarunt, tum ipsum Euangelicum uolu-
men (non ab ipso scriptum, aut uti Alfurcanum a Mahamedde | consarcinatum) quod
eius virtutes, et ostenta narrat, impartiri: et Mahameddem, solum sibi esse testem,
solum de se scribere, solum de se mira narrare, alium præterea neminem: victi, ac
F. 26a. 1 perturbati Agareni, ad prodigia¹ || prouocarunt. “Periclitemur,” inquit, “vtrius
Ordeal of
fire. “factionis libri sint ueraces: *rogus extruatur, igne inflammetur.² *Vnus uestrum,
“gerens Euangelium, unus similiter nostrum, habens Syndagma, in rogam ardentem
“ascendat,³ eius qui euaserit liber, simul cum gestatore, uerax habeatur.” Simili
sermone Rex Sacerdotes iacessiuit, et tum quidem ipsi paucis responderunt · non
2 opus esse prodigijs, cum legis | nostræ rationem redderemus atque exponeremus.
Occurenti Regi, se nolle amplius rationem, omnes acclamarunt, “Pax Regi!” et hic
quidem exitus huius disputationis fuit.

Ac Rodolfus, quem facile sodales sequuti fuissent, ut erat ingenio religiosissime
ardens, et feruidus, atque necis pro Christo, quacunque objecta occasione, oppetendæ
3 cupidissimus, et ad pietatem | promptissimus, si exploratum illi fuisset, ita facto
Why
jected? re- opus esse, non fuisset cunctatus; at uero quoniam dubius hærebat, nihil est conatus.
Verum ne formidine mortis, ab accipienda ignis conditione, deterritus fuisse
uideretur, ex sententia sodalium, hæc ubi primum locum, et tempus nactus est,
4 Regi suggestit: “Quod,” inquit, “ad ignis propositam conditionem | attinet, si
“meam, & sodalium, in fide, ac religione Jesu Christi, quam a maioribus nostris
“accepimus, et cum lacte suximus, ad quam imbuti sumus, cui deseruimus,
“constantiam periclitari, Rex, velis, non unum sed mille rogos alacri animo
“festinatissime Dei auxilio subnixi, conscendemus · nec speramus, aut expetimus ||
F 26b. 1 “prodigio liberari, quamuis eundem illum Deum colamus, qui tres pueros Hebræos, Dan. 3.
“in fornace incolumes conseruauit, et de fornace, nulla ignis iniuria læsos eduxit.
“Elephantes, leones, pantheras, leopardos, præcipitia, cruces, uerbera, et omnes
“cruciatus diuino auxilio freti, nihil extimescimus. Huius rei, hac ipsa hora, si placet,
2 “Rex, experimentum | capere poteris. Nihil amplius moræ intercedet, quam
“quantula futura est, dum noster sodalis qui lecto ægrotus tenetur, accersitur: quem
“continuo sanitati, præ animi lætitia, restitutum iri speramus. Verum si ut prodi-
“gium spectes, quasi uero aliquis nostrum, ita charus Deo habeatur, ut nihil ab igne

¹ Everything is bracketed or cancelled in the MS. from: “Est Fattepurum . . .” (fol. 21a. 4).

² Later addition.

³ 1st: Vnus uestrum, gerens Euangelium, intret in rogam, unus similiter nostrum, habens Alfurcanum.

- 3 “ patiatur, *ignis periculum proponis,¹ in primis nos ingenue | fatemur, integra quidem
 “ fide, cæteris in rebus, sæpe lapsos fuisse, atque etiamnum labi, esseque peccatores,
 “ quo fit, ut magna teneamur religione, nedum audeamus, nobis ipsis ostenta
 “ polliceri, cum ignoremus charine Deo, an vero in offensa apud eum simus. Jam-
 4 “ uero igne periculum facere, num liber ex Deo sit, quoniam nec is comburatur, | nec
 “ eius caussa ille, qui eum gerat, a doctrina et exemplo Christi, quem tu, Rex, suspicis,
 “ abhorret. (Nec tu eum te esse patieris, quos ille esse dicit homines, qui ostenta
 “ poscunt. ‘Generatio,’ inquit ‘*mala,² et adultera signum quærit.’ Quo nomine *Matth. 12.*
 F. 27a. 1 “ Hebræos reprehendit.) Nam || cum malus Dæmon, ei suggereret, ‘Si filius Dei es, *Luc. 11*
 “ mitte te deorsum’, respondit, ‘Non tentabis Dominum Deum tuum’; Herodi
 “ miracula exposcenti, ne unum quidem uerbum fecit, et suffixus cruci, cum Iudæi
 “ prodigium peterent: ‘Si filius Dei es (dicebant) descende nunc de cruce, et crede-
 2 “ mus tibi’: non exaudiit. Quod ad nos spectat, omnes qui ob fidem | cruciatus
 “ pertulerunt (quos martyres nominamus) quorum plerique flammis combusti sunt,
 “ nobis meliores fuerunt. Quod ad librum, multa templa, ab hostibus nostræ
 “ religionis, ædesque complures, cum Euangelijs, multa etiam phana Mahammeddis,
 3 “ cum *codicibus³ conflagrarunt; quo fit, ut ignis indicium, | dubium, et incertum
 “ sit. Jam uero ne Agarenos prætereamus, qui conditionem proponunt, si nos omnino
 “ rogam subire imperas, illos, ut hoc discrimine liberes, flagitamus, quanquam nullum
 “ credimus, adeo suæ legi, ac Prophetæ fidentem, aut adeo mentis inopem, qui se
 4 “ in hoc periculum dedat. At vero, id est eorum ingenium, ut prodigia | efflagitent,
 “ quod si eueniat, ab aliquo viro iusto, nostræ religionis, cultore dari, id veneficijs, et
 “ cantionibus fieri dicant, exeuntem e flamma · iaculis confodiant, lapidibus obruant:
 “ denique diuini prodigij fidei, et sanctitati tenebras offundere nitantur.
- F. 27b. 1 “ Quod usu uenit, Andreæ || Spoletano, ex ordine fratrum D. Francisci, *qui⁴ qua-
 “ draginta abhinc annis, Marrhoquij in Affrica, ea conditione proposita, ab Agarenis,
 “ qui fraudulenter dicebant, se Christiana sacra esse amplexuros, si ipse e rogo inco-
 “ lumis exiret. Vbi in media flamma deambulanti, et in cælum manus, oculosque
 2 “ attollentem conspexerunt · | dum Christianorum, qui captiui detinebantur, et spec-
 “ taculo aderant, populus, et ob rei nouitatem plebs reliqua applauderet, tum Agare-
 “ norum, tum Judæorum magnates, qui spectatores erant, lapidum et saxorum
 “ colluie, hominem, et ipsum rogam obruerunt, ne diceretur flammam homini
 3 “ pepercisse. Cuius reliquiæ, uiuida adhuc carne, ac spiranti | simili, in Lusitaniam,
 “ ad Catharinam Austriacam, Lusitanix Reginam, a quodam captiuo, qui postliminio
 “ ex seruitute redijt, delatæ sunt.’’⁵
- No dissimu-
 lation. “ Huic orationi respondit Rex, “ Deus auertat, non eo consilio uos accersiui, ut
 “ aliquid mali perferatis. Verum est apud me quidam *mystagogus,⁶ qui se sanctum
 4 “ iactat, cum sit multis | magnisque sceleribus contaminatus, et noua quædam, in
 “ Alcoranum, sua Minerua commentatur. In hunc animaduertere instituo, vellemque
 “ in ea re, uestra opera uti.’’—“ In hoc,” ait Rodolfus, “ non possumus tibi auxilio

1 Later addition.

2 1st: praua.

3 1st: Musaphis.

4 Redundant, or else the verb of the relative clause is missing.

5 Cancelled in the MS. from: Quod usu uenit (fol. 27a. 4).

6 1st: sacrificulus et legum magister.

F. 23a. 1 "esse, nam Sacerdotibus prohibetur, non solum hominem necare, sed etiam aliquid,
 " *nisi casus aliquis id ferat ex ijs quos excipit¹ qui legibus moderatur, vel minimum
 " moliri, in hominis alicuius exitium et necem."—"Nolo," inquit, "ut ignem
 " subeatis, sed ut uos subituros esse tantummodo dicatis."—"Ne hoc quidem, o
 " Rex."—"Annuite saltem: tantumdem. Ego clara uoce renuntiabo, uelle uos in
 2 " uelle: nos e contra palam | pronuntiabimus: nolle. Atqui si hic dignus supplicio
 " est, quid opus est hoc circuitu, et hac simulatione, in ignem agere?" Hanc Rodolfi
 præclaram sententiam qui audierunt *proceres,² mirum in modum, collaudauerunt.
 Atque hi quidem primi cum magno Rege, et eius *mystagogis³ congressus, et
 litterariæ pugnæ.

3 Non | præterijt quidem Sacerdotes, uerbum quod exciderat Regi, dicenti se
 nolle amplius rationem accipere: et ut suis satisfaceret, fortasse consulto effudisse,
Probing the interpretari maluerunt. Vt uero Regis animum explorarent, Regi hæc suggerere
King's mind.
 4 secum statuerunt. "Oportere eum qui cupiat, | diuina Christianæ legis dogmata
 " perdiscere: sicut ipse de se testatus est sæpissime, duo præcipuè secum tractare,
Conditions " *ut animum suum, ad diuinum lumen oculis mentis, et donorum quosdam uelut
of conver- " imbres, quibus animus perfunditur, et irrigatur, corde exhauriendos, disponat.⁴
sion.

F. 28b. 1 "Quorum primum est, | ut summo studio contendat, peccata deuitare quæ
 " animum a Deo longissime abstrahunt. Nam Salomon a Divino Spiritu doctus scribit,
a. Putting " "In animam maleuolam, non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit, in corpore subdito
on the new " peccatis." Et quidam e uatibus, Dei loco clamauit, 'Conuertimini ad me, et ego con-
man. " uertar ad uos, ait Dominus.' | At Joannes quidem, Zachariæ filius, qui prodromus
 2 " Christi fuit, ut animos Israeliticæ posteritatis, ad fidem erga illum formaret, ut pæni-
 " terent, et uiam pararent illi aduenienti, et ut iter complanarent sæpe repetebat.
 " Ipse etiam Christus, initio suæ Euangelicæ denuntiationis, homines ad pænitentiam
 3 " est cohortatus: | hoc ipsum, ut discipuli, ad docendum missi factitarent edixit. Atque
 " hoc ipsum, esse, inquam, fugienda peccata, uoluit significare, cum filiam Archisynagogi
 " emortuam excitaturus, tibicines, et turbam tumultuantem eiecit. Nihil enim æque,
 " ac peccata, tumultum eum excitat in anima, qui sit impedimento, quominus accipere |
 4 " possit hospitio Christum, qui pacis, et tranquillitatis est Deus; et qui lucem oculis
 " abripiat, quo minus fidei lumen, quod ipse præfert, conspiciat; et in cordis receptaculo
 " claudat; ne cœlestes imbres, quibus illud Deus perfundit, hauriat. Ac fabrorum

F. 29a. 1 "quidem et opificum, nos exempla commonent. Nam si domus sit ædificanda, ut fun-
 " damentum, quo tota domus nititur, iaciatur: necesse est terram effodi et erui, ut saxis
 " locus sit, é quibus ædificium *extruatur.⁵ Quod si uas aliquod, aqua plenum, oleo
 " implere uelimus, aquam ut prius effundamus, oportet. Si purgatam sordibus *linteam
 2 " uestem⁶ uelis induere, sordidam ut | exuas opus est. Ob id D. Paulus commone-
 " bat, ut ueterem hominem omnes exuerent, hoc est Adami uitia, et malas ad uitia
 " propensiones, ne sequerentur, ut possent nouum hominem (ipse est Christus) induere.

Sap. 1.

Matth. 3.
Marc. 1.
Luc. 3.Marc. 1.
Matth. 4.
Luc. 5.Matth. 10.
Marc. 3.
Luc. 9 et 10.

Matth. 9.

Colos. 3.

¹ Ist: etiamsi potestas ab eo detur.² Ist: satrapæ.³ Ist: sacrificulis, et magistris.⁴ Bracketed in MS. Later note: escreua se ysto.⁵ Ist: excitetur.⁶ Ist: subuculam.

- Monogamy.** “Quare sciat, se unam tantum, et eam quæ prima in manum conuenit; uxorem se
 “posse retinere · reliquas mœchas esse, atque adulteras, quas ex præcepto Dei, et Christi,
 3 “nefas sit retinere. Oportere igitur, ut in primis præteritorum | peccatorum pæniteat,
 “deinde ut omnes amicas abigat, et excludat, tum ut inedia se dedat, supplicijs se
Works of “affligat, preces ad Deum fundat, stipem largiatur, alijs pietatis operibus se exerceat.
piety. “Hæc enim omnia facilem, et propitium Deum Opt. Max. reddunt. Claudius centurio,
 4 “his artibus, Dei | beneuolentiam, erga se commeruit: quem dignatus est Angeli ora-
 “culo, et institutione, *ac ut aqua a D. Petro perfunderetur,¹ qui primus erat Apos- *Act. 10.*
 “tolorum, et Christi personam sustinebat, uicesque agebat.²
- b. Leisure** “Alterum est, *utile illi fore, ac omnino necessarium,³ ut ab omni occupatione,
for instruc- “*minus necessaria³ se expediat, tempus diemque statuatur, qua omni controuersia
tion.
F. 29b. 1 “sublata; solus, vel adhibitis, || si uelit, nonnullis * mystagogis⁴ · quibus ipse confidit ·
 “nos ut discipulus audiat. Sit tamen integrum, omnia dubia proponere: quæ ex ijs,
 “quæ dicenda sunt, orientur. Nam ut in quadam Christi parœmia docemur · semen
 “quod secus uiam decidit, aues abripiunt, et comedunt. Nomine enim uia, Christus *Luc. 8.*
 2 “corda significat, *eorum hominum, qui quasi iter aperti | sunt, ac peruij, diuersarum
 “cogitationum internuntijs a sensu mentis abstracti, et in quamplurimas res ne-
 “gociosas, et molestas, nec multum utiles immersi, qui accurata consideratione,
 “contemplationeque, hoc semen non obducunt, ut oriatur Christus in cordibus
 3 “animisque | ipsorum, contra ac agricolæ faciunt qui sparsum semen occant ut a
 “terra cohibeatur.⁵ Auibus uero, quæ semen abripiunt, malos Dæmones indicat,
 “a quibus plerique homines, huiusmodi adducuntur, ut eos iustitiæ capiat obliuio,
 “quos uoluit denotari, cum in ueteri priscorum patrum lege, a sacrificijs suis, et epulis *Leuitic. 11.*
 “suorum, ea reijcit animantia, quæ non ruminant. Hæc caussa est, cur quam plurimi,
 4 “a veri Dei | cultu, et scientia aberrent: quod sua ipsorum socordia, consyderatione
 “destituuntur. Ac Virgo illa integerrima quam ipse admiratur, tunc Dei nuntium *Luc. 1.*
 “accepit, cum solitaria, in domus suæ conclauis, remotis arbitris, de humani generis
F. 30a. 1 “(uti fertur) libertate commentabatur: || optabatque, illius esse ancillam uirginis, quæ
 “ab Isaia, eo in loco quem præ manibus, ut creditur habebat, Deum hominem fac- *Isaiæ, 7.*
 “tum, paritura prædicebatur. Tunc Philippus, Christi discipulus, Eunuchus Candacis
 “Reginæ Æthiopiæ accurrit, cum ille, animi cogitatione uersaret, ea quæ in Isaia *Act. 8.*
 “legerat · a quo doctus, in riuulo statim aqua perfusus, Christo est initiatus · et *Isaiæ, 53.*
 2 “Philippus, | non sine magna Eunuchi, et sui satellitij admiratione, ab Angelo
 “abreptus est, et in Azotum deportatus. Quodsi ad aliquam artem, uel scientiam
 “addiscendam, opus est, cæteris occupationibus relaxari, et in eam solam incumbere ·
 “id maxime, in rerum diuinarum studio, agendum est. Nicodemus, uir, ueræ pietatis *Joan. 3.*
 3 “percupidus,* nocte in hospitium, quo diuertisse Christum | audierat se contulit,

¹ 1st: ac perfusione D. Petri.

² Cancelled in MS. from: Nam Salomon (fol. 28 b. 1).

³ Cancelled in MS.

⁴ 1st: sacrificulis.

⁵ 1st: omnium hominum, qui aperti sunt, ac peruij, quasi iter, diuersarum cogitationum internuntijs: abstracti, et effusi in quamplurimas res negociosas, et molestas, nec multum utiles · et qui studiose, et accurata consideratione, ac commentatione, hoc semen, ut boni agricolæ non obducunt, qui postea quam seminarunt, sementi terram inuertunt. ut oriatur Christus in cordibus animisque ipsorum.

“noctemque cum eo transegit, ut ab illo doceretur.¹ Quod nostra memoria,
 “Japonenses Reges imitantur, qui sacerdotum nostri sodalitij, humiles domos fre-
 “quentant, ut fidei, et religionis præcepta discant. Nos quidem non id exposcere,
 4 “sed paratos esse, Regiam adire, dies, | noctesque laborare, in Christiana disciplina
 “tradenda, tantumque exoptare, ut curis, et occupationibus expeditus, docilem
 “se, et ad audiendum attentum, et discendi cupidum præbeat.² Inijci uero nobis
 “religionem, si cum dedecore diuini verbi negotium transigamus, formidareque,
 F. 30b. 1 “ne neglecta diuina obnuntiatione, | qua deploratum eum hominem denuntiat, qui
 “opus Dei facit negligenter, tum ipse Rex tum etiam nos, apud inferos pœnas
 “demus.”

Captauit itaque Rodolfus tempus, quo hæc Regi suggereret: cumque post aliquot
 dies, in basilicam Sacerdotes uenissent, vbi eos Rex conspexit, ad se accitos, intro
 2 deduxit, suaque sponte dixit: optare se | ut Christiani, in suo regno agerent, et ut
 Christiano more templa ædificarentur, sicuti audierat fieri apud Turcarum Regem,
 Religious liberty as in Turkey. et fore neminem, cui id nouum iure videri posset, quandoquidem permetteret, simu-
 lachrorum cultores, et delubra, in suo regno esse. Atque hæc cum eximij amoris,
 3 atque officij, non obscura significatione, dicebat. | Quare ea oratione, tunc Rodolfus
 Rudolph's advice. supersedendum putauit. At biduo post, *separatim³ Regem, de ijs quæ comme-
 morata, et tempori visa sunt accommodata conuenit. admonuitque, prudentis esse
 futuris prouidere, eumque iam inde ab eo loco, et tempore, debere modum, et
 4 rationem excogitare, qua sine tumultu, et uitæ discrimine, | Christianus esse posset.
 quandoquidem ad fidem imbui postulabat. *ne acerbitatis tempestate cohorta [*coorta*],
 eorum qui sibi aduersarentur, aut ipse deterreretur; quod esset, non bene subducta
 ratione, cœpisse ædificare, et bellum suscepisse, nec potuisse ad exitum usque per-
 F. 31a. 1 ducere et consummare: aut ipse interficeretur, quod cum iactura suæ posteritatis,
 et regni futurum esset.⁴

His, paucis, respondit Rex: “hæc in manu Dei esse posita, qui dat certas, et
 Akbar's answer. “errare non patientes uias, ijs qui eius auxilium, et opem implorant, se quidem, nullius
 “rei cupiditatem habere, uxores, filios, et imperia, nihili facere. Si modus deficiat,
 2 “quo sine tumultu Christianus | efficiar, fingam,” inquit, “me uelle Mecam, uoti
 “soluendi caussa petere, et Goam me conferam, ut sacro flumine perfundar.”

Hoc uerbo, exhilarati sunt Sacerdotes uehementissime. et pridie eius diei, qua
 Holy Saturday, 1580. Christus rediuiuus e sepulchro surrexit. in comitatu quorundam Lusitanorum, qui
 3 cum Rege, ex Tauarij cohorte remanserant, gratulatum, et bene | precandi caussa, ob
 Paschalitia, Regem salutarunt. et *ubi⁵ gratiam retulit, ut eius diei mysteria sibi
 enuntiarent imperauit, eosque deduxit in aulæ regionem, ubi eos degere uolebat, ut
 New quarters. Prayers learnt. propius habitarent, et ad se docendum paratiores essent; deinde satellitio, et pro-
 cerum comitatu dimisso, solus cum eis, multa de nocte est uersatus, atque orandi |
 4 modum, et meritum interrogauit. Cui Rodolfus paucis satisfecit.

¹ 1st: et ex discipulis Joannis quidam. nocte . . . Christum audierant, se conferebant, noctemque cum eo transigebant. ut ab illo docerentur.

² Cancelled in MS. from: Nam ut in quadam . . . , (fol. 29b. 1).

³ 1st: seuocatum.

⁴ Cancelled in MS. from: Ne acerbitatis tempestate . . . (fol. 30b.4).

⁵ 1st: ut.

Easter dinner. Near Akbar's palace. F. 31b. 1 Akbar in the chapel. Other visit to the chapel. 2 A picture of the Madonna from Rome presented to Akbar. 3 Abu-l Fazi teaching Persian. F. 32a. 1 Henriquez. Rudolf's progress. 3 Parts of the Gospels translated for Akbar. 4

Postridie eius diei, illis de mensa dedit. Paschalitijs uero exactis, e diuersorio, qui locus, ob celebritatem commorantium, rationi uitæ eorum, *inopportunos¹ erat, in illud aulæ domicilium, quod Rex ostenderat commigrarunt. Quod ubi Rex rescuit, solus sese in illorum ædes contulit, et || recta, in sacellum perrexit, ubi deposito uelo, et expansis capillis, humo se prosternens, Christum, et eius matrem ueneratus est, et sermonem de rebus diuinis instituit; octauo post die, tres filios, et aliquot proceres, secum ad spectaculum adduxit, et *detractis calceis,² ipse et reliqui sunt ingressi. Præcepit uero filijs, ut Christi, et uirginis eius matris effigies | uenerarentur. Ex *proceribus³ quidam, animo affectus exclamauit, illam esse uere cælorum reginam, quæ *in suo solio pulcherrimo vestitu & ornatu regali sedebat.⁴ Rex uero effigiem pulcherriman uirginis, quæ Roma *aduecta⁵ erat, nomine Prouinciæ Præpositi, ab ipsis traditam, summa cum lætitiæ demonstratione accepit.

3 His quidem omnibus, incredibili quadam | lætitia perfundebantur Sacerdotes: ac insolito quodam ardore accendebantur: et nouo quasi spiritu concepto, tum denuo aggredi, et sese ad negotium, cum laude diuini numinis, et animarum lucro, transigendum aptos, reddere instituerunt. Qua de causa, a Rege, ut sibi præceptorem daret postularunt: qui linguam Persicam, qua Rex, et | *proceres,⁶ et plerique alij milites utuntur, et ad disputationes accommodatior est, doceret. Hanc prouinciam, cuidam iuueni ingenioso, et acri demandauit, cuius industria Rodolfus quidem, qui plurimum ingenio pollebat, ante tres menses, eos progressus fecit, in Persica lingua elegantiore, et ijs uocibus || instructa, quæ ad tradendas scientias, accommodatæ sunt, et qua uiri studijs, doctrinisque dediti utuntur, ut palam de quacunque re proposita, si non ornate, et copiose, saltem ad intelligendum accommodate diceret.

4 Alter uero sacerdos, *Ormuzi natus, maternam linguam, quæ Persica erat, obliuioni prope traditam,⁷ recuperauit. Et illa quidem | Rodolfi, ad perdiscendum promptitudo, et celeritas, non solum ingenij, et doctrinæ, apud Regem, et magistros, opinionem conciliauit, uerum etiam, admirationem habuit. Mirabantur enim, exterum, et aduentitium hominem, tanta facilitate, ignotam, et peregrinam linguam didicisse, et ipso peregrino uocis sono, mirifice delectabantur. Atque ubi | eam uerborum copiam compararunt, qua tuto possent Euangelica monumenta, et fidei dogmata Persicis litteris committere: Euangelij præcipuas rerum gestarum periodos, in Persicum sermonem, conuertere instituerunt; tum deinde, ea quæ, ab Agarenis in quæstionem uocabantur, accuratissime disputata perscribere. Quæ omnia Regi tradebantur · tum | ut illa, attentius per otium, lectitari sibi iuberet, tum etiam ne inuidiam, aduersariorum, qui frequentes, cum Rege sermones, peruerse interpretabantur, incurrerent; tandem ne fauore Regis, homines peregrini, immodica consuetudine extolli, aut saltem confidentius, quam par est, agere uiderentur.

Nostri Sacerdotes, et Agarenorum magistri, sæpe inter se, de fide Scripturarum, de Deo trino et uno, de || Filio, de eius morte, de Mahammede, de *Synthemate,⁸

1 Ist: aptus non

2 Ist: excussis calceis.

3 Ist: satrapis.

4 Ist: in suo throno sedebat; 2ndly: in sua sede pulcherrimo vestitu . . . sedebat.

5 Ist: inuecta.

6 Ist: satrapæ.

7 Ist: qui Ormuzi natus, maternam linguam, quæ Persica est, quam obliuioni prope tradiderat.

8 Ist: Alcorano.

- Topics of discussion.** of de die Judicij, de morte, et resurrectione, et de rebus philosophicis, et politicis controuersi sunt, quæ singula si enumerarentur, infinitum prope esset. Illud tamen silentio prætereundum non est (quod quidem sine arrogancia dicitur) diuini auxiliij
- 2 uirtute, quo Sacerdotes nitebantur, ¹ factum esse, ut in omni controuersia, silentium
- Ordeal fire.** of aduersarijs sit impositum, ut sæpe ad miracula prouocarent. Nam quod supra de igne dictum est, sæpissime commemorarunt · mihi dubium non est, quin ut iniurias Mahammeddis, ab illis inter disputandum irrogatas, uindicarent · ut qui religione
- 3 tenerentur, tum suæ legis statuta in controuersiam uocari, | (quod ab impio ueteratore cautum est) *tum honori fallacis prophetæ, coram se detrahi permisisse; quod apud eos flagitium est maximum, et ab ipso qui illis imposuit damnatum.¹ Nec deerat pudor, et quædam animi acerbitas, quod in publica disceptatione, suis se armis uinci
- 4 passi essent. Sacerdotes enim ut plurimum, quæsitis, ex sua ipsorum | scriptura
- Quoting the Qurân.** argumentis, non nostro iure, et legibus disceptando decertabant: mirabanturque, eos suæ legis dogmata, ita in promptu habere, ut præ illis ipsi esse infantes uiderentur.
- Abu-l Fazi on his guard.** Quod ut maximus *mystagogorum ² præfectus animaduertit, qui quidem Mahammeddicam disciplinam (et ob eam rem gratissimus Regi) irridet et Sacerdotibus semper
- F 33a. 1 fauit, quoties lis, et disputatio incidebat, essetne || ita scriptum in *Syndagmate,³ sententiam illorum obseruabat, tacitus: et ut ad eum ueniebatur, ita rem habere, ut illi affirmabant, dicebat. Nam re compererat sæpissime, cum ad explorandam dicti fidem cõdices adducebantur, diligentissime nostros operam *Syndagmati³ dedisse · nec unquam, cum citabatur, deerrasse; quod ipse ingenue, tantum non
- 2 fatebatur, sed etiam prædicabat. | At uero Rex in omni litteraria contentione illis
- Akbar's encomiums.** interpretes caussæ, et disceptator, hoc est, rei sententiæque moderator erat, ac si aliquod occurreret argumentum, quod Sacerdotum sententiæ faveret, proferebat palam disertissime · nec ullam prætermittebat occasionem, eos collaudandi, ut ipsos immodicæ fortasse laudis puderet. Commendabat uero plurimum, paupertatis
- 3 studium, | et castitatis obseruantiam, et animo percussus ad pietatem, et rerum omnium repudiationem, dicebat: illum vere existimari posse, Deum peramanter diligere, qui se mundi uoluptatibus, uxore, filijs, et rebus denique omnibus abdicaret.
- Cum ergo Sacerdotum integritati, usque adeo fideret, ut filium secundo genitum,
- 4 educandum, et instituendum | traderet, et pecuniam, ut stipem pauperibus darent, numerari iuberet: hoc quidem onere, sese liberare, *conati sunt et⁴ obtinuerunt.
- A school in the palace.** Institutionem uero filij, tum propter spem emolumentum, quæ affulgebat, tum quod institutio uerorum, functio sit Societatis propria: etsi amplissimi honoris dignitatem, pro
- F 33b. 1 Societatis modestia optassent declinare: admiserunt.⁵ Atque eo die, quo instituendi
- Prince Murad and his schoolmates.** pueri, initium factum est, cum more patriæ, aureum nummum, sestertiorum pondo quinque, præceptori dono Rex daret, et ille accipere recusasset · non tantum Rex, sed et cæteri proceres, vehementer admirati, illum pecuniarum contemptum, laudibus in cœlum
- 2 extulerunt. Instituendi pueri ratio, ac modus hic fuit · ut initio lectionis, | nomen
- The sign of the Cross.** Jesu, et Mariæ, religiose, ut est Christianorum mos inuocaret, deinde signi crucis,

¹ ISTE: tum quod honori . . . detrahi, quod apud eos . . . ab ipso damnatum, permisissent.

² ISTE: sacrificulorum.

³ ISTE: Aleorano.

⁴ ISTE: nisi sunt: atque.

⁵ The anonymous commentator underlined in pencil several passages from fol. 30b to 33a.

in fronte, ore, et pectore, lineamenta conformaret, extremo, ut effigiem Christi, quæ depicta in libello erat, supplex ueneretur · id ipsum, reliqui condiscipuli, ex nobiliori *adolescentulorum¹ iuventute, a Rege ipso delecti, ut factitarent. Propositus est

The Cate- chism. An ideal pupil. 3 libellus, | Doctrinæ Christianæ, quo pueri, ad Christianam disciplinam, et pietatem instituuntur; et exempla, quæ scriptitando imitarentur, pias sententias continebant. Et indoles pueri, ad virtutes, ingenium, ad litterarum studia, iure optimo, in quouis Christiano iuvene, ne dicam principe expetenda. Parebat vero puer, præceptoris voluntati, et | usque adeo, dicto audiens erat, ut ne oculos quidem, obiurganti, aliquando attollere auderet. Nondum tres effluxerant menses, cum legere didicit, et scribendo quidem, ita præceptoris manum imitabatur, ut annum in eo labore discendi versatus, facile existimari posset, quod Regi eius patri, pergratum, et iucundum accidebat. Præceperat || uero, ut singulis diebus, *quæ essent a præceptore tradita sibi uel memoriter, uel de fabulis recitaret.² Quo incitamento, puer diligentem operam nauabat. *Nam eo fuit Rex ingenio, ut cum filios officiosissime amaret, cum res postulabat, illos asperius appellaret: et non verbis solum, sed etiam verberibus castigaret: faceretque magistro potestatem, eos si quid peccarent puniendi,³ cuius rei, cum puer, Sacerdoti factam esse potestatem | intelligeret, tandiu eum exhorruit, quoad ea formidine, verbis lenibus magistri, liberatus est · qui ei nihil esse a se extimescendum denuntiauit, quum quod non sit consuetudinis Lusitanorum, principes ab alio, quam a parentibus, et nutritijs, quamdiu sunt infantes, cædi; tum quod, etsi in patria liceret, non decebat exterum hominem, | puerum principem tanti Regis filium cædere. Eam quidem facultatem, Regia amplitudine, et confidentia factam, potius inhibere, quam fræna laxare · ut animaduersione, et supplicio in eum, magister uteretur. Nec fugere prudentissimum Regem, ea in re non esse, sibi præceptorem obtemperaturum. Qua oratione, et reliqua | consuetudine, longe alia, quam magistri cæteri solebant: ita animum, non pueri solum, sed duorum fratrum obstrinxit · ut omnibus in rebus, eum familiarissime adhiberent. Erat discipulo nomen Pahári, id est Montanus.||

No ferule. 3 patria liceret, non decebat exterum hominem, | puerum principem tanti Regis filium cædere. Eam quidem facultatem, Regia amplitudine, et confidentia factam, potius inhibere, quam fræna laxare · ut animaduersione, et supplicio in eum, magister uteretur. Nec fugere prudentissimum Regem, ea in re non esse, sibi præceptorem obtemperaturum. Qua oratione, et reliqua | consuetudine, longe alia, quam magistri cæteri solebant: ita animum, non pueri solum, sed duorum fratrum obstrinxit · ut omnibus in rebus, eum familiarissime adhiberent. Erat discipulo nomen Pahári, id est Montanus.||

Jahāngīr and Dānyāl. 4 obtemperaturum. Qua oratione, et reliqua | consuetudine, longe alia, quam magistri cæteri solebant: ita animum, non pueri solum, sed duorum fratrum obstrinxit · ut omnibus in rebus, eum familiarissime adhiberent. Erat discipulo nomen Pahári, id est Montanus.||

Abu-l Fazl and Mubārak friendly. 1 Augebat Regis, erga illos beneuolentiam, autoritas maximi mystagogorum, & magistrorum præsulis, qui ipsis, semper maximopere fauit. *Huic nomen erat Xec Abdulfasilius, quem Sacerdotes, Regis Jonatham solebant appellare. Hic filius erat, senis admodum religiosi, et studijs commentationum, et diuinarum contemplationum ualde dediti, qui minime Mahammeddi, et ejus libro | fidem habebat, cuius vestigijs, eius omnes filij insistebant · et aperte, ac palam affirmabant, multa in Synthemate scripta esse impia, et nefaria, et quæ secum ipsa, maxime pugnarent;⁴ quare persuasum habere, non esse librum illum a Deo missum. Ac senis quidem sapientia, et grauitas, | et in Christi religionem, propensio: admirationi Sacerdotibus erat. Librum Eꝯangelij, religiosissime osculabatur, et suo capiti impo-

i. e., seruus auroꝝ. Seni nomen Mubārīc. i. e., benedictus.

¹ Later addition. ² Ist: ad se, de eius diei lectione, referret.
³ Ist: nam eo est Rex ingenio, ut . . . amet, . . . postulat. . . . appellet: et . . . castiget: faciatque . . . peccent . . .—The change from the present to the past shows, perhaps, that the first draft of Monserrate's account was written at the time.
⁴ Ist: Huic nomen est Xec . . . Hic filius est, senis ualde religiosi, . . . libro credit, cuius . . . filij insistunt. et . . . affirmant, multa in Alcorano scripta . . . maxime pugnent.

nebat. Sacerdotes intuebatur quasi Angelos, iuuenem eorum interpretem, beatum esse dicebat, qui consuetudine ipsorum frueretur. Quid plura? In priuatis, cum Rege colloquijs, nihil habebat antiquius, | quam illorum scientiam, et modestiam commendare.

Concerting
with Abu-i
Fazl.

F. 35a. 1

At vero ipsis, cum Abdulfasilio conuenerat, ut ipse ante disputationem, rei controuersæ sententiam, quam tuerentur aut impugnarent, et rationes quibus niterentur, audiret, ut copiosius, et ornatius, repugnantibus responderet, quod multis quidem in disputationibus, at in quadam, maxima cum laude, ut pene Christianus uideretur, præstitit. Erat dies Sabbathi disputationibus assignatus. Verum quoniam, allato

Bad news
from Bengal.

2

tristi nuntio, ex Gangaride ora, quod Patanæi transfugæ, eius prouinciæ *præsidentem¹ pro Rege, uictores interfecissent: Rex, | eo quod rumore uulgi circumferretur, ipsum Christianis rebus, nimium fauere, non nihil, de studio audiendi sacra remiserat, nec se conueniri sinebat. Data occasione, quædam ex Euangelio, in Persicum sermonem conuersa, Sacerdotes tradiderunt. Quæ cum coram se perlegi, accitis aliquot

Lull in the
Saturday dis-
cussions.

3

magistris, imperasset: instituta est, de Filio Dei | disceptatio. Ac cum de modo, ac

The Divi-
nity of Christ.

4

ratione diuinæ generationis decertaretur, illius spiritum, diuinus quidam (ut uidebatur) ardor numinis affluit, et tam luculenter, quonam pacto, nos assereremus Deum

Eloquence
of Abu-i Fazl

habere Filium explicauit, ut ipsi Sacerdotes vehementer admirarentur; ac non solum Rodolfus, in eius sententiam iret, uerum etiam, adhibita | fusiore explicatione collaudaret: et ex aduersarijs quidam dicerent, eo modo credi posse, Deum habere Filium.

and one of
Akbar's phy-
sicians.

F. 35b. 1

Ac cum, ad eius mortem, et passionem, deducta esset controuersia: et quæreretur, cur eo genere mortis, passus esset se interfici? alius quidam eodem numinis spiritu afflatus, respondit sibi insita bonitate, id sustinuisse, cum alijs multis modis, potuisset nos, in libertatem asserere. Ac ubi Rodolfus, accurate de duabus naturis, in Christo cohærentibus disputauit: Rex assensione facta, plausum dedit: aduersarij tristes conticuerunt. Porro Abdulfasilius, ita erat, in nostram religionem animatus:

*E medicis
regijs quidam
qui peracutus
erat ingenio et
probus uide-
batur.*

2

ut se, quoties in | *ædiculum² ingrederetur, animo intus commoueri affirmaret: secus quam, cum in suum templum *ingrediebatur,³ sibi que persuadere, cœleste quiddam, et diuinum, in nostris templis inesse.

3

Cæterum, cum sparsus ille rumor, immodicæ Regis beneuolentiæ, erga Sacerdotes, impedimento fore uideretur quominus Regem possent conuenire . ex re, et ex tempore,

The Fa-
thers change
their house
and chapel
to the
Khushboi
-Khāna.

4

consilium ceperunt, ut domicilium in quo agebant, cum alio commutarent, quod interiecto tantum pariete, a Regia distabat. Qui si *perforaretur et, facta janua, patefieret: iter⁴ sese mutuo, et secreto conueniendi, aperiret. Vbi *Regi rem, et⁵ qua mente ducerentur, significarunt: è uestigio, iussit unguenta, et odores, et aquæ |

F. 36a 1

odoriferæ quam plurima uascula, efferri: et in alium locum deportari, nam eo in domicilio, et componebantur, unguenta, et seruabantur: à quo nomen habebat locus |

Theca unguentaria. Ipso loco, Sacerdotes commonebantur, illius sententiæ, Christi bonus odor sumus. Itaque loco repurgato, et ex eorum sententia, locis aliquot reparato, ac triclinijs aucto, eo commigrarunt; quo propediem, se uenturum, Rex significauit.

*Coxbui
ghana: boni
odoris do-
mus.*

¹ ist: prætorem.

² ist: oraculum.

³ ist: ingrederetur.

⁴ ist: perfoderetur, facta janua, iter.

⁵ ist: rem, et.

Et cum Christi natalitia instarent, ea dies dicta est, rogatu ipsorum, qua erat

2 Rex | ad eos uenturus. Sacellum itaque sericis, et attalicis aulæis ornarunt; specum, **Christmas 1580.** in qua Christus natus, et præsepe, in quo, a matre est reclinatus, et montem, in quo pastores excubias agebant, paruis statuis, ad ueritatem pene, imitando adduxerunt.

Akbar at the Grib. Quo spectaculo Rex, et pauci ex sibi charioribus, quos secum introduxit, mirifice **3** delectati sunt. | Ac ubi circumspexit singula, cum de Christi natiuitate incidisset

Conflicting texts in the Qorān. sermo: Rodolfus, a magistris quæsiuit, quonam pacto, duo loci secum pugnantes, in **4** fore propitium, | in natiuitate, morte, et resurrectione spondidisse. Si enim moriturus non erat, quid expectaret in morte? Quodsi mortuus est, id accepit, quod

F. 36b. 1 Propheta quidam prædixit . “ Si posuerit animam suam, uidebit semen || longæuum, et uoluntas Dei, in manu eius dirigetur.” Rursus si mortuus non est, non sane reuixit; quod si non reuixit, uana fuit diuina promissio. Oportet igitur, ut stabiliatur promissio, Christum reuixisse: quod si reuixit, oportuit aliquandiu uita caruisse: quod si uita caruit, non sibi constat uester propheta . qui modo ait, Christum mor-

Isaiæ 13.

2 tuum | esse, modo idipsum negat . *et necessario efficitur, falso asserere alium pro eo necatum, Christum uero minime.² Quodsi deprehendatur mendax, Dei propheta, non est existimandus. Hæc Rodolfi ratiocinatio, miseros homines, ita perculit, ut in eodem solo adhuc hæreant. Nec enim adducto libro, et eius interpretibus |

3 nonnullis, sese hac argumentatione, *extricare³ potuerunt. Obiecit præterea Rodol- **Unnatural vice.** fus, egregium uatem, incestam uenerem, *execrandi abusus,⁴ quodam loco quem citauit admittere. Consulitur codex, ueritas comperitur. Nam quidam inficiabantur. Qua comperta, rubore perfusi, quidam mirari, quidam dicere, quod propheta ita

4 docuerit, satis | esse; nec debere reprehendi. At cum argutulus quispiam, illa per anagogem dicta accipienda esse, diceret; occurrit Rodolfus, nullam ibi, esse posse

F. 37a. 1 dicto, anagogiam, cum orationis illud membrum, superioris sententiæ, etyologia esset.|| “ Nam,” inquit, “ si hæc in beatitudinis sede, desyderarentur: non esset perfecta beatitudo.” Vespere Rex filios suos, ad spectaculum præsepis misit, quo **Quiet secur-** pueri, ualde recreati sunt. **ed. The writ-** Quoniam uero uicinia scribarum, illis impedimento erat, quo minus, absque **ters change** tumultu, domi agerent, ob clamores frequentis multitudinis hominum, quibus erant **their quar-**

2 cum scribis negotia: | alio scribas commigrare, eorum gratia, ipsis inscijs, et nihil opinantibus, imperauit.

Bibi Marian kē kothi? Fama uero, pulchritudinis signi, Beatæ Virginis, ita peruulgata est, ut uidenti eius causa, frequentes, tum Agareni, tum gentiles, et hi quidem cum donis, in sacellum uentitarent. Qua conspecta, palmis ad cælum sublatis, eam uenerabantur, et **3** salutabant. Cæterà si pares sint, uel hoc sane, illis Christianis | qui nouis rebus student, *καὶ εἰκονομαστύγεις εἰσὶ,⁵ meliores existunt.

Reproving Akbar for:— a. gladiatorial shows; Cæterum ea quam diximus, a Rege, de eorum scientia, atque integritate, concepta opinio: ne sterilis, et uana, nihil ferret, in animum induxerunt suum, libere omnia,

¹ Ist: Alcorano.

² Ist: et alium pro eo necatum fuisse, necessario efficitur, falso asserere: et Christum minime fuisse necatum.

³ Ist: expedire.

⁴ Ist: neglecti sexus.

⁵ In original: καὶ ἠκωνομαστύγεις οὕσι.

- 4 quæ uituperanda essent, reprehendere; quare sæpissime, negligentiam, et tarditatem, in addiscendis rebus diuinis, modeste quidem, et explorato, quomodo esset animo affectus, coarguerunt. Et cum ad gladiatorios ludos spectandos, *eos¹ inuitasset; se non posse morem gerere responderunt. Parceret proinde. Interrogauit, “Qua de causa?” — “Quoniam (inquiunt) abhorret, a Christiana disciplina, atque moribus,
- F. 37b. 1 “hominum carnificinam *exercere ac eam² | spectare, eumque qui gladiatorios ludos “ederet, *scelus nefarium facere.” Quodsi se, armorum exercitatione ludicra, oblectare “uellet, acumina iuberet ensibus adimi et gladiatores, thoraces, et galeas induere, et “peltas, in sinistra gestare, quibus possent, ictus absque uitæ discrimine, accipere.”
- 2 Probauit quidem admonitionem, et religionis | sanctitatem, est admiratus. Modus digladiandi, Mongolorum est, ut ad concentum, quattuor parium tympanorum decer- tent, quorum par primum, cantum ductat, alter grauem sonum, tertium exilem uocem edit, quartum, graui ex aduerso, elato sono modulatur.
- Consueuerunt *Brachmanorum³ (qui genere nobiles ac clari sunt) uxores genti-
 3 litia per | manus tradita consuetudine, in eodem rogo, cum uiris mortuis exuri. Ad
 b. Sati; huius spectaculum rei, Sacerdotes ignaros, accersiri iussit: quo cum uenissent, et
 quid rei gereretur, comperissent: feritatem, atque agrestem immanitatem facinoris, uultus tristitia reprehendentes, tandem Rodolfus Regem, quod publice sua præ-
 4 sentia, immane facinus | comprobaret, et grauissimo suo iudicio, atque sententia confirmaret (dicebat enim, eam fortitudinem, a Deo *emanare⁵) palam reprehendit.
- Bhagwân Dās? Quod quidem, qua erat in eos beneuolentia, æquo animo tulit: nec amplius, ut ad id
 F. 33a. 1 spectaculum iret, a quodam Regulo, quem adhibebat familiarissime, genere Brach- mana, et sacrorum Rege adduci potuit. Has | mulierculas, ut omni doloris sensu careant, medicamentis quibusdam, oppio præsertim, vel herba soporifera (quæ bangue dicitur, canabique quam similis est .) vel, quod usitatus est, duturonè herba, Indis cognita, Europæis, ac ueteribus prorsus ignota consopiant omnino: vel semi- sopitas, adhuc tamen nonnihil sibi constantes, monitis, et precibus, ac proposita |
 2 æterni nominis gloria, inducunt: ut sese in rogam præcipites dedant. Quod si cun- ctentur, miseras impellunt, si exire contendunt, contis, et uncis in flammam adigunt. At uero qui aderant optimates: cum rem uituperarent, nec auderent Regi contradi- cere, mutuo uellicarunt. “Apage, atra ueste Franci,” dicunt. Et hoc quidem tota
 3 ciuitate, cum summa | laude, et admiratione, quod ausi essent Franci, Regem eius rei admonere, peruulgatum est.
- c. profligates in women's dress; Occurrit aliquando illis grex quidam nebulonum *catamitorum,⁶ ex eorum contu- bernio, qui se ut fœminæ comunt, et ornant. Quare, ut par est, uehementer offensi,
 ut primum nacti sunt copiam, Regem summa cum autoritate, quoniam causa illis |
 4 fauebat, priuatim increparunt. “Mirari se, quod id hominum genus, in suo regno, “nedum in sua ciuitate, ac pene in oculis, agere permetteret: quod esset tanquam maxi-
 “ma perniciēs, in ultimas terras amandandum, ne dicerent potius, flammis uoracibus
 F. 33b. 1 “absumentum. Et uix se, fidem unquam fuisse habituros, cuiquam qui huiusmodi
 “homines, reperiri dixisset, in curia, et in regia ciuitate, in qua ipse ageret, qui pietate,

¹ Ist: patres.³ Ist: Brachmanorum.² Later addition.⁵ Ist: permarare.⁴ Ist: in Deum uehementissime peccare.⁶ Later addition.

c. clerici. 2. de uita & honestate clericorum.

Arg. a minori ad maius.

a. [Grati. anus], Cap.

M o n o m a- chia, [Causa]

2, q. 5; Cap.

1 et 2 de cler. pugn. in duel.

et [Decret. lib. 5] Cap. 1 de

hornea-[men- tis] et 2.

b. Et con- stite Pij si

quæ incipit de salute gre-

gis § clericis quoque de agi-

tatione tauro- rum. Arg. a simili.

“ ac uitæ integritate, atque prudentia præstaret. Quare imperaret, ne amplius, in ea
 “ saltem ciuitate, comparerent: quando ab egregio propheta, bonis hominibus, impuni-
 2 “ tas esset data.” Arrisit quidem Rex Sacerdotibus, | ad hoc uerbum, et se, curæ
 rem habiturum recepit.

d. evil peda-
gogues.

Nec prætermiserunt, quin eum commonefacerent, daturum aliquando pœnas
 quod, cum optime cognosceret Mahammeddis disciplinam, animis hominum exitium
 afferre: permetteret suos filios, optimæ indolis, et ingenij pueros, a quibusdam senibus,
 3 qui Mahammeddem in uentre gererent, edoceri. | Respondit iussisse, ut eis tantum,
 historias regum maiorum suorum proponerent

No offence
taken.

Denique ne singula consectemur, cum sæpenumero, regem liberius admonuissent,
 nunquam, nec caussa eorum, qui oportunitatem, ad coarguendum captabant, et
 considerate agebant, nec caussa Regis, qui eos charos habebat, amicitia dissui potuit,
 4 tantum abest, ut scinderetur. Quin potius, | cum Rex eam, se coarguendi libertatem,
 ex quadam cordis synceritate, emanare intelligeret, atque eam æqui, bonique consule-
 ret, Sacerdotibus, ut quanti eos faceret significaret, tantum non fauere semper,
 verum etiam, omnes honores deferre, uisus est. Nam aperto capite salutantes, nutu,

F. 63a. 1

Kindness
to Rudolf,

et totius uultus hilaritate || resalutabat. Aperto esse capite, coram se, non patiebatur .

siue cum senatus haberetur . siue ad familiaria colloquia, intus ad se propius accitos,
 sibi ut assiderent, imperabat. Manus quam familiariter apprehendebat. Eos de
 communi reliquorum cœtu, ad se in priuata colloquia seuocabat. Non semel, cum

2 Rodolfo, brachio in eius collum *extento,¹ publice | aliquot spatia fecit. Alterum e
 Sacerdotibus, uoluit in frequentissima optimatum corona, cum in castris esset, sibi

& to Mon-
serrate.

ut *ensem² adnecteret, quod non sine inuidia æmulatorum, et omnium admiratione,
 factum est. Illos in prosperis, et aduersis rebus omnibus (quod est amoris, et bene-

3 uolentiæ non uulgare argumentum) sibi conscios esse uolebat. Janitoribus | edixerat,
 ne unquam eos *aditu,³ vel in interius aulæ impluuium, quo solis primarijs uiris,
 penetrare licet, interdicerent, aut prohiberent. Quid plura? Quod nulli hactenus

Monserrate
visited in his
illness.

fecisse dicitur, illis de mensa misit. Decumbenti in lecto, e Sacerdotibus unum
 inuisit, et Lusitane, officij caussa, salutauit. Ac largiendi quidem, nullus fuisset |

4 modus, nisi quotidiano uictu, et necessario cultu, atque uestitu, eoque frugali, et
 parco, sibi satis esse, sæpissime denuntiassent . quod libenter, palam prædicabat. Et
 in singulos menses, stipis nomine pecuniæ tantum attribuit, quantum quotidianis
 sumptibus, satis esse iudicatum est. †

† Liber 2. †

F. 39b. 1

Signs of
unrest.

Hæc regis beneuolentia, erga illos rumorem adeo confirmauit, et auxit, || * Regem
 a Mahammedde defecisse,⁵ ut palam circumferretur, illum uelle fieri Christianum.

Accedebat, quod * lege traditas preces,⁶ statis temporibus, ex præscripto impos-
 toris, non funderet . * menstruæ inedia, quam Ramadan uocant, consuetudinem non

seruaret⁷ . multa facete dicta, in Mahammeddem iactaret: illumque propterea, sæpe
 2 irrideret, quod | *impurus impudicusque, sine⁸ caligis uel subligaculo foras prodiret.

Quæ cum Agareni plerique, iniquissime ferrent, vnus uel maxime offendebatur,

1 Ist: iniecto.

2 Ist: gladium.

3 Ist: adytū.

+ Later addition, and cancelled

5 Ist: Regis a Mahammedde defectionis.

6 Ist: legitimas orationes.

7 Ist: menstruam inediam, quam Ramadan uocant, non seruaret.

8 Ist: quod abiecta uerecundia, sine.

Shah Man-
sur twice con-
victed of high
treason.

Xamans
rus.

quem Rex, ad altissimum dignitatis gradum, ex infima, et abiecta conditione, euex-
erat: et suarum facultatum, summum curatorem constituerat. Hic cum iniu-
3 riam, quam suo prophetæ fieri existimabat, sibi reliquisque | Agarenis, impatibilem
iudicaret, et religionibus stimulatus (nam qui prophetæ non dant fidem, et contradicunt,
e medio tolli iubentur) defectionem est meditatus · et ubi non paucos, in suam
defectionis sententiam adduxit · ad Mirsachimum *Zelaldini¹ fratrem qui Chabuli
regnabat, et Agarenicam superstitionem *arcte tenebat accurateque defendebat,²
4 literas scripsit, in hanc sententiam. | “Hominem esse segnem, et suæ legis parum
“amantem, qui amplissimi regni obtinendi, et ulciscendæ, aduersus exleges, Maham-
“meddicæ iniuriæ, occasionem nactus, cessaret. Certior esset, se *plurimos³ habere,
“qui si bellum, cum impio fratre suscipiat, ad *eum⁴ transfugiant; se, eorum esse
F. 40a. 1 “antesignanum. Nec dubitaret, quin, ubi castra castris conferrentur, frater perim-
“eretur a se, uel alio qui id facilius, et tutius transigere posset. Nam multos, ex
“fratris familiaribus, secum conspirasse. Quo facto, sine sanguine, uictoria poti-
“retur.” Quas quidem litteras, cum pluribus exemplis scripsisset: unum est exem-
plum interceptum, et ad Regem perlatum · qui prodicione perspecta, hunc in libe-
2 rali custodia seruari iussit, | et ad fratrem ut conquiesceret, nisi priuari Regno uellet
scripsit. Post mensem, commemoratis beneficijs, proditorem, obiurgatum dimitti
iussit, et in pristinum munus restituit: eo quod, acri esset ingenio, ad negotia pera-
genda, et quod multitudine fretus, suarum copiarum, nihil fratrem ipse pertimesceret.
3 At vero, eos quos *ex catalogo authoratorum | proditorum, qui penes Xamansurum
erat, conspirasse⁵ deprehendit, secreto obiurgauit, et missos, in uarias regiones, ita
disiunxit, ut conuenire, et simul esse, non possent. Hac diligentia, oppressam esse
coniurationem, rex natura simplex, et syncerus existimauit: at uero dum hæc gere-
bantur, semper, aut gladium, aut telum aliquod gestabat. Sacerdotes uero, in magno
4 discrimine | uersabantur. Enimuero Xamansurus (hoc enim erat nomen, coniurato-
rum duci) nihilo melior uenia, et impunitate, atque beneficijs factus, coniurationem
ijsdem artibus, quibus cœperat, fouebat. Nam iterum ad Mirsachimum, in eandem |
F. 40b. 1 sententiam scripsit (quod Regem minime latuit) et quod instituerat, diligenter præ-
stabat. Atque ut hominum animos, a Rege abalienaret, plurimum laboris, et operæ
impendebat. Instituto Tartarorum, uis exercitus, tota est in equitatu, qui omnis, ex
disciplina Cingiscani, a quo Zelaldinus genus ducit, in hunc modum distribuitur, ut
2 decuriones centurionibus, | hi chiliarchis, chiliarchæ myriadum tribunis, pareant.
Cum uero recensiones habentur, ad stipendium soluendum equitibus, ex fide tantum,
eorum, qui reliquis præsent, recognitio fieri consueuit. Hic igitur proditor, Regi
persuasit, se ab ijs fraudari, eo quod, non tot haberent equites, quot in nominibus
3 proferebant: sed pro equitibus | pedites, eosque domesticos scribere; oportere, ut
fraudi occurreretur, singulos, cum singulis equis, præsto adesse: et equis signum inuri,
iuberet: quod si moreretur equus, caudam afferri, ne commodati ab amicis notaren-
tur, prohiberetque, alium eius loco scribi, illumque, sine sua facultate uendi. Dein-
4 de, de stipendijs equitum, et decurionum, cæterorumque minui. Hac | techna, cum

¹ 1st: eius.

² 1st: accurate colebat.

³ 1st: plures.

⁴ 1st: se.

⁵ 1st: in nominibus, conspirasse

F. 41a. 1 suis rebus, Rex consuli existimaret: illum improbus ueterator, quasi exercitatus pugil, supplantare, ac deicere contendebat. Nam utrumque, iniquissime Mongoli tulerunt, *usque eo¹ ut in prouincia Gangaride, præsidem facto impetu || necarent, et toto regno, omnium ordinum homines, Regi succenserent, et eum tyrannidis accusarent, quod unum restabat: ut omnes merito, atque optimo iure, pro religione, atque libertate, contra Regem decertare, honorificum, et utile iudicarent. Cum hi rumores increbrescerent, Sacerdotes Regem adierunt, ut eius animum explorarent (suboluerat enim, Regem pœnitere, quod eos accersiuisset) · num | rerum perturbatione commotus, uellet eos dimittere. At ille, tantum aberat, ut ea de re cogitaret, ut eis, patriæ desyderium, obijceret, et exprobraret: qui quidem longissime, ab ea cogitatione, distabant: solumque animo afficiebantur, quod otiosi, in ea re, cessare iudicarentur, cuius | caussa, in longinqua regione exularent. Porro Xamansuri proditio, et noui conatus, ad Regem perlati sunt secundo. Qua de caussa, hominem iterum, ab honore quæsturæ, Rex exclusit, et a gubernaculis, rei suæ pecuniariæ repulit, ac custodiae tradidit.

Shāh Mansūr in prison.

Mirzā Hakīm invading the Panjāb.

At Mirsachimus, comparato exercitu, quindecim millium equitum Mongolorum: Indum, Bydaspem, Sandabalinque, | annos latissimos, et rapidissimos, atque Adrim, qui Lahorum opulentissimam, et amplissimam urbem, a septemtrione alluit, nec multo est alijs inferior, mira confidentia, et securitate traiecit · et castra iuxta Lahorum posuit. Nam cum Ruytasij arcem, Josephus prætor teneret, nec paruisset eius imperio, arcem a se reposcentis, quod eam sibi || diceret, a fratre ipsius traditam, nec posse, nisi depulsum, ac uictum cedere, nihil ueritus, à tergo hostes relinquere, ultra perrexit. Suis edixerat, ne cui iniuriam facerent, neue agros uastarent, et Lahorimunicipes, securos esse iussit. Prætorem per legatos, ad deditionem, et ut arce

Yusuf's brave stand at Roh-tas.

F. 41b. 1

Mān Singh defends Lahore.

M. Hakīm's tardy regrets.

Farīdūn Khān, his evil genius.

F. 42a. 1

Back to Kābul.

cederet, *inducebat² · a quo idem responsum *tulit.³ | Et cum itineris, et suscepti belli, pœnitere cœpit · quod intelligeret, ex uiris principibus neminem, a fratre defecisse · nec eos nebulones, qui se acciuisent, promissis stare, cum nulla auxilia, ad se uenirent · formidare fratris potentiam, qui copijs, multo erat superior, sumptus in bellum, *perperam uana futilitate summaque leuitate⁴ factos dolere, commeatus difficultatem | uereri, existimare pedem referri oportere. Faridumcani tantum, magistri militiae, qui inimicitias, cum Zelaldino gerebat, uiri quidem strenui, et bellis gerendis, industrij atque experientis, cohortationibus confirmabatur. Verum cum ab exploratoribus intellixit, omnia esse pacata, nec ullos esse motus, fratrem rei certiore factum, minime commoueri, nec castra facere, | tantique eum æstimare quanti aquila culicem (dissimulabat enim Zelaldinus, caussam se nosse, aduentus ipsius, et ut se salutarent mutuo, per legatos agebat: eo consilio, ut eum, uicinioribus castris, intercluderet, ne effugium * esset ·) et uenationem indixisse,⁵ ac Regium tabernaculum || eduxisse, magnis itineribus, fugam capessit, atque in Sandabalis uado, quod ponte, et nauigijs destituerentur, et nando annem trajcere cogentur, quadringenti equites, quos annis absumpsit, ex eius copijs desyderati sunt. Ferebatur totidem fere,

Mān Singh
Regulum.²

¹ Later addition.

² Later addition.

³ Ist: sollicitabat.

⁴ Ist: accepit.

⁵ Ist: futiliter.

⁶ Ist: esset. At vero, ubi rumore perlatum est Zelaldinum fratrem, uenationem indixisse.

in traiectu Bydaspis, atque Indi desyderatos fuisse, infœlici exitu belli, infœlici omine
2 aduersus | Christi potissimum religionem, suscepti.

Oncoming
storm. Shâh
Mansûr re-
leased.

Et exoptasset quidem Mirsachimus, ut hæc infortunia, finem nefario, bello
imposuissent: verum ultra cum eius magno malo, deductum est. Nam Zelaldinus
magnus, his iniurijs laccessitus, Xamansurum astute solui iussit, condonans secundo
3 eandem noxam, ut patefactam omnino proditionem, | illi occultaret, ac potius insinu-
aret, se suspicionibus, ac rumoribus ductum, ipsum coniecisse in vincula: re autem
ipsa, illi exitium, et in fratrem bellum meditabatur. Quod, ut cum consilio gereret,

'Aziz Koka
to keep Sen-
gal in check.

in Gangaridis prouinciam, *procerem¹ cognatum, et collactaneum suum, qui Agiscocaa
ob eam caussam *dicebatur² · cum copijs misit. Qui atris uexillis, internicionis |
4 symbolo, quo Temurus claudus, gentilitatis horum regum author, in bellis uti solebat,
profectus, breui fuis hostibus, et in deditionem acceptis, aut certe interfectis, bellum||

F. 42b. 1

The Kâbul
campaign de-
cided.

et sine bellica laude oppressisse, eo quod multis partibus, fratrem sua equestrium
acie, superaret: dempto gregario peditatu, qui erat prope infinitus, tum etiam,
quo par pari referret, quoniam Mirsachimus, ad Lahorum excurrisset, ipse |
2 Chabulum ueniret, et in fratris regno, manus cum eo consereret, qui bellum sua
sponte, ad se acciuisset. et dormientem, ut aiunt, canem excitasset: fugientem pone
sequi constituit.

The Jesuits
offer their
services.

Cum uero jam in procinctu esset, ad eum Sacerdotes uenerunt, et se peroptare,
comites esse laboris, et itineris exposuerunt, si id sibi gratum foret. Respondit se
3 gratiam habere, esseque | sibi satis exploratam, atque perspectam eorum uoluntatem,
verum in ea esse sententia, ut existimaret, uiros religiosos, et tranquillitati, atque otio
literario, et diuinis meditationibus deditos, non debere, ab ea dulcedine abstrahi,

A.'s mother.

propterea se, matri suæ, eam curam imposuisse, ut perhumane, et benigne eos accipe-
4 ret. | Quare eos exorare, ut æquo animo acciperent, et pro se orarent. Responderunt

F. 43a. 1

Monerrate
selected.

Sacerdotes, *se in ea cogitatione curaque versari · ac quamuis³ magno eius desyderio
tenerentur, quoniam ita iubebat, se libenter parituros. At cum forte fortuna, postridie
eius diei, filij sui præceptorem, in literaria pergula, offendisset: "Parate," inquit,
"Pater, ad iter · nam mecum es profecturus." Et ad comneatum omnia dari,
quam citissime, imperauit.

2 Itaque more suo uenationem indixit, et regium | tabernaculum efferrî, et quarto
ab urbe lapide, figi imperauit. Rebus ita compositis, ut Nicopoli mater, cum Danialo
nepote, filio suo, natu minimo maneret · Gangaridi prouinciæ, Agiscocanus præesset ·

The mus-
ter. Pruden-
tial measures.
A.'s mother.

Qutb-ud-din
Khan

Gedrosiæ Cutubdicanus, quibus mater imperaret, et Indico, vel Delinico regno
3 præsideret: in præsidijs Gedrosiæ, decem | millia equitum, cum matre duodecim
millia reliquit. At *Agiscocano cum uiginti millibus Gangaridis bellum gerendum
dedit.⁴ Quem sequuti sunt, quattuor, quinque duces, cum copijs, sex milium,
quinque, aut saltem quattuor millium equitum, præter pedites, et uulgus operarum.

'Aziz Koka.

4 Singulas item principes ciuitates, necessario præsidio muniuit. | Filium natu
maximum, secum ire iussit, et secundum ac Sacerdotem ipsius institutorem. *Infan-

Salim &
Murad to ac-
company.

¹ ist: satrapam.

² ist: dicitur.

³ ist: eam curam. eorum animis semper obuersari

⁴ ist: Agiscocanus, cum uiginti millibus, expeditionem Gangaridis suscepit.

tem filiolarum¹ cum auia Nicopoli reliquit. Uxores paucas, ex præcipuis, et filias * adolescentes² secum deduxit. Magnam uim auri, et argenti, supellectilemque plurimam, elephantis, et camelis euehi, et || exportari præcepit.

Ximén, bcygum. D. Ximena. 2

F. 43b. 1

Parting of friends.

Quo die primum iter aggressus est, eum mater est prosequuta, et in castris fixo candido tabernaculo, magnæ amplitudinis, cum filio biduo est commorata. Sacerdotes itidem sodalem, ad castra deduxerunt, et in castris cum eo biduo etiam *constiterunt.³

The Moghul camp.

Castra uero, *ex more maiorum,⁴ Rex metari iuebat. *Vetus autem mos est⁵ ut regia, | tabernacula (quæ ab illis Pexqhanaa dicuntur, hoc est anterior domus) in amœno, et amplo campo, si detur, ponantur. In dextro cornu, Regi proxima filij natu maximi, et procerum, qui ei attributi sunt. In sinistro, alterius filij, et optimatum, qui illi sunt assignati. At in posteriore acie, reliqui filij, natu minores, si adsint, et | eorum familiæ, eodem ordine, tabernacula figunt. Quod si filij absint a castris: proceres dextrum, et sinistrum cornu, ac posteriorem aciem, illi Regi proximi occupant, qui sunt cæteris, aut dignitate, aut regis beneuolentia, et fauore præstantiores. Hos sequuntur reliquæ phalanges, quæ quo propius possunt, ad suos quosque duces, et | centuriones accedunt, fixis iuxta illos tabernaculis. Ac ne tabernaculorum multitudine, castra coarctentur, per contubernia distribuuntur. Forum uenale Regis, et principum filiorum ac reliquorum *optimatum,⁶ iuxta suum

F. 44a. 1

quemque ducem statuitur, et regium quidem, et filiorum || amplissima sunt, et copiosissima, non solum abundantia rei frumentariæ, et cibariorum, sed omnium mercium, ut non in castris, sed in opulentissima ciuitate, agere uideantur . eandemque semper habere formam existimes . ut cum per dies aliquot, in ijs quispiam, fuerit uersatus,

2

facili negotio, per hæc fora, quasi per uias, quo | libuerit, deducatur. Forum urdu nominant. Cum itur, bellica tormenta, in fronte castrorum, pro uestibulo, atque *aditu⁷ aulæ, quasi in prima acie, collocantur in latissimo campo; erant autem octo et uiginti, castrensia tormenta, sed ad quatiendos muros inepta, quorum maximum

Urdu, nos trates scribunt urda. 7

3

hemisphæram (ut uulgus militarium ait) non | æquabat; quo in loco, noctu, in fastigio, * præcelsi mali,⁸ fax inflammata sustollitur, quæ oberrantibus præluceat, et quam omnes petant, si quis tumultus in castris oriatur, et ad eam, quasi ad cor, et caput confluant. At cum reditur, in extrema acie, a tergo aulæ figuntur. Ac Rex binis

4

utitur tabernaculis, eiusdem formæ, atque | magnitudinis, quæ alternis itineribus permutantur . ut unum præferatur, in altero habitet: quibus aulæa sunt || pro parietibus, et uestibulum, a reliqua habitatione distinguunt . quam ambitione magna, circumsepiunt. Et Rex quidem, tecto utitur, quasi urbana domo, in quod per gradus ascenditur. Ac castrorum quidem metandorum ratio sic habet.

F. 44b. 1

Shâh Mansûr to accompany.

2

Enimvero, ne quid noui Xamansurus, in perniciem regni, quod matri curas auget, | moliretur, ut se sequeretur, imperauit. Atque sexto Idus Februarij, primum castra mouit.

1581.10

The start.

Hunting.

Postridie uenari, suo more instituit. Edicitur uero, ut nemo, in eam partem feratur, quo Rex iter habeat, tum, ut multitudinem fugiat, et proditioni, præripiat

1 Ist: infantulam.

2 Later addition.

3 Ist: uersati sunt.

4 Ist: hoc ordine.

5 Later addition.

6 Ist: magnatum.

7 Later addition.

8 Ist: adytu.

9 Ist: oblongæ perticæ.

10 Later addition.

ocasionem, tum etiam, ne hominum tumultu, bestiæ fugentur. Et | bestiæ quidem, præter cæruleam bouem, eadem sunt, atque Europææ. Cærulea bos persimilis, est ceruo, sed capitis, et reliqui corporis magnitudine, dispar. Ac quod canibus venaticis, gallicis, atque Alanis regio destituta sit, innumeras prope pantheras, immodicis sumptibus alit, quæ a nutritijs, equo impositæ, clausis oculis | ne in obuium quemque insiliant, loco ubi pascitur bestia, fame prope enectæ inuehuntur. Aucupio autem haud multum delectatur. Jubet tamen aues plurimas, ab aucupibus, ||

Nilagaru:
*cærulea bos.*¹

F. 45a. 1

Measuring
the road.

dignitatis ostentandæ caussa, pugno efferri, et ut sumptui parcat, cornicibus pasci. Cæterum, ut quantum unaquaque die, itineris conficiat: decempeda, a metatoribus, qui eum, ubi primum ex aula, pedem effert, pone sequuntur, uiam metiri iubet. Qua una opera, et quam late pateant regiones, et quantum loca, mutuo distent, ad *mittendas² | legationes, et *mandata, ac¹ rebus tempore occurrendum, perdiscit. Decempedæ *ducenta spatia,³ mensura est quam Persica lingua, coroo, uocitant, Indica uero, cos, quæ *duo milliaria,⁴ æquat, qua mensura, interualla locorum metiuntur.

Feb. 8, 1581.

The army
on the march

Posteaquam, eo biduo quo Rex castra ad Nicopolim habuit: satis se copiarum habere *iudicauit,⁵ ut tuto, et cum dignitate, iter aggrederetur, | sexto Idus Februarij, dato signo sub vesperam castra mouit.

F. 45b. 1

Mos autem, itineris faciendi (ut communia prætermittam: hæc sunt signa, quæ ad pergendum, et ad consistendum dantur .) sic habet. Intra regni fines, sine ordine, uniuersus exercitus progreditur . præter paucos, ad quos eius diei, excubiæ agendæ spectant. At uero excubitores, et | custodes, reliquumque satellitium, et equitum manus, instructo in modum *decrecentis lunæ agmine, in duo cornua Regem⁶ non longius ab eo disiuncti, quam est lapidis iactus sequuntur. Hi dum Rex moratur, duobus ordinibus in seriem, ab aulæ uestibulo, ad ducentos ferme passus, distincti, altero quidem elephantum, armis, quibus a telorum iniuria, sint tuti, *diligenter⁷ obtectorum, altero, equitum sagittariorum, et pilatorum, leuis armaturæ (nam *ferro tectis et munitis⁸ equis ac militibus caret) Regem opperiuntur . ac prætereuntem, suo quisque loco, atque ordine salutatur: facto agmine, | primum equites, deinde elephantes, pone sequuntur. Hanc aciem, præcedunt tympanistæ, ac tubicines, elephantis uecti, omnes, præter unum, taciti, qui decimo ferme quoque passu, tympanum, lenta quadam, et ex dignitate *ad numerum percussione pulsatur.⁹ His omnibus præeunt cursores, qui obuios quosque abigunt. At uero uxores elephantibus |

F. 46a. 1

fœmellis, impositæ, tabernaculisque quibusdam *uenustis fastigijs,¹⁰ inclusæ uehuntur. Hos uiri senes, et *aspectus grauitate venerandi,¹¹ adhibita custodia, quingentorum hominum deducunt: caueturque, ut eo loco, quo iter faciunt, procul qui occurrunt, abscedant. Quod omnes, eo diligentius præstant, quo sunt dignitate potiores. | Ancillæ, camelis, sub umbraculis candidis, impositæ, reginas sequuntur. Est etiam statuta custodia, ærario, quod plurimis elephantibus, ac camelis uehitur. Reliqua belli impedimenta, carris . supellex, et ruta cæsa Regis, mulis deportantur. Ac cum

¹ Later addition.

