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CONTENTS OF VOLUME NINETEEN.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

	PAGE
ART. I.—On the Language of the so-called Kāfirs of the Indian Caucasus. By the Rev. ERNEST TRUMPP, D.Phil., Missionary of the Church Missionary Society - - -	1
ART. II.—Temperature of Constantinople - - - -	30
ART. III.—Memorandum on the Non-existence of “True Slates” in India generally, and, especially with reference to the Slabs of the Kurnool District, Madras Presidency, showing to what purposes they could be applied. By T. OLDHAM, Esq., Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India - - - - -	31
ART. IV.—Abstract of Reports on the Cultivation of Imphee in the Bombay Presidency, for the Year 1860. By N. A. DALZELL, Esq., Superintendent of Forests. Communicated by the Secretary of State for India - - -	39
ART. V.—Translation from the original Arabic of a History or Journal of the Events which occurred during Seven Expeditions in the Land of Kānim, against the Tribes of Bulāla, &c., by the Sultan of Burnū, Idris the Pilgrim, Son of 'Ali; preceded by some Details of the Sultan's Ancestors. Translated by J. W. REDHOUSE, Esq. Communicated by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs - - - - -	43
ART. VI.—Assyrian Texts Translated. By H. F. Talbot, Esq.	124
ART. VII.—Assyrian Texts Translated. By H. F. TALBOT, Esq.	135
ART. VIII.—Translation from the original Arabic of an Account of many Expeditions conducted by the Sultan of Burnū, Idris the Pilgrim, Son of 'Ali, against various Tribes his Neighbours, other than the Bulāla, &c., Inhabitants of	

	PAGE
the Land of Kānim. Translated by J. W. REDHOUSE, Esq., and communicated by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs - - - - -	199
ART. IX.—Assyrian Texts Translated. By H. F. TALBOT, Esq.	261
ART. X.—On the Indian Embassies to Rome from the Reign of Claudius to the Death of Justinian. By OSMOND DE BEAUVOIR PRIAULX, Esq. - - - - -	274
ART. XI.—Verses from the Sarva-darśana-sangraha, the Vishnu Purāna, and the Rāmāyana, illustrating the tenets of the Chārvākas, or Indian Materialists, with some Remarks on Freedom of Speculation in Ancient India. By J. MUIR, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D. - - - - -	299
ART. XII.—Notes on the production of Tea in Assam, and in India generally. By J. C. MARSEMAN, Esq. - - -	315
ART. XIII.—On the Vedic Conception of the Earth.—Atharva Veda, xii. 1. By CHARLES BRUCE, Esq. - - - - -	321
ART. XIV.—The Sutra of the Forty-two Sections, from the Chinese. Translated by the Rev. S. BEAL - - - - -	337
ART. XV.—Abstract of Temperature and Comparative Statement of Meteorological Observations at Bangalore, for 1860 - - - - -	350
ART. XVI.—Notes on the Cultivation of Cotton in the District of Dharwar; Past, Present, and Future. By J. C. MARSEMAN, Esq. - - - - -	351
ART. XVII.—On the Declensional Features of the North Indian Vernaculars, compared with the Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prākṛit. By the Rev. Dr. E. TRUMPP, C.M.S. - - -	361
ART. XVIII.—Comparative Arrangement of Two Translations of the Buddhist Ritual for the Priesthood, known as the Prātimoksha, or Pātimokhan. By the Rev. S. BEAL from the Chinese, and by the Rev. D. J. GOGERLY from the Pāli - - - - -	407

JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. 1.—*On the Language of the so-called Kāfirs of the Indian Caucasus.*—BY THE REV. ERNEST TRUMPP, D.Phil., *Missionary of the Church Missionary Society.*

FOR the subject of the following Essay, I am indebted to the kindness of Colonel Herbert Edwardes, C.B., late Commissioner of Peshāwar. When I was stationed at Peshāwar (1859), I heard that Major Lumsden, at Mardān (in the country of the Yusufzies), was trying to collect a corps of Kāfirs, and that he had already succeeded in getting three men of this remarkable race. I lost, therefore, no time in soliciting Colonel Edwardes to beg Major Lumsden to send these Kāfirs to Peshāwar for a few days, in order that I might have an opportunity to examine them personally. Colonel Edwardes kindly responded to my request, and, in a few days after, I had the pleasure to see the representatives of a race, which has excited so much curiosity in travellers and Oriental scholars.

Elphinstone and Burnes have furnished us with notices on the Kāfirs, but neither of them had conversed with Kāfirs personally. It is true, Sir A. Burnes states that he had seen a Kāfir boy, of about ten years of age, at Kābul, who had not long been a captive. He has also given a list of Kāfir words, and a few sentences; but, on nearer investigation and comparison, I have found that the words dictated to Sir. A. Burnes as *Kāfir words*, are not Kāfir words at all, but belong to one

of the numerous dialects which are spoken in the valleys of the Kūhistān of Kābul.

It would have been impossible for me to have any communication with such strangers, of whose language I was utterly ignorant, had it not been for Muhammad Rasūl, a Kūhistānī of Panjcore, who had brought them down from their mountain fastnesses, and accompanied them to Peshāwar. Some of the Kūhistānīs of Panjcore and Kooner, who have themselves been Kāfirs in no remote time, and are still reproachfully called *nāmche Musalmān*, or half-Musalmān, keep on some intercourse with their former brethren, their language being akin to that of the Kāfirs proper. (A short list of Kūhistānī words will be given in the Appendix, for the sake of comparison.)

This Muhammad Rasūl, who spoke Pushtō and a little Persian, served me as interpreter in my first intercourse with the Kāfirs; but knowing from experience (*malis edoctus*) how little reliance can be placed on such interpretations, I did my utmost to be able to ask them some few simple questions myself, in which I soon succeeded.

I was able to keep these three Kāfirs only for a few days at Peshāwar. The heat was already considerable (end of March), and seemed to incommode them in no small degree: they expressed every day their horror of the heat of the plains; and, in order not to discourage them or to weary them too much, I kept them daily only from three to four hours in my room, treating them with sweetmeats at intervals, to soothe their impatience. Had it been possible for me to keep these men for a longer space of time, I should have been able to go deeper into the details of their Grammar; but, as it is, I can give only some general outlines of the grammatical structure of their language, which, scanty and incomplete as they are, will not be without their use, I trust, for future investigations. The few days, or rather hours, they tarried with me, I employed to get out of them as many grammatical forms as possible. This was rather a hard task with men who had no idea of the reasons for which I was asking them such curious questions. I could effect this object only by means of

very easy and plain sentences, in which I knew some case or tense of a verb must needs appear. The result of these sentences I afterwards collected, and based this grammatical sketch upon them. They often broke out into a hearty laugh when I asked them to repeat this or that word or sentence, or when I repeated it myself, to assure myself of the right pronunciation, which seemed to delight them greatly.

It may not be out of place here to add a few words on the look and general aspect of these Kāfirs. It has been so often stated by travellers, that I myself was led thereby to expect that the Kāfirs had more or less a European look or features. However, I was utterly disappointed in this: they had no blue eyes, nor light hair, like the Saxon race, nor a white skin either; they were in all respects like the natives of the upper provinces of India, of a swarthy colour, dark hair and dark eyes; only their faces were more reddish, which may be easily accounted for by their liberal use of wine; for when Colonel Edwardes asked them what they wished to eat and to drink, they answered, "A mashak of wine every day!" It may fairly be stated that their features betray at once their Hindū origin, and, if dressed like Hindūs, they would not be distinguished from their countrymen of the plains.

About their dress I can say but very little; they had already undergone a metamorphosis when I saw them, and were dressed in white calico, like other natives, only their boots were of Kāfir make. They were not different, so far as I am able to judge, from that rough sort of boots worn by the Khyberies and other hill tribes in their neighbourhood.

I have set down the names of the three Kāfirs whom I had thus an opportunity to examine. They are, Gāra (Hindī गारा), Laulā (Hindī लाला), and Būru (perhaps Hindī बुरु). They seemed not much to differ in age—they were between twenty-five and thirty-five, certainly not older than thirty-five.

I was very desirous to know by what name they called their own country, for Kāfiristān is a mere Muhammadan appellation, signifying "the country of infidels," which, in their eyes, might be any country except their own. The name they

gave me for their country was *Wāmashhān*, a word, as I found, known to the Kūhistānis too, who designate it by what is called in Persian Kūhistān, or the *highlands*. The derivation of this word is rather doubtful. It seems, though, that *Wāmashhān* was the ancient name of the whole country, especially the highland or mountainous district, which is now known by the name of the *territory of Kābul*, including Balkh. Different places are mentioned under the name of *Bām*: Balkh itself bears the surname of *Bāmi*, or situated in *Bāmastān* or *Wāmashhān*. The name of the famous Bāmiān, with its enormous idols, seems to be derived from the same source. In Burnes's map, attached to his "Journey to Bokhara," a village in Kāfiristān is set down with the name of *Vāma*, which seems to be the word in question. There is a Zend word, *bāma* (Sansk. *भाम*), *light, splendour*; and *Wāmashhān* may therefore signify *the country of light*. These regions were formerly the seat of Buddhism, as the great ruins and inscriptions still show, and such an appellation might therefore not be improbable, though I give it with great doubt.

I have taken great pains to fix the orthography of Kāfir words as carefully as possible, and pronounced the words myself repeatedly whenever I was doubtful as to their spelling. The system I have followed, to spell Kāfir words, is that of Professor Lepsius (Standard Alphabet, second edition—in the press). I have drawn up the Kāfir alphabet on the basis of the words which I was able to collect: it cannot, therefore, claim to be complete, as letters may occur in words which I have not been able to set down.

A few remarks will suffice to explain the differences of this orthography from the now frequently-employed system of Sir W. Jones. We speak here of the Roman system in reference to *Sanskrit* and its cognate dialects.

As regards the *vowels*, the system is identical with that of Sir W. Jones, the vowels having the power of *one sound* respectively, as used in Italian or German. The ordinary prosodial mark of length *ā* is employed, instead of the acute accent *á*, which would thus be precluded from its proper use.

For the Kāfirī, and also for the Pushtō, another vowel sound is added, namely *a*. This *a* is well to be distinguished from *a* (or *ā*, when it may be found necessary to mark it with the sign of shortness): it is a short, indistinct vowel, approaching the English *u* in *but*, or the German *ü*. This sound is not given in Raverty's Pushtō Grammar (1st ed.), though well known in Pushtō, and even marked out by the natives themselves.

The so-called Anuswāra is not expressed by *n*, but by the sign ~ put above the so-nasalized vowel. This is quite in accordance with Sanskrit usage and the nature of the nasalized vowels. The nasality rests in the *vowel* itself, not in the addition of any *n* or *m*. This is perfectly borne out by Prākṛit usage, and the way in which the modern Indian tongues (of Sanskrit origin) employ the Anuswāra, where it is frequently used, to *prevent hiatus*—well to be distinguished from the use of Anuswāra for the nasal of any class or *varga*,—for when it is thus indiscriminately used we substitute *ñ* (ञ), *ṅ* (ङ), &c.

In the *Consonantal System*, the discrepancies will be the following:—

1. In the *Guttural Class*, the guttural *n* (ण) is expressed by *ñ*, and not by *ng*, or any other compound,—the rule upon which this system is based being to express *single sounds* by *single bases*.

The *aspirates* of all *vargas* are expressed by the addition of *h* to the respective unaspirated consonant, as they cannot be considered *simple* sounds, even in *Sanskrit*, which is clearly shown by the way in which *aspirated* consonants are doubled in Sanskrit; as, च्च *čch*, ब्भ *bbh*, &c., and not च्च, ब्भ, which must be the case if the aspirated letter be considered a *simple* sound.

2. The greatest deviation will be found in the *Palatal Class*:—

The English bases, *ch* for the simple च, and *chh* for च्च, are withdrawn, as offending against the very principles of this system. For च and च्च, the English bases *c* and *j* respectively have been retained; but, for the sake of pointing out their

new functions, and preventing mistakes (in the case of *j* especially, as regards German or French, &c. pronunciation), they have been marked *č*, *ǰ*, *čh*, *ǰh*, respectively. The palatal *ञ* has been marked likewise *ś*, as it is now commonly pronounced *sh* in India. There can be no doubt that the present pronunciation of *च* and *ज* as English *ch* and *j* cannot be the original one; for as they are now pronounced, they are *compound* sounds, and ought correctly to be written *tsh*, *dzh*, or, in the Standard Alphabet, *tš*, *dž*, &c., but, for the sake of easy transcription, and grammatical and lexicographical purposes, it was deemed fit to express these (originally simple) sounds by simple bases.

The *varga* of the *Palatal Class* will therefore run thus:—

च	छ	ज	झ	ञ	य
<i>č</i>	<i>čh</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>ǰh</i>	<i>ś</i>	<i>ń</i> . <i>y</i>

The original pronunciation of these letters has undergone a change in the course of time.

The *Cerebral Class* is identical with Sir W. Jones's system—

<i>č</i>	<i>čh</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dž</i>	<i>ń</i>	<i>r</i>
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The *Dental* and *Labial Classes* are likewise the same, and offer no difficulty.

KĀFIR ALPHABET.

VOWELS.

ā a ā i ī ai ē u ū au o

Nasalized Vowels (with Anuswāra):—

ā ā ī ī ū ū &c. &c.

CONSONANT SYSTEM.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|----------------|-----------|
| 1. Gutturals . . | <i>k</i> | <i>—</i> | <i>g</i> | <i>—</i> | <i>ñ</i> | <i>—</i> | <i>h</i> | |
| 2. Palatals . . | { | <i>č</i> | <i>čh</i> | <i>ǰ</i> | <i>—</i> | <i>—</i> | <i>y</i> | <i>tš</i> |
| | | <i>tš</i> | | | | | | |
| 3. Cerebrals . . | <i>č</i> | <i>čh</i> | <i>ǰ</i> | <i>—</i> | <i>ń</i> | <i>r</i> | <i>ś</i> | |
| 4. Dentals . . . | <i>t</i> | <i>—</i> | <i>d</i> | <i>—</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>r</i> | <i>l s ś z</i> | |
| 5. Labials . . . | <i>p</i> | <i>—</i> | <i>b</i> | <i>—</i> | <i>m</i> | <i>w</i> | | |

In reference to the vowels, it must be remarked that *a* is pronounced very quickly, so that it approaches almost to a short *ĭ*, or the German *ü*. I had first mistaken it for a short *ĭ*, but I soon found that it was a peculiarly swift *a*, or, in fact, an indistinct vowel between short *ă* and short *ĭ*. This vowel differs somewhat from the short, indistinct vowel inherent to a Sanskrit consonant, and which is more or less akin to the English *u* in *but*. The sound of the Kāfir *a* can only be compared to the peculiar indistinct sound in Pushtō; as, ^{أُودَة} ^{سَرِي} (masc.) and ^{أُودَة} ^{شَحَه} (fem.), which can only be learned by hearing.

In regard to the *consonants*, it must surprise us at the first survey that many of the *aspirates* are missing. In all the words I have been able to collect I could only discern a few aspirates, and I have therefore no doubt that there are only a few existent in their language. This would be quite a prominent feature in the Kāfir tongue, and would bring it into closer connexion with the *Iranian* and *Pushtō*, which have already discarded the *aspirates* preserved in the vulgar dialects of India.

Another peculiarity observable in the Kāfir alphabet is the sound *ts*. The letter *č* (Sansk. च) has been softened down to *ts* in many words, as in *māts*, "a man" (Sindhī, माचु). In other words, *ts* seems to have softened down from the Sanskrit compound च कष, which may also be said of *z*; as, *zū*, "milk," from the Sanskrit क्षीर. The letter *w* is not pronounced like the English *w*, but stands in the midst between *v* and *w*, and has quite the sound of the German *w*.

The Kāfir tongue being a *pure Prākṛit dialect* (as will easily be seen from what follows), separated from its sister dialects since the irruption of the Muhammadan power, in the tenth century of our era, is of the greatest importance to Indian philology, as we have a very imperfect knowledge of the common dialects then in use in India. We may fairly infer that the dialect of the Kāfirs has been preserved to us

pure, or very little altered in the course of time, as the Kāfirs were quite cut off from all connexion with the other Indians, and hemmed in on all sides by impassable mountains, which enabled the fugitive race to defend their independence against all assaults on the part of the savage Pushtō tribes who were settling down in their ancient seats.

I.—OF DECLENSION.

It seems that the Nominative, singular and plural, is no longer distinguished by any termination; it ends either in a vowel, as, *daī*, "father," *blā*, "brother;" or in a consonant, as, *sūs*, "sister," *māts*, "man." The plural is identical with the Nominative singular in all the examples which I have been able to gather. The *Cases* are expressed by means of *Postpositions*, as in Hindī. The Dative singular seems to be marked by a Case termination in *ē*. The *Instrumentalis* singular is identical with the Nominative singular, and not expressed by *ने* as in Hindī. The same is the case also in Sindhī and Pushtō, where the *Instrumentalis* differs from the Nominative singular only by a vowel change, which is discarded in the Kāfir tongue. The plural has a regular *Genitive* in *id*, and a Dative and *Instrumentalis* in *ē*, which seems also to be allotted to the Accusative plural, as the examples will show. Much of what is said here in regard to the Cases must of course remain doubtful, on account of the scanty materials at my disposal; however, I trust that the grand features exhibited will be found correct.

PARADIGMA.

SINGULAR.