² Later addition.

³ Ist: cataphractis.

⁴ Ist: imperandas.

⁵ Ist: bicornis lunæ agmine, Regem.

⁶ Ist: lento quodam et ex dignitate pulsu percutit.

⁷ Ist: aspectu uenerabiles.

⁸ Ist: centum quinquaginta.

⁹ Ist: ad amussim.

¹⁰ Ist: fastigiatis.

¹¹ Ist: sesquimilliarium.

primis diebus, mira esset copiarum paucitas, tanta postea fuit multitudinis frequentia, ut terram operire uideretur · fusaque per agros, et siluas multitudo, sesquimilliarium in latum occuparet · ut in eam, si belua incideret, euadere nequiret. Aues item
2 uolando defessæ, et clamoribus exterritæ | decidebant.

**Provisions
cheap.**

At Sacerdoti, qui in castris erat, magnam admirationem mouebat, in tanta
multitudine, potissimum elephantum, tanta uilitas annonæ; quæ Regis prouida, et
solerti cura, atque diligentia, contingebat. Nam et qui commeatum, undequaque
3 comportari curarent, industrios negotiatores, ad uicinas urbes, et municipia | mitte-
bat · et mercatoribus, qui frumenta, orizam, legumina, et *omnis generis esculenta et
poculenta atque¹ alias merces exercitui importabant, uectigalium immunitatem dari ·
atque portorio leuari, eos qui uellaturam faciebant, edicebat.

**No harm to
friendly.**

Pari diligentia · ubi suis finibus, egressus est, in castris, a præcone pronuntiari
4 iussit, quod ad aures, multitudini indigenarum, rumoribus¹ perferretur, securi ut
omnes essent, nec suis opidis excederent, qui arma non essent sumpturi. Quod si in
F. 46b. 1 castra, commeatum inferrent, uectigalibus liberatum iri,^{||} et integrum fore, ex arbitrio
uendere. Ad extremum *a victoria² cum rediret, gratiam esse accepturos; secus si
contra facerent: maximis damnis esse affligendos. Regulos quorum regiones obijt,
fœdere, muneribus, et pollicitationibus, sibi deuinciebat; qui omnes, copiarum mag-
2 nitudine perterriti, cum nullus uideretur, | dubitationi locus relinqui, essetne hoste
potiturus, uel uolenti, cum significatione, tamen beneuolentiæ, ut suis rebus prospici-
cerent, parebant. Quo factum est, ut in frequentissimo exercitu, nulla caritas,
nedum egestas, rerum necessariarum, in hostili etiam regno, multitudinem affligeret.

**Skirting the
mountains.**

3 Prospexit præterea diligenter, | ne aquationis difficultate, castra laborarent.
Quoniam uero, *uberiores sunt ad montium radices, aquæ,³ et uenandi maior com-
moditas, uersus montes exercitum ductari præcipiebat, asperitates uero uiarum, quæ
Work for
Qāsim Khān. 4 propter saxa, et scopulos, et præruptas torrentium ripas, passim occurrebant: calo-
num et operarum labore, | quos ad *æquandam itineris planitiem⁴ præmittebat,
quoad eius fieri poterat superabat. His præerat tribunus, Agarenæ arcis præfectus,
F. 47a. 1 qui ex ea humilitate, in || amplissimum dignitatis gradum euectus, suspicionem pro-
ditionis sustinebat · potiusque ducebat, in lacunosos saltus, quam in arenam glaream
incidere.

Bridges.

Lucri præterea faciebāt, construendarum pontium discrimen, quæ si in lato alueo
construantur, a profluentis impetu impulsæ, traijcienti exercitui, exitium, et perniciem
2 afferunt. Nam substratis | nauiculis, quæ funibus tantum connexæ, ijsque ex agres-
tibus herbis, compactis adhærescunt, mos est Indis, quam celeriter pontes constru-
ere: quibus pauimenta parant, virgultis, et arborum ramis, atque fœno. Edicto
uero Regis cauetur, ut ducta unius tantum ordinis serie, singuli siue equites, siue
3 pedites, seu cameli, aut alia iumenta, sarcinis | onusta, pecudes item, ac pecora tra-
ijciant · ne si pons dehiscat, magna iactura fiat, earum rerum, aut hominum, quos
Care in cross-
ing them. 4 amnis absumpserit. Quare in aditu pontis, quoddam quasi castellum collocatur, quod
satellites regij tuentur, ne incautæ multitudinis, magna caterua, pontem petentis,

¹ Later addition.

² 1st: a victore.

³ 1st: copiosiores sunt aquarum decursus.

⁴ 1st: complananda itinera.

4 pons pressa mergatur. Porro elephantēs, transitu prohibiti sunt, ne | molis suæ pondere, fabricam pessumdarent.

Scouting. Jam uero ne in occultis insidijs, intercluderetur: ubi primum, in alienum regnum pedem intulit: antecursores trecentos præmisit · qui duodeuiginti passuum millibus, **F. 47b. 1** omni ex parte, a castris abstracti, num hostes laterent, an palam aduentarent, specularentur. In angustijs itinerum, in gyrum, præsidia collocabat, et paucorum hominum labore, uniuersum exercitum, cura, et sollicitudine liberabat,* ut¹ non minus sese, inter eundem, funderet, et umbras, fontesque captaret, noctu uero securus, somnum caperet; quam si in patria degeret.

Discipline. Made an example of. 2 Bellicam | disciplinam, usque adeo coluit, ut nihil impune contra eam, admitti sineret. Cum ad ripam Indi, castra posuisset, et uadum explorari iussisset, quo exercitum traduceret · cuidam tribuno militum, imperauerat, ut in aduersum flumen, ad locum usque *quem ipse præscripsit,² proficisceretur, tentaretque uadum, num **3** equis *transgressio esse³ posset. Qui quum uiginti | quinque passuum millia obiisset, et uado amnem carere comperisset, intellexissetque ab incolis, eadem esse profunditate flumen, in toto eo tractu; quapropter superuacaneum fore laborem, ulterius progrediendi: ad Regem redijt, eique renuntiauit, non esse flumini uadum, quo transirent copiarum, nisi structa ponte. Quæsiuit Rex, “Peruenistine | ad imperatum locum?” A quo cum cognouisset, citra locum constitisse, corripit hominem iussit: **F. 48a. 1** et *ad locum quem imperauerat pertrahi:⁴ utri, que ex bouis corio consuto, pronum imponi, et uinciri, ac in profluentem proijci. Cuius rei rumor, cum per castra, esset peruulgatus, ad oram fluuij, ut spectaculum hoc nouum uideret, uniuersus pene exercitus, confluit. Ille uero, medio flumine, huc, atque illuc, incerto cursu, lugens, **2** et ueniam implorans, miserabili eiulatu, ut commiserationem moueret, | ferebatur. Quem, ubi aulam est præteruectus, Rex eripi iussit, e fluctibus · eius bona scribi, et eum uoci præconis, per omnia fora subijci, et pro seruo uendi. Quem amicus quispiam, octoginta nummis aureis, ærario regio solutis, coemit. Dedit quidem postea **3** ueniam, sed hoc exemplo, militarem disciplinam, quanti fieri, et quam | suos, dicto audientes esse uellet: significauit.

Strength of the force. A motley army. Neque uero, tanta multitudo, nisi his artibus, in officio, contineri potest. Habito enim delectu, equitum, peditibus exceptis, (qui erant prope innumeri) et *elephantis camelisque pugnacibus · qui erant prope quingenti⁵: quinquaginta millia equitum, in hoc bellum acciuit · quorum quidam Mongoli, quidam Persæ; Turquimanni **4** alij, Chacattæi, Osbequij, Arachosij, | Balochij, Patanei, Indici, et Gedrosij, tum Agareni, tum etiam gentiles, quibus potissimum confidit. His accedebant Parthi plurimi, et Arii & Paropanisadæ. Atque hæc* fuit caussa, cur cum⁶ apud Agarenos, ex **F. 48b. 1** legis nomine, atque fama, male audiat, nemo illi, manus afferre, mortemque audeat intendere.

Methods of warfare. Longe autem alia ratione Persæ, Mongoli, Chacattæi, Osbechij, ac Turquimanni, alia Gedrosij, alia *Balocij,⁷ alia Indici pugnant. Nam Gedrosiorum, qui Rasputi, et Indorum, qui Rati dicuntur, equitatus omnis, humilibus quibusdam equis, qui

In MS.: et. ² 1st: præscriptum. ³ 1st: transiri. ⁴ 1st: ad imperatum locum pertrahi.

⁵ 1st: elephantum.

⁶ 1st: est caussa, ut cum.

⁷ 1st: Balochij.

2 uix *cum asinis æquantur¹ · | in locum ubi pugnandum, est inuehitur · ubi desilientes ex equis *hastis quibusdam breuibus, quas iacula potius quam hastas dixerim,² et peltis instructi, aciem, inimicorum expectant. Hos dicunt Agareni, scire quidem mori, sed nescire pugnare. *Balocij³ camelis insident, et arcu, sagittisque bellum gerunt. Indici elephantes gubernant, atque ad pugnam impellunt.

3 Est uero mira elephantum | multitudo, in castris, et urbibus, ubi Rex commo-
Elephants. ratur, quorum robore, et uiribus, ad duas res utuntur. Altera est, ad ferendas sarcinas, altera ad pugnandum. Et sarcinas quidem, ut plurimum, fœminæ uehunt. Plerique mares, ad pugnandum assuefiunt, armisque, quibus tuti sint, quibusque
 4 lædere queant muniuntur. Qui armis exuti, nihilo | sunt infestiores. Nam abreptos hostes: quosdam proboscide, pedibus suis substernunt, et obculcant, *nec prius incumbere in miseros cessant quam eos obterant ac contendant:⁴ quosdam uero *in
F. 49a. 1 medium aërem iaciunt,⁵ ut ex casu pereant; quosdam medios discindunt, pede || crus alterum premendo, proboscide alterum crus, sursum magna ui adhibita, contendendo. Mares quidem, singulis annis, per tres fere menses, præ ferocia ita insaniunt, ut suos interdum curatores interimant; et eo quidem tempore sunt ad pugnam aptissimi. Ferocia deposita, si iterum efferari, ad bellum imminens, opus sit, felis carnibus, ad |
 2 uescendum, reliquo pabulo commistis, efficitur. Domi, ne noceant, fœminarum sodalitia compescuntur · fœminis enim conspectis, animos deponunt. Quosdam elephantes assuefaciunt, tormentis bellicis dorso perferendis,* qui, cum admoto igne ater puluis flammatus e tormento cum tonitru erumpit,⁶ minime terrentur, aut calcitrant. Hoc
 3 modo instructos elephantes, et armatos, quinquaginta, extremam | aciem sequi, Rex imperauit · quos Indi ducebant.

Tartar tac- Cæterum Mongolorum, Persarum, * Parthorum, Turcarum, Sogdianorum, Bach-
tics. trarum et Scythicarum uel Tartaricarum omnium⁷ nationum, pugnandi ratio eadem est. Qui (ut de singulis taceam) tum infestissime pugnant, cum impensissime fugere uidentur, atque adeo in tergum conuersi, equo in aduersum admisso, directe
 4 *iaculantur:⁸ ut oculum | figant.

Habits of Et elephantum ea est natura, ut ita uocibus hominum, qui eorum curam habent,
elephants. assuescant: ut omnia, quæ imperantur, exerceant. Nodos soluunt, eosque connectunt, rem impellunt, eandem sustollunt, rursus deprimunt, iterumque conuertunt:
F. 49b. 1 laqueos iniiciunt, laqueis eximunt: minutissimas || stipulas, et æra colligunt. Ad choream instruuntur, et saltant. Ad omnia denique se parant *quæ illis imperantur.⁹ In syluis gregatim degunt; per contubernia, et quasdam ueluti familias, quibus præest, suæ cuiusque gentilitatis (ut ita dicamus) et familiæ pater, et auctor, cui reliqua posteritas pareat, quem ducem, in bellis quæ cum alijs elephantibus geruntur, sequantur. | Cum a uenatoribus petuntur, illius nutu uel terga uertunt, uel certamen expectant, ille medius, ueluti dux, suis instructus copijs, *quadam cum insolentia et arrogantia,¹⁰ fertur, ut omnibus qui ad suam aciem accedant, minas intendere uideatur. Huc atque illuc, lento quodam passu, spatia fremebundus

1 Ist: asinos altitudine æquant.

2 Ist: lanceolis quibusdam breuibus.

3 Ist: Balochij.

4 Ist: obteruntque ac comminuunt.

5 Ist: altissime eiaculantur.

6 Ist: quæ cum discluduntur

7 Ist: et vicinarum.

8 Ist: eiaculantur.

9 Later addition.

10 Ist: quadam cum arrogantia et insolentia.

- 3 facit, | ac illi soli parcit, qui pastum sibi, et familiæ* parat. Nam huiusmodi ele-
phantum contubernia, in nemoribus ali, quasi boum armenta, Zelaldinus curat;
atque tum spectaculi præbendi caussa, tum etiam ut optimos quosque seligat, ad se
4 adduci iubet. Greges uero sunt, fere uiginti capitum, diuersa | corporum statura, et
cornuum *magnitudine,² pro cuiusque ætate. Qui demisso sunt, ad clunes, dorso,
et cruribus, atque collo firmi optimi habentur. *Edere partum elephantem post
octauum mensem, nonnunquam post sextum et decimum: senis mensibus a matre
nutriri: fœminas decimo anno concipere: uiuere quantum longæui homines: quos-
dam etiam ad ducentimum annum peruenire: morbosos esse et incurabiles, Strabo
scripsit, Plinius delectum in belua uires & ætatem et magnitudinem facere.³ *Ar-
mentarij uero ferunt elephantem ad ducentos annos, uiuere, quinquagesimo ad
iustam staturam peruenire, centum annorum, firma esse ætate, ac robore præstare,
F 50a. 1 centesimo quinquagesimo senescere · ducentesimo, ad finem, et exitum vitæ || per-
uenire⁴ At uero morbis frequentissime uexantur, febrique laborant. Verum, *si
frigore quodam mortifero obrigescant,⁵ intra uiginti quattuor horarum spatium,
contabescunt, et moriuntur. Ægri gemitus edunt, sese, ut in lecto homines mouent,
lacrymantur, et sibi medicinam fieri permittunt · nec ut alia bruta animantia reluc-
2 tantur. Fœminæ, mirum | in modum, sunt pauidæ. Ignem præcipue, et *æneorum
tormentorum ac fistularum et fulminum⁶ strepitum reformidant · et magno impetu
sese in fugam conijciunt · ut incautos facile opprimant, et *pessumdent.⁷ Pusilli,
uix vnus anni suem, exæquant, a decimo anno disciplinæ subduntur. Qui ad bella
3 instruuntur, a barbaris, et impijs hominibus, quo in | homines sint efferatiores, hu-
manis carnibus pascuntur. Sontes, ad illorum pedes projiciuntur. Hinc existimo,
ortam esse fabulam, elephantem conspecto sanguine, ad bellum incitari. Non enim
magis, conspecto sanguine mouentur, quam si aquam conspiciant. Ita educatis, si
ex dorso quis elabatur, aut decidat, cum in illum insilit, mos est hominem proterere,
4 cum existimet, eam ob caussam, sibi ad | pedes accidisse, uel obiectum esse. Hoc
discrimine liberatus quidam est, e Sacerdotibus, qui Naruadam fluuium, elephante
coactus *transire,⁸ ignorantia, et desuetudine, cum mora in illum insiliens, prope
perijt. Flectunt enim se elephantem, *et pede ac poplite ad se ipsos per quosdam
ueluti gradus ascensum parant;⁹ uerum, oportet eos qui ascendunt, quam celerrime
maturare, nam ubi primum, se pedibus premi sentiunt, *ut se erigant connituntur.¹⁰
- F 50b. 1 Neque enim articulis, nodisque, et colligationibus, ijsdem, in | cruribus carent, quæ
habent, cæteræ quadrupes, ut quidam ex antiquis, a fallacibus nouarum rerum,
et nugarum, commentatoribus decepti, memoriæ prodiderunt. Unum, et alterum
restat, de elephantibus, et id sane admiratione dignum, vix .n. credi posset, quam
graues inimicitias, mutuo suscipiant, elephantem. Nam si duo, aut plures, odio dis-
2 sideant, et sese vicissim | conspiciant, facto impetu, magna ui inuehuntur, et sese

Lib. 15.

Lib. 6,
Cap. 19.¹ Ist: subministrat.² Ist: crassitie

· Later addition.

⁴ Ist: Ducentis annis, ut plurimum, uiuunt. quinquagesimo . . . perueniunt. centum . . . firma sunt ætate, ac robore præstant. centesimo quinquagesimo senescunt. ducentesimo . . . perueniunt.⁵ Ist: si frigore quodam corripuntur.⁶ Later addition.⁷ Ist: obtulant.⁸ Ist: traducere.⁹ Ist: et quasi scalam ex sese præbent.¹⁰ Ist: tollunt se, atque erigunt.

collidunt: at uero, ductores *equitantes,¹ ne conspiciunt quidem, nedum lædant. Difficile etiam dictu est, *rhinoceros, etsi præ illis pusillæ sint,² quantum timeant, et exhorrescant · porro, quam insolenter rhinoceros, elephantem contemnat. Nam

3 elephas, conspecta rhinocerote sese | totum, tremebundus flectit, atque demittit, proboscidem in os condit, loco cedit, donec transeat rhinoceros · restitans, uix fustibus, compelli potest, ut gressum moueat. Iam uero certamen, cum rhinocerote, uelis remisque declinat. Nam rhinoceros, sub bestiam, se infert, et naris acuto cornu,

4 uentrem eius petit, et perforat, cum nihil, ab elephante | lædatur. Porro elephas, inflexa in os proboscide, dormit · murium, & formicarum formidine, at murem præcipue reformidat. Eius est naturæ animalium, quæ aqua delectantur, ut sunt bubali, sues, et alia id genus. At uero, ut bestia domari, et coerceri posset, Deus naturæ, ac ||

F. 51a. 1

rerum conditor, qui cætera homini, hominem, ut sibi obsequeretur condidit: duobus membris debilem, et imbecillum elephantem esse uoluit: nimirum ipso nexu, nodoque cruris utriusque, nam sui grauitate, *uel resti tantum,³ siprehendatur, maximum dolorem bestiæ renitenti, et calcitranti, id quicquid est vinculi affert · quo fit, ut

2 cathena impedita, in | fouea, facile teneatur. Tum fronte ipsa, atque proboscide: nam in fronte, quod ualde tenuem, et imbecillam habeat cutem, ægre patitur se pungi, quo fit, ut unco impacto facile, a cursu cohibeatur: ad quem inhihetur, adhibito manubrio quodam, *infixis⁴ clauis instructo, et ad dorsum, magna ui admoto: quod si furibundus, unco non pareat, uel *obducto oculis ueli operimento,⁵ uel stipite,

3 quem oblonga cathena | uinctum, *et a domitore humo [im]pactum,⁶ suis pedibus implicat, coercetur. At uero ictus, in proboscide, sub oculis, pedem quam citissime refert. Ignis item, si admoueat, Euris ocyor, fuga salutem quærit. Eam ob causam, in circo, ne quid mali, ab elephantibus Rex pateretur, satellitio hominum cingebatur, qui gestabant uncos, oblongis *hastilibus præfixos,⁷ et pulueris sulphurei

4 machinas, | quæ igne concepto, in orbem cum fragore, et strepitu uersantur. Hi inuadenti elephanti, sese opponerant. Quibus etiam instrumentis, elephantum pugnas dirimebant. At uero in acie, ne ordines equitum, suæ inolis metu, pertur-

F. 51b. 1

bent, *equisones⁸ | equos, elephantibus uidendis, non solum uerum etiam, ad eos pugnaciter lacessendos, assuefaciunt.

Strength of
the army.

Cæterum, ut eo unde sumus digressi, redeamus · peditatus omnis, armatura uaria instructus, bellum gerit. Verum tota uirtus belli, in equitatu posita est. Quo fit, ut magnis sumptibus, non parcat, quo integris, quoad eius fieri possit, semper

2 equitum | copijs, sartum tectum imperium conseruet. Nam exceptis legionibus, quæ ducibus, tanquam heris, iam inde ab auis, et proauis, adhærescunt: et equitatu,

3 peditatu, elephantibusque constant: quibus ipsimet duces, ex uectigalibus prouinciarum, sibi a Rege traditis, stipendia persoluunt: quadraginta quinque millibus equitum, quinque millibus elephantum, | quamplurimis peditum millibus, stipendia ex suo ærario persoluit. Veteri enim usu, ac consuetudine comparatum est, ut quæ bello acquiruntur, *nemini perpetuo iure,¹⁰ a Rege donentur, sed pro Regis libito,

Feudal system.

V. *uir[i]*
p[ro]adro-
*mi[?]*⁹

1 1st: inequitant. 2 1st: Rhinocerotem, etiamsi pusilla sit. 3 1st: uel tenui funiculo. 4 1st: præfixis.

5 1st: iniecto, aute oculos operimento. 6 Later addition 7 1st: contis infixos.

8 1st: hos. "Equisones" cannot be found in the best dictionaries. I propose "agasones" = grooms.

9 Later addition. Indistinct. 10 1st: Regi cedant prorsus omnia; nec in perpetuo iure.

prouinciæ administrandæ, *primarijs uiris, aliquo imposito uectigali, quod Regis
 4 arario accedat, tradantur. Illi uero, legionarijs suis, municipia, oppida, et pagos
 distribuunt, atque, uel assignatis agris, stipendia, uel ex uectigalibus persoluunt.
 Nam diligenti cura, datur a Rege opera, ut unicuique, eæ prouinciæ assignentur, quæ
 F. 52a 1 ijs copijs quæ illi parent, satis sint, ad honeste, et sine penuria transigendum · ut,
 habenti duas legiones, copiosior prouincia assignetur, quam ei qui unam tantum habet.
 Retinent uero antiquum suorum maiorum* morem qui in phalanges milites diuide-
 bant, et suæ quisque phalangis militibus imperabant.² *Hæ phalanges Persice dicuntur
 lascâr · ac quoniam unicuique phalangis tribuno suum est forum uenale, illæ Vrdu
 vel, ut nostrates dicunt, ordæ Tart[arice] vocantur et tribuni uocabulo denomi-
 nantur, ueluti si dicamus Mancini vrdu vel orda, Mancini phalanx.³ Itaque, cum
 regionum, urbes, et agri, *ad regem deueniant,⁴ et uniuersæ copiæ, illi tanquam
 2 summo imperatori pareant: | plerique tamen milites, suos habent duces, quibus jam
 inde a progenitoribus, et auis, ut supra demonstratum est, obsequuntur. Quæ res
 non modicam ocasionem et ansam coniurationibus et proditiõibus præbet. Quam
 ob caussam, ne *duces⁵ potentia sua freti, insolescant; ubi intelligit, facultatibus
 3 auctos, ex prouinciarum uectigalibus esse * eos;⁶ ad se accersit, ijsque, quasi | seruis,
 multa imperat, quæ cum priori gradu, ac dignitate minime consentiunt. Nam curam
 illis mandat, aliquot elephantas, equos, camelos, pantheras, damas, et columbas
 alendi: quæ ad se, singulis annis,* ad dictam diem⁶ adducant. Dimissos iterum, ad
 prouincias administrandas, non sinit, diu uno loco consistere. Ac ne potentia abu-
 4 tantur, et ut certior fiat, quonam illi pacto se gerant: iudices, et prætores urbium,
 et municipiorum, ab ipso constituuntur.

Sed jam *ad iter quod iniit⁷ redeamus. A Fattepuro, quarto die Maturanum
 Matnura. uentum est: urbem, iam ab eo tempore conditam, quo | *Brachmanarum superstitiosa
 F. 52b. 1 religio in has regiones inducta est; et a Crustnu, qui alio nomine, Viznu dicitur, con-
 Krishna. dita fuisse creditur, aut certe, dubium non est, quin ortus, in suburbio, prope eam
 urbem sit. Nam plerisque in locis, agri Maturanensis, delubra uisuntur, Viznu
 dicata, illis locis exædificata, in quibus, aliquid ab eo gestum, aniles quædam, et
 2 ineptæ fabulæ | narrant. Sunt uero hæc fana (melius dixerim profana) opere Indico,
 forma pyramidum, concinne satis constructa · quibus, uersus ortum solis, ostia
 posita sunt · ut cum primum, sydus exoritur, simulachri faciem, sua luce perfundat.
 Ac gentiles omnes, totius Indiæ, Crustnu quasi Deum colunt. Et Para Bramæ
 3 (quem Para | Maessurem, hoc est Deum immortalem, dicunt) filium fuisse affirmant,
 et fratres habere, Maessurem, et Brámam, sororemque Sethim; quæ sine matre, ex
 Indian my- fronte Para Maessuris, nata sit: et Maessuri nupserit, ut Juno Joui. Nam ne à se
 thology. malus dæmon, omnino dissideret, similem Deorum generationem, Indicæ antiquitati,
 4 in animos induxit: illi, quam stolidæ, nostratum priscorum hominum, uetustati per-

¹ ist: magnatibus

² ist: qui factionibus diuisi, suæ factionis quisque militibus imperabat (sic).

³ Later marginal addition. The note ran first: Hæ factiones dicuntur lascâr. ac quoniam unicuique factionis uel cunei tribuno suum erat forum uenale assignatum, huiusmodi cunei Vrdu vel. ut nostrates dicunt. ordæ dicebantur, quas tribuni uocabulum denominabat: ueluti si dicamus Mancini Vrdu vel orda, factio uel cuneus Mancini.

⁴ ist: regis sint.

⁵ Later addition.

⁶ ist: ad indictum tempus.

⁷ ist: ad expeditionem.

⁸ ist: Bragmanarum superstitio, illis regionibus inducta est.

suasit. Saturnum enim, dicebant ueteres, genuisse Jouem, Neptunum, et Orcum, atque ex eius cerebro, prodijisse Mineruam. Hoc tamen interest quod nostrates poetæ, hæc nomina tribuebant cœlo, et elementis, et ad elementa affectis rebus · || isti, communes quasdam notiones esse dicunt, quæ in intellectu hærent, ut Athenienses qui resurrectionem nouam quandam deam, et D. Paulum, nouorum huiusmodi, deorum, annuntiatorem putarunt, aut Manichæi, qui elementa quinque rerum, a se conficta, deos dicebant. Ac cum unum, ab alio dimanare, et ueluti cathenarum anulos vicissim sibi succedere | opinarentur, unum ex alio nasci, cogebantur fateri: cum uero cohærere, et simul quasi conuenire dicerent, matrimonio iungi, ineptissime fabulabantur.

*Pluto
Orcus.¹*

Act. 17.

F. 53a. 1

Krishna's
avatārs.

Atque ut Crustnu parentem, et fratres omittamus: eum *nouies² natum, Indorum, ac Brachmanarum magistri tradunt. *Primo,³ ceti forma, ut fratrem Bramá, a coclea marina liberaret, | quæ eum deglubebat: *Secundo,⁴ testudinis, ut orbem duorum gigantum, pondere *inclinantem ac propendentem⁵ sustineret: Tertio *lutulenti⁶ suis, ut orbem *conspurcatum emundaret:⁷ Quarto, leonis specie infra umbilicum, supra uero umbilicum hominis, ut gigantem necaret,* a quo orbis crudeli dominatu premebatur.⁸ Quinto, hominis pusilli similitudine, qui quasi mendicus | stipem rogaret: Sexto, personam induit uiri fortissimi, qui ut in lucem editus est, in cœlum euolauit: Septimo, in uentre latuit, cuiusdam opilionis, qui lacte quæstum faciebat, e cuius tandem utero expositus, torques vitreas, et anulos uenditauit, ut *sceleratissime insidiosissimeque⁹ posset patrum interimere, quem confecit: Octauo, personam

*Ea coclea
ab incolis
Comarinæ
oræ chanc
dicitur: cui
olim antea-
quam Christi-
ani essent
diuinos hono-
res tribue-
bant. Hæ
gregatim re-
pere et suum
regem sequi
feruntur.⁶*

F. 53b. 1

egit Regis, imperauitque, quattuor mille || sexcentis septuaginta tribus annis: Nono tandem, habitu *agricolæ et rustici, quo tempore impios¹⁰ suo gladio peremit. Puer *insedans et turbulentus, furunculus, ac mendax fuit.¹¹ Cum enim, cum opilione uersaretur, lac, butyrum, et caseos furabatur, interrogatus * num flagitia admisisset,¹² negabat, mulierculis quibusdam, quæ *sordes¹³ in profluente eluebant, uestes, et lintea suffuratus est. Vicinis ollas, et | supellectilia, *perfringebat,¹⁴ uitulos e præsepibus soluebat ut fugerent, quo curas *armentariorum¹⁵ auget. Hæc crepundia, et pueritiæ initia, eo progressæ sunt, ut octo uxores, suis uiris ui, sexdecim mille dolo, et fraude * eripuerit, ubi uir et dignus scilicet nomine euasit.¹⁶ Atque horum miraculorum memoriam, illis delubris, ne excidant, tuentur. Tanta est impudentia Brachmanarum, et Indicæ plebeculæ stoliditas, ut iure eloquentiæ parens | Cicero dixerit · Quæ barbaria India vastior? Quæ agrestior? Et merito quidem · nam magis ad ueritatem, aniles fabulæ, quas hyeme, ad focum vetulæ narrant: accedere uidentur.

Mathurā,
the Rome of
India.

Ac cum Viznu, famatissimus apud Indos, ψευδοθεος habeatur, factum est, ut sicuti Roma, in Europa, *olim urbs hæc in India superstitionum fons et caput extiterit.¹⁷ | Quæ quidem, et murorum ambitu, et ædificiorum amplitudine, atque hominum fre-

1 Later addition. 2 Ist: nonem uicibus. 3 Ist: prima. 4 Ist: secunda, and similarly: tertia, quarta, . . . nona.

5 Ist: dehiscentem. 6 Later addition. 7 Ist: emundaret. hominum ex alius profluuiio, conspurcatum.

8 Ist: qui tyrannidem exercebat.

9 Ist: proditorie.

10 Ist: coloni, malos.

11 Ist: puer turbulentus, et inquietus, exstitit, furunculusque, ac mendax "Insedatus" is probably intended instead of "insedans."

12 Later addition.

13 Ist: se.

14 Ist: comminabat.

15 Ist: pastorum, et opilionum.

16 Ist: ubi uir euasit, eripuerit.

17 Ist: superstitionum fons fuit, et caput, sic olim urbs hæc, in India.

quentia, fuit amplissima: et ædificiorum quidem dignitatem, ruinæ plane indicant.

Relics of antiquity.

Ūruuntur enim e latebris ruinarum, columnæ et statuæ vetustissimæ, *ææque scite atque a fabre factæ.¹

F. 54a. 1

Only one temple left.

Superest unum tantum, e multis, gentilitium templum, nam Agareni præter pyramidas, reliqua solo æquarunt. Ad hoc templum, quod in iugo quodam, prope Jomanis ripam, situm est, ex uniuerſa India, peregrini frequentissimi confluunt · ad quod non permittuntur, a Brachmanis ingredi, nisi prius in ripa fluminis, uiri

2 quidem capillum, et barbam; mulieres capillum, et supercilia abradant · et | sese in

Shaving ceremony.

flumen, aliquoties mergant: ut a peccatis, aqua illa eluantur · qua perfusis, Brachmanæ, peccatorum omnium ueniam promittunt. Res est quidem stupenda. Nam tonsores, plures sunt trecentis, qui expeditissime, semimersos in scalis, quæ in ora fluminis constructæ sunt, ingentem tum uirorum, tum mulierum multitudinem, syn-

3 cere, quod attinet ad | pudorem, sed promiscue, abradunt. Ea est enim mali Dæmonis astutia, ut speciem quandam religionis, eorum animis iniiciat, ut sceleratissimum facinus existiment, aliquid turpe, aut indecorum, in tanta loci, ut ipsi putant, sanctitate, uel cogitatione uelocissima moliri, dum impia superstitione implicantur. |

4 At eloti, reliquo uitæ tempore, ea facta diligentissime deuitant, quæ ab ijs peccata, iudicantur. Optandum sane, ea cura atque studio, uera peccata ab ijs declinari, qui non falsa, sed uera religione imbuti, ueram ueniam sunt, pia aliqua functione, adhibito pœnitentiæ Sacramento, consequuti.

Shrine of Hanūmān.

F. 54b. 1

Tame monkeys.

Ab hac urbe, sex fere miliaribus distat, Anumanti fanum · in quo trecenti, et his amplius, simij, in saltu quodam, publicis sumptibus aluntur. Qui statis horis,

dato signo, ære tinnienti, arma capessunt, et in duas turmas diuisi, mutuo digladiantur, eadem, æris tinnitu deponunt. *Pransum cœnatumque, eodem pulsu ueniunt, et a cœna prandioque sylvam petunt,² cum stupore, miseræ plebis, quæ diuino illud prodigio, fieri existimat. Brachmanæ uero, his fraudibus, miserum populum, qui his præstigijs, dementer, non solum credit, uerum etiam capitur, decipiunt. Nam

2 simios | arte, et diligentia, et uetustiorum, qui iam sunt edocti imitatione, ad illa agenda erudiunt. Atque hæc, honorem ut suo patrono Anumanto, cultumque tribuant, simios sua sponte facere persuadent.

Legend of Hanūmān.

Anumanti uero fabula, sic habet. Maessuris, Crustni et Brámæ frater, filius uero Para Maessuris, dicitur, mulierem quandam, quæ in monte solitaria religionis causa

3 degebat, adamasse uentique internuntio grauidam | effecisse, quæ Anumantum edidit, forma simij. Qui cum a matre quæsiuisset, “Quisnam est meus pater?” matrem respondisse ferunt, “Ventus.” At uero uentus, ne tantæ rei ueritas lateret, aut

fortasse ne cogeretur, filium suis sumptibus educare, mouendis procellis interdum, euocandisque pluuijs ocupatus, cum denique, nullo consistat loco, aut Æoli specu |

4 aliquando clausus, filium periclitari timeret; uel quod pueri forma displiceret, e uestigio dixit, “Minime gentium. Huius simij pater, Maéssuris est.” Qui omnibus denuntiari iubet, malum dæmonem, non ingressurum eius domum, nec illi, filijsue illius,

F. 55a. 1

qui simium hunc coluerit, damnum allaturum. Aiunt uero, ideo simios, ex arbore in arborem inuolare, quod interuentu, et opera uenti, Anumanthus generatus sit. Hunc

¹ ist: non inepte fabrefactæ.

² ist: pransum cœnatumque, eodem pulsu pctunt.

- etiam, dijs bella gerentibus, contra gigantes, auxilio uenisse ferunt · atque his quidem fabulis, Zelaldinus facili negotio, habet fidem. Nam in Dei nominibus, cuiusdam uenefici monitu, nomen Anumanti scripsit.
- Akbar's belief in it.** 2 Indigna sane sunt, quæ hic scripsimus, | quæ sapientum, et piorum hominum sinceris auribus, obtrudantur. Verum eo consilio scribuntur, ut qui legerint, hominum ignorantiam commisereantur, et a Deo, lucem exorent, quæ eorum animos illustret. **Ganesh. Mahādeo.** Consulto quidem prætereo, Ganessum quem Deorum janitorem, uultu et proboscide elephantis, obeso ac tumentis ventre, ex sudore cuiusdam Deæ (si liceat ita dicere) 3 natum fingunt. Madæum item taceo, | et magnam, aliorum deorum, farraginem, quam misera gens pro dijs colit, cuiusque statuas, et simulachra in templis ponit · et ad institutum iterum redeo.¹ *Madæus creditur fuisse Adamus.*
- Delhi.** Maturano sex dierum itinere, Delinum uentum est, opulentissimam, amplissimamque, ciuitatem, ad Jomanem positam, in qua Indici regni solium, iam inde a 4 Christianorum regum temporibus, constitutum erat: | ac Patanei deinde reges sederunt: et Emaumus Zelaldini pater, dum uiueret, libenter* in ea commoratus, infortunio diem clausit.²
- F. 55b. 1** Atque in *sepulcro,³ a filio Zelaldino, magna amplitudine, in || amœnissimis hortis, **Humāyūn's tomb. Conjugal devotion.** ædificato humatus est. Quem ex uxoribus una, mater Mirsachimi Regis Chabuli, quem bello Zelaldinus petebat, præ amoris, et fidei erga eum magnitudine, sic est prosequuta, ut ædificato domicilio, ad sepulchrum, dum uixit, excubarit: et precibus 2 ad Deum, et stipe pauperibus data, qua quingentos pauperes alebat, | uiduitatem exercens, ad mortem usque perdurauerit · heroidis sane, digno facinore, si Christiana fuisset. Sunt enim, ut sapienter, quidam scriptum reliquit, Agareni Christianorum simij. Multis enim in rebus, Christianam pietatem, absque pietatis emolumento, imitantur · nam a uera fide, ac religione, charitateque aberrant. Ac Delinum, 3 publicis ædificijs, arce potissimum, ab Eamaumo ædificata, et muris, | qui urbem ambiunt, nonnullisque templis exornatur · eo potissimum, quod Peruzius Rex, ædificasse dicitur, quod candido marmore, egregie perpolito, et tectorio candidissimo, quod iniecto lacte, pro aqua, calci paratur, affabre factum est · ac, quasi speculum splendescit. Lac enim adhibitum calci, ita connectit partes eius, ut et nullas rimas 4 agat, et perpolitum | uenustissime pelliaceat. Fuit uero Peruzius, Pataneus genere, uir ad pietatem procliuis · nam toto regno ædificari iussit diuersoria,* duobus passuum millibus,[†] inuicem distantia, in quibus patulam arborem inseri, propter umbram, ; **F. 56a. 1** et amœnitatem, puteum effodi, ad hominum, et iumentorum aquationem, delubrum, ubi uiatores, preces Deo funderent, ædificari curauit. Atque uiarum, utrumque latus, arboribus, quæ fessis essent umbracula, longissima serie, si ager pateretur, conseuit. Torrentium, et fluuiorum, fossarumque transitum, pontibus coniunxit · uias complanauit, et locis palustribus, | cedentibusque lapides strauit, denique nihil prætermisit, quod publicam utilitatem, splendoremque amplificaret. Tribus fere miliaribus, a Delino, in saltu, Regiam mira pulchritudine, et laxitate fabricauit: et in solario,

¹ The whole of this description of Mathurā (from fol. 52a. 4: urbem, iam ab eo tempore) is bracketed in the MS.

² 1st: est commoratus · in eaque infortunio, quod supra demonstrauiimus, diem clausit.

³ 1st: tumulo.

* 1st: sesquimilliaro.

- Palace of Firozābād and its pillar.** columnam e marmore integram, et solidam, altitudine pedum triginta, crassitudine fere quinque collocavit. Ac subterraneam uiam, ad ueterem Delinum (ubi Christianorum reges | habitasse creduntur) quadraginta fere stadiorum, cuniculis aperuit, ut
- Tunnel.** sese* a curia et¹ negotijs, quoties libēret, *subtraheret,² et sine comitatu, in eam uillam, ut animum relaxaret, solusque contenderet. Multa de eo narrantur, quæ si
- The town.** uera essent, et cum Christiana fide coniuncta, hominem | cælo, ob hæc benefacta intulissent. Hanc urbem, excepto præsidio Mongolorum, Brachmanæ copiosi, et locupletes incolunt, quo fit, ut ex priuatis ædificijs, non parum splendoris, ciuitati
- F. 56b. 1** accedat. Cum enim lapide, ac calce abundet || regio, homines copiosi, bene materi-atas, atque ornatas, extantesque, non humiles, et deiectas ædes construunt. Viæ vero, opera Èmaumi, qui fabricæ erat deditus, splendoreque urbium, et uiarum laxitate tenebatur, augustæ, præter Agarenorum consuetudinem, et aspectu gratæ sunt.
- 2** Quarum medium, arborum pulcherrima consitio, uiriditate | exornat, umbraculis amœnum reddit. Porro hortorum amœnitatem, trans, et citra Jomanem (qui ad ortum solis, urbem pene contingit) et suburbana, longum esset recensere · cum multa sint; et cæli clementia, omnium frugum, fructuumque ubertate præstantia. Est
- 3** enim ager Delinicus optimus, et fructuosissimus. Delini uero ueteris, ruinæ | extant, turresque, ac mœnia semidiruta, quæ celebrem fuisse urbem indicant. Abest uero, a noua urbe, ad ocasum fere solis, duobus prope et triginta stadijs.³
- Sonepat.** Biduo Sonipätum ventum est · quod exiguum est municipium, at nomine dignitateque ciuitatis illustre, ex quo enses, gladij, sicæ, pugiones, ferreæ cuspides, quæ
- 4** hastis, et iaculis, telisque præfiguntur, | in reliquas totius regni partes, concinne fabricatæ, exportantur. Est enim in ea regione, ferri et chalybis, quæ in uicinis Imai iugis effodiuntur, magna copia: atque eius generis, armorum opifices, quam plurimi. Postridie cum litteras Mirsachimi, ad Xamansurum, iam tertio datas, || Rex
- F. 57a. 1** interceptisset: Xamansurum, in custodiam conijci, imperauit.
- Shah Mansur arrested. Panipat.** Deinde Panipätum uersus, castra mouit, cuius habitatores, studio uidendi Regem, solaria, et tecta, fœminæ potissimum, compleuerant. Panipäto egressis, et
- Karnal.** *Carnārem⁴ oppidum præteruectis, riuus occurrit, qui in Jomanem influit, ponteque lapidea, absque concursatione, et clamore, ut fit locis angustis, riuulum* se peditatus |
- 2** traiecit: nam præceptum erat,⁵ ut elephantes, cameli et equites uado transirent.
- Thānesar. (? Shaha, bād** Tridui itinere, Tanissārim, Brachmanarum, et negotiatorum municipium, peruentum est. Hinc Baādum, ubi Xamansurus jussu Regis, ex arbore suspensus, suæ perfidiæ, atque proditiōis, meritas pœnas dedit. Quod in hunc modum gestum est.
- 3** Rex satellitum, et carnificum | tribunos, et primarios quosque duces, cum Xamansuro, in eo loco consistere. imperauit · et Abdulfasilio edixit, ut ordine, coram illis testibus,
- Shah Mansur hanged.** omnia beneficia, quæ in eum, a puero, Rex contulisset, commemoraret; tum ut eius, ingratitude, illi obijceret, proditiōem exprobraret, conuictumque exemplis litterarum, suæ, ac Mirsachimi, manus, quas ostendebat, iure suspendio, | a Rege damnatum esse ostenderet, tandem hortaretur, ut forti animo, nihilque indigne ferente,

¹ Later addition.² 1st: expediret.³ Bracketed in the MS. from: Ac Delinum (fol. 55b. 2). I have returned to the subject of the Palace of Firoz Shāh at Delhi and its pillar in *J.A.S.B.*, 1913. My note at p. 530 n. 3 of this volume is of an earlier date.⁴ Earlier spelling: Carnarum.⁵ 1st: exercitus traiecit: eo quod præceptum esset.

- supplicium subiret · at uero efficeret, ut ij qui aderant, sibi persuaderent, nihil Regem, in Xamansurum, iniustum moliri, eosque ut in officio essent, commoneret. Quod Abdulfasilius, qui Regis personam sustinebat, ad unguem perfecit. Quo perempto, ad castra, || quæ non procul aberant, reuerterunt. At uero Rex, oris tristitia, se hominis infortunium dolere, aperte significauit. Verum illius nece, coniuratio omnino extincta est: et ab omnium, qui partes Regis sequebantur, iugulis, mucro sublatus · totisque castris, omnium est, lætitia, improbi hominis supplicium, comprobatum.
- 2 Et cum nulla timeretur intestina seditio, de belli exitu, id est | præjudicatum, quod ipse feliciter consequutus, Dei munere comprobauit: ut Mirsachimus facti pœnitens, de pace (ubi rumore, rem gestam didicit) cogitaret.

- His diebus magna tempestatum procella, itineribus luto, et subitis torrentium imbribus, impeditis, uno loco, exercitus consistere cogebatur. At ubi primum, cœli serenitas, reddita est: castra | mouit, et ad solis ortum, Imaus mons emicuit, niuibus opertus, quem illius regionis incolæ, Cumaúm nominant · exhalabatque uentum, satis frigidum. In eo gentiles degunt, qui Zelaldino minime obediunt · quibus densissimæ sylvæ, et nemora sunt præsidio. Et Jomanis quidem fontes in hoc tractu, ab indigenis, esse dicuntur, in his iugis, qui ad Delinicum | agrum, hoc est ad ocasum solis uergunt. Gangis uero, e regione, in cliuo, qui uersus orientem solem impluit · sed ducentis, et* 80 miliaribus, cum dimidiato in longitudine¹ (ut cosmographi loquuntur) latitudine eadem,* *i.e.* graduum 30 una ex 3ijs.²

- Ambāla. Atque eo itinere, ad Ambalam uentum est · in cuius agro, et planitie, quæ magna est, Emaumus Rex, Zelaldini pater, || Patanæos, Sarindo urbe (quæ Ceynandum etiam dicitur) pulsos, anfractu torrentis profundo, et præcipiti, interclusos confecit.

- Sacerdos uero qui in castris uersabatur, pro uirili sua parte operam dabat, ut ex uitæ institutæ, Societatisque ratione, aliquod emolumentum, sua consuetudine illis, qui se conueniebant, siue Agareni essent, siue gentiles, afferret. Ac senem | quemdam, qui diuinandi peritus dicebatur, et ob eam caussam, Regi non ignotus neque ingratus: rationibus adegit, ut Christi legem, Mahammeddis legi præcellere, (quod Agareni paradoxum est) fateretur. Hic in colloquio dixit, apud inferos, multos ex malis dæmonibus, Mahammeddis legem sequi · quosdam uero esse incredulos. Sacerdotique | roganti, num aliqui essent dæmones, Christiani? respondit, “Minime gentium. Nam omnes inimicitias sempiternas, cum Christo gerunt. At Mahammeddi quidam, quod deorum simulachra, et cultum sustulerit, succensent, quidam, quod effrænata uenerem, et alia scelera, in mores inducat, ei adhærent. *At Christum dæmones omnes auersantur eo quod utrumque prohibuerit.”² Gentiles uero, | qui ad se, nouitate permoti, uidendum uenerant: proposita quadam fabula, leuitatis commonuit · qui ijs, quæ a Deo, hominibus denuntiata sunt, ut fide salutem, et uitam consequantur, minime credant, qualia sunt ea, quæ Christianorum sacerdotes docent · de uno, uero, || simplicisque substantiæ Deo, qui trinus sit, in personis, qui filium habeat, et de ijs quæ de Christo, mira, et inaudita, prædicantur · fidem uero

¹ Ist: amplius miliaribus in longitudine. In the margin, Monserrate wrote and cancelled: Hic miliarium numerus ad tabulæ ueritatem est expendendus. The writing of it is that which we have described as No. 6. Cf. our page 523.

² Later addition.

habeant, uanis quibusdam, et anilibus fabulis, qualis illa fuerat homines scilicet, ex floribus procreari, qui pulchri, candidi, oculisque rutilantibus, sapientes, et virtutibus ornati essent, *eosque | sine patre, sine matre, sine ortu et originibus, in Europa nasci. Cuidam item Agareno, de rebus diuinis interroganti, ut tres personas, unam esse substantiam, in diuinis credibile uideretur, proposita similitudine, effecit · quod, ut nemo, inficias ire potest, corpore et anima, quæ diuersæ sunt substantiæ, unius hominis | personam constare, sic nemini incredibile esse debet, tres personas, unam esse naturam, atque substantiam. Quotidiana uero principis institutio, Rege ipso sæpe hortatore, nulla, itineris defatigatione, unquam est prætermissa.

Ceynandum, bidui itinere, ab Ambala distat · in cuius suburbio, ad solis occasum, castra posuit. Urbi nomen Ceynandum, ab euentu positum | fuisse narratur. Fertur enim, in eo loco, Rex quidam, cum leone luctatus, de bestia uictoriam reportasse. Sarindum etiam dicitur, quod in extremis finibus, regni Indici (Lahorum uersus, quod Lahorini regni caput, et sedes est) ædificatum sit. Nam Sarahat; limitem significat · perinde ac si dicatur, limes Indiæ. Est autem urbs magni ambitus, uicis distincta, instar Memphis Ægypti, quæ uulgo dicitur Cayrum. Sarindi, gymnasium est medicinæ celeberrimum, unde medici, in omne regnum prodeunt. Illhinc arcus, et pharetræ; calcei, et ocreæ, et crepidæ, in reliquis totius regni urbes, a negotiatoribus, tantummodo exportantur. Positum est uero Sarindum, in latissima planitie, crebris arboribus consita, hortorumque amœnitate | iucunda: sed arenti: quam iacturam, et aquarum difficultatem habitatores, lacu magni aluei, in ipso urbis ingressu, uersus austrum, hominum industria facto, subleuant. Hyeme enim in eum,* riuulis accersitis et ductis³ aquam deduci, curant. In eius autem medio, turrim excitarunt, publicæ recreationi, aperto aditu, propositum · a quâ in lacum, et circumuicinos hortos, iucundus | est prospectus.⁴

Hic conuentus olim Arachosia dicebatur.²

Ceynando profectus Rex, cum ad Paélum castra haberet, certior factus est, Mirsachinum fugæ se dedisse. Quod usque adeo, Regi gratum fuit, ut Sacerdoti, qui in castris erat, iusserit renuntiari. Postridie cum ille, Regi gratularetur, magna cum animi lætitia, eam sibi gratulationem, iucundam esse significauit. Ac cum superioribus diebus, | frontis contractione, magnas curas uersare uideretur, uultus hilaritate, tunc omnes curas deposuisse, uisus est. Nam in biga, iunctis equis, cursus aliquot, animi caussa confecit.

Atque inde Machiuáram, id est, piscium uicum præteruectus, ad ripam Satanulgæ,⁵ qui ab antiquis, Zarádrus dicitur, dum ligneus pons construitur, castra posuit. Cuius quidem fons, et caput · haud multum, ab eo loco distat. Nam ad Imaum | proxime, exercitum Rex duci imperauerat. A quo Zaradrus, uersus ocasum solis fluit: et Indo, se immiscet. Cocodrilos, aquatilesue lacertos, procreat dolij crassitudine, quos cissáres, hoc est, tricripites uocant · qui sex pedibus reptant, hominesque incautos, dum supernatant, deglutiunt · bouesque et bubalos, et pecora ac reliqua animantia cum in ora fluminis | *aqua sitim depellunt,⁶ pede correpta, abripiunt, et submergunt.

¹ 1st: eosque in Europa nasci, sine patre, sine matre, sine genealogia, ut de Enochio [2ndly: Melchisedec] Sacra Litteræ produunt. In the margin, "Hebr. 7; Genes. 14" are referred to.

² Later note; cancelled.

³ 1st: canalibus.

⁴ Bracketed in MS. from: in cuius suburbio (fol. 58 b. 3).

⁵ X wrote in the margin: "Mutchy-wára" and "Satanledge."

⁶ 1st: adaquantur.

- Hunc eundem fluuium, a vicino oppido Machiuáram, imperiti, et Ludiánam, a Ludiáno municipio, uocant: quod a Machiuára, sex et uiginti fere milliaribus, *deor-
 sum² distat, qua recta uia Basilipolim, quam torrens quidam aquæ præterluit, quæ
 3 bibentibus perniciem affert: deinde Gouindiucum, | post *Lahorum³ itur. Verum
 exercitus, hoc relicto, in sinistra, itinere, ac ad Machiuáram, et Zarádrum perductus:
 a Zarádro uersus montes, ducto itinere; in locis asperis, et nimium frigoribus, rigen-
 tibus, castra fecit.
- Quinto die, a Zarádro, ad præsidium quoddam Patanæorum, uentum est, quod
 4 Dungarij, id est, duæ horæ nominatur · ubi Sacerdoti, | quinquaginta aureos nummos
 numerari, quos Christianis distribueret, præ animi lætitia, imperauit. Nam supplices
 litteras, a Mirsachimo, per tabellarios, pridie acceperat · quibus, excusatione suæ perfidi-
 diæ, belli calamitatem deprecabatur, obsecrabatque, ut qui prouincijs datis, alios ditaret,
 se in suo regno degere permetteret. Sed cum non supplicium deprecari, sed præmium
 postulare uideretur · non destitit Zelaldinus, || quo tendebat ire pergere. Et *exercitus
 quidem, uadum, cuiusdam fluuij, traans⁴ pone Bibāsim, qui nunc Beaa dicitur,
 biduo iter *habuit,⁵ quoad uadum, quo elephantes transirent, et angustiae fluminis
 occurrerent, in quibus ligneus pons construeretur, quem ubi *antecursores¹ nacti sunt,
 eo in loco castra fecerunt.
- Rex uero, delectu equitum habito, Nagarcottum contendit, ut Regulo | cuidam,
 qui a filio pulsus, opem eius implorauerat, auxilium ferret. Cuius aduentum, ubi
 rebellis cognouit, sese in præruptas, et inaccessas montium cauernas, cum suis cohorti-
 bus abdidit. Rex uero, re infecta ad castra redijt. Est hic ager earum rerum ferax,
 quas Hispanicus, et Italicus, plerisque locis producunt · quibus reliqua India caret.
- 3 Postridie eius diei, castra ultra | Bibāsim, ligneo pōnte, decem fere milliaribus,
 ab hesterna statione, traducta sunt, haud procul ab oppido Pachangarino, Peytan-
 ensis conuentus, dominij Biliballi reguli, priui Regis cubicularij · qui Regi redeunti,
 ex Nagarcottica excursionione, Peytani, opipare apparatus conuiuium, præbuisse fere-
 batur. Patet uero Peytanensis ager, ad Imai usque iuga, quinque, et quadraginta |
 4 prope milliaria.
- Postridie Calanúrum, castra aplicauit. Apud quod municipium, Zelaldinus fuis-
 atque deuictis Patanæis, et Beyramcano superato, Lahorini regni, rex est salu-
 tatus, ac purpuram, sceptrum, et alia Regis insignia, in amœnissimis, et amplissimis
 hortis, qui in suburbano *quodam¹ sunt, accepit. In quibus, Lahorini priores reges,
 *eadem || accipere¹ soliti erant. Hoc opidum flumine exiguo alluitur, qui [sic] in
 Bibasim decurrit. Is est quem supra demonstrauius, quem Strabo, Hypānem nomi-
 nat · atque in eius citeriori ripa, Alexandrum magnum constitisse, nec ultra, traducere
 copias, ausum fuisse, memoriæ prodidit Calanúrum, Latinis magna urbs sonat ·
 2 uestigiaque magnæ urbis, in ruinis, et parietinis, | quæ adhuc manent, non obscura
 apparent · at nostra memoria, id oppidi, Calanurum dici, ridiculum est.
- Duodeuiginti milliaribus, *Nagarcottum³ a Calanuro distat, quod perinde est,

*Machiuara. piscium ur-
cusi.*

*Sultanpur.
Lahori.*

*Lahorus
metropolis.*

*Non procul
a rivulo exter-
ritus bos mi-
seram quan-
dam mulie-
rem inopin-
antem pericu-
lose adortus
depulit humi-
que prostra-
uit.*

*Hoc est
Arachosia.*

1 Later addition. 2 Ist: decliui flumine 3 Ist: Lahorum 4 Ist: Et uado cuiusdam fluuij superato.

5 Ist: habitum est.

6 Later addition and cancelled.

7 Ist: regni insignia suscipere.

8 Note in pencil by the anonymous annotator: Nagarcott 18 M.P. a Calanur distat.

quod Nagāris arx, vel castellum · cuius regulus, quem superioribus diebus, Zelaldinus, oratu depulsi patris, bello petierat, latrocinijs, et incendijs, ut Zelaldino opploderet |
 3 Calanuranum agrum deuastauit.

The Bhotlās.

Supra eam arcem, ad orientem solem, in interiori Imao, immanis, et barbara, ^{Yato se haa} Bothorum, vel Bothantum natio, per contubernia, sine rege, in pagis degit · qui lanæ ^{de escreuer} coagmentum, quale est petasorum, corpori, quam proxime possunt, *suendo annectunt:¹ nec ante exuunt, quam aut putrescat sudore, aut usu teratur, et soluatur, ut

4 decidat. Ex | eodem,* pileis forma conii compactis,² caput tegunt. Manus, aut os, aut pedes, nunquam lauant. Eius rei caussam reddunt, quod nefas sit, elementum pelucidum, ac pulchrum, quodque haustum, sitim leuet, sordibus fœdari. Unam tantum ducunt uxorem, e qua ubi duos, tresue filios, susceperint, cœlibem uitam agunt. Si

F 61a. 1

alter e coniugibus moriatur, alter qui superest, cœlebs | ad mortem usque perseuerat. A simulachrorum cultu abhorrent, a magis, uel potius ueneficis, gubernantur. Cum eorum aliquis, e uita discedit, ueneficos adeunt, libros suos, uenefici consulunt, edicuntque, quid opus sit facto · atque si, ut cadauer deuorent, aut ut in profluentem proijciant, uel ut flammis adurant, denique ut * aut ³ feris uorandum,* aut³ auibus dilacerandum,

2 *aut³ ex arbore suspendendum, alioque | modo consumendum, euentui *reseruent,⁴ uenefici edicant: continuo parent. Ossea suppellectili, ex hominum cadaueribus utuntur, cranio quidem, pro poculo, harmis pro patinis, tibijs et brachijs, pro thecis pugionum, et aliarum rerum. Sagittis etiam, duriora articulorum, et costarum ossa, præfigunt. Colore sunt candido, statura mediocri, capillitio subruffo, ore rubicundi,

3 plerique, oculis | sunt decoris et rotundis. Eorum armatura, sunt, breues gladij, arcus, et sagittæ. Coagmentandis è lana camelorum (quibus abundant) stragulis, texendisque lacernis, ex tenuissima lana, quæstum faciunt, quæ Nagarcottum important, et diuendunt. Niuibus, a descensu Imai, in agrum Indicum, arcentur toto

4 anno, præterquam mensibus, Junio, Quintili, Sextili, atque Septembri, | quibus niues, propter solis uehementes, in ea regione, ardores, soluuntur. Sunt homines, ad pietatem, et misericordiam procliues. Nam stipem libentissime largiuntur, et peregrinos (ut Jogues narrant) perhumane, ac perbenigne accipiunt, pacem colunt, bella detestantur. Regio est, vini, tritici, et multorum frugum, quæ Europa *fundit,⁵ ferax.

F 61b. 1

Abundat armentis,¹ et multo pecore · camelis, onagrisque. In ea syluestre quoddam pecoris genus dicitur esse; capræ magnitudine, quod *artuum colligationibus,⁶ in cruribus, tibijsque, atque brachijs caret, saltibusque graditur, eamque ob caussam facile capitur, quod captum, tenuissima lana exuunt, quæ bombycinis, sericisque filis,

2 est tenuior, quibus lacernæ, quas diximus, texuntur. Ac quoniam ea, quæ | de hoc hominum genere narrantur, fidem superare uideri poterant: ea potissimum, *quæ ad colendum cœlibatum spectant:⁷ diligenter Sacerdotes inuestigarunt · *num ita res haberet ut in ea uicinia, Sacerdos compererat qui illac iter in castris fecerat.⁷ Et pluri-

um testimonio compertum, exploratumque est, omnia quæ de hac gente feruntur, 3 uera esse. Quod animos Sacerdotum, non parum allexerat, | ut periclitarentur, pos-

¹ 1st: adsuunt.

² 1st: pileis intextis, ijsque acuminatis.

³ Later addition.

⁴ 1st: tradant.

⁵ 1st: edit.

⁶ 1st: sutionibus.

⁷ 1st: quæ de colendo cœlibatu narrantur.

1st: Num ut in ea uicinia, castrensis Sacerdos compererat, res haberet?

sentne, ad eos negotiatorum habitu, penetrare. Verum eam cogitationem, cursus rerum, et legationis exitus, ut deponerent, coegerunt. Ferunt uero, a Nagaris arce, uersus Septemtrionem, ad Casprios usque · Imai iuga, hanc gentem obtinere: atque idiomate proprio uti. Hi esse uidentur quos Plinius Casiros uocat, cum ait, “Et iam

*Plin. lib. 6.
cap. 13.*

4 Indorum Casiri, introrsus ad Scythas uersi, | humanis corporibus uescuntur.”¹

**Crossing
the Rāvi and
the Ben ?**

Calanuro itaque profectus, Raohi fluuium, qui Adris nominatur, ponte constructo, *exercitum² traiecit, deinde Cingaróum flumen, ad Imai radices. Ac per ardua, et decliua collium, et conuallium, infesto, et periculoso itinere, propter paludes, quæ subsidebant, in uallibus, et || rupes, quæ extabant, in montibus, et * prærupta saxa, quæ è rupibus eminebant,³ Sambam uenit.

*Hæc sunt
describenda a
uoce Calan-
uro.²*

F. 62a. 1

**Samba in
Jammu ?**

Est porro Samba, urbs, et præsidium, in Imai descensu, satis firmum, reguli, cuiusdam gentilis, qui Zelaldino paret, agri fertilitate, atque incolarum frequentia, eadem qua est Nagarcottum. Ac præter Mongolorum præsidia, incolæ, gentilica

2 Brachmanarum | superstitione tenentur · & soli cœlique temperie proxime ad Europæam accedit. Nam uersus Aquilonem, a tricesimo, ad tricesimum secundum latitudinis cingulum, uniuersa regio protenditur. Sunt uero plerique homines, procero, et tenui corpore · colore furuo, ad candorem · proluxa coma, ac barba.

3 Samba profectus, ad *Naním⁴ fluuium, qui in Sandabalim, | quattuor ab ea statione, milliaribus, intrat: castra posuit: in amœno quidem, et uirenti prato. Est

The Doāb.

enim, interamnis hæc regio, ab Adri ad Sandabalim, et amœnitate, et fertilitate, tum etiam hortorum uarietate, uiculorumque, et pagorum, multitudine reliquis superioribus, longe præstantior.

*Nunc dicitur
Xenao.⁵*

4 Postero die, Sandabalim se traiecit. | Quæ quidem traiectio difficilis fuit, nam cum pontem indignetur amnis, multique uadum tentarent, non pauci submersi perierunt. Rex cymba traiecit, et plerique alij, triduique moram, uniuersæ copiæ, dum trajciunt traxerunt. Erat enim mira cymbarum paucitas, licet imperasset Rex, ut ex

**Crossing
the Chenāb.**

F. 62b. 1

uicinis* uicis,⁶ et municipijs, in eum locum appellerentur. Huius || paucitatis causa fuit, Mirsachimus, qui ut sequentem se Regem, moraretur, ubi suas copias transuexit: frangi, atque aduri cymbas, quibus erat transuectus, iussisse dicebatur. Nam erant ei, duo flumina, quæ restabant, non modicas moras, ut tempori fugeret, ne ab antecursoribus fratris, bellum inchoaretur, allatura. Quas hoc belli consilio, | et arte, compensare decreuit. Amissi sunt, in huius amnis transitu, quadringenti fere, omnis conditionis homines, qui enatare nequiverunt. Quod eo magis, mirandum est,

**An affluent
of the Jeh-
lam.**

tantam, in eo loco, esse fluminis magnitudinem, quod a capite, uel fonte, haud multum distet · tum quod, diuerticulis diuisus, in tres ueluti riuos abeat · atque in eo loco lato quidem | uado insulam, duobus quasi brachijs, ambiebat. Hic uero amnis lento cursu, et magnis circuituibus, in Bydaspem illabatur.

**Kunjah &
Sohdra ?**

Duci uero, per eius ripam, exercitum, aquationis causa, ad Qhuniá, id est sanguinis locum, et Saddarim imperauit. Quæ duo oppida, tribus inuicem milliaribus distant · mediumque iter, inter ea arripuit, flexitque, | ad Hydaspem, quæ via est ad amnem breuior, et lenior. Qua in cura, et diligentia, Regis profecto prouidentia,

¹ This paragraph is bracketed in the MS. ² Later addition. ³ 1st: præcipitia, quæ in rupibus imminebant.

⁴ 1st: Nanium, as in the Index; 2ndly: Nanim, as at fol. 3b.

⁵ Later addition.

⁶ 1st: uiculis.

laudanda est, qui tanto studio exercitus salutis, et incolumitati prospexit, ut aquationis, et difficultatis annonæ, tum etiam traijciendorum annuum, incommodis liberarit. Verum fieri non potuit, quin primo die, quo a Sandabali per septem fere milliaria, abstracta castra sunt, siti sit exercitus fatigatus. Qua de caussa, per quoddam compendium, iter iniit, quod tamen ad quindecim milliaria, protendebatur · et ad Bydasphem castra posuit, ubi octo diebus, exercitui, laxamentum dedit. Et quotidie filios, ad uenationem deduxit, dum ponte annis · instruitur, est enim alueo lato, atque profundo, nec ullo modo | uado* castra traduci, ac ne elephantibus quidem, possunt · nec equestres pedestresque copiarum natando transmittere.¹ Quam ob causam, firmum pontem, construi oportuit. Is etiam Indo immiscetur, eius uero ripis, Lahorini regni, limites continentur. Veteres Lahorinæ regionis, indigenæ, Getæ dicuntur,* antiquis Geretæ,² qui comam, et barbam abraderent, eo nefas esse dicunt, quod uirorum sint præcipuum, et eximium ornamentum. |

F. 63a. 1
Resting at
the Jehlam.

The Jäts=
the Getæ.

Derivation
of "Kash-
mir."

Balnatque
thile.

3 Ubi flumen transmisit, in radice Balnatini montis constitit, è regione Imai, qui a Delino, usque in hæc loca procurrrens, necubi intersectus, semper eodem nomine, ab indigenis appellatur. At uero ab hac regione, ubi ab oriente in occidentem, leni quodam flexu, et patenti quodam, atque aperto colle, uergit: nomen mutat · diciturque ab accolis · Casp · uel Cas · | et illi quidem, qui montes incolunt, Caspirii a nostratibus, Geographis dicuntur, at ab indigenis, et finitimis Casmirini,* e duobus uocibus compacto nomine. Eæ sunt *cas* quæ est montis nomen, et *mir* quæ præfectum sonat · efficiuntque Casmir.² Verum qui campestria obtinent, Gaccares uocantur.

The Gak-
kars.

Et Casmirini, vel Caspirij, centum ab hinc annis, armis ab Agarenis subacti,

F. 63b. 1 eorum instituta, et leges suscipere coacti sunt. Nam fama est, ut omnium eius regionis, incolarum, ore fertur, olim genere, et instituto fuisse Judæos. Quod ipsi interrogati, non diffitentur; atque species oris, totaque corporis constitutio, et uestitus ipse, et ratio omnis, quæstus faciendi, Judæorum nostratium, quæstuariæ rationi, similis est. Nam qui Lahori commorantur, scruta, hoc est, attritas uestes, et feramenta, ferreosque uectes, ac soleas, armillas, et | seras, et id genus, alia uetera diuendunt. An uero fides habenda sit, fabulæ, quæ per manus tradita, ad nostram usque memoriam peruenit: aliorum est iudicium. Fertur* tamen,³ communi omnium, antiquitatis studiosorum sermone · Alexandrum magnum, Caspijs montibus, Judæos inclusisse, qui si Straboni credimus, ad Bibasim usque, ut supra commemorauimus, in | Indiam penetrauit: nedum ad Caspum, seu Caspium montem. Jam uero, loci situs, is est, ut cum uno tantum loco, adiri possit, portas habere, non inepte dicatur. Nam et ipsa, subsidentium montium, intercapedo, procul conspecta, portæ similitudinem ostendere uidetur. At Sacerdotes, qui, essentne Caspirij Judæi,

Lost tribes
of Israel in
Kashmir.

Strabo.

2 omnibus uestigijs indagantur: esse plane Judæos | genere, et annis ab hinc centum superstitione Agarenos compererunt. Quod uero ad montem attinet, licet ascensum habeat difficilem, atque infestum* ascendentibus,⁴ quo incolæ, pro præsidio utuntur, unde equitatum, facile repellunt · in summo tamen* æquata agri, eiusque fertilis,⁵ planities est. Nec uero me latet, aliquos opinari Judæos ab Alexandro, in ea regione

¹ Ist: traijci, ne elephantibus quidem, potest, nec natando superari.

² Later addition.

³ Ist: enim.

⁴ Ist: subeuntibus.

⁵ Ist: æquati eiusque fertilis agri.

F. 64a. 1 Caspij montis inclusos, quæ Caspio mari, proxima est. || Ego uero, nihil eorum sententiæ repugno, in similibus enim, illud Terentianum usurpo, si aiunt aio, si negant nego.¹

**Manners
of the Gak-
kars.**

Jam uero, Gaccâres, Agareni sunt, qui campestria incolunt. Homines bellicosi statura mediocri, et firma, ad furta, ob situm loci, et latrocinia propensi, odio quidem omnibus, et plagij labe, atque ignominia infames, liberos enim homines, ex insidijs, |
2 intercipientes, raso capite, neruoque calcis* execto,² in Persiam deportant, et pro mancipijs, uendunt. Quod si, dum miserum hominem capiunt, caputque radunt, suæ gentis,* insuper aliquis adueniat³: pretij est particeps. Horum urbs regia,

Ruytas.

Rohtâs.

3 Ruytasium dicitur · arce, uel præsidio firmissima, Europæo more munita, quam præterluit riuulus, | qui in Bidaspem decurrit. Est autem sita in fronte cuiusdam rupis, quæ ad orientem solem, ex Balnatæo iugo, per nouem fere milliaria, decurrit: saltu quidem saxoso, et sterili, sed ad repugnandum nato.

4 Balnatque thile, hoc est Balnati* rupes,⁴ magnæ est altitudinis, difficili ascensu, atque arduo, ut equo nemo queat ascendere. In ipso | uertice, aream habet, in qua triclinia aliquot, ædificata sunt, in quibus Balnatus quidam, cum sorore dicitur uictitasse · qui sectam quandam instituit, cuius hæc sunt instituta · ut biennio, antequam admittantur, et uestibus, suæ factionis induantur, alijs qui in eo loco commorantur, ||

*Balnatka
Tile,
Thilah.⁵*

F. 64b. 1

Ascetics.

inseruiant, coquo pareant, ligna secant, in culinam importent, armenta, et greges pascant, aquam, quæ quidem magno cum labore, æstate præcipue, illuc subuehitur, comportent, cibos alijs, qui ad trecentos, fere semper illuc conueniunt, ministrent; quæ munera si diligenter, et accurate obeant, biennio exacto, uestibus induuntur: |
2 sponsione | facta,* sese integros et castos⁶ perpetuo seruatuos, nihil quod dignitati, et opinioni, sui ordinis aduersetur, admissuros. Vestes uero sunt, toga quædam (instar eius, quæ ab antiquis, non satis latine, Harmiclausa dicebatur, a nonnullis, nostra ætate, Scapulare, nouo nomine uocitatur) ad talos demissa, et lacerna: atque
3 linteum, quo caput redimitur. | Atque hæc omnia, genere quodam, rubræ cretæ infecta, et quasi miniata. Indutis ea ueste, fit potestas, quocumque libuerit* peregrinandi, stipeque uiuendi.⁷ Quodsi quid indignum admittant: dimittuntur. Præest illis unus, qui ut in eum dignitatis gradum, euectus est, illo loco excedere, non potest,
4 habetque semper in comitatu, senes qui eum consilio | et autoritate iuuant: è quibus, suffragijs omnium, qui tunc adsunt, unus in locum, eius qui moritur,* substituitur.⁸ Dignitatis insigne, est, infula bombycinis fasciis, è fastigio, per gyrum infulæ,

F. 65a. 1

ordine affixis, quæ impendeant, et facile moueantur · tribus, quattuorue || ordinibus, a fastigio, ad extremam infulæ oram, quæ frontem cingit. Ridiculum sane, pontificium insigne, quo uno uanitas superstitionis, abunde perspici potest, ab eo, cui uel minimum fidei iubar affulserit. Hi neque Agarenorum, neque gentilium superstitionibus implicantur: uerum alia, non minoris inscientiæ, ac fatuitatis. Quendam

¹ Cancelled in MS. from: An uero fides (fol. 63b. 2) up to: Agarenos compererunt (*ibid.*, 4), and again from: Nec uero me latet (*ibid.*, 4) up to: nego (fol. 64a. 1).

² 1st: inciso. ³ 1st: aliquis superueniat. ⁴ 1st: mons.

⁵ Pencil note by X. His interpretation of the word 'thilah' is unintelligible to me. It is scarcely possible to read it: "sesamum" = *til*. Nearly every place-name on this page has been underlined in pencil by X.

⁶ 1st: se castitatem. ⁷ 1st: peregrinari, stipeque uiuere. ⁸ 1st: subrogatur.

2 enim Balnat colunt, | tanquam uatem, et Dei seruum · qui primus, solitariam uitam,
cum sorore, in eo iugo agens, abhinc trecentis annis (ut ferunt) ex quo tempore
desijt uideri, o nnibus admirationi fuit. Dicitur autem, adhuc uiuere, et plerisque
locis, sese quasi Prometheus, varijs formis ostendere, et fasciolas summis arboribus,
3 uel locis editis, *asperitate et altitudine¹ terrentibus, quæ sui transitus, | per ea loca,
indicio sint, appendere. Hunc dicunt morem, quo Deus sit colendus, docuisse: hoc
uidelicet ut omnes mane, simul ac ortus fuerit sol, uersus orientem conuersi, *tibijs
breuibus,² ac cocleis, simul *concinant,³ itidem ubi sol occidit, ad eius ocasum
4 conuersi, tum a prandio, et cœna: quasi gratias Deo agant. Nullo | cibo, nulla
quorumuis hominum societate, suis sectatoribus interdixit. At uero in suis domibus,
parcissime uiuunt; legumine scilicet decocto, et butyro. Quorum hominum, duplex
est ordo: coniugatorum alter, cœlibum alter. Coniugati breuiori veste utuntur.
Cœlibes sponsione castitatis tantum, et officio docendi, a coniugatis differunt. Res-
F. 65b. 1 ponsa, consulto Balnato || reddunt · suntque diuinationibus dediti, ut potius uenefici,
quam religiosi, dicendi sint; ac ipsum Balnatum, malum aliquem dæmonem, nos-
Names in trates Sacerdotes existimarunt · qui falsis prodigijs,* horum⁴ maiores decepit · et qui
nāth. sese aliquando istis ostendit. *Nam nominibus alijs quæ in *nat* desinunt se Orcus ac
malus dæmon appellari et ab hac stolidi gentilitate inuocari et coli in morem per-
duxit. Ea sunt Manquinat, Septenat, Jagarnat, et huiusmodi alia.⁵ In eius recor-
dationem uiatores, arboribus, quæ prope uias consitæ, occurrunt: fasciolas appen-
dunt.

2 Quo tempore | Zelaldinus, hunc locum adijt, senex quidam, loci antistes erat ·
qui dicebatur, ducentorum esse annorum, at octoginta, uix attingebat. Nam mos
Akbar's visit to the Jogiis. est huic hominum generi, sese annosos prædicare, ut uulgo sint admirationi; quasi
vero uirtus, et sanctitas, annorum multitudine sit metienda. Eum tamen in locum,
3 cum intellexerunt, | Regem esse uenturum, magna hominum multitudo, eius *familiæ,⁶
confluxit, ex quibus nonnulli, se ad sanctitatis ostentationem, in specus quasdam,
quas natura loci, aut ars fecit, nudi coniecerunt · quorum sanctitatem plerique admi-
4 rabantur, et prædicabant. Sunt uero pecuniæ | maxime auidi; omniaque præstigia,
et* omnem⁴ sanctitatis simulationem, ad quæstum, et lucrum comparant. Rex, ut est
ad omnem superstitionem propensior, a Balnatæis in eum locum deductus, ubi com-
moratus fuisse Balnatus dicebatur: nudis pedibus, et expansa coma, locum, et uatem
ueneratus est.

F. 66a. 1 Dum Rex Balnati moras trahit, castra || quadriduo, in eo campo constiterunt · et
Yüsuf feast- bidui itinere, Ruytasium deducta sunt · atque ad riuuli cuiusdam ríþam, qui arcem
Ing Akbar at fere ambit, posita. Regem lautissimo conuiuio, Josephus arcis præfectus, qui eam,
Rohtās. a Mirsachimi oppugnatione, ita liberauit, ut non sit ausus obsidere, exceptit.

2 Rutasio, per oram riuuli, institutum iter est: non sine discrimine, | quorundam,
qui equis, camelis, et elephantis uehebantur; *insolentia et inscitia⁶ uiæ. Nam cum
Quicksands. aluei arena, aquam riuuli ebibat; et absorbeat: appareatque æquor solidum, atque
siccum: in quod, ubi quispiam incedit, illud cedit, et dehiscit, ac quô, quisque, ex

¹ Ist: præcipitioque.

⁴ Later addition.

² fistulis breuibus, et perforatis.

⁶ Ist: farinæ.

³ Ist: insonent.

⁶ Ist: inexperientia.

eo emergere, maiori conatu nititur, eô magis et periculosius in ipso mergitur: cum nihil sibi ab æquato æquore timerent, periculosissime impingebant.

3 Sexto die, *per salebras quasdam,¹ | et angustissimos colles, ac crebros fluuios, magna cœli *grauitate ac aeris crassitudine,² ob tonitrua, fulgura, fulmina, rapidissimos ventorum turbines, imbrium immoderatas inundationes, in campum amplissimum uentum est. In cuius medio, obeliscus miræ magnitudinis, quasi aceruus extabat; ruinosus quidem, propter uetustatem, sed locis plerisque integer, opere sane eleganti, et concinno, quem Ramxandus rex gentilis, abhinc mille annis, | sui regni limitem, et terminum posuisse ferebatur.³ Impositus uero est obeliscus ille, basi quattuor laterum, altæ pedes septem, atque a crepidine, ad imam ipsius *obelisci⁴ oram, latæ decem, ad quam per scalas ascenditur, quæ e lateribus extant, et eiusdem parietis ductu, utroque latere clauduntur. Est uero obeliscus altitudine pedum uiginti, latitudine decem. Cuius structura, ad pedes fere septem, recta *ascendit,⁵ *deinde congestu quodam redimita⁶ || a reliquo opere superiore, distinguitur: *atque⁷ ab eo loco, paulatim acumen, et fastigium obtusum, optime fabricatum, et rotundum perficit · lapidibus quidem grandibus, et dolatis, nullaque calce, aut bitumine colligatis.

Bad weather.
Rām Chandra's obelisk [at Manikyāla?].

F. 66b. 1

The Gakars of Ri-wat.

At uero exercitus, ad oppidum Rhauādum constitit. Eius habitatores, ut reliquæ regionis, sunt Gaccâres, qui quo propius, ad Indoscythiam accedunt, eo sunt furaciores · hominesque | commutant equis, et in prouerbium, apud eam gentem abijt, serui ex India, equi ex Parthia. Regio hæc, a Ruytasio ad Indum fluuium, aspero est, et arenti solo,* cœlique aspiratione graui ac pestilente, quæ⁶ ingenio incolarum, æque respondet. Qui quamuis, cis Indum nati, et *educati⁷ sint: idiomate, et colore ab Indis, non parum differunt. Sunt enim subcandidi, atque | statura demissi, et humeris lati, cruribusque firmi, oris effigie, a fronte in mentum breui, et a genis, et fronte lati, rugosi, et eo denique aspectu, ut hostes, non hospites facile deprehendas.

Gagar?

Hinc, *riuulum transgressus,⁸ Gagarim uenit. Est uero Gagaris, in edito trium collium,* et Augusto,⁹ sed arduo iugo posita. Gagari,* ut quoddam Indi | fluminis diuerticulum transmisit,¹⁰ qui [*sic*. lege 'quod'] in Indum, paulo infra iterum fluens, insulam magnæ laxitatis efficit,* quæ a uiriditate, ut autumo, a ueteribus Prāsiane dicta est,⁴ ad oram Indi, in Azaraanæ pagi, saltu castra posuit.

Plin. cap 19.

Hazāra Dt.

The Dilazāks.
F. 67a. 1

Hanc insulam genus quoddam Pataneorum tenet, qui Delazacquiij nominantur. Quæ quidem regio, mitior est, ac fertilior || superiore. Nam licet, arborum, et hortorum amœnitate destituatur: ager quidem uber est, ac pinguis; frumenti ac leguminum, pasuorumque ferax. Quo fit, ut armentis, et gregibus diues; butyro, et lacte abundet. Incolarum item ingenium, facile et amicum; culturæ *agri,¹¹ et pascendis, educandisque pecoribus deditum. Agunt uero in pagis, contra quam Gaccâres.

Pashto like Spanish.

¹ 1st: per præcipitia quædam.

² 1st: inclementia.

³ Marginal pencil note by the anonymous annotator: Obeliscus circiter A.C. 500 a Ramxando constructa. Lat. 33½; Long. 115½ · in Tabu [la]. Basis alt. ped. vii. Obeliscus alt. ped. xx. lat. ped. x.

⁴ Later addition.

⁶ 1st: sic.

⁶ 1st: cœloque inclementi, et.

⁷ 1st: educti.

⁸ 1st: traiecto riuulo.

⁹ 1st: ut et Augusto.

¹⁰ 1st: transmisso quodam Indi fluminis diuertigio; 2ndly: diuerticulo.

¹¹ 1st: soli.

- 2 Commune | idioma, ut cæterorum Patanæorum, Pastoum est · sono quidem Hispani-
 cum, et quod magis mirandum est, usu etiam aliquarum uocum.
- Abū-l-Fazl
 reading to
 Akbar Mon-
 serrate's
 treatise on
 the Passion.
- Enimvero Sacerdos, qui in castris versabatur, ne quæ acceperat Rex, de Christi-
 ana religione, obliuioni traderet · epitomen quandam rerum, quas Christus cum pate-
 retur, transegit; illi fuga hostis lætiori, legendum tradidit. | Quam quidem, quasi
 alias res agens,* ad calcem usque sibi recitari, ab Abdulfasilio iussit¹ · ac dum legeretur,
 multa quæsiuit · et in ijs præcipue · quare, cum Dominus Jesus, tanto studio conten-
 deret, ut sibi Judæi crederent,* quo² salui efficerentur · cum in cruce esset, Judæorum
 conditionem, non admisisset: qui ei proponebant, “Si filius Dei es, descende nunc
 de cruce, et credimus | tibi.” Respondit Sacerdos, pro re nata, hoc unum: cum alia
 occurrerent respondenda. “Diuino decreto, oportere homines, fide iustos effici.
 “Nam Abrahamus, quia Deo credidit, contra spem, cum iuberetur immolare Isaacum,
 “a quo posteritatem suam, pollicitatione || diuina, originem habituram acceperat:
 “nihil hæsitans Deum præstaturum, quod pollicitus erat: *filium in rogam imponit,
 “quo facto,³ placuit Deo, et effectus est iustus. Quod si descendisset, de cruce
 “Christus, hoc experimentum, fidem ademisset, qua oportet, homines deduci, ut
 “salutem, et uitam assequantur. Nec diuini numinis statutum, et æternam legem,
 “opus erat, paucorum, eorumque infidelium | postulatione refringi: qui si Christus,
 “de cruce descendisset, non fuissent facti meliores, sed fortasse magicæ arti, prodi-
 “gium adscripsissent, quod saepenumero fecerunt, cum ostenta multa, quæ a solo
 “Deo fieri possunt, principi dæmoniorum attribuerunt.” Hanc quidem responsionem,
 cum plurimum Rex probasset, perceperat enim, quid sibi Sacerdos | uellet, qui Per-
 sico idiomate, inculte, ac concise agebat, alijs qui aderant explicauit: quam usque
 adeo comprobarunt, ut ea responsione, omni dubitationi esse factum satis, nihilque
 amplius desyderari dicerent. Interrogauit deinde, “Quare .D. Thomæ permisit, ut
 “digitos, et manum vulneribus inderet? Cum etiam hæsitaret?” Cui quæstioni |
 Sacerdos respondit. “Quoniam morem gerere, Thomæ hæsitanti, utile futurum erat
 “hominibus · redemptis, Christi morte, qui credituri erant. Quodsi, Judæis postu-
 “lantibus, ut descenderet; fuisset obsequutus, non essent homines *ex æterna Dei
 “lege qui ita fieri statuerat,³ redempti. Tum etiam, quia Christus, ut Pater, mi-
 “serans filij, Thomæ nihil proponenti, aut || postulanti, suapte benignitate occurrit,
 “atque manus, et latus, ei ostendit · ne prolaberetur.” Quæsiuit præterea,
 quonam modo intelligeremus, cum dicamus, Deum Patrem corpore carere: Chris-
 tum consedissee, ad dexteram Patris sui? Respondit Sacerdos, nos non intelligere,
 corpoream consessionem · dicere uero Christum, ad dexteram Patris sedere, quia
 qua Christus Deus est, eandem | obtinet gloriam, honorem, et potestatem cum Patre,
 cui est æqualis; qua uero homo est, minor quidem Patre, accepit ab eodem Patre,
 maiorem gloriam, et potestatem, quam a Patre tributa sit, angelis, ac beatis omnibus,
 qui cælo perfruuntur; ac Regibus, et principibus, qui degunt in terrarum orbe.
 Quæ cum potiora sint bona, reliquis, quæ cæteri acceperunt, nomine dexteræ, quæ
 sinistra | potior est, significantur. Quibus responsionibus, cum esset Regi, et omni-

F. 67b. 1

Why Christ
did not come
down from
the Cross.The doubts of
St. Thomas.

F. 68a. 1

Christ sitting
at the right
hand of His
Father.¹ Underlined in pencil by the anonymous annotator as also the passage on the obelisk.² 1st: ut.³ Later addition.

The ear of
Malchus and
Akbar's
chief physi-
cian.

bus, pene satisfactum: ac unus quispiam argutulus obstreperet · et prodigij nomen, illi operi, quo Christus, Malcho seruo, auriculam restituit; impie, impudentur, et pertinaciter adimeret: a Rege est grauiter obiurgatus, et a reliquis explosus. Nam cum Dei filium, Christum esse diffiteantur, cætera | in eo, maxima fuisse, fatentur · salui equidem futuri Agareni, si abiecta Mahammedis superstitione, illud ipsum quod abnegant, confiterentur. Erat porro ille, qui *ostento¹ detrahebat, supremus Regis medicus, et in ea philosophia, quæ rerum naturas perscrutatur, non uulgariter edoctus.

F. 68b 1 At uero, || Rex epitomen retinuit, et seruari imperauit.

50 days' rest
at Hazro
on the Indus.

Cæterum, ubi ad oram Indi uenit, * laxamentum² exerc' tui, dare constituit. Erat enim campus apertus, et planities agri maxima, et pascuorum ubertas copiosa, ac lignationis abundantia, omnium denique, quæ ad exercitus com meatum necessaria erant, copia. Tum etiam ad uenationem, syluarum, et nemorum | uicinia, non parum Regem, ut ibi cessaret, inuitabant. Quare quinquaginta dies, castra in eodem loco, hoc est ad Azaarânam habuit · quod oppidum, nouem fere passuum millibus, distat a Nilabho.

The Nilâb
Fort. [Atâk
Banâras.]

Nilabhum autem, præsidium est, in quodam colle, iuxta quasdam fluminis angustias, quibus transitus, ex India, in Paropanisadem, quæ nunc regio | Chabuli dicitur, esse potest. Quam ob caussam, instaurari arcem, Rex imperauit.

[Cf. Index:
Atac balanaz]

The Indus
and its afflu-
ents.

Jam uero Indus, omnium est maximus, totius Indiæ fluuiorum. Nam in ipso sui ortu, et capite, maximam aquarum uim, ex niuibus præcipue Imai, seu Caspi montis, liquatis, defluentem accipit. Deinde quinque maximos fluuios, supra commemoratos, suo alueo excipit, et in mare deducit. | In eius littore, prope fontes, auri optimi, et nitidissimi magnam copiam, qui uicini sunt populi, expiscantur. Ex angustijs montium, et conuallium Imai, supra Caspiriam, et Casiriam, atque adeo Bothorum, uel Bothantum³ regionem ad septemtriones, uarijs flexionibus, in planitiem, ab ortu || uersus occasum flectens: in octo diuerticula, scinditur quæ septem insulas præter illam, in qua exercitus constitit, efficiunt: tanta aquarum copia, *ut uado vix possint elephantes transire.⁴ Tum ad Nilabhi, et *Arachosia⁵ collium angustias (prope quas Coam, et Suastum fluuios, jam mutuo commixtos excipit)

F. 69a. 1

2 magno ambitu, uersus austrum, | *decurrens, tandem septem ostijs, in mare effunditur.⁶ Ac Suastus, hac ætate, Axtnâgâris fluuius, ab accolis: Coas uero, Chabuli amnis, nuncupatur, qui Suastum exhaurit, et a loco ubi commiscetur, ad Indum usque annem, uterque Coas, a geographis nominatur · et ab indigenis amnis Chabulicus. [*Quo ab oriente sole Arachosia continetur, quæ inter Indum et Arachotum interiecta est.⁷] A mense Junio dimidiato, ad mensem usque Augustum | dimidiatum, Indus amnis, non pluuiarium imbrium caussa, sed quod caloribus, niues * liquescunt,⁸ adeo crescit: ut aquarum uis, * ut ferunt,⁹ mare discindat, et quadraginta, fere, millibus passuum, a littore, dulcis aqua, in salo hauriatur. Vocitatur uero Indus, ab ignara

1 Ist: miraculo.

2 Ist: laxationem.

3 Nearly every place-name on this page has been underlined in pencil by the anonymous commentator.

4 Ist: ut uadum uix possit ab elephantibus transiri.

5 Ist: Paropanisadis.

6 Ist: sese effundens [2ndly: ferens], tandem . . . sese effundit.

7 Later addition, and cancelled.

8 Ist: liquertur.

9 Later addition.

plebe, ut plurimum, in ea regione, Nilabhus, quod cæruleam aquam, Persicè sonat .
 4 nomine | (ut fit) ab euentu imposito, nam in his angustijs, quibus transitus est, ad Paropanisadas, propter amnis profunditatem, cæruleo colore aqua, magno impetu decurrit.¹

F. 69b. 1
 The Dilazāks
 send timber
 for building
 boats and a
 bridge.

Ad Indi ripam, Zelaldinus . cum castra haberet: nihil habuit || antiquius, quam Delazacquium animos, sibi conciliare, ut sibi *fluuiatiles naues,² et materiam sup-
 peditarent, *ad pontem construendum, et cymbis commode, castra traducenda,³
 acciditque *Regi⁴ ex sententia, ut principes viri duo, genere *Delazacques,⁵ qui
 2 graues inimicitias, mutuo gerebant, *quo⁶ suis rebus prospicerent, ex transindana
 regione, ad eum venirent, quos mutuo conciliauit, atque eorum | diligentia, breui,
 materiæ magnam copiam, comparauit: *qua plures quadraginta, lintres ædificauit,⁷
 totidemque ex auxilijs, *Delazacquium⁸ adiunxit.

Councils of
 war.
 Hunting.

Hæc dum aguntur, noctu, crebra consilia, de bello gerendo cogit . et quid facto
 opus sit, statuit. Venatu interdium sese oblectat: spectacula præbet; diuitias osten-
 3 tat; atque his studijs, maximas | curas, quodam quasi condimento, *miscet, ac

Amusements
 Sorcerers.
 Astrologers.

temperat,⁹ et *nisi in consilium, ueneficos,¹⁰ et diuinatores adhibuisset, qui auguria,
 et stellarum prænuntia, captarent, quorum nutu subsisteret, aut iter arriperet: cætera
 fortasse, laudandus prudentiæ nomine, quod circumspicte, ubi ad fines hostilis
 4 regni peruenit, agere: et cum longe inferiore, decertaturus, | omnia prospicere institu-
 erit. Quod magis mirandum, est, atque suspiciendum, in imperatore, quamplurimis
 uictorijs insolente.

On the alert.

Verum non ignorabat, esse incertos exitus pugnarum, martemque communem .
 atque licet, numero superaret hostis aciem, uirtute, illam esse præstantiorem. Præ-

F. 70a. 1
 A. hesitates
 pursuing
 M. Hakim.

terea, cum secum || ipse cogitaret, esse sibi, cum fratre, quem alioqui diligeret, prodi-
 torum, et perfugarum mendacijs decepto, decertandum; a pugna deterrebat. Ac
 cum illum, sese in fugam dedisse, accepisset: Sacerdoti renuntiauit. “Mirsachi-
 mus,” ait, “fugit. Num fugientem insequar?” Cui Sacerdos, “Præstat sane

Monserate's
 advice.

“sistere, nec sequi fugientem: quandoquidem, celsitudinis tuæ, frater est. Quæ |
 2 “necessitudo, est satis, ut animum tuum, iure quidem offensum, emolliat, et ab eo
 “persequendo, atque delendo, reuocet. Nam præstantior est laus clementiæ, quam
 “*ultionis¹¹. quæ sine multorum insontum exitio, et damno, *parari¹² non potest.”—
 “Optime,” inquit, et ad suos, “Videte,” ait, “quam sint Sacerdotes hi, ad pacem,
 “et lenitatem proni: in ea enim, hic est sententia, ut fugienti parcamus.”

Firmness
 and lenity.

3 Verum | ne sua, abusus frater, patientia: impunis iterum bellum moueret, sic
 cum eo dimicare constituit, ut et frater, se multo inferiorem cognosceret, et ipse erga
 uictum, atque fugatum, omnia pietatis, ac clementiæ officia præstaret.

Bridge Im-
 possible.

Atque ubi magnam *lintrium¹⁴ uim, comparauit: *quibus exercitus¹⁵ traijceret:
 nam pontem extruere, amnis non sinebat, qui quotidie niuibus, ob magnos calores,

Liber 2.13

1 The names of the rivers and entire passages have been underlined by the anonymous annotator on f. 69a.

2 1st: nauigia.

3 1st: ad nauiculas, et pontem construendum quo commode, castra traduceret.

4 Latter addition.

5 1st: Delazacquij.

6 1st: ut.

7 1st: et breuissimo dierum interuallo. plures quadraginta, mioparones excitauit.

8 1st: Delazacquorum.

9 1st: commiscet, et temperat.

10 1st: in consilium, nisi ueneficos.

11 1st: uindictæ.

12 1st: capi.

13 Later addition; cancelled.

14 1st: nauicularum.

15 1st: qua acies.

4 liquescentibus | augebatur . filium quem Sacerdos instituebat, primæ aciei imperato-
 rem, quod a coniectoris, et diuinis, magnam inditam esse, ab astris, fortunam
 puero respondissent: * (nugæ)¹ designauit. Cui adiunxit, Calichumcanum, Sura-
 tensem præfectum, senem, *virum fortem¹ et experientem, cum legione Mongo-
 lorum, ac Nourancanum, *(cuius pater principis erat nutritius)². || Champanelij, in
 Gedrosia, præfectum, cum quattuor millibus equitum Xacattæorum, et Mancinum
 regulum, virum strenuum, genere Indum, simulachrorum tamen cultorem, cum ipsius
 legione; et alios auxilios duces, cum ipsorum copijs, minoribus sane, uerum quæ
 mille equitibus saltem,* essent instructæ.³ Equitatu quingentos elephantes adiecit .
 obseruataque hora, nimia superstitione, | qua proficisceretur, ad ostium usque aulæ,
 filium deduxit: eumque amplexatus, posteaquam more Agarenico, bene precatum illi
 est, cum * procerum⁴ comitatu, dimisit; qui eum,* lembum usque,⁵ prosequuti sunt.
 Conscendit ille, et ultra flumen Indum uectus, cum suis copijs, postridie D. Joannis
 Baptistæ, anni octuagesimi primi, iter instituit.

3 Posteaquam Rex, | filium præmisit, cum ijs copijs: ipse suam aciem instruere,
 et præsidia constituere, aggressus est. Hic enim est, bellandi Mongolorum mos, ut
 nunquam, totis copijs dimicent. Si cum sex millibus prouocent, habent in insidijs,
 et latebris, millia uiginti: quorum a tergo, aliquot etiam millia latent, ut ad auxilia
 ferenda, si * priores⁶ cunei laborent, sint parati, | vel si fundantur, fugientes excipiant,
 sequentium impetum retardent, nouo, atque integro milite, bellum instaurent, et
 fessos hostes, terga uertere cogant, qua arte dicto citius, uicti uictoriam reportant.

Mirsachimus, ubi per exploratores intellexit, principem *exercitum¹ traduxisse,
 et cum || magnis copijs ad se uenire: consilium cepit, de impetranda uenia, et fœdere,
 cum fratre feriendo, nulla proposita conditione: tantum, ut bello, et seditionibus,
 incendijsque abstineret . qua de caussa, fœciales cum muneribus misit: qui pacem
 componerent. Dona uero fuere, equi, et mulæ, quibus est, ea regio abundans, non
 nihil etiam pecuniarum, ac rerum, ad com meatum: | ut officij, ac beneuolentiæ suæ,
 erga regem, indicio essent. Quæ senes duo, prolixis barbibus attulerunt. Hos rex,
 magna cum grauitate, et autoritate admisit: procerum magno comitatu circum-
 septus. Ipse a reliquo satellitio, cum solo filio, natu maximo, et aliquot pueris, ex
 prima nobilitate, seiunctus cum telo stabat. Dum legationem audit, gladiatores ense,
 et * clypeo⁷ dimicant, | bubali ad luctam, ex sponsione producuntur, quasi non in cas-
 tris pugnaturus, sed in circo ageret, ut se oblectaret: quo legatis, quanti fratris poten-
 tiam faceret; et suæ curiæ, atque exercitus præstantia, quanta esset, ostenderet.
 Jussit uero, ut Abdulfasilius, quem ad secreta consilia, adhibebat, litteras perlegeret:
 quas sibi gratas esse significauit. At uero legatos, quam citissime | remisit.

Certior uero fiebat quotidie, omnium quæ apud Paharidem filium, agebantur.
 Nec castra mouere, antea constituit, quam intelligeret, filium, proxime ad fratris
 castra peruenisse. Qui cum Rege erant, tantæ moræ tædio, non mediocriter afficie-
 bantur, *atque⁸ ut eum cogere castra mutare, || (ut fama tulit) syluam, quæ ligna, ad
 ignem, exercitui ministrabat, incenderunt. Suspicati tamen plerique sunt . a factiosis,

1 Later addition.

2 Ist: principis nutritij filium.

3 Ist: fultæ essent.

4 Ist: magnatum

5 Ist: ad mioparonem usque.

6 Ist: anteriores.

7 Ist: umbella.

8 Ist: qui.

qui Mirsachimo fauebant, fuisse incensam. Cuius incendio, adeo Rex commotus est, ut extremum supplicium, incendij authoribus, si deprehenderentur, fuerit comminatus. Verum cum forte, ac temere, a pastoribus, fuisse incensam, hi, | qui regis iracundiam mitigare nitebantur: illi persuasissent: *Rex ut inuestigare hoc scelus quæsitores cessarent imperauit.¹

June 29,
1581.
Studying an
Atlas.

Biduo, posteaquam filium dimisit, noctu Sacerdotem, ad se acciri iussit: ut aliqua, ex eo quæreret, tum prophana, tum sacra. Ac primum quidem, Geographiæ librum proposuit . et ubinam terrarum, Lusitania esset; deinde, quam regionem ipse teneret, interrogauit . | miratus, quî nomina earum regionum, et urbium * sciremus.²

Why are
Priests celli-
bate?
Monserate's
discourse.

Deinde quæsiuit, cur cœlibatum Sacerdos coleret . quasi Dei præceptum esset, omnes viros, uxores habere: videbatur enim matrimonium damnare, vel sibi ipsi adversari: cum diceret cœlibatum esse bonum, ac matrimonium item bonum. Cui Sacerdos,

4 “ Ignoratne celsitudo tua, ex duabus rebus bonis, contingere unam, | esse altera
“ meliorem? Veluti, argentum bonum est, verum melius est aurum . auro scientia,
“ omnibus uirtus. Luna quidem pulchra est: sed sol pulchrior, atque præstantior.”

Consensit. Adiunxit Sacerdos, “ Igitur, ut meliora sequantur Sacerdotes; ut Christum

F. 72a. 1

“ imitentur, ut denique curis, uxoris, || filiorum, et familiæ uacui, melius rebus diuinis,
“ operam suam * studiisque consumant,³ cœlibes, et sine uxoribus uiuunt . atque adeo
“ absque omni libidine . quoniam Dei præcepto sexto, omni luxuria Christianis, imo
“ et hominibus omnibus, interdicitur.” Obiecit Rex: “ Nonne asseritis, Christum
“ esse Deum? Num ei esse uultis temere, atque arroganter similes?” Cui Sacerdos,

2 “ Christum | quidem, Deum esse credimus, et profitemur . verum simul etiam homi-
“ nem. Qui qua homo est, ut esset nobis exemplo castitatem coluit, non solum,
“ uerum etiam, in Euangelio, sæpissime commendauit. Atque ut arrogantis, et
“ superbi esset animi, similem esse uelle Christo, qua Deus est: quod etiam fieri non

3 “ posset: essetque extremæ dementiæ, atque socordiæ . sic | eum, per ea uirtutum
“ uestigia, quibus ipse institit sequi, animi est pij, ac religiosi. Nam ex multis, quæ
“ eum adduxit caussis, ut homo fieret, una est: uoluisse, ut quando in mundi crea-
“ tione, et gubernatione, et alijs quæ solius Dei sunt, eum imitari nequiremus; in ijs
“ illum imitemur, quæ ut uerus homo, ipse exercuit . cuiusmodi sunt demissio, ab-

4 “ iectio, | castitas, paupertas, obedientia, et aliæ uirtutes, his vicina, et proxima.
“ Neque uero pictor, aut statuarius, qui quam potest accurate, et diligenter, dum

F. 72b. 1

“ statuam depingit, aut sculpit naturam imitari contendit: dicendus esset, || uelle
“ sibi, uim, atque uirtutem naturæ uindicare. Compertum uero est, etiamsi, summa
“ ope omnes nitamur, eum in ijs uirtutibus, quæ in hominem cadere possunt, imitari:
“ multis spatijs, ab eo retro relinqui. Quapropter, imitandi studium, præmio afficit
“ Christus, tantum abest, ut arrogantia, aut superbiæ, temeritatique attribuat.”

2 Adiecit his Rex, “ In te,” inquit, | “ ab Adamo, deducta generationis series, perit.”
Tum Sacerdos, “ Quid si, octo annorum puer, decessissem? Vel eo ipso tempore
“ (ut sæpissime, quam plurimis euenit) quo domum uxorem ducerem, interissem?
“ Aut si uxor fuisset sterilis? Aut ipsemet, ut sunt quam plurimi? Quid si eu-

3 “ nuchus natus, aut factus fuisset, quales domi tuæ sunt quam plurimi? | Deinde, ne

¹ 1st: ab inuestigatione, eius sceleris Rex cessari imperauit.

² 1st: tencremus.

³ 1st: impendant.

- “matrimonium præcipi, celsitudo tua, falso sibi persuadeat. Sub lege naturæ, ut
 “propagaretur genus hominum, sub Moysi lege, ut se latius funderet religio, et ueri
 “Dei cultus, apud Judæorum gentem, coniugium, Deo conniunte, magni fiebat.
 “At uero, sub lege Euangelica, cui reliquæ leges cedunt, tanquam umbra corpori,
 4 “aucto satis humano genere, Christus de coniugio ita | statuit: ut cuiquam sit
 “integrum, quod malit, amplecti: et quâ velit, insistere.” Occurrit uero Rex
 (perperam quidem), “Si præceperit Deus cuiquam, *ut trans annem eat,¹ is si
 “negligat peccat.”—“Vera,” inquit Sacerdos, “narras, o Rex. Verum paulo ante,
 F. 73a. 1 “asserui, matrimonium || præceptum non esse. Neque tamen, in animum inducas
 “tuum, cœlibes, etsi a mulieribus abstineant, prole carere. Est enim, animorum
 “quædam generatio, ut quos, ad fidem, et Christianas virtutes instituant, quodam-
 “modo eorum filij dicantur; quos uero sacro flumine tingant, quorum audiant con-
 “fessiones, spiritu, non minus, filij sunt, quam si, corporea generatione, procreati |
 2 “essent. * Liceat .n. dicere per te, o Rex, si me Rodolfumque audieris, si nostris dic-
 “tis fidem habueris, si ab illo sacro flumine perfundaris, illius eris filius, animo,
 “magis quidem, et uerius, quam Emaúmi Regis, patris tui. Nam qui natura solum
 “parentes sunt, corpus tantum generant, at qui te perfuderit, animo generauerit.²
 3 “Enimuero, contingere quidem posse, ut præcepti | ui, ad matrimonium quis adiga
 “tur.” Quæsiuit . “Quisnam?” Tum Sacerdos . “Rex quispiam, ut hærede,
 “paci, et tranquillitati Reipub. consulat. Eamque ob causam, Henriqus Lusitaniæ .
 “Rex, cum esset sacerdos, a uiris doctis, ad coniugium, facta sibi, a Summo Ponti-
 “fice, qui interpret harum rerum, et magnus arbiter, ac moderator a Christo, Opt.
 4 “Max. cuius personam gerit, | constitutus est: facultate adigebatur. Virtamen senex
 “et decrepitus, ac castitatis colentissimus, cœlebs, ut semper fuerat, tabe, ac senio
 “confectus, atque a matrimonio liber, quod exoptabat, interiit.” Cuius exemplum,
 ideo proposuit, quod illum Zelaldinus, sanctitatis opinione . veluti Sebastianum,
 fortitudinis, animique constantiæ . dignitate suspicaret, et commendaret.
- F. 73b. 1 Cœlibatus, || itaque ac matrimonij quæstione, in hunc modum absoluta, ut
 nihil Regi occurreret, quo Sacerdotis sententiæ resisteret: de extremo iudicio, et an
 Christus, facturus esset hoc iudicium, ac quando fieri oporteret, diligentissime
 The last Judgment. interrogauit. Vbi de cæteris Sacerdos disseruit: “Tempus,” inquit, “quo futurum
 When? “est hoc, solius Dei scientia nouit . qui sua *inexplicabili³ sapientia, | nobis uoluit
 2 “esse occultum. Nec ipse Christus uoluit, discipulis, palam facere . ne, uel temporis
 “longinquitate, desides, neu propinquitate, mæsti, tristesque redderemur: sed ita
 “nos compararemus, ut ijs, quæ conceduntur, bono animo uteremur . a vitijs, et ijs
 “quæ uetantur, incertæ diei formidine, retardaremur . nihilo tamen secius, præces-
 3 “sura esse signa, quibus, eam diem | proximam esse, coniectura non inani, homines
 Its signs. “ducantur.” Quæsiuit . “Quæ?” Ait: “Inter præcipua, commemorauit Chris-
 “tus: bella, et seditiones . regnorum, et nationum dissidia . quibus gens gentem,

¹ Ist: ut annem trajciat.

² Cancelled in MS. The text was first: Liceat .n. dicere per te, o Rex, si me audieris, si meis dictis fidem habueris si a me sacro flumine tingaris, si tinctus, peccata quæ postea admiseris, confitearis, mihi eris filius, animo, magis quidem et uerius, quam Emaúmi Regis, patris tui. Ille enim corpus tantum genuit, at qui te perfuderit, animo generauerit.

³ Ist: ineffabili.

“regnum regna, inuadet, uastabit, occupabit; ut nostra memoria, *fieri¹ frequentissime
“videmus.”

Hæc Rex attentissime audiuit. Tum deinde, de Euangelio quædam, tenuiter,
4 et nugatorie, | fidei exsors, quæsiuit. Ac pedetentim, eo deuenit oratio, ut de
Mahammede, et librorum discrimine, interrogaret. Scripsit hic nequissimus im-
postor, in Euangelio, sui mentionem fieri, et *ipsum venturum¹ promitti . uoluitque
Muhammad, the Paraclete.
F. 74a. 1 impijssimus nebulo, et nequissimus blatero persuadere, se sub Sancti Spiritus nomine
a Christo fuisse significatum. Nec ueritus est, sibi Mustafaa, || hoc est, paracleti,
atque aduocati nomen attribuere: asserens hominum qui crederent, sibi scilicet a Deo,
traditum esse patrocinium. Quo fit, ut Agareni, persuasum habeant, Mahammedis,
in Euangelio, mentionem fieri. Quod cum Christiani negant . ipsi Christianos,
scripturam Euangelij, corrupisse existimant . et id Christianis obijciunt. Ac cum
2 Græcarum litterarum, sint omnino ignari, sub | nomine pharaglitaa, quod a paraclete,
corrupte distorserunt: (*opera transfugarum et fidei desertorum e Græcia, uel fortas-
sis iam inde a Sergio monacho Constantinopolitano, Nestorij sectatore, qui Græcas
litteras callebat et Mahammedi se adiunxit Alcoranique consarcinandi adiutor atque
adeo author fuit)² Mahammedem, in Euangelio, promissum fuisse dicunt. Quorum
persuasioni fauet, corrupti nominis, etymologia, et conficta origo, nam pharag . *i. e.*,
*phare,³ Hebræis, Arabibus, et Persis discrimen, aut distinctionem, sectionemue
sonat, litaa quidem, cum nihil significet, nec Arabicè, nec Persice, somniant Persarum
3 magistri, | uim habere participij, quod significet . faciens . ut discrimen faciens,
nebulo ille dicatur. Quæ interpretatio, propterea, Agarenis plurimum arridet, quod
Alfurcan, libri nomen, a pharag, originem habeat . et in capite Albacaraa (id est cap[ut]
uaccæ) discriminatorem esse librum suum, Mahammedes scripsit. Atque ut suo
4 eos jugulemus gladio . si confictæ uocis significatione, | uti liceat, apte quidem
Mahammedem, pharaglitam, discrimen uidelicet afferentem, dicemus . cum a Christo
diuersa doceat, a quo se missum falso, et impudenter iactat. Verum, *contra eos,
non esse ipse Spiritus Sanctus Euangelica ipsa autoritate efficitur, quam illi in nos
detorquent.⁴ Nam de Spiritu Sancto, hæc Christus prænuntiauit, “Paracletus autem
F. 74b. 1 Spiritus || Sanctus, quem mittet Pater, in nomine meo, ille uos docebit omnia, et
suggeret uobis omnia, quæcumque dixerò uobis.” Atque iterum . “Cum autem
uenerit Paracletus, quem ego mittam uobis, a Patre, Spiritum ueritatis, qui a Patre
procedit, ille testimonium perhibebit de me.” Rursus . “Cum autem uenerit
Spiritus ueritatis, docebit uos omnem ueritatem. Non enim loquetur a semetipso,
2 sed quæcumque audiet | loquetur: et quæ uentura sunt, annuntiabit uobis. Ille me
clarificabit, quia de meo accipiet, et annuntiabit uobis.” Quam uero non diuersa tan-
tum, atque contraria *(ut de cæteris conticescam),³ uerum etiam δις διὰ πατρῶν (ut aiunt)
pugnantia hic malorum Dæmonum interpres, ab optimo hominum Satore, atque
Vindice Christo afferat: uel cæco, ab ipsa etiam natiuitate, apertum exploratumque
3 est. Ob quam caussam, | Rex a Sacerdote quæsiuit . num Christus, in Euangelio de
Mahammede loqueretur? ac quoddam eius nomen, num reperiretur? Respondit
Muhammad not named in the Gospei.

¹ In MS.: ipse uenturus.

² Later addition.

³ Perhaps to be read: phara. Later addition.

⁴ 1st: Verum, uel eo maxime, non esse ipse Spiritus Sanctus deprehenditur.

- Sacerdos, peculiarem Mahammedis mentionem, non fieri, in Euangelio a Christo multorum uero falsorum uatum, qui essent futuri, fieri: sed communi nomine nec eius nomen proprium reperiri. Quæsiuit, num Mahammedes ille esset, qui uenturus | in ipso orbis interitu, omnibus est aduersaturus? (quem Agareni Dijal nominant). *Dijal Anti-Christus.*²
- Respondit Sacerdos, “Minime. At uero, quoniam Ismaelitici generis est, et Euangelio, et Legi contradicit, et bellum aduersus omnes gentes, qui ipsius dogma non admiserint, suscepit · doctores plurimi, e nostris, de Mahammede illa uerba interpretantur. ‘Manus eius contra omnes, et manus omnium || contra eum, et e regione, uniuersorum fratrum suorum, figet tabernacula.’” — “Quibus,” ait, “in rebus, Legi, et Euangelio contradicit?” — “A primo ingressu libri, ad calcem usque: præter paucas sententias, quas repetit, ut sibi sanctitatis opinionem, conciliet; quot uerba scripsit, cum Euangelio, & Moyse pugnant. Lex uero, & Euangelium, nihil omnino, cum Mahammede consentiunt.” — “Quid igitur,” ait, “*Diæresim, *i.e.*, Alfurcanum¹ | esse existimatis?” Ac subridenti, cunctantique Sacerdoti occurrit, “Dic, dic tuam, tuorumque de *Synthemate, *i.e.*,² Alcorano sententiam.” Tum Sacerdos, “Mahammedes profecto ait, Deum sibi, illum librum tradidisse · at nos, uerum esse inficiamur. Nam Deus, quod in uno ait, in alio non solet negare · aut sibi repugnare, contrariusue esse. Lex (inquit) et Euangelium, libri Dei, idem dicunt · Alcoranum, | diuersa ab istis, et longissime disiuncta. Quapropter, necesse est dicere, aut Legem, Psalmos, et Euangelium, non esse libros sacros, ut Alcoranus, in sacris numeretur: aut Alcoranum, prophanum esse librum, fictum, et commentitium, ut tres illos sacros esse statuamus.” Rex responsionem attente accepit, et conticuit. At Abdulfasilius occurrit: “Lex, et Euangelium, diuersi | libri sunt?” Tum Sacerdos: “Sunt quidem, diuersi libri, et diuersis temporibus scripti; sed diuersa inuicem, et pugnantia non continent. At Alfurcanum, et illis, et sibi ipsi, contraria pleraque continet. Ac disciplina profecto, sacrorum omnium librorum, eadem est. Et Legem, Deus per Moysen, Israëliticæ genti, qua, ad aduentum usque Christi, ducerentur, misit · cuius aduentu finem accepit.” —
- “Quare,” inquit, “si eandem continet disciplinam: || *prior³ liber, finem habuit, et secundus receptus est?” Cui Sacerdos: “Hominum captui, Deus Opt. Max. quasi omnium hominum · pater, sese accommodat. Quemadmodum enim pater, aliud nutrimentum infanti, aliud puero, aliud adolescenti filio tribuit · et alijs studijs, in pueritia, alijs in adolescentia instituit · sic Deus Judæis, tanquam pueris, | quos a gentilitijs Ægyptiorum superstitionibus, et corruptis moribus, ad suum cultum pertrahere uolebat: ita cibum *diuisit et modificauit,⁴ ut esset illis utilis. Quo factum est, ut multis ceremonijs implicitos, quadam quasi lenocinio sacrificiorum, quibus erant assueti, eo traxerit, ut cum Ægyptij, Dæmonijs, ipsi Deo Opt. Max. litarent. At jam firmiore hominum | ætate, non Judæis solum, sed omnibus hominibus, solidum cibum, in Euangelio *coxit et² condiuit: quo ceremonijs, quæ sunt tanquam cortex, et umbra uirtutum, relictis, Deo uniuersus hominum cœtus deseruiret. Et Legem quidem, atque Euangelium, animabus

¹ 1st: Alcoranum.

² Later addition.

³ 1st: primus.

⁴ 1st: temperauit.

- “hominum, præbere nutrimentum, manifestum est. Legem quidem, infantis, Euan-
 gelium, firmæ ætatis. tantumque in condiendi, & coquendi modo, discrimen
 Abu-l Fazl's “habere.” — “At,” inquit Abdulfasilus, “Alcoranum nutrimentum etiam præstat.” *Assumit quod est in
 assumption. controversia.*²
- 4 — “Minime uero,” ait, sed *uenenum.¹ Nam | quæ ab Euangelio, et Lege, adeo
 “disiuncta disciplina est, non plus, emolumenti animis afferet, quam corporibus
 “uenenum.” Veniam uero Sacerdoti petenti, ne qui aderant Agareni, Regi
 succenserent, si quid liberius, *illo conniunte,² in Mahammedem dixisset: ||
 F. 76a. 1 accensus Rex, “Per Deum,” inquit, “non is ego sum, qui his rebus offender.
 “Tantummodo uerum inuestigo, et per *Rhohalcuduz³. (Spiritus Sanctum
 “induxit) te obtestor, ut ueritatem explices, nihil ueritus, Mahammeddi conuitia
 “dicere.” Et cum ad uocem *Rhohalcuduz,³ Sacerdos caput inclinasset: ijs qui
 2 aderant Rex dixit, “Jesus Christus est.” Ac dissimulauit | Sacerdos, quid esset
 A. confounds discriminis, inter Jesum Christum, et Spiritum Sanctum quoad personas docere, eo
 Christ with the H. Ghost. quod iam multa nocte, locus, et tempus, tantæ disputationi deerat. et subiecit. se
 quidem quæ crederet, et sciret, bona fide explicasse. Et surgente Rege, ut iret
 cubitum, huic disputationi, finis est impositus.
- 3 Cum itaque Mirsachimus, se bello peti, eoque graui cerneret, optabat | certamen
 Faridūn declinare, pacemque, antea componi, quam manus cum fratre consereret. et
 Khān, M. cedendi inijt consilium. Quod quidem fecisset, nisi Faridumcanus, vir magnæ apud
 Hakīm's evil genius. eum existimationis, et bellica uirtute, consilioque clarus, ob ueteres inimicitias, quas
 cum Zelaldino, quem improbe deseruerat, gerebat. magno studio, atque conatu
 4 obstitisset. Qui ut sibi prospiceret, | timebat enim, in manus Zelaldini incidere,
 miserum Mirsachimum pessumdedit, atque ad exitium adduxit. Dicebat enim,
 Zelaldini copias, fuscorum quorundam, et gregariorum paucorum Indorum, eorumque
 F. 76b. 1 exlegum, et simulachrorum, cultorum, || multitudine constare; sibi caussam fauere,
 delecto equite, instructum esse. denique non formidare, aut *defugere⁴ debere, cer-
 tamen.
- The embassy Quod cum Zelaldinus, ab exploratoribus, et filij nuntijs, qui frequentissimi ex
 dismissed. Paharidis castris, uentitabant: Mirsachimum aciem, ut resisteret instruere, contra
 2 quam, forte significauerat per fæciales; cognouisset: ut omni euentui, præsto | esset, *[telia es.]*
 A.'s sister. anteaquam annem transiret, legatos fratris, et sororis a se dimisit. et sororis legato,
 aureæ pecuniæ, non parum dono dedit. legatos Mirsachimi, uilibus uestibus, donauit.
- Omens. Quos ubi dimisit. *trans annem ire,⁵ bis est aggressus, sed inani ueneficorum,
 et augurum superstitione, prohibitus, *pedem retulit.⁶ Auspicijs tandem permissus,
 3 *traiecit. ⁷ | et in ora Coæ, duobus fere passuum millibus, ab eo loco, ubi cum Indo
 A. encamps commiscetur, castra poni iussit. Et usque adeo Regi, Christianus Sacerdos, cordi
 beyond the Indus. erat: ut in tantis negotijs, illius minime obliuisceretur. sed duci cuidam, curam
 eius traducendi demandaret. Fuit enim, adeo difficilis Indi traiectio, ob nauicu-
 4 larum paucitatem, ut reguli ipsi, atque proceres, | magna cum difficultate trajicerent.
- Countries west of the Indus. Nomen huius regionis a Regia urbe (ut mos est his gentibus) Chabulum est.
 Quæ tribus interstitijs distinguitur. alterum est cis Coam, alterum ultra Coam infra

¹ 1st: aconitum.² Later addition.³ 1st: Rhohalcudz.⁴ 1st: detrectare.⁵ 1st: annem trajicere.⁶ 1st: pedem reduxit.⁷ 1st: fluuium traiecit.

- Suasti et Coæ commistionem, tertium est interamnis, inter Coam et Suastum.¹ ||
- F. 77a. 1** Atque ille tractus, qui cis Coam, ad solis occasum iacet, pars est eius regionis, quæ ab antiquis, Paropanisas dicebatur · a iunioribus postea, Indoscythia, dicta est. Transcoanam uero regionem, infra commistionem, *quæ ad solis ortum Indo Suastoque interiacet, Gándāram² antiqui nominabant · supra commistionem, et ultra Suastum, ad septemtriones, Suastenem · at uero, interamnem Coæ, et Suasti, |
- 2** Goricanī. Eam Patanæi, nostra ætate colunt, quibus Xacattæi, siue Mongoli *imperant.³ Priscorum uero nominum, regionum, urbium, oppidorumque, ne uestigium quidem extat. At uero Patanæi, origine, quidem Gándaræ, ac Suasteni sunt · qui suis finibus egressi, magnam Indiæ partem, pulsīs Christianis occuparunt.
- 3** Eorum enim patria, Indo, atque Suasto seu, Coæ fluuijs interiacet, | campestris quidem regio, ut Indiæ uicina, eadem fere cœli, atque aëris temperatione est.
- Troops still crossing.** At uero Rex, tamdiu in eadem statione constitit, quoad omnes copiæ, fluuium *transirent.⁴ Ac ne otio desidēret, fabrilibus operibus, partim, disputationibus partim, tempus terebat. Et cum eius doctores, de libris diuinis, disceptarent, sacrarum
- 4** litterarum, uolumina | adduci, et Sacerdotem uocari iussit. A quo cum didicisset, **A new discussion.** quid unumquodque uolumen contineret : nactus Sacerdos loquendi opportunitatem, Regem sic est alloquutus. “ Diebus præteritis, celsitudini tuæ, quidam ex “ doctoribus asseruerunt : ut Agareni dicere solent, Tórah librum Judæorum, Euan- “ gelium Christianorum, Alfurcanum Musulumanorum, *Zabur · *i.e.*,⁵ Psalterium uero
- F. 77b. 1** “ esse || Georgianorum · (hi uulgo Gorgi appellantur, et Hircani sunt, ad ocasumque “ Maris Caspij, montium iuga, Persis infesti tenent) librum *esse.⁶ Quod perperam et “ ignoranter dictum est. Georgiani etenim, Christiani sunt. At Christiani *omnes⁵ “ Legem, Psalmos, et Euangelia recipiunt, *quibus tanquam a Deo editis parem fidem “ atque auctoritatem adiungunt, ac cum indiuiduam Trinitatem, Patrem, Filium, et “ Spiritum Sanctum unum Deum auguste sancteque uenerentur et colant, solum “ Jesum Christum Dei Filium ex Maria Virgine hominem factum Euangelicæ latorem
- 2** “ legis suspiciunt, | cui latores legum cæteri, etsi a Deo legati, Moyses, inquam, et “ Daudid ac prophetæ reliqui cedant et fasces, ut dici solet, submittant.⁷ *Quapropter “ Georgiani, qui Christianis annumerantur, præter Christum latorem legis neminem, “ non Daudidem, non Moysen, ut nec reliqui Christiani agnoscunt.⁸ Deinde, quod
- 3** “ hic affirmat, | pace quod eius dixerim, Armenos diffiteri, Christum Dei filium “ esse, toto cœlo errat · uulgi errore deceptus, qui omnes Asiæ Christianos, Armenos “ uocat, cum plerique sint Græci, Chaldæi, Syri, et pauci Nestoriani, sicuti Lusitanos, “ Hispanos, Italos, Germanos nuncupat, Francos. Qui quidem Nestoriani, cum
- 4** “ nomine tantum, sint Christiani, cum Agarenis consentiunt, ac Christum, | Dei

¹ Most of the proper names and whole passages of this page have been underlined in pencil by the anonymous annotator.

² *ist* : ad solis ortum, Gándāram ³ *ist* : imperitant. ⁴ *ist* : superarent. ⁵ Later addition. ⁶ Redundant.

⁷ This passage has two earlier variants, of which only the older can be deciphered : soliusque Christi, tanquam legislatoris et iudicis nomen, et Dei Patris et Spiritus Sancti inuocant · quod Moysis, et Daudidis nomini, tantum præferunt quantum domini nomen, seruorum nomini, æquum est anteferre. Christus enim, qui Euangelium condidit, fidei lux et splendor cum sit, legis, psalmorum, et prophetarum perfectio est.

⁸ *ist* : Quapropter Georgiani, qui Christianis annumerantur, Christum, non Daudidem, aut Moyseu, ut reliqui Christiani, appellant, et inuocant.

F. 78a. 1 " Filium esse diffitentur. Quos Armeni, Græci, Ægyptij, Syri, Chaldæi, Latini,
 " Christiani denique omnes, repellunt non minus, quam Judæos, et Agarenos. Hoc
 " enim Christianis, et Agarenis, Judæis, Nestorianisque interest: quod Christiani,
 " uno consensu, Christum, Dei Filium esse, constantissime asseuerant . at Agareni,
 " Judæi, Nestoriani, perfricta fronte pari consensu negant. || Hæc ideo dixerim, o
 " Rex, ne celsitudini tuæ, falsum subrepat, dissidium, in ea re, aut controuersiam
 " inter Christianos esse. Cum enim Christianorum religio . sacrorum librorum
 " autoritate nitatur, idque illi, plerisque in locis edoceant, nulla potest, huius
 " ueritatis dubitatio, uerorum Christianorum, cordibus obrepere. Nec tamen admiror,
 2 " nostrarum rerum ignarum, facile | decipi . verum cum prudentia hic præditus sit :
 " non possum non, huius incuriam, accusare . qui cum a me possit, rerum quæ
 " ad nos spectant, ueritatem cognoscere: malit incerta, coram celsitudine tua,
 " affirmare."

Explaining
 pictures.

Tum *Sacerdos ¹ iussu regis, libros euoluens, et ex signis, ansam capiens, quid
 sibi uellet, fœderis arca, quid, in ea seruaretur, quid aureum candelabrum, quid

3 aurea | panum mensa, rudi minerua, pro captu audientium explicauit. Quoniam

Images in the
 Old Law.

uero Agareni, sacrarum imaginum cultum, detestantur . de propitiatorij, et Delubri
 angelorum simulachris, fusius disseruit . ut ostenderet, falsorum deorum simulachra
 fieri, Deum tantummodo, prohibuisse, eisque cultum, et uenerationem adhiberi :

4 at sanctorum, fieri statuas, et | signa minime. Nam ille ipse, qui præcepit . " Non
 facies tibi sculptile" . angelorum figuras, pingi et sculpi, in suo tabernaculo, et templo
 imperauit. Qui quidem, cum Deus sit, et non mutetur, nec etiam sit obliuiosus;
 impium erit credere, sibi ipsi aduersari, contrariumue esse. Quare religiosi viri,

F. 78b. 1

loca Scripturæ, || quæ mutuo pugnare uidentur . diuino afflato numine, germana
 adhibita interpretatione, conciliant. Qui sculptilis, et simulachri nomine, dæmonum,
 et inanium deorum figuras tantum intelligi, interpretantur . quas coli pro Deo, mundi
 opifex Deus, utriusque legis, præcepto cauit. Quare falso, simulachrorum culturæ,

2 Christianos insimulari : qui Dei, et Diuorum imagines depingunt, | sculpunt, uene-
 rantur. Disputatum est præterea, de Nôæ arca, quam Christi Seruatoris typum
 fuisse, apertissime ostendit. Quibus quidem rebus, non parum Rex affici uidebatur,

The Ark of
 Noah.

A. kisses a
 picture of
 Christ.

easque attente, sane accipiebat: uerum se alijs rebus, animum quandoque aduertere,
 simulabat: ne suis, ad fidem Christianam, flecti uideretur. At Christi effigiem, |

3 *coram omnibus uenerari et osculari nihil est ueritus. ²

Murād and
 Naurang
 Khān in
 danger.

Chabuli interea, parum fauste pugnatum est, cum enim primam aciem, quattuor
 millium equitum, quam Nourancanus, *Cutubdicani filius, ductabat, ³ Mirsachimus,
 cum iusto exercitu, quindecim millium equitum Mongolorum, adortus esset: et
 Mancini phalanx, quæ suppetias erat latura, cessasset: Nourancanus uero, * Mancinum
 4 ut sibi | quam citissime, suppetias iret, rogare cogeretur; ⁴ in acie Paharidis, trepi-
 datum esse fertur . et paucos terga uertere instituisse. Quod ubi princeps intellexit,

F. 79a. 1

ex equo desiliens, correpta hasta, se ne latum quidem unguem, || etsi a totis hostium

¹ Later addition.

² 1st: nihil ueritus est. coram omnibus exosculari.

³ 1st: ductabat, Cutubdi filius.

⁴ 1st: ut sibi Mancinus, quam citissime, suppetias iret, ipsum rogare cogeretur.

**Murād's
bravery.** copijs, solus peteretur, et telis conficeretur, ab eo loco pedem relaturum. Quod si superstes, ex eo periculo esset, optime in memoria habiturum, qui se deseruissent. Hâc pueri constantiâ (erat enim natus annos tantum duodecim) et obiurgatione, uerecundia, et rubore suffusi constiterunt. At uero Mancinus, cum maturasset, et laboranti, peneque cedenti, auxilium peropportunè tulisset, et | elephantum cunei aduentarent, quorum aspectu, equi *non assueti,¹ exterreri, ac perturbari solent; tum etiam princeps, suam aciem, in aperto campo collocasset. Mirsachimus cum Faridumcano expostulat, quod se decepisset. (affirmauerat enim* exiguas² esse fratris copias.) maleque, et negligenter excubias | egisset, quandoquidem, se inscio, tantus exercitus *in suum esset regnum inductus.³ Et receptui cani, ante iussit, quam Mancini acies adueniret. atque in hunc modum, diremptum est praelium.

**Mān Singh
to the rescue.** 2

**M. Hakīm
falls out with
Faridūn
Khān and
retreats.** 3

**Murād
awaits or-
ders.** 4

**The Moghuls
in battle
array.** 1

F 79b. 1

Paharis uero, more maiorum, castra sua, et acies instruxit, et eodem loco, tamdiu constitit: quoad patris imperium, quid facto sibi opus esset, acciperet. Mos uero, aciei instruendæ, | apud eam gentem, hic est. ut equitum turmæ, in modum lunæ, in tres cuneos distribuantur. medium scilicet, *dextri cornu atque sinistri.⁴ Pedites his* cuneis⁵ succedunt, tertio loco, elephantibus collocantur, a tergo reliqui exercitus, || nunquam uero in illius fronte, tum ne hostium conspectum eripiant, tum, etiam ne cæsi perturbate fugiant, qua fuga suorum acies furibundi petunt, perturbant, conculcant, perimunt. Ac cum in bellum educuntur, altero è cornibus, aut ambobus, per latera prodeunt, hostesque medios adoriri, eorum ductores nituntur. Et elephantum quidem turmæ, plus terrent quam | officiant. potiusque, ad ostentationem, quam ad uictoriam reportandam utiles sunt. æqualeque est discrimen hostium, et sociorum, cum uulnerati obuium quemque adoriantur. facileque tormentis abigantur. punctique in proboscide, pedem uelocissime referant. quibus si equi assuescant, nihil mouentur. Balochiorum, qui camelis insident, *turmæ,⁶ in reliquo equitatu | numerantur. Quorum si ea copia sit, ut *phalangem⁷ iustam efficiant: certo loco, simul consistere iubentur. Par autem fere est, equorum, et camelorum ad pugnandum agilitas, et ut ita dicam, dexteritas. Nec pugnacitate sunt dispares. Nam cameli, dentibus, et calcibus, certant. Quodsi quenquam corripiant, in eum genibus incumbunt, tamdiuque premunt, et tundunt, | quoad enecent, miserumque conficiant.

**A. reaches
Peshāwar
[Pir Shahr ?]
and hastens
to Kābul.** 1

F. 80a. 1

**Troops left
in India.** 2

**Salim and
Bhagwān
Dās to camp
at Jalālābād
with the
rear** 2

Rex itaque, ab ea statione, cum Pirxaurum uenisset; rerum, quæ in castris Paharidis agerentur, certior factus, cum delecto equitatu, et auxiliariis, *Delazacquiū⁸ ducum turmis, magnis itineribus, Chabulum uersus ire contendit: rebus in hunc modum, ex || disciplina militari, sapientissime constitutis. Nam trans Indum, intra fines sui regni, dimidiam legionem: cis Indum, ad Coam, tertiam fere legionis partem, consistere imperauit. quæ amnis transitum, *diligentissime⁹ tuerentur. Principi natu maximo, qui ei erat charissimus, annos nato quattuordecim, se ut in extrema acie, cum reliquis copijs, et uniuerso | commeatu, ac thesauris, tormentisque, ac reliquo belli apparatu sequeretur. et ut Gelalabadi, tridui a Chabulo itinere, ad

1 ist: desueti.

2 ist: paucas

3 ist: suis esset terris inductus.

4 ist: dextri alterum, tertium sinistri cornu.

6 ist: copijs.

6 ist: phalanges.

7 ist: turmam.

8 ist: Delazacquiū.

9 ist: accuratissime.

Coccyum inanis oram, castra poneret; ibique consisteret; edixit. Et in his castris uxores, et filias, reliquamque mulierum cateruam, et rem omnem familiarem, priuatamque suppellectilem reliquit. At Bagoandam Regulum, Mancini patrem, |
 1 Bonus principis praefectum, et militum magistrum, constituit.

Dilazak con-
 tingent.
 300 Fanatics
 join the
 ranks.

Regem vero, praeter duos Delazacquiorum duces, quos supra demonstraui-
 quorum quisque, ad quattuordecim equitum millia, in praelium educit: iuuenis
 quidam, cum suorum satellitio, trecentorum fere militum, prosequutus est . genere
 4 Paropanisas, uel Indoscytha. Cuius pater nouae sectae | author, ui quos poterat, in
 suam sententiam, pertrahere nitebatur . ac nisi uicinorum principum diligentia, e
 medio fuisset sublatus, non parum negotij Paropanisadis, uel Indoscythis, Gandaris,
 Goriadis, et Suastenis, ipsisque Mongolis exhibuisset. Habebat enim sicariorum et
 F 70b 1 aere alieno oppressorum,¹ hominum quingentorum manum . qui rerum nouarum,
 ut est natura Agarenorum (dummodo Mahammeddis, honorifica commemoratio, non
 relinquatur) studio, et rei alienae cupiditate, ei adhaerebant . seseque illi, et eius
 superstitioni, ita deuouerant, ut nullis, suorum principum, minis, nullis bellorum
 2 incommodis, qui absumpti sunt, et qui superstites remanserunt, ab | eius disciplina,
 neque a filij obsequio, qui ex patris exitio, euasit, dimoueri unquam potuerint. Qui
 cum intellexissent, Zelaldinum aduentare, eius se fidei commiserunt . quos Zelaldinus
 admisit: et cum omnes religiones uiolet, dum in sua quemque religione, uiuere
 permittit: religionem tueri, arbitratus est, si eos sineret, securos in suo tractu
 3 agere; suam | religionem sequi, ac more suo uiuere . et denique filio sui prophetae
 (ut ipsi dicunt) obsequi, honoremque tribuere.

Peshāwar
 burnt down
 by M. Hakim.

Porro Pirxaurum, municipium est, cum arce, in edito loco posita, nullis tamen
 munitionibus instructa, quam Mirsachimus aliquandiu tenuit: sed cum aduentare,
 fratris copias, quibus Mancinus praerat, intellexit: eam destituit, et intra |
 4 *montium altitudines² sese recepit. Pacatis rebus, contribulium duo millia, in eo
 municipio, praeter arcis praesidia, numerari ferebatur. Eo quidem tempore, exustis

A. visits the
 Jogis of
 Ghorkhatri.

F 71a 1

tectis, soli cineres uidebantur. Ad eius municipij pomerium, uersus orientem solem,
 Joguium statio est, eius superstitionis, et habitus, *atque uestitus,³ eorum qui in
 Balnati iugo degunt, quae ab incolis, Gorchathiri uocitatur: quod idem sonat, ac Gori
 cella. Fabulantur uero, Gorum hunc, qui hic uixit, magistrum Balnati fuisse .
 tantamque loco, sanctitatem inesse praedicant, ut propter eius loci *sanctitudinem⁴
 mundi opifex Deus, reliquum mundum *finxerit, et fabricarit.⁵ Hanc Gori cellam,
 2 Rex adijsse, et expansa coma, oculis, manibusque in caelum sublatis, Gorum
 ueneratus fuisse ferebatur.

Salim
 ascends the
 Khaibar.

Princeps, postridie quam Rex profectus est, ab eo oppido castra mouit .
 biduoque, ad difficilem et angustum, arduumque altissimi montis, transitum *uenit,
 qui ab incolis Caybāri, a ueteribus Capissenus saltus dicebatur⁶ . quem magno
 omnium labore, superauit. Curauerat uero, ut arte, atque instrumentis, a fabris, |

¹ The anonymous annotator has underlined in pencil nearly all the proper names on this page.

² i. e. saltus? . Later addition. ³ i. e. sanctitatem. ⁴ i. e. condiderit, et excitarit.

⁵ i. e. Caybarus dicitur . uenit. The word "Caybarus" has been underlined by the anonymous annotator.

- 3 et calonibus, operisque castrorum, repararetur · secus enim, ægre elephantes (quorum erat magna copia) conscendere: periculose cameli onusti, aliaque iumenta, atque armenta superare potuissent. Quæ si prolapsa fuissent, in extremum uitæ periculum, tum ipsa, tum etiam omnes, qui ipsis uehebantur, adducta fuissent. In quibus
- 4 Reginæ, et filiæ, aliæque | mulieres dignitate præstantes, connumerabantur · et in his, Daudis, Patanæorum Regis matrum familias prima, è qua tyrannus filios sustulerat. Quam Zelaldinus in liberali custodia, secum deduxerat · tum ob memoriam, et ostentationem uictoriæ, suæque magnitudinis, tum etiam, ne || nouarum rerum moliendarum, occasionem Patanæis daret: qui coacti, non sponte parent. In cuius comitatu, filiæ ipsius aliquot ueniebant. Enimuero equi, minus in hoc ascensu laborarunt. Sunt enim fortes, et expediti, et ad iter quam celerrime obeundum, difficilesque transitus superandos, nati. Xecus uero princeps, a præcone, denuntiari iussit: ne quis | iumentis anteuertet regijs. A quibus, ubi ascensus relictus est uacuus: equi minori cum periculo, hoc iter peregerunt. Et princeps quidem ipse, ut matri suæ, hoc officium, sororibusque præstaret, et cæteris mulieribus, honorem deferret; in edita quadam montis rupe, tamdiu constitit, donec ad iugi fastigium peruenirent. Et | in angusta quadam planitie, ad fontem, castra posuit: a quo riuus aquæ dulcis, copiosus, et qui aquationi castrorum satis esset, ad torrentem usque fluebat, cui immistus, illius uitio, dulcedinem amittebat. Regium uero tabernaculum, ad Ahalimexit, hoc est, Ahalidis templum fixit · in quo saxum ostenditur, cui digitorum Ahalidis uestigias, | insculpta esse *falso¹ narrantur.
- 4 Fabula uero sic habet (nam huiusmodi narrare iuvat, ut uanitas Agarenicarum superstitionum, non tantum *inuoluta² quadam notitia, sed etiam ex singulis rebus, Christianis hominibus aperta sit). Cum Ahalis, Mahammeddis gener, orbem lustraret, ut ad perfidiam, et superstitionem soceri || sui, exleges · (Cafares dicunt ipsi) pertraheret, in eum locum uenisse dicitur, et eius regionis, Tyranni filiam rapuisse. Quod cum virginis pater, intellexisset: ira percitus, cum aperto Marte, nequiret cum eo pugnare, ex insidijs et superiore loco, impendet enim huic fano, præruptus quidam, et altus mons, eum conficere statuit. Cum igitur, in eo loco, Ahalis, | more Agarenico oraret: demissisque oculis, in terram esset; ingens saxum in eum coniecit · quod Ahalis, nihil perturbatus, et in precatione persistens, sublatis manibus, excepit; noluit .n. capitis discrimen subire · quasi uero, maior uirtus manibus, quam reliquo corpori, ad declinandum periculum, prodigioque euadendum, inesset. Et ut rei *euentus³ appareret, | infixi eius digiti, in eo sunt, si Deo placet.
- 3 O hominum insaniam; quibus hæc uerisimilia uidentur, quasi uero adulterum, et raptorem, miracula edere credendum sit. Quo fit ut, non minus huius fabulæ · fides laboret; quam Qhojamundi cuiusdam, qui apud Azimirum, non procul a Fattepuro, pro sancto, propterea colitur, quod Mahammeddis comes, cum | eius superstitionem suaderet, omnes qui resisterent conficeret. At uero, mirum non est, homines decipi, qui temporum nullam habent rationem: et qui mendacijs soleant, sibi, patriæ, sectæ ipsi, suo denique uati, honorem, et dignitatem expiscari.⁴ ||

The wife of
Dāud Shāh.

F. §1b. 1

Salīm's gal-
lantry to-
wards his
mother and
sisters.

'Ali Masjid.

The fable of
'Ali Masjid.

F §2a.1

The fable of
Khwāja
Muīnu-d-dīn
Chishtī at
Ajmer.

Ysto se ha
de escreuer.¹

¹ Later addition.

² Ist: communi.

³ Ist: miraculum.

⁴ The above two paragraphs are bracketed in the MS.

F. 82b. 1 Templi uero huius structura, et loci dignitas suo patrono respondet. Dicas enim potius, porcorum stabulum, quam templum. Sunt enim parietinæ quædam angustæ, sine tegulis, et tecto, ne quidem iunci.