Nom.	<i>māts</i> ,	a man.
Gen.	<i>māts-wā</i> ,	of a man (belonging to).
Dat.	<i>māts-ē</i> ,	to a man.
Instrum.	<i>māts</i> ,	by a man.
Acc.	<i>māts</i> ,	a man.
Loc. &c.	<i>māts dā</i> ,	in a man, &c

PLURAL.

Nom.	<i>māts,</i>	men.
Gen.	<i>māts-iā,</i>	of men.
Dat.	<i>māts-ē,</i>	to men.
Instrum.	<i>māts-ē,</i>	by men.
Acc.	<i>(māts) māts-ē,</i>	men.
Loc.	<i>māts-ē dā,</i>	in men, &c.

This paradigm will be corroborated by the sentences which I asked, in order to elicit the Cases—

This is the Sāhib's house.	<i>Yak āma Sāhib-wā sē.</i>
This horse is of Gārah.	<i>Yak gūru Gārah-wā sē.</i>
I give this thing to the Sāhib.	<i>Ei yak dūnoaṭ Sāhib-ē blīm.</i>
I see this man.	<i>Ei yak māts kāsīm.</i>
Gārah is in this house.	<i>Gārah tīko āma dā sē.</i>
Gārah is in this village.	<i>Gārah tīko glām dā sē.</i>
By the Sāhib it was said.	<i>Sāhib baḷa.</i>

Sentences containing the Plural.

Those men are good.	<i>Sigē māts maiṣṭa sin.</i>
Those women are good.	<i>Sigē istri maiṣṭa sin.</i>
The house of those men.	<i>Āma sigē māts-iā.</i>
This dog is of those men.	<i>Yak kūrī sigē māts-iā sē.</i>
I give this dog to those men.	<i>Yak kūrī sigē māts-ē blīm.</i>
I see these men.	<i>Ei yakē māts-ē kāsīm.</i>

In other sentences which I asked, I noticed a deviation from the paradigm as given above, in respect to the *Genitive Case*—

What is the name of thy father?	<i>Tua dat nām kā sē.</i>
What is the name of thy mother?	<i>Tua arau nām kā sē.</i>
This is the house of my brother.	<i>Yak āma ima blā sē.</i>
The hair of thy head is black.	<i>Tua ṣā drū ṣīkista sē.</i>
Come to the house of the Sāhib.	<i>Sāhib āma dā ei.</i>
I go to my father's house.	<i>Ei diā āma dā dim.</i>

I am bewildered at this deviation, if it be any, and if it is not to be explained in some other way. However, I thought it

best to set down these examples, that persons who may get any further chance of conversing with Kāfirs may keep this point in view. The postposition *wā* is apparently the Sanskrit adjective termination **वा**, and is used as **वा** in Hindī, which is properly an *Adjective termination*, as it has been already remarked by Lassen, in his “Inst. Linguae Prācriticæ.”

II.—OF ADJECTIVES.

I have been able to collect only a few Adjectives; but so much is clear, that the terminations of Adjectives do not change according to the gender of Substantives. To elicit this, I asked them the following sentences—

This man is good.	<i>yak māts maiṣṭa sè.</i>
This woman is good.	<i>yak istri maiṣṭa sè.</i>
These men are good.	<i>yakē māts maiṣṭa sin.</i>
Those women are good.	<i>sigē istri maiṣṭa sin.</i>

List of a few Adjectives.

great, <i>auli.</i>	much, <i>māla.</i>
little, <i>abelik.</i>	right, <i>ṭhik.</i>

Note.—I have not been able to come to any conclusion in regard to the *gender* of *Nouns*. I doubt greatly if any gender be distinguished, as I have not been able to find out any trace of it. So much is clear, that Adjectives are not subject to any change, either in regard to *gender* or *case*: the Kāfir tongue seems to agree in this respect quite with the *Iranian*. In all the Prākrit dialects of India, the Adjectives always agree with the Substantives in gender and case: the Kāfirī seems to incline in this, as in many other respects, more to the *Iranian* than to the Prākrit of India.

III. — OF PRONOUNS.

1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

Ei, I.

	SINGULAR.		PLURAL.
Nom.	<i>Ei</i> , I.		<i>ima</i> , we.
Gen.	<i>ima</i> , of me.		<i>imua</i> , of us.
Dat.	unknown.		unknown.
Instrum.	<i>yi</i> , by me.		<i>ima</i> , by us.
Loc.	<i>yi dā</i> , in me, &c.		<i>ima dā</i> , in us.

Tū, Thou.

Nom.	<i>tū</i> , thou.		<i>vī</i> , you.
Gen.	<i>tua</i> , of thee.		<i>ya</i> , of you.
Dat.	unknown.		unknown.
Instrum.	<i>tū</i> , by thee.		<i>vī</i> , by you.
Loc.	<i>tū dā</i> , in thee, &c.		<i>vī dā</i> , in you, &c.

Siga, He, that.

Nom.	<i>siga</i> , he, that.		<i>sigē</i> , they.
Gen.	<i>siga</i> , of him.		<i>sigā</i> , of them.
Dat.	unknown.		unknown.
Instrum.	<i>siga</i> , by him.		<i>sigē</i> , by them.
Loc.	<i>siga dā</i> , in him, &c.		<i>sigē dā</i> , in them, &c.

The Kāfir Pronouns deviate already very considerably from the old Prākṛit forms and the present vulgar dialects of India. The Pronoun of the *first* person has been shortened from **अहं**, whereas, on the contrary, in the later dialects it has been lengthened, as in the Sindhī *dā* or *ā*, I.

The Pronoun of the *second* person, *tū*, is shortened from the Prākṛit **तुम्**, and lengthened again in *Panjabī*, *Sindhī*, *Gujarātī*, and *Marāṭhī*.

The Pronoun of the *third* person, *siga*, is peculiar, and we look in vain for a corresponding form among its sister dialects :

the nearest form seems to be the Pushtō ^{آهه}, "that." I conjecture that *sigā*, like the Pushtō ^{آهه}, is derived from the Prākṛit सो (instead of हसो—see Powell's Varar. p. 22), with the Adjective termination क, the *o* of सो being shortened into *i*, on account of the affixed Adjective termination.

The *first* person plural, *īma*, "we," is derived from the Prākṛit अस्मि, Sindhī and Panjābī असी, Hindī हम्.

The *second* person plural, *va*, is shortened from the Prākṛit वो, Sindhī वहे.

The *third* person plural, *sigē*, is the plural form of *sigā*.

The Pronouns of the Kāfir tongue seem thus to be quite independent of the old Prākṛit, and to follow their own way.

2. POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
<i>īma</i> , mine.	<i>īmua</i> , ours.
<i>tua</i> , thine.	<i>yā</i> , yours.
<i>sigā</i> , his.	<i>sigā</i> , theirs.

The Possessive Pronouns are the Genitives of the Personal Pronouns, as in Sanskrit, Prākṛit, and the modern tongues of India.

Ima is derived from the Prākṛit मम or मह.

Tua, from the Prākṛit तुह.

Sigā, see above. Compare also the Hindī उस्का.

īmua seems to be derived from the Prākṛit form of अम्हो, a form which is doubted by Lassen in his Prākṛit. Gram. p. 331.

Yā is quite peculiar, and no corresponding form is to be found in Prākṛit. Compare the Sindhī चाई, and the Greek ἡμεῖς.

Sigā is the Genitive plural of *sigā*.

The few sentences which follow were asked, to ascertain the Possessive Pronouns—

My house, *īma āma*.

Thy house, *tua āma*.

His house, *sigā āma*.

Our house, *īmua āma*.

Your house, *yā āma*.

Their house, *sigā āma*.

Compare also the examples given under the head of *Declension*.

As in Persian, Pushtō, and Sindhī, the Kāfirs can suffix the Possessive Pronouns to the Nouns; as, *naugar-sin*, "his servant;" *tu mālavēse*, "dost thou understand it?" *uḡḡim*, "my lip." I have not been able to get all the suffixed (Possessive) Pronouns. However, to conclude from the Sindhī, or Jat Gālī, the language of the great Jat race, which spreads from the sea as high up as Peshāwar, and which bears in many respects a close affinity to the Kāfir tongue, I should say that the suffixed Pronoun of the second person will be *i*, the first pers. plur. *ā*, the second pers. plur. *wa*, and the third pers. plur. *in*. I mention this merely for the attention of future inquirers.

3. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

Yak, This.

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.
Nom.	<i>yak</i> , this.	<i>yakē</i> , these.
Gen.	} unknown.	<i>yakīd</i> , of these.
Dat.		unknown.
Instr.		<i>yakē</i> , by these.

Other Cases unknown.

Siga, That.

Nom.	<i>siga</i> , that.	<i>sigē</i> , those.
Gen.	<i>siga</i> , of that.	<i>sigd</i> , of those.
Dat.	unknown.	unknown.
Instr.	<i>siga</i> , by that.	<i>sigē</i> , by those.
Loc.	<i>siga dā</i> , in that.	<i>sigē dā</i> , in those, &c.

I have met also with the Demonstrative Pronoun *tikō*, in some of the sentences which I asked. I suspect that this is some form allied to the Pushtō *lō*, "this." However, I must refrain from pronouncing any opinion upon it.

Gārah is in that house, *Gārah tīko āma dā sē.*

Gārah is in that village, *Gārah tīko glām dā sē.*

4. RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

I am sorry that I have not succeeded in laying hold of any form of the Relative Pronoun.

5. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

I have been able to collect only the two following forms of the same:—*kā*, “what?” Hindi क्या, Sindhī का; as, *kā balēs*, “what dost thou say?” *Tsīn*, “how many?” Compare the Pushtō خو *tsō*, “some,” “any,” and the Persian چند; as, *tsīn māts sin*, “how many men are there?”

IV.—NUMERALS.

I have only been able to collect the *Cardinal Numbers*, the *Ordinals* have escaped my notice.

CARDINAL NUMBERS.

One,	<i>āch.</i>	Twenty-one,	<i>višāch.</i>
Two,	<i>dū.</i>	Twenty-two,	<i>višadū.</i>
Three,	<i>trē.</i>	Twenty-three,	<i>višātrē.</i>
Four,	<i>tsadā.</i>	Twenty-four,	<i>višātsadā.</i>
Five,	<i>punts.</i>	Twenty-five,	<i>višāpunts.</i>
Six,	<i>šū.</i>	Twenty-six,	<i>višāšū.</i>
Seven,	<i>sūt.</i>	Twenty-seven,	<i>višāsūt.</i>
Eight,	<i>ušt.</i>	Twenty-eight,	<i>višā-ušt.</i>
Nine,	<i>nū.</i>	Twenty-nine,	<i>višānū.</i>
Ten,	<i>dōs.</i>	Thirty,	<i>višā-dōs.</i>
Eleven,	<i>jūnis.</i>	Forty,	<i>dū-iši.</i>
Twelve,	<i>bīis.</i>	Fifty,	<i>dū-išā-dōs.</i>
Thirteen,	<i>trīis.</i>	Sixty,	<i>trē-viši.</i>
Fourteen,	<i>tsōdis.</i>	Seventy,	<i>trē-viši-dōs.</i>
Fifteen,	<i>pātsis.</i>	Eighty,	<i>tsādā-viši.</i>
Sixteen,	<i>sūris.</i>	Ninety,	<i>tsadā-viši-dōs.</i>
Seventeen,	<i>satdis.</i>	One hundred,	<i>punc.</i>
Eighteen,	<i>āstais.</i>	Two hundred,	<i>dūšji.</i>
Nineteen,	<i>usū.</i>	Three hundred,	<i>patstājt.</i>
Twenty,	<i>vīši.</i>	Four hundred,	<i>viši-vīši.</i>

I was very desirous to ask the Numerals all through, but they declared that the Kāfirs only counted up to four hundred (very likely they themselves had not learned more), and I was thus compelled to desist.

The Kāfir Numerals are very interesting, as they differ in essential points from the Numerals used in the different Prākṛit dialects of India. Some of them are quite peculiar; as, *āch*, "one;" *ḥūntā*, "eleven;" *usū*, "nineteen;" *punc*, "a hundred," and the compound numbers of *duśḥi*, &c.

The numbers are formed regularly from *one* to *twenty*, *vīśi* (Sansk. विंशति, Sindhī बीह); from *twenty* to *thirty* the units are postposed, as in English; above *twenty*, the *tens* are formed by *addition* and *multiplication*; as, *vīśi-dōs*, "twenty (and) ten," =thirty; *dū-īśi* (=dū-vīśi), "two times twenty,"=forty; *dū-īśā-dōs*, "two times twenty (and) ten,"=fifty; *trē-vīśi*, "three times twenty,"=sixty; *trē-vīśi-dōs*, "three times twenty (and) ten,"=seventy; *tsadā-vīśi*, "four times twenty,"=eighty;" *tsadā-vīśi-dōs*, "four times twenty (and) ten,"=ninety.

Punc, "one hundred," is quite peculiar. I suppose that this is likewise a compound of *punts-īśi*, contracted into *punc*, "five times twenty;" for there is no such word as *punc* to be found, neither in Sanskrit, Prākṛit, nor any other cognate dialect.

In the same manner, I suppose, *duśḥi*, "two hundred," is formed: it must be contracted from *dōs-īśi*, "ten times twenty." Likewise *patsiśḥi*, "five hundred," from *patsis-īśi*, "fifteen times twenty:" *vīśi-vīśi*, "four hundred," or "twenty times twenty," seems to prove this conjecture.

It is remarkable that *twenty* is the numeral with which the multiplication is effected. This circumstance reminds us most forcibly of a similar case in *French*, where the number *eighty* is likewise represented by a multiplication with *twenty*—*quatre-vingt*, or four times twenty. M. Elphinstone's remark on the Kāfir Numerals is thus borne out by facts.

V.—OF VERBS.

1. SUBSTANTIVE VERB.

I am.

Present Tense.

PERS.	SINGULAR.		PLURAL.
1.	<i>Ei sūm,</i>	I am.	<i>Ima sūmiś,</i> We are.
2.	<i>Tū sis,</i>	Thou art.	<i>Wi sik,</i> You are.
3.	<i>Siga sē,</i>	He is.	<i>Sigē sin,</i> They are.

Imperfect.

1.	<i>Ei sū,</i>	I was.	<i>Ima sūmiś,</i> We were.
2.	<i>Tū sūus,</i>	Thou wast.	<i>Wi sūs,</i> You were.
3.	<i>Siga sē,</i>	He was.	<i>Sigē sīn,</i> They were.

Future.

1.	<i>Ei śālam,</i>	I shall be.	<i>Ima śālamīś,</i> We shall be.
2.	<i>Tū śāles,</i>	Thou wilt be.	<i>Wi śāles,</i> You will be.
3.	<i>Siga śālese,</i>	He will be.	<i>Sigē śālan,</i> They will be.

Imperative.

Tū śāles, Be thou. *Wi śēles,* Be ye.

Note.—I have not been able to hit on the *Infinitive* of this Verb.

The conjugation of this Verb is peculiarly interesting. It deviates from all other forms in all the present Prākṛit tongues of India, and seems to have struck out for itself quite a peculiar course. The forms exhibited above remind us most forcibly of the *Latin* Substantive Verb, whereas they differ widely from the ancient Prākṛit forms. We can easily distinguish the terminations of the Verb—

PERS.	PRESENT SINGULAR.	PRESENT PLURAL.
1.	—m.	—miś.
2.	—s.	—k.
3.	—ē.	—n.

The termination of the 2d pers. plur. is peculiar to itself, and is not met with, as far as I know, in any of the Prākṛit dialects.

The terminations of the *Imperfect* differ from those of the *Present*; but, as I have not been able to ascertain if a regular *Imperfect* is to be met with in other Verbs, I must leave it as I found it. In the *Present*, the *ā* of the Sanskrit form अस्मि has been thrown off, and स्मि has been lengthened into *śim* or *śūm*, like as in Latin. In the *Imperfect*, the Sanskrit form आसि has been altered to आँ, and the *ā* been changed into *ū*—a change which is also observable in other examples—and the Anuswāra has been dropped, so that we have *sū*.

The terminations of the *Future* are—

PERS.	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
1.	— <i>lām</i> .	— <i>lamiś</i> .
2.	— <i>les</i> .	— <i>les</i> .
3.	— <i>lese</i> .	— <i>lan</i> .

The 2d pers. sing. and plur. are not distinguished here, except by the Personal Pronoun; but in the *Compound Future* we always find *lik* for the 2d pers. plur., as will be seen hereafter.

2. INTRANSITIVE VERB.

Infinitive, *Āna*, To come.

Present

PERS.	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
1. <i>Ei am</i> ,	I come.	<i>ālo</i> We come.
2. <i>Tu ei</i> ,	Thou come	<i>āli</i> You come.
3. <i>Siga de</i> ,	He comes	<i>āle</i> They come.

1. <i>Ei āgā sim</i> ,	I am com	me.
2. <i>Tu āgā sis</i> .	Thou	e.
3. <i>Siga āgā sē</i> ,	He i	.

PERS.
1.

Compound Future.

PERS.	PLURAL.
1. <i>Ima koi-alamiš,</i>	We shall come.
2. <i>Wi koi-alik,</i>	You will come.
3. <i>Sigē koi-alan,</i>	They will come.

Imperative.

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
<i>Ei,</i> Come thou.	<i>Ālik,</i> Come ye.

This Verb is apparently irregular in the Present tense. The 1st pers. sing. is certainly the root *a*, "come," with the termination *m*. In the 2d pers. sing. we should expect, instead of *tu ei*, rather *tu eis*. In the 3d pers. sing. a *nasal* has been interposed for euphony's sake, *de* instead of *ā-e*.

The *Plural* looks rather suspicious, and more like a *Future* than a *Present* tense. However, I have set it down here as I got it out of the Kāfirs, and beg to turn the attention of future inquirers to this point.

The *Preterite* is apparently a compound of *agā* (Hindī चागिञ्च), "come," and the Present tense of the Substantive Verb, "I am." We find here *sīm* instead of *sūm*, which may be easily explained, *sūm* having been changed into *sīm* on account of the preceding long vowels *ā*.

The *Future Compound* is very curious, and I do not know what explanation to offer. The *koi* is prefixed as an unchangeable particle, like *ay* in Pushtō.

3. TRANSITIVE VERB.

To do (Infinitive unknown).

Present Tense.

PERS.	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
1. <i>Ei kalam,</i>	I do.	<i>Ima kalamiš,</i> We do.
2. <i>Tu kālēs,</i>	Thou dost.	<i>Wi kālik,</i> You do.
3. <i>Siga kāle,</i>	He does.	<i>Sigē kālan,</i> They do.

Preterite

(properly *Passive Voice*, as in all Prākṛit dialects and in Pushtō).

PERS.	SINGULAR.
1.	<i>Yā krē</i> , By me has been done.
2.	<i>Tu krē</i> , By thee has been done.
3.	<i>Siga krē</i> , By him has been done.
PERS.	PLURAL.
1.	<i>Ima krē</i> , By us has been done.
2.	<i>Wī krē</i> , By you has been done.
3.	<i>Sigē krē</i> , By them has been done.

Compound Future.

PERS.	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
1.	<i>Ei koi-kālam</i> , I shall do.	<i>Ima koi-kālamīṣ</i> , We shall do.
2.	<i>Tu koi-kāles</i> , Thou wilt do.	<i>Wī koi-kālik</i> , You will do.
3.	<i>Siga koi-kālese</i> , He will do.	<i>Sigē koi-kālan</i> , They will do.

Imperative.

Kū, Do thou.

Kūk Do ye.

In the Present tense *l* has been substituted instead of *r* in *kālam*, a change which frequently occurs in Sindhī too. The root कृ is common to all Prākṛit dialects, and also in the Pushtō, where the Present tense, 1st person, is कृञ्ज् जा कृणम्.

The Present and Future tenses are *identical*, with the exception of the 3d pers. sing. Present, which is *kāle*, and the 3d pers. sing. Future, *kālese*. The Future is distinguished from the Present by the Particle *koi*, in like manner as the Pushtō Future is distinguished from the Present by अ; as, Present tense, कृञ्ज् जा कृणम्; Future, कृञ्ज् अ वा वा कृणम्, "I shall do."

The Prākṛit, and all the dialects derived from it, have no *Preterite Active Voice*, but this tense must always be expressed in *Transitive Verbs* by the *Passive Voice*. *Krē* is therefore the Participle Past Passive, and resembles closely the Pushtō Participle Past Passive कृञ्ज् कृण्णै.

For the sake of analogy with the other Participles Past Passive which end in *a* (which is, as remarked above, nearly pronounced *ĩ*, or like the German *ü*), I felt strongly inclined to write it *kr̥a*, but the *ě* sound appeared to me too decisive to write it otherwise.

6. ANOTHER TRANSITIVE VERB.

To say (Infinitive unknown).

Present Tense.

PERS.	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
1.	<i>Ei b̥álim</i> , I say.	<i>Ima b̥álimiś</i> , We say.
2.	<i>Tu b̥álēs</i> , Thou sayest.	<i>Wi b̥álik</i> , You say.
3.	<i>Siga b̥ále</i> , He says.	<i>Sigě b̥álin</i> , They say.

Preterite (Passive Voice).

PERS.	SINGULAR.
1.	<i>Yū b̥al̥a</i> , By me has been said.
2.	<i>Tu b̥al̥a</i> , By thee has been said.
3.	<i>Siga b̥al̥a</i> , By him has been said.
PERS.	PLURAL.
1.	<i>Ima b̥al̥a</i> , By us has been said.
2.	<i>Wi b̥al̥a</i> , By you has been said.
3.	<i>Sigě b̥al̥a</i> , By them has been said.

Future.

PERS.	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
1.	<i>Ei b̥al̥álam</i> , I shall say.	<i>Ima b̥al̥áلاميś</i> , We shall say.
2.	<i>Tu b̥al̥áles</i> , Thou wilt say.	<i>Wi b̥al̥áles</i> , You will say.
3.	<i>Siga b̥al̥áless</i> , He will say.	<i>Sigě b̥al̥álan</i> , They will say.

Imperative.

B̥ále, Say thou.

B̥álik, Say you.

A few Sentences, containing some forms of Verbs, which were frequently interchanged between me and the Kāfirs—

<i>Ei mllawim.</i>	I understand.
<i>Tu mllawōse?</i>	Dost thou understand it?
<i>Yū pūruzq.</i>	It has been comprehended by me.
<i>Nīsi.</i>	Sit (<i>Imperative</i>).
<i>Ei nīsim.</i>	I sit.
<i>Tua wert maišta sē.</i>	Thy word is good.
<i>Ei na mllawim.</i>	I do not understand.
<i>Timu bākase.</i>	Look here.
<i>Kā bālēs.</i>	What dost thou say?
<i>Yū dā bāle.</i>	Speak to (towards) me.
<i>Yēnu tāp sē.</i>	It is warm to-day.
<i>Tu kā bāq.</i>	What didst thou say?

VI.—*A few Adverbs and Conjunctions.*

<i>tīmu</i> , here.	<i>o</i> , and.
<i>kāne</i> , from whence.	<i>tā</i> , now, then; Hindī ते,
<i>dā</i> , in, to.	Sindhī ते.
<i>nā</i> , not.	

We will now give a little story which I asked the Kāfirs to pronounce, to their infinite delight—

Āch māts o naugarsin āch āma dā pāmānik sin. Sāhib lāwā dā bāq: Bāwe paišta bākase nālī de nā. Lāwā bāq: Nālī de. Sāhib bāq: Tu tā pāmānik sūs, tu kā mūlātq? Lāwā bāq: Yū dā bisās āgā siga, bisās wā prišti trībala siga, yū dūs kūšū ārā, yū mūlātq, nālī de.

TRANSLATION.

One man and his servant were sleeping in a house. The Sāhib said to the servant: "Go forth, see (if) rain come or come not." The servant said: "Rain comes." The Sāhib said: "Now thou wert sleeping,—what is known by thee?"

The servant said: "To me a cat was come; the cat's back wet was, by me the hand (was rubbed on it), by me it was known rain comes."

ANALYSIS.

Āch, "one," Sansk. एक; *māts*, "a man," Sindhī मातु; *o nau-garsin*, "and his servant." *Naugar* is a Persian word, which they picked up during their stay in the plains, as well as the word *Sāhib* صاحب, by which a European is now denoted in India, or a lord. *Āma*, "house," origin unknown; *pāmanik*, "sleeping" (it is perhaps corrupted from the Sanskrit सपुक्); *lāwā*, "a slave-boy" (compare the Hindī लौह); *bāwe*, "go,"—it seems to be contracted from *bā* and *āwe*, like *bākāse* from *bā* and *kāse*. This would show that *bā* is prefixed to the Imperative, like *ه* to the Imperative in Persian. *Paišta* seems to signify "forth," "out;" *nāli*, "rain," properly *water*—Sansk. नार, Hindī नाला, Sindhī नारो; *mūlātā* is the Participle Past Passive from the form, as given above, *Ei mūlawim*, "I understand," origin unknown; *yū dā*, "to me," or "towards me." The postposition *dā* governs the *Oblique Case*, as may be seen in *yū*, which is the *Oblique Case* of *Ei*. *Btsās*, "cat," origin unknown (compare the Pushtō پيشو *pīshū*, which is apparently related to it); *btsās-wā* (*Genitive*); *priṣṭi*, "back," Sansk. पृष्ठ; *trībala*, "wet," origin unknown; *yū* (*Instrumentalis*), "by me;" *dūs*, "hand," Persian دست; *kūšū ārā*; the exact meaning of these words is unknown to me.

APPENDIX I.

*List of Kafir words, compared with those given by
Sir A. Burnes.*

	BURNES.
Father, <i>dai</i> . Sansk. बाहु, Pers. دائی.	<i>Tala</i> .
Mother, <i>ārau</i> . Compare the Sindhī चड़ी.	<i>Hai</i> .
Brother, <i>bla</i> . Sanskrit भ्राता, Sindhī भाउ, Hindī भाई.*	<i>Bura</i> .
Son, <i>saggā</i> . Hindī सग्गा, Sansk. स्वकीय.	<i>Dabla</i> .
Daughter, <i>sū</i> . Sansk. सुता, Prākr. सुत्ता.	<i>Dable</i> .
Sister, <i>sūs</i> . Sansk. स्वसा.	<i>Sosi</i> .
Man (generally), <i>māts</i> . Sindhī माचु.	
Man, <i>wirē</i> . Sansk. and Sindhī वीर.	<i>Nawista</i> .
Woman, <i>istri</i> . Sansk. स्त्री.	<i>Mushi</i> .
God, <i>dā</i> . Sansk. देव.	<i>Yamrai, Doghum</i> .
Name of the god or idol of the Kāfirs, <i>Adrik</i> <i>Panō</i> ; <i>Adrik</i> = अदृष्ट (?), <i>Panō</i> = Sans. प्राणः it would thus signify "the Unseen Being." In regard to <i>panō</i> , see the "Kapur di Giri Inscriptions," where the word <i>pāna</i> also occurs.	
Temple, <i>but-tsida</i> . Hindī بت "idol;" <i>tsida</i> is unknown to me.	
King, <i>suranwālī</i> . Probably derived from शूर, "a hero," and the termination बाला.	<i>Pasha</i> .
Chieftain, <i>bādur</i> . Pers. بهادر.	<i>Salmanash</i> .
Horse, <i>gūrū</i> . Hindī घोड़ा.	

* *Blā* is formed on the same rule as *plār*, "father," in Pushtō. The Sanskrit form has first been changed to *bārā*—*t* being elided, according to the common Prākrit rule, between two vowels, and this again to *bhlā* (*l* and *r* interchanging), and in Kāfir to *blā*, as the Kāfiri seems to avoid aspirated consonants: in Sindhī and Hindī the *spirate* has been retained.

		BURNES.
Cow, <i>gā</i> .	Sansk. गो, Hindī गाइ.	Goa.
Dog, <i>kūri</i> .	Sansk. कुँर.	Tun.
Body, <i>tsit</i> .		
Breath, <i>sā</i> .	Sansk. श्वास, Sindhī साहु.	
Hand, <i>dūs</i> .	Pers. دَسْت.	Ehapalpain
Foot (knee), <i>kur</i> .	Hindī गोइ.	Kur.
Mouth, <i>āsi</i> .	Sansk. चाख्यं.	Ash.
Lip, <i>ušt</i> .	Sansk. जोइ.	
Nose, <i>nāsuri</i> .	Sansk. नासा; <i>nāsuri</i> is apparently a diminutive form.	
Finger, <i>ānu</i> .	Sansk. अङ्गुलि.	Azun.
Eye, <i>ānsi</i> .	Sansk. अक्षि, Hindī आन्स.	Achau.
Hair, <i>drū</i> .		Kesh.
Head, <i>śa</i> .	Sansk. शिरस्.	
Tooth, <i>dōnt</i> .	Sansk. दन्त, Hindī दान्.	Dint.
Ear, <i>karna</i> .	Sansk. कर्णे, Hindī कान्.	Kar.
Village, <i>glām</i> .	Sansk. ग्राम.	
— <i>pātala</i> .		
House, <i>āma</i> .		Ama.
Mountain, <i>dā</i> .	Sansk. धर.	Da.
River, <i>gūl</i> .	Sansk. कुल्या.	Gulnucka.
Water, <i>ābu</i> .	Pers. آب, Pushtō اوبه <i>obah</i> .	An.
Fire, <i>āniā</i> .	Sansk. अग्नि, Hindī आग्.	Ai.
Tree, <i>kānta</i> .	Sansk. कण्टक, Hindī कायदा.	Ushtun.
Grass, <i>śuts</i> .		Yus.
Wood, <i>dau</i> .	Sansk. दूः.	
Bread, <i>au</i> ,		Eu.
Milk, <i>zū</i> .	Sansk. क्षीरं, Pers. شیر.	Zor.
Flesh, <i>ānda</i> .		
Sword, <i>kātā</i> .	Sindhī काती, Sansk. root कृत्.	Tarwāle.
Bow, <i>drā</i> .	Sansk. root दृञ्.	Shindri.
Arrow, <i>kān</i> .	Sindhī कान्, Sansk. काण्डं.	Kain.
Shield, <i>bāda</i> ,		Karai.
Road, <i>virtū</i> .		

Cloth, <i>préna</i> .		BURNES.
Boot, <i>kōkara</i> .		<i>Kamis.</i>
— <i>wātsa</i> .		
Grape, <i>drāś</i> .	Sansk. द्राक्षा.	
Wine, <i>tin</i> .		
Nut, <i>imlu</i> .		
Peach, <i>āru</i> .		
Apricot, <i>tātra</i> .		
Pomegranate, <i>amar</i> .	Pers. <i>آنار</i> .	
Year, <i>kal</i> .	Pushtō <i>کال</i> , Sansk. काल.	
Month, <i>mās</i> .	Sansk. मास.	
Day, <i>dōs</i> .	Sansk. दिवस्.	
To-day, <i>yēnu</i> .	Compare Pushtō <i>نن</i> , "to-day."	
To-morrow, <i>īkiū</i> .		
Yesterday, <i>dōs</i> .	Sanskrit <i>ह्यस्</i> , Zend <i>zyō</i> , Persian <i>دی</i> .	
Night, <i>satr</i> .	Sansk. शत्ररी.	
Spring, <i>wāsunṭ</i> .	Sansk. वसन्त.	<i>Wasunt.</i>
Summer, <i>nīna</i> .		<i>Westmik.</i>
Autumn, <i>sūru</i> .	Sansk. शरद्.	<i>Shuri.</i>
Winter, <i>zē</i> .	Sansk. हेमन्त, Pushtō <i>سوز</i> .	<i>Zuin.</i>
Heat, <i>tāp</i> .	Sansk. ताप.	<i>Tapi.</i>
Cold, <i>alchéga</i> .		<i>Yos.</i>
Snow, <i>śim</i> .	Sansk. हिम.	<i>Zim.</i>
Ice, <i>āstrama</i> .		<i>Achama.</i>
Sun, <i>sū</i> .	Sansk. सूर्य.	<i>Soo.</i>
Moon, <i>mās</i> .	Sansk. मास.	<i>Mas.</i>
Word, <i>wēri</i> .	Sindhī वाई.	
Star, <i>istā</i> .	Sansk. तारा.	<i>Tura.</i>
Name <i>nām</i> .	Sansk. नाम.	

APPENDIX II.

List of Kūhistānī (Kooner) Words.

Father,	<i>bā.</i>	Tooth,	<i>dānt.</i>
Mother,	<i>ai.</i>	Ear,	<i>ḫār.</i>
Brother,	<i>lē.</i>	Cow,	<i>gōlang.</i>
Son,	<i>pušlin.</i>	Dog,	<i>šuri.</i>
Daughter,	<i>wāṭqk.</i>	Grape,	<i>dāšek.</i>
Sister,	<i>tsādqk.</i>	Man (generally),	<i>adami.</i>
Hand,	<i>astim.</i>	Woman,	<i>tseib.</i>
Foot,	<i>lan.</i>	House,	<i>gōšim.</i>
Knee,	<i>kuta.</i>	Horse,	<i>gōra.</i>
Mouth,	<i>dōr.</i>	Milk,	<i>štr.</i>
My mouth,	<i>dōrim.</i>	Mountain,	<i>dār.</i>
Nose,	<i>nāst.</i>	Kūhistān,	<i>dār-watan.</i>
Finger,	<i>angur.</i>	River,	<i>gal.</i>
Eye,	<i>ānj.</i>	Water,	<i>wārek.</i>
Hair,	<i>šql.</i>	Man,	<i>wtrek.</i>
Head,	<i>sir.</i>		

APPENDIX III.

Some additional words, communicated by E. Norris, Esq.

By the kindness of T. Villiers Lister, Esq., of the Foreign Office, I have received a short list of Kāfir words, procuréd at Teheran from a woman of the tribe residing in that city. The gentleman who forwarded the list found the woman unable to furnish any information upon the structure of her language, and it may be suspected that she gave a Persian term now and then, when one from her own language was not remembered. The whole list contains barely a hundred words, and only a small proportion of them are synonymous with any of those furnished by Dr. Trumpp. But, as any addition to our very meagre knowledge of this tongue must be of interest, the whole list is given. I begin with the words which are common to the two lists, and add some analogous words from those supplied by Sir Alexander Burnes in the Bengal Journal for April 1838. The list is given as sent by the writer, who has obviously adopted the ordinary English spelling.

	TRUMPP.	BURNES.
God, <i>kantaur</i> .	<i>De</i> .	<i>Yamrai, Doghum</i> .
Man, <i>goorata</i> .	<i>Māts.*</i>	<i>Naursta</i> .
Woman, <i>meeshee</i> .	<i>Istri</i> .	<i>Mashi</i> .
Father, <i>taula</i> .	<i>Dañ</i> .	<i>Tala</i> .
Mother, <i>mor</i> .	<i>Arau</i> .	<i>Hai</i> .
Brother, <i>berār</i> .	<i>Blā</i> .	<i>Bura</i> .
Sister, <i>sous</i> .	<i>Sus</i> .	<i>Sosí</i> .
Son, <i>dāvala</i> .	<i>Saggā</i> .	<i>Dabla</i> .