The Masjid a ruinous structure.

At the Khai-bar Pass.

2

Inde profectus, ad fauces quasdam, eiusdem montis uenit: quibus utrinque, duo uertices, magnæ altitudinis impendent: ut centum pugnatores, hominum plurima | millia, transitu prohibere queant. Vix enim, onustus elephas, penetrare potest. Ab eo loco, ad cliuum eiusdem montis uenit, adeo pronum, ac præcipitem, ut uix extaret spatium, in quo, firmum uestigium, iumenta ponerent: et pedites, deorsum currere, cogerentur. Quare longos circuitus, equites petere, et qui uellaturam, iumentis

3

faciebant, compellebantur. Suberat tamen campus, | qui satis erat ad castra figenda amplus · et in eo fons, qui è rupe defluebat, juxta quem, castra metari iussit. *Loco nomen est Caybar, olim Capissa urbs.² In eo campo, obeliscus extabat, superiori,

Camping-ground.

Other obelisk of Rāmchandra.

4

quem commemorauimus, et magnitudine, ac fabricæ dignitate, ac uetustate omnino par · quem ferebant, Rhamxandi regni, alterum esse terminum. Atque hoc solo *aditu, Paharuetus mons, a Paharopaniso, in | Indiam, uiatoribus, qui uiarum flexus et mæandros declinare student: peruius est · patetque in latum, milliaria fere sexdecim, cuius medium ad septemtrionem, spatijs *quattuor⁴ et triginta, fere uergit, a longitudinis uero termino, spatijs fere *decem,⁵ supra centum distat, atque ab ortu, ad ocasum, prope decurrit.

No shorter road.

F. 83a. 1 Long. & Lat.

Cæterum huic agro uersus ocasum, rupes imminet, in qua uestigia oppidi *apparent.⁶ Quod uulgo, Landiqhanâ, ab indigenis uocatur: hoc est, mulierum domus, ac fabulæ circumferuntur, non absimiles illis quæ de Amazonibus narrantur.

Ruins of Landi Khāna.

2

Ferunt enim, hoc oppidum, | olim mulieres incoluisse, quæ bellum cum vicinis gentibus gerebant: atque ne genus eorum extingueretur, uiatores ab itinere, facto impetu abripiabant, susceptosque masculos, aut necabant, aut exponabant: fœminas educabant: et ad pugnam instituebant: quæ tandem uictæ, ac loco pulsæ: nomen illis ruinis reliquerunt. Ac sublata | fabula, eo in loco, perditæ mulieres habitauerunt · quæ similiter, ac, seruorum *fugitiuorum⁷ manus · nomen loco dederunt.

Indian Amazons.

3

Est enim, haud procul a Landiqhanâ, uestigium quoddam oppidi, quod Xaregolamum, hoc est, seruorum ciuitatem dicunt: quam serui fugitiui, ut suam libertatem tuerentur, condiderunt: qui furtis, uictum quærebant · a quo loco feruntur, difficili negotio, | fuisse pulsati. Est enim *aspera & montosa regio⁸ · syluisque *munita⁹ in quibus, cum bello a uicinis tyrannis petebantur, sese abdebant: *excursionibusque, inde in uicinos agros facere: et uias obsidere: ac præda diuites, suum

Ruins of 'Shahr-i-Ghulam ?

4

asylum repetere soliti erant.¹ Ac ne æstate, siti laborarent: *specus quattuor, miræ amplitudinis, et altitudinis¹ sibi foderunt: ad quos collium omnes aquas deducebant.

4 Huge cisterns.

F. 83b. 1

His angustijs egressus princeps: in ora Coæ, ad oppidum Bissaurum, e regione,

Bissaur. Basawal ? Bedaulat Rock.

¹ Pencil notes by X.

² Later addition.

³ 1st: adytu, Paruetus mons, a Paropaniso, in Indiam, uiatoribus, qui magnos uiarum circuitus, et abductissima di pendia, lucrifacere student.

⁴ 1st: tribus.

⁵ 1st: duodeuiginti.

⁶ 1st: uisuntur.

⁷ 1st: profugarum.

⁸ 1st: tractus ille, montosus, et asper.

⁹ 1st: munitus.

¹ 1st: excursionibusque, in uicinos agros faciebant: et uias obsidebant: ac præda diuites, suum asylum repetebant.

¹ 1st: cisternas quattuor, miræ magnitudinis, et profunditatis.

Vide Ache-gas pera o 2do Livro Fo. 30b.¹

*Obeliscus V. 66a. 4.¹

Beedaulati montis, castra collocavit. Est uero Beedaulatus, saxeus quidam mons,
 2 duo millia pedum altus, longus quattuor, circuitu octo fere, | *e terra eminentis,
 lapidis, qui sine rimis,¹ solidus, et integer est · ac denique, unum omnino saxum.
 Qui quidem mons, a reliquis, uicinorum montium iugis,* deuexis omni ex parte late-
 ribus,² disiunctus, uersus solis ortum procurrit · frontemque exporrigit, et duobus
 3 sime obseruatum est: et | omnium ore circumferebatur: non arborem, non herbam,
 nihil denique uiride, ne muscum quidem, apparere. Ob quam caussam, Emaumus
 Zelaldini pater, cum in eo loco constitisset: et montis sterilitatem, obseruasset: ei
 nomen Beedaulat, hoc est * *ἄχαρις*,³ quod latinis est, sine gratia, imposuit. In cuius
 4 latere, quod ad ocasum solis respicit, plurimarum cellarum ostia, | * *τριγώνου*⁴ forma,
 A former hermitage. apparent · quibus ad fornicem, tectumque, lapideum intratur, in quibus, heremitæ
 egisse feruntur. Locus est sane asper, et ad uitam austere, et in luctu, squaloreque
 traducendam aptus. Nec mihi persuadeo, gentilium heremitas, qui sola ostentatione
 F 84a. 1 religionis, auram populi tantum, captare instituunt: || in eam se uitæ asperitatem,
 unquam coniecisse · cum potissimum, hac ætate, desertæ sint, quæ hoc nebulonum
 Monserate's guess about its origin. genere, abundat. Dixerim potius, has cellas *a solitarijs Christianis, quos heremitas
 St. Bartholomew's Mission. dicimus, fabricatas⁵ et inhabitatas fuisse · quoniam .D. Barptolomæum, in his
 regionibus, Euangelium disseminasse, memoriæ a Patribus, proditum est. [*Chabuli
 .n. regio a veteribus, Indiæ non secus, atque Aria, Aracosia, et Gedrosia annume-
 rabatur · quas præfecturas, citeriorem Indiam, uno uocabulo appellabant.⁶ *At .D.
 Barptolomæum in Indiam citeriorem, quæ ei in orbis terrarum sortitione obuenerat,
 progressum fuisse in Ecclesiasticis historijs legimus.⁷] Christianos, hanc regionem
 2 tenuisse constat. Hoc autem uitæ genus *horridum atque aridum⁸ | antiquis Patri-
 bus, maxime cordi erat · et iuxta *flumina ac riuulos⁹ libenter habitabant. Pulsis
 uero Christianis, sine religiosis habitatoribus, ad pietatem colendam, quam accom-
 modatissimæ, oportunoque loco *et in silice excauatae cellæ,⁹ relictæ sunt · ut uia-
 toribus, fabulandi argumentum præbeant.
 Fort of [Behosh Palang ?] Ab hac statione, tribus fere miliaribus, Beoxpalangum, *i.e.*,* insana lynx,¹⁰
 3 arx | apparet · a qua Mirsachimus, ad se præsidia euocauit · quam cæteri populares
 deseruerunt: ne a Zelaldino opprimerentur.
 At Jalālabād. Biduo Gelalabadam peruenit · quod *ardorem mentis ad Dei cultum¹¹ sonat.
 Castra in ripa Coæ, milliaro ab ipso municipio posuit · quo in loco, ut patris imperata
 4 faceret: eius reditum expectauit. Eo etiam in loco, Sacerdos constitit. | Noluit
 Monserate to stop there. enim Rex, ut ardui itineris, et concitatae profectionis, homo imbellis, et studijs reli-
 gionis, ac litterarum deditus, *incommoda¹² potissimum ualetudine, laborem subiret.
 Salim's kindness. At uero filio commendauit, ut non minore sollicitudine, illi prospiceret, quam ipse
 F. 84b. 1 solebat. Quod princeps, ut erat patris amantissimus, eiusque | dicto, diligentissime

1 Ist: eminentis, atque emicantis lapidis, qui sine commissura.

2 Ist: quibus continuus est, cliuus, utrimque.

3 Ist: a Christianis heremitis, fabricatas.

4 Ist: fluuenta.

5 Ist: zeli seruitutem, uel zelum ad seruitutem.

6 Sic, instead of *ἄχαρις*.

7 Later addition.

8 Ist: factæ, in uiuo lapide, casule.

9 Ist: affecta.

4 Sic, instead of *τριγώνου*.

7 Still later addition.

10 Ist: insanus [leo ?]

Plin. lib. 6
cap. [16 ?].

In[ra] cum
de te[rm]ino ?
dicetur.⁶

Playing the King. obsequens Sacerdoti uero beneuolus, summa cum beneuolentia, et amore præstitit. Qui dum Gelalabadi fuit, ut patrem imitaretur, stans horis, quotidie, in publicum præcinctus ense, prodibat . et satellitio iuuenum, suorum armigerorum, et militum stipatus, ad quos, eius diei excubiæ, spectabant: negotijs expediendis, conficiendisque

2 cum | Bagoanda *regulo,¹ operam dabat. Atque non uulgare prudentiæ specimen dedit, in sedando tumultu, qui in castris exortus, metum, trepidationemque incussit . ne forte proditio esset. *Meacanium² enim, cursorum *tribunum,³ cum manu militum misit . qui ediceret tumultuantibus, ut extemplo conquiescerent, sin minus e uestigio necarentur.

3 Atque hic quidem, Paropanisi | tractus, intra Cáybarim, Caybarénunquæ saltum ad urbem usque Chabuli, montosus est, et syluestris, et toto fere anno in montium fastigijs, niuium candore *fulget.⁴ Nam ipso Quintili mense, Baalanum iugum, quod ab oppido uersus *austrum,⁵ duodecim passuum millibus distat, è niuibus frigidum

4 aërem exhalabat. Quem è regione, milliario ab urbe, | mons alius niuosus excipiebat; atque in illam planitiem *identidem recipocantem impellebat.⁶ Quo factum est, ut cum placido cœlo, Gelalabadum æstate utatur: optimo loco castra posita, aura frigida, in maximis anni caloribus uterentur. Ac fecit rerum opifex Deus, ne uitæ

F. 85a 1 necessarijs, eius regiones incolæ, destituerentur,⁷ ut* interualla⁷ quædam agrorum, a niuosis montibus *circumsepta,⁸ eos solis ardores conciperent, quibus nihilo essent, minus *apta,⁹ ad procreandos fructus quam aliæ regiones, quæ a niuibus, longe disiunctæ sunt. Abundat enim, Gelalabadicus ager, vineis, hortisque, quibus insitæ sunt *pyrus, uites, mali tum granatæ, tum persicæ, et mori,¹⁰ ficusque, et id genus

2 cætera. Populares prouinciæ | Patanæi sunt. Præsidia Mongoli tenent. Ac Patanæi, qui a Mongolis Aufgan dicuntur, agricultura uiuunt, et adminiculo iumentorum, et nauicularum *deficiuntur. Terra, ipsi sarcinas ferunt, quas, insertis in laqueum brachijs, hinc dextro, hinc sinistro, ueluti, thoracem induunt: et recti, sub onere incedunt. At fluuijs, commeatum, bouinis utribus, pice illequefacta perlitis, ue-

3 hunt . quibus frumenta, et legumina includunt, et in ipsos simul colligati, | rectores insiliunt . et se, rapido labentis fluminis gurgiti, committunt, vt directius gubernent.¹¹ Vestitu utuntur breui ad genu . sunt uero musicæ, impendio dediti, et ad tibiam, et lyram libenter, et suauiter, libera, et elata uoce (Europæo more) non inclinata, et ululante (more Asiatico) canunt.¹²

Jalälabâd vacated by Faridun Khan. 4 Jamuero Gelalabadi arx ingenio loci, magis quam, architectorum opere, satis firma est. | Alluitur enim Coa flumine, ab ortu . cui prærupta ripa, et alta *imminet, et quasi¹³ minatur. Hanc tenebat Faridumcanus, quam inscio, et nolente Mirsachimo, Zelaldini non ferens aduentum, destituit. Est uero Gelalabadum,* in cliuo

Its position.

¹ 1st: tyranno.² 1st: Meacauuhum.³ 1st: præfectum.⁴ 1st: albicat.⁵ 1st: occasum.⁶ 1st: reflectebat.⁷ 1st: perkones [sic].⁸ 1st: circumsepta.⁹ 1st: apta.¹⁰ 1st: pyrus et malagranata.¹¹ 1st: destituuntur. Terra ipsi sarcinas uehunt, quas ueluti, thoracem induunt: et recti, sub onere incedunt . et fluuijs commeatum, bouinis utribus, uehunt . quibus frumenta, et legumina includunt, et ipsis simul colligatis, directores insiliunt . et se, labentis fluminis uenæ, committunt.¹² This paragraph is bracketed in the MS.¹³ Later addition.

positum · quem cingit,¹ planities quædam, a qua, montes sese *extollere² incipiunt · ad Chabulum usque.

F. 85b. 1

Kābul, a
summer
capital, and
big mart.

Quod || * in præcelso atque edito loco ædificatum,³ tantis frigoribus hyeme alget, ut eo relicto, Rex,* eius comitatus assectatoresque, et qui in aula sunt assidui Gelalabadum descendere⁴ cogantur. Contra uero æstate, tanta est cœli clementia, ut * anni tempore grauissimo et caloribus maximis, æstiuu mensis et solstitia sine solis ardoribus transigantur · Qhabulumque Gelalabado Rex commigret.⁵ Nam urbem, duo præcipue celebrem reddunt. Alterum est, regni solium, alterum, negotiatorum | celebritas : qui ex India, Persia, et Tartaria, in eam conueniunt. Est enim, in ipsis illorum montium, ueluti uisceribus, aut corde posita · qui ueluti, brachijs quibusdam, in uicinas regiones, iniectis, Indiam,* Sogdianam, Bactrianam,⁶ et Tartariam, attingunt.

Orography of
Afghānistān.

Hi sunt Caucasus Imaus, qui etiam Caspus · Paharopanisus, et Paharuëtus ·
3 quorum medius, Caucasus est. In eius fronte Chabulum, | quod olim (ut remur) Carúra dicebatur, situm est. Paharuëtus, in quo sunt portæ, quas supra demonstraui-
4 mus, ab austro, Caucasio obijcitur, Caucasij tergum, Paharopanisus tuetur, ab Aquilone. Dextrum latus, ab ortu, Imaus tegit · a sinistro, Paharuëti quædam flexio, quæ deinde, æquali fere ductu, cum Paharopanisus, interiectis magnis conuallibus, in | Aquilonem protenditur. Nostra ætate, montana hæc omnia, a Chabulo, in eo tractu nomen habent ; ac Chabuli iuga dicuntur · quæ a ueteribus, promiscue, Paharopanisus dicebantur. Temuri Claudi posteru, varijs bellis* iactati et agitati in

F. 86a. 1

Old and new
names.

hos montes et syluas constipati sunt⁷ · unde postea effusi · uniuersa prope || Indiæ mediterranea, occuparunt. Ac ne montium nominibus, quispiam hallucinetur · duo
*ut sibi persuadeat,⁸ necesse est. Alterum, eadem continuatione, uarios flexus montes habere ; et pro eorum uarietate uaria nomina sortiri. Nam (liceat enim exemplis, rem illustrare) a Geographis Imaus, cum iam Caspius est : et Caucasus, cum iam
2 Paharopanisus est, et uice uersa | nominantur. Alterum, nostro sæculo, longe alijs nominibus *loca hæc appellari quam ueterum memoria⁹ · uerum adhibita, non mediocri, diligentia, uera loca, uel saltem quæ ueris proxime accedunt, nos deprehendisse : uel eo, cæteris certiores, quod ea oculis conspeximus. *Quod uero Paharopanisum et Paharuëtum scribimus in causa est quod “ pahar ” ab accolis mons dicitur. Quæ reliqua sunt, propria montium nomina feruntur · ut si diceremus mons Panisus, mons Uëtus.¹⁰

M. Hakim in
flight.

Enimuero, cum princeps, Gelalabadi esset · uaria uulgo, ut fit ferebantur, quæ
3 omnia, Mirsachimo exitium, calamitatemque | comminabantur. Hoc uero compertum est · quod cum fratrem in castris, uicinum esse intellexisset, in fugam se coniecit, in qua minorem, è duobus liberis, filium amisit · qui ex equo lapsus, ab acie equitum,

¹ Ist : in edito monte · quem ambit ; zudly : in edito monticulo positum, quem ambit.

² Ist : attolere. ³ Ist : in præcelso montis uertice positum.

⁴ Ist : et aulici Gelalabadum descendere.

⁵ Ist : sine æstiuis caloribus, in eo solstitia transigantur, eoque Gelalabado Rex commigret.

⁶ Later addition.

⁷ Ist : in arctum adducti, Regni solium Chabuli posuerunt.

⁸ Ist : ut obseruet.

⁹ Ist : appellari.

¹⁰ Later addition. These last two paragraphs are bracketed in the MS.

- His younger son killed. nec opinante, quæ concitatu cursu, ducem sequebatur, obculcatus, atque obtritus, nec postea repertus est. Ille uero in editissimum, et præruptum montem, se recepit . |
 4 unde e superiore loco, sequenti se fratri, si sequi se pergeret, resistere, et repugnare posset . qui locus, uno tantum aditu, eoque angusto, peti poterat.
- F. 86b. 1 Zelaldinus, ubi fratrem suum, sibi cecidisse cognouit : per preconem ; denuntiari, A. quieta the people of Kabul. Chabuli præcepit, populares, ut securi essent ; sibi enim, bellum cum negotiatoribus, opificibus et plebe non esse : sed cum fratris exercitu, qui iam cesserat. Ac cum intellexit, pacatos esse ciues ; primum, agrum lustrauit, deinde ouans, et triumphator, Triumphal entry. Chabulum ingressus est, et in Regiam, cum triumpho deductus, id magni potissimum |
 2 æstimauit ; quod in auito Regni solio, in quo pater et maiores sui sedissent, Dei beneficio, datum esset, ut ipse uno, et altero tantum, ab hoste, damni uulnere accepto, sederet.
- Losses :
 a. 15,000 gold mohurs seized by M. Hakim. At vero damna, hæc fuere. Cum esset Paharis, in acie, quindecim aureorum millia, quibus stipendia, eius exercitui soluerentur, ab eo missa, ab excubijs fratris, 3 intercepta | sunt . et quæstor ipse captus, iniurijsque laccessitus, ac tandem postea, magno redemptus. Cui Rex, socordiam exprobrauit, dicebatur enim, cum militum manum haberet, qua potuisset obsistere, metu latebras, et effugia petens, incolumis, et nullo uulnere accepto, nedum *imposito,¹ fuisse captus. Iterum, cum ex insidijs, 4 Faridumcani antecursores, | Xecum Gemalum, Regis leuirum, qui cuneum, centum equitum ducebat : adorti essent, hominem fuderunt. Qui, tum pudore, tum etiam, Regis formidine, posito *baltheo,² Daruëxij ueste indutus, aperto capite, nudisque pedibus, religiosam uitam more Agarenico, agere instituit. Nam id, culpa sua, factum fuisse, noscebat : qui reliquas copias, recto itinere sequi noluisset. ¶ At Zelaldinus, aspere solet, in eos, qui disciplinæ militari, non parent, animaduertere. At quoniam, leuir suus erat, eum Rex, magna diligentia reuocauit . et *in memoriam illi redigens uariam esse, atque incertam Martis aleam, eius mœrorem lenire, et in redeundo uerecundiam obiurgare, lenibus uerbis instituit, tantum abest, ut in illum acerbius inueheretur.
- A. recalls him. 2 Septem uero diebus Chabuli, ut apertam, | omnibusque testatam, *relinqueret +
 7 days at Kābul. uictoriam : *more maiorum suorum, constitit.³ Ad quem soror uenit, quæ ueniam deprecata, et ut fratris uicti misereretur, ac Regnum, facti pœnitenti concederet : A. 's sister intercedes for M. Hakim. hoc tantum obtinuit, * ut suæ uirtuti, fidei, felicitati Regnum Rex commendaret.⁴ Sibi Kābul given to her. nihil esse, cum Mirsachimo, cuius ne quidem nomen nosset, aut æquo animo audiret : |
 3 atque ab ea se, cum liberet, * illud⁵ repetiturum. *Habitarētne` Mirsachimus Chabuli, aut in eo regno, sibi nihil curæ esse. Eī ut morem gereret, quod soror esset charissima, mox loco cessurum . nullasque copias, aut præsidia, in regno ob fidem ipsius relicturum. Hortari, ut Mirsachimo persuaderet, ne suorum studiorum, curam susci-
- Threats against M. Hakim.

¹ 1st: dato.² Str.³ In MS: "redegit" instead of "redigens" and "quo" before "eius mœrorem." The sentence thus constructed is ungrammatical. 1st: in mentem illi reuocans, uariam esse, atque incertam Martis aleam, eius mœrorem lenire, et pudorem remouere, lenibus uerbis instituit, tantum abest, ut illum obiurgaret.⁴ 1st: faceret.⁵ 1st: more maiorum suorum, cum uictoria potiuntur, [zudly: cum illam reportant] constitit.⁶ 1st: ut in suam tutelam Regnum Rex traderet.⁷ Later addition.⁸ 1st: ageretne.

4 peret. Sibi satis esse ætatis, | et rerum usus, quibus sciret, quid è re sua esset, cognoscere. Si conquiesceret : se fratrem esse · quod si pergeret insanire : non fore se perinde, ac tunc erat *benignum, beneuolum, atque ad ueniam dandam, procliuem, ac facilem comperturum.¹ Posse se (si uellet) rupis angustias, in qua latebat, ocupare · ||

F. 87b. 1 et com meatu, annonaque, ac quotidiano uictu carentem, tandiu fame, inediaque uexare : ut a suis destitutus, esurieque enectus, manus, uel inuitus daret : sed id sibi, in animo ideo non esse, quod ipsa, ut precaretur, uenisset.

A. returns to Jalālābād.

2 Atque ut hac oratione, sororem dimisit, mandataque scripsit, quibus regnum, *eius fidei committebat : ² ad profectionem, se accinxit, indictoquoque | reditus die, qua copię mouerent · ipse magnis itineribus, ad Gelalabadica castra, cum parua manu, selectorum tribunorum, et equitum uenit. Cui omnes, qui in castris constiterant, et

M. to make his victory known to Europe.

in ijs Sacerdos, gratulatum occurrerunt. Ac Sacerdotis gratulationem, hilari uultu accepit · vel ob id maxime, quod eius opera existimaret, rei famam, ad Hispaniam, usque peruagaturam. Est enim glorię percupidus. |

3 Vbi primum, omnes copię conuenerunt, Gelalabado, Fattepurum uersus, castra mouit. Et cum sine cruore, bellum confectum, animaduerneret : in frequenti, suorum ducum, corona, a Sacerdote quæsiuit · quonam pacto Affricana clades, euenisset ?

Bloodless campaign and King Don Sebastian's disaster.

4 qua intra quattuor horarum spatium, quattuor reges | peremti essent ? Quidue impulisset Sebastianum, ut suppetias Agareno ferret ? et ei confideret ? Cui, cum rem omnem ordine, Sacerdos explicasset : exclamauit · “ Illorum ego fortitudinem, nunquam

F. 88a. 1 “ nunquam desinam accusare · || qui magis, corporum integritati, quam æternæ belli glorię, prospicitis. O strenuum (inquit) et fortissimum iuuenem, qui pugnandi auidus, mare traiecit, et in alienum regnum, rogatus inuasit : ut suam fortunam “ periclitaretur.” Et cum eius naturæ sit, atque ingenij, quo Sebastianus fuit · hoc est intrepidus, *et qui nullum periculum adire reformidet : ³ sæpissime eius facta, et laudes percensebat. |

2 Cæterum Sacerdos, cum a Rege obtinuisset, ut castra bidui itinere, antecederet : quo Caybareni transitus, periculum declinaret · ubi eum collem conscendit, in apertum discrimen deuenit, ne lapidibus necaretur. Est enim locus, plurimis lapidibus instructus, quos *aquarum proluuies, ⁴ conuehit. Nam quidam Agarens, propius ad

A zealot of the Qorān at the Khaibar and Monserrate.

3 eum accessit, ac quæsiuit · “ Credisne, | in nostrum prophetam ? ” Cui Sacerdos · “ Minime gentium.” Tum Agarens · “ Quare ? ” — “ Quia,” inquit Sacerdos, “ non fuit propheta.” Rursus · “ Credisne (ait) in Alcoranum ? ” — “ Non.” — “ Quare ? ” — “ Eo quod non sit Dei liber.” — “ Proh (exclamauit) Deum immortalem ! Videte,” inquit, ad frequentissimum, hominum prætereuntium, cætum, “ uidete exlegem.

4 “ Negat Mahammedem, esse prophetam · | et Alcoranum, esse librum Dei.” Quod contenta, uoce *atrociter ⁵ sæpe repetiuit · * et dubium non est quin hominem lapidibus appetijssent et percussissent nisi inflammatum atque ignitum Regis furorem exhorruissent, in ipsorum cæde, si eum interficerent, bacchaturi. Qua se cogitatione cæde coercuerunt.⁶

¹ 1st: benignum comperturum, beneuolum, . . . facilem.

² 1st: in eius fidem tradebat.

³ 1st: et qui se, nullis periculis subtrahat.

⁴ 1st: imbrum inundationes.

⁵ Later addition.

⁶ 1st: cum uero plebem, commoueri Sacerdos uideret, honeste se eius furori subtraxit.

3000 Beg-
gars at 'All
Masjid.

Porro, cum Rex, in Ahalidis templum uenit, quod in Caybaris fauce, ædificatum esse, supra commemorauimus, magnos pauperum, seu potius nebulonum greges, qui frequentissimi, castra sequebantur, ad tria fere millia, in eum locum conuenire, singulisque argentei nummi stipem erogari imperauit · ipse uero preces, more Agarenico, in eo loco fudit.

F. 88b. 1
A. prays at
the shrine.

Khalbar =
Capissa, des-
troyed by
Cyrus?

Jam uero, ut diligentibus rerum antiquarum studiosis, aliquid impertiamur : non dubijs coniecturis ducimur, ut existimemus Caybari, et Caybarenno collibus, Capissam urbem, quam diruit Cyrus, et Capissenas, nomen reliquisse · quod postea (ut fere fit) temporum diuturnitate, rerumque uicissitudinæ, in eam appellationem deuenit, deflexa nonnihil, uoce, et iteris immutatis, quam nostra memoria, tractus ille retinet. Cum enim illhac transirem, mihi renuntiatum est, non procul a uia, ruinas uetustissimæ urbis, cuius nomen cum tectis exciderit, manere · et post gentes, Indo proximas, hi primum montes occurrunt : | quos Capissenæ, habuisse traduntur.¹

Plin. lib. 6.
cap. 23.

White tent
and prayer
discarded.

Cæterum, cum Zelaldinus, intra aulæ septum, dum Chabulum peteret, candidum tabernaculum, in quo precaretur, figi imperaret, in reditu, se animaduertente, num poneretur, dissimulabat.

Recalcitrants
E. of the
4
Khalbar
punished.

Vbi uero, fauces Cáybaris, et* præruptas rupes² excessit · in campumque uenit, aliquot oppida, iuxta Coam, incendi præcepit : quorum incolæ, cum Chabulum ascenderet,* com meatum petenti, cibaria dare recusarunt · ac nec prece, nec pretio adduci, potuerunt : ut uendendam annonam exponerent.³ Qui cum intellexerunt, regem redire, trans flumen, aufugerunt · suarumque rerum conflagrationem, ex editiore, trans flumen, loco inermes, et miseri conspexerunt. Qui ut fidem Mirsachimo, seruarent, Zelaldini | offensionem incurrerunt, ut merito poeta dicat ·

Hor. lib. 9.
Epist. ad
Lollium.

“ *Quicquid delyrant Reges, plectuntur Achiui.* ”

Bridging the
Indus before
Atak.

In ora Coæ, iuxta eum locum constitit, ubi, cum Indo commiscetur ·* dum ponte ligneo super nauiculis, e regione Nilabhi in angusta quadam fauce transitus Indi coniungitur.⁴ Cum enim, mense Septembri, in ea regione, algere cælum incipiat : et Imai | niues, minime liquentur : adeo amnis decrescit, ut pontem pati, integrumque sustinere possit.

Sept. 1581.

All troops
cross.
A.'s 3 days'
march upon
Kashmir.

Quo absoluto, cum exercitum, et præsidia, quæ in ora Coæ locarat, ut sorori receperat, traduxisset : versus Casmiriam, castra* mouit,⁵ triduoque iter, aduersus eam regionem fecit. Nam erat illi in animo, eam præfecturam suo imperio adiungere, ut eius | Tyrannus, 'Aχαιουρίαις criminis, pœnas daret · qui cum singulare, ab eo, beneficium, non ita pridem, accepisset : beneficij immemor, cum per fines, regni sui, Zelaldinus iter ageret : nullam, grati animi, significationem, edidisset. Debuisset enim, si non ipse, per suos saltem legatos, regem prætereuntem salutare · missisque munusculis, et aliquo ciborum | com meatu, subsidium, et obsequium deferre. Nam

Deterred by
his 8 months'
campaign
and other
difficulties.

a patruo pulsus, a Zelaldino, paulo antea, regno fuerat restitutus. Verum suorum consilio reuocatus est · qui in medium attulerunt, omnium copiarum defatigationem,

¹ This paragraph is bracketed in the MS.

² 1st : præcipitium.

³ 1st : annonam petenti, recusarunt, ac nec prece . . . ut uendendam exponerent.

⁴ 1st : pons ligneus nauiculis e regione Nilabhi in Indi angusta quadam fauce imponitur.

⁵ 1st : direxit.

F. 89b. 1 quæ octo mensium labore, in Chabulica *profectione,¹ desudassent, a quâ, confecto bello, cum uictoria redirent: quibus relaxationem aliquam, et ab armis otium dari, oportebat. || Deinde elephantibus, impeditum esse iter, cum difficiliores essent, montium altitudines, et ad superandum longe asperiores, quam fuerant Chabuli. Quin etiam, magnam montium partem, pedibus esse obeundam, cum equi, uix possint, desiliente equite, expediti, iter carpere. Præterea ingruere hyemem · qua
2 altissimæ niues, | saltum omnem occupant, ut qua uia sit insistendum, omnino non appareat · quo plerique, in præcipitem aliquem locum inciderent, et laberentur. Quare
Back towards iter, Fattepurum uersus flexit · atque in aliud tempus, acceptæ, ut ipse iudicabat,
Fatehpur. iniuriæ, uindictam, magis autem, augendi imperij, cupiditatis explendæ, opportunitatem reiecit.

3 Ac ut Ruytasium peruenit, Sacerdoti | renuntiauit, Rodolfum Ceynandi ægro-
Rohās. tasse · quæsiuitque, quid id nominis esset, num alicuius ex Apostolis, quorum nomina,
Rudolf ill at recenseri, et quot essent explicari præcepit. Cui sacerdos, ut fecit satis, adiecit:
Sirhind. quod Apostolus idem esset, quod *rassul*. Et Agarenos quidem, unum iactare aposto-
Was St. lum: Christianos, duodecim commemorare · qui cum | majores Mahammede, et
Rudolf an potiores, et doctiores fuerint: Christum esse Dei filium, quod Mahammedes diffitetur,
Apostle ? docuerunt. Cumque summis precibus, ab eo contenderet, ut conueniendi Rodolfi,
Monserate sibi facultatem faceret, ut ei morem gereret, qui id ut suam confessionem exciperet,
to meet postularet: de hoc Sacramento, paucis disputatum est. Cumque Rex quid || id rei esset
Rudolf. intellexit, ait, “Quibusnam uos peccatis, implicari credendum est? qui amore Dei,
F. 90a. 1 “hoc uitæ genus, instituistis? et pullas uestes induistis?” Pullus enim color
Rudolf above tristitiæ, extremæque calamitatis symbolum, apud hanc gentem est. “Crediderim
Confession. equidem,” Sacerdos respondit, “pauca, et exigua esse Rodolfi peccata. Est enim
2 “moribus, et uitæ integritate præstans. | Verum, stas quibusdam temporibus;
 “acta, uerba, animique cogitata, Christi, et Ecclesiæ mandato, Sacerdotibus aperire
 “iubemur. Quare incredibili beneficio, utrunque nostrum affeceris, si mihi facultatem,
 “eius adeundi concesseris. Nam magno præterea, mutuo uidendi nos, desyderio
 “tenemur.” Tunc Rex quibusdam, qui audiebant, dixit · “Videte, quanto se
3 “amore mutuo prosequantur.” Ac Xeco Faridio dixit, ut ab eo quæreret, | quanta
 pecunia ad uiæ sumptus, et ad æs alienum soluendum, opus esset: si quod Rodolfus,
 eo morbo, in medicamenta contraxisset? Cui cum rem exposuisset ac Xecus Faridius,
 ad regem retulisset: duplo plus dari iussit, quam Sacerdos petijsset. Atque ab eo
 dimissus, quadriduo concitatis | equis, Sacerdos, ad socium suum Rodolfum, trans-
 misso Bydaspe, Sandabalo, atque Adri, qui ab Aquilone urbem alluit Lahurum
 uenit · ac diuino consilio, Sacerdos e castris discessisse, iudicari poterat: ut in grauis-
 simo morbo, subsidium a Rodolfo acciperet. Qui cum ad Regis pedes, ut discede-
 ret, accidisset: ad quosdam primarios uiros, qui ad se, || a Mirsachimo, ea die, trans-
 fugerant, et ad Sacerdotis aspectum, commoueri mirarique quisnam esset, uidebantur:
 occurrit *Rex ac propter Sacerdotis personam quam sustinebat is quem ex ultimis
 terris accersitum uenisse demirabantur dixit² · “Hic a Francis, habetur sanctus.”³

How they love each other!
4 **Shaikh Farid** to provide for M. and R.'s expenses.
A 4 days' ride to Lahore.
M. falls ill at Lahore.

F. 90b. 1 **A Firingi** Saint.

Ysto se haa de esreuer.

¹ 1st: expeditione.

² 1st: Rex, ac dixit.

³ Bracketed in the MS. from: Qui cum ad regis pedes (fol. 90a. 4).

- R. welcomes Akbar at Lahore. 2
 Embassy to Spain. 2
 Attack on Damān. 2
 Lahore described. 3
- Lahurum ut Zelaldinus uenit, ad castra Rodolfus occurrit, ut illi gratularetur : quem ille lætissime, et amantissime accepit. Et cum ei, prospera omnia, Rodolfus precatus esset : consilium | suum Rodolfo aperuit, esse, ut ad Hispaniarum Regem, legatum, et in eius comitatu, e Sacerdotibus alterum, mitteret. Et cum Rodolfus narrasset, Mongolos in agrum Damanicum, excursionem fecisse ; se id ægerrime ferre, significauit.
- At, ne Lahurum taciti prætereamus, amplitudine, et frequentia, negotiatorum, ex uniuersa prope | Asia, et opum diuitiarumque abundantia, Lahurum, urbs est, nulli, siue in Asia, siue in Eūropa, ciuitati secunda. Imo uero, his omnibus rebus, plerisque præcellit · nam et omne mercium genus, in eam conuehitur, et nullum est artificium ad humanæ uitæ usum, cuius in ea opifices, non reperiantur. Tanta est hominum celebritas, ut se mutuo, in uijs impediant. Solius | arcis, quæ * ex latere et cæmento effecta est, ¹ ambitus, tribus prope passuum millibus tenditur. Intra arcem, forum est uenale, quod ad arcendos, æstiuos calores, et hyemis pluuias, repellendas, facto ex tabulis, fastigiato tecto, utrinque munitur : eo artificio, eaque rei utilitate, ut imitatione dignum uideatur. Quo in foro, cum aromata uæneant, mirum est, primo mane, quam suauem | gratumque odorem, exhalent. Reliqua urbs, latis- sime protenditur · eius ædificia, e lateribus sunt extracta. Indigenæ ut plurimum, sunt Brachmanæ opulenti, et omnis generis gentiles, Casmirini præterea, panifici, et focarij, et scrutorum propolæ, quod genus quæsturæ, proprium est eorum, quibus est a Judæis genus. Ager uero est, admodum fœcundus, et fertilis.² |
- Ad hanc usque urbem, Mirsachimus excurrit, et ad orientem solem ipsius, castra, iuxta hortos amplissimos, habuit · cum esset arcis præfectus, Mancinus Bagoandæ filius · a quo Mirsachimus, arcem repetijt. Cui ille, “ Ego * fidem quam Zelaldino “ fratri tuo dedi, qui mihi hanc arcem in tutelam tradidit, non fallam.³ Si uis fortu- “ nam experiri, oppugnato · nam ego, ad resistendum præsto | sum. Si tu copijs “ tuis fidis, ego meorum fortitudine fretus sum · qui millies potius ocumbent, quam “ loco cedant. Eam *si expugnes, et obtineas, ⁴ mihi mei capitis, nihil curæ est, tan- “ tum ut Zelaldino, meo imperatori, fidem præstem.” At Mirsachimus, sperans amplissimam urbem, in suam potestatem uenturam, ut hominum animos in beneuo- lentia contineret · a furtis, | et *urbis, quæ mœnibus caret, spoliatione,⁵ direp- tioneque abstinuit · ac negotiatores omnes, atque *ciues ⁶ securos esse iussit · dicebatque, cum *arcis prætore,⁷ sibi tantum bellum esse. At obsidionem, aduentu fratris, ut supra demonstrauius, relinquere coactus est.
- A Lahuro Rex, paucorum dierum itinere, copiis fere omnibus, ad hyberna dimissis, cum eo exercitu, quem solet, in urbe regia, ad custodiam, et dignitatem retinere, Fatehpurum uenit, ubi a matre, summa cum lætitia, et publicis (ut fieri solet) ludorum spectaculis, acceptus est.
- Cæterum, nemo est, qui non huius imperatoris, prosperos successus, miretur, atque suspiciat. Nam maiorum memoria, a Temuro Claudio, nullus ex eius atauis,

¹ 1st : lateritia est.² This paragraph is bracketed in the MS.³ 1st : meam fidem Zelaldino, fratri tuo, huius urbis tuendæ obstrinxi.⁴ 1st : si obtineas, et debelles.⁵ 1st : urbis expoliatione.⁶ 1st : incolas.⁷ 1st : præsidiorum duce.

2 nec imperij magnitudine, nec uictoriarum multitudine, huic par, aut æqualis | fuit. Nam hæreditarium, Delini regnum, superato Beyramcano Persa, qui reluctabatur, obtinuit. Cui Maluanam præfecturam primum, deinde Gedrosiam, tum Gangaridem, et Gangeticum littus, intra extraque Vxentum montem, qui populi olim Coccanágæ, Sábaræ, Gangáridæ, et Dryllophilittæ, inter Tindum amnem, et Gangem fluuium

3 medij dicebantur : nostra | ætate, alijs nominibus, ijsque barbaris efferuntur · quibus regnis, hoc bello : Chabulum, eo confecto, nuper Casmiriam, ut inceptarat, adiunxit, *nuper Syndi & Jambi regna.¹ Nunc Decanico regno, Lusitanis finitimo, *et toparchijs infra Gangaridem inhiat,¹ et * illa ² lento quodam bello, debilitat. Quibus prælijs, Daudem, Patanæorum regem peremit. Ramapartaosinguem, cui duodecim reguli parebant,* glande ex ignifera fistula confixum | peremit.³ Simili fere exitu, Meytarsingues ab eo perijt, cui etiam, aliquot Dynastæ suberant. Mussapharcanum, Gedrosiæ regem fudit. Arachosiæ tyrannum, in fugam uertit, et regni partem ocupauit. Mirsachimum fratrem, in montium rupes compulit. Caspirinum principem obtinuit. At uero toparchas, ac dinastas cæteros, qui commemoratis regibus parebant, arciumque præfectos uel sustulit e medio, uel in deditionem accepit, ad quadraginta ·

Kashmir, Sind, the Jām subject-ed. The Dakhin coveted. Dāud Shāh, 4 Rānā Partāb Singh, Meytar Singh [Mattar Sen?] killed. Muzaffar Khān defeat-ed, etc.

F. 92a. 1 quorum nomina barbara, et nimium dura, atque ijs, quæ paulo ante adduximus, similia, consulto prætermitto. Cuius potentiam, finitimi reguli, cum reformidarent, et se posse resistere desperarent, sponte ei uectigales, et stipendiarij facti sunt. Nec mirum, cuiquam uideri debet, cum a Pseudostomo Gangis, ad Chabulum duodeuiginti

An empire of 18° of long. and 21° of lat.

2 ferme *gradibus latitudo pateat,⁴ et a littore Gedrosiæ, ad Vxenti | montis iuga, quæ ad Gangem uergunt, ab oriente sole, *undeuiginti gradibus,⁵ longitudo decurrat : si finibus Indi, et Gangis uix egressus, tot prouincias, atque conuentus, suo imperio subdiderit, urbesque * expugnauerit.⁶ Est enim India, omnium Asiæ prouinciarum, maxima, longe, lateque amplissima, *cuius descriptionem sequenti libro, si Deus dederit, explicabimus.⁷

M.'s second book.

3 Enimuero Fatteपुरi, | institutum Lahuri, de legatione, ad Philippum Hispaniarum regem, sermonem repetijt, et cum Rodolfo egit · ut is Sacerdos, qui cum eo, in castris uersatus erat, cum suis legatis proficisceretur. Duos enim designauit, alterum qui in Hispaniam nauigaret, generis nobilitate illustrem · alterum qui Goæ consisteret, eundem qui sacerdotes, ex Goæ insula adduxerat · uirum quidem | probum, quantum perfidus animus sinit, ex factione Xæorum : utpote qui Persa esset.

M. & Sayyid Muzaffar to go to Spain ; 'Abdullah, a Shi'ah, to go to Gca.

4 Quæ factio, a Xa Ismaele, Persidis Rege, annis abhinc, fere octoginta,* *i.e.*, circiter annum millesimum et quingentesimum a Christi natali orbisque salutari die,⁷ noua superstitione, inducta est · cuius homines Ahalidem, tanquam Dei uices gerentem, Vahallah inclamant,* id est diuinæ dominationis iurisque uicarium, uel Dei sanctum.⁷ Ferunt enim, Gabrieli, Alcorani librum, ad Ahalidem afferenti (uidete anilem

Shi'ah legends. 'Aii and the Angel Gabriel.

F. 92b. 1 fabulam)|| Mahammedem occurrisset. Quem cum Gabriel interrogasset, “Tunc Ahalis es?” quæsiuit ipse. “Quid uero boni, ad eum affers?” Conspicabatur enim librum. Cui angelus · “Librum hunc, a Deo, ueracem, quo homines, corrigendi,

¹ Later addition. ² 1st : illud. ³ 1st : orbe plumbeo, ex tubo confecit.

⁴ 1st : spatijs latitudo pateat (quæ Geographi gradus dicunt).

⁵ 1st : septem et triginta spatijs.

⁶ 1st : debellauerit.

⁷ Later addition.

ac dirigendi sunt. Ipse enim est, Dei nuntius.' Tunc Mahammedes, tam honori-
 2 ficæ prouinciæ, ac nominis cupidus, dixit. "Ego sum." Cui cum Gabriel | credi-
 disset, librum tradidit: ab homine, angelus delusus, scilicet. Deus uero, ut stultis-
 sime, impijssimeque confingunt, quoniam Mahammedes, uir bonus, et Propheta
 3 esset. rei euentum sequutus, ei librum permisit, et ut esset nuntius comprobauit.
 Quare, cum Dei sententia, potior Ahalis sit, quam Mahammedes. et a nuntij digni-
 tate, Mahammedis fallacia, et | Gabriele (si Deo placet) simplici exciderit: cum
 melius sit, ut aiunt, mereri quam obtinere: et ad eum nuntij nomen, deferre neque-
 ant: *uices apud homines et numen Dei tenentis¹ dignitatem, referunt. Quæ res,
 omnium bellorum, inter Persas et Turcas seminarium, et fomes est. Hos cæteri Aga-
 4 reni, contumelioso nomine, | * Raffiginos,² hoc est, hæreticos, uocant. qui profecto,
 ad simulachrorum uenerationem, quodammodo redire iudicantur. Nam Leoni, quasi
 Ahalidis signo, uenerationem tribuunt cuiusdam fabulæ, cui Gabrielem immiscent,
 5 authoritate freti. quæ incerto quidem authore, sic fertur. Cum Mahammedes, in
 cælum ascendisset, ei fremebundus leo occurrit. Cuius aspectu territus, cum pedem
 referret: ait ei Gabriel, "Ne reformides. Anulum quem geris in digito, quo epistolas
 F. 93a. 1 obsignas," in ipsius os conijcito." Quod cum fecisset, abiit leo. At, cum in terras
 descendisset Mahammedes: ei Ahalis gratulabundus occurrit, anulum eum gestans,
 quem ille in os eius, sub leonis effigie iniecerat. Videte quæso, quibus nænijs, Aga-
 2 reni, fidem tribuant. quos duces sequantur, quorum uestigijs insistant: | quos pro-
 phetas, quos nuntios, quos rerum diuinarum interpretes iactent. At illud execran-
 dum est, quod Gabrielem suarum nugarum, internuntium, impudenter, et impie, in
 hoc theatrum producant. qui Gabriel, in primis cæli principibus; et Dei administris,
 a sacrorum librorum monumentis, et sanctorum patrum scriptis, ac a communi totius
 Sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ, et omnium Christianorum consensu, adnumeratur. At uero
 Persæ ad priscorum superstitionem redire eo iudicantur, quod prisci solem ab ipsis
 Mithram nominatum coluerunt. Cuius simulachrum *rictu³ leonis capite tiaram gestan-
 [tis] qui prehensum cornibus [tau]rum teneret effingitur. Sic enim poeta quidam
 cecinit.

Adsis, o memor hospitij, Iunoniaque arua
 Dexter ames; seu te roseum Titana uocari
 Gentis Achæmeniaë ritu; seu præstat Osirim
 Frugiferum; seu Persei sub rupibus antri
 Indignata sequi torquentem cornua Mithram.

Stat. lib. 1.
Th[eb. vv. 716
-720].
Strab. lib. 15.

Nostro hoc etiam tempore Persæ in uexillo candido leonem pictum magno rictu,
 et inuadenti ac frendenti similem gerunt, quod uexillum cum explicatur [Ahalim] in
 ea effigie magnis et inconditis clamoribus uahallah salutant et [1 line near the margin
 cut through] Mithridatis nomen [some words missing?].⁴

¹ 1st: uices Dei gerentis.

² 1st: Raffiginos (?). In the Index occurs the form "Ráffigi."

³ This seems the right reading, especially as we have below: "leonem magno rictu." It is certainly not "uultu."

⁴ The whole of this paragraph is bracketed in the MS.—"At uero Persæ (fol. 93a. 2) . . . Mithridatis nomen" is a later addition.

3 Verum hos missos | faciamus. Dum Fatteपुरi, legationis negotium transigitur, nuntium, ad sacerdotes uenit, Damani, cum Mongolis, propter Bútzárem, bellum esse. *Butsar, i.e., simulachrica-put.*
 Est autem Bútzáris, oppidum agri Damanici, quod a Zelaldini Regis amita, cum esset *Butsar, i.e., simulachrica-put.*
 Suratæ, ut Meccam nauigaret, Lusitanis, dono datum est. quo si forte, in Lusitano-
 4 rum classem incideret, amice, et beneuole, tractaretur. | Quæ posteaquam redijt, ut
 quæ Lusitanorum amicitia, non indigeret. Suratensibus, ut oppidum, cum agro, a
 Lusitanis repeterent, edixit. Qui cum equitum manum misissent, a Lusitanis fortiter
 repulsi, aliquot milites amiserunt. Est etiam Regi, et Mongolorum genti, quæ super-
 ba, et arrogans est, utpote quæ, a tenera ||ætate,* militia insolens fieri assuescat: ¹ mo-
 lestum et grave; quod ad tute nauigandum, Diu adire, et facultatem, quibusdam
 conditionibus accipere, compellantur. quod si facere recusent, et in Lusitanorum
 manus, eorum naues deueniant, illis perinde, ac si hostium essent, prædæ sint. Qua
 ex re, cum magnum damnum, * Baroccij, ² et Suratæ præfecti, accipiant: qui * contu-
 2 macia ³ quadam, | naues, sine facultate, mittere non desistunt: magnum ob eam
 caussam, odium, in Lusitanos habent. Atque tum, propter plagam Bútzári acceptam, *Bulsári, 5*
 tum propter nauem, a Lusitanis interceptam, eo res progressa est, *ut obscuræ simul-
 tates a Mongolis susceptæ propter Regis erga Christianos beneuolentiam in apertas
 inimicitias traducerentur. Nam speculatores, simulata amicitia, in agrum Damani-
 cum sceleratissime miserunt, et cum ⁴ Lusitana classis, quam Iacobus Lopezius
 3 Coutignus ducebat: | in hostio esset Taphti fluuij, qui Surate, in mare illabatur: et
 aliquot iuuenes, * amicitia Regis erga nos freti, ⁵ auiculas captandi, et animi relaxandi
 causa in littus descendissent: ex insidijs, quas noctu collocarant, inopinantes armis
 sunt adorti, et cum cæteri aufugissent, et ægre, ad naues, et cum magno discrimine
 peruenissent, ex ijs nouem interceperunt, quos Suratem, cum triumpho deduxerunt,
 *ac postridie ad supplicium iniurijs affectos eo traxerunt, quod a se latam conditio-
 4 nem, | quam putabant esse æquissimam repudiassent. Hæc fuit ut ⁶ si uellent ad Aga-
 renorum, atque adeo suam credulitatem, transire, non solum præsens, quod ante
 oculos habebant, periculum euaderent, sed etiam multis diuitijs, honoribusque cu-
 mularentur: nec defuturas, pulchras, ac nobiles mulieres, quibuscum matrimonium
 F. 94 a. 1 coniungerent. Qui profecto iuuenes, forti, et constanti animo || * in datam optionem
 et conditionem non descenderunt, sed potius illam ut impiam et execrandam et ipsum
 Mahammedem tanquam auspiciu malum detestati supplicium subierunt. ⁷ *Qui-
 bus ad martyrium ueluti antesignanus fuit nobilis iuuenis et claro genere natus I du-
 arduus Pereyra a Lacerda, cuius fidei et constantiæ tantum reliqui sodales tribuebant
 ut, quum ab Agarenis ad defectionem prope compellerentur, hac se responsione ex
 eorum improbitate et audacia eximebant [*sic*: Read: eximerent]: “Quoquo uersus
 se Eduardus feret nos sequemur.” At ille constantissime perfidos homines ab se
 suisque socijs datis ceruicibus abegit. Nam cæteri eius exemplum sequuti uitam pro
 Christi religione mira fortitudine cum morte commutarunt, et in eas oras demigrarunt

¹ Ist: in militia assuescat.² Ist: Barochij³ Ist: proteruia.⁴ Ist: ut primum exploratores simulata amicitia in agrum Damanicum mitterent. Deinde cum⁵ Later addition.⁶ Ist: qui postridie ad supplicium producti sunt: quibus conditio proposita est ut.⁷ Ist: impositam conditionem abiecerunt. et ipsum Mahammedem execrati, supplicium subierunt.

A.'s aunt,
Gulbadan
Begam, goes
to Mecca.

Butsar
given to Goa.
Promises
broken. War
with Damān.
Moghul re-
F. 93b. 1
verses.

Moghul ship
seized.
9 of Diogo
Lopes Cou-
tinho's men
taken

and executed
at Surat.

Christian
heroism.

F. 94 a. 1

Duarte
Pereyra de
Lacerda their
leader.

- quas illi incolunt qui e uita honestissime et laudatissime acta exasseruntur. Fuit illis quidem uita breuis, at cursus gloriæ sempiternus. Præter sacræ huius cohortis signiferi nomen, reliquorum nomina assequi non potui.¹ Eorum uero capita, Fattapurum ad regem sunt deportata, quod Sacerdotes, se ignorare simulabant. Rex item non solum se scire dissimulauit; sed cum rei fama, adeo peruulgata esset, ut Suratensis arcis præfectus ipse, Sacerdotibus narraret · nec amplius, rem ignorare, præ se ferre possent, | ab ijs interrogatus Rex, negauit se, occisorum capita uidisse: accepisse tamen, atque id ægerrime tulisse, quod ad Damanum, et Suratem pugnatum esset. Enimuero, ulterius deductum est, belli, negotium. Nam coacto a Cutubdicano, * Barocij² subregulo, quindecim millium equitum exercitu, tum ex sui conuentus, stipendiarijs, tum Campaneriensis conuentus, quem Nourancanus, eius filius, qui tum | temporis, apud Regem erat, tuebatur; quibus etiam se, Suratensis præfecturæ copiæ, adiunxerunt · ipse in agrum Damanensem, animo arcem oppugnandi, uenit · et ab eo agro, omnem regionem ad Agassaini usque amnem, percurrit · et vastavit · miserisque agrorum colonos, et piscatores, reliquamque plebeculam, in scopulos adigit · ad quos, cum non possent Mongoli, accedere: tanquam ad | asylum miseri confugiebant: verum æstu maris accedente, innumera muliercularum, et puerorum turba perijt. Cuius sceleris pœnas, haud multo post Cutubdicanus dedit, a Mussafaris, Gedrosiæ Regis, pulsus copijs uictus · et summo cum dedecore, a quodam milite, in * gossipij³ officina, latitans deprehensus, et continuo necatus. Mussafarus enim, ut patrium | regnum, ui, multaque iniuria, a Zelaldino ereptum, reciperet, inopinantium Mongolorum præsidia adortus est. At uero Martini Alfonsi Melij, qui Damanum tuebatur · Fernandi Castrij Xeuli præfecti, Emanuelis Saldanhae Bassaini præfecti, et Fernandi Mirandæ, qui regiam classem ducebat; fortitudine, atque consilio, et ueteranorum militum uirtute, Mongoli cum | damno abacti sunt. Nam ubi auditum est, eos aduentare, auxilia, ex uicinis præsidijs, et præsidiorum quos commemorauimus præfecti Damanum confluerunt. Cum uero Mongoli, * Danuhum, qui uicus nec magnum nec firmum Lusitanorum præsidium habebat,⁴ obsiderent: uirtute Joannis Athaidij, * cuius erat uicus et præsidium,⁵ elephante, et aliquot militibus amissis, * eminus missilibus, telis et glandibus abacti⁶ aufugerunt.
- 3 Quod, cum ad Sacerdotes perlatum fuisset, | et ipsi, animo offensi, Regi renuntiassent, huius belli, se non fuisse conscium, deierauit. Aiebat enim, Cutubdicanum, et Naebcanum, homines senes, ea autoritate, qua apud se ualere intelligebant, et senili quadam fiducia, multa adoriri, quæ tum ipse ignoraret, tum reprehendere non auderet · quoniam in suam gratiam, et publicam utilitatem, facta | uiderentur · eo quod Christiani, Agarenorum hostes habeantur. Quæ Regis responsio, ob id Sacerdotibus, quodammodo uerisimilis fiebat, quia duces illi, Regem ob inconstantiam oderant · et quoniam ea sunt Mongoli sagacitate, * ut dum crudis et immaturis adhuc rebus sui consilij et uoluntatis explendæ occasionem et tempus expectant, nunquam suo officio desint · donec res maturescant.

F. 95a 1

¹ Later addition.² Ist: Barochij.³ Ist: gausapis.⁴ Ist: niculum, ubi exiguum Lusitanorum præsidium est.⁵ Ist: qui præsidio præerat.⁶ Later addition.⁷ Ist: ut nunquam suo officio desint, dum occasionem et tempus expectant sui consilij et uoluntatis explendæ, quamdiu res acerbe sunt, et immature, donec maturescant.

Pedro de
Menezes out-
wits the Mo-
ghuls at Diu.

At uero, cum expetentibus Sacerdotibus,* Rex¹ suo præcepto, illorum ducum copias, ex Damanensi agro reuocasset, ac illi, dicto citius, paruissent: Regem in tot tantisque sceleribus conuiuere, et occultum bellum fouere, non leui coniectura ducebantur. Quod tum demum, uerum esse, compertum est · cum Diu, Petro Menesio præfecto, magnam armorum | copiam, intra gossipij sarcinas inuehi, et Mongolos simulata amicitia, illac iter agere, commeatum a Lusitanis quasi a socijs petere, et quam nacti essent occasionem, dolo arcem occupandi, arripere imperauit. Qui accurate iussa fecerunt · et * cibarijs pretio acceptis, tanquam amici² a præfecto, arcem inermes pellustrare, permissi sunt · militibus Lusitanis, in excubijs, et suis locis constitutis, qui Mongolos, aliquid | molientes, trucidarent. Maluit enim Petrus, insidias, et prodicionem, se nosse dissimulare · quam inconsulto Indiæ Subrege: bellum cum finitimo, eoque copijs instructissimo Rege suscipere. Et Mongoli exitu frustrati, postridie castra Dio mouerunt. Hæc cum agitarentur, Rex sæpenumero, a | Sacerdotibus quæsiuit, quisnam Dij præfectus esset? Ac tunc quidem, quorsum Rex, eos interrogaret, ne minimum quidem olfaciebant.

Recalled
by the Pro-
vicial.

F. 95b. 1

A. swears
to his Inno-
cence.

Per id tempus, a Præposito Prouinciæ, ad illos allatæ literæ sunt, quibus eos ita reuocabat, ut tamen integrum illis esset, id agere, quod ad maiorem Dei gloriam, * casurum³ fore iudicarent. Qui cum Regem, per summam fraudem, et malitiam, amicitias cum hero | nostro, Hispaniarum Rege fingere, quasi manibus tangerent: ab eo, abeundi facultatem, modeste quidem, et summa cum demissione, petierunt. Qui, cum eos, superiorum bellorum tumultibus, offensos, eam facultatem petere, existimaret: iure iurando, se illarum cædium, authorem non fuisse, affirmauit. Cui peieranti cum minime crederent, nam Agarenorum iuri | iurando, nihil fidei tribuendum est · ipsorum enim doctor Mahammedes,* spurcissimus et ineptissimus illorum legis architectus, homo post homines malos longe improbissimus,⁴ hostibus peierare licere docet, nihilo secius tamen, hoc consilium ceperunt · uti alter, cum legatis proficisceretur · Præpositumque Prouinciæ, omnium rerum, quæ actæ, et quo loco, tunc essent, commonefaceret, alter remaneret · ne, dum aliqua spei lux, uel minima, alicuius animarum | lucri, effulgéret, Regem deseruisse uiderentur. Licet enim ea, quæ dicta sunt, esse omnia ficta, et fraudibus plena ostenderent, alia tamen, quæ paucis enumerabo, spem nostram, non mediocriter subleuabant.

Monserrate
to return.

3

Hopeful
signs.

Primum erat, quod posteaquam, Fattepurum, ex bello redijt, nouum ardorem, diuinarum rerum perdiscendarum, concepisse uisus est. Nam ipso primo die | quo uenit, Rodolfo dixit · “ Meus quidem animus, erga Christianam legem, Deo apertus, “ atque perspectus est · qui quanto studio, eam perdiscere optem, cognoscit. Verum, “ uos equidem percipere non possum, qui tres Deos esse dicitis.” — “ Nequaquam,” occurrit Rodolfus, “ o Rex, tres deos dicimus, hoc enim impium est, et a fide Christi-

4

A. seeks in-
struction
again.

F. 96 a. 1

Wanted, a
Persian scho-
lar, once a
Moor.

“ anorum alienum · sed unum Deum || et tres personas, in uno Deo ueneramur, Patrem, “ Filium, et Spiritum sanctum.” Quod cum suis dixisset, ad Rodolfum iterum, “ Scribite,” inquit, “ ad uestros, ut diligenter, hominem perquirant, qui bene Persi- “ cum, et Lusitanicum sermonem calleat, et si fieri possit, qui aliquando Agareus

¹ Later addition.

² ist: cibarijs pro pretio, tanquam amici, acceptis.

³ ist: cessurum.

⁴ Later addition.

2 "extiterit, et in utraque lege fuerit uersatus." Deinde in priuato | colloquio ei dixit,
 League with Spain against the Turk. Embassy to Rome. Joy at R.'s staying on
 se aduersus Turcarum Regem, fœdus, cum Lusitaniæ Rege, uelle inire, pecuniaque regem iuuare, tum ad Summum Pontificem, salutandum, socium eius, si ipse maneret, mittere. Præterea, se inuitum dare, ambobus facultatem abeundi, apertissime ostendebat. Et cum tandem, unum e duobus, mansurum intellexit: mirum in modum, gauisus est. | illisque ob eam rem, bene precatus, eorum laudes, in magno suorum cœtu prædicauit, ut eos, tam honorificæ prædicationis, puderet. Atque Rodolfo, qui erat mansurus, dixit: "Procul dubio, * hîc si manseris Deo fore gratius existimo, quam si me solum deserueris.¹ Nam apud tuos, non desunt, qui * in tuum locum sufficiantur.² At si hinc abieris, nemo | est, qui * pro te substituatur."³ Et in priuato quodam colloquio, cum de legationis argumento, inter tres tantum ageretur. et Pontificiæ dignitatis, amplitudinem, ab ipsis didicisset: rogareturque, quid suo nomine, Summo Pontifici significari uellet (non sine animi dolore commemoro, cum in *mentem⁴ uenit, Pontificiam dignitatem, quam Agarenius Rex suspiciat, uel ea tantum caussa, quod Christi uicem gerere, ab externis hominibus, || audierit: ab ijs contemni, et ludibrio haberi, qui se Christianos, sed iniuria, et nouos Evangelij restitutores iactant) dixit. "Intellexisse me, dices, quam ampla, atque augusta Summi Pontificis Romani, esset dignitas, quippe qui * Christi loco in terris sit. ⁵ et audiuisse me, reges omnes, ad eius pedes accidere. denique te, a me mitti, ut eius pedes meo nomine | osculeris, quando ego præsens, osculari coram non possum. et ut ab eo impetres, ut ad me aliqua * perscribi imperet,⁶ quibus me Dei uiam doceat. (opto enim ueritatem cognoscere) et * modum quo regna, quæ mihi parent, in magno timore administrem, qui a reuerentia aduersus Deum oriatur, ut post cœli atque terrarum futuram deflagrationem quando grauissimum illud Dei iudicium subiero, exigui meæ uitæ curriculi⁷ reddere rationem sciam." Quibus alia adiecit, quæ a pijssimo quodam Christiano Rege, prodire uidebantur. | Ad hæc se non esse Agarenum, professus est. nec Mahammeddis symbolo, quicquam tribuere. *prosequi autem eorum sectam qui tantummodo Deum unum sine compare, ut eius uerbis utar, inuocant et uestigijs odorantur, quæ est Sauphiorum schola. ⁸ ac nihili facere uxores, filios, diuitias, regna, præ ut, ueritatem discat. Nec sibi fore quicquam impedimento, quominus legem acciperet, si aut a Summo Pontifice, aut a Præposito Societatis, aut ab ipsis, aut denique | a quouis pauperulo * et humili homine,⁹ aliquid audiret, quod *in eius animum et cor¹⁰ penetraret. Quod uero, ad filios attinebat: se genus maternum, a Cingiscano ducere, qui decem filios habuisse ferebatur, quorum nemini uim attulit, ut unam potius, quam aliam legem sequeretur. ex quibus unus, fuisse Christianus ferebatur. Se similiter filijs integrum relinquere, ut quam malint legem * accipiant.¹

F. 97a. 1 Nec synceri eius animi, uulgare argumentum || putabant, quod se adeo diligeret,

¹ Ist: plus hic pietati, que in Dei uoluntate facienda est, manendo seruiens, quam si me solum deseras.

² Ist: tuas uices subeant

³ Ist: tibi succedat.

⁴ Ist: memoriam.

⁵ Ist: uicem Christi in terris habeat.

⁶ Ist: perscribat.

⁷ Ist: rationem, qua regna, que mihi parent, cum Dei timore administrem, ut in extremo iudicij die.

⁸ Ist: esse uero Dei inuocantem et uestigatorem.

⁹ Later addition

¹⁰ Ist: in cor.

¹¹ Ist: amplectantur.

Talabghoda, i. e., Dei uestigatorem.

A. not a Moor, but a *Talab-Khudā* seeks advice from the Pope or the General S. J.

His sons, like Cingiz Khan's, to choose their own religion.

Kindness
to R. & M.
when ill.

Orders to
B h a g w ā n
Dās and Jā-
dū (?) Dās.

homines peregrinos, et diuersæ omnino religionis, Sacerdotes: a quibus, libere, cum res ferebat, commonefieret, eorumque curam perinde, ac si eius essent filij, ageret. Quod aperte ostendit vtrique morbo laboranti; nam diligentissime, de eorum salute, interrogabat, sumptus liberalissime dabat, et Bagoandæ regulo, Lahorum proficiscenti, ut in sumptum *pecuniam, si qua¹ | indigerent, *elargiretur imperauit²: ac cum alter, infirma ualetudine, Ceynandi remansisset, et ab Agarenis illi timeret: Jadondæ Brachmanæ, Delini ciui, edixit, ut a suis familiaribus, eum Fattepurum usque, datis sumptibus,* non solum necessarijs, sed etiam liberalibus³ deduci curaret.

3
Murād
taught by Ru-
dolf.

Cum igitur his omnibus ducti, *et⁴ satius esse in hac re falli, quam nimium cautos esse: iudicarent, rei | euentum Deo committere, nec amplius, de Regis uoluntate dubitare, statuerunt. Ac Rodolfus, qui mansurus erat, instituendi regis filij uram suscepit . alter sese ad iter parare instituit.

4
The Nau-
roz (March
1582).

At Rex *recentis,⁵ uictoriæ recordatione, iucundus . festos dies agere, mense Martio, constituit . qui Naorus, hoc est nouendialia, uel noui dies | dicuntur. Nam a mense Martio, more Judæorum, gentilica institutione, non quidem ex Mahammeddis præscripto, Mongoli annum inchoant . diesque festos, hos * veteri consuetudine institutoque maiorum anniuersarios agunt.⁶ Nam mense Martio, Sogdianis, Bactris, |

F. 97 b. 1

Scythis, et cæteris gentibus, qui ultra trigesimum sextum gradum, ad Aquilonem, habitant, non aliter quam in Europa, ineunte uere, *agri fruges pubescunt, florum omnium varietate arbores uestiuntur, odorum suauitates e floribus afflantur, omnia denique ridere campis collibusque nitidissimis et uiridissimis uidentur.⁷ Quare primis, eius mensis, nouem diebus, *hi populi⁸ a laboribus cessant, in agros exeunt, hortos petunt, splendide epulantur, *et pretiosiore atque lautiore uestitu tecti procedunt.⁹

Tudo esta
trellado.⁸

Unusual
splendour.

Sunt uero | *hæc nouendialia, argento, ueste, omni apparatu ornatuque visendo, ludisque magnificentissimis a Zelaldino acta, sic, inquam, ut¹⁰ a plerisque diceretur, a triginta annis, *perinde ut hæc dabantur, a prioribus regibus, non fuisse celebrata.¹¹ Nam parietes, et columnas atrij, aurea, serica, bombycinaque stragula, *et peristromata⁸ uestiebant. Ludi fiebant . et spectacula dabantur, a Rege quotidie. Ipse regijs insignibus, *in sella aurea coronatus¹² in quam per gradus ascendebatur, sedit.

Jogī dan-
ces.

Munera, *plerisque ducibus, qui eum fuerant comitati, largitus est.¹³ Denique | omni hominum generi *indici iussit,¹⁴ ut uel saltando, uel canendo, aut pulsando, indicium lætitiæ daret. *Omnium qui ea caussa uenerunt, multitudinem muneribus congiarijs epulisque leniuit.¹⁵ Quo factum est . ut integræ Joguium familiæ cum suis præsidibus

Women
visit the pal-
ace.

uenirent. Qui cum speciem tantum, non rem assequuti | sint religionis: profanè, et triualiter, deposita religionis persona, impudenter, et impudicè saltabant, et canendo, Regis laudes percensebant. Facultas data est fœminis, ut regiam adirent . quo eius * magnificum⁸ apparatus spectarent. Verum, adeo inter Agarenos increbuerat:

1 Ist: as, si quod.

2 Ist: tribueret.

3 Later addition.

4 Redundant.

5 Ist: pristinae.

6 Ist: eius nationis consuetudo induxit.

7 Ist: agri pubescunt, arbores flores emittunt, omnia denique ridere uidentur.

8 Later addition.

9 Ist: et ornatu se uestiunt.

10 Ist: tanto apparatu hæc nouendialia a Zelaldino acta, ut; endly: "auro" deleted after "argento."

11 Ist: huiusmodi a superioribus regibus non esse acta

12 Ist: in gestatoria sella

13 Ist: in plerosque duces qui eum sunt comitati conuulit.

14 Ist: indictum est.

15 Ist: omnibus, qui ea caussa uenirent, cibaria dari imperauit.

- F. 98a. 1 Regem Deiparæ Virgini Mariæ, addictum esse: ut e *proceribus¹ quidam, qui neces-
 situdine cognationis, cum Rege coniunctus erat, Virginis effigiem pulcherrimam, quæ
 apud regem erat, clam, a supellectilium custode petitam, illo inscio, in eo peristilij
 triclinio, qui e regione regiæ cuiusdam mænianæ, in eodem atrio, in quo Rex consi-
 dere, et se uidendum, alloquendumque, præbere solet . elegantissimo, et | præstantis-
 simo, aureorum stragulorum, et linteorum instructu atque ornatu, circumscriptam,
 *circumuestitam ac circumseptam² collocarat . utpote qui, id regi fore gratissimum,
 intelligebat. Nec eum fefellit opinio, nam eius uoluntatem collaudauit: quod etiam,
 Sacerdotes non mediocri lætitia affecit . cum illius effigiem, *ab alienis a Christianæ
 religionis institutis³ coli, et honore affici uiderent . et quasi ueritate coactos, | non
 denegare eius imagini cultum, quam laudant astra matutina, cuius pulchritudinem
 Sol, et Luna mirantur . cui impudenter conuittantur, quidam qui se Christum sequi,
 et Euangelij ministros esse, uanissime jactant . qui, uel ipsis Agarenis, sunt deteriores.
 Jamvero cum inter *mystagogos⁴ Regios, sermo incidisset, de Bethsabe, uxore
 Vriæ: accersiri Sacerdotes, rex iussit, ut ab eis rei | gestæ ueritatem, audiret: quod
 ansam disputationi dedit, quæ ad dimidiam usque noctem, producta est. Cuius sum-
 ma capita, tantum proponam. Atque in primis Sacerdotes quæsierunt, quonam
 pacto, eam sententiam Mahammeddis interpretarentur, qua secundo capite *Syn-
 thematis,⁵ Albaccara, *i.e.*, uacca, asserit: unumquemque in sua lege saluum esse posse:
 cum multis alijs locis, damnet eos, qui Alcorano, et sibi non credunt . quos sæpe ini-
 quos, atque infideles, et exleges nominat. Qua quæstione percussi, cum imparati
 essent (nec enim adeo sunt religioni dediti, ut suarum superstitionum, librum uersent, ||
 et addiscant) primum inficiati sunt, sic esse in Alcorano scriptum. At, cum a Sacer-
 dotibus, adducto libro, locus esset apertissime, omnibus commonstratus, uarie locum,
 sed insulse, atque inepte, et præter rem, interpretari conati sunt. Quidam eorum
 dixit, se per duos annos, diligenter, et accurate eius sententiæ, sensum peruestigasse,
 nec reperire potuisse. Reliqui, Sacerdotum interpretationem, | sunt sequuti: esse
 scilicet, temere, et false dictum. Quidam occurrit, intelligendum esse, si credant in
 Prophetam, et unum Deum, sine particeps inclament . Laillah illallah . non est Deus
 præter Deum. Cui Rodolfus, “ Si id uerum est, non est opus, ut in Mahammeddis
 “ symbolo, dicatur . Mahammed rassul allah . hoc est Mahammeddes, Dei nuntius.”
 *Quod omnes non probarunt tantum, sed etiam laudarunt;⁶ | et in ijs præcipue, Rex
 ipse, qui ægre, *ferebat,⁷ Mahammeddis nomen inclamari . quem ipse nulla sancti-
 tatis laude ornatum, sed flagitiosissimum, et impijssimum hominem fuisse, nec ab re,
 *opinabatur.” At ille hac consecraria conclusione percussus et ultra disputando
 urgere uerecundans manus dedit. At uero interpretatio qua hunc locum exposuit
 inepta fuisse ostenditur. Nam si quis repudiet legem cui parebat et effectus Mussele-
 manus moriatur atque animo saluus et incolumis conseruetur (quod non damus) jam
 non in ea lege quam perrupit seruetur sed in Mahammeddis lege quam accepit. Secum
 ergo Mahammedes pugnat cum asserit neminem qui legem suam non obseruauerit

*Abdul sa-
man . mune-
ris huius no-
men est, i.e.,
rutorum cæ-
sorum ser-
uus.*²

Long dis-
cussion.