* *Mach* is given by Burnes for "man," in the language of Chitral. See "Journey into Bokhara," vol. ii. p. 209, edition of 1834.

	TRUMPP.	BURNES.
Daughter, <i>davalée</i> .	<i>Su.</i>	<i>Dabli.</i>
Hand, <i>dosh.</i>	<i>Dus.</i>	
Foot, <i>pay.</i>	<i>Kur.</i>	<i>Kur.</i>
Head, <i>shay.</i>	<i>Ša.</i>	
Mouth, <i>aush.</i>	<i>Āsi.</i>	<i>Ash.</i>
Nose, <i>nāsoo.</i>	<i>Nāsuri.</i>	
Eye, <i>ajeen.</i>	<i>Ansi.</i>	<i>Achan.</i>
Bread, <i>au.</i>	<i>Au.</i>	<i>Eu.</i>
Milk, <i>ou.</i>	<i>Zu.</i>	<i>Zor.</i>
Wine, <i>chookara.</i>	<i>Tin.</i>	
Fruit, <i>drauss.</i>	<i>Drās (grape).</i>	
Nut, <i>veeza.</i>	<i>Imlu.</i>	
Fire, <i>ee.</i>	<i>Āna.</i>	<i>Ai.</i>
Water, <i>yoor.</i>	<i>Ābu.</i>	<i>An.</i>
Snow, <i>zem.</i>	<i>Šim.</i>	<i>Zim.</i>
Cow, <i>ko.</i>	<i>Gā.</i>	<i>Goa.</i>
Dog, <i>soon.</i>	<i>Kuri.</i>	<i>Tun.</i>
Horse, <i>gooah.</i>	<i>Guru.</i>	
Uncle, <i>taula.</i>		<i>Kench tala.</i>
Sky, <i>dilo.</i>		<i>Dillí.</i>
Rain, <i>waush.</i>		<i>Wash.</i>
Tree, <i>ooshtou.</i>		<i>Ushtun.</i>
Wheat, <i>goon.</i>		<i>Gum.</i>
Cheese, <i>kela.</i>		<i>Kila.</i>
Sheep, <i>waumee.</i>		<i>Vami.</i>
Goat, <i>wausay.</i>		<i>Vasru.</i>
Ass, <i>necar.</i>		<i>Ghudá (horse ?)</i>
Gold, <i>toon.</i>		<i>Soné.</i>
Silver, <i>nokrah.</i>		<i>Chitta.</i>
Iron, <i>cheemah.</i>		<i>Chima.</i>
Door, <i>dou.</i>		<i>Do.</i>
<hr/>		
Room, <i>hanim.</i>	Charcoal, <i>ammaree.</i>	
Stone, <i>deren.</i>	Basin, <i>ganloo.</i>	
Wood, <i>dev.</i>	Pitcher, <i>shaw.</i>	

Chair, <i>shooneshay</i> .	Fox, <i>makon</i> .
Bedclothes, <i>eeshah</i> .	Kid, <i>choon</i> .
Carpet, <i>satrunjee</i> .	Cat, <i>peeshee</i> .
Bottle, <i>boghāseh</i> .	Hare, <i>lanysha</i> .
Knife, <i>kaurd</i> .	Calf, <i>vatsala</i> .
Sack, <i>terjeh</i> .	Earth, <i>boom</i> .
Spade, <i>keschau</i> .	Nail, <i>aushee</i> .
Plough, <i>kolbah</i> .	Love, <i>sheeau</i> .
Light, <i>diou</i> .	Hatred, <i>thiau</i> .
Grandfather, <i>jood</i> .	Good, <i>khoob</i> .
Grandmother, <i>joodeh</i> .	Bad, <i>abaree</i> .
Aunt, <i>meteh</i> .	Drunkenness, <i>chokrapeey</i> .
Eyebrow, <i>aubroo</i> .	Ill, <i>ndmajeh</i> .
Skin, <i>poos</i> .	White, <i>kasheeree</i> .
Grapes, <i>kishmish</i> .	Black, <i>kaujee</i> .
Apples, <i>paula</i> .	Yellow, <i>tilyanee</i> .
Walnuts, <i>yoon</i> .	Blue, <i>sheen</i> .
Eggs, <i>roe</i> .	To kill, <i>jeeyaus</i> .
Sour milk, <i>toora</i> .	To beat, <i>veeyaus</i> .
Rice, <i>broujah</i> .	To walk, <i>koordan teeyaus</i> .
Ghee, <i>annau</i> .	To sleep, <i>poorshah keeyaus</i> .
Meat, <i>ana</i> .	

Taraskeen, a silver idol in the form of a bird, which has a temple, and is worshipped once a year.

Mauday, an idol of wood, formed like a woman.

Yamree, an idol of wood, in the form of a man. (The *Yamrai* of Burnes.)

Kashau, a wooden idol, in the form of a man.

Several of the words sent from Teheran are Indian or Persian, and the analogy, on the whole, is rather with those of Burnes's list than with those given by Dr. Trumpp, whose statement in p. 1. that the words dictated to Sir A. Burnes belong to one of the numerous dialects which are spoken in the valleys of the Kūhistān of Kābul, may be true of these also.

ART. 2.—*Temperature of Constantinople.*

THE following are the results of some observations made at Constantinople during the years 1839-42. The readings were taken three times a-day, at the average hours of 7.0 A.M., 2.0 P.M., 10.0 P.M.—

MEAN TEMPERATURE.

	1839	1840	1841	1842	Mean.
	°	°	°	°	°
January	36	41	44	46	41·75
February	42	39	40	41	40·5
March	40	40	42	47	42·25
April	43	46	51	53	48·25
May	52	60	56	60	57
June	70	69	70	70	69·75
July	72	76	74	73	73·75
August	80	73	75	..	76
September	68	70	72	..	70
October	63	60	62	..	61·66
November	57	55	55	..	55·66
December	46	38	41	..	41·66
Year	56	59	57	..	57·33

ART. 8.—Memorandum on the Non-existence of "True Slates" in India generally, and, especially with reference to the Slabs of the Kurnool District, Madras Presidency, showing to what purposes they could be applied. By T. OLDHAM, Esq., Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India.

[Communicated by the Secretary of State for India, and read 1st June, 1861.]

So far as known to me, or as I can gather from any information as yet published, there is no locality in India from which *true slates* have been obtained of any value. I use the term in the sense in which it is now universally used by geologists, as well as by architects and builders, to imply a rock of homogeneous texture, capable of almost infinite division into thin plates or slabs, splitting with tolerably even surfaces of considerable size.

This capability of such sub-division in all cases of true "slates" is the result of a structure superinduced in the mass of deposited matter which constitutes the rock, and is, in no case, the consequence of deposition originally in thin laminae or layers. This structure has been produced by the action of several causes combined, the principal of which has been great forces of pressure exerted on the masses of the rock. It is quite unnecessary here to discuss the sources of this pressure; it is sufficient to notice the fact. A necessary consequence of this great pressure is, that where this capability of minute sub-division, or what geologists call "*cleavage*," exists in any perfection, the rocks are hard, close-grained, and, in most cases, as a consequence of this texture, durable. I would notice also that the perfection of this structure can only occur in a rock of homogeneous, or nearly homogeneous, texture, the surfaces of the planes of division deviating from their normal direction, or being deflected, when passing from one variety of material into another, and being at the same time less numerous, and less definitely marked in coarser materials, such as sand-stone, than in finer and more comminuted silt, or clays; and this in every possible degree.

Such is the character of true *slate*.

There are, at the same time, frequently met with beds or masses of rock which have been originally deposited in layers of great tenuity, or of very small vertical thickness, as compared with their horizontal extent. Such masses of rock are, naturally, easily divisible along the lines of these layers or laminæ, (marking, as they do, slight interruptions in the continuity of the deposition); and thus slabs, or thin plates of rock, are procured of varying size, which are frequently called slates, although not so in the true sense of the word.

It will be obvious, on considering for a moment the nature of deposition of silt, or other material from water, holding it in mechanical suspension, that the surfaces of such laminæ can never be expected to preserve for any great distance anything like true parallelism. The slightly greater amount of deposit in one place than in another, the varying strength of currents, the varying size of material held in suspension, all tend to produce irregularities, and unevennesses of surface; and such is, in reality, always found to be the case. Slabs may be, and often are, found of many square feet in superficial area, the thickness of which is small, and the two surfaces of which are nearly parallel; but a slab, taken perhaps from the immediately adjoining portion of the quarry, and from the continuation of the same layer, will differ very materially; and it will thus be found that no confidence can be felt in the permanence of such characters.

On the contrary, when the "cleavage" structure, of which I have spoken, is well developed, it is equally evident that, affecting as it does whole districts and mountain masses, it must have resulted from causes of such magnitude and extent, that the size of our very largest quarries becomes a mere point compared with the area over which such force has been exerted; and, therefore, a constancy, a permanency, and a regularity of result may fairly be looked for.

I have thought it desirable to notice these few general principles because it is evident, from the correspondence now referred to, as well as from much of a similar character, which has passed through my hands, this important distinction has been very generally and altogether overlooked.

The slabs referred to in this correspondence as used near Kurnool are not true slates. They are slabs derived from a fine-grained rock deposited in thin layers or beds, varying from 1 inch, or even less, to 5 and 6 inches, and more. This rock, when quarried in large masses, is readily divisible along the lines of deposition of

these laminae into thin plates or slabs. And these slabs are, as stated, of sufficient thinness, and sufficient size, to form a material suitable for covering roofs or floors.

But these slabs are not procurable in such quantity, or of such a kind as to be useful in the same way as ordinary *slates* in Great Britain. In explanation of this I will briefly describe the way in which they occur, referring to no particular locality, but giving a *general* description.

Suppose a quarry to expose a section of ten to twenty feet in thickness of these beds. This section is probably made up of several distinct and well-marked layers of varying character, some more sandy, some more earthy, some fine-grained, some coarse. Here is a section which will give a *general* idea of such a quarry.



There are some five different beds; the top (No. 1) is, say, a thin-bedded rock, breaking up into layers or slabs of an average thickness of about 3 inches, some soft and comparatively useless, others harder and more durable; (No. 2) is a bed of slightly coarser material, also in layers, and divisible therefore into slabs, but of greater thickness, and a little more irregular; (No. 3) a sand-stone in one bed or layer, say 2 feet thick; (No. 4) thinly laminated, hard calcareous clay or shale, layers not more than one inch thick, and (No. 5) similar in composition and structure, but in layers of much greater thickness and irregularity.

Now it is obvious that out of the whole of this 20 feet in thickness there is only one bed which will give slabs of one inch thick (No. 4), and if such be required for roofs or other such purposes, the whole of the other beds must be removed before this one can be reached,—a mode of working which it need not be said cannot be economical. Or if thicker slabs be required for flooring, &c., the remainder of the beds in the quarry must be all removed to get at the beds yielding these. I here allude only to the division of the masses along planes of natural parting. I will have occasion

to show that any division by machinery will be too expensive ever to be employed largely.

With true slates this is not the case; the *same mass* can be almost infinitely sub-divided (the "cleavage" planes being produced *throughout* the mass); and *from the same mass* the thinnest and slightest slates, or the heaviest and strongest slabs, can be produced.

Even supposing, therefore, that slabs could be procured of size and thickness adapted for roofing (used in the manner of ordinary European slate roofs) the expense of such would necessarily be very great.

True "cleavage" has been, to a considerable extent, developed in the rocks of the Sikkim Hills, of the Kumaon Hills, and in other places; but in all cases that I am aware of, the rocks in which this structure is seen have not been originally homogeneous, and the consequence is that the planes of division, passing across the layers of different texture, are frequently, and indeed commonly, irregular. The thickness and consequent weight of the slates is a serious drawback to their use, while the small sizes in which they can be obtained render them highly objectionable.

Whether the material be thus divisible into true slates, as described, or only split into slabs of varying thickness, the modes of using such slates or slabs are principally two: either in flat pavements, floors, or coverings, whether these are to be external, and thus, roofs; or internal, as floors for rooms, verandahs, entrances, &c.; or 2ndly, as sloping or pitched roofs, as is ordinarily the construction of roofs in Great Britain and in Europe generally. Now the requirements of each form are so very different, that materials suited for one may be totally inapplicable to the other. Even the same material must be, for each of these forms, prepared in different ways.

For floors, or flat roofs, made or prepared in the ordinary way in which terraced or "pucka" roofs are prepared in India, (that is with the ordinary timbers and cross timbers between, on which latter are supported tiles, and a certain thickness of concrete or mortar beaten into a dense and water-tight *masé*)—for such floors, or roofs, slabs of slate or other stone may be used, and frequently with very great advantage, as a substitute for these tiles and concrete. In this case the advantages of such a material are its very much greater strength, and the consequent facility with which much larger squares or slabs may be used; so that the cross timbers instead of being placed at about one foot apart, may readily be used at double or even treble that distance, or may, if the material be

good, be dispensed with altogether, the slabs being laid directly on the beams. In this way the quantity of timber required in a roof or floor is greatly diminished, the joints in the floor are greatly fewer in number, and the probability of leakage therefore greatly less.

As a consequence of this, the thickness of the "pucka" or concrete covering may be greatly diminished, or, where the floor is properly constructed, may be dispensed with altogether. Consequent on this is another great advantage, that such a roof or floor will be much lighter than an ordinary "pucka" floor, and thus, besides the actual reduction in the number of the timbers, the scantling of those which will still be required may also be reduced.

For such uses the slabs must be obtained of the same general thickness; their edges must be sawn or ground truly square, so as to make fine joints; but if the mass be of tolerably even texture, the surfaces of natural division will require no great dressing further than the ordinary splitting.

The comparative value of slabs for such uses will depend mainly on the fineness of texture and state of induration of the rock, on which to a great extent the strength of the stone depends. And, as in this country (India), such materials are untried and unknown, it would be incumbent on every Engineer using such a material to test the strength beforehand, as well as determine the weight of the material. It is quite needless to suggest the methods of doing this; descriptions of such investigations are accessible to every one likely to be so engaged.¹ In Great Britain the average strength and weight of such materials is thoroughly established. For such applications also the absorbent or non-absorbent qualities of the stone become of essential importance, and ought to be tested. On this quality depends, to a great extent, the strength of the stone (a mass of stone, when saturated, being of little more than half the strength of the same mass when dry), and on this also depends the dampness and consequent coldness of the floor. The "weeping" of walls, so commonly complained of in parts of Great Britain, is entirely due to the use of compact and *non-absorbent* limestone, on the surface of which all the moisture of the air is condensed, and the same effect would result from the use of similar materials in this country. The comparative coldness, and also the

¹ A valuable series of experiments on the stone and timber of the Gwalior Territory was carried out by Colonel A. Cunningham and published at Roorkee. (Professional Papers, No. IV.—1854). These may be referred to as a model for other enquiries of similar kind.

slipperiness of such floors are disadvantages; but are easily overcome by the use of mats.

The use of iron girders or beams as joists, and such slate floors as I have just alluded to, will furnish an admirable means of obtaining a *fire-proof* building.

For *external* floors or roofs slate or thin slabs can be used in two ways:—1st, in a manner similar to that we have just noticed for floors, in which the same advantages are obtained, although to a greater extent than in floors; or 2nd, in the ordinary way in which slates are used in Europe.

As regards the former, any flat-bedded stone which can be readily divided into slabs sufficiently thin and strong will answer; in the second place it is essential that the stone should be divisible into slabs of great thinness, as compared with their size, and of great evenness of surface. This necessity arises from the mode of construction of the roof, in which the water tightness and absence of leakage is secured by lapping the edges of the slates so far one over the other that the ordinary capillary action, aided by the driving force of the wind, will not cause the rain-water to pass sufficiently under the over-lapping slates to reach the joints or division of that beneath. It becomes, therefore, essential that the slates should be of great thinness, as compared with their superficial area, or the roof becomes too heavy; and equally it is essential that the surfaces should be peculiarly smooth and even, so as to form a close joint, or, in other words, so that, when laid one on the other, the space between may be reduced to a minimum.

All these requirements are fully satisfied by the ordinary Welsh slates in common use in Great Britain. Slates of very many superficial feet in area can be readily procured, whose thickness does not exceed one-sixth to one-fourth of an inch, and with a variation in this thickness no where amounting to more than a small fraction of this thickness.

But I know nowhere in India where such can be procured.

The Government of Madras most justly remark that English slates are split, not sawn, and that sawing *might* make the material too costly. I think there can be no doubt on the subject; besides the expense, it would be impossible to saw slabs of sufficient size and tenuity, as neither would the material bear it, nor could it be had in sufficiently large masses without joints; the great weight also of such a roof, if constructed on the ordinary plan of sloping roof, would prove a most serious objection.

That slabs of stone, if properly selected, will be more durable

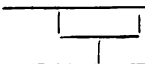
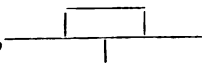
than tiles and mortar is, I think, clear; and that they will be more water-tight *ought* at least to be equally certain, for the joints through which alone the water *could* leak will be reduced to about one-tenth the number.

There is an objection to such external use of stone or slate for roof in India (if used without a covering of concrete or mortar) arising from the large amount of heat they absorb and again radiate. This, however, would be entirely obviated by a little increase in height of walls, or, in extreme cases, by the use of a boarding inside, or a lining to the roof.

I have little doubt, from the considerations alluded to above, that the Kurnool slabs referred to by Lieutenant Beckley and the Madras Government are entirely unfitted for sloping roofs; that they cannot be procured in slabs dividing naturally of such size and thickness as would adapt them for such roofs; that sawing them would, even if practicable, be too expensive; that the slabs thus procured would be either too thin to give the requisite strength, or, if of sufficient strength, would be too heavy and thick for economical or effective use. But for flat roofs or floors I think they may be used with advantage.

I would further urge that such stone slab floors, where the proper material can be procured with a moderate amount of carriage, and at a fairly reasonable rate, will prove much more durable, more economical, more cleanly, and in every respect better floors than either wood or "pucka" for Barracks, Hospitals, Court Houses, or any places where there is constant intercourse, and also for the verandahs of such buildings.

I have just alluded to the cleauliness of such floors; and I consider this to be by no means a trifling advantage. They can be mopped out with clean water or washed with soap and water in the same way as ordinary wooden floors, and can thus be kept sweet, clean, and free from vermin with the smallest amount of labour. The joints of the slabs should be ground or sawn true and set with asphalte; where necessary a small piece

being let in over the joint, thus,  or if in external roofs, or floors, thus,  and laid in asphalte.

I may remark that Lieutenant Beckley does not state the size of the slabs which can be procured of one inch in thickness; but I would notice that the ordinary thickness of even the largest Welsh

slates is not more than one-fourth part of this. Nor is there any information as to the weight of the stone or its strength.

I would here strongly urge the great advantages which would result from a series of investigations in each District of the same nature as those valuable enquiries of Colonel A. Cunningham, to which I alluded above. Such investigations can only be undertaken with advantage, or with any fair prospect of success, by those who may be located in the neighbourhood for some time. But by none could they be conducted with greater advantage than by the able Officers of Engineers who are in charge of Districts, and who thus possess peculiar facilities for obtaining specimens, as well as information. I shall always be most happy to aid such investigations in any way in my power, by analysis of the materials or otherwise.

There are several localities in Bengal and the North Western Provinces where such slabs could be obtained as would be suited for flooring. The Hills to the south of Monghyr, the Sikkim Hills (poor), the Soane Valley, the Kumaon Hills, &c., &c., the Gwalior Hills. But in few cases will such materials admit of any great length of carriage; and they can, therefore, only be used economically when procured within a reasonable distance of the works where they are required.

6th August, 1860.

ART. IV.—*Abstract of Reports on the Cultivation of Imphee in the Bombay Presidency, for the Year 1860.* By N. A. DALZELL, Esq., *Superintendent of Forests.* Communicated by the Secretary of State for India.

[Read 1st June, 1861.]

REPORTS on the experimental cultivation of imphee¹ in 1860 having been received from nearly all the Collectorates of Bombay, and having perused them with much interest, the Conservator of Forests has the honour to make the following observations.

2. In order to impress on the minds of all interested in the progress of agriculture in India the great importance of success in this matter, it seems necessary to bring to their notice, as a preliminary step, the very short interval (compared with sugar cane) between the sowing of imphee and the extraction of the sugar, viz., about 100 days, while the sugar cane requires 420 days; therefore imphee sugar can be produced at one-fourth of the labour and expense, and the ground left available for other crops.

3. Wherever these experiments on imphee have been successful, the result is conclusive, and cannot be invalidated by any argument.

4. But the same remarks will not equally apply to unsuccessful experiments: these are not conclusive against the plant for many reasons.

5. A first failure might be attributable to several causes within control, as well as to unsuitable climate.

6. It is not by one experiment that the value of any new object of culture can be ascertained.

7. The nature of the plant may be imperfectly known, as, for instance, at Sholapoor the whitish powder, which covers the imphee in a state of vigorous health, was mistaken for a sign of disease, and probably after the discovery it was left to its fate.

¹ *Holcus saccharatus*, or Chinese sugar cane, now grown in England, and in the South of France as forage; good varieties are found in Southern Africa. It does not ripen its seed in England.

8. Another probable cause of failure is thick sowing, and of this the Conservator has himself been an eye-witness.

9. In a field where imphee had been sown thickly it was surprising to see the vast difference between those stalks which had a little room, and consequently a larger amount of food; instead of the plants being at least two feet distant from each other, five to six grew within one square foot, and it is scarcely necessary to add that they were diminutive depauperated specimens. Another and more obvious cause of failure may be poverty of soil. A gramineous plant growing to the height of nine feet, and three inches in diameter, in seventy-five days, as was the case in the Candesh experiment, demands a great amount of silicate of potash ready and fit for absorption.

10. The last probable cause of failure may have been an irregular or scanty supply of water.

11. All these are within the control of the cultivator, and, therefore, it would be premature to come to the conclusion, to which the majority of the reports lead, that it is not a desirable article of cultivation.

12. From what is known of the nature of imphee, as well as from the eminent success which has attended its cultivation in Upper Sind, the Conservator was prepared to hear most favourable accounts from Ahmedabad and Sholapoor, places having a climate most nearly approaching to Sind, and yet the reports from these Collectorates are decidedly unfavourable, and lead to the supposition that the causes of failure may be obviated in future.

13. The favourable reports are from Belgaum, Sattara, and Candesh.

14. At Belgaum the plant was luxuriant, 11 feet high, with excellent stalks, full of sweet juice.

15. At Sattara it reached a height of eight feet, and was much appreciated by cattle, and forty stalks made 1 lb. of goor.¹ From this amount of goor it is impossible to judge what a beegah² would produce without knowing what ground was occupied by forty stalks. If the seed was as thickly sown as in the field alluded to above, it would only be surprising that they yielded any goor at all.

16. As the proportion of rind to pith increases³ with the size of the stalks in a multiple ratio, the great object is to grow them as

¹ Molasses, or slightly inspissated juice.

² From one-third to one-half of an acre.

³ *Qy.*—Decreases.

large and thick as possible, which can best be done by sowing in drills.

17. In Candesh the plants were 9 feet in height and 3 inches in diameter in seventy-five days from the time of sowing, but were said to contain little or no saccharine matter, a singular circumstance in such vigorous plants, and which can be accounted for only by supposing an excess of water, or a very clouded sky, during the time of ripening.

18. All the other reports are said to be absolute failures.

19. As the imphee approaches most nearly to jowaree in habit and constitution, it would be a waste of labour to attempt its cultivation where jowaree will not succeed; but, for the reasons stated above, the Conservator would recommend that the experiments be repeated in all jowaree districts, and, if possible, on a larger scale.

20. It should not be allowed to grow near jowaree, with which it most readily hybridizes.

21. The opinion of the late Conservator, as contained in the Ahmednuggur report, "that the imphee could not compete with the sugar cane, as long as 16 lbs. of goor can be sold for one shilling," must be judged by the following facts.

22. The present price of goor in the Deccan is only 8 lbs. for a shilling.

23. A beegah of sugar cane, after the protracted labour of planting, constant irrigation and weeding, over a period of fourteen months, produces, 1,500 lbs. of goor in the most favourable circumstances, while imphee produces 500 lbs. in less than one-fourth of the time, and with one-fourth of the labour and expenses; while the ground on which it grew may produce two other crops while the sugar cane is still growing.

24. If the imphee is regarded simply as a forage for cattle of the most superior description, it is desirable to persevere in its cultivation.

25. In the report of the Poona experiment, it is stated that imphee kurbee¹ went five times as far as ordinary kurbee. Imphee is now an established article of Sind cultivation, and will certainly be one of its finest products.

26. Irrigation is necessary wherever the rain is either scanty or irregular.

27. It is not wise to condemn the soil to give that which it

¹ Stalks, dried and used for forage as straw is in England.

produces at a disadvantage, at the expense of what it produces willingly.

28. It ought to be the aim of agriculturists to derive the most advantageous results from the forces of nature; to fight against them is the height of folly; but the Conservator is of opinion that these observations cannot yet with justice be applied to the cultivation of imphee, which should be experimented on still further, to establish its character, particularly in Guzerat, Kattiawar, and the Eastern Deccan.

ART. V.—*Translation from the original Arabic of a History or Journal of the Events which occurred during Seven Expeditions in the land of Kānim, against the Tribes of Bulala, &c., by the Sultan of Burnu, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali; preceded by some details of the Sultan's ancestors. Translated by J. W. REDHOUSE, Esq. Communicated by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.*

[Partly read 20th April, 1861.]

PREFACE.

PRAISE belongs to God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. May God be propitious unto our Lord and Prophet, Muhammed the Elect, the Messenger whose doctrines are followed, the Seal of the Prophets, the Chief of the Righteous; also to his Family and to his Companions, the Pious, as well as to his immediate Followers in goodness; even unto the day of Resurrection and Judgment.

Praise belongs to God, the great and glorious One, whose majesty is uncontaminated by the accidents of manner or place, or any other conceivable; the Guide of those whom He directs by the study of His Book, which comprises every kind of wisdom; He who has promoted the people of Islam above all other nations by decisive texts and convincing testimony, such as will demand and gain attention so long as days and nights shall succeed each other. He appointed as an Awakener, our Lord and Master Muhammed, the most perfect of Prophets and Apostles (to Him and to them be the most worthy greetings and salutations); He sent him unto all creation; for the signals of heathenism were displayed, idols and images were worshipped, iniquity and ignorance had filled the whole land even to the summits of the hills; but this Apostle did not cease from his endeavour to convert, either by word of mouth, or by sword and spear, showing forth joyful tidings and terrible denunciations, inviting at the same time to the paths of salvation, until truth became separated from falsehood as the day-dawn from the darkness of night. Soon, however, there appeared some who were among the greatest of his friends, and became noted among the men of renown, as also others, his

enemies, men bewildered in the valleys of error, obstinacy, and sin. This is no accusation, for it was so ordered by the Omniscient King who rules his dominion as He wills without let or hindrance, obstacle or weariness. May God be propitious, and may peace be upon him, and upon his family and companions peace and favour for ever and ever, without end.

Having thus fulfilled the obligations of a sacred custom, we proceed now to state that our desire in undertaking this work has been to describe the expedition to Kānim, to which country our Sultan, the Commander of the Faithful, the Vice-Gerent of the Lord of heaven and earth in the country of Burnū, the Pilgrim Idrīs, son of 'Alī, son of Idrīs, son of 'Alī, son of Ahmed, son of 'Othmān, son of Idrīs, son of Nikālih, son of Ibrāhīm, son of Ahmed, son of Selema, son of Bikruh, son of Bīr, son of Dūnma, son of Umbī, son of 'Abdu-'l-Jelīl, son of Hū, son of Dika, son of Bulu, son of Wiyāma, son of Ketur, son of Ersū, son of Feni, son of Dūka, son of Ibrāhīm, son of Seyf, son of Dhi-Yezn, of the children of Himīr, and of the tribe of Koreysh, travelled. He conducted five different military expeditions into the country of Kānim, viz., three in the winter season, the fourth in the summer, and the fifth in the autumn.

According to what we have heard from the lips of our forefathers, it would appear that when the progenitor of our Sultan, Ibrāhīm, son of Seyf, was buried, he, the said Seyf being then living in the country of Yemen (Arabia Felix) at San'ā (Senna), he emigrated thence, and journeyed little by little until he arrived in the town of Sim, in the country of Kānim. He rested there from his journeying and dwelt there a long time, until he had children and grandchildren, living so late as the days of Dāwūd, son of Nikālih. Before the days of this same Sultan Dāwūd, there was no opponent to them on the face of the earth, and no litigant on any side, but every human being was obedient to them and under their rule. And according to what has been related and told to us as reported by the elders who were acquainted with the facts, the extent of their kingdom on the eastern side reached unto the town of Dūy and unto Nabil, one of the towns of the Rif; while on the western side it touched the sea, lake, or river, named Beremūsa.¹ Thus have we been informed by our departed forefathers, and what

¹ This name may be Remūsa, the first letter being merely the Arabic preposition, with an erroneous accent.—J.W.R.

degree is greater than this? what chief has ever reached their dignity? and what kingdom has ever equalled their realm? O prodigy of perfection and power! The author of the book on the affairs of Africa¹ has related that the family of Himir, son of Ghālib, are really descendants of Hāshim without doubt or surmise; the said Hāshim being an ancestor of Lūy, son of Ghālib. Himir and Lūy were therefore brothers, as we have formerly narrated. Lūy, son of Ghālib, was the ruler of Hejāz (Arabia Petrea), and Himir son of Ghālib was ruler of Yemen (Arabia Felix). He was appointed governor of the country, and his brother Lūy, son of Ghālib, made him a free gift of it. From the posterity of Himir proceeded the Amalekites, and from the posterity of Lūy, son of Ghālib, all the noble and virtuous, and the Prince of Prophets. May the favour of God and peace be upon him and upon every one of them! This, however, is a very remote inquiry. We have also noticed in the book on the affairs of Africa¹ that Himir was ruler of the whole earth, and it was to him a goodly kingdom. He built between Cufa and Irāk a thousand cupolas, each formed of glass; in every one of these he placed a throne with eight columns of silver gilt with gold, and on each throne a concubine, daughter of a King. And Himir was the brother of Lūy, son of Ghālib, and he was the ancestor of the Kureysh. We have also noticed in the same book, that whenever the people of Hāshim or of Himir took any spoil in their military expeditions, they always used to share the same with each other, by the reason that the people of Himir were descendants of the sons of Hāshim. Thus says the book on the affairs of Africa. Furthermore, we have read in the book called Futūhu-'sh-Shām (The victories of Syria), that one of the Kings of Arabia Felix, whose name was Seyf, son of Dhī-Yezn, was the individual who congratulated our Prophet Mohammed (may God be propitious unto him and grant him peace), when God Most High bestowed upon him the faculty of speaking with perfect wisdom. Let him, therefore, that is endowed with understanding learn from these passages extracted from the two books Afrikiyya and Futūhu-'sh-Shām, and let him know the origin of our Sultan, the Pilgrim Idris, son of 'Alī (may God glorify him), that he is of the same race with the great men of renown, since his ancestors issued from the family of Kureysh, the like of which is not to be found among most people. It is true that what is learnt from report is not so certain as what is learnt by ocular demonstration. "Beyond

¹ By "Africa" is generally meant the older kingdom of Tunis.—J.W.R.

what is actually seen, the boundary of our own proper knowledge extends not." Again, "The matter is as you know it."

Return we now to the history of Sultan Dāwūd. When he succeeded to the throne, sedition, rebellion, and tyranny made their appearance in his days, by the predetermination and ordinance of God most High, as it had been foreknown of old to his prescience. By reason of this, certain men of the tribe of Bulāla entered the country of Kānim, men belonging to the families of Fitri and Medema, who settled there without being brought into subjection until the reign of the pious, devout, just, and valiant Sultan, the Commander of the faithful, Idris, son of 'Ali, son of Ahmed (may God bless his posterity until the day when the trump shall sound). When God had put him in possession of the reins of the kingdom in the town of Burnū, he gathered together his armies of *red men*¹ and black in great numbers. He then journeyed into the land of Kānim, and lived in a country named Karni-Kiyāla. War then ensued between him and the Sultan Dūnma, son of Selema, and God gave a great victory to Sultan Idris, so that Sultan Dūnma retired with his troops in disorder, and went away into distant places. After which Sultan Idris, son of 'Ali, marched to the town of Sim, so well known to the kings of the children of Seyf, son of Dhī-Yezn, and took up his abode there, well pleased with all that had occurred. Now, according to what we have heard related by the Sheykh Dūnma, son of Resku, from the date of the expulsion of Sultan Dāwūd to that of the entry of Sultan Idris, son of 'Ali, into the town of Sim, was an interval of one hundred and twenty-two years, neither more nor less. After this event, Sultan Idris, son of 'Ali, remained in the town of Sim as long as God willed. He then returned to the town of Burnū, and showed no desire to go again into that country until intelligence was brought to him from Kānim that the Sultan Dūnma, son of 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, was slain, his brother Adam, son of 'Abdu-'l-Jelil having succeeded in his stead, and taken possession of the government.

This circumstance did not, however, deter the Sultan from his journey to Kānim, he went there then as he had done formerly, and journeyed until he reached the town of Jughulghula (or Jufulfula). An action ensued between him and the Sultan Adam, in which God assisted him and gave him the victory, and Adam fled with his army in disorder, without stopping or tarrying until they were at a

¹ The Arabians call themselves "red men" in contradistinction to the blacks and to the whites. These latter they designate "yellow."—J.W.R.

great distance from the country of Kānim. After this, our Sultan Idris marched to the town of Jim¹ as he had done before, and remained there as long as God willed.

According to certain information which has been furnished to us, Sultan Idris son of 'Ali issued his commands for the Sultan Adam to come to the town of Kānim after having caused him to swear an oath by God the Great and Mighty, that he would be submissive and obedient to his rule. Having done this, Sultan Idris son of 'Ali returned to the city of Burnù joyful and in excellent spirits, his army also exulting and rejoicing, congratulating and thankful for their success. He then took up his abode in the place of his birth, where he dwelt until the time arrived that God Most High had preordained, and he died in the town of Welem. May God have mercy upon him.

He was succeeded in the kingdom of Burnù by his son Muhammed, son of Idris, son of 'Ali, who remained in peace a long while, until at length the Sultan of Bulāla, named Kedà, son of 'Abdu-'l-Jelil came against him. According to some accounts which have reached us, there was only an interval of forty days between the accession of Sultan Muhammed, son of Idris, and this irruption of Sultan Kedà. This latter was slain in the town of Lesà, according to what is related by the most venerable elders. The meaning in Arabic of the word Kedà is 'Abdu-'l-Kadim (servant of the Ancient of days). Beginning from the accession of Sultan Muhammed, son of Idris, son of 'Ali, to the throne, none of the people of Kānim rebelled against his authority, or refused submission to his rule, until he died at the expiry of his appointed term. May God have mercy upon him.