David and
Bethsabe.
Conflicting
texts of the
Qorān.
“ Unbelie-
vers can be
saved.”

Ch. II sū-
ratu'l Baqa-
rah.

¹ 1st: magnatibus.

² Later addition.

³ 1st: ab exsartibus Christianæ religionis.

⁴ 1st: literatores.

⁵ 1st: Alcorani.

⁶ 1st: quod omnes probarunt, et laudarunt.

⁷ 1st: fert.

⁸ 1st: opinatur.

posse animo incolumi conseruari: et posse unamquamque legem eos qui eam diligenter obseruent et Musselemani non sint saluos præstare. Quod si ita accepisset, ut iste interpretabatur, nullus post homines generatos æque atque ipse indoctus, rusticus, et agrestus fuisse reperiretur, qui legem homini qui illam neglexerit fore salutarem fuerit arbitratus. Asserebat autem Mahammeddes posse unumquemque in sua lege saluum conseruari, tum quod fateretur legum libros Thorah Pentateucum, Zabur Psalmos, Ingil Euangelium, a Deo prodijsse, tum ne uoluntatem Judæorum et Christianorum a se penitus abalienaret. Neminem uero saluum conseruatum iri qui in legem a se latam non iurasset, ideo scripsisse credendus est, ut a se homines inescatos et quasi pisces jam hamo captos, ne sese ex laqueis extricarent [1 or 2 lines cut off from the lower margin].¹

Obiecerunt sacerdotes, quod e superiore *argumentatione² efficiebatur, non obscuram esse, in Alcorano, locorum concursationem, et contentionem. Quod cum præterea ostenderetur, ex plerisque Alcorani locis, compulsi | sunt locos conciliare. Qua in re, cum frustra laborarent, ait Rodolfus, “Quare in re manifesta, et in medio posita, et aperta discruciamini?” Et Rex, “Vera prædicat.” Ipsi, rem interrogaturi a Mahammede, apud inferos, conticuerunt. Addidit, locum illum, mendacium continere, eo quod ab orbe condito, una tantum fuerit lex, hominibus a Deo data, alio quidem, atque alio modo, ab ipso Deo explicata. Ac in primis temporibus, Adamus, et Noes primi interpretes, posteris, eius pauca præcepta tradiderunt.

Adam,
Noah, Moses,
Christ, the ex-
ponents of
Revelation.

F. 99a. 1

Moyses in monte, cui Deus sub rubi flamma || apparuit, quam accepit explicationem legis, posteritati promulgauit. At uero, Christus Dei Filius · Patris Verbum, qui nos in libertatem uindicauit · ut audiuit a Patre, quem semper, absque principio, audit, nobis interpretatus est · quæ interpretatio Euangelio, cui credimus continetur. Ad quæ, ne uerbum quidem. Cum a Sacerdotibus demonstrationem peterent, earum

“Faith its
own proof,
and a gift of
God.”

2 rerum, quas docebant: num | quæ ad credendum proponebantur, demonstratione egerent, disputatum est: atque effectum, fidem loco demonstrationis esse, earum rerum, quæ ad credendum, propositæ a Deo sunt · stultumque *simul,³ et impium esse, earum rerum demonstrationem quærere, quæ altiora sunt, quam ut eas, nos humi strati suspicere possimus. Quod Regi, Abdulfasilio, et medicorum supremo, cum esset persuasum: | fidem donum esse Dei, Rex, et Abdulfasilius non admiserunt · et fidem gratiamque, eandem esse uirtutem, instabant, atque urgebant. At Sacer-

Faith and
grace con-
fused by A.
and Abu-i-
Fazl.

3 dotes, cum uerborum inopia, et accommodato interprete laborarent: et quædam, ab illis, Arabice dicerentur, uerbi esse quæstionem suspicati, non admodum obsistendum existimarunt. Erat enim aliquando futurum, ut ocasionem, rei explicationem enar-

“Christ,
not the Son,
but the Spirit
& the Word,
of God.”

4 randi | nanciscerentnr. Tandem cum durum esse dicerent, Deo filium tribuere · et Christum Dei Filium esse dicere: responderunt durius esse Christum *Rhohallah*, hoc est Dei halitum, uel spiritum nominare: quam **Ebenallah*,⁴ hoc est Dei Filium · faciliusque esse, posito aliquo fidei fundamento, hoc efficere: cum esse *quelemetollah*, hoc est Dei uerbum, non Euangelium, solum sed ipsum etiam Alcoranum, capite quarto,

F. 99b. 1

Elnessa, affirmet · quam Dei halitum || esse confirmare · cum Deus, corpore careat,

Qorān. Ch.
IV, Suratu'n
Nisā.

¹ Later addition from: “At ille . . .” (fol. 98b. 3) and cancelled.

² Later addition.

³ 1st: iuxta.

⁴ 1st: Ahenallah.

quo halitum contineat, et pectore, pulmoneque: quo retrahat, et exhalet . et Alcoranum * quoad eam uocem, *calamctollah*¹ cum primis Euangelij uerbis consentire: quæ sic habent: “ In principio erat uerbum.” Quæ Persice Rodolfus explicauit . et adiecit, Deum carere accidentibus, ut omnia quæ in Deo sunt, sint ipse Deus. Ac cum, ad multam noctem disputatum | esset . et omnia Rex probasset, ipse cubitum discessit . qui initio huius disputationis in Sacerdotum aures insusurravit . “ Istorum causa, uos oro, ut nulli aculei, contumeliarum aduersus Mahammedem, in hac disputatione insint.” Quod illi, diligentissime obseruarunt.

Joan. I.

Ac cum Rex semper, in animo uersaret, in ea cogitatione defixus: apud quam gentem, vera Dei religio permaneret: rationem id exquirendi, non ineptam excogitauit.

Et quadam nocte, duces omnes, | *tum Agarenorum, tum² gentilium mystagogos, nostros denique Sacerdotes, in interius atrium Regiæ, conuenire iussit . cumque singulos duces, quasi per acies quasdam, ordine collocasset: literarum peritos omnes, et sacrorum magistros, coram se stare imperauit: et de uarijs rebus quæsiuit. Nostri vero Sacerdotes hanc occasionem nacti (quod iam antea secum constituerant) *rem quandam maxime dubitandam in contentione posuerunt.³ “ Cum (aiunt) | in * Syn-

A Congress of Religions.

The Qurān & the mountain.

F. 100a. 1

“ themate⁴ scriptum sit, ‘ Si liber hic, ad montem mittatur, discissus mons dehiscet ’: “ quærimus duo. Primum de quo libro, id intellexerit, num de illo, qui e cœlo dicitur “ delapsus, et a Gabriele Mahammedi traditus? an de omnibus alijs, qui ex eo descripti feruntur? Nam si de his intelligeret: quid erat cur, mons in quo eramus, non “ dehisceret, cum veracem prophetam esse oporteret? Plurimi enim libri, in eo monte “ erant. Quod si de libro, e cœlis allato intelligerent, || secundo quærebant . ubinam is “ esset? Num montem aliquem discidisset? ” Ingenue fassi sunt, non esse illa uerba, de ijs libris, qui passim circumferuntur, intelligenda. Cæterum, ubinam liber ille esset, cum certi nihil auderent affirmare, subterfugere conati, uaria commenta fingebant.

Quidam qui Sultanus Mekkæ, eo quod diu, illic fuisset, dicebatur: a Rege | ipso interrogatus, num Mekkæ seruaretur? se plane ignorare respondit. Et ad Sacerdotes .

Sultān Khwājah Abdul ‘Azim in a fix.

“ Videte, patres, ne existimetis, meos doctores, uobis ad unguem, uti est in Alcorano, “ responsuros. Unus enim quisque, ex suo sensu respondet.” Tum Sacerdotes . “ Omnibus qui adsunt * potestatem optionemque facimus ut eligant utrum uelint, “ aut librum perquirant,⁵ inuentum adducant, in campum descendant . nos in “ monte | relinquunt, ad montem librum mittant. Si mons dehiscat, nos periculum subire parati sumus,* aut si non dehiscat, librum esse totum ex fraude “ et mendacio compositum, nec a Deo missum, fateantur, cum ostenti promisso, “ ac recepto quod continet, ut esse Dei liber comprobetur, non satisfaciat nec fidem “ sponsoris liberet.”⁶ Occurrit quidam, *ὑπερβόληως*, esse dictum. Cui illi, “ Si verum

“ diceret, ad *ὑπερβόλη* esse illud etiam referendum, quod | Mahammedis, dimidiatam

The clefting of the moon no hyperbole?

“ lunam, lintæ interioris uestis, manica una, excepisset, altera, ut reliquæ parti iunge- “ retur, in cælum emisisset . quod Agareni in præcipuis Mahammedis miraculis, con-

1 Later addition.

2 1st: et literatores, ac.

3 1st: dubium hoc proposuerunt.

4 1st: Alcorano.

5 1st: optionem damus, ut librum perquirant.

6 1st: sed si non dehiscat intelligant librum esse mendacem . nec a Deo missum, cum ostenti promissis, quæ continet, ut se esse Dei librum probet, fallax et mendax sit.

“numerant. Quod si nulla subest,” aiunt, “huic dicto ὑπερβολή. nec illi ὑπερβολή¹ ad-
 A. 's speech. “misceri dicendum est.” Post hanc disputationem, breui oratione, omnes qui aderant,
 5 Rex alloquutus est. “Video,” | inquit, “uaria esse diuersarum uiarum, instituta; Gen-
 F. 100b. 1 “tiles enim aliud, nos aliud, *Jazdini † aliud, Judæi item, et Christiani, diuersa || do-
 “cent. Uniuscuiusque uero factionis homines, se optimis institutis, suæ religionis, alio-
 “rum religionum hominibus, præcellere opinantur, non tantum, uerum etiam, ad suam
 “credulitatem, reliquos pertrahere, contendunt. Quos, si non in eam transeant, non
 Other meet- “solum contemnant, sed etiam *ex eo sibi illos³ hostes habent. quod animo meo,
 ings to be “non tenuem scrupulum, et dubitationem inijcit. Quare uellem, statis diebus, ut
 held. 2 “libri omnium, legum | adducerentur, et magistri, ut eos audirem, conuenirent, atque
 “ut unusquisque obseruaret, quænam uerior, ac potior religio uideretur.” Et ad
 Sacerdotes orationem conuertit, et interrogauit, quænam auspicata dies, ac bona, ut
 All days ipse dicebat, futura uideretur? Cui illi, inauspicatam, et malam diem nullam esse,
 auspicious. etsi alias, aliis esse meliores contingeret, responderunt. “Nam cum dies omnis, Dei
 3 “mandato elucesceret, qui malum non facit, | nulla dies mala, si ipsa consyderetur,
 “dici potest. Quod enim in Euangelio scribitur (hoc enim nomine, Testamentum
 “Nouum, Agareni, cum quibus agebatur appellant) . ‘Videte, fratres, quomodo *Ephes. 5. D.*
 “caute ambuletis, non quasi insipientes, sed ut sapientes, redimentes tempus, quo-
 “niam dies mali sunt’: eo dictum est, quod eius ætatis homines, mali essent uel
 “etiam, quod ea ætas, Antechristi aduentui proxima, calamitosa, et ijs qui Christo
 4 “crederent exitiosa esset. Dicimus uero, lucem ei male | *cecidisse,⁴ qui se flagitijs
 “contaminat, suo, non diei, uitio. Christus etiam, per *συνεκδόχημ* dixit, ‘Sufficit diei
 “malitia sua.’ Bonæ item dies, aut meliores, ab ijs, quæ nobis *in illis³ eueniunt,
 “eadem figura loquendi, *denominantur.⁵ Ac cum res quæ ad laudem, et honorem
 “Dei, et animarum utilitatem conferunt, inchoandæ sunt, nihil opus est inuestigare,
 5 “auspicatane, | ac bona, dies sit: an uero inauspicata et mala. cum nec natura sua,
 “ut dictum est, nec ab affectis rebus, mala, et inauspicata || existat.” Quæ quidem,
 F. 101a 1 cum omnibus qui audiebant paradoxa uiderentur (existimant .n. esse dies aliquas,
 *fato quod euitari non possit,⁶ malas, et inauspicatas, quam ob caussam, sortibus, et
 auspicijs ac diuinationibus *summa eaque superstitiosa⁷ sollicitudine, prope incredibili,
 exquirunt num inceptari rem, hac, aut illa luce oporteat) obloqui tamen, nemo ausus
 est. Et Rex dimisso concilio, discessit.

2 Die crastino iterum, | cæterarum sectarum, magistros aliquot, et Sacerdotes, ac-
 The next ciri iussit. Ad quem cum uenissent, ad nostros, ait, “Vellem ut quod hesterna nocte
 meeting. “proposui, facere inciperemus. Oro uos, ut libenti animo faciatis, nam Deus Opti-
 “mus, Maximus mihi mentem iniecit ut illud ordiret quod uos exoptabatis, et sæpe
 “numero flagitastis. Nouit autem Deus, *bonam mihi in proposito susceptoque
 3 “consilio mentem uoluntatemque | esse.”⁸ Assidebant autem, duo filij, maiores
 natu, et circumstabant Regem, tyranni, et reguli nonnulli. Ad quem Sacerdotes .
 “*Nos moram et impedimentum tibi non inferemus,⁹ quominus tuis hisce studijs fiat

¹ The Greek words should be ὑπερβολικῶς, ὑπερβολήν, and ἵνα συνεκδοχῆν.

² Later note.

³ Later addition.

⁴ Ist: cecidisse.

⁵ Ist: dicuntur.

⁶ Ist: inuitabili fato.

⁷ Later addition

⁸ Ist: rectam mihi in hoc opere mentem atque consilium esse.

⁹ Ist: Per nos non stabit.

The Gospel explained. Badly attended meetings. Persian writings. The meetings given up. A.'s leanings to Hinduism.

satis.' Ac statim, interpretandi initium ab Euangelio fecerunt. At uero reliqui, paulatim, in assignatum locum uenire, destiterunt · et soli nostri, Regi libentissime sunt obsequuti. Cui quæ describebantur, cum statutis | diebus afferrent; aliqua interrogabat, eo magis instituto, ne inconstantiae insimularetur, quam ut, in sententia, persisteret: et cum nouum aliquid moliri, et ex institutis omnium, nouam sectam conflare illi esse in animo suspicarentur: paulatim se etiam Sacerdotes de opere subdlexerunt. Nam cum in dies magis ac magis, gentilibus faueret, et eorum postulatione

5 bubulas carnes, in macello uænire prohiberet · indignum esse existimarunt, cui Euangelicas margaritas, pedibus obculcandas *et proterendas¹ traderent. Accedebat, quod ligneum tectum, affabre construi iusserat: idque in eminentissimum, aulæ locum, *ferri,² et in eo collocari · ex quo, solem, cum primum oriretur, aspiceret, ac ueneraretur. Nihilo secius, meliora precati, a legatione obeunda, non esse desistendum, existimarunt.

The embassy starts.

Quapropter, post diuturnas moras, cum legatis, alter sacerdos, Ágara Góam uersus, iter *longum ingressus est,³ quod, cum non obscuris periculis confecit. Quæ Dei beneficio, cuius | caussa *illud inierat,⁴ incolumis euasit. Nam cum Sáydius Musaphárus, inuitus, ad eam peregrinationem, esset a Rege coactus, quam ipse longinquam, et prope perpetuam, et alterum quasi exilium esse, sibi persuaserat: et intellexisset, Sacerdoti datum esse mandatum *obsignatum,⁵ quod Surate *resignaret:⁶ ac sibi ab eo mandato timeret: (erat enim, non ita pridem eius nomen ad Regem delatum, | quod Xamansuri conspiracy, sequutus esset) cum eo sæpe egerat, ut *illud aperiret.⁷ Quod cum Sacerdos, ut Rodolfi præcepto, obsequeretur, facere renuisset; non semel, aut iterum, cum collega egit, ut Sacerdotem clam (quod erat facile) interficerent · cuius nece, legatione, quam eius, et socij opera, institutam, imprudenter satis, ac falso prorsus, Rex ipsi significauerat, | impedita; ipsi suos lares repeterent. Sed factum, Dei beneficio, est, ut cum legatus alter, Sacerdoti amicus esset, nec grauius ferret, legatione apud Indiæ, pro rege,* Præsidentem⁸ fungi; *ut⁹ eum, ab hoc facinore, deterreret. Indignum quippe esse, Agarenica fide, dicebat, insontem hominem, et bene moratum, qui eorum amicitiae plurimum confideret, non alia caussa, interficere, quam quod, Regis mandato obediret · quem scirent, nihil moliri aduersus

F. 102a. 1 eos mali. Èt cum regiæ litteræ, quibus mandatum¹ inerat, Suratæ essent reserandæ, posset, quod mallet eligere; si quid formidandum afferrent, consistere; sin minus, progredi. Quibus mitigatus, et a sententia deiectus, consilium iniit, Cutubdicanum, *Baroccij¹⁰ præfectum adire, cui *propinquus et¹¹ necessarius erat, et cum eo consilium capere, quid opus esset facto. Èt cum magnis itineribus, Sacerdoti properandum esset, ut Damani, nauigium legatis, ad transmittendum, præsto esse curaret, octo, ex suis familiaribus, qui Mandhoum tantum, eum deducerent, in comitatu dedit. Vnde cum proficisceretur, ab eis destitutus, præter opinionem, in maximum discrimen deuenit. Nam latrunculi, passim uias obsident; Agarenis, uel ipsum Christiani, et Franci nomen, graue est, et odiosum · | facilique negotio, ut Christianos, e medio

Ysto se deyxá pera outro lugar omde milhor couber ate este sinal †.

¹ Later addition.

² 1st: subuehi.

³ 1st: instituit.

⁴ 1st: id suscepit.

⁵ Later addition.

⁶ 1st: aperiret.

⁷ 1st: id recluderet.

⁸ 1st: præfectum.

⁹ Redundant.

¹⁰ 1st: Barochij.

¹¹ Later addition.

Salyld Muzaffar fears for his life and plots M.'s death.

'Abdulláh friendly.

Salyld Muzaffar to consult Kutubdin Khan of Broach.

M. to go to Damán.

Robbers.

Māndu. tollant adducuntur. Præterea, ex Regis præscripto, Præfectus Mandhoi, militi cui-
The Nar- dam, genere Mongolo, ut Sacerdotem, Angertum usque, deduceret, imperavit. Cui
badā. quattuor adhibuit comites, qui ad Naruadæ ripam, tantum irent, eumque trans *Hic est Nar-*
Nearly mur- annem duci, curarent. *Vbi annem transmisit,¹ existimavit Mongolus, necandi *uadus.*⁶
dered. 4 illum, | et si quid pecuniarum haberet, abripiendi tempus, se nactum esse: si Sacer-
dotem, quantum posset, a uia abduceret. Finxit itaque, in quibusdam pagis, sibi esse
negotia: Sacerdotemque eo pertrahere conabatur. Cui nec opinanti, cœlesti quodam
mentis instinctu, animo insedit, ut non sineret se, longe a suorum sodalitia, et a
iuuenis cuiusdam Christiani, abduci. Quo factum est, ut non ausus fuerit Mongolus,
F. 102b. 1 nec *latrones in insidijs,² certis locis, eius hortatu *locati,³ illum || et eius exigua
Angerte (?) manum, adoriri . et Angertum Dei auxilio se protegente, incolumis peruenit . vbi,
Fort and the ab adoptiuo, Mandhoi præfecti filio, tanta est humanitate acceptus, ut nihil amplius,
son of the desyderari posset. Quo cum peruenisset, aperte, ab eo Christiano iuvene, qui se coar-
Prefect of 2 gum, se passus esset: intellexit: Mongo-
Māndu. lum pridie in diuersorio, | cum accepisset, a quibusdam, Sacerdotem Christianum esse,
et a rege euocatum, ut ab eo Christianam religionem, edisceret: dixisse . non solum
Avas Mts. eum, sed ipsum etiam regem, si daretur occasio, necaturum. In Auazi saltu, *tur-
Robbers mam⁴ prædonum, *collecta⁵ suorum manu, euasit. Edixit enim, ut simul, et quasi
again. 3 et dumeta | latentes, *conspiciti tamen pone arbusta et uirgulta quæ uiam interclude-
bant,⁶ eius vestigijs, moliebantur insidias: eum sequi destiterunt.
Portuguese Ad fines Surates tandem, cum eo tempore peruenisset, quo classis Lusitana, iniurijs
fleet off lacessita, Taphtij amnis *ostia⁷ obsidebat, ut eas naues interciperet, quæ Mekkam,
Surat. sine facultate, nauigassent, *is euentus⁸ non parum illi negotij exhibuit. Nam a
M. seized by 4 Bearaæno prætore captus, et tribus militibus traditus, Suratem | deductus est . ubi
the Captain ædibus quibusdam, *muro fortissimo septis,⁹ adhibitis custodibus, et janitore, illatus,
of Beara (?). honorificâ custodia, potius, quam amico hospitio, acceptus est . illique, ab urbis
In prison at Gubernatore, obiectum est: quod Suratem uenire refugisset. Cuius rei, cum causam
Surat. accepisset . non nihil conquiescere uisus est, et iterum obiecit, “Nullum ostendis
“Regis diploma, uel mandatum, quo explorete comperiamus, vera esse quæ narras.” ||
F. 103a. 1 “En,” inquit, “tibi diplomatis exemplar, et collegarum meorum testimonium. In
Showing “his uero alijs mandatis, sigillum Regis agnosce; en tibi, libere trado, tecum *fer,”
Akbar's seal. “diligenter inspice, me ueracem reperies.”—“At,” inquit, “huc uenire recusabas.”
Tum ille, “Veni tandem.” Ait, “Optatus uenisti,” et abiit. At præfectus urbis
2 cibaria, beneuolentiæ significandæ, aut potius, simulandæ, | caussa . large satis, ac
liberaliter misit. Verum diuino motu, factum fuisse uidetur, ut iuuenis ille, cuius
Help from ante memini, Christianus . Daytano, post triduum, quam Sacerdos detinebatur,
Daytan (?). ueniret: (ea in urbe, quæ reguli cuiusdam est, ut quo uehebatur, equo mederetur, con-
stiterat) a quo, et eius famulis, cum comperisset præfectus, et prætor, cæterique sena-
3 tores, | quæ Sacerdos diceret, uera esse: eum amplissimo honore a se ornatum, soluere

1 ist: Transmisso itaque amne.

2 ist: insidiæ.

3 ist: locatæ.

4 ist: manum.

5 ist: conserta.

6 Later addition.

7 “hostia” in MS.

8 ist: murorum fortitudine firmis.

9 ist. deuche.

Belleved at last. decreuerunt · quo tum eius animum, si offensus, dissimulatis uinculis esset, demulcerent, ne rem Regi, cui sciebant illum esse charissimum, perscriberet: tum etiam, ut eam caussam, si expostularet, afferrent: ob id, domi ut se contineret, præcepisse: 4 quoad tempus suppeteret, maiores | homini honores *tribuendi,¹ qui ab eius conspectu ueniret. Nam antea, non semel *concilium,² de eo necando *conuocatum³

An honest Rūmī. est. Quod fortasse fecissent, nisi Græcus Turca (*Rumem⁴ dicunt) obstitisset qui dixit, honorem potius esse habendum, homini peregrino, qui a Regis conspectu, ueniret: quam pœnam, insonti, ea sola caussa, quod Christianus esset, etiamsi Lusitani annis faucibus imminerent, statuendam. Illum itaque ad conuiuium, statuta

F 103b. 1 die, uocat præfectus, qua vexillis, arce ornata, ordinibusque peditum, per murum dispositis, equitatu omni, in aciem producto · collocatisque Elephantum *cuneis,⁵ ipse **Honoured by Mirān Sultān, the Prefect of Surat.** in campum, qui pro foribus arcis est, cum magno comitatu prodijt · et in tabernaculo resedit, unde suæ rei familiaris, procuratorem, cum aliquot equitibus, ad euocandum, 2 et adducendum Sacerdotem, misit. | Eos ille sequutus, posteaquam ex equo, præfecto procul conspecto, desiluit: eumque, et assidentes salutauit; et resedit: arcis tormenta maxima, primum disploduntur, deinde minora · tertio *ferreæ fistulæ, quæ⁶ in humero gestantur · ultimo loco a tota acie, ter Allah · *i.e., Deus,⁷ conclamatum est · præfectoque surgenti, ille assurrexit · conscensusque equis, in eius domum

*M i r a m
Sultā diceba-
tur.⁷*

Banquet. 3 itum est · ubi lautissimo conuiuio, | est acceptus. Omnis hæc officij, et hospitalitatis significatio, inscio sacerdoti, et nec opinanti; ac mæsto potius, impensa est. Nam postridie quam Suratem uenit: audiuit, pridie eius diei, duos iuuenes necatos esse, **2 Christians killed at Surat on Aug. 4, 1582.** qui ab alijs duobus perfugis, et fidei desertoribus, proditi: et interrogati, num essent *speculatores,⁸ ingenue confessi sunt. Quibus cum optio esset data, ut nisi necari |

*Pridie No-
nas Augusti
1582.*

Offer of ranscm from Jain banias. 4 mallet, fidem Christianam abnegarent, et ad Agarenos transirent, forti animo responderunt, se malle millies necari, quam Dei religionem, et Christianam fidem deserere. Ac etiamsi, a Vanianibus, redimerentur mille aureis, quos e uestigio numerarunt: præfecti iussu, continuo necati sunt. Ac Vanianes gentiles sunt Pythagoræi, qui uiuentibus abstinent, et pulices, *cimices,⁹ pediculos, uermiculos, et auiculas, omne deni-

F. 104 a. 1 que quod spirat, si | possunt, *redimunt¹⁰ · ne conficiatur, et enecetur. Hos Germanes olim dictos esse, crediderim: eo quod, cum *Brachmanis,¹¹ de suis institutis certent. Ipsi se Vaniaa nominant; Brachmanæ vero *seipsos¹² Bamen.

*Strab. lib.
15.*

Enimuero sublatis mensis, Sacerdoti facultas facta est, classem adeundi · in qua, ut Agarenis significaretur, quanti fierent, a Lusitanis, Sacerdotes: magni etiam | **2** honores, illi inuito, et reluctanti, habiti sunt. Est enim a Fernando Mirandensi, **M. on board João de Miranda's fleet.** classis *præfecto,¹³ cum quo Sacerdoti, antiqua iam inde a Lusitania, et magna familiaritas intercesserat; ornatissima, uexillis positis, classe, et tormentis displosis, exceptus; cum quo de multis rebus, integram fere noctem colloquutus, ubi primum diluxit **3** Suratem, non sine popularium, magno stupore, | redijt. Dicebant enim · “Vir iste

He keeps his word. “nihil fictum, *et adumbratum,¹⁴ gerit, qui huc redit, cum impune potuisset, cum

¹ 1st: habendi.

² 1st: consilium.

³ 1st: coactum.

⁴ 1st: Rume(?).

⁵ 1st: phalangibus.

⁶ 1st: ferrei tubi, qui.

⁷ Later addition.

⁸ 1st: exploratores.

⁹ “simices” in MS.

¹⁰ The paper is injured at this place: only “. . . munt” is left of the word. I propose “redimunt.” It is certainly not “remouent” or “dimouent.”

¹¹ 1st: Bragmanis.

¹² Later addition.

¹³ 1st: duce.

¹⁴ 1st: aut fallax.

“suis permanere.” Quo factum est, ut dum profectionem Damanum parat, certatim a præfecto, et prætore inuitaretur · a quibus, cum benevolentiae significatione dimissus, Damanum venit.

Ubi, dum aduentum collegarum præstolatur, classis præfectus, nauem, quæ
 4 Mekka | Suratem petebat, in deditionem accepit, ea conditione, ut præter Turcas, et
 Ship from Mecca seized. Turks and renegades prisoners. Moghuls free.
 transfugas, desertoresque Christianos, reliquos dimitteret, in qua re, cum a præfecto
 cessaretur, et inedia multi, squalore, situ, sitique conficerentur, nonnulli in seruitutem,
 iniuria, a malis quibusdam Christianis, abriperentur: diligentia eius factum est, ut
 data fides præstaretur. Nam cum libenter præfectus, ipsius monitis | pareret, eidem
 5 eam prouinciam dedit, ut quinam Turcæ, quinam essent Christiani, disquireret · qua
 diligentissime, uno, et altero die, retentis Turcis aliquot, et Christianis, cæteris uero
 F. 104b. 1 (qui Mongoli || erant) dimissis, perfunctus est. At uero Muzapharus, quem inuitum
 S. Muzaffar absconds in the Dakhin. 'Abdullah at Dāman.
 uenire diximus, cum Cutubdicanus, quem consilij capiendi causa conuenerat, * nisi
 Regis iussa faceret, illum attendere noluisset: (abnuit,¹ enim senex, et sapiens, eius
 *perduellionis² periculum præstare) clam relictis rebus omnibus, ad Sedanorum regem
 2 (qui Decanij nunc dicuntur) transfugit. At uero Ebadullas, | alter legatus, Damanum
 uenit · unde cum Sacerdote Goam nauigauit.³

Jamuero Indiæ præses, Sacerdotem, deinde legatum *perofficose et peramanter⁵
 Reception at Goa. accepit · et cum caussam aduentus, legationisque pondus, et momentum cognouisset:
 et consilium cum proceribus cepisset: omnes sumptus, ad nauigationem necessarios,
 3 liberaliter *pollicitus est et⁴ detulit. Præpositus item Societatis, eius prouinciæ, | rem
 cum patribus, ex more, et instituto Societatis, communicat · et Sacerdoti, proficis-
 cendi, cum legato, potestatem facit. At uero, cum eo anno, una tantum nauis, ex
 Lusitania, in Indiam appulisset, omnium sententia fuit, dignitati tantorum regum,
 The embassy is postponed
 non esse consentaneum, ut legatus, ea nauis, in Lusitaniam deportaretur, quæ esset
 4 angusta, et multis uectoribus impedita · | annumque alium, esse expectandum. Ad
 quem, cum profectio esset dilata, Sacerdos, ad ministerij sui munera obeunda, suas
 and col- lapses.
 curas cogitationesque transtulit · ac, cum posterus annus, alia consilia, cogitationes-
 que attulisset · legationis negotium, omnino prætermisum, et æternæ obliuioni tradi-
 tum est.

At uero Rodolfus, tum Regis inconstantiae pertæsus, qui se, in plures figuras,
 5 quam | *Proteus⁶ uertebat, tum etiam, quod a Præposito, crebris litteris euocaretur,
 ueniendi facultatem, difficili admodum negotio, et facta redeundi sponsione, si esset
 F. 105a. 1 in se situm, obtinuit. Et || anno insequenti (is fuit octuagesimus tertius, ad sesqui-
 millesimum) Goam uenit · atque insequenti Julio mense, in Salsetano conuentu,
 Conculini, a simulachrorum cultoribus, interemptus est. Cuius cædem, cum Zelal-
 A.'s grief.
 2 dinus audiuit, grauiter eius mortem mœruit · inditoque in os digito, dixisse fertur,
 “Heu me, pater, opportune tibi dicebam, ne abires, at tu me audire | noluisti.”
 *Qua profecto, Mongolana prima legatio, de qua sermo habetur et in Lusitaniam pro-

¹ 1st: minus intendisset, nisi Regis iussa faceret, noluit

² 1st: inobedientiae.

³ Cancelled in MS. from: Nam cum Saydius... (fol. 101 b. 2). In the margin at fol. 101 b. 2, opposite the words “Nam cum Saydius,” is found a note in Portuguese: “Ysto se deixa, pera outro lugar omde millhor couber ate est [e] signal †.” The † occurs after our note 4 (fol. 104b. 2). Why there, is not clear.

⁴ Later addition.

⁵ 1st: peramanter, et honcrifice

⁶ 1st: Protheus.

Franciscus
Mascarenis,
Villæ
Ortensis dyn-
asta.⁴

fectio, finem accepit; et ita derelicta est ut amplius ab altero socio non sit repetita.¹

This Mission
not the work
of God.

3 Ex quo, suspicari iure optimo, possumus, non diuino instinctu aliquo, sed curiositate
quadam, et nimia diligentia res nouas audiendi, aut aliquid noui, in perniciem ani-
marum, moliendi incitatum fuisse Zelaldinum, ad euocandos, ad se, | Christianos
sacerdotes. Nam si opus hoc, a Deo fuisset nullis incommodis, aut obstaculis,
impediri potuisset. At uero, quia non erat a Deo, per seipsum, etiam renitente
Rege, concidit et dissolutum est. Act. 5.

Rudolf's
holy life at
Fatehpur.

4 Fuit uero Rodolfus suauibus admodum moribus, simplex, et qui ex sua natura,
cæteros fingeret, studijs commentationum, et orationum apprime deditus, a quibus,
solo Persicæ linguæ, aut alius rei, necessario studio, abducebatur. Dei assidue
memor, ut ei conuenire uideretur · “ Oculi mei, semper ad Dominum.” Ac ne de-
fatigaretur,* breues preces,² quas jaculatorias uocamus, deambulans *summissa
leniter uoce canebat.³ Sui uero immemor, sæpissime, integras noctes, indutus, ut
erat, cum dabat operam, uel sedens, aut, ut forte *arctiore somno complexus⁴ jacu-

Ps. 24

F. 105b. 1

erat, situ corporis,⁵ potius ad supplicium, et pœnam perferendam, quam ad quietem
capiendam, accommodato dormiebat. Cilicio utebatur, verberibus se *cædebat,⁶
frequentissime abstinebat. Sæpe sibimet, silentium, et solitudinem indicebat, cubi-
culo solummodo, ut sacrificaret egrediens. Virginitatem perpetuo coluit, quam ut
2 tueretur, Deiparam Virginem, in cuius se tutelam tradiderat, | adiutricem aduocabat,
cui se uoto obstrinxerat, de eius laudibus, cum ocasionem nancisceretur, agere. Cui
libenter, extempore, a se excogitatas *cantilenas, summissee, decantabat.⁶ Instituti,
et morum Societatis, præcipue uero paupertatis, obseruantissimus erat. *Attritis,⁷ et
3 ueteribus uestibus, ac calceis, libentissime utebatur. | Deo continuo defixus, rerum
quas agebat, obliuisceretur. Frequentissime quo loco pileus, specula, libri, et similia
a se relictæ essent, ex ipsius memoria excidebat. Virgineum pudorem præ se ferebat.
Nam quoties, cum Rege agebat, *pudorem rubor consequebatur.⁸ Patientia erat
mirabili, demissione maxima. Se ipsum ioco appellabat, genere ac natura *ineptum. |
4 Cæterum, semestri spatio,⁹ linguam Persicam, elegantiore qua uiri eruditi utuntur,
quæ Arabica permixta est, ita didicit, ut ea cum omnium admiratione,* quam maxime
ad acuitatem accommodate,¹⁰ sua sensa explicaret: ob quam caussam, magnam

Proficiency
in Persian.

¹ This sentence gave Monserrate considerable trouble. Above, we have the final form; but, in 1590, during his captivity in Arabia, M. had written: “*Qua profecto, Mongolana legatio, et in Lusitaniam profectio, finem accepit; et ita derelicta [est] ut amplius repetita non sit.*” The Mission was, however, again attempted in 1591, and a third time in 1595. In both cases, three Jesuits were sent; but, it is scarcely possible that Monserrate should have heard in Arabia about the Mission of 1591. Hence, it must have been after his return to India in 1596 that he modified his text as follows: “*et ita derelicta [est] ut amplius repetita cum utilitate non sit.*” This seemed to contain a slur on the work of his successors then in progress. He tried once more: “*et ita derelicta [est] ut non, etsi bis fuerit suscepta et tres e Societate cum illo [understand: Akbar] uersentur.*” Here he broke off, erased his unfinished sentence, and recast it in the final form above, where by “*ab altero socio*” we must understand Monserrate himself.—When modifying his text for the first time after 1596, M. must have bracketed the remark he had written in 1590 on the futility of the first Mission, *i.e.*: Ex quo, suspicari . . . dissolutum est. I have let this remark stand in the text above, but it would be better placed in the note here.

² 1st: precatiunculas.

³ 1st: cantillabat.

⁴ 1st: a somno uictus.

⁵ The verb “*cædere*” is written regularly “*ccedere*” in the MS.

⁶ 1st: cantilenas latino-persicas, et latino-lusitanicas, et italo-latinas, summissa uoce decantabat.

⁷ 1st: lacris, attritis.

⁸ 1st: rubore suffundebatur.

⁹ 1st: ineptum (Lusitani dicunt desmaselado). Cæterum, ingenij acumiue pollebat. Semestri spatio.

¹⁰ 1st: accommodate, et eleganter.

5 et eruditos assequutus erat: ut quod ipse assereret, etiam de sua | ipsorum lege, et
Abu-I-Fazi 5 et eruditos assequutus erat: ut quod ipse assereret, etiam de sua | ipsorum lege, et
seeks his 5 et eruditos assequutus erat: ut quod ipse assereret, etiam de sua | ipsorum lege, et
opinion. 5 et eruditos assequutus erat: ut quod ipse assereret, etiam de sua | ipsorum lege, et
F. 106a. 1 qui acumine ingenij facile || omnes superabat: eius sententiam, consulto expectabant,
 ne postea, adducto libro, cogerentur palinodiam canere, uel oppositis ab ipso argu-
 mentationibus, cum dedecore manus dare. * In Philosophiæ, et Theologiæ scientijs,
Zeal for A.'s multum studij posuerat · et in ijs erat cum laude uersatus.² Mirum est sane quanto
conversion. animi ardore huius Regis, *de quo hactenus loquuti sumus,² *ad Dei cultum a vitæ
 2 prauitate,³ conuersionem optauerit · ut, | nullum non lapidem mouerit: quo eum,
A.'s love ad fidem pertraheret. Quod cum Rex intelligeret, eum *ex animo⁴ amabat · non ·
for him. quod, in animo haberet, Christianus fieri, aut nostram religionem, magno æstimaret:
 sed quod,* (ut ipse dicebat)³ cum intelligeret, Rodolfum, fidem, et religionem quam
 3 colebat, optimam existimare; *uidebat⁵ sui adeo amantem esse, ut ad id | quod ipse,
 ad animæ salutem, optimum iudicabat, quodque propterea sequebatur · se pellicere
 conaretur. Quæ, optimi Sacerdotis, consilia, quos conatus, *Deus optimus .max. e
 summa⁶ cœli sede perspicuens, amplissimum illi præmium dedit, amplissimis eum
 4 *honoribus, decorauit.⁷ Nam, e media, | Agarenorum barbarie, et immani feritate,
 in qua omnia mortem, exitiumque minantur, *et a periculis uitæ in quæ casu, ut fere
 fit, ac fortuitu [*sic*] uenit, incolumis,⁸ a Deo ereptus, in ipsa prope patria, a uectigalibus,
R.'s narrow et subditis hominibus, interemptus est. * Nam Surate semel, et Fatepuri iterum, rheda
escapes from qua concitato cursu uehebatur, uelocitate ducta, prolapsa, confracta et comminuta,
death. raptatus parum abfuit quin dilaniaretur, aut certe ita terræ impingeretur ut animam
 efflaret. Illisus et ægre se erexit et domum prope exanimatus et decolor redijt.
 Bis etiam in periculum uenit ne ab elephantibus opprimeretur: nam Regis imperio in
 circum descendebat, ubi Rex erat, et efferati elephantes concursu per uim decertabant.
 Est autem elephantis a natura insitum ut in certamine eorum ferocitas ita efferuescat
 ut, conspectis alijs, qui ad pugnam in campum descenderunt, quamuis unco a
 moderatore insidente coerceantur, in homines cæco impetu incurrant, uel cum uicti
 fugiunt in conspectum quemque hominem irruant, arreptum conficiant. Semel
 fugiens elephantem, pallium, quod pedibus trepidanti inuolutum fugam retardabat,
 medium discidit. Iterum, nisi a socio fuisset reuocatus: non dubium est quin
 ab elephante fuisset necatus: nam ad locum quendam tanquam ad perflugium propera-
 bat, [cum bellua?] hominem si non corripuit, at proboscide uerberauit. Nam ad
 commune omnium discrimen qui in circo sunt [1 or 2 lines missing].⁸ Ardebat
Longing for quidem, martyrij magno desyderio. Nam sæpe repetebat: “ Num his martyres efficie-
martyrdom. mur?” Cui cum alter sacerdos, responderet, “ Nimium a Rege diligimur, nemo enim,
 5 nos audebit attingere,” frontem, | quodam intimo mœrore percussus, contrahebat.
 At Deus, oculo suo iudicio, cum expectaret ille martyrrium, optanti subtraxit, nec

1 Ist: litteraturæ, atque eruditionis.

2 Bracketed.

3 Later addition.

4 Ist: impensissime.

5 Ist: eius studium, et animum amplectebatur, quem uidebat.

6 Ist: Deus optimus .max. cui omne cor patet, et omnis uoluntas loquitur, et quem, nullum latet secretum, e summa.

7 Ist: honoribus, ijsque extraordinarijs decorauit.

8 Later addition from: Nam Surate (fol. 106a. 4). One or two lines were cut off from the margin below, when the MS. was bound.

- F. 106b. 1 opinanti suppeditauit · quamuis, non audeam dicere, inopinantem: Rodolfum, a barbaris esse oppressum¹ · cui è uestigio, collum extendere, et iugulum præbere, succurrerit. Ex quo potius coniecturam facio, assidue secum solitum esse, de martyrio meditari, martyrium a Deo precibus postulare, et cum, ab exlegibus, et perfidis, telis, et gladijs peteretur dixisse · “Ecce quod concupiui iam uideo, quod speraui
- 2 “iam teneo, ipsi iungar in | cœlis, quem in terris positus, tota deuotione dilexi.” Sunt autem, quinque maxima vulnera, optimo adulescenti imposita · in genuum flexu duo, in iugulo vnum, quartum in uertice, in medio pectore quintum · ex quo, quarto post necem die, incorruptus cruor effluebat. Annos natus, duos, et triginta, cum in
- 3 Societate Jesu, pubertatis annos exegisset, Idibus Julij, anni | millesimi, quingentesimi, octuagesimi tertij · Conculini interemptus est, cuius sodales fuerunt, Alphonsus, Antonius, et Petrus, sacerdotes; et Franciscus, eiusdem Societatis, quidem religiosus, non tamen ad sacrorum munerum functionem initiatus, et paria fere uulnera acceperunt. Peremptus uero est, eodem die, quo a Jacobo Soria, Ignatius Azeuedius, anno
- 4 septuagesimo, et | socij, quadraginta nouem, ad Insulam Palmæ, necati sunt · hoc est post annos tredecim. Erat uero Rodolfus, Ducis Atriæ, ex uxore coniuge, filius · Patris Claudij Aquauiuæ, totius Societatis Præpositi, ex fratre nepos.²
- Jamuero, ad Zelaldinum, a quo, cædis Rodolfi, narratio nos parumper abduxit,
- 5 redeamus.⁴ | *Erat⁵ Zelaldinus facie, et statura, ad regiam dignitatem apposita, ut facile Regem, vel ipso primo intuitu, quiuis agnosceret, latis humeris, incuruis
- Hisphysique. cruribus, et leuiter inflexis, et ad equitandum accommodatis, colore candido, modico
- F. 107a. 1 nigrore || suffuso, obstipo capite, et in dexterum* humerum⁶ inflexo, fronte lata, et aperta, micantibus oculis, et qui quasi mare, cum a sole collucet uibrare uideantur · deductis in longum, palpebris, ut sunt Sauromatum, Sinarum, et Niphonum, et omnium fere Asianorum, quorum regiones, ad arctos uergunt · tenui supercilio, naso
- 2 mediocri, et demisso, ex quo tamen, os medium, eminet · | patentibus, quasi succenseat, naribus: in quarum sinistra, uerrucam, superiori labio coniunctam, habet. Barbam abradit, excepto superiore labro, ut Turcæ,* anteaquam ex ephebis excedant et togam prætextam deponant, quam ubi deponunt et puram virilemque sumunt, barbam nutriunt et componunt.⁶ Comam non tondet, præter morem
- Headgear. maiorum suorum, nec pileo utitur, sed uelo redimitus, capillos inuoluit · quod factitare ferunt, ut sese, ad Indorum, morem, usumque transferat · et sibi eorum animos, conciliet. | Crus sinistrum, quasi claudus trahit; cum tamen, pede læsus non sit. Corpore uero, optime constituto, nec exili, et macro, nec pingui, et concreto, multum animi habet, atque roboris. Dum ridet, deformior fit, ac tranquilla, et serena fronte,
- Appearance. liberalem præ se fert speciem, et magnam dignitatem, in stomacho autem, magnam

*Agnelis
Virginis Ro-
manæ exem-
plo.*

Liber [2 ?].³

*Japones
Niphon[nes]
Niphonzi.*

¹ Here Monserrate inserted later, and subsequently cancelled the following: post ipsius reditum in Indiam quo iussu Prouincia Præpositi remigravit. Nam cum Regis studia perspexisset, nec aliud Regem laborare intellexisset, nisi ut tanquam Deus aut uates magnus haberetur, ea de re Præpositum et socium, qui cum regijs legatis Goam anno superiore profectus erat, per litteras admonuit, ad quem Præpositus rescripsit.

² Bracketed from: et cum ab exlegibus (fol. 106b. 1).

³ Later addition; erased.

⁴ Later cancelled addition: *Aqui se ha de tornar despoys de tratar ate o cabo o q̄ começa aas folhas 119 e daqui continuar ate estas mesmas folhas 119.*

⁵ EST: est.

⁶ Later addition.

His age in 158. 4 magestatem. Ac quo tempore ad eum | Sacerdotes uenerunt, annos erat natus, octo, et triginta. Difficile dictu est, quam facilem se, in hominibus audiendis, admittendisque præbeat. Singulis enim, prope diebus, omnibus, tum popularibus, tum proceribus, colloquij sui, copiam facit et in omni sermone, affabilem se esse mauult, 5 quam difficilem. Quæ comitas, affabilitasque sermonis, | mirum est, quantopere suorum illi animos conciliet. Nam, cum in Mahammedana superstitione, uideretur, F. 107b. 1 iure optimo nutare: quod Agareni iniquissime ferre solent · || a nemine est interemptus. Vir est ingenio peracutus, et prudens, et tum, ad pericula prospicienda, tum **Mental qualities.** etiam, ad captandam, rei bene gerendæ, occasionem, sagax. Quæ quidem cum animi, tum corporis ornamenta, quod fidei *nitore¹ careant, plurimum sui splendoris, et pulchritudinis deperdunt.

Hunting-Hawking. Moroseness. Amusements. 2 Ad ferarum quidem uenationem, ualde | procliuis, non perinde *alituum aucupio,² delectatur. Et quod, melancholicus sit, uarijs se, simul ludis oblectat, atque id palam, ut eadem opera, optimatibus, et populo det spectaculum. Ludi uero quibus, se, et spectatores oblectat, hi sunt. Pilæ, malleique ludus, ad equum; pugnae 3 Elephantum, Bubalorum, et Damarum, et Gallinaceorum gallorum conflictus · | deinde luctæ pugilum, *ludi³ gladiatorum · certamina pugnantium pugno, columbarum uolatus, quæ se *in aere⁴ resupinæ uersant · auium peregrinarum et rerum nouarum inspectio., Delectatur etiam cantu, et *symphonia,⁵ tum etiam choreis, et præstigiatorum, *fallacijs et captionibus⁶ · ad hæc | parasitorum facetijs, *quorum est perstudiosus⁷ · ac tum profecto, cum in otio esse uidetur, quoddam ueluti negotiorum **Concourse at Court.** pondus, quibus modum finemque imponit, quasi in orbem uersare non desistit. At uero nulla re magis *tenetur,⁸ quam hominum frequentissimo conspectu, quo fit, ut aula, F. 108a. 1 maxima celebritate omnis generis hominum floreat · præcipue optimatum⁹ quos ex suis prouincijs, semel unoquoque anno, ad se uenire, et in aula uersari iubet, et se, cum prodit foras, ut armis pedites, tamdiu stipent, et prosequantur, quod illis nutu imperet, ut equos conscendant. Quæ omnia miram Regis curiæ magestatem, et amplitudinem conciliant.

Dress. 2 Ex instituto, improbi Mahammeddis; usuque Agarenorum: toga | ad suras, caligis ad talos, tantum demissis, ijsque lineis uel laneis, aut *ex gossipio, xylinis,⁹ candidis, et calceis, ex præscripti forma factis, uti, ijs qui ad amussim (ut aiunt) legem obseruant, fas est. At ille, tanti fallacis legislatoris, instituta, moresque facit: ut sericis, auroque intextis, *picturaque collustratis¹⁰ uestibus utatur · sago uidelicet, 3 ad poplites, ut est Christianorum | consuetudo, at caligis, quæ talos tegant · et **Jewelry.** calceorum forma, a se excogitata. Auro autem se, margaritis et gemmis ornat. **Weapons.** Ensem, et pugionem Europæum gestat libentissime. Inermis nunquam est. Quin **Guard.** potius uiginti fere satellites, illum intra priuatos parietes, uarijs armis instructi, 4 assidue circumsistunt. Hispaniensem uestitum, ualde | probat, eoque se induit, loco **European dress in private.** arbitris remoto.

1 1st: splendore. 2 1st: altilium captura. "Alituum" in MS. 3 1st: digladiationes. 4 Later addition.

5 1st: pulsu musicorum instrumentorum.

6 1st: ac jocularum gesticulationibus.

7 1st: quorum est in eius aula, maximus prouentus, et copia.

8 1st: capitur et delinitur.

9 1st: gausapinis. The MS. has 'xilinis.'

10 1st: picturatisque.

Riding and driving. Mode of sitting. Elephantos, camelos, equos, et rhedam duobus equis iunctam, magna cum dignitate, dirigit, et moderatur. Complicatis cruribus, in thoro, conchiliatis peristromatis strato, ut plurimum recumbit. At uero, secundum se, sellam Lusitanicam, ex serico uilloso gestari iubet · in qua sæpissime sedet.

His table. Lautissima utitur mensa: in quam epularum fercula, amplius, quadraginta inferuntur, maximis patinis: quæ operculis tecta, et linteis obuoluta, a coco obsignata, ut ueneni periculum, et suspicio declinetur: aparitoribus præeuntibus, œconomio subsequente, ad conclauis uestibulum, iuuenes deferunt, ubi ab eunuchis accepta, ancillis traduntur quæ regiæ mensæ ministrant. Palam epulari, nisi ad publicum conuiuium inuitatus, non consueuit. Vinum raro potat. | Posti potionem, uel aqua sitim depellit · cuius immodico potu, stupefactus sedet, et oscitatur. Solus in triclinio cubat; lecto ad uulgarem, et popularem formam, fabrefacto, culcitra, et puluinis tenui lana, exoticæ, cuiusdam herbæ factis, et sericis stragulis, ornato, et strato.

Splendour of his palaces. Jam uero, magnificentia ædium regiarum, ad splendorem, Europæorum ædificiorum, | proxime accedit. Sunt enim, magnificis operibus, non solum pictæ, sed etiam sculptæ, è dolatis saxis, ab imo fundamento, ad crepidinem ædificatæ: et

M o g h u l architecture. quantum satis est, in altum, editæ, longe diuersa ratione, reliquorum ædificiorum, quæ ab alijs, Indiæ regibus, extrui solent · quæ depressa, et humilia sunt · haud aliter quam simulachrorum | delubra: eo sane ambitu, ut quattuor latissimas basilicas, complectatur · quarum potior, et ornatio est regis, altera matrum familias, tertia liberorum · quarta rei familiaris penu · et armarium. Eas ædes, non tegulæ sed fornices tegunt, et tuentur: quas solaria, concinno tectorio, pauimentata, ab iniurijs cœli tuentur: quod humorem | allapsum extrinsecus facile repellit. Ornantur uero,

F. 109a. 1 multis fastigijs, quattuor columellis subnixis, quæ porticulas efficiunt. || Ad hæc ornamenta ædium, non parum pulchritudinis afferunt, turres, quibus columbæ includuntur, quæ tectoriolo circumlitæ, et laterculis miniatis, cæruleis, luteis, candidisque tectæ, magnam præ se ferunt pulchritudinem. Et columbarum, eunuchi, et ancillæ curam habent · quarum uolatus, datis pro libito signis, perinde moderantur, ac boni | duces, optimos milites, bellicis tibijs, et tympanis. Et quod portento simile uidebitur, si addatur: ut choros ducant, et ut ueluti ad numeros sese uolando, in orbem resupinæ conuertant, sibilis assuefactas, aut emittunt, aut reuocant · ut iussæ supra tectum subsidant, iussæ intra tectum se condant · iussæ tandem e nidis erumpant. Pari amplitudine, ædificata ædes maxima | extat, in qua est sepulchrum,

Tomb of Pir Shalkh-ul-Isiām (Salim Chishti). Pirxecolidezcami, eius Sophi, *qui Regi suasit ut Siquirim commigraret,¹ qui *per summam stultitiam² pro sancto colitur, *cum homo fuerit omnibus Agarenorum sceleribus flagitijsque contaminatus.²

Rapid building. Non minori sunt dignitate, reliquæ ædificationes, quæ ab ipso Zelaldino, in varijs sui regni locis, extractæ sunt · quas mira celeritate, plurimis adhibitis architectis, 4 fabris, et operis exædificat, et absoluit. | Nam amplissimum peristylum cum porticulis latum, longumque pedes ducentos, tribus mensibus, Balneas trecentorum

¹ Ist: quem ante diximus, Regi suasisse ut eo commigraret.

² Later addition.

pedum, rotundo ambitu, cum apodyterijs, et conclauibus, et aquæductibus¹ plurimis ubi ipse perfunditur, sex mensibus absoluit. Et ne ferramentorum, quibus tum saxa, tum trabes, et reliqua materia secantur, et dolantur, fragore obtundatur: | secundum propositam, ædificandi *descriptionem,² alibi omnia concinne fabrefacta, in eum locum, ubi ædificium *extruit,³ inuecta componi, compingi, et coagmentari iubet. ||

F. 109b. 1 Quæ cum a Sacerdotibus, diligenter obseruarentur, illud in mentem uenit, quod in ædificatione, templi Hierosolymitani, accidisse fertur, cum construeretur: fabrorum ferrea instrumenta, non esse audita, absque prodigio euenire potuisse.

3 Reg. 6.

Meaning of 3 Kings, ch. vi, v. 7.

Manual occupations.

At uero, usque eo fabricæ deditus est, ut in lapidicina cum alijs operis, non semel lapides excidat. Nec ab artificijs | opificum, cum nihil habeat ingenuum officina, abhorret. Imo uero et ipsorum artes animi caussa nonnunquam exercet. Quo studio, atrium propter basilicam ædificauit: ubi honestiorum artium sunt officinæ, quales sunt, pictorum ars, et aurificum, textorum, armorum; et eorum qui aulæa et peristromata contexunt · quo sæpissime solet uenire, ut aspectu | earum rerum, animum defatigatione leuet.

Useful arts.

Patronizing letters.

Eruditis etiam uiris, admodum fauet et secum semper, doctiores uersari, et de rebus philosophicis, et ad religionem, cultumque Dei spectantibus, coram se disputare, antiquorum regum, et rerum cum laude gestarum historias, explicare iubet. Ac cum plurimum, iudicio et memoria polleat; alios audiendi patientia, et disputandi | exercitatione, non mediocriter, in multarum rerum cognitione, et scientia progressus est · quo litterarum ignorationem (est enim legendi, scribendique prorsus ignarus) non compensat solum, uerum etiam, res difficiles adeo plane, ac *dilucide⁴ exponit: et de quauis re proposita, acute, arguteque | respondet; ut nemo qui nescierit, ipsum literarum esse ignarum, non eum doctissimum, eruditissimumque esse iudicet. Et id

Unable to read or write; yet, well informed.

F. 110a. 1 profecto iure, nam præterquam quod, ingenij acumine, uti diximus, || præstat: facultate dicendi, cui accedit Regis, summa authoritas, et amplitudo, *longe⁵ plerosque suorum qui scientiæ laude excellunt, *multumque superat.⁶ Solent autem, singulis

Jesters.

quibusque diebus, de rebus litterarijs disputare. Loco histrionum, ethologos, mimorum commentatores, eo libenter audit, quod etiam hoc genus dicendi, litterarium quippiam | sapiat. Nam fabulæ, quales sunt comœdiæ, tragediæ, et id genus alia,

The Qorân forbids theatricals,

a legislatore, agi prohibentur · qui adeo fuit, fraudulentus, ut indifferentia, quædam (quæ Græci dicunt ἀδύρατα) prohiberet, quo probitatis, et sanctitatis existimationem, et famam captaret: qua parta, sibi uiam muniret, ad ea præcipienda, quæ sunt ab

not incestuous unions, nor polygamy.

3 omni hominum, | non dico dignitate, uerum etiam sensu aliena. Nam ut unum, et alterum in medium afferamus; incestas nuptias, cum cognatis, et affinibus fœminis, matre tantum, et sorore excepta, permittit: deinde duas uxorum formas confluxit, et inter Agarenos induxit: una, matrum familias, quattuor: hæ sunt quæ in manum 4 conuenerunt · altera, | earum quæ tantummodo uxores habentur · et hæ quidem, tot esse possunt, quot quisque alere, aut ære suo comparare potest. Quam fœdissimæ luxuriæ impunitatem, et licentiam, Reges ad conciliationem pacis, cum principibus sibi subditis, et uicinis transferunt. Nam eorum filias, et sorores domum suam

A.'s 300 wives.

1 "Aqueductibus" in the MS.

2 1st: declineationem.

3 1st: collocat.

4 1st: diligenter.

5 Later addition.

6 1st: multis spatijs superat, et antecellit.

F. 110b. 1 traducunt. Quo factum est ut plures trecentis · Zelaldinus domi suæ habeat, quæ distinctis conclauibus, in amplissima aula habitant · ex quibus tres tantum, liberos mares, et duas filias sustulerat · quo tempore, cum eo Sacerdotes uersabantur.

His 3 sons
and 2 daughters.

Filiorum nomina hæc sunt · maximus natu, Xecus, eius Xeci caussa, quem diximus, suasisse Regi, ut *Siquiri habitaret: ¹ nam primus, post eam migrationem, natus est,* et saluus | atque incolumis seruatus ² · secundus, Páharis, tertius Dánus uel Daniálus.

Hindu
ministers.

Rei suæ familiaris, et totius regni gubernandi, consiliarijs, et administris, tanquam sibi amicissimis, et ad rem gerendam sapientissimis, fortissimisque, uiginti fere regulis, gentilibus utitur; qui semper, cum eo uersantur · et ad aulæ penetrales [*sic*] 3 admittuntur · quod, uel ipsis etiam, Mongolorum optimatibus, | non licet. Prouinci- arum uero præfecturas, cum copijs militum, proceribus Xacattæorum, qui sunt ei ne- cessitudine, coniuncti deferre solet.

Chagatai
generals.

His sons'
tutors.

Ijsdem liberos, non solum educandos, et instituendos, verum etiam in tutelam tradit · ut eos sibi, arctiori charitatis uinculo deuinciat · et ut, ij, si aliquo infortunio, 4 ipse tollatur, suorum pupillorum curam · habeant · et eos, ab iniuria uindicent, illorum

Education
of his sons,

qui cum ipso, dum uiuit, simultates gesserint. Verum, ad litteras perdiscendas, ex instituto, moreque Persarum, eruditos uiros, senio, et *uirtutis simulatione ³ (ut sceleratissimi Agarenorum mores ferunt),* et inani ostentatione specie quidem pios ⁴ et præstantes, assignat · tum lanistas qui arma tractare, doceant, et agitadores, qui

and
daughters.

F. 111a. 1

atque institui, loco a uirorum conspectu, remotissimo, diligentissime curat · a quibus legere, et scribere docentur.

Deliberat-
ion.

Jam uero in consilio capiendo, hanc sequitur rationem · ut uniuscuiusque con- siliarij, sententiam priuatim exquirat, et in eam inclinet, quæ pluribus, et potioribus probetur. A se statuta, quasi adhuc, de re ipsa deliberet: suis proceribus, peruul- 2 gat, | hoc modo. “Sentio hoc esse faciendum, probatisne, sententiam?” Quibus respondentibus, “Pax Regi”: adiungit, “Fiat ergo.” Quod si eorum aliquis, in eius sententiam non ueniat, libenter audit · et a sua, interdum discessionem facit.

7 Council-
lors. Their
work.

3 Huius ordinis, homines, septem seligit, qui suo quisque | die, *omnium, ⁵ qui ad Regem adeunt, negotia procurent: postulationes proponant: et responsa Regis ut in codicillos referantur excipiant · quorum est etiam eos *qui ad pedes Regis ut accidant admittuntur, ⁶ ueluti ceremoniarum antistites deducere, et reuocare, et statuto loco, 4 pro hominum | dignitate, coram Rege sistere, et eorum, ad Regem postulata perferre.

Kindness
to foreign
princes.

Verum longe alia ratione, exteros homines, atque longinquos, quam suos indi- genitales, et domesticos accipit. Nam exteros profecto, perhumane, et perbenigne, 5 præcipue aliorum, regum legatos · et uiros principes, | qui suis regnis pulsati, eius patrociniū implorant. Quos auxiliarijs copijs expeditos, illo tantum oneris officio

Embassy
from the
Viceroy of

obstringit, ut suis mensuris, et argento a se facto, atque signato utantur. Verum * eius præsidis qui Sanaæ degit, et Arabiæ Fœlici, pro Turcarum rege præest · ||

¹ 1st: ut Siquirim commigraret.

² 1st: et superstes euixit.

³ 1st: uitæ integritate.

⁴ Later addition.

⁶ 1st: aduentitiorum.

⁶ 1st: qui ad exosculandos eius pedes admittuntur.

⁷ 1st: Mokeusis præfecti, qui Sanaæ degit.

F. 111b. 1 legatos, ita accepit, ut * in fumum¹ ea legatio abierit; et ipse legatus, * in uincula
Sanaa badly received. coniectus Lahori diu exularit,² comitatusque eius, clam aufugerit. Eius rei causa ferebatur, quod eos elatos, et a superbo domino missos, animaduertisset · tum quod eum, ad bellum gerendum, aduersus Hispaniæ, et Lusitaniæ regem, hortarentur. At
2 uero Materteram, Mekka redeuntem, lectica ornatissima | uectam, per uias sericis
A.'s aunt returns from Mecca. stratas, domum eius, populo nummos spargens deduxit. Enimuero : cum nobilibus qui * in superbissimo eius dominatu³ sunt, tantam grauitatem seruat, ut unusquisque
Harshness to subject princes. sic se, despiciatui duci putet, ut, ultimum se (quod ueteri prouerbio dicitur) Mysorum esse, prope existimet, atque in eos (si peccent), acrius, et diligentius animaduertit,
3 quam in reliquos | populares, et plebicolos.

Amanuenses. Atque uti, septem senatorij ordinis uiros, singulis hebdomadæ diebus, habere diximus, ita * ex scribarum collegio,⁴ singulis etiam diebus, quaternos, aut quinos * librarios,⁵ assignat: qui omnia, quæ secus regem transiguntur, et ab ipso uel cauentur, uel imperantur, perscribant · et regis uerba, tanta celeritate excipiant, ut ne in ter-
Their diligence **4** ram | elabantur, et excidant, diligentissime curare uideantur. Quæ, nimis superstiosa consuetudo, a priscis illis, Persarum regibus, dimanasse uidetur, qui sacrarum litterarum testimonio, apud Danielelem, Esdram, et Estherem · ita factitasse comperiuntur · et hos scribas, prisci illi reges, ab accidentibus, ideo uocabant, quod eorum
F. 112a. 1 esset partium, omnia quæ eueniebant, accuratissime || in commentarium referre · atque
and servility. illa quidem, * puerilis est stultitia, ut fatui homines, rusticum et agreste esse ducant, in Regis umbra pedem ponere aut uestigium imprimere.⁵

*Dan. 6.
Esd. 3. 6.
Esth. 6.
Esd. 3. 2.*

Hi quos diximus: et tribuni custodum, et uigilum, et ipsa cohors (quæ ea die per
Rotation of offices. uiginti quattuor horas, excubias agit, e regis penu * datis cibarijs⁶ prandet). Janitorum etiam, aparitorum, ac lictorum excubiæ, singulis diebus, * renouantur et⁶ instaurantur. | At uero, assidue in aula uersantur · magnus prætor, consiliarius priuatus,
Permanent retainers. quæstor, * conficiendarum rationum⁷ magister, ædilis, censor, cubicularius maximus, aulæ moderator, qui rem familiarem Regis tuetur · castrorum saxametator · tribunus
3 ærarius, ianitor maximus · flagitiosorum, qui in custodia continentur, | custos, carnicum tribunus, et culinæ Regis præfectus, et id genus alij.
How upstarts are treated. Cæterum ignobiles, et novos homines, et a se ipsis, ut dicitur, ortos, atque alienigenos, si eos solertes, et sui negotij, bene gerentes, comperiat; suis domesticis ad-
4 scribit, et ad honorum ampliorum gradus, paulatim euehit. | Verum si abiectas artes exercuerunt, suorum opificiorum instrumenta, ut præferant, præscribit: ne unde excitati, ad eum gradum ascenderint, obliuioni (ut fit) per socordiam, et insolentiam, tradant.

Atque, ut ij, qui assidui sunt in aula, munera sua, facilius, et accuratius obire
5 possint, singulis * triclinia,* intra basilicæ septa, | ædificari iussit, ubi interea quiescant, dum suo quisque munere perfungitur · quæ uocantur iātaxqhana, *i.e.*, domus solatij, uel domus sedandæ sitis.
The yatash-khana.

F. 112b. 1 Illud sane || dignum est, ut principes imitentur, quod plurimos adolescentulos, et

¹ Ist: ut in fumum, et nebulam

² Later addition.

³ Ist: sub eius dominatu.

⁴ Ist: ex non paucis scribis.

⁵ Ist: anilis est superstitio, ut uani homines nefas esse ducant regis umbram pedibus premere.

⁶ Later addition.

⁷ Ist: rationum accipiendarum magistratus.

⁸ Ist: ædiculas.

Orphans as pages. puerulos nobiles, qui patre orbi sunt, sua mensa alit, et ingenue, et liberaliter ut educentur, * curæ habet.¹

Sources of A.'s wealth. Revenues. 2 Magna profecto * exigit, ex prouincijs, uectigalia,² eo quod sint, mirum in modum, opimæ, et fertiles, et ubertate agrorum, et magnitudine pastionis, et multitudine, | earum rerum, quæ uel importantur, uel exportantur. Quibus accedunt, crebræ hæreditates, optimatum · quæ omnes, ex præscripto, et consuetudine, regi ueniunt. Præterea spolia, regum et tyrannorum, quos bello uicit · quorum thesauros complexus est, et Spolils of war. Presents. 3 corrasit. Quas opes, non mediocriter auxit, acceptis muneribus, a nouis subditis, omnium prouinciarum · quas armis, suo imperio adiunxit · quibus etiam, plurimorum hominum fortunas exhaustit. Ac ne aliquid prætermittere uideatur, quod ad peculium Trading. Banking. 4 augendum, pertineat · mercaturis faciendis, rem quærit · eamque non mediocriter auget. Tum deinde, nullos esse sinit, in regno argentarios, sed per ærarios, tribunos, et scribas, qui pecuniam numerent, argentariam | facit maximam · cum ex ærario, tantum liceat, auream * pecuniam³ cum argentea, aut ærea, et e conuerso commutare. Cum enim, pro dignitate eorum, quibus pecunia numeranda est: aut auro, aut argento, aut ære stipendia soluat: fere fit, ut qui, alterutro stipendia accipiunt, tertio opus habeant. Quæ quidem rei augendæ ratio, etsi sordida putari possit, duas tamen F. 113a. 1 uidetur afferre utilitates · || altera est, quod adulterinæ pecuniæ, uia præcluditur: altera est, quod eodem semper pretio, pecuniæ commutantur · nec argentariorum fraudibus, qui mutuant · circumueniri pecunia queunt. Ac cum in idem ærarium, Right of pre-emption on horses. 2 æs omne confluat: nullius esse caritas potest. Equos præterea liceri, se, aut suo stipulatore inscio, cauit · deinde, exquisitis palam | pretijs, licitationibusque, libere factis, hoc est, nemine opposito, qui contra se liceatur · optimos quosque, * coemit, et ut uiolentiæ suspicionem obliteret, enumerato pretio, aliquot præterea uenditori aureos persoluit.⁴ Et cum parciore sit, et in retinenda pecunia tenacior, ditissimus A. the richest King of the East. 3 omnium regum est, qui nostra, et maiorum memoria, in orientis plaga, abhinc ducentis annis, extiterunt · quod eius auribus dant, qui eum | circumstant reguli, ut se in illius gratiam, et beneuolentiam insinuent. At uero, ad diuitiarum ostentationem quatter singulis annis, hoc est, tertio quoque mense, aceruum signati æris sacculis inclusum, latum pedes decem, altum triginta, palum excitari, in atrio aulæ extimo, Trimestrial weighing of money. 4 prope uestibulum iubet. Cui assident tribuni, et scribæ ærarij: qui numerandæ pecuniæ præsident. | Quæ, deducto lucro, quod argentarijs futurum erat, cui soluenda est, numeratur. Vnoquoque uero sacco, quattuor fere sestertia includuntur.