After him his whole brother, Sultan 'Ali, son of Idris, succeeded to the kingdom, and retained the sovereignty in the same manner that his brother Muhammed, son of Idris, had retained it before him. Not one of the inhabitants of Kānim refused to obey him and to be submissive to him, until his term arrived which God had written regarding him on the preserved tablet. May God have mercy upon him.

Next to him the Sultan Dūnma, son of Muhammed, succeeded to the throne. In his days strife and enmity broke out between him and the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, son of Kedà, so much so that Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil advanced as far as the city of Burnù in the intention

¹ Jim and Sim are, as will appear, two variations of the name of one and the same town, constantly interchanged.—J.W.R.

of doing war and battle. The Sultan Dūnma, son of Muhammed, went out to meet him with his army, and an action took place between them in the city of Burburā (or Burburwa). God granted a great victory to our Sultan Dūnma, son of Muhammed, so that the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil turned back discomfited. After this event, Sultan Dūnma, son of Muhammed, advanced into the country of Kānim and gained a second victory, returning thence to his own country of Burnū, after putting to death Siruma-Bir, with Keghutima, Denyewā,¹ and others of the Bulāla.

After the above recited events, the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil never more attempted to make war upon Sultan Dūnma, he used occasionally, however, to organise predatory excursions into different parts of the country of Burnū, always returning therefrom a fugitive without making any stay, resembling therein a robber; and whenever he attempted the country of Burnū, he always hastened his return after pillaging, so that intelligence thereof should not reach Sultan Dūnma, that he should not pursue him, overtake him, and overthrow him. Such continued to be the constant practice of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil until the death of Sultan Dūnma, which happened before that of his adversary. May God have mercy upon him. Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil died soon afterwards.

Sultan 'Abdu-'llāh, son of Dūnma, succeeded to the sovereignty during the lifetime of 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, and the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, son of Kedā, refrained from his predatory excursions into the land of Burnū, and from carrying away captives, restraining himself thus; but his people, their chiefs and leaders, continued still to make forays into the country of Burnū, by night and by day, as had formerly been their habit in the time of Sultan Dūnma, son of Muhammed, nor were they deterred from these evil practices until the death of Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil at length took place.

He was succeeded by his son 'Abdu-'llāh, son of 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, in the lifetime of our Sultan 'Abdu-'llāh, son of Dūnma. The true dust of war was never raised between these two, but only plundering and kidnapping excursions were still carried on as formerly, until the death of Sultan 'Abdu-'llāh son of Dūnma.

After him, the just, the pious, the honoured Sultan, the pilgrim to the two holy cities, Idrīs, son of 'Alī, son of Idrīs, succeeded to the sovereignty of Burnū. May his Lord increase his honour, may his God multiply blessings to him. Then was every man of the

¹ These two words may be one name, and may be written in various ways; e.g., Kefutima, Denyū. Or, the first word may be the name of the tribe to which Siruma belonged, and Denyewā may have belonged to the Bulāla.—J.W.R.

inhabitants of Burnù restrained from wickedness and iniquity, from scandalous offences, and from every kind of perversion. The truth was made manifest and shone forth in the region of Burnù, error disappeared and every trace of it vanished, so that the paths of the people of Burnù were made straight, well defined, level, and even; the mass of the nation became Mussulmans, excepting the atheists, the hypocrites, and the doubters, whose hearts have deviated from the manifest truth. God is the accountant with whom they will have to reckon; and when the exterior is made perfect, it pertains only unto Him who knoweth all secrets to judge of the hidden things of the inner man.

When, therefore, justice was spread over the region of Burnù by the Sultan Idris, son of 'Ali, the Pilgrim, and was extended to every quarter, then the faithful had rest from the perversion of the land, from the kidnapping incursions of the Bulāla, from the Ghafatā, the Netālā, from the men of plunder, from evil doing, and from corrupt dealing. This tribe of Bulāla inhabited in former days the country of Tel, and the region of Ghatfih, journeying continually between those places and Kānim, night and day acting perfidiously towards the country of Burnù; and when Sultan Idris, son of 'Ali, the Pilgrim (may God grant him honour in this world and in the world to come), succeeded to the throne, they returned to Kānim, nor did they one single day show an inclination to undertake pillaging and kidnapping expeditions into Burnù, excepting that some of them would come to the Sultan with requests for things of which they were in want, or in order to mediate between him and the Sultan of Kānim, 'Abdu-'llāh, son of 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, so that friendship and enjoyment might subsist between the two, and that God might even connect them with each other by marriages. Treaties of peace and friendship were drawn up in both countries by means of councils held by the chiefs and rulers of the people of Burnù and of those of Kānim, and the matter was settled upon that basis, so that there was no longer any dissension between the Burnùese and the Kānimese, nor any disagreement or quarrel, except the case of the three districts (or towns) which the people of Kānim had formerly seized when hostilities broke out between Sultan Ahmed, son of Muhammed, and Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, son of Kedā. When these three places were demanded, the names of which are Telh, otherwise called Kileyh, Ghufūtih, and Bulūj, they would not restore even one of them, and the people of Burnù never ceased to long for their restoration until the death of Sultan 'Abdu-'llāh, son of 'Abdu-'l-Jelil.

After him, his son, Sultan Muhammed, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, succeeded in his stead; and when he had taken possession of the kingdom, he neither refused in a peremptory manner to restore those three places, neither did he send to the people of Burnū a decisive answer about them, until at length the sons of rebellion, injustice, and envy, drove him from his kingdom without profit to himself.

Afterwards the uncle of the above, Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, son of 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, succeeded to the throne, when the ancient friendship was interrupted which had subsisted between Sultan 'Abdu-'llāh and Sultan Idrīs, and which had existed before then between Sultan Muhammed and our Sultan; and when the subject of the three regions was mentioned to him he paid no attention to it, and on no occasion did he incline to the side of conciliation. Then the Sultan Idrīs the Pilgrim demanded of him, of his rulers, and of his commanders, that the holy law should be put in force and a judicial decree given on this subject, but not one of them was found who would submit to follow the sacred tradition. Upon which he demanded a second time that the holy law should decide, and they wrote a note and sent it to Sultan Idrīs the Pilgrim. When the note so sent was unfolded before him, he alighted upon the mention therein of the word "force of arms"; for it was said: "These three places were taken from you by Sultan Selema by force of arms; how then shall we restore them to you?" This we have seen in the middle of the note. And Sultan Idrīs the Pilgrim was astonished at their little prudence, at the weakness of their intelligence, and their total want of consideration for what our Sultan had done by twice conducting an expedition into Kānim after the death of their Sultan, and by his conquering the whole region of Kānim, with its districts, after driving out therefrom the two Sultans, Dūnma and his brother Adam, son of Selema. He was also astonished, as were we, at another thing, which is, that the law of "force of arms" is in force only in respect to infidels; how then could it be cited in our case?

Then it was that the Commander of the Faithful, the Sultan aided of God most high, the Pilgrim Idrīs, son of 'Alī, resolved to march in person upon Kānim. And he assembled the officers of his kingdom in council, the commanders, the governors, and the guards, with others; and he asked their advice, when all recommended that an expedition should be undertaken with all dispatch.

The expedition started from the great city called Burnū¹, and

¹ Another orthography used for Burnū.—J.W.R.

halted in the region of Ghambertū; from thence it reached Zentem, halted there, and passed from thence to Kessimwa, journeying towards the west, and arrived there. When it had sojourned in this place a few days, the son of Berkeyh the pilgrim, named Laghiyā the pilgrim, came to it as ambassador on the part of Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, son of Abdu-'l-Jelil. But our Sultan paid no attention to him, by reason of what had happened on the part of Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil in mentioning the term "force of arms" in the note formerly sent; the ambassador returned therefore to Kānim.

Our Sultan Idris the Pilgrim, set out, therefore, after this from Kessimwa, marching in an easterly direction, and encamped at Zentem, the place mentioned above; after remaining there a few days, he marched from thence and encamped in the district of Ghatuwa. Thus he continued marching by stages in the midst of his dominions until he encamped at Berni, in the neighbourhood of the stockaded town named Ghātifih (or Ghātighih, Fātifih, or Fātighih). This is a place much celebrated among those who travel to Kānim from among the people of Burnū, be they near, or be they distant, even to the camel-drovers. He remained there a very short time, about three days or so, in order to collect his forces. He then marched from thence about the end of the month Rejebu-'l-Ferd. Some persons account that day as the first of Sha'bān, by reason of the disagreements of men, according to their usual custom, regarding the assertion of having seen the new moon on the twenty-ninth night, since some months are of the full number of days, while others contain a day less.

And the Sultan continued his march until he had reached the place named Siklih, nor did he desist from proceeding until he passed by the district named Ghayawā, and encamped in a place called Furtū, at the hour of the afternoon nap, with a great concourse of troops and warriors, after the commanders, governors, and guards had been rejoicing on the march at what intelligence had reached them. This was the very day on which Essīma-'Alī, son of Fukuma-Ātina, died, and it was Thursday. The Sultan and his army passed three nights at Furtuwā, his camp receiving accessions of strength from every quarter, of horse and foot, shieldsmen and archers, until the agglomeration was very great.

The Sultan, Commander of the Faithful, the Pilgrim, Idrīs, son of 'Alī, set out from Furtuwā¹ on the Monday. Now our nation, the people of Burnū, call this place by three different names; some

¹ Variant of Furtū.—J.W.R.

call it Ekilih or Iklih, others Ghaljadū, and others again Furtuwā, as we ourselves called it above. The Commander of the Faithful marched then in the direction of the east, after the signal had been given by beating the big drum on the morning of the Monday, and continued advancing with his army until they reached the place named Elāla, where they spent the night. In the morning, the people were summoned according to custom, and they started from thence, marching towards the east, and encamped at the place called Ghibūkenjīr. From thence they reached Dighāla, and camped there; leaving it they reached Burum, from thence Rūr; from Rūr they went to Kesewdā, from Kesewdā to Ghumāmi, from Ghumāmi to Sūlū, from Sūlū to Mulikim, from thence to Kurū, and from thence to the river named Melhā. From this river they reached the place called Rembewā; from Rembew¹, Ma'ū, which is a place celebrated among all the people of Kānim. In this manner the Commander (of the Faithful), the Pilgrim, Idrīs, marched from Furtuwā to Māwā² in fourteen days, besides stopping in one place two days, and he encamped in the above-mentioned Ma'ū on a Saturday before the sun had declined from the meridian. He remained there nine days without any fighting taking place between him and the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, excepting that one day the two armies of Burnū and of Bulāla met each other in the following manner. The man named 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, son of Bih, set out one evening from the place named Yutūkurma, which is the town where the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, son of 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, was dwelling with his troops. And Ab'du-'l-Jelil, son of Bih, with those who accompanied him from the army, marched in the direction of our camp, but stopt short of it for repose; in the morning he moved in a north-westerly direction, thinking to surprise our people. On the other hand, the Vezīr Idrīs, son of Hārūn, set out also with his troops in search of the camel-drovers, and took a northerly road; and when 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, son of Bih, saw with his troops the dust raised in the plain by the Vezīr, he turned aside towards the desert from fear of him, and the Vezīr knew nothing of that circumstance at the time. Now when 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, son of Bih, had thus turned aside, he met a small body of Burnuese who had strayed to a distance from the Vezīr, and took them by surprise. The people of Bulāla, therefore, did great injury to this party, except such as God Most High preserved by flight; and they killed the son of Kājelmelha, 'Abdu-'llāh, son of Hawā. News of this event then reached the Vezīr, Idrīs, son of Hārūn, for the cause of this damage done by 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, son of

¹ Variant.—J.W.R.

² Variant.—J.W.R.

Bih, was his vicinity to our camp, one single undulation of the ground alone separating us. When, therefore, the Vezīr, Idris, son of Hārūn, heard of this event, he set off in pursuit in all haste, without deliberation and without hesitation. Meydelā Muhammed, son of Fātima, also joined in the pursuit, turning his reins towards them, and he even got in advance of his uncle. And when the party of the Bulāla saw these troops approaching them, they fled towards the wilds at full gallop out of sheer fright and cowardice, lest Meydelā and his troops should come up with them. But Meydelā pursued them, following their tracks, and taking the lead of his party. The Vezīr Idris, too, followed the traces of his son Medelā¹. Now these three did not cease galloping until they had got to a very great distance; then Meydelā halted and gave over the pursuit. His father also, the Vezīr Idris, son of Hārūn, returned to our camp after having ascertained that the troop of Bulāla had retired far away, and taken refuge in the desert, inasmuch as God Most High had infused into their hearts a great fear. They then returned to their Sultan and informed him of all that had happened. Thus has it been narrated to us.

Our people, the Muslimīn, accounted this flight of the Bulāla a happy omen for a great victory over them, inasmuch as the first incident of the war consisted in a proof of their cowardice and in their flight, and by reason that God Most High had granted strength and victory to us, and weakness and impotence to them. Matters never altered in this respect between us and them, until at length God Most High gave us a great victory on Monday, the last day of God's month, Dhi-l-Ka'da the sacred, through His assistance and favour. Verily, it is a duty for all the household of faith to put their trust in Him, and to depend upon Him in every circumstance.

We will relate the chief features of the battle, God permitting, at the end of the work, but it is now fitting for us to return to the original history, that of the country of Māw, and of the country of Yitukurma². No one from among the officers of the Bulāla ever ventured forth one single day in search of stragglers from our camp, after this attempt of 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, son of Bih, until our Sultan, the Pilgrim Idris, son of 'Ali, marched from the town of Māw, after having reposed there nine days. The distance between Ma'ū and the town of Yitukurma is about a forenoon's journey for a strong pedestrian.

¹ Variant, curious confusion of terms of relationship.—J.W.R.

² Variants of Ma'ū and Yitukurma.—J.W.R.

Now the Lord his God Most High, to whom be praise, had caused our Sultan, the Commander of the Faithful, Idris, son of 'Ali, (may God strengthen him and fortify him), to be well instructed in the mode of governing the kingdom in all matters pertaining thereto and advantageous to it, in all its ceremonials and incumbent duties, in the most excellent manner and most perfect degree, as a special favour unto him, and a peculiar grace. Wherefore, in accordance with this established rule, he sent his ambassador, the man named Tuski, son of Kilfih, of the tribe of Key, with a letter addressed to the Sultan of the Bulāla, to their commanders, governors, and magistrates, in a general manner, and without any particularization. In this letter it was thus said to them: "When the letter reaches you in health and safety, and you have read it, and comprehended its contents, in general and in detail, then it is desired from you that you send to us a man of sound understanding, that he may hear our explanation on the subject of our coming against you, and that he may return to you bearing what he will have heard from us." Now when the Sultan's messenger arrived with this letter, and they had read it in the presence of the whole people, they became exceedingly indignant, and they said "We will not send any one to him, neither will we dispatch any one." And they wrote us a letter in the handwriting of the Pilgrim Ibnu-Dila, and did not send an ambassador to us; whereas, if they had had the least degree of understanding and sagacity, they would have sent one to us as we had sent one to them. We have seen in the letter which they thus sent unto us: "What then are the acts that have proceeded from you in your inroad upon our country, such as burning our houses, and committing devastation therein! Fie upon you for such deeds!" So wrote they, and when we had seen it we wondered with great astonishment, and comprehended that they were filled with pride; for such terms are never uttered except by those who have valour, might, and power to resist. Had things been as their foolish minds fancied, we should not have been able to march against them, but should have remained in our own country. Alas! alas! things were not as they fancied.

After this, the Sultan, Commander of the Faithful, the Pilgrim, Idris, son of 'Ali, marched from the town of Māw on a Monday, after having remained there nine days. And when the army had mounted and commenced its march, there arose such a dust in the air that no one could see the direction of the road; for this reason a short halt was made on leaving the station, to allow the dust to subside, and the people stood still. After a while, the dust was

cleared away before the wind, and objects became visible. God be praised for our Sultan and for his army, with great, constant, and universal praise. The army was then divided into two columns; and the Sultan placed one of these under the command of the Vezir Idrīs, son of Hārūn, that it might march with him in a westerly direction, the other column remaining with his own person, and marching with himself more easterly, each of the two columns of the army being intended to reach the western parts of the country of Kānim. They started, therefore, for the place called Wesāmi, and the *weak ones*¹ of our men and of our camels followed in the rear of the Sultan, until they reached Wesāmi about noon. This is a country having plenty of water; and they encamped there, each one marking out his quarters, and they remained there the Tuesday and Wednesday.

News was now brought to us that the people of the tribe of Bulāla were come with their Sultan to the place named Kirsila, in the intention of advancing to Wesāmi for the purpose of attacking us. And when we learnt this intelligence, our people sent out some horsemen, all clad in armour, to occupy the eastern part of the country of Kirsila, in which was the army of the Bulāla and their Sultan. Our people passed, therefore, with the Sultan, over one hill, and then halted in expectation that the Bulāla would advance against them by that time. No signs of the enemy being perceived, our people returned with their Sultan to their camp after having waited a long while, and having performed there the noon and afternoon prayers. At sunset on that day, the new moon of Ramazān was perceived, it being then the night of Thursday, after the expiry of Sha'bān, and the people passed the night in preparation for the fast.

When the gracious Lord brought the auspicious morning, the Sultan gave orders for our people to march. No one objected to this, and we all marched and journeyed towards the country of Kirsila, from sunrise till the middle of the forenoon, with the intention of giving battle to our enemies, when we descried the people of Bulāla drawn up in five divisions, each division by itself, waiting for us to advance towards them. And when we had approached them within about a bow-shot, or more, they fell back and retired towards the east at full gallop, our people pursuing them to the utmost. Our men returned after this pursuit, and they encamped round about their Sultan, the Pilgrim Idrīs. Upon this, the

¹ Zu'afā. This word is the original of the French "Zouave." It appears to designate all but well mounted and well armed horsemen.—J.W.R.

drummers beat the great drum for the victory gained by this flight of our enemies to hide themselves from us. On that day we saw a beautiful helmet which had fallen from the head of one of them as they fled in disorder, and which was seized upon by Kuluyma Muhammed, son of Kennā, and by this their cowardice and their fear may be known to every man of sense.

The Sultan turned away then from the place to which they had fled, and marched towards the southern (?) regions of Kānim, continuing his course with his army until he reached the country of Menmena about the time of noon or afternoon prayer. This was on the Thursday. He spent the night there with his forces, and in the morning he led the people in the direction of the place named Tus-hu, it being then Friday. That day a mist and a violent wind arose, so that it was not possible to see around us, unless by the greatest attention. Thus did we journey until we reached Tus-hu about noon.

The Sultan, the Pilgrim, halted then at the mouth of the well, so that the thirsty horses and men might get water, for they had spent the night at Menmena without water. A part of our people remained at the mouth of the well in accord with the Sultan, and another portion followed the drum for the purpose of encamping. Now when the Sultan halted at the mouth of the well, he ordered the drummers to ascend the hillocks to the west and there unload their beasts of burden. And when it became difficult to find any more water in the well, the bulk of our people followed after the drummers, in order to unload their effects and their vessels at the camping ground, so that they might feed their cattle and give them to drink. In this way there remained but few people with the Sultan.

Our enemies of the tribe of Bulāla, when they gained intelligence of our situation on the Thursday from the violence of thirst with which we were attacked in reality the whole night and day, turned about from their flight and followed in our track in great numbers; but concealing themselves, with the intention of attacking us, if they could reach the country of Tus-hu unawares, and take us by surprise while we were driven to desperation from want of water. Not one of our people was in the least aware of this circumstance. So when the two armies came in sight of each other over against the place called Tus-hu, an attack took place on the part of our troops that were with our Sultan, as soon as the enemy approached the gate of our camp. And news of the Bulāla spread abroad and became known, the people of the camp hearing of their approach.

Upon which, Siyekema Seka, with Ferkuma Muhammed, son of t e daughter of Fātima, and Essima, son of Merghi, with others of the commanders, governors, and guards, and of those who had shields and bucklers, came forth in great numbers with the resolution of doing battle, and went against them. Also the men of the left wing of our army came forth from the northern side of the camp to fight with our enemies, the Bulāla, fully prepared; such were the Vezir, and others of our troops besides him, in like manner as those of the right wing had come forth, whose names we have mentioned above.

As soon as the tribe of the people of Kānim saw the forthcoming of our troops to battle, and their great numbers on every side and in every place, their hearts failed them, and they turned upon their heels and fled without making any stand. Our people pursued them, killing and wounding them with weapons of every kind, such as swords, spears, javelins, and scymitars; neither did they cease from following them up in every direction and killing them, until their horses were fatigued with the pursuit. The enemy's horsemen, however, galloped off with their horses, leaving the foot soldiers behind them, even as disabled mules are rejected and left by the road-side uncared for. That day none of their foot-soldiers escaped, except such as God saved from among them, or such as escaped being wounded by sheltering themselves under cover of the darkness of night. None but God most High can count the number of foot-soldiers who were slain. On our side, none were killed on the field of battle, except Erjunma 'Ali, otherwise Dūnma 'Ali, son of Ghabeyh, alone. The wounded on our side amounted to four men, one being Iruma-Nasar, the second Fukbuh, Lord of Diliknih, the third Sunma, son of Debuwa, and the fourth Shattīma, son of Fesāleh. The Lord of Diliknih died in the town of Tus-hu one day afterwards, Hirmuh-Nasar¹ lived eleven days, and travelled to the town of Jim, where he died on a Monday; may God have mercy on him. We had not expected him to die in the least, as his wounds were very slight; it was as though he had died from some other complaint, or without any complaint at all. As for Sunma and Shattīma, son of Fesāleh, they recovered from their wounds, by the favour of God and his grace.

The Sultan sojourned after this affair eight days in the town of Tus-hu, and marched from thence on a Saturday, journeying towards the town of Sim, in which are buried his ancestors the Sultans of olden time, who dwelt there until the days of Sultan

¹ Variant of Iruma-Nasar.—J.W.R.

Dāwūd, son of Nikālih, as we have fully explained in the former part of this book, so that there is no need to repeat the matter here. And when we wished to start for Sim, a black dust arose, and spread itself, and filled the air in every direction, the same as we have narrated as having occurred on our departure from the town of Māw before. Such was its custom and its inherent quality, until we reached the town of Sim before noon-time. And when we arrived there, we found the well which is there had been demolished, so that we should not find it when we arrived there. Our people were, therefore, disquieted with the fear of suffering from a want of water by reason of this well being thus demolished. Upon which, the Sultan, the Pilgrim Idrīs, son of 'Ali, commanded the people to dig another well in the vicinity of the one demolished, and again another by itself in a separate place, so that there should be a plurality of wells, and that both men and beasts should have plenty of water to drink. This demolition of the original well was a piece of malice on the part of the Bulāla, but it did no injury to any one but themselves, and profited them nothing. Now when the people heard the proclamation from the Court of the Sultan, they set to at digging the wells with all speed and in conformity to the order, as they had formerly done in the town of Tusuh¹, and in the town of Ghamizā, after the flight of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil and his people in disorder; and before two days had passed over our heads, our people were quite at their ease in respect to pure water for themselves and their cattle, their want of water having lasted during the two days of Saturday and Sunday only.

When the morning of Monday came, the Sultan went to visit the tombs of his ancestors the Sultans of former days, accompanied by his governors, his commanders, his doctors of the law, and thrice they completed the recitation of the Kur'ān, offering up prayers, and he gave alms of money, horses, and bullocks, very munificently, striving thereby to find acceptance from God the Bountiful, to whom he ascribed all power and majesty. After that, the people dispersed to their abodes. This same day died Iruma-Nasr, (may God Most High have mercy upon him), and from the date of his receiving his wounds to the day of his death, eleven days had elapsed, as we mentioned before.

The Sultan, the Pilgrim Idrīs, son of 'Ali, did not remain in the town of Jim after the death of Yuruma² more than four days, and when Friday dawned upon the Sultan, he gave notice to his whole army to break up their camp in order to pursue their journey to the

¹ Variant of Tus-hu.

² Another spelling of *Iruma*. J.W.R.

town of Aghāfi where is a stockade (*abattis*, or fortified place?) of the Bulāla. As soon as the army began to move, the dust arose in clouds, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that the road was followed, even as we have already described the like as happening on former occasions. We have even heard it related by the Imām Ibnu 'Ayisha, who was attached to the personal suite of the Sultan on that day, that they only knew of the departure of the Sultan, the Pilgrim Idris, by the dust that rose up in the air like a column of smoke, after the intervention of a great interval between the spot where they were and the place the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil (the Pilgrim Idris?) had reached. O men of understanding, listen to this, for in listening and considering is there a rectification of ideas. Where, indeed, have you seen the like of our Sultan, the sign of whose departure from a place is known by the clouds of dust raised and seen from far distant regions? Yea! May he be magnified, for his like does not exist; and may God bless his kingdom, his children, and his posterity, with a blessing great, potent, and enduring to the day of the resurrection; for the sake of the Prince of mankind, our Prince and Lord, Muhammed (may God be propitious unto him, and may peace be upon him, Amen).

And when we entered the defile which leads to the town of Aghāfi, the Sultan Idris, the Pilgrim, sent out in advance of his army the men who, with their horses, were clad in armour. This he did as a measure of precaution and of persevering fortitude, he marched then without fear or care until he had arrived at the above mentioned stockade about the time of noon, and he encamped to the right hand side or south of the stockade with his army abounding in numbers. And when our Sultan had encamped in the town of Aghāfi, the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil came that same night, the night of Friday, and encamped near to the place of rest of the Sultan Idris the Pilgrim, coveting an opportunity to do mischief, and imagining that we had not in that place a sufficient array. In the morning, therefore, of the Saturday, our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, commanded the heralds to proclaim to the host of commanders, governors, guards, and all having valour and strength, that they should go forth in the direction of the army of Bulāla. Our people rushed out with the greatest speed when they had heard that proclamation; upon which the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil decamped with his army of the tribe of Bulāla, and marched in the direction of the west. The Vezir Idris, son of Hārūn, was ordered on that day to remain opposite to the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil and his troops, fronting them for the purpose of an engagement. Our Sultan, too, Idris

the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali, took up his station on a long extensive knoll, with a portion of his army in an elevated and conspicuous spot facing the enemy, and fully prepared for battle. But when the tribe of Bulāla saw the degree (of power) of the Commander of the Faithful, and of the Sultan of the believers, the King Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali, manifest and apparent as the sun at mid-day, they were seized with violent dread, they feared for their lives, and they took to flight, running away in disorder and with the utmost speed. The Sultan refrained from pursuing the enemy himself; but the Vezīr Idrīs, son of Hārūn, followed their traces to a great distance. The slain were slain, the prisoners were captured, and the Vezīr did not return from the pursuit until the evening was dark. Now the Vezīr found among the captives two dignified persons related to the royal family of the Bulāla, namely, Sultan Kedīr and Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, and he brought them to our Sultan in a state of great fear for their lives lest they should be put to death. But when they were brought into his presence, he gave them their liberty, by reason of his great pity and compassion for mankind, and on account of his proneness to pardon and forgive. Had it not been for this, he would not have sent them away.

After this, our Sultan set out himself in pursuit of the enemy, accompanied by his horse-soldiers alone, without taking the shieldsmen with him, nor did he cease to follow in the direction they had taken until towards the end of the first watch of the night. When the sentinel of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil saw the army of our Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali, he fled immediately to the spot in which the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil was, in order to inform him of the approach of the Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim, in all celerity. The people of our Sultan followed him, but could not catch him, for the night was an obstacle between him and our people. When, therefore, the sentinel came to his Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil in the place called Senduh, and acquainted him with this intelligence about us in the most positive manner, they fled in confusion after having encamped with the intention of passing the night. Indeed, according to what we have heard, the people who saw the place of their encampment, found an ox slaughtered for eating, which they had abandoned as they fled in great fear. They got away to a great distance.

Our Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim, arrived at that place at the time of night prayer, and slept there. As soon as morning appeared, each horseman watered his beast in the midst of that town, after which they set out again in pursuit of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, and

continued following him up until the time of afternoon prayer. And we saw the signs of their performance of day-dawn prayer in a desert part of the country, upon which we despaired of coming up with them. This was over against a town of theirs called Ekma, in a westerly direction therefrom; we reached this town on our return in the evening, a little before sunset, and we encamped for the night on the south (or right hand) side of Ekma, which was nearest.

In the morning we arose in good health and in safety, and we started with our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, intending to return to our camp where we had left our *weak ones*.¹ We passed through Aghāfi, and went on and reached our camp about napping time. We and those whom we had left in our camp were greatly rejoiced at the junction, and many were the congratulations offered on both sides.

On the day that our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, rested at Ekma, he set at liberty all those whom the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil had imprisoned; whereupon they experienced great relief and they rejoiced exceedingly. Let us now return to what occurred in the town of Aghāfi.

After the return of the Sultan, the Commander of the Faithful, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali, to the stockade of Aghāfi from his expedition, he remained there until he had performed the prayer of the Conclusion of the Fast. And when the new moon of Shewwāl appeared at the conclusion of Ramazān, the drummers beat the big drum, with accompaniment of all the customary instruments on the long night, as they were used to do in the country of Burnū, until the break of dawn. Again, when the sun was well up in altitude, the drum was beaten, and the other similar instruments that accompanied it; and the prayer of the Feast was performed. What rejoicing was ever greater than this? What Sultan was ever more happy than our Sultan when the drum and the musical instruments were thus beat in the country of Kānim at the place of the stockade of Aghāfi, in the same way as was usual in our own country of Burnū?

Immediately after performing the prayer of the Feast, our Sultan marched in quest of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil towards the time of afternoon prayer, and prosecuted his journey until the sun had set. He then halted, performed his sun-set devotions, and mounted again with his people, travelling the live-long night, and stopping for nothing but to perform the stated prayers, and to hang on the nosebags of their horses. For other purposes, such as sleep,

¹ Zu'afā, Zouaves.—J.W.R.

they halted not, and thus they continued until they arrived at the district of Fighīsih, a celebrated place. Now when our scouts advancing reached this place, they found therein the Sultan 'Abdu-ʿl-Jelil with his forces watering their horses; and they perceived our people, and fled into the deserts to the north of Fighīsih in all haste and at full speed, using every endeavour and effort to get away. Information was sent to the Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, of all that had occurred on the part of Keyām, and on the part of 'Abdu-ʿl-Jelil, with his followers. He therefore turned aside in the direction towards which these had fled, quitting the direct road to Fighīsih; and he commanded the Vezīr Idrīs, son of Hārūn, to follow them up, and find them out. The Vezīr heard the command obeyed of all, and accepted it. He therefore set out with his own followers in advance of the Sultan, and they urged their horses and gave them the rein in search of the Bulāla, using every endeavour, and making all speed on that day. The Sultan also, and those who were with him, followed at full speed in the footsteps of the Vezīr until nearly noontide. This caused great suffering to our horses from the violence of their thirst, arising out of this race in pursuit of the enemy. The horses of the Bulāla on the contrary did not suffer thirst, for they had been watered during the night at Fighīsih, as we have already noticed. But we had not met with any water on our march in the afternoon from Aghāfi until nearly noon of the day following; for this reason our horses were unable to come up with the fugitives. -

Besides, flight for one's life is a more pressing emergency than speed in pursuit of an enemy. From these two considerations our enemies distanced us completely. The Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, halted therefore with his troops when he saw that if he continued the pursuit obstinately it would assuredly be to the detriment of our horses, which certainly would not be an advantage. He returned then with his army to Fighīsih, but did not reach it until the sun had declined from the meridian. Those troops, however, of our Sultan who were dispersed over the deserts, made spoil that day of many camels and oxen, and much property. The thirst of our party was not fully quenched until after the time of afternoon prayer. This accomplished, the Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, journeyed towards the south (or the right hand) from the town, and encamped near to it, passing the night there, and returning in the morning to the fortified post of Aghāfi, where was our principal station. This we reached only on the third day, about the time of the sun's acquiring a fair altitude.

News was then brought to our Sultan that the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil had marched with his forces to the northern quarter of the country of Aghāfi, and had encamped at Ghaskwa, in which was buried his mother Bih, daughter of Ghurghur, and in which she had lived up to the day of her death. And when this intelligence was circulated and became spread abroad, our Sultan marched to Jim, starting from Showkiyyetu-'l-Aghāfi after the afternoon prayer, with the whole of his army. He arrived at Sim¹ in the beginning of the night, and our people tasted sleep there, as much as God willed. The Sultan and the forces mounted their horses before day-dawn, and travelled until they had passed Melima, and arrived at a place near to Ghaskwā at the time of the day nap. He passed the night there also. But the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, when he came to Ghaskwā, had not remained there more than a short while, leaving again quickly with as much millet as he could take, and retiring into the deserts. Our Sultan, the Commander of the Faithful, Idris the Pilgrim, heard the news of his retreat when we started from Jim¹, before we arrived at the place where we napped. Had we heard the intelligence of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil we should not have stopped until we had reached Ghaskwā, but for this reason we stopped a little short of it both for napping and for our night's rest.

In the morning we reached Ghaskwā and took up our quarters there before noon, remaining there either two or three days. And we found in and around it whatever God ordained of booty and advantage, but we did not find the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, inasmuch as he had departed from his birthplace (reading watan, instead of waty), and betaken himself to the deserts in order to save his life. He concealed himself in a place where there was no water, suffering from thirst, and for this reason we returned in the direction of our chief station. We left Ghaskwā directly after sunrise, reached Melimih² at noon, remaining there to perform our mid-day prayer after the decline of the sun from the meridian, after which we travelled rapidly in the direction of Sim, arriving there just at sunset. We put up there for the night, and next morning proceeded to Showkiyyetu-'l-Aghāfi, remaining there until we had found those of our people who were stationed there, and whom we had left behind us. They were happy, merry, safe, and loaded with booty.

After this, our Sultan the Pilgrim, the Commander of the Faithful, Idris, son of 'Ali, remained at the station of Showkiyya, in the country of Aghāfi, without moving or journeying in pursuit

¹ Sim and Jim are variants.

² Variant of Melima. — J.W.R.

of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, until the commanders, governors, and guards of the Bulāla, even unto the tribe of 'Arab and the tribe of Fitri, with others of the people, gathered together at his side. And every one who thus came to him he sent him to join the Sultan, the legist Muhammed, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, after having caused him to swear by God on the Volume that he would follow him and obey him, those only excepted who preferred to go with us to the country of Burnū with the intention of residing there. In this manner a great concourse was formed around the Sultan Muhammed, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, and they obtained justice against the governors, after having despaired of obtaining it at all through the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil. Thus they remained with their Sultan Muhammed inside of Showkiyyet-Aghāfi, while the camp of our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, was outside the same; and on this footing did we continue with the Sultan Muhammed, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, for a considerable time, until at length our horses and camels had to go a long way off to find pasturage.