Turba tribunorum, scribarum, quæstorum, qui regias facultates, et suppellectilem 4000 asses. 4000 reas. Farmans signed and sealed. 1 tractant, in amplissimam aulam conuenit · cui, pro tribunali, magnæ authoritatis, et solertiæ regulus quidam, præest · cuius imperio diplomata scribuntur, quibus et ipse As enim nummum exiguum significat.⁵ F. 113h. 1 subscribit, et una, e Regijs matribus familias, penes quam est anulus, atque adeo sigillum regni, post octo dies, quam tradita sunt, ut obsignentur, typum * ceræ⁶ One of the Queens the keeper of the seal. 1 imprimit. Quo dierum interuallo, a priuato consiliario, et ab ipso Rege, singula quæque diligentissime examinantur, an aliqua fraus subsit, aut error irreperit · atque

¹ 1st: diligentem curam habet.

· Later addition.

⁶ Later addition.² 1st: habet, ex prouincijs, stipendiaria uectigalia.⁴ 1st: aliquot superiectis nummis, coemit ut uiolentiæ suspicionem obliteret.⁶ Later addition.

2 id potissimum, in gratuitis beneficijs, quæ regia | liberalitate, conferuntur. Quod si
Errors of officials severely punished. ab ijs, quorum interest, ex muneris sui nexu, aliquid peccetur, mirum est, quam acriter, in peccantem animaduertat: eo quod, publicam fidem uiolasse uideatur. Quo fit, ut cum illius seueritatem formident: omnes in officio semper esse, et ad eius

3 se uoluntatem, nutumque conuertere, summa ope nitantur. Justum | enim, et ius
Severity tempered with kindness. accuratissime colit, et administrat. Ac cum ex instituto, legis Agarenorum, uno, et altero iudice de caussis decernatur · caussam tamen, contentionemque, de capite hominis cuiusquam, reliquas item caussas, quæ non ex crimine, sed ex controversia

4 tantum constant: si magnæ sint utilitatis, | et momenti, ad suum iudicium deduci iubet. Ac cum facile excandescat, et facile *deferueat: ¹ uir alioqui, natura beneficus, et benignus: ut sine inuidia, culpa plectatur · et sine culpa, inuidia ponatur: cauit: ut cum ipse, de facinore, iudicium facit: sontes, ne antea mulctentur, quam tertio, id imperet · faciendum. In eo bello · quod ad Paharopanisadas confecit: cum iuxta

5 Bydaspem castra | haberet, duodecim transfugæ milites, ab excubijs, cum ad hostes

F. 114a 1 transfugerent interclusi, et capti, ad eum perducti || sunt. Quorum iudicium, cum ipsemet exerceret, et quosdam in uinculis asseruari, ut diligentius, eorum caussas cognosceret: quosdam proditionis, et fugæ conuictos necari, iuberet: unus eorum, qui morti addictus, a carnificibus rapiebatur: facultatem loquendi exorauit. “O Rex,” inquit, “ne me, in * patibulum ² agi iubeas: nam mihi summam *agilitatem

2 “ad rem quandam | egregie præstandam ³ natura largita est.”—“Cedo (inquit Rex) “quid potes miser præstare?”—“Modulate (ait) cano.”—“Age igitur, cane.” Cœpit miser, uoce adeo, extra modum absona, et absurda perstreperere: ut risus omnium, atque obmurmuratio fieret; et Rex ipse, risum uix teneret. Quod cum, sons ille

3 aduerteret, adiunxit · “Con dona mihi, o | Rex, hanc noxam. Nam quoniam me “lictores isti tui, raptim et turbulenter, æstuosa, et puluerulenta uia, pugnis con- “tusum, traxerunt; multo puluere, præclusis faucibus, uocem ita obtudi, ut raucus, “minime canendo excellam.” Quod ille acute, et facete dictum, ita illustri gratia

4 accepit: ut animaduersionem, et supplicium, quo usus erat in eum, et | eius socios, huic uni remitteret * et condonaret.*

Penalties. Sontium uero hæc fere sunt supplicia · qui capitale commiserunt, aut pedibus elephantum proterendi proijciuntur, aut palis infiguntur, aut suspendio enecantur. Raptores, et adulteri, aut iugulantur, aut in furcam aguntur. Atque stupra, et adulteria ita exhorret, ut suarum mercium maximum internuntium (proxenetam ||

F. 114b. 1 Græci dicunt) eo quod per uim, puellæ, Brachmanarum generosa stirpe profectæ, uxorem habens, stuprum intulisset, neque prece, neque pretio, neque gratia deduci potuerit: quin iugulari iuberet. Nefarium malum, quod impius Mahammedes, lege non coercuit, hic, crudelibus loris, *cædens sontes,⁵ puniri iubet. Jus dicunt duo

2 iudices, alter primarius, | alter ad quem, si appellatio intercedat, iudicium deferatur. Prætor, uel Quæsitore unus. Et iudicia uerbo dumtaxat, non scriptis fiunt. Sontes, in uinculis quidem, at non in carcere custodiuntur. Si viri principes sint, qui custodiæ

State-prison Gwalior. mancipantur, Goalerim amandati, in uinculis, et in squalore, carcere inclusi contabes-

¹ In MS.: deferbeat.

² 1st: in crucem.

³ 1st: copiam, et facultatem rei cuiusdam egregie præstandæ.

⁴ Later addition.

⁵ 1st: cæsis sontibus.

3 cunt. At uero generosi, | * optimatibus¹ traduntur. Populares autem, uel cursorum
 præfecto, uel carnificum, et lictorum tribuno. At tribunus hic, instrumenta quædam
 Scaring cul- puniendi, ut sunt lora, et uerbera, et nerui, acutis sudibus æreis muniti, et lignum
 prils. quoddam teres, * ad tundenda latera, aut comminuendum cerebrum factum² et fla-
 4 gellum, alligatis sphæris aliquot · quæ præacutis | clauis æneis instructæ sunt (puto
 hos ab antiquis dici scorpiones) in aula, secus regem, circumfert. Quibus tamen
 instrumentis nemo cæditur, et potius ad metum incutiendum quam ad cædendum
 comparata uidentur: quam etiam ab caussam, pro foribus regiæ domus, uaria genera
 uinculorum, cathenarum, pedicarum, armillarum, et manicarum, in ea porta pen-
 dent · quæ huic concredita est. Nam hic, unam aulæ portam, asseruat; ianitorum
 The 4 gate- keepers.
 F. 115a 1 * tribunus³ alteram; tertiam lanista; quartam, cursorum || tribunus custodit.

Ad lictores uero pertinet horas clepsydris metiri · et pulsu * ahenorum,⁴ quota
 Water- horæ pars sit, significare. Clepsydræ, hoc modo constituuntur. Phiala ænea impletur
 clocks. aqua, conus item æneus excauatus, ea magnitudine paratur, ut tenui foramine,
 dum aquam haurit, horæ quadrantem · ad summum usque insumat. Is aquæ uas-
 2 culo | superponitur, quæ per foramen illapsa, conum ubi compleuit, immergit · quo
 immerso, quadrantis signum datur. Ad cuius horologij pulsum, omnia in aula
 Music at the Naubat-
 Khāna diriguntur · et statis horis, hoc est, ante auroram, cum gallinacei canere incipiunt;
 et uesperis, tubæ, litui, tympana, cistra, crotali, et id. genus multa, incondite unius
 3 horæ spatio perstrepunt. |

Couriers. Cursoribus, nuntij quidam annumerantur, quos Græci ὀκύνθοδες, Indi gelabdares *Strabo lib. 15.*
 dicunt, nos non inepte, pegasos (*i.e.*, pernice) dicere possumus, qui pedibus, uno die,
 tantum itineris conficiunt quantum eques, qui contento cursu, iter facit. Quibus, ut
 fertur, epar infantulis eximitur · ne halitus difficultate laborent, deinde soleis
 4 plumbeis, ita currere | assuescunt · uel in eodem loco hærentes, ita pedes, et crura
 mouere ut calcibus nates attingant. Quo fit ut demptis soleis, ad cursum paratissimi,
 et aptissimi euadant. Horum pernitate, ac celeritate fit: ut, et quam citissime,
 5 et quam frequentissime, et a suis certior fiat, et suos certiores faciat | omnium
 rerum, quæ ad sui regni tranquillitatem pertinent.⁵

Limits of the Empire.
 F. 115b. 1 Quod quidem latissime patet.⁶ Nam ad Aquilonem uersus Circium, monte Imao,
 qui etiam nunc, ab incolis Cumaumus dicitur, continetur · Indi amne, et Paha-
 ropaniso · | ad Austrum, Gangetico sinu, et mediterraneis, aliquot regionibus, quæ
 Narsingæ, uel Bisnagæ, supra Pandas attingunt fines; deinde Ariacum: qui
 Goæ adjacent; et Cuncanenses, uel Cānaræ hodie dicuntur: ac Sedanorum qui Xeulo
 imminent · et Decanici dicuntur · ad solis occasum Gedrosiæ, et maris Indici littore ·
 2 ab ortu Emodorum parte, quæ magis ad Eurum | flectit · et ipso Gangis uado, qui ex
 eodem, quo Jomanes monte, sed diuerso fonte, atque cursu, illabatur. Cæterum,

¹ Ist: magnatibus.

² Ist: tundendis lateribus, aut comminuendo cerebro

³ Ist: præfectus.

⁴ In MS: Aænorum.

⁵ The following marginal note, later in date and cancelled, would come naturally here. *Hæc quidem omnia instituta merique Tartarorum ad quorum se morem componere summa ope contendit. Nam maternum genus a Cinguiscau lucit (Inf. fol. 119 a. 1.)*

⁶ Here occurs a marginal note in Portuguese: *Daqui pertence a descripção do Reyno do Eçbar ate †.* The † occurs again at fol. 117 a. 1, after: *legationis exitus obstitisset.*

lectorem hoc loco admonitum volo, me *hic¹ non Indiam circumscribendam, sed Equebaricum regnum suscepisse.† Enimuero, Gedrosiæ maximam partem, nuper tum deditioe, tum armis Zelaldinus obtinuit. Quo fit, ut totius regni ambitus, 3 credatur: | bis mille passuum millia excedere . atque in umbilico eius Indiæ esse, quæ a veteribus, India intra Gangem, est appellata . ad quam, Alexandrum Alexander. St. Bartholomew. Macedonem peruenisse, ueteres historici commemorant . et a nostris scriptoribus memoriae proditum est . D. Barp.[tholomæum] Christi Euangelium intulisse. Nam 4 diuus Thomas, in maritima regione, traditur fuisse uersatus. | Est sane, regio peramœna, et salubris . sed plurimis locis, arborum frugibus destituta: et pro cœli, solique diuersitate, diuersorum etiam fructuum ferax. Nam eo terræ cingulo (Cosmographi clima, uel gradum dicunt) quod magis Austrum spectat, eosdem, quos Indiæ 5 maritima regio, fructus edit. At quo magis, ad Aquilonem uergit, eo | similiores Europæ fructibus, fruges suppeditat. Verum ex Europæa multitudine, ac uarietate hæ tantum exuberant: vuæ, mala persica, mora, ficus perpauca, || et *pinus,² in Imai iugo. Malorum F. 116a.1 punicorum, et eius generis cæterorum, toto fere regno magnus est prouentus. At, mala cotonia, pyra; et similia, importantur ex Persia. Oriza, frumento, millio, et legumine reliquo, abundat plurimo. In arboribus, quæ fructus, non edunt, quæ Other trees. multæ sunt; solam platanum, ex Europæis uidi. Salices etiam, in Indoscythia. Linum, Flax?, hemp. 2 et canape, | multis locis seritur, qui Indo flumini sunt uicini. Et ea herba, quæ uulgo dicitur bangué, et epóta, somnum, et stuporem mentis, et sensuum inducit: canapi folijs persimilis est . uerum, non uno tantum stipite, seu thyrsos eminet; sed, ut est fruticum natura, ex humili trunco, in uarios ramos abit . atque scinditur. 3 Anili, et oppij magna est, uersus | austrum, seges . quarum segete, non parum regijs uectigalibus, lucri accedit. Est uero anilum, herba quædam ex qua, succus quidam, exprimitur, qui ubi coalescit, cæruleum colorem, reddit. Id uero nominis, ab indigenis, inuenit, qui, ut Persæ, nilum nominant, quod nos cæruleum appellamus . at Lusitani addita littera . anilum uocant. |

Hoc Indiæ regno (quod more Turcico Industan uocitant) Christiani reges potiebantur . quos maiores nostri, propter rerum Indicarum ignorantiam, anteaquam a Lusitanis, India exploraretur: presbyteros Joannes Indicos appellabant . de quibus, 4 multa *superstitiose³ et aniliter fabulabantur. | Ac quam hostiliter, et inimice, Agareni cum Christianis hominibus, et cum religione, et sacris agant: illud argumento est: F. 116b. 1 quod nullum omnino, Christianæ religionis uestigium, toto illo || multarum regionum tractu relictum sit . cum Temur begij ætate . hoc est, centum abhinc, et octoginta septem annis, eorum regum genus, adhuc maneret. At uero, in interiori Imao, quo Agarenorum arma, non penetrarunt . si Joguijs, fides est tribuenda . qui 2 multas regiones obeunt, sed multa commentitia, et a se conficta narrant, uerisque fabulas, | intermiscent: reliquiæ Christianorum extant. Nam a Sacerdotibus, nonnulli, de Imai montis situ, interrogati dixerunt: montem esse arduum, et ascensu

† Nam de India uniuersa infra, si Deus dederit, quæsum assequutus perscribam.¹

Strabo, Geog., lib. 15. Q. Curtij, lib. 8.

Diod. Siculus, lib. 3. c. 10.

¹ Later addition.

² The ink has somewhat eaten through the paper here. The word looks *pinus* rather than *pirus*. Besides Monserrate states two lines further that pears were imported from Persia.

³ Ist: inepte.

- difficilem, in fastigio uero planum, et ad habitandum accommodatum . atque in ora cuiusdam* stagni¹ quod ab incolis, Mansariūor dicitur: gentem quandam,* peruetus
 3 quoddam oppidum | incolere:² qui octauo quoque die, in communem ædem sacrificij,
 Their sup- et orationis caussa, conueniant. Hanc uero, esse sacrificij, et orationis religionem.
 posed prac- Viros in dextera templi parte, a vestibulo ad phanum usque, et mulieres, in sinistra,
 tices. more regionis, complicatis cruribus accumbere. In editiore loco, et medio, capiteque
 4 templi, | hominem *lintea ueste³ indutum, eodem more sedere: * a fronte cuius⁴ humilis
 mensa collocatur, *in quam, duo uasa aurea inferuntur⁵ . in altero quorum, uinum,
 in altero, panis asseruantur: illum uero, de scripto, quædam recitare, quibus cæteri
 respondent, tum pro concione, uerba facere, ad extremum, singulos, mares primum,
 F. 117a. 1 deinde fœminas, sine strepitu, ordine surgere: ad *Antistitem⁶ adire, || ab eo *modici
 panis frustum,⁷ deinde uini haustum, accipere, et iterum sedere . his peractis,
 domum suam quemque redire. Fuerant sane Sacerdotes, rem totam, diligenter
 exploraturi; nisi eorum consilijs, legationis exitus obstitisset.⁸
 How the Moꝝhuls took India. Atque hoc imperium, Zelaldinus magnus, partim a maioribus, accepit, partim
 2 ipse, a multis ocupatum, armis recepit. | Est autem res altius repetenda. Rei pecu-
 niariæ difficultas, et copiarum, quæ ex collectio milite, et deditiorum cohortibus
 constabant, crebræ defectiones: et insidiæ a Persis, Parthis, et Turcis sæpissime
 paratæ; deinde crebræ suorum prodiones; Temuri nepotes coegerunt: ut se, intra
 3 eos fines, unde Temurus auus eruperat; | reciperent, et continerent. Hi erant,
 Bactræ, et Sogdianæ regiones . quarum præcipuæ ciuitates, sunt Samarcanda,
 Bóccora, et Balcum. Ac, cum rebus meliuscule succedentibus, ut est regum ingenium,
 noua parare instituerent, et Persarum, ac Turcarum potentia, Media, et Minore Asia,
 4 Armeniaque prohiberentur: infestis signis Paharopanisadam, | Indoscythiam, et Indiam
 fatigare aggrediuntur. Has regiones Patanæi tenebant: uarijs itaque bellis, fractos
 Patanæos, qui in Paharopanisade, et Indoscythia erant: sub iugum miserunt . et
 regni sedem Chabuli constituerunt . ut conficiendo Patanico bello, essent paratiores.
 Kābul taken. Bābar's conquests. *In ea re Baburus, Zelaldini auus, uir magni animi,⁹ et ex bellica laude, ad
 Temurum atuum aspirans, ita Patanæos exercuit, ut toto, fere Indiæ regno, pulsos, in
 F. 117b. 1 magnas || angustias, et regni angulos compelleret. At is parum cautus, et prouidus,
 rerum futurarum, non minorem cladem accepit a suis, quam intulit Patanæis; nam
 Samarcandæ regnum, *is quem ille abiens dictatorem et magistrum equitum dixerat,
 Humāyūn's reverses. proditor ocupauit.¹⁰ Baburo, *Emaumus successit. Qui cum in Gedrosia bellum
 2 faceret, Patanæi,¹¹ | homines bellicosi, iniuriarum a Baburo acceptarum memores . et

¹ Later change: lacus; but, erased. ⁵ 1st: amplissimo quodam oppido [commorari?].

³ 1st: linea ueste, albaque.

⁴ 1st: ante quem.

⁶ 1st: cui, duo uasa aurea superponuntur.

⁶ 1st: mystem. ⁷ 1st: buccellam panis; 2ndly: panis placentæ frustum.

⁸ Cf. fol. 115 a. 5, n. 6.

⁹ Later addition. Here occurs a later variant: "In ea re Baburus, Zelaldini auus, uir strenuus, ut supra demonstratum est in priore libro, fortiter desudauit atque laborauit." Though Bābar *Shāh's* history has not been touched upon in the preceding pages, the "prior liber" must mean the present work, Monserrate intending to transfer the passage to his second book on India, a different work. It may be, too, that M. (erroneously) thought that he had written about Babar in connection with Humāyūn at fol. 22 b. 3, *i.e.*, in what he intended at one time to be part of the "Liber I" of this work. Cf. our introduction, p. 523.

¹⁰ 1st: Osbequiorum dux proditor occupauit.

¹¹ 1st: Emaumus successit. quem supra otij, pacisque studiosum fuisse demonstrauius. Cuius ingenium ut Patanæi explorarunt.

natalis soli, a quo plurimi exulabant, desyderio impulsī, spe etiam certissimæ victoriæ illecti, bellum, ea fortuna instaurarunt: ut omnia pene, quæ Baburus occupauerat, non obtinerent solum, uerum etiam, de rei summa, Emaumum secum |
 3 agitare cogent. Emaumus, in eas angustias, coniectus: atque in maxima difficultate *constitutus: ad Regem¹ Persiæ, nouæ sectæ *principem et inuentorem,² adiit ut sibi suppetias *ueniret.³ Cui ea conditione, suas legiones, quibus unus præesset imperator, tradidit; ut sibi | nomen daret, et suo, quod gestabat, capitis redimiculo uteretur . quam conditionem accepit. Quibus legionibus, omnia quæ Patanæi obtinuerant, recuperauit . et eos dum vixit, Persæ virtute, qui legiones ducebat, coercuit. At uero eo casu, quem antea commemorauimus, Delini interijt, cum Zelaldinus filius Agaræ esset.

Help from
Bairām Khān

F. 118a. 1

Akbar de-
feats Bairām
Khān.

At Persa, gratia, et fauore emortui regis insolens, quod omnia sibi accepta referret, et quod se patrem appellaret; || sibi constituendi Regis arbitrium, arrogare conabatur; et cum Zelaldinus, Agaræ, a suis ciuibus, Regem esse renuntiatum intellexit: id ægre, molesteque ferens, Zelaldino obsistere, et Mirsaqhimo, Emaumi filio secundo, qui Chabuli regnabat, fauere instituit. Sed hæc dum meditatur, eius consilia Zelaldinus, iuuenis strenuus, | anteuertit. Nam, ubi Persam uacillare intellexit, inopinantem adortus, commisso prælio cepit, non tamen interfecit, eo quod patrem suum, atque se, regno, quod Patanæi occupauerant, restituisset. Quod dissidium multis regulis, qui patri parebant, defectionis occasio fuit. At uero Persa superato, ijsdem copijs, qui ei æquo animo | paruerant: et reliquo exercitu, facile illi fuit, bellum commotum ab auo, confirmatum a patre, ita ducere; ut plane conficeret. Quo superauit Gaccâres, Cambouos, Baloches, Rattoos, Rasputes, Géretas . ac Patanæos quo prælio, Daudem eorum regem peremit: deinde Indoscythas, et Mongolos, qui fratris filij partes tuebantur . ad extremum | uero Caspirios. Equidem, urbium, oppidorum-
 2 que, ac regionum, quas obtinuit, et principum reliquorum, quos bello superauit, renuntiationem, et enumerationem, ob nominum barbaras uoces, prætermittendam existimo.

The Gakhars,
Gujarātis,
Baluchis,
Marāthās,
Rājputs,
Jāts, Pathāns
of Bengal, &
Kashmiris.

Beyram
Caus.

F. 118b. 1

Description
of Indian
towns gener-
ally.

Et ut de urbium dignitate aliquid dicam . iucundum quidem illæ aspectum, eminus ostendunt. Nam crebræ turres, et tectorum fastigia, || magnum ornamentum, illis afferunt. Cæterum intus, uiarum angustia, et earum inordinata, et perturbata concursio, ipsis, omnem urbanæ pulchritudinis, splendorem eripiunt. Accedit, quod nullæ sunt fenestræ, in ædibus; quod consulto fieri existimo, propter uiarum sordes. Nihil tamen secius, diuites homines, domorum tecta, et fornices emblematis, | et picturis exornant . domi hortos conserunt, opere topiario uestiunt: lacunas, et piscinas, tectorio uarij coloris, illinunt; subterraneis tubis, fontes ducunt: salientes construunt: quæ imbrem altissime impellunt; sola uero faciunt, cocto latere, fictilia: uel secto lapide, marmorea . at uero, in fronte, aut uestibulo, nihil | arte elaboratum, nihil est, quod prætereuntium oculos oblectet . nihil, quod ædificium commendet. Et Brachmanarum, quamuis sit alia ratio ædificandi, hi tamen ligno, et lapidi, simulachra arte statuarij, concinne incidunt, aut sculpunt. Ea sunt homi-

Dignitas
urbium.†

¹ 1st: eodem fere anno quo Lusitana classis primum in Indiam appulit, ad Xa Ismaelem Regem.

² 1st: authorem; 2ndly: assertorem.

³ 1st: ferret.

† Later addition.

num, et ferarum, quæ fabulis acceperunt . at nunquam committunt, quin cristatum
 4 colubrum | appingant: capitibus potissimum columnarum; quem Lusitani *serpentem
 cuculli¹ dicunt . *Ægyptiam aspidem esse credo.² Vulgus uero, et plebicolæ, in
 humilibus tugurijs, et casis degunt . quo fit ut aduentitijs atque externis, nihil
 F 119a. 1 offerat noui, alia ciuitas: si unam viderint. Est autem Brachmanarum, atque
 Agarenorum, in Zelaldini regno, Reipublicæ gubernandæ, dispar | admodum ratio,
 nam Brachmanæ, illam, contribulium senatu, et concilio, liberis sententijs guber-
 nant . Agareni curia, et senatoribus carent . omniaque, eius præfecti, qui a Rege
 potestatem acceperit; arbitrato, et sententia decernuntur.³

A's descent
 from Chingiz
 Khân

* Porro⁴ autem Zelaldinus maternum genus a Cinguiscono ducit . quod Rex
 2 ipse, Sacerdotibus significauit. At Cinguisconus, | [Furo]pæus Sarmata, *Alaunos⁵
 Scythas,* aliosque⁶ qui per eam *Sarmatiæ⁶ regionem, quæ *ultra Tanaim et⁷ ultra

Ant. Reg.

Chingiz Kh.
 leads the Al-
 āni and Scy-
 thians to con-
 quest c. A. D.
 1242 !

Beliam montem⁶ sita est, ad quem Alexandrum Macedonem peruenisse *et aras po-
 3 suisse⁷ memorant, degere solebant . ad eam diem obscuros, et finitimorum uectigales,
 primum e suis quasi latebris, in lucem, atque totius orbis theatrum eduxit. Quorum
 eruptio circa annum salutis, millesimum, ducentesimum ac quadragesimum secundum

Ptol. lib. 3
 cap. 5 tab. 7.
 Europæ.

Sab. Ennea-
 dis 9. lib. 6.

3 sub | Mongolorum, et Tartarorum appellatione, Scythico* ac Sarmatico⁸ nomine, uulgata
 est: quam *Mongolorum⁹ appellationem incertum est num acceperint, a primis suæ

Meaning of
 Mongol,
 Tartar or
 Tātār.

gentilitatis authoribus, an uero, ab arbitris, et iudicibus, qui eorum controuersias antea
 dirimebant, quam Cinguis eos in lucem educeret: an ab agris ubi degebant, an

4 denique *dicti sint¹⁰ a Mongo amne, qui Arethusium excipit, in cuius ora | usque ad
 Sarmaticum mare, Tartari hybernis castris uersantur. At Tartari, ex idiomatis, et
 linguæ suæ vitio, Tattâr, a finitimis uocati sunt . nam concise, dura consonantium
 collisione, monosyllabas uoces, quas balbutiant, proterere potius quam proferre uidentur .
 aliter quam Mongoli, qui uocibus, et sono, proxime ad Turcarum linguam,
 accedunt.

Ant. p. 3
 tit. 19. c. 8.
 Ptol. lib. 6,
 c. 14, tab. 7.

Ant. Reg.

5 At uero Cinguisconus, in eum dignitatis | gradum, oraculo euectus esse fertur .

Oracle
 in favour of
 Chingiz Kh.

quod, uel ipse confixit, uel malus aliquis dæmon attulit. Cui contribules eo fidem ha-
 buerunt, quod ægre molesteque ferrent, ob pascua uicinis uectigal⁷ || soluere, et

F. 119b. 1 illum ut oraculum prænuntiabat, ducem sibi creauerunt. Qui ut erat, uir gnarus, et
 ad imperandum natus, è uestigio, anteaquam, finitimæ Scytharum turmæ, rescirent:
 et sibi multitudinem, ne forte, facti eam pœniteret, iuramento deuincire, et militum

¹ Ist: serpentem cuculli, vel capitij.

² Later addition.

³ Everything is bracketed or cancelled in the MS. from: Jamuero ad Zelaldinum (fol. 106b. 4). Opposite, marginally, we have in Portuguese: Isto | se ha de escreuer | d ... [paper injured] | tido das [?] folhas 115a. 5.

⁴ Later addition.

NOTE.—My marginal notes in bold type are less satisfactory from this point. I expected it from the nature of the subjects treated. The spelling and identification of some proper names is left doubtful. Scarcely any of Monserrate's authorities is accessible to me.

⁵ Ist: Scythiæ. This passage from: porro autem Zelaldinus (fol. 119a. 1 to fol. 119b. 1) was covered with a thin white paper. From here to: enimuero quoniam hactenus (fol. 140a. 4), everything is bracketed or cancelled in the MS. Opposite the words "porro autem Zelaldinus.." marginally, I read: "Paras secui," which means, perhaps: I have cut out these paragraphs

⁶ Later note, marginally: Belia mons quis sit diuinandum est. Aytonum authorem sequitur hic Sabellicus, Enneade 9, lib. 6.

⁷ Long later marginal note, erased, illegible.

7 Chiefs bid to kill their children. 2 authoramentum fieri, curauit. Deinde, ut tribunorum fidem periclitaretur, imperator, | ut septem *tribuni,¹ qui ante constitutum regnum, multitudini præerant, suos quisque liberos trucidarent · horrendum facinus; multitudinis metu et oraculi superstitionibus adacti paruerunt. Quo parricidio inauguratus, suas copias, in decurias,

Army organised. 3 centurias, chiliadas ac myriadas, assignatis *militum tribunis² distribuit · quam rationem postea, | Scythæ sequuti sunt · et finitimos primum Scythas, sub suum iugum duxit, sibi que uectigales, ac stipendiarios fecit. Et cum, satis sibi esse copiarum

David, the Indian Prester John, defeated. 4 perspexit: quibus bellum exteris gentibus, inferre posset: in Dauidem Indiæ Regem, cui Scythæ uectigal pendebant, religione Christianum, castra mouit. Quem ex inopinato, duabus diuersa ductis turmis, | occupatum, facile superauit · captum cum

C. Kh. marries his daughter. liberis, et domesticis, trucidauit. Uni tantum filiæ, quam uxorem duxisse fertur, pepercit.

Further afield. Two of his generals. Quod bellum, ubi confecit: spolijs locupletior, et copiosior effectus: ad remotiores gentes, armis petendas, curas, cogitationesque transtulit · et copias uniuersas, in tres acies distribuit. Quarum uni Baiothnoyū præfecit · qui occupata Perside, et

F. 120a. 1 Maiori Armenia *deuicta,³ Iconium usque, Lycaoniæ urbem, peruenit · || ubi ueteres Turcæ regni sedem posuerant. Alteri Bâcconem · qui *Tanaim transuectus,⁴ ultra Pontum Euxinum progressus: Jazigas, Rhuthenos, Polonos, Pánnonesque, magna

Himself defeated, clade affecit. Tertiam, uersus · Austrum, creditur ipse, parum fœliciter duxisse: nec enim, unquam sibi pepercit: quominus laborem, et periculum subiret. Ac cum semel,

2 pugna *infesto atque inimico Marte⁵ | commissa, profligatoque exercitu, ueprium latebras petijisset, ferunt prodigio fuisse seruatum. Cum enim hostes, qui fugientem sequebantur, in dumetum ubi latebat, uenissent: ac perscrutari locum, adorti essent:

and saved by an owl. bubo, auis, superstitiosis hominibus inauspicata, strepitu aduentantium, exterrita, auolasset: quærentibus, omnem recentis latebræ suspicionem, ademit. Quo factum |

3 est, ut Regem quærere desisterent: et ut, apud eam gentem, ea auis, in magno honore deinceps haberetur. Verum hoc discrimine liberatus, et multis postea partis uictorijs, insolens: eo dementiae progressus est, ut animo super fastigium humanum elato, ut

Assumes divine honours. alter Alexander Macedo, cum orbi uniuerso terrori esset: diuinitatem, sibi arrogare,

4 ausus sit. Ac non minus stulte, | quam impudenter, se orbis terræ solum dominum, et Dei filium, in castris pronuntiare iussit: eo more, quo Agareni, Mahammedem Dei nuntium, *inclamant⁶ · ac sui simile simulachrum, exculpi, eoque proposito, diuinos sibi honores tribui, Nabuchodonósorem imitatus, imperauit.

Q. Curtius de India lib. 9.

Don. 3.

Fertur aliquando, filios ad se uocatos, hoc modo fuisse, ad concordiam cohortatus. Jussit, ut singuli, singulas sagittas afferrent · quas, cum allatæ essent, uti

Advice to his sons. 1 simul colligerent edixit, præcepitque, || natu maximo, ut fascem perfringeret, quod cum frustra tentasset, et post eum, ex ordine, reliqui: subiunxit: “ Si in tuendo

Darganx [Karâkorum? Kertchagan?] his capital. “ imperio, concordēs fueritis, firmum erit: sin minus, labascet, atque iniurijs hominum “ erit obnoxius.”

2 Quod cum ipse, longe, lateque prorogasset, otij cupidus, Darganxum urbem, in media Scythia condidit · et in ea ipsius sedem | posuit. At uero in insania, falsæ

Rodericus Gonsal. e Clauigijs.

¹ Ist: præfecti.

² Ist: præfectis.

³ Ist: superata.

⁴ Ist: Tanai superato.

⁵ Ist: parum fœliciter.

⁶ Ist: proclamant.

Killed by lightning. diuinitatis, sibi adscitæ persistens, ipso uictoriarum medio cursu, de cœlo tactus, infœlici exitu, suæ temeritatis, et dementiæ pœnas dedit.

His 12 sons tree to choose their religion.

Qui, dum uiueret, duodecim filios procreauit, quibus integrum esse permisit, quam quisque uellet, religionem sequi · cum se, ut colerent, cæteros supplicijs adigeret · (ea solent | esse patres, erga filios indulgentia). Ex his, unus Christianus fuit,

Ant. Reg.

One, Ogotai, a Christian.

ex Indiæ regis filia natus · cui nomen fuit Otthodayus. Reliqui, in gentilitia superstitione perstiterunt. *Quattuor, eorum, qui ex alia Cinguisani uxore nati sunt nomina, ad nostram usque memoriam perducta, sunt hæc:¹ Gabyrius, Xacattas, Osbequis, et Charcas. Cæterorum uocabula exciderunt. Pater, | Samarcandæ imperium, et unam aciem Xaccatæ dedit. Cuius milites, a sui imperatoris nomine,

Samarkand to Chagatai. His 3 sons.

Xacattæi, ut ab alijs Mongolorum cohortibus distinguerentur, dici cœperunt. Huic tres fuere filij, Jachis, Batto, et Tagladayus. Porro Boccora præfecturam, et Balcum

Bokhara and Balkh to Uzbeg.

urbem, Cinguisanus, Osbequi cum iustis copijs, dedit · a quo, pari ratione, eius milites, Osbequij sunt nominati · quorum genus, et nomen, *adhuc remanent.² At ||

F. 121a. 1

uero reliquam Tartarorum, et Mongolorum multitudinem, ipsamque Scythiam, et Darganxum, quam ipse condiderat · Otthodayo concessit · cæteris uero filijs, singulas præfecturas, in alijs regionibus, quas ipse bello parauerat.

The rest to Ogotai.

Porro Xacattas, Samarcandæus imperator, ut qui uicinior Mediæ, atque Minori Asiæ esset: filios in eas regiones, ut bellum gererent, | misit · Jachiscanum, uersus ocasum, Battocanum, in Aquilonem · Tagladayum in austrum; ipse cum lectissimo milite, Seras religione Christianos, bello premere instituit.

D. Ant. 3^a pars, tit. 19. cap. 8. § 17.

Sabellicus Enneadis nonæ lib. 6.

Juji, Batu, Tagladay, off to war. 2

Ac Batho, in Austriam usque impetu delatus, post ingentem editam stragem, in ijs regionibus, quæ ipsi occurrerunt: cum magna suorum manu, in Drauo fluuio, mersus interiit. | *Copiarum uero tribuni,³ qui infortunium illud euaserunt, ad filios eius, quos tuendis regnis, a se comparatis, præfecerat: confluxerunt.

Chagatai attacks the Xtian Seræ.

Batu drowned in the Drave. 3

Tagladayus, ab Æthiopibus fusus, superstites copias, cum Jachiscani fratris exercitu iunxit · cui etiam se subdidit · Jachiscanus, in Perside agebat, ex qua, atque Mesopotamia, Turcas depulerat.

Tagladay defeated.

Juji conquers Persia. 4

Enimvero Xacattas, Sogdianorum | conspiratione, quam discordiæ, et intestina bella (quod a patre significatum erat) eius, et fratrum suorum, fouerant: Samarcandæ occisus est. Quo sublato, Samarcandæi Sogdiani generis imperatorem, sibi delegerunt · qui ut Xacattæos (exercitus robur) beneficijs delinitos, sibi fortius deuinciret: et ut significaret, quantum militarem eorum virtutem, et nominis dignitatem æstimaret: suos milites Xacattæos, | conscribi, ac censi præcepit. Quo sublata est, pernicioza illa, animorum abalienatio, quæ ex generis, et appellationis diuersitate, inter externos, et indigenas oriri solet.

Rodericus Gonsal.

Power of his sons crippled. 2

At Xacattæ filij, ac nepotes, cum ijs copijs Xacattæorum, quæ reliquæ fuerant, plurimis cladibus, ab ijs gentibus affecti, quarum regiones iniuste occupauerant, in Scythiam iterum compulsi sunt · ubi | more maiorum agere, * et errantes⁴ uagari, cum iterum instituissent, Xacattæi Tartari dici cœperunt. Quo factum est, ut

¹ 1st: quorum quattuor, germani fratres, ex alia Cinguisani uxore extiterunt. Eorum uero nomina fuerunt.

² 1st: ad nostram usque memoriam perductum est.

³ 1st: eius uero duces.

⁴ 1st: atque palautes.

Their habitat. Xacattæorum habitatio, et in Sogdiana prope Samarcandam, et Jaxartem fluuium: et in Scythia supra mare Caspium, describitur. At quo tempore, Henrici quarti, 3 Castellæ Regis legati, Samarcandam uenerunt · | Samarcandæum imperium, Mongolia Gons. de Clau- dicebatur · quæ etiam in Scythia, haud procul a mari, quod eam, *ab Aquilonibus¹ arkand. alluit, describitur.

Ogotai pol- son ed at Darganx(?) Jamuero Otthodayus, Darganxi magnus Canus (*i.e.*, magnus princeps) Tartariæque 4 imperator, ueneno sublatus, biennio tantum, post patrem *uixit.² Huius signa, *D. Antonin. ibid.* reliqui Cinghiscani filij, suis prouincijs pulsî, sequuti fuerant; et | Mongolorum, ac Tartarorum appellatione retenta, non semel, in Indiam colonias deduxerunt. Et in

M ā n d u, Mālwa, Sind, invaded. primis Mandhoum, Maluanamque prouinciam, tenuerunt. Sindum, nostra ætate, Tarchanes Mongoli, et Arguni *hactenus tenuerunt, quos nuper Zelaldinus expugnauit et regno spoliauit.³ Olim, oppidis, quæ Mangalor a Lusitanis dicuntur, nomen

Meaning of Mangalore dederunt · quorum est, inter incolas, nomen Mongolur. Non tamen, ab ijs, Mogho- **F. 122a. 1** stan, e regione Ormuzæ, tractus, appellationem || accepit, ut quidam, ob uocum affini- & **Moghistan.** tatem, existimant · qui eum conuentum, Mongolistan nominant, hoc est Mongolorum regnum · cum proprie, palmarum regio, dicatur. Rustanorum enim lingua, Mogh *Persico idio- mate Rus- tani, rusti- cam linguam sonat.* palmam sonat.

Cæterum Mongoli,* recenti memoria, quia in bello tum Xacattæorum, tum Osbe- 2 quiorum stipendia merent,⁴ utrorumque animos | offenderunt. Nam illorum partes **Moghuls despised by Chagatais and Uzbegs.** tumentur, apud quos *ampliora stipendia se merituos sperant.⁵ Quare *non habentur legitimi, et eiusdem stirpis, ac gentilitatis domestici, sed externi.⁶ Nec se, Xacattæi, Mongolos appellari, æquo animo ferunt. Quod Sacerdotibus, significare uoluit, **A wrong notion.** uir quidam eruditus, at non satis apte, cum dixit Mongolos appellari eos, qui ab utris- 3 que orti (dicerem potius a | quibus utriusque orti) nec Osbequij essent, nec Xacattæi.

Kuyuk suc- ceeds Ogotai. Embassy to St. Louis. Cæterum, Otthodayo successit Cuing.-canus · cuius *magister equitum cui nomen erat Cicaltay,⁷ ad D. Ludouicum, dum in Cypro esset, legatos misit · qui magnum Tartariæ Canum, *Christianam religionem suscepisse⁸ nuntiarunt.

Abaga fol- lowed by Nicholas Tigudar, or Ahmad Kh. Post Cuingum, Bege-canus eius filius regnauit, qui fratri suo, Tagondar-cano, | **Arghūn kills the renegade and favours the Xtians.** 4 religione Christiano, cui erat nomen Nicolaus, regnum tradidit. Hic fidem deseruit, et ad Agarenorum superstitionem *demigrauit.⁹ Quam impietatem, non impune tulit: eum enim Argon-canus, eius ex fratre Bage-cano nepos, uita et regno priuauit. Qui Christianis beneuolus, non tamen Christianus, fuisse narratur (tanti refert, infantes baptismo perfundi, non prouectiorem ætatem expectari).

F. 122b. 1 Huic || Baydo-canus frater successit, qui in* Agarenorum odium et offensionem,¹⁰ ob **So, too, Bal- du Kh. slain by Ghāzān Kh.** eam caussam incurrit: quod Christianos ipsis præferre, maiorique beneuolentia, quam se prosequi uideretur. A quibus, Cassan-canus, Argonis filius, ipsiusque ex fratre nepos, muneribus, et promissis corruptus · Baydo-canum regno depulit, ac peremit.

2 Diuino tamen nutu factum est, ut | posteaquam, magnus Canus salutatus est,

1 Ist: a solis ortu.

2 Ist: superauit.

3 Ist: tenent.

4 Ist: nostræ ætatis memoria · Xacattæorum Osbequiorumque meritorij stipendiarique milites.

5 Ist: pluris conducuntur.

6 Ist: quare notlii, atque spurij, et habentur, et nominantur.

7 Ist: cuius militiæ magister Cicaltay.

8 Ist: ad Christianam religionem transisse.

9 Ist: transijt.

10 Ist: magnam Agareuorum offensionem.

Ghāzān Kh. non minus quam pater, et patruus, odio habuerit Agarenos · aduersus quos, pro
fauours the Christianis pugnauit. Nam Armenis, et Hyrcanis, qui ut Hierosolymam ab Agarenis
Xtians, recipere, Palesthinam petebant: *cum suis cohortibus ducentorum millium equi-
 tum comitem se adiunxit¹ · ac cum Babyloniæ rex, cum equitum centum millibus,
 3 et | peditum, infinita multitudine illis occurrisset, uirtute, atque consilio, Babylonios
 *deuicit² · Syriamque obtinuit · et cum Hierosolymam uictor uenisset: loca sancta
 uisit. Verum inchoato bello, necdum confecto, in Persidem reuocatus, ut Persarum,
 4 conspiracyem opprimeret: ad Bonifacium Pontificem octauum, ad Gallia Regem,
 et ad principes alios | Christianos, legatos cum epistolis misit: quibus eos hortabatur,
 ut Syriam, Hierosolymamque, quas ipse armis obtinuerat, occuparent. Hic tandem,
marries an ostento quodam, Christianus effectus est. Cum enim illi, filia regis Armeniae, nollet
Armenian nubere, nisi sibi esset integrum, more Christiano uiuere, et ille conditionem admisisset,
Princess, uxoremque duxisset, in adulterij suspicionem, eo postea puella uenit: quod de-
 formem | filium, patrique absimilem peperisset. Quæ cum sibi necem, a coniuge
 F. 123a. 1 parari, intellexit · ut sibi liceret, sacerdoti, peccatorum exomologesim facere, Eu-
 charistiam accipere, et filium, sacro fonte perfundere, exorauit. Quem ubi aqua sacra
and is con- imbuit, Dei beneficio, puer liberali forma, pulcherrimus effectus est: at pater, ostenti
verted by a 2 magnitudine, | mitigatus: reginaeque conciliatus: et aquæ sacramento delibutus:
miracle. Christiana sacra suscepit.

*G u r g
 uulgo. Lat.
 nis Hyrcani
 uel Georgi
 ani.
 B a g d a d.
 Babel. Baby-
 lonia.*

3 Chri- Quo e uiuis sublato, regnauit Totamixus · cui successit Coramxas, post quem,
tian? Khāns. Totamixus secundus, imperium tenuit · atque hi Christiani fuisse creduntur. Post
 quos, eorum qui Tartariae dominati sunt, a Temuro Claudio, nomina: incuria scrip-
 torum, *in obliuionem uenerunt.³

Takhtamish.

3 *Ac Zelaldini mater | nec regium genus nec dignitatem Cingiscani, in Zelaldinum
Akbar's transfudit: fuit enim, priuati cuiusdam tribuni filia.⁴ *Vocabatur T̄xoëlij Beygum
descent from et anteaquam Emaumo nuberet data fuerat a parentibus Cayacano uxor. Quare in
Chingiz Kh. Cingiscani genus uel ab auia uel ab alia Cingiscani stirpis heroide quasi insitione
doubtful adiunctus est · quam pridem autem, ab eo non accepimus. Vera tamen narrare
Chuli Be- cum sibi ab illo muliebri genus esse affirmaret credidimus.⁵ Quæ cum ita se habeant,
gam, his mo- non immerito dixerimus · beneuolentiam, qua Zelaldinus, Christianos amplectitur,
ther, first the 4 hæreditariam, et quasi a maioribus | acceptam, habere.
wife of Qāim
(?) Kh.

History of Cæterum Temurus, a quo Emaumus, Zelaldini pater, originem traxit · ex paruis
Timūr. initijs, in amplissimum dignitatis gradum, his studijs, quæ mox dicemus, euectus est.
Ahi (?) Kh. Qui, cum Samarcandæ imperium, quod Xacattæi, eo modo, quem supra demonstra-
of Samar- uimus, tuebantur, Ahicanus teneret · (quem ferebant ignoto patre, matre uero nobili
kand. natum), idemque optimis legibus, et institutis a se conditis, Persiæ, et Syriæ domi-
Timūr born naretur · in pago Taragay Quexensis urbis, quæ ob amœnitatem, et agri hortorumque
in Kesh or viriditatem Xaresabz dicebatur · patre Xacathæo, ac simulachrorum cultore, ordinis
Shahr-l-Sabz. equestris, ac quattuor equitum *tribuno,⁶ matre pari nobilitate natus, patris fortu-

*Rodericus
 Gonsal.*

*Virens ci-
 uitas.
 Jovius na-
 tum esse Sa-
 marcandæ ex
 ignobili atque
 adeo humili
 familia tra-
 dit.*

¹ 1st: cum ducentis millibus equitum se adiunxit

² 1st: superauit.

³ 1st: obliuione consepulta sunt.

⁴ 1st: e quibus Zelaldini mater orta, regium genus et (quod dicunt) sanguinem: non tamen dignitatem Cingiscani, in Zelaldinum transfudit · fuit enim, priuati cuiusdam ducis, filia

⁵ Later additiou.

⁶ 1st: ductore.

nam sequutus, totidem militibus præpositus, sub Ahycano genero, qui post socerum,
 2 imperio potitus est, aliquandui militauit. A puero | quidem, fortis uiribus, *solers,¹
His youth. et ad *pugnam² promptus, fertur a *coæuis,³ et contribulibus, paternæ uillæ,
 uicinis pueris, pastoribus, ioco fuisse Rex salutatus. Quos ille, iure iurando astrin-
 xit, ut sibi deinceps parerent. Quos iam adolescentes, et armis capiendis aptos, ad se
 3 uocatos, iussit se ad *honestiorem opificinam⁴ quam esset | pastoria, sequi. Cui
 cum illi paruissent, et quotidiano comœatu, indigere cœpissent, raptu uiuere, et
First **ex-** armenta gregesque abigere, instituerunt. Cui cum se alij ad trecentos adiunxissent:
plots. eos ad uias obsidendas, traduxit: *atque ob eam caussam eius nomen⁵ ad Samar-
 candæ regem, delatum est · quem comprehendi, cum turma, et necari iussit · verum
 4 Xacattæorum quorundam | oratu, de sententia discessit: et ad se accersitum, *unius
 cohortis militum tribunum⁶ creauit. Sed inuidorum maleuolentia, apud regem
 iterum accusatus, ut suæ vitæ prospiceret, de castris Samarcandæi regis, clam cum
 suorum manu, se subduxit · et ad uiarum prædam redijt. Diripuit uero, in Persiæ
 finibus, negotiatorum copiosam et opulentam turmam. Quod cum Persiæ rex
 audiuit: tribunum cum mille militum cohorte, aduersus eum misit. Quod ubi
F. 124a 1 Temurus cognouit, tutum locum,|| ex quo repugnare posset, assequutus, missis ad
 tribunum muneribus, et spe maioris emolumenti quam si Persiæ regi militaret, *si ab
 illo deficeret, et ad se veniret,⁷ ante oculos proposita, eum ad se pellexit. Cuius
 cohorte robustior effectus, habebat enim, mille et quingentos milites *authoratos⁸.
 2 Cistanorum ex agro, qui erat *optimus et fructuosissimus,⁹ prædas agere cœpit. | At
 uero Cistani, hominis iniuriam non ferentes, nocte cum gregem abigeret, Temurum
Lameness. adorti, multos ex eius manu peremerunt. Effugit tamen Temurus, uulneribus in
 dextro crure, et in manu itidem dextera, acceptis · a quibus uulneribus claudus, et
 mancus effectus, Temurlang a suis, hoc est Temurus Claudus dictus est. Verum ubi
 3 uulnera *sanata sunt¹⁰ · ipse ex morbo | confirmatus, suam cohortem iterum collegit.
 Quem cum audacem, Samarcandenses, qui *contra regem conpirationem conflabant,¹¹
 cognoscerent, cum eo egerunt, ut regem ex insidijs interficeret. Parauit regi insidias,
 in itinere, Samarcanda, alió, sine cohorte, proficiscenti. Cumque inopinantem
 4 adortus esset, et in fugam, satellites eius uertisset: | ipse rex montis latebras petijt ·
 ac cum uitam, incolunitatemque suam, rustico datis muneribus, magni pretij credi-
Kills Ahi (?) dissest: is regem Temuro prodidit. Quem Temurus uulneribus impositis, confecit.
Kh., Inde magnis itineribus, Samarcandam contendit, urbem occupatam, aulam, et arcem
and marries præsidio communit. Cannu perempti regis uxorem, Ahicani Samarcandæi impe-
his daughter. ratoris filiam, uel invitam duxit, Xacattæorum copias, ad se acciuit.
F. 124b. 1 Factus itaque imperator, ex prædone rex, maiora moliri, || et conari incepit.
Timūr takes Eo tempore, duo fratres, de Persiæ regno, dissidebant: ac cum sibi opportunum
Persia. putaret tempus, ad regnum captandum: alterius partes tuendas suscepit. Qui cum
 altero fratre pulso, regnum obtinisset, Temuro omnia concedere, non dubitabat.

*Petrus
Mæxia. Va-
riæ lection.
lib.*

*Rodericus
Gonsal.*

*Mæxia. ibi-
dem.*

*Rod. Gon-
sal.
Sebasteno-
rum.
Sebasteni.*

*Mæxia &
Rodry. Gon-
sal., locis citatis.*

¹ Ist: et solerti consilio.

² Ist: bellum.

³ Ist: coætaneis.

⁴ Ist: honestius opificium. A marginal note refers us to Plaut. M[il. 3.3. 6] for the use of "opificina."

⁵ Ist: eiusque nomen.

⁶ Ist: phalangis tribunum.

⁷ Ist: si ad se ab illo deficeret.

⁸ Ist: in nominibus.

⁹ Ist: diues et copiosus.

¹⁰ Ist: coaluerunt.

¹¹ Ist: qui in regem conpirationem meditabantur.

Cuius confidentia abusus, ut eum deluderet, sibi cum alio rege bellum esse confinxit .
 2 auxiliarias | copias ab eo petijt, stipendiarios interim milites conduxit. Ubi exercitum comparauit, in Persia constitit . arma perfidus in hospitem et clientem conuertit . victum denique, regno, et fortunis omnibus spoliauit.

Besleges
Ahmad Kh.
at Alinga.

At, ubi Persiam Xacattæorum præsidij firmavit: Parthos primum, qui Persis
 3 uectigales erant, petijt. Hamidus Persarum Rex pulsus, | in Alingæ castrum confugit: ¹

Success in
Tartary, Ge-
orgia, Arme-
nia,

ubi triennio a Temuro obsessus est. Temurus in Tartariam profectus, Coramxam *Rod. Gonsal.*

quem supra commemorauimus, ab excidio Cusaqhanæ (domus Cusae uertitur) redeun-
 tem superauit . et regionis magnam partem, sub iugum misit. Deinde Hircanos

4 Georgianos dicimus) fide Christianos, petiuit: et eorum castrum, nomine | Tarcon,
 cepit . ac Darbentum ad portas ferreas peruenit (Damarcab a Turcis dicitur) ultra
 Iberiam, atque Albaniam. Deinde uersus Armeniam iter conuertit, prouinciam armis

& Mesopota-
mia.

subegit. Post hæc Mesopotamiam obtinuit . unde regressus Euphratem iuxta
 Arsingam traiecit, et in Capadociam uenit. *Paulus Jo-
uius in lib.
Elogiorum.*

Huius in Capadociam *profectionis, ¹ hæc caussa fuit. Cum Arsingæ Dynasta *Rod. Gonsal.*

F 125a. 1 Payaziti, qui a se uectigal, et eam arcem postulabat, | imperium *recusaret: ² ad

Helps Zar-
etan of Ar-
singa against
Bāiazid

Temuri opem, missis legatis confugit . qui ad Temurum, ob Persiæ regem, in Baby-
 loniam fugatum, Alingæ ouantem, peruenerunt. Atque ab eo, literas ad Payazitum
 obtinuerunt . quibus *Payazitum monebat ne ³ Zaretanum, dedititium, et uectigalem
 suum, molestia afficeret. Desineret uero, ab eo amplius tributum, et uectigal |

2 reposcere. Idem, si rogaretur ab eo, se præstiturum. Payazitus, ut erat insolens,
 legatione excanduit, et sibi inauditum, ad eam diem, imperatoris nomen contempsit:
 eius uero potentiam parui pendit . ad hæc minaces literas, et conuitijs plenas,
 ad eum rescripsit. Imperare se, ut a Zaretano e uestigio discederet, sin minus,

3 sciret sibi cum | potentissimo hoste, bellum esse. Erat Temurus Qhaterbago (uolup-
 tuarius hortus redditur) oppido in Persia, ubi hyberna castra habuerat, cum Payaziti
 literæ ei redditæ sunt. Quas ubi perlegit: ob dictam, atque intentam contumeliam,
 extemplo castra, in Payazitum, mouit . et *uelis equisque (ut dicitur) ⁴ in Capadociam

4 ueniens, Sebastem, quæ diui | Blasij patria fuit, in primis inuasit et obtinuit, *ciuibus
 Takes Sivas. magnam cladem attulit urbemque ⁵ uastauit. A qua, diluculo eius diei, profectus
 est: qua uesperis, Xelebius † Payaziti filius, ad eam, cum ducentorum millium sagit-
 tatorum exercitu peruenit. Quem accessu noluit Temurus prohibere, nec cum illo
 prælium committere, quod existimaret, sua magnitudine indignum, cum uicario impera-
 tore, | et iuvene configere . eoque neglecto, in Babyloniam castra mouit. Ac cum

Marches 5
on Bagh-
dad.

* Tartarorum, qui candidi nominantur, cohortes, ⁶ quæ incertis sedibus, omnium

F 125b 1 hostes uagantur, in quibus erant, uirorum et foeminarum quinquaginta millia,

Defeats the
White Tar-
tars

ei occurrissent: prælium cum illis commisit, ducem cepit, plerosque peremit, super-
 stites secum abduxit. *†Hic per-
peram a nos-
tratibus Cyri-
celes, uel
Calepinus,
uocitatur,
cum eius no-
men Cide Xe-
lebius fuerit:
quod domi-
nus generosus
Latine reddi-
tur.*

Takes Bagh-
dad

Ut uero Babylonix fines intrauit . Babylonius imperator, ei, ut parceret a
 cædibus, atque incendio, stipendium, et auxilia detulit, et pecuniam, Temuri inscrip-
 tionem præferentem admisit . et *insignium ipsius notam, ⁷ locis publicis, appingi

¹ 1st: expeditionis.

² 1st: detrectare.

³ 1st: quibus petebat ne.

⁴ 1st: citatis equis.

⁵ 1st: et incolarum clade edita.

⁶ 1st: Galactæorum Tartarorum cohortes.

⁷ 1st: armorum ipsius symbolum.

2 atque insculpi | permisit. Babylonem itaque transgrediens, Damascum, opulentissimam Syriæ urbem uenit: quam ob eam caussam expugnauit, quod suos legatos, qui suo nomine tributum repetebant, in uincula coniecissent. Damascenos, Sebastenos (quorum plurimi Christiani erant) ac *candidos Tartaros¹ bello captos Samarcandam, ut expeditior esset, transmisit. Ipse *æstiuus mensibus castra² Alaræ, in Armenia habuit.

3 At vero | Payazitus, Sebastes excidio offensus, ut par pari referret, Arsingam, inimicitiarum *caussam³ expugnauit. at captam Zaretani uxorem, solui, honori que haberi, atque ut ab incendio, et cædibus urbisque excidio sui abstinerent; proposito supplicio, imperauit. Quod, etiamsi Payazito, plurimi socordiæ darent: quoniam

4 *ultionem cum iniuria Sebastæ accepta exæquasse⁴ non uideretur; | uoluit ipse, sua lenitate, atque indulgentia, hosti qui se Dei flagellum iactabat, et truculentus, et sæuus haberi, potius existimabat: inuidiam conciliare, magis quam illi similis, ne in re quidem minima, haberi. At Temurus, ubi ab excubitoribus, Payazitum, Arsingam expugnasse cognouit: Alara, quam citissime, uersus Arsingam et Sebastem

5 castra mouit. Payazitus, | ubi hostem aduenire resciiuit, ut eum celeritate præuerteret: impedimentis omnibus, atque ærario Anguri, quod erat munitissimum castrum, relictis, uelocissime hostem consectabatur; quod ubi Temurus resciiuit, iter ad sinistram flexit, et cum || Tauri montis iugum superasset, per octo dies intra montes se

F. 126a. 1 continuit. Payazitus, cum Arsingam, et Sebastem uenisset: nec a tergo, sibi hostem restitisse, antea resciiisset: quam expugnati Anguri, exhausti, atque expilati ærarij nuntium accepisset: ultra Sebastem profectus est. Temurus autem, ut ea, quæ

2 prospere, atque ex sententia successerant; dolis etiam adhibitis, confirmaret: | hanc technam excogitauit. (Erat tunc temporis, in eius castris, Payaziti legatus.) Se fumo sulphuris, et fæculeæ paleæ, ut expallescere, suffiri iussit: deinde, magnam uim calentis sanguinis, *ex ipso jugulati bouis collo⁵ || hausit. ad extremum, quasi ægerrime laboraret, decubuit. Legatum, ut quam citissime ueniret, accersit. Aduen-

3 tante legato, | magna contentione, et cum extremi periculi significatione, uomere cœpit. et ea uomitione maximam sanguinis uim eiecit. ut legatum, magna hominis misericordia ceperit. Quod ubi Temurus animaduertit, et satis eum sibi persuadere cognouit, uere ipsum, atque serio laborare: fracta uoce, et singultanti simili, "Vides,"

4 inquit, "quam uicinus sim morti. | effluit enim cruor omnis. Scribe igitur, Payazito "fratri meo, mihi esse in animo, rem omnem familiarem meam, liberos, exercitumque, "illi concedere. Nemo enim est in orbe, ei potentia par, qui liberos, et rem meam "tutari queat. Maturet ergo, anteaquam excedam. ipsius enim aduentu, ante "obitum meum, et suis, et meis copijs, bene consultum erit." Cui legatus. "Sed "si placet, ego ipse, hero meo renuntiabo."—"Perge ergo," ait Temurus. Hac

F. 126b. 1 techna, et hostem securum, et incautum reddere: et ad se accitum, || itineris faciendi, celeritate lassum, et debilem efficere, consilium Temuri fuit. Legatus, Payazito, quæ uiderat, et quæ acceperat, a Temuro, quam citissime renuntiauit. Payazitus, siue quod fidem haberet, Temuri uerbis, siue quod certam sibi uictoriam, hoste ægroto

1 1st: Galactæos. 2ndly: albentes Tartaros; 3rdly: candidos Mongolos.

2 1st: æstiuæ castra.

3 1st: seminarium.

4 1st: iniuriam Sebastæ acceptam ad amissum ultus fuisse.

5 1st: ex bouis inciso collo.

Angur, i.e.,
uuu.

Reg. Ant.

promitteret: Angurum, quam ocysse, perrexit. Quo cum fesso milite, atque
 2 inordinatis copijs, peruenisset: | nec Temurus, qui instructis ordinibus, et integro
 Bälazid milite, eum expectabat: quiescendi, et suos colligendi, aciemque instruendi, locum
 beaten, relinqueret: prælium committere coactus, superatus, et captus est. Pugnatum tamen
 diu est, et per multas horas, dubia uictoria modo huc modo illuc, inclinare uide-
 3 batur · dum hi, aduersos hostes impellunt, aduersi rursus illos, tum ij, qui seque-
 bantur, | ut opem ferrent, illos qui præiuerant, et renitebantur · quasi tempestuo-
 sum mare, quod uentorum procella, modo huc rapitur, modo illuc, atque incertum, Ex Jouiō
sumpta simi-
litudo.
 et dubium, eo quo procella uocat, impellitur. Ad uesperam tandem, ad Tartaros
 uictoria propendit · qui multitudine, et imperatoris astutia, Turcas longe exsupe-
 4 rabant · quos Tartari sagittarum | *magno et assiduo imbre¹ obruerunt. Habebat
 enim in castris Temurus, quadringenta equitum millia · quæ copiæ, Darij, et Xerxis
 *copijs maiores erant² · quibus ut arma, et tela, integrum diem suppeditarentur,
 diligentissime curauit. Payazitus uero, in specum, et foueam, hostium impetu
 coniectus, effugere non potuit; quin a Mahammede Sultano, Temuri filio. caperetur. Rod. Gons.
 5 Nam equo, | quo uehebatur, resupino depressus; sese attollere, atque erigere
 captured, nequiuit, estque ab eo uiuus, ad Temurbegum patrem, deductus. Commissum est
 F. 127a. 1 prælium Anguri, in finibus minoris Armeniæ, Bythinæ, et Galatiæ, ad Stellam
 montem: qui ex Antitauro procurrit · ubi latissimus est campus, qui Turcico
 & shamefully idiomate, Cassouassi (anatum campus) dicitur: victoria Pompei, et Mithridatis calami-
 treated. tate celebrem. Ac Temurus captum Payazitum, aureis catheris uinctum; et cauea
 2 inclusum, præ se egit, quocunque perrexit · Sáporem Persarum regem imitatus, | qui Jouius ibid.
 Valerianum Cæsarem, similibus ludibrijs, atque æumnis confecit. Payazitus uero,
 et accepti damni dolore, et contumeliarum pudore, ac uerecundia, breui contabuit.
 Ferunt enim, Temurum, uincto Payazito, ad mensam, ossa quæ roderet, quasi cani,
 proijcere solitum · ac cum uellet *equitare,³ ex ipsius proni dorso, in equum *ascen-
 3 dere.⁴ Hoste potitus, *ubi | Taurum montem transcendit,⁵ in Adiabenenem, tanto
 ardore contendit: ut illi, nullæ non ciuitates cederent · Asiaque, et Syria manus
 darent. Ac dum Payaziti imperium populatur, ad nouam Paladium peruenit, ubi
 paucos, ex Payaziti exitio superstites comprehensos, in Phrygiam, ad Quinisci
 arcem compulit. Ducenta uero millia Turcarum, eo prælio cecidisse memoriæ | Dierbecan.
Nato lia.
a nostratibus
Turquia, ceu
Turcia.
 4 proditum est. Rod. Gons.
 Timūr in Nec tamen, bellum ulterius ducere, Temurus defatigatione desijt · sed uictoriæ
 Egypt. flatum sequutus, Ægypti regem, qui Memphi regni solium habebat, ultra Pelusium
 abegit. Eam uero, suorum militum, curam egit, ut minoris æstimarit, Ægyptum
 debellare, et obtinere: cum rege fugato, nullus superesset, qui resisteret; essetque
 5 cum seruis (hoc enim | sonat Mamalucus) qui abiecti sunt animis, rem transacturus; Mexia au-
thor est. Ve-
rum Jouius
140000 ceci-
disse scribit.
Sabellicus.
Ennead. 9.
lib. 9.
Cayrum.
M e s s e r,
Hebr. Miscr.
Ægyptus.
 quam salutem, et incolumitatem suarum copiarum in discrimen adducere, quas per
 solitudinem traducere; ob auationis difficultatem, et penuriam ualde periculosum
 F. 127b. 1 esse intellexit. A quo bello regressus, Trapezuntis imperatorem, sibi vectigalem
 Extent of his fecit. Teheranum urbem opulentam, et celebrem, Rhages conuentus, in Media M e x i a,
Jouius, et Sa-
bellicus, lo-
cis adductis.
Jouius ex
Damiata pe-
nem retulisse.
ut exercitum
a peste uindi-
caret, scribit.
 conquests.

¹ 1st: proluuie.² 1st: copias superabant.³ 1st: inequitare.⁴ 1st: insilire.⁵ 1st: et Tauro monte superato.

obtinuit. Imperij sui limitem, Alangogacæ, Arsingensis conuentus, in Cappadocia ^{[Rhages]:}
fixit. Quicquid terrarum est, a Tanai flumine, ad Nilum amnem, suis armis domuit. ^{Rheg pro-}
^{u[incia].}

2 Urbes cepit clarissimas · Smyrnam, Antiochiam, Damascus, | Tripolim, Alepum, ^{Sabellicus,}
Babylonem, Persidem, Ecbathanam, Susas, Memphim, aliasque complures. ^{ibidem.}

Turns a-
gainst Tokh-
tamish.

Cum Tartaris sæpe manum conseruit, et Totamixum, Coramxæ Regis Tartariæ ^{Rod. Gons.}
filium, quem ipse uicerat, in fugam bis uertit. Res uero gesta est hoc modo. Totamixus, cum longe abesse Temurum, externis bellis occupatum accepisset, excursionem, in Mediam, | Adiabenum, atque Armeniam fecit · qua Persepolim, Calamiram, et Susas, atque alias urbes spoliavit, et spolijs locuples patriam repetebat · quod Temuro significatum est. Qui cum ijs copijs, quæ suppetebant · longe quidem inferioribus, Tartarum, ad Tesinam amnem, *is est Tanais,¹ in finibus Tartariæ est assequutus. Quo cum peruenit, Totamixus *se¹ amnem traiecerat, uadoque

3 sionem, in Mediam, | Adiabenum, atque Armeniam fecit · qua Persepolim, Calamiram, et Susas, atque alias urbes spoliavit, et spolijs locuples patriam repetebat · quod Temuro significatum est. Qui cum ijs copijs, quæ suppetebant · longe quidem inferioribus, Tartarum, ad Tesinam amnem, *is est Tanais,¹ in finibus Tartariæ est assequutus. Quo cum peruenit, Totamixus *se¹ amnem traiecerat, uadoque
4 aggeres, et præsidia, | ne Temurus transiret, optimo consilio opposuerat · nam eo excepto nullus erat, in ea regione, locus quo *trans Tesinam, absque nauiculis ire posset.² Quare cum impeditum iter, Temurus uideret: ad dolos confugit · Totamixoque per legatos, perferri iussit · se non inimicitiarum causa uenisse, quod minores

Tokhtamish
entrapped,

5 copiarum indicabant. Quare frustra sibi timere, atque *transitum³ obstruere. Ad quem Totamixus, sibi satis, superque | eius ingenium, et technas notas esse, remisit.

F. 123a.

1 Desisteret igitur sibi uelle imponere. Temurus discessum simulans, || in aduersum flumen mouit. Totamixus itidem. Et triduo ita progressi sunt. At Temurus, ubi Totamixum, triduanis castris, ab amnis transitu, atque præsidijs abstraxit · mulieres, uirilem cultum, et arma sumere, et in castris, cum armatis etiam seruis, et aliquot millibus equitum præsidiariorum, esse iussit · ne hostis, sua castra, paucioribus
2 copijs | esse, intelligeret. Atque ubi nox lucem eripuit, adiuncto sibi totius exercitus robore, binos equos, singulis militibus dedit, quos commutarent, cum defatigarentur · et ea nocte, anteaquam dies elucesceret, duplo, quam exacto tridui spatio, progressus:

and twice de-
feated.

3 copias traduxit, et tertia fere, ab ortu solis hora, inopinantem Totamixum inuasit, deuicit, fudit, fugauit, castra diripuit · | et prædam, quam ille corraserat, atque ipsius thesauros abripuit, et abduxit. Conatus est Totamixus, comparato iterum exercitu, prælium instaurare · et *susceptam maculam⁴ eluere, sed iterum, a Temuro uictus est, atque ob eam causam a suis infelix, et *ærumnosus⁵ habitus, eorum animos non mediocriter offendit.

Samarkand
described.

4 At Temurus quicquid prædæ, spoliiorum, | mancipiorum, auri, et argenti, ex ijs omnibus regionibus, a se subactis collegerat, Samarcandam comportari præcepit. At uero regna filijs concredidit · prouincijs cognatos, atque affines Xacattæos præfecit. Est uero Samarcanda, ciuitas amplissima, ad Jaxartem fluuium in Sogdiana, prope Scytharum et Daharum fines sita · iam inde | ab Alexandri temporibus, orbi
5 celebri · quæ Temuro rege ea erat amplitudine, ut tribus millibus passuum, a porta

Q. Curtius
lib. 7.
Rod. Gons.

F. 128b.

1 in portam rectâ ferretur · cuius ambitus nouem millium passuum || erat. Eius autem suburbana plurimis uicis, uillis, hortis, ac uineis instructa, atque ornata, ad quattuor millia passuum, aliquibus locis patebant. Vijs latissimis, ad urbem adiba-

¹ Later addition.

² Ist: Tesinam absque nauiculis transiret.

³ Ist: adytum.

⁴ Ist: acceptam labem.

⁵ Ist: inauspicatus.

tur quam aggeres, et ualla cingebant. Foris uenalibus abundabat, in quibus, distinctæ merces, et cibaria, et annona reliqua uendebantur. Ædes occurrebant, 2 structura concinnæ, quamplurimæ. Basilica intra mœnia laxissima, hortique, in quibus, socrus suæ, sepulchrum, regiæ magnificentiæ consentaneum, extrui iusserat. In pomerio urbis, quattuor amplissimæ aulæ, atque horti spectabantur: verum illa, quæ Talicia dicebatur, et tribus millibus passuum, ab urbe aberat, longe erat optima, 3 atque omnium amplissima. | Tribus enim millibus passuum patebat. Erat uero super amplissimo, et arte fabricato aggere constituta · cui erat coniuncta uinea, eadem amplitudine, qua horti. Urbis uero, atque agri prospectus, aduenis iucundissimus erat · nam amœnissima potius sylva, quam ciuitas uidebatur. | Porro, ea est, Samarcanda, cœli clementia: ut ipsis Christi natalitijs, cum illæ regiones *frigore¹ maxime rigent · et uuarum, et mélonum, in ea prouentus maximus sit. Abundat ager *gossipio · at linum, et canabem, exteræ gentes inuexerunt. Nam domesticos famulos, in Persiam, Parthiam, et Hircaniam legauit, qui orbos parentibus, et 5 pauperes opiñces, et colonos | cum ijs facultatibus, quas quisque haberet, etiamsi essent tenues: ut sunt oues, onagri, boues, et id genus alia · sumptibus municipalium eorum municipiorum, et uicorum per quæ transirent, deducerent. Quorum aduentu, F. 129a. 1 centum millibus | incolarum, ciuitas aucta fuisse ferebatur · et multis gregibus, armentisque locupletata · ac nouis rebus exornata. Caudato pecore, armentis, equisque, Samarcandensis ager *circumfluit et abundat.² Annonæ uero, in urbe, magna erat uilitas. Ob quam caussam indigenæ, eam urbem Cimesquint (pinguem uillam) nominant. *Cimes* enim pingue: *quint* autem, uillam Tartarice sonat. | Genus est arietum, qui dumbi, hoc est caudati dicuntur ob caudæ molem

2 Insigne urbis, et eius imperij, est, leonis effigies, orbe solis inclusa.

Ediguy (?) plots against Timür, Verum, ne a Totamixo, longius abstrahamur. Cum Ediguius Xacattæus, Temuri olim militum tribunus, homo audax, et ad facinus conandum natus, et regnandi cupidus, Tartaros, a iuris a suo rege, abalienatos accepisset: se Temuro inimicum 3 esse, Tartaris significauit · | optareque tyranno mortem, exitiumque afferre. Quare, si sibi cum copijs præsto essent: se Temurum expugnaturum, et contra quosuis hostes, pro ipsis pugnaturum recepit. Quod illi, æquo animo, admiserunt. Ob quam caussam, et ut eorum gratiam iniret, anteaquam copias traderent, Temuro insidias 4 tetendit: quibus detectis, ad Tartaros, re | infecta, transfugit · a quibus, peramanter acceptus, Totamixo aduersarius, et hostis, Rex salutatus est. At Temurus, cum nec fugientem Ediguium, proditione patefacta, capere potuisset; nec prouocatum, ad certamen trahere: solitos dolos adhibere cogitauit. Illi itaque, omnium, quæ ad eum diem egisset, se impunitatem dare, renuntiare iussit · et suum ex filio nepotem, | 5 si uellet, eius filiæ copulaturum. Cui Ediguius, per internuntios · “Optime,” ait, and evades Timür's cunning. “perspicio, quo ista tua uerba spectent, quippe qui in tuis castris, uiginti annis sum “uersatus · ac tuos dolos perspexerim. Quare, districtis gladijs tantum, tecum in F. 129b. 1 “campo amicitiam conciliare mecum ipse statui. Desinas ergo, fucatis, et fraude “oblitis uerbis, me magis laccessere, quam pellicere.” At uero Totamixus, iniuria superinductum Regem, et proditorum audaciã non ferens: cum Ediguio prælium Tokhtamish flees to Timür. commisit · a quo uictus, in uicum, iuxta Samarcandam, ad Temuri præsidia confugit.

¹ Later addition.² 1st: gausape³ 1st: exuberat

Ediguy drives his son from Caffa. Filius eius, *ad mare nigrum seu Mæotidem paludem Theodosiam, Genuensium urbem, in Cimerio Bosphoro, Tauricæ Chersonesi, positam petijt, quæ nunc Caffa
2 dicitur¹ · unde Ediguium lacessebat. At Ediguius, | cum Caffam obsidione preme-
ret, et agrum uastaret, ac ciues obsidionem amplius ferre nequirent : cum Tartaro
3 egerunt, ut clam, urbe cederet. Qui ciuium flagitationi morem gerens, urbe clam
excessit, et patri, fratribusque ad Samarcandam, se adiunxit · in quorum comitatu,
ad Temurum uenit. At Caffenses, cum Ediguio pacem fecerunt. Porro, | impius
Ediguius, Tartaros omnes, qui ad eam diem, ex libito, quod magis arridebat, uiuendi
4 institutum, quod ad religionem attinebat, sequebantur : ad Mahammeddis super-
stitutionem traduxit, ac Tartariæ regno contentus, nihil contra Temurum, eius dex-
teritatem, et dolos ueritus, amplius molitus est. Porro Tartaria, ijs pulsus regibus,
qui genus a Cinguiscono | ducebant ; multorum deinde tyrannidi exposita est ·
et Cinguisconi posteri, Xacattæis admixti sunt.

Ediguy's zeal for the Qorân. Cæterum, ne a Temuro longius digrediamur : eius profecto fortunam (si fas
est, ita loqui) nemo unquam satis mirabitur. Nam, eo infortunio excepto, quo
fus, et uulneratus est : fortunæ tergum nunquam uidit · ad quam superandam,
forti, excelsoque animo semper fuit : nec ab incepto, quin eam periclitaretur, unquam
destitit.

*Petrus
Mexia.*

Timür born under a lucky star. Eius ætate, Regnum Indiæ, quod nunc Zelaldinus tenet, Christianus rex ad-
ministrabat. Cuius erat || regia Delinum. Hic in prælium cum Temuro descendit ·
F. 130a. 1 et multitudine, ac fortitudine elephantum superior, Temurum primo prælio fudit ·
He defeats the Christian King of Delhi 2 verum sequenti die, instaurato exercitu, nihil hesterno incommodo perturbatus,
elephantum virtutem, ac robur, camelis palea onustis, elusit. Nam ubi elephantum
3 cuneus, aduersus suum exercitum mouit, admoueri | camelos ad elephantes iussit, mox
ignem subijci, cum proxime ad elephantes accesserunt : ac cum palea subito con-
flagraret, ignis camelos, in aduersos elephantes, impelleret, illi, qui maxime ignem
exhorrent, flamma perterriti, pedem retulerunt · et suorum ordines perturbarunt.
3 Tum milites, quibus fumus conspectum hostium eripuerat, ab aduersarijs | cæsi,
et profligati terga uerterunt · et Rex uictus, et fugatus, in Paharopanimum, ex fuga
se recepit. Temurus uero, Minoris Indiæ, quæ cis *Indum² amnem, et Paharo-
panimum est, partem obtinuit. At Minor India quattuor præfecturas olim conti-
nebat : Paharopanisadas, Arios, Aracosios, et Gedrosios. Cum vero Rex Indiæ,
4 redintegratis copijs, bellum repeteret : continuit | se Temurus in campo, ut hostem
ad se traheret, qui superiore clade cautior, in montibus restitit · et eo modo di-
rempta pugna, Temurus *loca quæ occupauerat³ retinuit · ille in montibus, ne se
longius Xacattæi ferrent, præsidia collocauit.

Rod. Gons

Plinius.

Porro Temurus, tot, tantisque victorijs auctus ; Serarum regi uectigal, quod
priores Samarcandæi reges pendebant, soluere recusabat · illique bellum illaturus
F. 130b. 1 fuisset, || nisi eum regionum intercapedo prohibuisset. Distat enim Cambalecum
His plans against the King of the Seræ, Serarum metropolis, a Samarcanda, ter mille passuum millibus · ac per mille passuum
millia, præter pastorum caulas, et magalia, nullum municipium, aut pagus occurrit.

*Cambale-
cum et Seres.*

¹ 1st : Caffam, Genuensium urbem, in finibus Parthiæ petijt.

² Later addition.

³ 1st : quæ euicerat.

Nam octingentorum camelorum turmam, quæ ex Tartaria, Cambalecum iter agebat: ut regem prouocaret: abripuit. |

2 At vero, Serarum regio, nostro sæculo * Cataium¹ dicitur. Seræ uero, uel Seres
 or Cathay-
 ans, a Xtian. * Cathaini; religione ut fertur plerique Christiani, Judæis, gentilibus, Agarenisque
 tribules. Quorum rex, qui eo tempore rerum potiebatur quo Societatis Sacerdotes,
 cum Zelaldino uersabantur, Emanuel erat nomine.² Olim eius maiores, Caucinsynæ
 3 oram maritimam * incolebant³ a qua bellis Caucinsyniensium abacti, ad | superio-
 rem, et mediterraneam regionem se receperunt. Potest uero ad Seras adiri, eo amne
 qui ad Caucinsynæ maritimam urbem in mare effunditur. Non erit fortasse ab re,
 hoc loco admonere, nominis affinitate, illos deceptos fuisse, qui * Cambaïæ,⁴ Cathainos
 habitasse, memoriæ prodiderunt. Nam genus quoddam hominum, qui mercatura |
 4 quæstum faciunt, non * Cambaïæ⁵ solum, sed Calecutij, et in Indiæ ora maritima uni-
 uersa, gentiles · quidem: Chatini dicuntur: et uiles atque abiecti habentur. At
 * Cathaini,⁶ et sunt, et fuerunt semper Christiani.⁷

Cæterum, Temuri ætate, Cambaleci ambitus, quadraginta passuum millibus
 patebat. Regis uero copiæ, myriadem superabant, et terrori Tartaris atque Maiori
 F. 131a. 1 Asiæ uniuersæ erant. Cum enim Serarum imperator, aciem educebat, quadrin-
 gentos mille equites, in præsijs relinquebat · sexcentos secum in acie uersari præ-
 cipiebat. Erat uero uulgus in castris prope infinitum. Ferunt quicquid serici, aut
 bombycini ex Syna, ad nos comportatur, ex Serarum regione, ad Synos permanere ·
 eosque, sericarum uestium fuisse inuentores.

2 Januero | Temurus, more maiorum, acies distributas, in castris, quasi in instruc-
 Timūr's
 army. tissima urbe habebat · in quibus singularum artium artificibus, distinctus locus erat
 assignatus. Commeatus omnis, et merces, diuersis foris uenalibus proponebantur.
 Thefts
 punished. Furibus in castris, nullus erat locus, nam si deprehendebantur, illis subula nares,
 3 imperatoria lege, perforabantur. Ac cum diligentissime | uias, ne cui uis afferretur,
 custodiri iuberet: omnium rerum abundantia exercitus affluebat. Diligenter uero,
 Discipline. tribunorum militum opera, curabat; ne ulli graues tumultus, aut seditio aliqua
 excitarentur. Bursæ cum esset, post uictum Payazitum, viginti mille taberna-
 4 cula, in castris habebat. Samarcandæ, triginta millibus auxit. Fano ligneo, in
 castris utebatur, commissuris ita connexo, et composito, ut efferri, et mutari facile
 Movable
 wooden ora-
 tory. posset. Vexillis candidis, lenitatem, et clementiam; rubris, cruorem, et cædes; nigris,
 Colour of
 banners. excidium portendebat. Ne milites castris excederent, diligentissimam operam dabat.

5 Et cum capta Samarcanda, in Persiam proficisceretur, et * Jaxartis fluminis oras
 ponte adiunxisset,⁸ qua | copias traduceret, * amnem transuectus,¹⁰ ne patriæ desyderio
 Sogdianus, et Xacattæus miles remearet: pontem deturbauit. Post reditum, eodem
 F. 131b. 1 consilio, aliam deiecit, ne mancipijs || iter ad fugam pateret. Imperauit uero, ne

¹ 1st: Catayum.

² Later addition; cancelled. "Cytaios" was at first written "Cytayos."

³ 1st: Catayni; qui religione sunt Christiani · quorum rex qui eo tempore sceptrum tenebat, quo Societatis Sacer-
 dotes, cum Zelaldino uersabantur, Emanuel dicebatur.

⁴ 1st: tenebant.

⁵ 1st: Cambysia; 2ndly: Coiambæ.

⁶ 1st: Cathayni.

⁷ This passage from: Olim eius maiores (fol. 130b. 2) is erased more boldly than the previous one beginning with:
 "At uero" (*ibid.*).

⁸ Later addition.

⁹ 1st: Jaxarti flumini pontem imposuisset.

¹⁰ 1st: trausmisso amne.

*Cytaios no-
 minal D. An-
 toninus.*

*Quod nomen
 a Scythis de-
 ductum uide-
 tur.²*

*Anno Christi
 1581.*

Rod. Gons

*Petrus
 Mexia. Pius
 2us.*

Rod. Gons.

*Prusa, pe-
 nes Olympum
 montem, By-
 thiniæ urbs,
 Asiatici im-
 perij caput.
 Long. 57.
 Lat. 41. 4.
 Pthol. lib. 5.
 cap. 1. tab. 1.
 Asiæ.⁴*

*Sabellicus,
 ibid.*

*Jaxartus
 flu[men] ab
 accolis Che-
 sel, i.e., ru-
 ber, uel ru-
 bricatus uo-
 catur. Pthol.
 lib. 6. cap. 14.
 tab. 7. Asiæ.
 A Scythiis
 olim Syliis di-
 cebatur. Plin.
 & Solinus.
 In Caspium
 mare intrat.
 Long. 97. Lat.
 48.8*

cymbis, vel ipsi etiam Xacattæi, absque scripta facultate, transueherentur · at omnibus qui Samarcandam peterent, ut esset libera, et gratuita transmissio. Ac ne uxorum desyderio, miles pedem referret · cum in Payazitum mouit, se primum iure iurando obstrinxit, non esse se Samarcandam, ante septennium | rediturum, deinde militibus edixit, ut secum suas uxores abducerent: sin minus, se uxoribus facultatem dare, ut fide uirorum liberatæ, cui uellent adhærescerent · (barbarum quidem, et hominis humanarum, ac diuinarum legum contemptoris edictum). Cum Volgam amnem *tranauit, lintribus¹ greges, et armenta prope innumera, ut pascua defutura uiderentur, | et quamplurimas fœminas traduxit. At ut equites singuli, singulos pedites equis efferrent, et transueherent, imperauit. *Populi equitumque magistrum Jansam, suum ex sorore nepotem,² constituit · quo adiutore, Samarcandæ Regi vim et manus intulit.

Cæterum, an uirtute magis, an uero militari consilio, et technis ualuerit dubium est. Nam dolos plerisque | prælijs adhibebat. Hæreditarium quidem est, Tartaris et ijs gentibus, quæ ab eis ortæ sunt · ut est gens Parthorum, ut fugiendo, ad eum modum pugnent, quem Lucanus eleganter describit:

Pugna leuis, bellumque fugax, turmæque uagantes,
Et melior cessisse loco, quam pellere miles, |
Illita terra dolis, nec Martem cominus unquam,
Ausa pati uirtus, sed longe tendere neruos,
Et quæcunque uelint, permittere uulnera uentis.

Lucanus.

F. 132a. 1 Quo Temurus more, maiores turmas, sæpenumero delusit: || verum hi fuere peculiare eius doli, quibus interdum crudelitatem, et immanitatem immiscuit. Cum Sebastem obsideret: ciues cum eo, per legatos, de deditioe, et uectigali soluendo egerunt, dummodo res, sine sanguine, transigeretur. Quibus cum annuisset: et primarios ciues, ut pacta confirmarentur, euocasset: correptos miseros homines, in | foueas, quas magna laxitate parauerat, conijci, et *iniecta humo contegi³ præcepit. Urbem uero, ut diximus, uastauit. Cafam mox obsessurus, Scythas negotiatores præmisit, qui armenorum murium pelles, minoris uenderent, quam solebant, ut ad eas commendas emptores allicerentur. Qua techna, cum æs omne, in suam potestatem redegisset: urbe tandem expugnata, | pelles cum reliqua præda recepit · quæ *defodi humo⁴ nequiuertant, ut fere semper pecuniæ, atque thesauri solent.

Other instances. 4 Sæuiebat quidem interdum, in suos populares, et Agarenos. Nam ut fidem suorum, erga liberos suos periclitaretur: se mortuum renuntiari iussit: quo nuntio, cum non pauci, ab obsequio filiorum, cum conuitio se subduxissent, in eos | crudeliter animaduertit. Ac cum præteriens in quodam pago, comneatum non reperisset: ab extrema acie, messes resecari, et regionem uastari, prædamque hominum, pecudum, et iumentorum agi imperauit. *Candidorum⁵ item Tartarorum, qui sibi repugnauerant, quos ipse, cum Mesopotamiam peteret, excidit, cadauerum struem, ut alijs metum, et terrorem incuteret, in eo loco, ubi illos debellauit, excitari iussit.

Rod. Gons.

Pius 2^{us} de 2^a Asia parte cap. 31.

Ex Rod. Gons. fere omnia quæ sequuntur.

1 1st: traiecit, cymbis.

2 1st: Sui exercitus magistrum militiæ, Jansam nepotem suum ex sorore.

3 1st: consepeliri.

4 1st: defossæ humo, abscondi.

5 1st: Galacteorum: endly: Galatinorum.

F 132b. 1 Verum in Christianos eo ferocius sæuebat, quod Græci et Genuenses Payazito
 Cruelty and treachery towards the Christians of Arsinga. fauissent · in eo bello, quo eum cepit. Nam cum Arsingam, eo bello confecto uenis-

2 set, Agarenique, Zaretanum urbis, et regionis principem, apud eum accusassent, quod
 plus Christianis, quam sibi tribueret, et quod Christianorum templa, potiora essent
 quam sua: e uestigio Archipresbyterum, nisi fidem | abiuraret (quod uir optimus, et
 religiosissimus constanti animo *recusauit¹) et Christianos omnes necari, et templa
 solo æquari iussit. At pro Christianorum capitibus, Zaretani (qui licet Agareni,
 natura erat mitis, et Christianorum, atque adeo suorum ciuium amans), septem mil-

3 libus sestertiorum numeratis, intercessionem admisit · at uero quin templa deiiceret, |
 adduci non potuit. Alia in urbe, quæ Pagrixum dicitur, ut Agarenis, id postulanti-

Pagrixum.
Barba munda.

4 dem animi, in Christianos, offensione; Catay-cani, hoc est, Serarum regis legatos, qui
 His plans against the Christian Seræ. pendii, a prioribus Samarandæ regibus, | solitum uestigal, regis sui nomine, reposce-

5 bant; suspendio necare meditabatur. Erat uero soluendo, si soluere uoluisset.
 His wealth. Nam Cræsi diuitias, facile superasse, creditus est. Ex manubijs enim, unius Payaziti
 deuicti, tantum argenti, et auri, eius thesauris accessit: ut in ijs, portas aureas
 haberet · aureum item armarium, quo permulti scyphi, pateræ, catini, patinæ | et
 amphoræ aureæ, et argenteæ includebantur: in cuius fronte insculpta erat unio,
 nucis iuglandis magnitudine, aliæque minores, emblematis, et cælaturis inclusæ.

F. 133a. 1 Præterea auream mensam, cui miræ magnitudinis smaragdus, erat *inclusus.² Ad
 hæc auream quercum, miræ pulchritudinis. Denique, uasa alia quamplurima, ex auro
 argentoque. At numeratæ pecuniæ nullus erat modus. His omnibus accedit, quod
 ea rupes, è qua adamantes eruuntur, in eius potestate fuit. Enimuero thesauros, et
 2 ruta cæsa omnia, atque omnem pretiosam supellectilem, castro quodam, | quod a
 reliquo continenti, magno anfractu, disiunctum fabricauerat, illata asseruabat. Quo
 item in loco, armamentarium collocauerat · ubi mille artifices, arma fabrefaciebant.

Familia priuata.

Atque, ut ad eius priuatam familiam ueniamus · plures uxores, Agarenorum
 His 4 sons. more habuit. Ex ijs sustulit filios, Janguirium, qui uita functus est, ante patrem:

3 Miramxam, Xarocum, et Mahammeddem Sultanum, qui Payazitum | cepit · et in
 Grandsons. castris interijt. Nepotes: ex Janguirio · Pir Mahammeddem. Ex Miramxa: Om-

4 marem; Abobácarem, et Cárillum. His regna gubernanda tradidit · Miramxæ
 He divides his kingdom. Persiam: sed ea prouincia, patris imperio, eam ob caussam abdicatus est, quod
 Persepoli,³ et Ecbathanis, præstantia quædam ædificia deiecit, et quod *apud Tem-

5 murum patrem ab uxore sua⁴ Gánsada, Cárili matre acusatus, in proditionis suspici-

6 onem uenit. *Eo progressa est fœminæ ira.⁵ Cuius | locum, Hommarus filius eius,
 Temuri aui præcepto subijt. At uero Babylonem,⁶ ad Euphratem, et Alepum,⁶

¹ 1st: detrectauit.

² 1st: inditus.

³ Later marginal note: *Pthol. lib. 6. c. 2. tab. 5. Asiæ.—Ecbathana. Tabris. Long. 88. Lat. 37. 45.—Persepolis. Xiras. Persarum imperij caput. olim urbium elegantissima, Curtio, Arriano, et Diodoro authoribus. Nostra memoria sedes est Persiæ regum. Long. 91. Lat. 3. 20. Pthol. lib. 6. cap. 4. tab. Asiæ. 5.*

⁴ 1st: a Temuri uxore.

⁵ Later addition.

⁶ Later marginal note: *Babylon, nunc Bagdad.—Alepum, olim Hierapolis et Callinice. dicta est a Plinio Bambycon et Syria Marog. Long. 71. 10. Lat. 36. 25. Pthol. lib. 5. cap. 15. tab. Asiæ 4. Ad Cyrr[eticum?] Syriæ conuentum continuat. word illegible].*

Damascumque in Syria, Abóbacari ipsius item Miramxæ filio, commisit. Xaroco Hircaniam, et Parthiam attribuit. Et suorum interuentu, atque oratu · Miramxæ tandem ueniam dedit: qui ad eius pedes, appensa in collo resti, accidit: et sibi præteritam noxam ædificiorum, quæ demolitus erat, dimitti implorauit. | Verum, eo erat erga Pir Mahammedem, Janguiri filium amore, ut ei, quicquid Indiæ regi abstulerat attribueret: et eum, Indiæ Regem, salutari iuberet. Ex sorore nepotes habuit Jansam, quem regiæ cohortis ductorem creauit · et Sultan Hammedum, quem satellitij, et præsidij, sui capitis, ducem constituit.

Later note:
Sultania,
olim Hera-
clea, postea
Plinio et So-
lino Achais.
Urbis est
Mediæ long.
89 lat. 36. 40
Ptol. [the rest
cut off by the
binder].

Porro domesticus *famulorum apparatus illi erat amplissimus¹. cui annunera-
bantur · ij cursores, quos antea commemorauimus · ¶ gelabdares dici, qui a Tartaris
Anch. dicuntur. Aulæ, et curiæ ministris, iisdem utebatur, quibus Zelaldinus, qui
per manus traditam, Temuri consuetudinem, uel in minimis rebus, semper imitari
summa ope nititur. Principibus quidem uictis, quasi famulis utebatur, quibus
alendas bestias, et uolucres tradebat: quas statis temporibus, ad se afferrent · ex
quibus si quid deperibat, miserum hominem, | cui erat creditum, morte plectebat.
Mitius quidem agit Zelaldinus, qui pecuniam tantum, sibi solui, rei perditæ loco iubet
Illud crudele, istud sordidum.

Dedititijs, et uectigalibus, ut *sua insignia,² locis publicis appingerent, nummis-
que insculperent, imperabat. Ea erant, tres circuli, trigoni situ positi, quorum unus,
duobus subsideret, et inferiorem trianguli cuspidem efficeret. | Quibus significari
uolebat; se Asiæ, Affricæ, et Europæ dominatorem esse. At militaris dignitatis,
insigne erat · capillorum, ternis ordinibus, implexa fascia · quæ ex aureo tuguriolo,
qui galero, pileo, aut galeæ affigebatur, ad humeros, scapulasque dependebat.

Posteaquam a bellis, Temuro datum est otium, ad ædificationem studia, et
cogitationes transtulit. Et Quexi, in paterna | domo, aulam magnis sumptibus
ædificauit. Intra viginti dierum spatium, forum uenale latissimum, in medio Samar-
candæ, excitatis apothecis, atque domibus additaque fornice, ad solem, et imbres
arcendos, adhibitis fenestris, utrinque, quibus locus illustraretur extruxit · quod ab
extrema una urbis porta, in alteram aduersam recta ferebatur. Ædificauit item
sepulchrum Samarcandæ, | Mahammedi filio, quem ideo Sultanum cognominabat,
quod Sultan Paiazitum, sua manuprehendisset. Quod cum humile iudicasset, et
emendari iussisset, intra decem dierum spatium, opus ornatissimum, et amplissimum,
artificum *expedita³ celeritate, ac diligentia: et instantis, atque urgentis imperatoris,
tum metu, tum gratia, qui cibos sua manu subministrabat, absolutum est. Fano
sepulchri socrus ¶ suæ laxissimum etiam ostium, quam breuissime, et accuratissime,
magnaque elegantia perfectum, imponi iussit. Cárabácum in Persia condidit,* quo
ipse cohortes frequenter in hyberna mittere solebat⁴ · ædium bene materiatarum,
uiginti millibus ornatum.

In otio latrunculorum ludo, et spectaculis gladiatorum, et pugilum plurimum

1 Ist: famulatus erat amplissimus.

2 Ist: armorum suorum insignia.

3 Ist: indefessa.

4 Ist: in eo agro, ubi frequenter hyberna castra habere solebat.

2 tenebatur. Conuiuia sæpe agitabat, quibus equorum carnes, assæ, et elixæ | apponebantur.

Banquets
amidst scenes
of bloodshed.

Illud uero, magnam fuisse hominis feritatem commonstrat: quod in medijs epulis, homines necari iubebat. Nam in filij cuiusdam sui, nuptiarum ludis, ad quos frequentes, ex Samarcandæi conuentus oppidis, omnium ordinum, homines confluxerant, furcas erigi iussit, ac dixit · illis ludis, se meritis munera, sontibus supplicia
3 daturum. Quod diligentissime præstitit · | et è conuiuio et epulis, magnum prætorum suum, laqueo de furca strangulari mandauit. Eodem supplicio affectit alium, qui, illius patrociniū suscepit · ac, cum rogatus a Buródo, sua ex sorore nepote, qui ei erat charus, ut numeratis quadringentis sestertijs, homo dimitteretur · ipseque annuisset, ubi pecuniam accepit, miserum hominem, ad quæstiones, ut si quid pecuniarum | esset amplius, extorqueret: primum adegit · deinde, ubi omnes eius facultates exhausit: verso deorsum capite, et colligatis, in patibulo pedibus, suspendio necauit. Cuidam, *commendatos a se,² tres mille equos, cum repeteret, in promptu non habenti, sex mille tamen, si ad quærendum locus daretur, spondenti:
4 quærendi spatium denegauit · ac strangulari, infœlicem | hominem iussit · ijsdem ludis, in rei frumentariæ, atque annonæ institores, quod care uenderent: et in sutores, quod præscriptum pretium prætergrederentur, animaduertit.

Feritas Temuri.

Ostentation.

Verum conuiuia tum uel maxime *magnifice ac splendide ornabat,³ cum legatos excipiebat, quos ut opes | ostentaret, ad se in basilicas, hortos, uillas, et in castra optime instructa, inuitabat · quorum gratia, nummos aureos, et argenteos, ac gemmas, laminis inclusas, in plebem spargebat. Erat uero illud, Mongolis pergratissimum, quod lautissime conuiuari licebat. Equinarum enim carniū, amplissima
F 134b. 1 fercula apponebantur. Quem tamen epularum morem, cæteri milites exhorruerunt, |

Conuiuia.

Festive fare
of the Mo-
ghuls.

2 qui, cum Paiaziti castra diriperentur, aderant: *nam⁴ Mongolos, in pingues equos, qui passim uagabantur, non secus inuolare uidebant · quam in leporem aquila. Nec multum, ab huius consuetudinis feritate, abest illa, qua, si indigent, non horrent equorum sanguine, famem, sitinque depellere. Nam fatigati, venam *post⁵ equi aurem
3 aperiunt, et calentem | cruorem hauriunt, et potant.

Jouius ibid.

Mongolorum mos.

Foreign embassies.

De Clavijo.

Verum his prætermisissis, ad pauca deueniamus, quæ, de Temuro dicenda restant. Frequens erat, in eius curia, legatorum, et principum virorum, *ex omnium prope terrarum orbe,⁶ concursus: in quibus, ex ultima Hispania, Henrici quarti Castellæ Regis legati.

Rod. Gons.

Penalties for crime.

Cæterum Agarenico more, ius dicebat · et gentilitia, a maioribus, accepta consuetudine, | nobiles strangulari ex patibulo; plebeios, capite plecti (contra quam a nostratibus factitatur) aut stipitibus affigi, imperabat.

Jus dicendi modus.

Timur's extreme old age.

Is uero, ad eam senectutem, uitam tot laboribus exercitam, tot victorijs claram, perduxit: ut supercilijs, in oculos, decidentibus, uix aspiceret: et jam decrepitus, lectica ueheretur. Qui senio tandem confectus, Samarcandæ *postea interiijt quam

Jouius ibid.

Temurimors.

1 Later marginal note, erased: utpote ab hippophagis edenda.

2 1st: commendatos sibi ab illo.

3 1st: agitabat.

4 1st: cum.

5 1st: trans.

6 1st: ex omni prope orbe.

5 undecim annis regnauit ¹ · cuius | mortem, cometem magnum, crocei coloris, portendisse, ij qui sidera obseruant, iudicarunt. *Anno Domini 1405.*

In iuuentute, agilis fuit, et leuis, pulcher, et optimæ habitudinis : ingenio acutus, *Petrus Mexia.*
F. 135a. 1 iudicio, | et mente celeri, at postquam prælijs assuevit facie factus est feroci, oculis

Reflections on his life & character. obductis, semperque minacibus, corpore procero, lato; neruoso, ualentique; ut cum *Jouius.*
 arcum tartaricum contenderet, manum post aurem traheret, telo autem, æneum mortarium transfigeret. Ferebant, qui Temurbegum uiderunt, eum Hannibali fuisse

2 similem si eius corporis forma, et habitudo, | cum ijs quæ de Pœno scribuntur, componantur. Puer solem, lunam, astra, et ignem, Mongolica superstitione, coluit. *Pius 2^{us}.*

Juuenis Agarenorum credulitatem complexus est: Daruêges coluit, eos potissimum, qui nudi penitus, et rasi, frigoris, et æstus iniurijs expositi, et uagi, canentes, et crotala percutientes, stipe uicitabant. Fuit uero, humana sapientia et dex-

3 teritate mirabili: iustitiam, | et liberalitatem, in suos diligentissime coluit. *Dif- *Petrus Mexia.*
 cile fuit, in eo iudicare, agilitatene, atque uirtute, an uero prudentia, et ingenio, consilioque præstaret. ² At uero, tot, ac tam præclara ipsius animi, ornamenta,

* φιλοποσία, ³ et insita crudelitas, obscurabant. Ac de nimia eius crudelitate, illud *Crudelitas. Sabellicus.*
 memoriæ proditum est, quod non sine stomacho narrari, et audiri potest · puero-

4 rum, | ac puellarum agmen, qui palmas præferentes, patriæ excidium deprecabantur: a suo equitatu, conculcari, atque obteri imperauisse. Atque *ex eadem crudel-

tatis voragine, ⁴ illa pugnacitas emanauit. qua capta Damasco, cum arcis præsi- diarios, qui restiterant, facti pœnituisset, et arce, deditio- ne cederent : noluit conditionem admit-

tere · maluitque, * ut bellicæ uirtutis, prudentiæ, et ferocitatis suæ specimen daret: ⁵ præsi- diarios armis uictos, quam deditios, in suam potestatem redigere: arcemque,

F. 135b. 1 castro, uel aggere: e regione, ex tabulatis extracto, expugnare · quam reseratis foribus triumphans intrare. Erat porro dictis, et factis solers, et acutus. Ægidæ, ad radices eius montis, ubi resedit arca Noæ, ⁶ fores euertit, quod prædonum esset perfugium : et, ne iterum erigerentur, cauit. Cuidam Genuensi obsecranti, ut mitius cum uictis

2 ageret, turbato aspectu, respondit · “ Quid? Tunc | me hominem esse putas? an “ non potius Dei iram?” Alij roganti, ut Paiazitti * calamitatum ⁷ misereretur, grauiter succensuit. “ Non in hunc,” inquit, “ animaduerto, tanquam in arrogantem, et *Petrus Mexia. Pius 2^{us}. Jouius.*

“ superbum; sed quasi in parricidam, qui, ut imperium occuparet, fratrem suum, “ natu maiorem, peremit.” Vt forum Samarcandæ quod supra memorauimus ædifica-

3 ret, | multorum ædes diruit; ac cum a familiaribus quibusdam amicis, ex stemmate Mahammeddis (qui Saijdij, et Xarifij · ad Agarenis appellantur, et magni fiunt) Temurum damni admonerent, minaciter respondit · “ Hæc urbs mea est · quam mea *Solertia. Rod. Gons.*

“ pecunia emi. Cuius emptionis syngrafa, et cautiones apud me habeo: quas die *Jouius.*

4 “ crastina proferam; ac, si quid præterea soluendum | iudicabis: pro uestro arbitratu “ persoluam.” Mirum sane, quin eos iusserit, extremo supplicio puniri. Iniquo *Rod. Gons.*

“ persoluam.” Mirum sane, quin eos iusserit, extremo supplicio puniri. Iniquo

¹ 1st: interijt.

² This sentence is erased in the MS.

³ 1st: bibacitas.

⁴ 1st: ex eodem crudelitatis fonte.

⁵ 1st: ut suæ uirtutis, prudentiæ, et pugnacitatis specimen daret.

⁶ Later marginal note: *Ararat Boccatio et Aytano, et terra Ararat in lib. Reg., a Pthol. Gordæi montes, a quibus regio Gordæne, vel Gordæna, quorum montium long. 75. lat. 39. 40. Tab. 3 Asia.*

⁷ 1st: miseriarum.

enim animo, commonitiones huiusmodi ferebat. A suis Temur Cushlan, hoc est, *Jouius.*
 ferrum fortunatum: ab exteris terrarum orbis terror, exitium, et ruina dicebatur.
 At ipse, horribili uoce, se iram Dei iactabat: quæ in orbem uenerat, ut in eius |
 5 corrupta ætatis, improbos homines, aminaduerteret.

Troubles
 after Timūr's
 F. 116a. 1
 death.
 Khalil, son
 of Mirān
 Shāh, slays
 Jansa's son,
 whose 2 bro-
 thers flee to
 Shāhrukh.

Verum enimuero, Temuri mortem, (ubi uulgata est) magni consequuti sunt *Motus post
 Temuri mor-
 tem.*
 1 motus. Nam Cárilus Miramxæ filius, Temuri nepos, Butodum Jansæ filium, qui
 fratrum adiutorio, Temuri auunculi sui ærarium, et thesauros Samarcandæ occupa- *Ex Rod.
 Gons. omnia
 quæ sequun-
 tur.*
 uerat: comparato quam celeriter exercitu, interemit. Quo interempto, duo fratres
 reliqui, ad Narócum Temuri filium, consobrinum uero suum, qui Helaci in Parthia
 erat, confugerunt. Cárilus autem, thesauris, et auro potitus: auo primum paren-
 2 tauit · | deinde patri cursores legauit, qui, Temurum è vita exisse,* ac Butodum
 thesauri, urbis et imperij inuasorem, se confecisse, nuntiarent: ¹ * quapropter opus
 esse ut quam celeriter ueniret.² Erat Cárilus, Gansadæ filius, quæ *virum suum³
 Miramxam, apud *socerum suum Temurum,⁴ proditiōnis insimulauerat. Atque
 hæc Samarcandæ gesta sunt.

Jansa killed
 at Karabāgh
 by Mirzā
 'Umar, son of
 Mirān Shāh.

3 At Carabácæ in Persia, Jansas Butodi | frater, Temuri nepos, et ex intimis
 familiaribus, *Ommaris, ⁵ *Miramxæ filij, ⁶ qui Persiam, pro Temuro auo³ regebat,
 a consilijs, et rei familiaris administrator: seditionem in eius castris concitauit ·
 et primarium quendam uirum, quem Ommaris libenter adhibebat, occidit. Arma-
 mentarium deinde, occupare contendit · att men, a militibus est repulsus. Tandem
 4 ad Ommaris tabernaculum ut eum interficeret profectus, | pari modo, a satellitio
 reiectus, in suum tabernaculum, se recepit. Erat uero in castris, maxima trepidatio.
 Rumor enim percrebuerat, Ediguium Tartariæ tyrannum, in castra inuasisse ·
 at Ommaris, ad cuius tabernaculum, omnes copiæ confluerant, ignarus quo
 5 moueret; quid consilij caperet, nesciebat. Jansæ enim, | quo quasi educatore usus
 erat, auctoritatem, et potentiam reformidabat; ac cum incertus hæreret: quidam
 F 136b. 1 ex amicis occurrit. “Si mihi a te, fiat Jansæ interficiendi potestas, | hi motus,
 atque trepidatio componentur.” Cui Ommaris, “Quid igitur cessas? Propera.”
 Ille inopinantem occupat, necat, caput præscindit, correptum caput ad Ommarem
 sistit. Eius nece, cum Ediguij, rumor aspersus cessasset: seditio, atque tu-
 multus · sedatus est.

Jansa's
 head sent to
 2
 Miran Shah
 at Baghdad.

Ommaris, ad Miramxam patrem, Jansæ caput, Babylonem, in Assyriam trans-
 2 misit · et ad matrem, et | fratres scripsit. “Èn” inquit “uobis, hostis mei
 “caput. Quoniam auus interijt, ad me venite · ut patrem meum, tanquam regem
 “honorifice accipiam, et complectar.” Ipse Vianæ, haud procul a Perside, se
 continuit. Arroganti eius oratione, offensus Miramxas, Babylone, Vianam uersus,
 castra mouit · ac cum rescuisset, filium magnam aciem instruere, ab eo, per
 3 *feciales⁶ quæsiuit, | quid animi haberet? Cui filius · “Prouinciam tueri, et ipsius

¹ Ist: nuntiarunt · et ut, ut quam celeriter ueniret, opus esse exponerent · Butodum thesauri, urbis et imperij inuasorem, se confecisse narrant.

² Later addition, cancelled.

³ Later addition.

⁴ Ist: patrem.

Later marginal addition, cancelled: Ommar Xecus. Hic creditus est Temuri filius sed falso. Cognomento quidem Xecus, et a Temuro Samarcandæ Rex: post fratrem suum Abubacarem, filium Miramxæ. Hic uocatus etiam est Balobas. [C. fol. 137b. note .]

⁶ “fœciales” in the MS.

finis præsidij firmare." Quo responso, Abobáccaris frater, qui cum patre erat, excanduit . et a patre, eius interficiendi facultatem petijt. Abnuerunt Miramxas, et Hánsada mater, ne Xacattæi inique ferrent, et noui aliquid conarentur Scripsit
4 vero, ad eum, Hánsada mater . ne | bellum cum patre susciperet . quin potius, regno concederet. Rescripsit matri Ommaris, se libenter parere. Ob quam caussam,

Abā Bakr
seized by his
brother
'Umar.

Abobáccarem, ut pax firmaretur, miserunt Ille fratrem corripit . Ecbathanis in arcem trudit, et castra in patrem mouit . cum quo, per internuntios, expostulanti matri, quod fracta fide, fratrem cepisset : rogantique, ne eum necaret, | respondit .

5 se fratrem, eo in vincula coniecisse, quod esset mente captus, audax, et temerarius. At perspicuum erat, fratrem eo comprehendisse, quod esset robustus, ac fortis,

F. 137a. 1
Mirān Shāh
flees from
'Umar, who
is in league
with Shāh-
ruk, his
uncle.

et Xacattæis gratus, et ut patri exitium afferret. Quod, ut declinaret Miramxas, ad Sulemxam léuirum, Hánsadæ fratrem, ad Rhages conuentum, in Mediam se recepit, ubi tamdiu restitit, quoad copijs auctus Samarcandam iter est aggressus : quem subsequi, cum suis copijs, Ommaris instituit. Verum, cum ab exploratoribus

2 intellexisset, firmiorem, et copiosorem exercitum, quam se, patrem habere : | subsidia, a Xaróco patruo, pacta fide petijt : ut si uictores essent, regnum partirentur. Erat Xarócus, Helaci, quâ erat Miramxas, exercitum ducturus. Quod, ubi Miramxas rescuit . in Parthia se continuit . atque improbus Ommaris, ne in odium Xacattæorum ueniret . in uulgus spargebat, se cum patre pacem conciliasse.

3 Dum hæc aguntur, Sorsus | Hircanorum Rex Christianus, ex Xacattæorum intestinis bellis, ocasionem nactus, in Azrunem, Aumianamque, in limite Armeniæ, atque in Persidem excurrit . agros vastauit, et oppida quamplurina diripuit, exussit, solo æquauit. In quem Ommaris legionem Xacattæorum misit. Quibus Ommarem

The King of
Georgia takes
Erzrum and
A u m i a n ?,
advances in-
to Fars,

Tobam, ueteranum militem, Hyrcanorum uicinum, et eorum pugnae assuetum |

4 præfecit. Qui castra, in Hyrcaniæ confinio fixit. Quod ubi Sorsus cognouit, noctu Xacattæos incautos adortus, partim strauit, partim in fugam conuertit. Qui cum iniquissime ferrent, se a Cafarijs (hoc enim nomine, Agareni Christianos appellant) esse superatos, acceptum infortunium, Ommari tribuebant : et Temuri fortunam, finem accepisse dicebant. |

& defeats
'Umar's
troops.

5 Abobáccaris, qui Ecbathanis, in custodia detinebatur : carceris custodem interfecit . ærarium expilauit, et ad patrem confugit. Cuius fuga Ommari renuntiata est, Ecbathanas, infecto bello, eo animo redeunti : ut Abobáccarem, ueneno interficeret. |

Abā Bakr
escapes from
Tabriz,

F. 137b. 1 Qui ubi audiuit, illum aufugisse, frustra militum manum misit, quæ fugientem caperet. At Abobáccaris, ut primum, ad patrem uenit . accepto ab eo exercitu, quo iter aperiret : Xarocum patruum, Helaci, incautum cepit . atque ad patrem perduxit. Abobáccari uero, patrum turmæ, ac plerique Xacattæi æquo animo adhæserunt.

seizes Shāh-
ruk,

2 Quibus stipatus, Miramxam patrem, | Samarcandam deduxit . ubi pro Temuro patre suo, regnauit.¹ Ommaris uero, cum patre, pacem composuit . et eius permissu, Vianæ constitit : ubi auo suo iusta soluit.

& restores
Samarkand
to Mirān
Shāh. 'Umar
submits.

'Umar, not
Timūr's son.
Wrongly be-
lieved to have
taken Delhi.

¹ I have deciphered with difficulty the following cancelled marginal note of a later date :—
Ommari genus.—[Hic creditus est Temuri filius, sed falso, cognomento quidem Xecus et Balabas]. quem ferunt fraude Delini regnum occupasse. Nam cultu Calandarum, quod genus Agarenorum est, qui orbem peregrinando sectam darent, Delinum uenit, ubi cum Christianis Agareni agebant. Cui complures alij Calandares et Xeci se adiunxerunt Rege ipso necopinanti. Qui, ubi se multitudine stipatum cognouit, qua facinus quodcumque arduum aggredi tuto

Little is known of Pir Muhammad, At tanquam imperatori, facile Pir Mahammedem, qui rex Indiae ferebatur, Miramxæ cessisse, credendum est · nam et ueteres historici de Piro protinus conticescunt, et unam tantum regum seriem, qui Sogdianæ | Bactræ, Paropaniso, et Indiae, fuerint dominati: ad Zelaldinum deducunt.

Timur's ne. Descendants: Mirān hāh, Januero, hæc ciuilia, et intestina Temuri filiorum, et nepotum bella: in causa fuere, ut nostrates historici, Temuri filios, socordia, amisisse, quæ pater, uirtute parauerat: et nullam, fortissimi viri, posteritatem superesse: propter locorum distantiam, Temuricarum | rerum ignari, scriberent. At eius posteritas, sic habet: 4 Miramxæ, Abobâcaris eius filius, qui etiam Abussaïus dicebatur, successit. Huic Ommarxecus. Post hunc Canmirsas regnauit: post eum Baburxas, cuius filius fuit Emaumus Rex, qui Zelaldinum regem, ac Mirsachimum procreauit. Retinuerunt 5 vero, a patre parta, in Media, et Minore Asia, | ad Hossenassani regis, tempora, in quæ Baburxæ regnum incidit. Nam Hossen Assanus, Persiam, Parthiam, Adiabenem, et Susianam Xacattæis ademit.

Petrus Mexia ex Baptista Egnatii.

138a. 1 Enimuero Zelaldinus, et tradita tueri, et erepta recipere, et noua quærere, non destitit · quo fit ut cum Abdullacano, graue ob Samarcandæum regnum bellum gerat. Nam cum Cancanus, qui hero suo Baburxæ, in Indiam, ut diximus, profecto, imperium Sogdianæ eripuit, male partum regnum, breui moriens Babusultano filio suo tradidisset: hic vero Bosacoræ: Abdullacanus, Osbeqsultani regis filius, et Balci 2 Rex, Bosacoram interfecit, et Samarcandæum regnum, quod iure Zelaldino | cedit sibi uindicauit. * Qui quidem Balci rex exercitum in expeditionem educit, equitum sagittariorum trecentorum millium.¹ Cum quo semel, parum fauste, Zelaldini prima acies, in Paharopaniso, ad Chabulum, confligit. Nam uiginti hominum millia, desyderata sunt · quo fit, ut etiam nunc bellum uigeat, dubium ad quem inclinet uictoria. 3 Abdullacanus * Amurathes,² Turcarum regis partes, | * dum uixit, sequutus est,³ et Persico regi * fuit⁴ infestus. At Zelaldinus, Persarum factionem * defendit,⁵ et eorum Regi * fauit⁶ · quo factum est, ut universa pene Agarenorum Respublica in duas factiones abierit. Faxit utinam Deus, ut eius oraculi, quod tot sæculis ante Christus eius Filius prænuntiavit; prædictionem, cum suo magno malo, nisi ad fidem transeant,

Shi'ahs & unnis.

posse confideret, ex insidijs uenientem regem a uenatione inuasit, peremit, urbem atque adeo regnum omne sub suum atque adeo Agarenorum iugum misit. Hunc regem filium fuisse aiunt eius qui cum Temuro dimicauit. [At uero non adeo compertum exploratumque . . . dum [*part of a word not read*] est, quin magis uerisimile uideri debeat his dolis Pir Mahammedem Delinum usque atque adeo Indiae regnum abripuisse · qui Rex Indiae a Temuro auo suo fuerat creatus. Præterea Omar Xecus Abubacar(em) fratr(em suum) cepisse existimatur. (Nam) cum patre pacem composuit et eius permissu Viamæ constitit, ubi auo suo iusta soluit, et tamdiu in ea urbe resedit dum Miramxa pater et Abubacaris frater uixerunt. At uero Pir Mahammedes, Indiae Rex, suo regno contentus, patruo suo minime obstitit quominus libere suarum rerum potiretur. Ad quem Xacattæi et Mongoli socij, illorum quæ commemorauimus pertæsi, confluxerunt.] Quoniam in Mediterranea India, procul a nostrorum hominum tum uicinitate tum etiam cognitione defuncta sunt, nostrates historici de Pir Mahammede protinus conticescunt. At reliquos Temuri filios socordia amisisse quæ pater uirtute parauerat et nullam fortissimi uiri posteritatem superesse . . . [*1 line cut off: but the sentence should be continued as above in the text, f. 137b. 3.* The passages within [] are erased in the MS.; those within () have been restored. In the text above, Nam ueteres historici . . . (f. 137b. 2) up to: Enimuero Zelaldinus et tradita tueri (f. 137b. 5) is cancelled in the MS.

More probably, Pir Muhammad, signed at Shi.

¹ 1st: habet uero in nominibus equitum sagittariorum trecenta millia.

² 1st: Amurathes, heri mei.

³ 1st: sequitur.—Since 'Abdullah Khan died on the 5th Rajab, A.H. 1005, *i.e.*, the 12th February, A.D. 1597, Monserrate must have corrected the passage above in India, between 1597 and 1600, the year of his death.

⁴ 1st: est.

⁵ 1st: tuetur.

⁶ 1st: fauet.

4 et totius Ecclesiæ, ac | Christianorum pace, persentiant. * Illud est: "Omne reg-
 " num in se ipsum diuisum desolabitur et domus supra domum cadet." ¹

Luc. 11.

Origin of the
 Scythians.

Enimvero quando Zelaldinus, ex Scythia oriundus est, non ab re uidebitur,
 Scytharum originem, quam breuissime * ad huius operis calcem ² adnectere. Est
 autem eorum origo antiquissima. Nam Scytharum parentes, fuisse feruntur ·
 Magogus filius Japeti, Hasarmotus, Diclas, et Sebas, Jectani filij; qui frater fuit |
 5 Phalegi, ex genere Sem, filij Noæ. Cui genti, ipsa consuetudo, sub pellibus habitandi,
 nomen dedit · Scythæque, eius gentis homines, jam inde, a priscorum memoria,
 F. 138b. 1 * id est coriarij, ³ dicti sunt. ⁴ Eos tamen, finitimi Persæ || Aramæos dicebant · quod
 eos ab Aramo, cognato suorum progenitorum, ortos esse crederent.

Justinus,
 lib. 2^o.

Plinius,
 Nat. Hist. lib.
 6. cap. 13.

Ab ipsis, * Asiæ ⁵ regio latissima, Scythiæ nomen accepit, quæ partim Europæa
 est, partim Asiatica.

European

Europæam, ab Hasarmotho, Sarmatiam dici, nonnulli credunt · eius vero
 habitatores, Sarmatas: vicinitate literarum fortasse ducti. Quidam uero, tantum
 2 ijs litteris tribuunt, quas Græci | * χαρακτηρίστικας ⁶ dicunt, ut ex ijs multarum uocum origi-
 nem, perperam quidem, ut plurimum, uenentur.

Strabo de
 Scythiæ Geog.
 lib. 2^o.

Plinius ibid.

& Asiatic fa-
 milies.

Asiatica, in duas potissimum diuisa est · Sericam scilicet, et Tartariam, vel alio
 nomine, Mongaliam. Illa ultra, hæc cis Imaum.

Trans-Hi-
 mālayan

Et Sericam primus incoluisse fertur, Sebas, et author, et parens fuisse, earum
 3 gentium, quæ ultra Imaum habitant. ⁷ Quorum primi noscuntur | Seres, Ianicio
 syluarum nobiles, qui perfusam aqua frondium canitiem, depectunt, ut quidam
 ex ueteribus scriptum reliquit. Verum, bombycinam esse, eam materiam, non autem

Plin. lib. 6.
 cap. 13.

¹ Later addition.

² Erased.

³ Later addition.

⁴ The margins are covered with the following cancelled note written in a very crabbed hand at a later date:—

Cum in Zelaldini aula uersarer, ab ipsius liberis Selimo et Amurate, quorum alterum ipse instituebam, et
 ab aliquot eorum institutoribus, qui Temuri res gestas iussu Regis filijs perlegebant, Temurici generis atque adeo regum
 qui Sogdianæ, Bactrianæ, Paharopaniso et Indiæ fuerant dominati ad Zelaldinum usque unam tantum seriem accipi,
 quæ sic habet: Temurus, familiæ parens, Miramxas, Abubacaris, qui etiam Abusaius, Ommarxecus, Canmirsas, Baburus
 Xa, Emaumus, Zelaldinus. Incuria uero eius qui Persice Temurnama, i.e., Temuri uiaë librum conscripsit, alia stirpis
 huius ac gentilitatis progressio in lucem prodijt. Ea est: Temurus, Hommarxecus, vel Balobas, Abusaius uel
 Abubacar, Baburus, Emaumus, Zelaldinus, in qua Miramxas, pater Balobi et Abusai, quos præpostere nominat, et
 Canmirsas desiderantur; tum præterea Delini tantum regnasse Temuri genus perperam scribitur. Nam Minorem
 Asiã, et Mediam Sogdianam et Bactrianam ad Hossenassani tempora, in quæ Baburi Xa regnum incidit, retinuerunt.
 Nam Hossenassanus Persiam, Parthiam, Adiabensem, Susianam Xacattæis ademit. Cæterum, Delini regnum, ipsum
 que Indiæ, post eius mortem, qui Christianos exegit, siue is Pir Mahammedes siue Ommarxecus fuerit, pacificum et
 tranquillum Xacattæi minime retinuerunt, quibus tamen Indoscythæ et Paharopanisdæ semper libenti animo quasi
 eiusdem gentilitatis principibus paruerunt. Jamuero Mirsa Xarocco, qui Abubacarem comprehend[erat], Miramxas
 noxam condonauit et Hircaniam [1st: Parthiam] attribuit et Parthiæ partem quæ Caspo Mari ab occidente, Margianæ,
 Hi[rcaniæ?] et Sogdianæ ab austro et a solis ortu interiacet ad Iaxartem usque ultra citraque flumen, quam regionem
 Cinguischanus olim Osbequio tradiderat, quinque eius nepotibus Temurbegus eripuit, ex quorum stirpe Ottomanoës
 familiam prodijisse Turcæ aiunt, ac si stirps suorum regum defic[er]et, regem ex ea regum gentilitate qui Balci regnant
 esse petendum. Nam eius præfecturæ ciuitates sunt Balcum metropolis, Hiurqha, Badaxã, Tamxquan[d]. Quam
 ob causam Osbequiam Turcomaniam vocant. Est autem Hircanis vicina et prope continua. Erat uero Miramxas
 natura leuis et ad iguoscendum procliuis, contra quam Temurus eius pater. [1 line seems to have been cut off from the
 lower margin.]

⁵ Later addition.

⁶ Read: χαρακτηρίστικας.

⁷ The above passage from: Ab ipsis, Asiæ regio... (fol. 138b. 1) was modified later by Monserrate to the fol-
 lowing: Ab ipsis Asiæ regio latissima Scythiæ nomen accepit, quæ ita bipartita est, ut Imaus mons inter utramque
 Scythiam intersit. Sarmatia item aliquot sæculis post ab ijsdem Europææ Scythiæ appellationem inueit. Ultra
 Scythiam trans Imaum est Serica. [The rest is cancelled]—We have preferred to keep the original draft.

A's conflict-
 ing genealo-
 gies.

A Timūr-
 nāma omits
 Nos. 1 & 4,
 inverts Nos. 2
 & 3 & ignores
 Timūr's
 other descend-
 ants. Doubt-
 ful if Pir M
 or 'Umar Sh.
 was at Delhi.
 Shāhrūkh
 pardoned by
 Mirān Sh.,
 recovers Uz-
 beg's domi-
 nions.

The Otman
 Turks have
 Kings from
 Balckh.

arboream (qualis ea est, quæ in tractu Tarraconensi, non procul a Cæsaraugusta legitur, ex quâ tenuissima tela textitur, qua farina expurgatur) hoc nostro sæculo compertum est.

- 4 At vero Tartariam Diclas, et Magogus, incoluisse feruntur. Atque a Magogo, Mongolos vir quidam, religione, atque eruditione præstans, qui apud illos, Cingiscani ætate, Innocentij quarti Pontificis Max. legatione functus est: dici existimavit . et illos, Ezechielis uaticinio, significari arbitratus est.
- Scythis cis Imaum, Dahæ olim, et Daci annumerabantur . illis uero, qui ultra |
- 5 Imaum degunt: Sacæ (quorum nomine, Persæ, Scythas etiam omnes appellabant) et Messagetæ. Dahis adscribuntur, Aparmi, qui Hyrcanis, et eorum mari, proxime adiacent . tum Xanthij, deinde Pissúri.
- F 139a. 1 Omnem uero Scythiam antiquitus promiscue peruagabantur, Essedones, qui calvarijs suorum parentum, auro cinctis, pro poculis utebantur . et Ariaci, et Rhimnici, postremo Appéllei, quorum et genus, et nomen, uetustas, ut alia pleraque * deleuit.¹
- Sunt uero Scythæ omnes, uarias appellationes, ex suis studijs et uitæ ratione sortiti. Dicuntur enim, tum Nomades, tum Scenitæ, deinde Trogloditæ, | et Amaxobij, Galactophagi, Hippophagi, Equimulgi, Galactæi, et Abij; hoc est agrestes, et feri, atque ab hominum consuetudine remoti. Quibus nominibus, etiam nunc, a finitimis cognominatur. Dicuntur enim, Aymachij, eo quod errabundi, res suas circumferant: Carganixtæ, quod sub tabernaculis degant: et Xeroqhoræ, quod lacte uictitent.
- Fuerunt Scythæ: * tum illi qui in Europam, penetrarunt, tum etiam Asiani, a quibus illi orti sunt,² in omnium | superioris ætatis hominum, non secus atque nostra memoria, bellica laude clari.
- Nam, ut ab Europæis ordiamur, Sarmatæ, maximam Tauricæ Chersonesi, partem, armis obtinuerunt. Cui nomen parua Scythia [*sic*] indiderunt. Cuius incolæ, Scythotauri dicti sunt . quos memoriæ proditum est, aduenas | Dianæ, pro * hostijs,³ inmaniter cædere consueuisse.
- At Asiani Dahæ, Bactrianum, et Parthicum imperium condidere . quod Romanos haud mediocriter lacessiuit. Nam Arsáces, homo Scythæ Callinici Demetriij, potentiam: cum Dahorum [*sic*], exigua manu declinans, ad Parthos, sui generis homines: qui olim, seditione domo pulsus, quasi exules (quod nomen ipsum sonat) paruam eamque montosam regionem colebant: se recepit. Atque ijs qui forte obstiterunt superatis: cæteros ad suum imperium adduxit . a quo Arsacidarum genus, originem habuit. Cuius stirpis fuere, Arsaces eius filius: Pámpatus: Phárnaces: Mithridates et alij ad Phraartem usque, qui rebus, cum Romanis, compositis: liberos suos, Cæsari Augusto credidit: et nepotes, obsides dedit.
- Sacæ autem, et Messagetæ, qui a regibus, more patriæ, nomen acceperunt: | ex prouincijs, a se bello subactis, in alias præfecturas, colonias deduxerunt . alteram

D. Anioninus. 3. p. titulus 19. cap. 8. § 20. Ezech. 38 et 39. Apocal. 20.

Strabo de Scythis lib. II Geograph.

Pius 2us.

Strabo, Geogr. lib. 7 de Scythis.

Europæi Tartari.

Diodorus Siculus, Rerum Antiquarum, lib. 5. cap. 3.

Asiani Tartari. Justinus, lib. 1.

Sabellius, Ennead. 6 lib. 6.

Diodorus Siculus, Rerum Antiquarum, lib. 3. Cap. 11.

¹ 1st: aboleuit. • 1st: cum Europæi, tum etiam Asiani.

² Not having Diodorus Siculus at hand. I cannot decide whether the word is derived from "hostia" or "ostium," which Monserrate writes everywhere "hostium" and changes to "ostium" in one place only, as far as I remember.

quidem, eamque maximam, ex Assyrijs, quæ inter Paphlagoniam, et Pontum posita est · alteram, ex Medis, quam pone Tanaim collocarunt · cuius homines, Sauromatæ dicuntur. Sunt enim oculis exiguis, et lacertæ (quæ græce σαυρις dicitur) similibus ·

3 a quibus potius dixerim, | Sarmatiam, quasi Sauromatiam, duabus tantum literis

**Their clans
in Afghani-
stān.**

expunctis, denominari. Indo-scythiam ad Paharopanisadas, ipsi etiam condiderunt:

*lix Rod.
Gons.*

cuius incolæ, hac ætate, Patanei, et Delazacquij, hoc est, ex corde veri nominantur ·

*Sabellicus,
ibid.*

et Parthorum, Bactrarumque, ex Scythico, et Medico, mixto idiomate utuntur: quod

4 Pastoum uocant. (Hos Persæ Aufganos | cognominant). Nam ab Eucratide primum

Bactræ, deinde Parthi, Eucratidis filio interfecto, a Mitthridate, Arsacis pronepote,

in eam regionem, inuecti sunt.

**Queen Tomy-
ris defeats
Cyrus.**

Enimuero, non solum uiri, inter Scythas, uerum etiam fœminæ, magnam ex bel-

lis gloriam reportarunt. Nam cum aliquando, Scythicum imperium, ad fœminas

deuenisset; mirum est, quanta uirtute, atque animi fortitudine decertarint. Nam

*Justinus,
lib. 1.*

F. 140a. 1

Thomyris, Amazonum regina, solertissimo belli consilio, ducentos mille || Persas, mon-

tium angustijs inclusos, instructis insidijs, trucidauit · et Cyrum, Persarum regem

captum, in crucem egit · cuius exectum caput, utri pleno sanguine, includi iussit ·

cum hac exprobratione, “ Satia (inquit) te, sanguine quem sitisti.”

Multa quidem, consulto prætermitto, ne plus æquo, ab instituto sermoue

2 digrediar. Unum uero, tantum atque alterum | proponam · quo Scytharum uirtus

**They defeat
Uxores of
Egypt.**

elucet. Ipsi, Vxorem Ægypti regem, qui illis primum, bellum inferre, ausus est:

Justin. ibid.

tanta uirtute fugarunt: ut ultra Nili paludes, exercitu, atque omnibus belli impedi-

**Darius
& Zopiron.**

mentis relictis, impellerent. Ipsi, Lauthino imperatore suo, Darium superarunt, et

fuderunt.¹ Ipsi, mille quingentis annis, Asiam uectigalem habuerunt: | Seruorum

3 exercitum, flagellis, et bacillis subegerunt: ipsi Zopirona, Alexandri magni copiarum

Justin lib. 2.

ducem, uictum e suis finibus abegerunt.

**Victorious
advance of &
angers to
Europe from**

Nihil denique, ad hanc usque diem uel ipsi, uel quæ ab ijs, originem ducunt,

*Pertinet ad
Scythas pro-
miscue.²
Justin. lib. 1.*

gentes conatæ sunt, nihil susceperunt, quod cum magna, sui nominis dignitate, ex

**4
the Turks, a
Scythic race.**

uoto, atque ex sententia, non perfecerint. Atque utinam fecisset | Deus, ne cum

tanto, Christianæ Reipub. damno, quantum a Scythis orti, armis ualeant, ex-

Lib. 4²

perimento, orbis uniuersus comperisset · Nam Turcæ, qui a Scythis genus ducunt, ab

Ottómano, Turcicorum regum stirpis capite, ad Amurathem, qui nunc regnat, inter-

*Ac cum
Zelaldinus
genus, & c.³*

medij reges, bellica uirtute orbis prope dimidium occuparunt.³

F. 140b. 1

Enimuero, quoniam hactenus, quo consilio Zelaldinus, Societatis || Sacerdotes

Conclusion.

accersuerit: quid illi cum Rege, et eius sacrificulis transegerint · deinde belli Chał u-

Peroratio.

lici caussam, et ipsum bellum · post hæc Sacerdotum reditum, Rodolfi necem; tum

Regis mores, domi et in bello; animi ornamenta: corporis dignitatem: res bello

gestas: genus denique, et parentum patriam: generosam illius stirpem: et gentis

¹ Marginally, erased: Idanthyrsum item Scytham, Asiam [sic] usque in Ægyptum excurrisse, memoriæ proditum est. *Strabo, Geogr. lib. 15.* [Cf. App. A, p. 2.]

² Later addition; erased.

³ Later marginal addition; erased: Verum enimuero antiquum illud Ennij elogium in Scythas detorqueri potest: Æacidæ bellipotentis sunt magis quam sapientipotentis. Nam tum nostra tum patrum nostrorum memoria unus Anacharsis Scythæ studijs sapientiæ clarus exitisse deprehenditur · in qua eos progressus fecit ut antiquis admirationi fuerit et etiam [1 or 2 lines cut off]. Cf. Appendix A.

*Cic. de Di-
uin. [1. 2. c.
56.] [1 line
not read]
Diog. Laert.
lib. 1.*

2 uirtutem: quantum in nobis | situm fuit, et narrationis breuitas, ac perspicuitas postulabat: diligenter, et acurate (quod sine arrogantia dictum sit) perscripsimus: nostrum pensum (utinam utiliter) exoluisse uidemur.¹

FINIS.

LAUS DEO OPT. MAX.

History of
the MS.

* Absolui hunc commentarium Eynani in Arabia ferijs diui Antonij Patauini mense Junio anni 1590.

Exemplar a Turcis abreptum Sénæ recepi ferijs undecim mille Virginum mense Octobri eiusdem anni.

Finem describendi et ab exemplaris litturis uindicandi feci Sénæ in Arabia ferijs D. Damasi · pp. mense Decembri anni 1590.²

¹ Later addition, marginally · *Daqui torna atras aas folhas 106 b. 4.*

² These last lines have been underlined in pencil by the anonymous annotator.

INDEX COMMENTARIJ

in quo · *a.* priorem paginam, *b.* posteriorem significat.¹

A

- Abdulfasilius luculentissime diuinam generationem ex Sacerdotum disciplina explanat, 35*a.* 3; eius nominis interpretatio, 34*b.* 1; Regis Jonathan, *ibid.*; Regis personam agit, 57*a.* 4; Sacerdotum sententiam semper sequebatur, 33*a.* 1.
- Abdulla-canus, 138*a.* 1; eius copiae, *a.* 2.
- Aben allah, Dei filius, 99*a.* 4.
- Abobacaris, 136*b.* 4; in carcerem truditur, *ibid.*; e custodia erumpit, 137*a.* 5.
- Acaris mons, 88*b.* 3.
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Hyperbole, 110*a.* 3.
Hyrcani et Armeni Palestinam petunt, 122*b.* 2.
Hyrcanum mare, 138*b.* 5.
Hyrcani, Georgiani, vulgo Gurg., 124*b.* 3.

I¹

Iberia, 124*b.* 4.
Iconium, Lycaoniae urbs, 119*b.* 4; ueterum Turcarum sedes, 120*a.* 1.
Idanthyrus, Scythia, 140*a.* 2.
Idaea sacra, 17*a.* 3.
Ignatius Azeuedius, 106*b.* 3.
Ignis examen proponitur ab Agarenis, 25*b.* 4; et a Zelaldino, 26*a.* 1.
Iguis indicium quare dubium et incertum, 27*a.* 2.
Imaus mons ferro et chalybe abundat, 56*b.* 4: Cuamaus dicitur, 57*b.* 3; eius habitatores gentiles, *b.* 3; fertilis, 61*a.* 4; idem Caspus, 85*b.* 2; idem Imaus, 138*b.* 2.
Imperium Equebaricum, 92*a.* 1. 2
Incendij faeminarum mos, 38*a.* 1.
India intra Gangem et eius ora maritima, 115*b.* 3; peramœna, ex natura cuiusque tractus diuersos fructus edit, 115*b.* 4; ea olim potiti sunt reges Christiani, 116*a.* 4; eius Rex Temurum superat, 130*a.* 1: eius in Paharopaniso praesidia, 130*a.* 4; eius aetas, 65*a.* 3.
Indiae Minoris quattuor praefecturae, 130*a.* 3.

Indorum superstitio, 52*b.* 3. 4; aedificia, 108*b.* 3.
Indoscytha nouae sectae author, 80*a.* 4.
Indoscythia, 117*a.* 4; a Scythis habitata, 139*b.* 3.
Indus, fluuius, 66*b.* 4; quantus, 68*b.* 3; aurifer, *b.* 4; eius origo et descriptio *b.* 4; incrementum et causa, 69*a.* 2. 3; decrementum, 89*a.* 2.
Inferiae gentilitiae, 15*a.* 2.
Inimicitiarum causa, 93*a.* 4; *b.* 1.
Innocentius Quartus, Pontif. Max., 138*b.* 4.
Institutio Agarenica damnatur, 38*b.* 2.
Institutio liberorum Zelaldini, 110*b.* 4; 111*a.* 1.
Institutum Tartarorum, 40*b.* 1.
Interamnis Indi & Bydaspis, 66*b.* 2.
Interamnis Sandabalis & Adris, 62*a.* 3.
Ismael Culicanus, 5*b.* 4; [6*a.* 1].
Ismael Sophus, 92*a.* 4.
Israelitici templi supellectilia, 78*a.* 2.

J

Jachis, Xacattae regis filius, 120*b.* 4; occasum petit, 121*a.* 2; regnat, *a.* 3.
Jacobus Lopezius Coutignus, 93*b.* 3.
Jacobus Soria, pirata, 106*b.* 3.
Jadondas, Brachmana, 97*a.* 2.
Jansas, Temuri ex sorore nepos, 131*b.* 3; 133*a.* 5.
Japetus, 138*a.* 4.
Japones, Niphonsi, 107*a.* 1.
Japonensium Reges, 30*a.* 3.
Jataxqhana, domus sitis, 112*a.* 5.
Jaxartes, fluuius, 121*b.* 2; 128*a.* 4.
Jazygae, 120*a.* 1.
Jectanus, 138*a.* 4.
Joannes Athaidius, 94*b.* 2.
Jogues se annosos praedicant, 65*b.* 2; ad rem auidi, *b.* 4; eorum familiae, 97*b.* 3; multa confundunt, 116*b.* 1.
Jomanes, 54*a.* 1; 56*b.* 2; eius fontes, 57*b.* 4.
Josephi Ruytasij praesidis fides, 41*a.* 4; *b.* 1; conuiuium dat Regi, 66*a.* 1.
Juris dicendi potestas, 52*a.* 4.
Iuuenes nouem captantur et pro fide necantur, 93*b.* 3; 94*a.* 1; duo alij pro religione occumbunt, 103*b.* 4.

L

Lacertae genus quoddam creditur basiliscus, 15*b.* 2.
Lahurum, metropolis, 59*b.* 3; 90*b.* 2. 4.

¹ The words beginning with J are placed under I in the original. We have separated them.

Lana, bombycino et serico tenuior, 61*b.* 1.
 Landiqhana, 83*a.* 1.
 Lanthinus, Scythia, 140*a.* 2.
 Lanugo arborea, 138*b.* 3.
 Lapides, interuallorum itineris metæ, 22*b.* 1.
 Latrones, passim, 102*a.* 2.
 Lectores admonentur, 86*a.* 1.
 Legatio in Lusitaniam, 104*b.* 4; prætermittitur, *ibid.*; eius exitus qua fuerit mente Zelaldinus indicium facit, 105*a.* 2.
 Legatio præsidis Turcici ad Zelaldinum, 111*b.* 1.
 Lex una ab initio mundi, 98*b.* 5.
 Lex uetus Hæbræis data, 75*b.* 1.
 Liceri non licet equos, 113*a.* 1.
 Loci Sacræ Scripturæ, 28*b.* 1. 2. 3.
 Loci in Leuitico interpretatio, 29*b.* 3.
 Locus a simili, 29*a.* 1; 75*b.* 1.
 Locus ab exemplo Deiparæ Virginis Mariæ, 29*b.* 4;
 ab exemplo Cornelij Centurionis, 29*a.* 4.
 Lucanus poeta, 131*b.* 4.
 Ludi publici, 97*b.* 2.
 Ludianum, municipium, 59*b.* 2.
 D. Ludouicus, Francorum Rex, 122*a.* 3.
 Ludouicus Athaidius, Atouguia dynasta, Indiæ præses, 6*b.* 4; Sacerdotibus ad iter com meatum dat, 7*b.* 1.
 Lunæ defectus, 12*a.* 2.
 Lusitana classis, 102*b.* 3.
 Lusitanorum constantiam Zelaldinus periclitatur, 5*a.* 4.
 Lusitanorum uirtus et fortitudo, 5*b.* 1.

M

Machiparâ, fluuius, 14*b.* 2.
 Machiuarâ, piscium uicus, 50*a.* 4.
 Mádeus Adamus creditur, 55*a.* 2.
 Maëssûris, 52*b.* 3.
 Mæniana, 88*a.* 1.
 Magogus, 138*a.* 4; *b.* 4; ab eo Mongoli, *b.* 4.
 Mahammeddes pseudopropheta, 20*b.* 4; eius de beatitudine sententia, 25*b.* 1; fabulas agi uetat, 110*a.* 2; fraus eius, *a.* 2; impijssimus, 98*b.* 3; incestas nuptias inducit, 110*a.* 3; nefandum malum non coercet, 114*b.* 1; illi conuiuet, 37*a.* 1; pseudopropheta, 73*b.* 4; Paraclæti nomen sibi arrogat, *i.e.*, Mustafa, 74*a.* 1; stirpis Ismaeliticæ, 74*b.* 4; testimonium de Christo et Maria Virgine, 25*b.* 1; de seipso, *b.* 2.

Mahammeddes Mirsachimus, Chabuli Rex, 39*b.* 3; 86*a.* 4; aciem instruit, 76*b.* 1; arcem reposcit et repellitur, 41*a.* 4; epistolæ ipsius ad Xaman surum tertio intercipiuntur, 56*b.* 4; Fœtiales mittit, 71*a.* 1; cum Faridumcano expostulat et receptui canit, 79*a.* 2. 3; se in fugam dat, 59*a.* 3; et filium in fuga amittit, 86*a.* 3; Gelalabadum deserit, 85*a.* 4; ad Lahurum castra ponit, 41*a.* 4; *b.* 1; urbem non diripit, 91*a.* 3. 4; litteras supplices mittit, 59*b.* 4; nauiculas comburi iubet, 62*b.* 1; pedem refert, 42*a.* 1.

Mahammeddes Sultanus, Temuri filius, 126*b.* 4.
 Mancinus, regulus, 70*b.* 1; 91*a.* 2.
 Mancipia Samarcandam amandantur, 125*b.* 2.
 Mandhoum, 12*a.* 4; Mongoli creduntur condidisse aut certe instaurasse, *b.* 4; eius præfectus, 102*a.* 3; septenni obsidione premitur, 13*a.* 2; sepulchrorum ager, 14*a.* 3; sepulchrum Mongolicorum regum habet, 13*b.* 2; templum more Christiano ædificatum, 14*a.* 2; tormentum ferreum ibi colitur, 13*b.* 1; urbs amplissima, 12*a.* 4. 5.
 Manichæorum elementa, 53*a.* 1.
 Mansariüer, Christianorum municipium, 116*b.* 2; eorum ritus et consuetudo, *b.* 4.
 Manubia, 132*b.* 4.
 Mariæ Deiparæ Virginis effigies, 98*a.* 1.
 Martinus Alfonsus Melius, 94*b.* 1.
 Martius mensis, 97*a.* 4.
 Mässûr, Memphis, Cayrum, 127*a.* 4.
 Matris Zelaldini genus, 119*a.* 1; a Christianis orta, 123*a.* 3.
 Maturanum, urbs, 52*a.* 4; eius descriptio, 53*b.* 4.
 Medi, 139*b.* 2.
 Medicus præclare caussam Passionis Christi red- dit, 75*b.* 1.
 Memphis. Cayrum, Mässâr, 127*a.* 4.
 * Mensuratio itineris, 45 [*a.* 1].¹
 Mesopotamia, 124*b.* 4.
 Messagetæ, 138*b.* 5; 139*b.* 1.
 Miram Sultanus, 103*b.* 1. 2.
 Miramxas prodicionis insimulatur, 133*a.* 3.
 Mirsachimus prærupta obtinet, 86*a.* 3. [Cf. *supra*: Mahammeddes Mirsachimus.]
 Mithridates, 127*a.* 1.
 Moghostan a palmis dicitur, 121*b.* 4; 122*a.* 1.
 Mongalia, 121*b.* 3; Scythiæ regio, *b.* 3; 138*b.* 2.

¹ From another hand, in ink.

Mongo, annis, 119*a.* 3.
 Mongoli, 13*a.* 1; Mongolicarum acierum ordo, 70*b.* 3; instructio, 79*a.* 4; conductitij milites, 122*a.* 1; digladiandi modus, 37*b.* 2; excursio, 99*a.* 3; eruptio, 119*a.* 2. 3; epulæ, 134*b.* 1; in Indiam excurrunt, 121*b.* 4; a Magogo orti, 138*b.* 4; Mandhoum condiderunt, 12*b.* 4; ibi regnant, 121*b.* 4; nominis eorum coniectura, 119*a.* 3; nouas sedes quærent, 13*a.* 1; Osbequij ab ijs orti, 122*a.* 3; a Patanæis profligantur, 13*a.* 2; potus eorum, 134*b.* 1; quidam eorum Sacerdoti mortem parat, 101*a.* 3. 4; 102*b.* 2; regum ipsorum insigne, 14*a.* 2; sepulchrum regum, 13*b.* 2; eius descriptio, *b.* 2; techna et proditio, 91*a.* 2; vafrum ingenium, 94*b.* 4.
 Mongolorum, uulgo Mangalor, a Mongolis, 121*b.* 4.
 Mons Neræ, Paliarnerâ, 7*b.* 3.
 Motus post Temuri mortem, 135*b.* 5.
 Moysi apparet Deus in rubo, 98*b.* 5.
 Mubarec, *i.e.* benedictus, Abdulfasilij pater: et filij, 34*b.* 2. 3.
 Mussapharus Saydius, legatus, 101*b.* 2; 104*b.* 1.
 Mussapharus, Gedrosiæ rex, pulsus, 94*a.* 4.

N

Nabuchodonosor, 120*a.* 4.
 Nagarcottum, 60*a.* 1; eius regulus, *b.* 2.
 Nanius, fluuius, 62*a.* 2.
 Naroaris et saltus et ciuitas, 16*b.* 1. 2; cœli Naroarici inclementia, *b.* 2.
 Naruadâ, fluuius, 12*a.* 3.
 Naurus, nouendialia Mongolorum, 97*a.* 3.
 Nausarinum, 7*b.* 4; Gaberæorum sedes, *b.* 4.
 Natalitij Christi disputatio, 36*a.* 2.
 Natolia, Asia Minor, Turquiâ uel Turcia, 127*a.* 3.
 Nicodemus, 30*a.* 3.
 Nilabhum præsidium iustauratur, 68*b.* 2; Atac Balanaz, *ibid.*; etymologia, 69*a.* 3.
 Nilagau, *i.e.* cærulea bos, 44*b.* 3.
 Nilum, herba, 116*a.* 3.
 Niphonsi, Japonæ, 107*a.* 1.
 Noes, 98*b.* 5; 138*a.* 5.
 Nouendiales feriæ Agarenorum, 16*b.* 3.
 Noui nouatores Agarenis deteriores, 98*a.* 3.
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O

Obeliscus, 66*a.* 3; 82*b.* 3.
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Officiorum quotidiana instauratio, 112*a.* 1.
 Ommaris insolens epistola, 136*b.* 2; bellum in patrem, *b.* 2; perfidia in fratrem, *b.* 4.
 Opificiorum instrumenta noui homines præferunt, 112*a.* 4.
 Opinio cuiusque erga suum institutum, 100*b.* 1.
 Oppium hausto oleo mortem affert, 18*a.* 4.
 Orbis patre pueris generosis prospicitur, 112*b.* 1.
 Osbeques, Cinguisani filius, 120*b.* 3. 4.
 Osbeq Sultanus, 138*a.* 1.
 Otthodayus, Cinguisani filius Christianus, 120*b.* 3; 121*a.* 1; veneno tollitur, *b.* 3.
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P

Panchangari oppidum, 60*a.* 3.
 Paëlum, oppidum, 59*a.* 3.
 Pagrixi templa dei ieiunt, 132*b.* 3.
 Paharbatius fluuius, 15*b.* 1.
 Pahari, *i.e.* Montanus, Zelaldini filius, 34*a.* 4; patris primam aciem ducit, 70*a.* 4; idem, 110*b.* 1. 2; eius comitatus, 70*b.* 1. 2; fortitudo, 79*a.* 1; in campo consistit, *a.* 3.
 Paharnera, mons Neræ, 7*b.* 3.
 Paharopanisadum aborigines, 139*b.* 4.
 Paharopanisas, terra Chabul, 68*b.* 3; 117*a.* 3.
 Paharopanisus, 85*b.* 2.
 Pahariüetus mons, 82*b.* 3. 4; 85*b.* 2. 3.
 Palatia noua, castrum Natoliæ uel Asiæ Minoris, 127*a.* 3.
 Panipatum, urbs, 57*a.* 1.
 Pannonæ, 120*a.* 1.
 Pantheræ, 44*b.* 3.
 Paphlagonia, 139*b.* 2.
 Paradoxum, 111*a.* 1.
 Paramæssuris, 52*b.* 3.
 Parentum indulgentia, 120*b.* 3.
 Parganâ Peytân, Peytanensis conuentus, 60*a.* 3.
 Parthi, 124*b.* 2; [exules?] dicti, 139*a.* 4.
 Parthia, 139*a.* 4; montosa, *ibid.*
 Paschalitia quid significant, 31*a.* 3.
 Pashthôm idioma, 67*a.* 2; 139*b.* 3.
 Patanæi Mongolos profligant, 13*a.* 2; ijdem, 66*b.* 4; 85*a.* 5; 117*a.* 4; Gandaræ et Suasteui, 77*a.* 2.
 Paulus ictus a bestia, 16*a.* 2.
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 Payazitus Rex, 124*b.* 4; 125*a.* 1; eius insolens responsio, *a.* 2; capitur, 126*b.* 2.

Pecuniarum acerui, 113a. 3.
 Pecus ouis magnitudine sine sectionibus in Imao,
 61b. 1.
 Pelusium, urbs Ægypti, 127a. 4.
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 Petrus Menesius, 91a. 3.
 Petrus Berna, sacerdos Frisius, seu Teuto, 106b. 3.
 Peruzij Regis genus et pietas, 55b. 4; ædificia et
 fabricæ, 56a. 1. 2. 3.
 Phalegus, 138a. 5.
 Phanum castrense, 88b. 3.
 Pharaglitâ, uox conficta, 74a. 2.
 Phraartes, 139b. 1.
 Pimpaldar, oppidum, 15b. 1.
 Pir Mahammeddes, Temuri nepos, 133a. 5.
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 Pirxec olid ezlamus, Sophus, 109a. 3.
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 Platani, 116a. 1.
 Plebecula in scopulis perit, 94a. 3.
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 Pontium construendarum modus, 47a. 1.
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 Portæ ferreæ, Derbentum · Damarcab · arx, 124b.
 Postinorum noua secta, 18b. 3.
 Præceptoris lenitas, 34a. 2. 3. 4.
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 Promissis et minis agit Zelaldinus, 46b. 1.
 Protheus, inconstantia symbolum, 104b. 5.
 Prouerbum, 66b. 2.
 Prouidentia regia erga comneatum, 46a. 2.
 Proxeneta Regis capite plectitur, 114b. 1.
 Pueri Hebræi tres in fornace, 26b. 1.
 Puerorum perfusio et baptisma, 122a. 4.
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Q

Qhaterbâgus, Persiæ oppidum, 125a. 3.
 Qhoiamundus, 82a. 3.
 Qhuniâ, oppidum, 62b. 3.
 Quæsita Regis, 67a. 4.
 Quæstio de Mahammedde, 73b. 4.
 Quæstor Zelaldini, 86b. 3.
 Quelemetalla, Dei uerbum, in Alcorano Christus
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R

Raeneranum præsidium, 10b. 2.
 Ráffigi, 92b. 4.
 Raoi, Adris, fluuius, 61b. 4.
 Rasputi, Gedrosiæ nobilitas, 48b. 1. 3. 4.
 Rassul, nuntius uel Apostolus, 89b. 3.
 Rathoi, Indiæ interioris nobilitas, 48b. 1. 3. 4.
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 Reginis in itinere custodes dantur, 45b. 3. 4.
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 Regni Equebarini termini, 115a. 5.
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 silijs, 110b. 2.
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 disputationibus sententiæ moderator, 33a. 2;
 filium instituendum Sacerdotibus tradit, 33a. 4.
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 Rhinoceros elephantis uentrum petit, 50b. 3.
 Rhymnici, 139a. 1.
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 Roalla, Dei halitus, uox inepta, 99a. 4.
 Robur belli in equitatu, 51b. 1.
 Rodericus Vincentius, 7a. 2.
 Rodolfus ægrotat grauiter, 39b. 3; eius constantia,
 28a. 2; Cunculini necatur, 105a. 1; elogium
 ipsius, 105a. 3; genus, 106b. 4; Goam redit,
 104b. 5; jugulum sponte præbet, 106b. 1.
 legationis prouincia ei demandatur, 7a. 3. 4;
 Mariæ Virgini addictus eam uoti nexu fre-

- quentur collaudat, 105^a. 1. 2; necis dies, 106b. 3; necis socij, *ibid.*; Persicum idioma breui addiscit, 32a. 1; 101b. 4; Regi occurrit, 90b. 1; Regis filium instituit, 97a. 3; sapiens et pium eius responsum, 9b. 4; vulnera illi imposita, 106b. 2.
- Rumæus eques, *i.e.*, Græcus Turca, 103a. 4.
- Rumor defectionis a secta, 39b. 1.
- Rustici proditio, 124a. 4.
- Rutheni, 120a. 1.
- Ruytasius, urbs, 64a. 2.
- S**
- Sacæ, 138b. 5; 139b. 1.
- Sacerdotum sententiam Abdulfasilius sequitur, 33a. 1; admonentur a Rege, 24b. 4; Agarenorum placitis cum ipsis pugnant, 32b. 4; Damannum unus uenit, 104a. 3; discrimen capitis illis obuenit, 10b. 3; dubium proponitur, 99b. 4; Euangelij periodos conuertunt, 32a. 3; 101a. 3; gladiatorios ludos reprehendunt, 37a. 4; Goam alter contendit, 101b. 1; iudicium eorum de Regis conuiuentia, 95a. 1; laborat unus ad mortem, 90a. 4; ocasionem conueniendi regem captant, 24a. 1; optionem Agarenis dant, 100a. 2; pecuniam accipere renuunt, 20a. 3; periculis multis unus eorum liberatur, 101b. 1; Persicæ linguæ dant operam, 9a. 3; 31b. 3; quæsitum eorum, 98a. 4; ad Regem deducuntur, 19b. 4; Regis animum explorant, 41a. 1; responsio illorum, 26a. 3; reuocantur, 91a. 4; Societatis Jesu Sacerdotes duo in Gangaride, 5b. 3; tres cum Equebare uersantur, 7a. 3; Surate mouent, 10b. 1; spes lucri animarum, 95b. 3; unus in uitæ periculum uenit, 16a. 1; ab elephante prope perijt, 50a. 4; in aliud discrimen uenit, 88a. 2; capitur, 102b. 3; in custodia ponitur, b. 4; cum honore soluitur. 103b. 1; Damannum uenit, 104a. 3.
- Sacrificiorum Agarenicorum sericæ, 11a. 4.
- Saddari oppidum, 62b. 3.
- Salices, 116a. 1.
- Salomonis templum, 109b. 1.
- Samarcanda, 117a. 3; eius situs et descriptio, 128a. 4; orbi celebris, 128a. 1; eadem, 121b. 2; Cimesquint dicitur, *i.e.*, pinguis uilla, 129a. 1; agri ipsius ubertas, *ibid.*; eius urbis et imperij armorum insigne, *ibid.*
- Samarcandæi, 121a. 4; eorum conspiratio, 124a. 3.
- Samba, urbs et præsidium, 62a. 1.
- Samballus. fluuius, 18b. 3.
- Sandabalis, Xenao fluuius, 66a. 3; in eius traiectu multi pereunt, 62a. 4; b. 2; in eo insula, 62b. 3.
- Sapor, Rex Persarum, 127a. 1.
- Sarangpurum, urbs, 15a. 4.
- Sarindum, 58b. 3.
- Sarmatia, unde dicta, 138b. 1; 139b. 3.
- Sarmaticum mare, 119a. 3.
- Satanulge, Zaradrus fluuius, 59a. 4.
- Sauromatæ, 107a. 1; 139b. 2.
- *Schœni ferrei,¹ 45a. 1.
- Scribæ, 111b. 3. 4.
- Scripturæ Sacræ loci, 28b. 1. 2. 3.
- Scythæ, 97b. 1; 128a. 4; administratio priscorum Scytharum, 119a. 3; Aramæi dicti olim, 138b. 1; bellica laude semper clari, 139a. 3; eruptio illorum, 119a. 2. 3; finitimis uectigales, a. 2; nomina uaria sortiuntur, 139a. 1; eorum origo, 138a. 4; studia diuersa, 139a. 1; unde dicti, 138a. 4.
- Scythia, 138b. 1; Serica, b. 2.
- Scythotauri, 139a. 4.
- Sebas, 138a. 4; b. 2.
- Sebaste, urbs Cappadociæ, 125a. 3; diripitur a Temuro, a. 4; ciues immaniter perduntur, 132a. 2.
- Sebastianus, Lusitaniæ Rex, 73a. 4; 88a. 1.
- Sedani, nunc Decanî, 104b. 1.
- Sem, 138a. 5.
- Senaensis præses, 111a. 5; eius nuntij, b. 1.
- Sententia dispar gentilium de natura deorum, 52b. 4.
- September mensis, 89a. 2.
- Septemuiri, 111a. 3.
- Seræ uel Seres Cathaini, 130b. 2; bombycini et serici inuectores, 131a. 1; 138b. 3.
- Serarum rex, 130a. 4; eius copiæ, b. 14.
- Seres, 121a. 2.
- Serica, nunc Cathaium, 130b. 2.
- Serpens cristatus, 118b. 3.
- Seruorum Scythicorum bellum, 140a. 3.
- Séthis, 52b. 3.
- Sigillum regium, 113b. 1.
- A simili locus, 29a. 1.

¹ Schœnæ ferreæ in the MS.

Similitudo, 72a. 4.
 Simiorum praestigia, 54a. 4
 Sinæ, 107a. 1.
 Siti exercitus fatigatur, 63a. 1.
 Situs quattuor concursantium montium, 85b. 3.
 Siurange urbs, 15b. 1; soli eius pestilens natura,
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† I have separated the words beginning with *U*, from those which we now write with *V*.

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Zopiron, Alexandri dux, 140a. 3.

FINIS.

APPENDIX A.

Between fol. 136b. and fol. 137a. a loose leaf is bound up, containing a later? rough draft, which was intended it would appear, as an improvement on the historical sketch of the Scythians (fol. 138a. 4—fol. 140a. 4). We insert it as an appendix. No special entries to it will be found in the Index.]

[p. 1.] Verum etiamsi Scythis, non ut cæteris barbaris ut sunt Brazilij et syluestres Æthiopes Strab. lib. Manicongij rudis et inconditus sensus est. Quidam enim eorum sapientiæ studijs exculti olim^{7.} Diog. Laert. illustri laude celebrati sunt: in ijs Anacharsis summi philosophi laudem habuit. Egregie autem lib. 1. rerum humanarum contemptione et despicientia, deinde constantia in dicendo commendatur,¹ cum tantam capere dicant sapientiam quantam gens capit semper armata. Illud Ennij in eos Tusc. lib. 5. de Divinat. detorqueri potest: Acaridæ bellipotentes sunt magis quam sapientipotentes. [C. 56].

PROGRESSUS ET MORES.

Scytharum gens antiquissima semper habita bipartito distributa est, sicuti fieri in Arabia et Strab. lib. 2. in Affrica hac nostra tempestate uidemus. *Nam Scythis quibusdam hominibus² inter se olim Nomades. Coriarij. Amaxobij. Scenitæ. Galactophagi. fines nulli, neque enim agrum exercebant, nec domus illis ulla aut tectum aut sedes erat, armenta et pecora semper pascentibus, et per solitudines errare solitis. Uxores liberosque secum in plaustis, corijs ad arcendas pluuias et uim frigorum hyememque excipiendam et substruendam communitis uehebant, quibus pro domibus utebantur: lacte et melle uescebantur, lanæ his usus ac uestium ignotus, et quoniam continuis frigoribus urerentur, pellibus ferinis seu murinis uestiebantur, et Scythiam qua uel fors uel cuiusque voluntas ferebat uniuersam pererrabant, et hi quidem Essedones dicebantur qui caluitijs suorum parentum auro cinctis pro poculis utebantur. Pius 2^{us}. Gens alia Scytharum fama nostratibus primum nota, quæ societatis hominum et uitae communitatis amans ciuitates instituit, parua numero et propter ignobilitatem contempta, iuxta Araxim et ab aquilonibus Caspij Maris consedis ac cis et ultra Imaum ad solis ortum progressa, sui Strab. lib. 11. imperij fines propagasse narratur. Scythis cis Imaum Dahæ olim et Daci annumerabantur. Illis Diod. Sic. lib. 3, cap. 11 uero qui ultra Imaum degunt Sacæ et Messagetæ. Dahis adscribuntur Aparmi qui Hircanis et eorum mari proxime adiacent, tum Xanthij, deinde Pissuri, et Indoscythæ, qui Indiæ sunt Strabo, ibidem. contermini usque ad oppositam Asiæ regionem quæ Arachosia dicitur. Sacis et Messagetis dantur Diod. ibid. Sarmatæ quos a Scythis oriri ueteres etiam tradiderunt. Aiunt uero qui genealogiam scripserunt Strab. ibid. ad Alangumi [sic] usque ætatem maiorem natu regis filium uniuerso regno dominari solitum. hoc lib. 2. cap. 20. Tatarem et Mongolum primos regnum fuisse partitos. Tatarem Scythiæ extra Imaum, Mongolum Dycles Creten. De Scythiæ intra Imaum imperium tenuisse et suo quemque regno nomen indidisse, et utriusque bellotroiano. lib. sub finem imperium. Imai terminis definijsse, Tartariæ ab occidente sole, Mogaliæ ab ortu eiusdem. Ptholemæi interpres aliter sentire uidetur. (Lib. 6, cap. 15, tab. Asiæ 8.) ||

VIRTUS BELLICA.

[p 2.] Fuerunt semper Scythæ bellica laude clari. Nam Dahæ Bactrianum et Parthicum imperium condiderunt, quod Romanos haud mediocriter laccessiuit. Nam Arsaces, homo Scytha, Callinici Justin lib. 1.

¹ Added, in a variant of this sentence to be found at f80t; “ut qui eius constantiam imitarentur τὴν ἀπο Σκυθῶν Herod. Mel-
πων, i.e., a Scythis orationem imitari diceretur. Huic ancoræ et figuli rotæ inuenta tribuunt. pome. lib. 4
[127.]

² 1st: Hominibus eorum.

Demetrii potentiam cum Daharum exili manu declinans: ad Parthos sui generis homines, qui olim seditione domo pulsi quasi exules (quod nomen ipsum sonat) paruam eamque montosam regionem colebant: præcepit atque, ijs qui forte obstiterunt superatis, cæteros ad suum imperium adduxit. Cuius stirpis fuere: Arsaces, cuius filius Pámpatus, Pharnaces, Mithridates, et alij ad Phraartem usque qui, rebus cum Romanis compositis, liberos suos Cæsari Augusto credidit: et nepotes obsides dedit. Sacæ autem et Messagetæ qui a regibus more patriæ nomen acceperunt ex prouincijs a se bello subactis in alias præfecturas colonias deduxerunt · alteram quidem eamque maximam ex Assyrijs, quæ inter Paphlagoniam et Pontum Bythinia posita est · quæ regio Turcarum aborigines tanquam oua colubri fouit, quæ ubi fœtum exclusit, hoc uiperarum, genimine (liceat hoc uerbo uti) ipsum Pontum, Paphlagoniam, Bithiniam, Minorem Asiam, Lydiam, Cariam, Lyciam, Pamphiliam, Lycaoniam, Galatiam, Cappadociam, Minorem Armeniam Chersonesum denique omnem intra Euphratem, quæ postea Magna Tartaria uocata est, compleuit. Alteram ex Medis quam pone Tanaim collocarunt · eiusque habitatores ab oculorum forma Sauromatæ dicti sunt. Sunt enim oculis exiguis et lacertæ, quæ Græce σαῦρος dicitur, similibus Indoscythiam ad Paharopanisadem ipsi etiam condiderunt, cuius incolæ hac ætate Patanæi ab urbe quadam principe, et Delazacqui, i.e. ex corde ueri, et alijs nominibus appellantur. Et Patanæi Parthorum Bactrarumque ex Scythico et Medico mixto idiomate utuntur, quod Pastoum uocant. Hos etiam Persæ Auftganos [sic] nominant. Nam ab Eucratide primum Bactræ, deinde Parthi: Eucratidis filio interfecto, a Mithridate Arsacis pronepote in eam regionem inuecti sunt. Imperium Asiæ ter quæsiere; ipsi perpetuo ab alieno imperio aut intacti aut inuicti [remansere?] Ipsi Vxorem Ægypti regem, qui illis bellum inferre omnium primus ausus est, tanta uirtute fugarunt, ut ultra Nili paludes exercitu atque omnibus belli impedimentis relictis impellerent. Ipsi sub Lanthino, imperatore suo, Darium superarunt. Idanthyrus item Scythia, domita Asia, in Ægyptum usque excurrit. Asiam mille quingentis annis uectigalem habuerunt. Nomades Scenitæ [?] Bactrianam Græcis abstulere. Zopirona, Alexandri Magni ducem, uictum e suis finibus abegerunt, Seruorum exercitum flagellis et bacillis ut olim Romani subegerunt, Romanorum audiuerunt, non sensere arma. Ac non solum uiri inter Scythas, uerum etiam fœminæ magnam ex bellis gloriam reportarunt. Nam cum aliquando ad fœminas deuenisset, mirum est quanta uirtute atque animi fortitudine decertarint. Nam Thomyris, Amazonum regina, solertissimo belli consilio ducentos mille Persas montium angustijs inclusos instructis insidijs trucidauit, et Cyrum Persarum regem captum in crucem egit, cuius exectum caput utri pleno sanguine includi iussit cum hac exprobratione: “ Satia,” inquit, “ te sanguine quod sitisti.” Sarmatæ maximam Tauricæ Chersonesi partem armis obtinuerunt, cui nomen parua Scythia [sic] indiderunt. Cuius incolæ Scythotauri dicti sunt, quos memoriæ proditum est aduenas Dianæ pro hostijs immaniter cædere consueuisse. Atque ad hanc usque diem uel ueteres Scythæ uel Sarmatæ uel qui ab ijs orti sunt, Tartari et Mongoli, et præ cæteris Turcæ nihil prope conati sunt, nihil susceperunt, quod cum magna sui nominis dignitate ex uoto atque ex sententia non perfecerint. Quod utinam fecisset Deus ne cum tanto Christianæ Reip. damno orbis uniuersus experimento comperisset. Nam Turcæ ab Otthomano Turcarum stirpis capite ad Amurathem, cuius ego fui seruus, intermedijs reges bellica uirtute orbem prope dimidium occuparunt.

Sabell. Ennea. 6 lib. 6.

Diod. Sic. Rerum antiq. lib. 3. cap. 11.

Pthol. lib. 5. cap. 1. tab. 1. Asiæ.

Rod Gonsal.

Sabellius, ibid.

Just. lib. 2. Just. lib. 1.

Strabo. Geogr. lib. 15.

Just. lib. 1.

Diod. Sic. Rer. antiq. lib 1, cap. 3. Sabell. Ennea. 9, lib. 6. Just. lib. 2.

APPENDIX B.

TEXTS FROM MONSERRATE'S LOST BK. II QUOTED BY COL. F. WILFORD.

The texts from Monserrate's writings quoted by Col. F. Wilford will prove that the MS. in his possession was different from the one here edited.

At the risk of being taken to task for the length of this appendix, I must quote Monserrate's passages together with Wilford's context. As for Wilford's theories, I do not comment on them. If, in the case of a passage (*my No. 6*) I reproduce at some length Wilford's views on ancient traces of Christianity in North India, it is because they are so interesting when compared with Monserrate's.

I. *Asiatick Researches*, VI (1799), pp. 496-497, Art.: *On Mount Caucasus*.

[496]. The *Parapomiscan* hills, or at least part of them, are called also *Parnassus*, and *Parnessus*, by DIONYSIUS PERIEGETES, PRISCIAN, and F. AVIENUS: this last appellation has been supposed to be only a corruption, or contraction from the first. But the difference is so great, that, in my humble opinion, these are really two different denominations of the same mountainous tract, at least, or part of it. These mountains are in general called *Dévanica* in the Hindu sacred books, because they were full of *Dévas* or gods, and holy *Rishis* and *Bráhmens*, who are emphatically called the gods of the earth, or *Bhu-dévas*. They lived, according to the *Puránas*, in bowers or huts, called *Parnasálas* or *Parnásas*, because they were made of leaves, for such is the Sanscrit expression, whilst we should say, built with twigs and branches. Indeed the leaves are the most conspicuous part, because in India when dry, they generally adhere still to the boughs they grew upon. The most celebrated amongst these *Parnásas* was that of the famous ATRI, whose history is closely connected with that of the *British* islands and other western regions. It was situated on an insulated hill, called in the *Puránas* *Meru*, and by the *Greeks* *Meros*. It is supposed by the Hindus to be a splinter from the larger *Meru*;¹ and that the gods come and reside upon it occasionally. Its situation was ascertained by the late Mr. FOSTER, by my friend MIRZA MOGUL BEG, and by P. MONSERRAT, who accompanied the Emperor ACBAR in his expedition to *Cabul* in the year 1581. It [497] is called to this day *Mer-coh* and *Mar-coh*, or the mountain of *Mer* or *Meru*; for in the spoken dialects, they often say *Mer* for *Meru*, and in the *Treloci-derpana*, we constantly read *Mer* for *Meru*. It is on the road between *Peishower* and *Jalálábád*; and about twenty-four miles from the latter, on the banks of the *Landi-Sindh* or *Cameh* river. It is now a bare rock, the river which formerly ran to the south of it, having carried away all the earth from the lower parts; and the earth above being no longer supported, was also washed away by the rains. From its dismal appearance, it was called *Bé-dowlat* by the Emperor HUMÁYUN. It looks like a single stone, without any fissure. It extends from the west to the east. It rises abruptly from the plain in which it stands; from the bottom to the top; P. MONSERRAT reckons about 2000 feet, and it is about six furlongs in length: its distance from the nearest hill is about three miles. The ground to the south and east is marshy, being the old bed of the river: to the west are seen several triangular entrances into caves. To the east at the distance of three miles, is a wretched village, called *Bissour* or *Bissowly* (*Bussowul* in Major RENNELL'S map), which about two hundred years ago was a pretty large town. To the west are the villages of *Ambárcánd* and *Battercôte*, close to which NÁDIRSHÁH encamped; and as

¹ Cf. F. WILFORD, *As. Res.*, VIII, (1805), p. 315.

there is no other encamping ground near this place for a numerous army, we may safely conclude this to be the very spot on which ALEXANDER encamped near the town of *Nysa*, which extended all round the mountain. Besides, his camp was near the sepulchres of the inhabitants, which were to the west of the mountain. . . .”¹

2. *Asiatick Researches*, VIII (1805), pp. 322–324. Art.: *An Essay on the Sacred Isles of the West*.

[322]. From *Mána-Sarovara*, or, according to the vulgar pronunciation, *Mán-saraur*, the lake of *Mána* or *Mánasa*, issues the *Ganges*. According to PURÁN-GIR, who accompanied the late LAMA to *China*, and had seen that lake in his way from *Lassa* to *Ládac*, it is called in *Tibet*, *Chu-Mápanh*, or the lake of *Mápanh*. In the LAMA'S map it is called *Mapama*: but PURÁN-GIR, a well-informed man, assured me that its name was *Mápanh*. It was probably written at first *Mapam* by *Portuguese Jesuits*, in whose language the letter M, at the end of a word, has a nasal sound, as it had in *Latin*, and is to be sounded like the letter N at the end of a word in *French* . . .

[324]. The lake of *Man-saraur* is mentioned in PLINY, as I observed before, and it is probably the same that is mentioned by CTESIUS, who says that it was eight hundred *stadia* in circumference. M. POLO describes it as to the west of *Tibet*, but does not mention its name. It is noticed by P. MONSERRAT, who accompanied the Emperor ACBAR in his expedition to *Cabul* in the year 1581. He calls it *Mánsaraur*, and, from the report of pilgrims, places it in thirty-two degrees of latitude north; and about three hundred and fifty miles to the north-east of *Serhind*.² The first *European* who saw it, was P. ANDRADA in the year 1624;³ and in the years 1715 and 1716, it was visited by the missionaries P. DESIDERIUS, and EMANUEL FREYER [*read*: Freyre].⁴

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 327–328.

The *Indus* was supposed formerly to have its source not far from *Mán-sarovara*, [328] which P. MONSERRAT places in thirty-two degrees of latitude north; and the source of the *Indus* in latitude $32^{\circ} 15'$, the difference of longitude between the source and the lake $1^{\circ} 45'$.

The difference of longitude between *Delhi*, and *Manasarovara* is according to MONSERRAT $5^{\circ} 12'$. This places *Mánsarovara* in $82^{\circ} 2'$ of longitude, and both its longitude and latitude are remarkably correct: but what is more surprising, the good father was ignorant that the *Ganges* issued from it.⁵ ABUL FAZIL places the source of the *Indus* nearly in the same latitude with *Cashmír*, but eighteen degrees to the eastward. . . .⁶

4. *Asiatick Researches*, IX (1807), p. 52. Art.: *An Essay on the Sacred Isles of the West, with other Essays*. . . .

In a short dissertation on Alexander's itinerary Wilford writes:

¹ Compare with *Mong. Legat. Comm.*, fol. 83a–84a.

² Cf. *Mong. Legat. Comm.*, foll. 4b.; 116b.

³ This is not at all proved. Rather the contrary. Cf. on the lake seen by Fr. Antonio de Andrade, S.J., C. WESSELS, S.J., *Antonio de Andrade*, reprinted from *De Studien*, Nijmegen, L. C. G. Malmberg, Jaargang XX [1912], LXXVII, Af. No. 4, p. 22.

⁴ It appears from CARLO PUINI'S *Il Tibet. . . secondo la relazione del P. Ippolito Desideri (1715–1721)*, Roma, 1904, that Desideri did not pass near Lake Manasarowar. He does not mention it.

⁵ Wilford is himself making a mistake here, unless he means the *Brahmaputra*, the course of which is not yet satisfactorily known.

⁶ The same calculations can be made from Monserrate's table of longitudes and latitudes in *Mong. Legat. Comm.*, fol. 3a–4b. The longitude of Delhi in *Mong. Leg. Comm.* is clearly $115^{\circ} 58'$, not $115^{\circ} 48'$, as Wilford must have read in his MS.

Thence [from *Rotas* or *Ruytas*], to the ferry over the *Jailam*, or *Béhat*, and *Alexandria-Bucephalos*, near which is a famous peak, called the mountain of the elephant, by PLUTARCH (*De flum.*). Its present name is *Bal*, *Bil*, or *Pil*, which, in Persian, signify an elephant. It is famous, all over the western parts of India, for its holiness, and its being the abode of numerous penitents; the chief of whom, as well as the deity of the place, is called BAL-NÁTH or BIL-NÁTH. It is generally called BAL-NÁTH-THILEH, or the mountain of the Lord BÁL; another name for it is *Joghion-di-tibbi*, or the tower of the *Joghis*.

[The reference to Monserrate is doubtful. Monserrate is not mentioned. He speaks of "Balnatque thile" at fol. 64a. 3 of our MS, and the anonymous commentator wrote in the margin: "Balnat ka Tile. Thilah [Thileh?—grass mum?]." The similarity of orthography between the anonymous commentator in *Mong. Legat. Comm.* and Wilford may be a mere coincidence. I may mention here that Wilford was in correspondence with the College of Fort William. On July 15th, 1805, the Council of Fort William ordered "that the thanks of the College be communicated to Capt. Francis Wilford for the valuable manuscripts in the Shanscrit language presented by him to the College of Fort William." Cf. *Asiatic Annual Register for 1806*, London, 1809, *sub* Bengal Occurrences, p. 27. Did Wilford, after all, present Monserrate's *Mongol. Legat. Commentarius* to Fort William College about this time?]

5. *Asiatick Researches*, IX (1807), pp. 57–58. Art.: *An Essay on the Sacred Isles of the West, with other Essays connected with that work.*

Father MONSERRAT, who accompanied the Emperor ACBAR, in his expedition to *Cabul*, says that that Emperor paid the greatest attention to the measurements of the roads, during his march; and that, instead of a common rope, he substituted *Bamboos*, joined together by iron links. He then says, that there were twenty six and one-fourth, of these *Cos.* to [58] one degree: each *Cos* consisted, of course, of 13911. 77 feet or 4637. 26 yards.¹

6. *Asiatick Researches*, IX (1807), pp. 211–215. Art.: *Vicramaditya and Salivahana.*

... This account of ŠÁLIVÁHANA'S Dynasty at *Dillí*, and at so late a period, however strange, is not entirely groundless. TIEFFENTHALER, in his account of Subah *Dillí*, mentions two kings of that name, on [212] the authority of some Persian writers, whom he does not name. I saw the good old man, at *Lucknow*, in the year 1784. He was a man of austere manners, and incapable of deceit. His list of the kings of the *Tomára* and *Chochan* tribes at *Dillí*, has certainly much affinity with those in the *Ayin-Acberi* (vol. 2, p. 62): and the *Kholassey ul-Tawáric* and FERISITA'S account of the Subhas of *India*, are most likely the sources from which the good father draw his information; but as these tracts are not at present within my reach, I cannot ascertain this point.

The *Bhats*, or *Bhatties*, who live between *Dillí* and the *Panjáb*, insist that they are descended from a certain king, called ŠÁLIVÁHANA, who had three sons, BHAT, MAYA, or MOYE, and THAIMÁZ, or THÁMÁZ. MOYE settled at *Pattyálch*, and either was a *Thánovi* or *Thawoni*, or had a son thus called. When AMIR TIMUR invaded *India*, he found, at *Toglocpoor*, to the N.-W. of *Dillí*, a tribe called *Soloun* or *Salwan*, who were *Thanovis* or *Manicheans*; and these he ordered to be massacred, and their town to be burned (DEGUIGNES, *History of the Huns*, vol. 5,

¹ Cf. *Mong. Legat. Comm.*, fol. 45a. 1 on the "decempeda." There is no allusion there to bamboos joined by iron links.

p. 50.)¹ ŚĀLIVĀHANA is generally pronounced ŚĀLWAN and Śalban in the west, and NIEBUHR calls him SHAH-LEWAN.

The MANICHEANS were Christians; and when FATHER MONSERRAT was at *Dillī*, at the court of ACBAR, he was informed, that near that metropolis, and to the S.-W. of it, and of course at *Toglockabad*, near the palace of PITHAURA, the usual residence of the ancient kings of that city, there were certain tombs which were asserted to be those of some ancient princes of *Dillī*, who were Christians, and lived a little before the invasion of the Musulmans.² If these tombs really [213] existed, they did not belong to the Hindus, who never erect any; they could hardly belong to the Musulmans, for it is scarcely possible that they should be mistaken by Musulmans; since the tombs of those among them, who fell in battle, or otherwise died, in the beginning of their invasions, are looked upon as places of worship; and those entombed there are considered, either as martyrs, or saints. In speaking of the tombs, and other monuments or events in *India*, FATHER MONSERRAT says, with much candour, 'I was told so in that country,' or 'I was assured of it by respectable persons; but whether it be so or not, I cannot further say.' He explains himself in these terms, with regard to thirteen figures, in basso relievo, upon the rocks of *Gwalior*, which he visited in his way from *Surat* to *Dillī*, and which were supposed, by Christians in *India*, to represent our Saviour and his twelve disciples; one figure in the middle being a little higher than the rest. MONSERRAT says, that they were so much defaced, that no inference could be drawn from them, except their being thirteen in number (p. 164).³ The foregoing particulars, concerning the *Bhats*, ŚĀLIVĀHANA and his three sons, I obtained from an intelligent native, whom I sent to survey the countries to the N.-W. of *Dillī*. He was employed, on that service, from the year 1786 till 1796; and, in the year 1787, he was in the country of the *Bhats*. His instructions were, to inquire particularly into the geographical state of these countries; and, whenever he could find an opportunity to make inquiries also into their history and antiquities. At that time I knew very little about ŚĀLIVĀHANA, and was still less interested in his history; and of course that ancient prince was not mentioned to him; and the knowledge which he obtained, concerning him, among the *Bhats*, was merely accidental, and by no means in consequence of any previous directions from me.⁴

[214]. The Heresy of the *Manicheans* spread all over the western parts of *India*, and into *Ceylon*, at a very early period, in consequence of violent persecutions in Persia, during which the followers of MANES fled, in great numbers, and at different times, into *India*: and it is even highly probable, that MANES remained a long time concealed in that country, in the fort of *Arabion*, on the eastern banks of the river *Strangha*, now called *Chitrang* and *Caggar*. The *Mesopotamia* here mentioned by ARCHELAUS the Bishop, is the five *Antarvédis*, or *Mesopotamias* of the *Panjáb*, commonly called the five *Bhéds* or *Bhedies*; and STRABO, speaking of the *Bhed*, or *Antarvédi*, between the *Chináb* and the *Jellam*, says, "in this *Mesopotamia*," and here the pronoun *this* has an obvious reference to the several *Bheds* or *Mesopotamias* of the *Panjáb*. This river *Strangha* is called *Saranges* by ARRIAN; and the *Chitrangh*, flowing from the northern

¹ For Monserrate's theory that there were Christian kings at Delhi in Timūr's time, cf. *Mong. Legat. Comm.*, foll. 129b. 5-130a. 1. 2. 3.

² Cf. *Mong. Legat. Comm.*, foll. 23a.1, 56a. 2, where these tombs are not, however, alluded to. Still, I do not doubt, that Monserrate mentioned them in the MS. which was in Wilford's possession. Monserrate does not say in our MS. that Delhi was Akbar's court, nor does he state that Akbar resided at Delhi. The information he received must have been obtained while he passed through Delhi on his way to and from Afghanistan.

³ Cf. *Mong. Legat. Comm.*, fol. 17b. The pagination in Wilford's MS. (p. 164) does not agree with that in ours.

⁴ It is important to note that Wilford had learned prudence and circumspection after he had found out how some Brahman Pandits had shamelessly deceived him in other points of research. Cf. *As. Res.*, VIII, 247 sqq.

hills, passes to the westward of *St'hánu-sar* or *Thánu-sar*, at some distance from which the water is absorbed by the sands; yet the vestiges of its ancient bed may be traced as far as Bacar on the Indus. The report of my native surveyor, concerning this river, is also confirmed by the report of GENERAL THOMAS, in his Memoirs (p. 164). There were *Bhats*, or *Bhattis*, in that country long before the arrival of MANES; for PTOLEMY, in the beginning of the third century, takes notice, in that country, of two considerable towns, obviously denominated after them. The first is *Bata-nagra*, or *Bhat-nagara*, the town of the *Bhats*. *Bhat-neré* is the vulgar pronunciation of it; but the present town of *Bhat-neré* is not the same with the *Bhat-nagara* of PTOLEMY, which was to the westward of the river *Beyah*, and is probably the town called *Bhat tyaleh*. The other place mentioned by PTOLEMY is *Batan-cai-sera*, a compound [215] name; and in the true idiom of the Hindi language, *Bhatton-ki-sara*, or *Bhatton-ca-sara*, the pool of the *Bhats*.... From the situation assigned to it by PTOLEMY, I suppose it to be the same place which is called *Bhattinda*, to the N.-N.-E. of *Bhat-neré*. The *Bhattis* are shepherds, and various tribes of them are found in the Panjáb; and they also inhabit the high grounds to the East of the *Indus*, from the sea to *Uch*. These tribes are called *Ashambhetty* in the *Ayin-Acbari*; but several well-informed men, who had long resided in that country, say, that the true pronunciation is *Acsham-Bhatti*; which implies the many troops, or bands, of the *Bhattis*; because they go by troops, selected from various tribes or families.

MANES gave himself out as the CHRIST, and had also twelve disciples; and, in the character of Christ, he became *ŚÁLIVÁHANA* in *India*. He had three disciples, exalted above the rest, and their names were BUDDA or ADDAS, HERMAS or HERMIAS, and THOMAS, which I conceive to be the same with BHAT, MAYA or MOYE, and THAIMÁZ or THÁMÁZ, the supposed sons, or rather disciples, of *ŚÁLIVÁHANA*. In the seventh century, there were Christians at *Serinda*, or *Ser-Hind*, with a monastery; and two monks from that place, at the command of the Emperor JUSTINIAN carried silk-worms, or rather their eggs, to *Constantinople*.¹

[216]. The compiler of the list, brought from *Assam* by the late DR. WADE, was well informed, with regard to the last blow given to this dynasty of *Manicheans*, by AMIR-TIMUR, in the remains of a feeble tribe of them, at *Toglock-poor*. But it is much more reasonable, I think, to place the overthrow of that dynasty in the latter end of the twelfth century.²

¹ Wells Williams (*The Middle Kingdom*, 4th edn., New York, 1871, II. 290), thinks that the two monks, probably Nestorians, who brought eggs of silk-worms to Constantinople in 552, came from China, where they had resided and which they were not the first nor the only ones to have evangelized. According to Priaulx, *Indian Embassies to Rome*, 126, an embassy, said to be Indian, and bringing gifts to the Emperor Justinian, reached Constantinople in 530. Cf. C. MABEL DUFF, *The Chronology of India*, Westminster, Constable, 1899, p. 40. Fr. Felix (*Catholic Calendar and Directory for the Archdiocese of Agra . . . for the year 1908*, App., p. 24) writes in the same way as Wilford. "[The existence of Christians in Northern India] is moreover corroborated by what we read in Zonare, *Life of Justinian*, that there was in Serhinda or Serinda (Punjab), in the sixth century A.D., a seminary for the Christians, and that two monks from that place, at the command of the Emperor Justinian, brought silk-worms and eggs to Constantinople." He refers to *Recherches historiques sur les peuples anciens* par L'ABBE DES-ROCHES, p. 835.

² This discussion on Manes and the Manicheans runs on till p. 219. It occupies also a large part of F. Wilford's *Origin and Decline of the Christian Religion in India* in *Asiatick Researches*, X (1808), pp. 69 *sqq.*, especially p. 71. At p. 218, *As. Res.*, IX, p. 218, there is question again of the list brought by the "late" Dr. Wade from Assam, according to which there appeared towards the latter end of the 9th century another *S'aliváhana* in the country about Delhi.

Wilford, a man whose erudition was beyond question, is bewildering in his accumulation of facts and names, and the lack of proper references makes it almost impossible to check his utterances. The impression produced on most of his readers is that he is extravagant in his theories. I do not speak here of his earlier studies, when he was imposed upon by some native Pandits, but of the later ones, such as those referred to here, and I am often inclined to think that in many matters Wilford is ahead even of our own times. The pity is that no

7. *Asiatick Researches*, XI (1810), p. 73, Art.: *Essay on the Sacred Isles of the West*.

The town of Sám̄ba is very little known to us, and even to the natives. It is mentioned, however, by Father MONSERRAT, who accompanied the Emperor ACBAR in his expedition to *Cabul* in the year 1581. The emperor, and his army, passed in sight of *Sám̄ba*, which was then garrisoned by his troops; and MONSERRAT places it 13 minutes of long. to the east of *Jummoo*, and 21 minutes, or geographical miles, to the north of it. It cannot be far from the *Chináb*.¹

one has tackled this subject of early Christianity in Northern India, either in proof or disproof of Wilford's statements.

I do not see on what authority Wilford asserts that Manes was called S'áliváhana. What is extraordinary is that the man whom Wilford sent into the country of the Bhatas should have mentioned the names of three sons of one S'áliváhana, one of whom at least, Thaimáz or Thamáz, a name un-Indian in appearance, is identical in form with that of Thomas, one of Manes' disciples. The identification of Bhat with Buddha or Addas, and of Maya or Moye with Hermias or Hermas is less convincing.

It is true that in Timúr's time there were at Tughlikpur near Delhi, and in many parts of India, *e.g.*, at Bhatnir, Mirat, Nagarkot, in the Sawálik Hills and Kashmir, people called Gabrs, Magi (*sanawíya*), or Sálun. Sometimes these Gabrs seem to be confounded with the Hindús as infidels; but, in many places they are clearly distinguished from them and represented as worshipping two gods, one called Yazdán, the other Ahriman, whom they typified by light and darkness. They supposed all good to proceed from the one, and all evil from the other. Cf. ELLIOTT'S *Hist. of India*, s.v. Gabrs, (especially in the *Zafar-náma*), III, 497. In the *Maljuzát-i Timúri* we find: "From the information supplied to me I learned that these people were called *Sanawí* (fire-worshippers). Many of this perverse creed believe that there are two gods. One is called Yazdán, and whatever they have of good, they believe to proceed from him. The other god they call Ahriman, and whatever sin and wickedness they are guilty of they consider Ahriman to be the author of." (Cf. ELLIOTT, *ibid.*, III, 431.) Many of these men had been expelled from Khurasan (*ibid.*, V. Note C. *On fire-worship in India*, pp. 559-570).

Whether these people were Zoroastrians or Manicheans is not settled. We do not expect, however, that Pársis should have been settled so far inland in large communities, as were those of the Sanawis. Even if the Sanawis or Gabrs were Manicheans, it could scarcely have been appropriate to call them Christians. If it be suggested that, in Monserrate's time, the term Gabrs was sometimes applied by Muhammadans to Christians (cf. *ibid.*, V, 562 n. 4), whence Monserrate might have concluded to the existence of Christians in Timúr's time, we answer that he identifies the Gabraí or Gabrs with the Pársis, whom he is inclined to identify in turn with the Jews (fol. 8a. 1). Yet, it would seem that it is these very Gabrs who have been taken for Christians by later writers than Monserrate. Paulinus a S. Bartholomæo writes in his *India Orientalis Christiana*, pp. 175-176: "Circa annum 1209 quo Gingham Chan Tibeti regnum invasit, adhuc ducentum circiter millia Christianorum in regno Tibet, in Turkestan, in Corasan, atque in Indica urbe Cabul, Cashemir, et Lahur versabantur. . . Gingham Chano successit Timur in India circa annum 1409., promovendae sectae Muhamedanae ardore flagrantissimus. Is a[b] hominum memoria omnium crudelissimus uno decreto, et una fere hora centum circiter mille Indos indigenas, inter quos non pauci Christiani ad urbem Delhy in India interfecit. Vide *Histoire de Timur-Bec, Ecrite en Persan par Cherefuddin-Aly, traduite en François par Mr. Petit de la Croix* tom III. Cap. 18, pag. 89-90." The reference to the last author is properly Tom. II, Bk. IV, ch. XVII (A.D. 1398), where we find the term "Guebres."

For the existence of a Christian King at Delhi, named David, Monserrate quotes the authority of St. Antoninus. *Pars III Summae Historiarum*. All I can say is that our Indian historians know no such king, in Timúr's or Chiughiz Khau's time. Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1912, p. 207, n. 11. See, however, Yule's *Cathay and the way thither*, I, 175, text and n. 2, where Eccard, *Corpus Historic*, II, 1451, mentions a Christian king of the Tartars, called David.

The following bibliographical references from de Leou Pinelo's *Epitome de la Bibl. Oriental*, Madrid, 1737, I. Cols. 51-52, would point to some of "those reports of Prester John... circulated throughout Europe, and surviving in many continental libraries." (YULE, *l.c.*, I, 175.) "Maestro Jacobo, Obispo Achorense, Carta à Valtero Villaviense i los Hermanos de Ogmues. de lo que sucedió a los Christianos en la Tierra Santa; i de los prosperos, i casi increíbles Sucesos del Rei de los Indios David, que Juau de Viago llama Preste Juan, M.S. está en la Libreria de Leida, segun su Catologo, fol. 375.

"Carta de David, Rei de la India, despues de la Historia Hierosolimitana, M.S. en la misma Libreria, i por el mismo Jacobo, fol. 327." Compare also the next number with Yule, *ibid.*, I, 175, n. 3. Nearly the whole of de Leon Pinelo's vol. I. cols. 51-52 is devoted to curious accounts of this mysterious Prester Jolu.

¹ Samba is mentioned in *Mong. Legat. Comm.*, foll. 4b, 62a. 1, 2.

8. *Asiatick Researches*, XIV (1822), p. 454, Art.: *On the Ancient Geography of India*.

The *Portuguese* maps exhibit only four rivers on that coast [of Arakan]: that of *Chutgánh*; the *Chocoriá*, to be pronounced *Khocoriá*; the river and gulf of *Rámea*, and the river of *Arácan*. The gulf of *Ramu*, now called the bay of *Cruzcool*, has a considerable river, that falls into it, called *Mushcolley*, after which is denominated the opposite island, but called by our seafaring *Mascal*, this appellation being more familiar to them; but in the *Portuguese* maps, there is no name affixed to it. The name of the island to the north of this, is *Cuccura-dwipa*, but in the spoken dialects *Cuccur-divá* or *Cuccur-diá*, or the island of dogs. In these dialects a dog is generally called *Cut'á*; and from *Cut'á-dwip* I suspect they have made *Cuttub-deá*. There is a place in it called *Cukerá-hanscrá*, which, the pilots say, signifies *Dog-swimming Creak*. It is called *Quoquor-divá* by LINDSCHOT in his map of India, and *Cuccuri-divá* by F. MONSERRAT.¹

9. *Journ. As. Soc. Beugal*, XX (1852), p. 242, Art.: *Essay on the Ancient Geography of India*.

D'Herbelot says, that Deibul (or Táthá) [in the Delta of the Indus] was besieged in vain by Solimán, the second king of Persia; but I find no such king in the history of that country.

In the latter end of the reign of Akbar, it was besieged by his general Khán-Khánán with a numerous army; the siege lasted six months; but after a most obstinate resistance it was taken. This town could not have been the present Thátthá, which could not have held out so long: but it was Táthá, or Deibel, which was so strong, on account of its insular situation. It was called Sháh-bandar, or the royal emporium, in honour of Akbar. In some old Portuguese maps, it is simply called Bandel for Bandar, and in Father Monserrat's map of India it is placed, exactly half way, between the mouth of the western branch of the Indus and Thátthá.² The denomination Sháh-bandar seems to be unknown to Hindu pilgrims, and is used only by Musulmans who never use that of Nagar-Táthá, except when applied to Thátthá.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 247-248.

In the bay [opposite the Delta of the Indus] there are several small rocky islets, three of which are particularly noticed by pilgrims; the largest is called *Ráma-Zaroca*, or the observatory, or watching place of Rāma-Chandra, who erected a *Zarocá* upon it. *Jaroc'ha*, or rather *Dzeroc'ha*, in Sanskrit Jálaca, is a latticed window, for the sake of observing, what is going on abroad, also a peeping hole. By the *Zaroc'has* of Rāma, Lacshma'na, etc., the pilgrims understand certain mounds, or raised platforms, either natural or artificial, for the above purpose, and in this sense it is synonymous with *Seirungah* in Persian. According to Father Monserrat, the largest of these islets was called *Camelo* by the Portuguese; and the three principal ones *Monaras*, or the turrets, from the Arabic *Minára*, and opposite to them is a small branch of the Indus. He does not say positively, that he had been there himself; but I believe that this was the case. The several passages relating to this place stand thus, "*Canthi Naustathmus sorgi douro [sic] das Monaras, statio pro turribus dicitur juxta Monaras. . . . Canthi Naustathmus stationi respondet scopulorum, qui pro Indi hostio eminent, et vulgo dicitur Monaras, h. (hoc est) turres vel pyramides ab Arabibus accepto vocabulo.*

"Extra ostium Indi insulæ Chrysé, et Argyré necubi apparent. Imminet tamen, nostrá

¹ "In an autograph MS. of the author, in my possession. The *Padre* wrote about the year 1590, in the prisons of SENNA in Arabia." [F. W.]—There is no parallel passage in *Mong. Legat. Comm.*

² It is similarly marked in the map of *Mong. Legat. Comm.*

memoriâ, deserta quædam insula et perexigua, quam vocant *Cameli*, ex adverso hostii amnis: sed ea saxum ingens, exors auri argentique.” Here the words *nostrâ memoriâ* are, in my opinion, to be rendered, *I recollect, etc.*, and imply, that he had been there.¹ The original MS. is in my possession.

The bay was called Rio de Pilotes, or the Pilot river by the Portuguese, who had always some of them stationed there, in order to conduct their ship over the *bars* of the Indus, and their ships remained there at anchor, waiting for a proper opportunity, and it is called for that reason *Naustathmus* by Ptolemy. This place is styled the harbour of *Hermes* by Hayton the Armenian, who mistakes [248] Râma for Hermes, an ancient sage. It is designated also by the appellation of Ram, in the treaties of peace concluded between Nâdir Shâh, and the emperor of India; and by that of Râmgar, *Coyâr*, or Couhbâr in the Ayin-Acberi. Our pilgrims, having visited in a boat the *Zerocá* of Ram, cross over to the other side of the bay, and after a march of eight or nine cos, about 15 or 17 miles, they arrive on the banks of the river *Háb*, which they cross, dress their food, and sleep there. There is about one foot of water in it, during the dry season; its bed is broad, and it is a pretty large river during the rains. Its bed is full of large rounded stones called *Gallets* by Buffon. Its current is rapid, and makes a considerable noise among the stones. It was called *Ab-Indos* by the Portuguese, and in some maps *Obandos*, or the Indian *Háb*; and by Father Monserrat *Ab Indorum rivus* in Latin.²

11. *Ibid.*, p. 266.

From the longitude, and latitude assigned to *Cáraichi* [Karâchi], and the three next mouths of the Indus by Father Monserrat,³ their respective distances are as follows:—

Canthi—*naustathmus stationi, respondet Scopulorum qui pro Indi ostio eminet.* This he calls also in Portuguese *Sorgidouro das monaras*, and from it to the mouth of *Sagapa* called *Barra d' Ormuz*, he reckons four nautical miles and a half: thence to that called *Sinthus* or *Barra do Guzarate* nine miles: to the *Aureum ostium*, or *Barra do Gemal* a little more than eighteen miles. Gemal is probably the name of the Musulman saint, entombed on the eastern shore of the bay of Rishál.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 269.

Father Monserrat says, that a small island, with other rocks, rises very high just before the mouth of the Indus, meaning a branch of it. It is called *Camelo*,⁴ and is a large rock, and there the river runs directly east and west. Those rocks, says he, from their altitude are called *Towers*, and *Monaras* (for Minars) by the Arabs; in whose language *Monara* (Minára) signifies a tower, or pyramid.⁵ This station, for the shipping, is called by the Portuguese *Rio dos Pilotos*. On one of these rocky islands, Alexander erected altars to Tethys, and the Ocean, according to Diodorus the Sicilian.

¹ Monserrate's map in *Mong. Legat. Comm.* notices the island *Camelus*, 'Camelus insula.'—There is nothing to prove that M. visited the Delta of the Indus or other parts of India marked on his map, e.g. Bengal. In the list of longitudes and latitudes in *Mong. Legat. Comm.* he notices only those places through which he passed. Now, Bengal and the Delta of the Indus are omitted there. Since M. intended his Bk. II to be a treatise of geography for the whole of India, it is clear that he used other materials than his own.—“*Nostrâ memoriâ*” may mean “to our own day.”

² In the map of *Mong. Legat. Comm.* we have *Ab Indi*.

³ Karachi is not mentioned in *Mong. Legat. Comm.*, nor is there any parallel passage to what follows.

⁴ *Camelo* appears also as a river in the old Portuguese maps. Cf. F. WILFORD, *ibid.*, p. 258.

⁵ No parallel passage in our MS.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 271.

But let us return to Nearchus, whom we left at Coreestés, or Cáraichi, called also *Carcede* by the Portuguese formerly. There he had been obliged to cut through the bar, at the mouth of the river, during the tide. . . . From this place they reached *Crocala*, after a course of 150 stadia, or nine miles; but 20 Roman, or 18½ British miles, according to Pliny. It was a sandy island which, I suppose, was at the mouth of the river *Háb*; and of which I took notice before. Father Monserrat, in his MS. map, says, that there was a bay at its mouth, and writes opposite to it in Spanish, *Enseada dos Ab-undos capar sellada*, the last two words of which I do not understand.¹ *Crocala* is probably derived from *Colcala*, or *Corcala* in the spoken dialects, or the river of noises. This river *Háb* is the *Hyphasis* of Philostratus, who says, that it runs through a narrow bed, full of stones, and falls into the sea with a dreadful noise. This account is greatly exaggerated, as may be supposed. This *Háb* is also the river *Arabus*, or *Arbis* of Q. Curtius, who says, that Alexander crossed it on the fifth day from Pathala; four days after which he crossed the real *Háb*: but the passage from that author is certainly obscure.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 473.

The *Arbis* or *Arabis* is called *Carbis* by Æthicus: and to this day it is denominated *Háb* and *Cáb*. It is the *Cophes* of Pliny, as will appear hereafter. El Edrisi mentions the country of *Araba*, and Father Monserrat says, that the river was called in his time *Arba*, and also *Háb*; for he takes particular notice of the Indian *Ab*, or *Háb*.¹

15. *Ibid.*, XX (1852), pp. 480–481.

The Geography of this country [W. of the Delta of the Indus] is so little known, that we cannot proceed, but with little diffidence. The old maps of the Portuguese disagree; and transpositions are constantly to be met with. This seems to be a fatality, attending all surveys of that coast, not even excepting the most recent ones, from the Gulf of Cutch toward the west. The best map, in my opinion, is that of João Texeira, [481] Geographer to the King of Portugal; which was published in the year 1649; and is to be found in Melch. Thevenot's collection of travels. It is unfortunately upon a small scale, and of course not sufficiently explicit. The river *Caorica* is the western branch of the *Háb*, more accurately delineated and placed in the map of these countries, inserted in Lindschot's travels. The next river is the *Camelo*, or *Haur*: then comes a river without name to the east of the Cape *Arubah*, which really exists according to our modern surveys. This cape is styled there, the point of islands, and the bay to the west of it, the harbour of islands, with a river at the bottom of it. Between this and Cape Guadel, our author has placed three rivers. *Palamate*, or *Palamen*, *Calamete* or *Calamen*, and near Cape Guadel, the river of *Noutagues*, from a tribe of that name, called *Naytagues* by Manuel de Faria, and *Noytagues* or *Noytag* by Father Monserrat: and this river by both, is placed to the N.-E. of Cape Guadel, not very far from it, and seemingly a little to the eastward of the eastern bay.² I suspect a transposition with regard to the rivers *Calamen* and *Palamen*:³ we have ascertained the situation of the river of the *Noytagues*; and there is no

¹ No parallel passage in our MS.

² No parallel passage in our MS.

³ For the change of *K* to *P* which might make *Palamen* equal to *Calamen*, Cf. *Indian Antiquary*, 1893, pp. 19: 326. We ask with much diffidence whether this *Calamen* could be the long lost *Calamina* of the Martyrologies, where St. Thomas the Apostle was martyred.

doubt, but, that the *Calamen* or *Calama* river is the nearest to Cape *Árubáh*: the Palamen of course will fall in a little to the westward of Cape Passence; and will answer to the place called *Balonus* by Nearchus; and is probably the river *Ponamus* of Pliny, for *Polamus*. It was, says he, a navigable river on the confines of the Pandæ. This tribe is mentioned by Manuel de Faria under the name of Abindos or Obandos and they were the friends and allies of the Noytags. In another place Monserrat either calls them, or a tribe of them, Heytag;¹ and the pilot, whom Nearchus found at Mosarna in their country and who was called Hydrakes, was perhaps a Heytag. The additional R is no uncommon circumstance; thus instead of Teiz or Teasa, Lt. Porter has Tearsa.

I think the Pandæ, or Bandæ of Pliny are nearer to the true pronunciation; and that the Portuguese were misled by the affinity with Abindos, a river to the East of Cape Múdán, which Monserrat calls in Latin *Ab Indorum rivus*, or the Indian *Háb*.

APPENDIX C.

MONSERRATE'S MAP OF INDIA.

Though Monserrate's map has been reproduced to about double the size of the original, I feel it incumbent on me to help the reader in reading Monserrate's diminutive writing, a task by no means easy to myself who dispose of the original. Throughout I shall adhere to Monserrate's spelling.

The four cardinal points can easily be read: *Aquilo*, *Auster* (of which the top part is still traceable in the original), *Oriens*, *Occidēs*. The Tropic of Cancer (*Circulus Cancrī*) looks, at a first glance, as if it divided the paper into unequal portions containing disconnected parts of India.

The degrees of longitude lie between 106° and 125°; the degrees of latitude between 15° and 36°.

Monserrate used three different inks: a very dark ink for the coastlines and place-names; red ink for the rivers and their names; a brownish ink for the mountain-ranges.

Provinces.—Proceeding from S. to N., and W. to E., the following provinces are marked: Cynca; Decā; Gusarate pars; Gedrosiæ pars; Malva prouincia; Ariæ pars; Indvstan; Arachosiæ pars; Lahvrina prouincia; Pahorapanisadis pars; Casmir: in *Thibet* (written in pencil by the anonymous commentator): Both, et Bothant; Chabvl Reg[um].

Mountain Ranges.—Avaz mons; Vindivs mons (W. of Fathpur); Imavs (written twice): Caspvs (written twice); Paharhvætv; Paharopanisvs.

The mountains, not considered as ranges, will be noticed lower down in italics.

Rivers.—The rivers are: two rivers near Goa; a river near Tana; one near Bassain (these four are nameless); the Taphi f[lumen] near Surate; Naruada f.; Machipara f.; the Indus Delta and Ab Indi; Riuulus Naroari flowing into the Samballus f., an affluent of the Indus (cf. fol. 3b); the Jamona, Jomanes f. (with its tributaries: Riuulus Delini, Riuulus Carnar) joining the Ganges at Jauza paya. The other rivers marked are all affluents of the

¹ No parallel passage in our MS.

Indus: Ambala f.; Satanulge or Zaradrus f.; Beha or Bibasis f.; the Raoy passing through Lahur (nameless); the next river, which is not marked, should be the Cingaro (cf. foll. 3*b*. and 6*b*. 4); next the Nani f., an affluent of the Chenao (cf. fol. 62*a*. 2); the Chenao or Sandabalis f., an affluent with the Riuulus Ruytasij of the Behet or Jehlam; the Jehlam which makes a large bend to the N.W. On turning the map round, one reads: *Fontes Bydaspis*, i.e. the Behet or Jehlam (cf. fol. 62*b*. 3). Next, Riuulus Rauadi; Riuulus Gagaris; a secondary bed of the Indus. On the right bank of the Indus, the Coas f. with its affluent the Suastus f.

Lakes.—Only one lake is marked: Māsariör lacus in Tibet. Above it, Monserrate wrote in red ink: *Hic dicuntur christiani habitare*. To the right of the lake appears twice the letter *f*, which should mean: *fluvius*. These two rivers are neither the Sutlej, nor the Indus, nor the Ganges, according to Monserrate. They are nowhere mentioned in the text. I thought I could read near the lower *f*. the name Adris [=the Raoy or Ravi, otherwise not named in the map]; but, this supposition is negatived by the longitude 116° 7½' assigned to the source of the Raoy (cf. fol. 3): hence, I propose to read [Mansar]auris f. It is impossible to guess what the other river might be.

East Coast, Bengal, Bihár, Oudh.—Proceeding from S. to N., we find: Pila.i. (perhaps, Pilapo .i. ?), where the .i. would seem to stand for *insula*; unfortunately, no island is to be found in that direction and Motupalli, Repalli—places in the neighbourhood of Masulipatam—are not likely guesses. Perhaps it might be “Petepolle,” for which cf. the map in *Voyage au Capiteyn William Hawkins*. Leyden, P. Vander Aa, 1706, Vol. The ☉ above it should mean a town. Next: Ponta de Massulapatā; Masulapatam; Guduguri; Jagarnat; Pōta (?) das Palmeyras; Gallorū insula [Cocks' Island]; Chaudecan. Going up the Hugli (not named), we meet: Ragora; Bethor; Goli [Hugli]; Satagam; Tanda. Higher up, at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamona (?): Jauza paya [Allahābād?]. The Ganges is shown as coming from the Imaus (*fontes gāgis*), and passing by Patana and Agipur, which makes us think either of the Gogra or the Gandak. On the Jamona (!), to the westward: Junipur [Jaunpur]. North of Goli, Monserrate's geography of Bengal, Bihár and Oudh is strikingly unsatisfactory, a proof that he did not come to Bengal. These places are not marked, either, in the table of longitudes and latitudes.

West Coast.—Along the West Coast from Goa to the Delta of the Indus, we read to the left of the coast-line:—

Goa; Xeul; Tana; Bassain; Danu; Daman; Couleca; Balsar; Nausari; Surate; Cambaiet; frons & insula Dionisia [Diu]; Ponta do Sul; Ponta da Jaquete do Norte; Camelus ins[ula]. Within the Delta of the Indus: Bandel; Tata metrop[olis].

Along the West Coast from Goa to Surate, to the right of the coast-line:—

Sanqu[i]li mons; to the right of the word DE = /CA: *Huius e regione sunt duo iuga: Sanguissa, Carnala*; near Xeul: *Argao mons*; [Ca]ranja insula; Salseti insula; *Camon mons; Assari mons*; near Dana: *Rupes fastigiata*; near Daman: *Tres Cumuli; Paharnerâ*; Gandiui, on the coast below Nausari; Bearâ.

From Surate to Fathpur and Agra:—*Right bank of the Taphi*: Cossumba; Vasarai; *Left bank*: Dayta; *Right bank*: Cucuramunda; Peaz; Talaudha; Sultāpur; Rha; Auaz; *Left bank*: Cradha; Chitiuara; Brandpur; *beyond the sources of the Taphi*: Piazner (?); Cendua [Sindwa].

On the *Naruada*: Bamanq̄ gā [=the village of the Brahmaṇs]; Confluxus (marked by a stroke perpendicular to the river); *Left bank*: Surana; *on the river*: Ramamq̄ janangam (?) [=the village of Rana's birth].

North of the Naruada: Mandhou; Coius torrēs; Dectan.

North of the Machipara: Usen.

On the Paharbati: Left bank: Sannareá; Right bank: Sarangpur.

Between the Paharbati and Riuulus Naroaris: Bersea; Pimpaldar; Siurange; Saddoa; Coilaraz; Cypirî.

Next: Naroar; Varásarai; Goulier; Commariâ; Daulpur; Fathpur.

From Fathpur to Qhabul: Bal; Matura; Anumanth; Delinû; Sonipat; Panipat; Carnar; Tanissar; Bad; Vadus Ambalæ, indicated by a stroke perpendicular to the river; Gagaq sarai; East: Satcombe.

Sarind; Pael; Machiuara; West: Ludiana and Sultanpur.

Dungari; West: Gouindiar and Gãdiuá.

Pachangari; East, near the sources of the Zaradrus: Concarq gam.

Calanur; East: Nagarcott and Pargana peytá; West: Lahur, Xergar.

Chunigacarq sarai; East: Samba.

Qhunja and Saddari, on the right bank of the Chenao or Sandabalis; East: Mancot and Jamúdib.

*Balnat (only *Baln* legible): Ruytas (only *tas* legible).*

Obeliscus Rhâchandi; opposite a triangle in pencil by the anonymous commentator: N.B. and a hand pointing to the obelisk.

Rhauadû; Gagar; Nilabh, Azara.

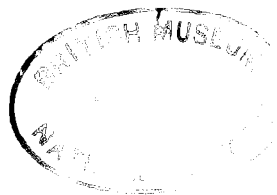
On the right bank of the Coas: Oppidum rixæ; Saygi; Pirxaur; Caybar gate, opposite a triangle; Caybar; Bissaur et Beedaulat, opposite a triangle; South: Baala mons.

Gelalabad; Albaric; Qhabul.

THE END.

PRESENTED

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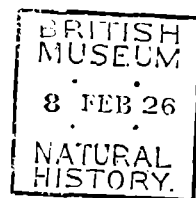
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