And when the Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, made up his mind to march from that place, the Sultan Muhammed moved before him on a Thursday, and went towards the south of the town of Ghamtilū. The next morning being Friday, our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, journeyed also to Ghamtilū, where the Sultan Bir, the legist and the pious, the son of Dūnma, had died. He was accompanied by his doctors of the law and his commanders, and they there read the Kur'ān, placing their hopes in God Most High, and trusting in the blessings attached to His holy Scripture. They then returned to the camp before the time of noonday prayer, spending the night there, and on the Saturday morning the great drum was beaten by order of the Sultan as a signal for moving. He marched then to the south, and halted at the town of Belāghi.

Now when the drum beat, and the Sultan determined to journey towards the south, the High Priest Ahmed, son of Safiyya¹, author of the present book, started before the Sultan and journeyed towards the west of Showkiyyetu-'l-Aghāfi in company with the Junior Priest Muhammed, son of 'Ayisha², and their attendants, in the view of a pious visit to the mosque of Ermā. They reached the same and saw it, and considered attentively the interior, and acquired a real knowledge of it, and deemed themselves blessed on its account. They then journeyed in the direction of the town of Belāghi, and did not reach it until after the Sultan had halted there

¹ It will have been remarked that people are frequently named in this history by the name of their *mother*.—J.W.R.

at noon before them. O Muslim brethren! take a lesson from the journey of these two priests who are both included in the court circle, and from their return to the Sultan! This arose from the dread inspired by our Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim (may God grant him honour), for he had put the whole land of Kānim in a state of the greatest abjectness and terror.

On that day intelligence was brought to the town of Belāghi that the Sultan Muhammed the Legist, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, had taken prisoner his uncle Bīr, son of Sīkima, with two of his brothers, and had cut off their hands. The next day, our Sultan journeyed towards the river to the south, and halted at Ghisla (or Fīsla). He remained there several days, until a host of subjects came to him from the Arabs, from the Kūkū and from the Fitrī, as they had come to him when he was stopping at the town of Aghāfi.

When the people had finished paying their visit, our Sultan set out again, marching towards the west, and accompanied by those who had determined to emigrate to Burnū, some being of the tribe of Bulū, some of others. Thus they continued, until they reached the town of Dibwā, where they remained a short time for the army to rest itself, and for them to efface the traces of their exposure to the inclemencies of the weather and of their encounters with the enemy. When the necessities of the army had been thus cared for, the Sultan, Commander of the Faithful, set out towards Ghallā, from Ghallā to Iwenh, where he halted, and from thence to the town of Dighilwa. From thence he went to Ghallā, where he halted, and from that place to Medghama.

At this latter place, the Sultan Muhammed, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, came with his forces and met our Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may God grant him honour!). The governors of the two Sultans met also, as their two Sultans had met, in one place, so that the people could converse on what had happened, and could enjoy each others society the live-long night. After that, the two armies separated, the people of Burnū from the people of Bulāla, and each passed the night in his own camp. And when the dawn was nigh or was breaking, news was received to the effect that the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jehl, son of 'Abdu-'l-Jehl, had put his forces in motion in the intent of coming to the town of Yitukurma to offer battle to the Sultan Muhammed, son of 'Abdu-'llāh. This intelligence being repeated and spread abroad, our Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim, (may God strengthen him and succour him), turned back towards the east, and halted in the neighbourhood of the town of Ghallā, in the design of giving battle to the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jehl, remaining there

with his forces the whole night; but he could gain no further intelligence relative to the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil.

Upon this, he turned again towards the west, halting in the vicinity of Medghama. From thence he continued journeying towards Burnū until he had reached first Sulū, then to Keghesta (or Kefesta), and afterwards to the town of Siki-Dānenma, so that the frontier between the country of Burnū and that of Kānim was in sight. The drums were beat in this place, on account of the frontier being seen, and to give the same a degree of importance and notoriety, thereby leaving no room for uncertainty. From thence he afterwards came to the lands of Sukurti, then to Belowj, from whence he reached Ghūghūta, and at last Béri. This last is the point noted as the place of assembly for all those who are going to Kānim, and the point of separation for those who are coming to Burnū.

Now after our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī, had encamped in the town of Berī, authentic information was received that the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil had marched against the Sultan Muhammed, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, in order to attack him; that the two armies had met near the town of Yitukurma, where a severe engagement had ensued, which had resulted in the Sultan Muhammed, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, taking the road towards Burnū, after a great number being killed of the partisans of both sides. According to what was told us, the man 'Alī, surnamed Fedaw (or Ghadaw), was knocked down in this battle. He was opposed to the Sultan Muhammed, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, who had married him to the daughter of Yerīma.

To return, however, first of all to our original history,—as soon as our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī, heard the news of the battle between the two Sultans 'Abdu-'l-Jelil and Muhammed, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, with the retreat of the latter towards Burnū, and his arrival at the town of Berī, he told his people and his army in an encouraging, cheering, and exciting manner, that they were going to set out again and return to the country of Kānim. Upon this the people were divided between two opinions, some being for following the Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī, so as to set him forth on the journey and equip themselves, while others wished to return home by reason of their provisions being exhausted. Ultimately, the whole of the governors, commanders, and guards, united in the wish to return to Kānim.

The autumn being now past, and every one having completed his preparations and ceased from the same, the Sultan resolved to enter on the campaign against Kānim. He therefore set out with

his army in the beginning of the winter, and arrived with his troops on the march at Showkiyyet-Ghātehgha. The troops assembled here, and increased in numbers, after which they went on to Ghafūta, to Belūj, to Kurteti, to Kaghastih (or Kefestih) and to Wirkimih, and at last they reached the town of Gharni-Kibāla.

From this latter place he started by night, accompanied by the most robust horsemen and foot-soldiers, and marched with all possible expedition to the town of Yissembū, in search of Kilūma-Dūnma and his brother 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, son of Bih, leaving behind him those who were weak.¹ He reached Yissembū after sunrise, but did not find those two persons there; they had both fled in precipitation. He therefore seized the property and returned from thence, halting in the town of Wessāmi, and passing the night there with his troops. In the morning he sent to the weaker men² of his army that he had left behind, with the foot soldiers, and appointed over them as his lieutenant, one of his commanders named Hiruma-Ighā, marching himself with the forces accompanying him to the town of Melima. He halted there at napping time to water the horses, and marched thence towards the east until he reached the town of Sim towards evening. After resting there a short while, he set out again in the night with his troops, marching towards Showkiyyetu-'l-Aghāfi, which they reached before sunrise; but they found nothing there. They, therefore, followed the traces of the fugitives towards the east, using every endeavour, and never stopping or delaying, until at length they came up with a body of travellers on the march, among whom were the women of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil. This party they attacked and plundered, making captives of the women Ghumsuh, Bih, and others besides, excepting only such as God delivered by flight. The Sultan then returned to El-Aghāfi, and afterwards to Jim. In this latter place he remained, and established himself, sending from thence a messenger to Yirumā-Yāghā³, whom he had named lieutenant over the weak ones and over the foot.

Now the said lieutenant, when the Sultan marched from Wessāmi towards Sim, remained in the former place one night, and marched on the day following towards the north, halting at the town of Diru, where he remained with what forces were with him in expectation of authentic intelligence from the Sultan. They had not tarried long before the Sultan's messenger made his appearance, and they rejoiced exceedingly at the good tidings of the Sultan's success in capturing the household of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil.

¹ Zu'afā.² Zu'afā³ Mentioned above as Hiruma-Igha.—J.W.R.

After delivering this joyful message, he further informed them that the Sultan required them to join him at the town of Sim; in consequence of which, the lieutenant marched with his party in the direction of Jim, halting at Madmimi, where he passed the night, and from whence he set out the day following, and arrived in the middle of the forenoon, so that the two parties, those who had been with the Sultan, and those who accompanied the lieutenant, met again, and there ensued much embracing, and greeting, and gratulation at their safe and fortunate junction.

The Sultan rested two days, Friday and Saturday, while on the Sunday morning he determined to march against the enemy. He left behind him in the camp four of his principal captains, namely, the first was Kighama-Bekr, the second was Thiyurma-Bir, son of the Sultan, the third Deletughizim, and the fourth Yiruma-Yaghā, together with their followers. He left also with them the shieldsmen and the crossbow-men, the javelin-men and the archers, and others besides, who were unable to accompany him for want of camels to carry their provisions,—these amounted to a very great number.

The Sultan started, therefore, the Commander of the Faithful, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali, in great strength on that Sunday, marching towards the east in the direction of the town of Kewāl, which we reached in the middle of the forenoon on Monday. We found nothing there, neither man nor property; we therefore napped there until night, and about midnight, a little before or a little after, the Sultan mounted, and his horsemen with him marching first towards the south; but when the true dawn broke, and morning prayer had been performed, we turned to the east, and later still to the north. When the sun had gained a good altitude, the Sultan and those with him performed the prayer of the Feast of Sacrifice, and as soon as we had finished this on the Tuesday, the whole party mounted and commenced plundering operations against our enemies of the tribe of Tub. A great number of them were slain, and many camels, oxen, sheep, and slaves were taken, after which we returned to the above-mentioned town of Kewāl at a rapid pace, and when we had reached it we watered ourselves and our horses till all were satisfied.

The Sultan then ascended the hill which lies to the west of Kewāl, encamping there, and gathering around him his whole army, with what they had taken of divers kinds of property. The night was spent there, and in the morning of the Wednesday we marched to the west towards the town of Sim, in which were our people and

our troops. We only halted for the performance of our prayers until we arrived at the town of Sefih nearly at sunset, where we watered our thirsty horses and passed the night. After the morning prayer and before sunrise, we mounted, and the people were all in haste to reach Sim; we reached first Ekma, then Gharfal, and lastly the neighbourhood of Jim. Here a surmise arose among our people that the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil had gone with his troops to the town of Sim, in order to attack the party whom we had left there with the four captains above mentioned. This surmise did not prove to be correct. We advanced, however, in the direction of Sim at a cautious pace, and between hope and fear, until we arrived close to the town. There our people beheld the mark of camels belonging to the Bulāla tribe, and this fact became generally known, and every one who was with us had an opportunity to ascertain it and to relieve his mind from every kind of doubt or uncertainty. Upon this the Sultan dispatched three scouts, one of them a shieldsman named Semh; the second, the Junior Priest Muhammed, son of 'Ayisha, and the third, Hannū, a crossbow-man (or a fusileer).

Of these three scouts the two first reached the camp of our people, but Hannū, the crossbow-man, seeing the dust which rose into the air from the flight of the Bulāla, returned to our Sultan and told him not to go to Sim, but rather to take a more northerly direction, as he might then chance to light upon the traces of the Bulāla thereabouts. The Sultan took this advice, turned his horse's head in that direction, with his forces, at a gallop. The High Priest also, the author of this book, Ahmed, son of Safiyya, with his learned friend and companion, the pilgrim, the lord of the country of Fiyā, galloped after the Sultan until their horses were exhausted with the rapid pursuit. Many of the baggage camels of the fugitives, and many of the men of Bulāla who were mounted on camels were also killed, but their horsemen distanced us and escaped.

To return to what relates to the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil and his forces: we have to mention that as soon as he heard through Bakarmi that the Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī, was come into the country of Kānim, had found the whole of his family on the road, even to the woman Ghumsa, had taken them all, had encamped at Sim, and had marched again from thence to the east with the design of making war upon the tribe of Tub, leaving the weaker portion of his troops in Sim, the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil resolved, after holding a council with his commanders and governors, to proceed with his troops to Jim. He put this resolve in execution

and marched rapidly to Sim in the night of the Wednesday. From what we have ascertained, there was no fire lighted that night by anyone in their camp. On the Thursday morning they made a circuit and came upon the eastern road by which our Sultan had marched to make war on the tribe of Tub. This they did as a stratagem, so that the people of Burnū should not at first imagine that they were of the tribe of Bulāla. And in fact, when the people of Burnū heard of their approach, they imagined it was the Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim, who was coming, and whose signs were seen. In consequence, the shieldsmen went out to meet him, who were most of them men of the country of Ghufuta, of the tribe of Tumāghir, so doing in the hope of being the first to welcome the Sultan, and thus to gain an increase of favour and consideration in his eyes. But when they had approached to within about the distance necessary for putting a horse to his speed, they perceived distinctly that the truth was not as they had imagined. Of the four captains who were in the midst of Sensena¹ as lieutenants of the Sultan, none went out of Sensena but Deltūghizim, with his troops following after the shieldsmen. According to our information it would appear, that when the people of Bulāla saw the small array of horsemen and of shieldsmen they halted, fearing that a large army might be following these out of Sensena. They therefore turned their attention to what might be coming out of the town in the rear of this party. Seeing, however, no support to them leave the town, cupidity took possession of them, and they undertook to overwhelm this party as they were so few in number. But the shieldsmen perceived the preparations which were being made to attack them, and retreated towards Sensena. The people of Bulāla pursued them, however, at full speed of their horses, and not one of the shieldsmen escaped but those to whom God gave safety by deferring the term of their deaths. On the other hand, Deletu-Ghizim, having learnt that the approaching party were men of Bulāla, halted near to the town on the outskirts of Sensena, and courageously awaited their approach until a few of them came in contact with his party. Then, perceiving the superiority of the Bulāla people in point of the number of their horsemen, he desisted from his intention of attacking them, gave way with his party, and retreated. The men of Bulāla pursued these as they had pursued the shieldsmen who had gone out of the town in advance of the rest of the townspeople.

¹ This word appears to signify a capital fortified town, and is here applied to the town of Sim or Jim.—J.W.R.

According to the accounts given by some persons, one of the Bulāla horsemen caught hold of Deletu by the hand when he turned away in the direction of Sensena, and tried to pull him off his horse, wishing to make him his prisoner. Deletu perceived, however, that his own horse was strong and the horse of his adversary weak; he therefore took firm hold of the pommel of his saddle, and put spurs to his horse, which act, when the man of Bulāla had perceived it, caused him to relinquish his hold of the hand of Deletu as quickly as he could. Deletu and his party then raced with each other, vying with each other as to who should enter the town first. Several of the Bulāla people entered with them into the midst of Sensena, but the bulk of them halted outside and refrained from entering on account of the danger, and out of cowardice. Of those who thus entered some were quickly killed in the midst of Sensena, and others escaped by flight and scrambling out again.

Of the three lieutenants of the Sultan, we will here relate what we heard from those who were present in Sensena. First of all, the Commander Kīghima-Bekr, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, remained by himself in one quarter of Sensena after his followers had moved away from him; secondly, the Commander Siyurumuh-Bīr (or Yibr), son of the Sultan Idrīs, drew himself up with his followers in the middle of Sensena, opposite the people of Bulāla, in order of battle, acting courageously, fighting and repelling them until they retired in disorder; thirdly, the Commander Hiyurma acted in a similar manner to Siyurmuh; as to the fourth Commander Deletu, we have already related his acts and deeds.

To return to our original narrative of the history of our Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of Ali. When our Sultan changed his road towards the town of Sim, after having chased away his enemies of the tribe of Bulāla, he entered into Sensena about the time of afternoon prayer, and all who were therein rejoiced at his arrival and prompt return, fear departing from every one in Sensena. On that day, of the tribe of Bulāla, Hīruma, son of Ahmed, was killed.

On the above mentioned occasion, the drums and other instruments of music sounded the whole night. In the conflict of that day three of our people were wounded, one was Mitrāma-Liyātuh, the second Mulaghlama-'Abdu-'llāh, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, and the third Hunūma-Muhammed the younger, son of Junūma; they all died of their wounds, (may God have mercy upon them), and Mitrāma-Liyātuh, with Wunma'-Muhammed the younger, were

¹ Variant of Hunūma.

buried in Sim; but Mulaglama-'Abdu-'llāh was buried in the town of Setūm.

The Sultan marched after this affair from Jim, and advanced with his army, and halted at the town of Ghamarā, which he left on the second day, marching towards the south, and encamped in the town of Setūm, near to that of Yitukurma. Here it was that Mulaglama-'Abdu-'llāh died of his wounds, (may God have mercy upon him). In this place also we received intelligence that the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil had taken up his quarters in the town of Daghlu, firmly establishing himself therein. This intelligence was confirmed, and so soon as our Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim, learnt it, he ordered his Vezīr, Idrīs, son of Hārūn, to act as his lieutenant during his absence in taking care of the foot-soldiers, the stores, and the infirm, setting out himself with the strongest of the cavalry and camels for the town of Daghlu in quest of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil. But when he approached near to that place, the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil fled from thence to the deserts where there is no water, his followers accompanying him there. Our Sultan pursued them with his forces, and they made efforts but it was not possible to come up with them. They, therefore, returned to us with what booty they had taken, consisting in a large quantity of property. The Sultan and the Vezīr met in the town known by the name of Kergha-Simsim. When the Sultan set out for Daghlu, the Vezīr also had set out the day after in the direction of Simsim, which he reached after remaining one night in the town of Bārī, in which were the companions that had been with Kowma, of the people of Ermi, who had been taken prisoners and carried away.

And when our Sultan, the Commander of the Faithful, returned from his expedition, and he and his Vezīr had met in the town of Simsim, there chanced to be there certain of a tribe of Arabs and of a tribe of the Tub, between whom and our Sultan a conference took place. Those of the tribe of Tub decided on going with us to Burnū, and thither they did go; but the Arabs remained behind in Kānim, after a solemn pact and undertaking having been come to between them and our Sultan.

Our Sultan did not make a long stay in this place, but marched from thence towards the north with his forces, and halted at Bārī, passing on the day following and halting at Menduh. From hence our Sultan set out on an expedition towards the north in pursuit of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil. They got sight of him and his followers travelling in a westerly direction, and followed them as far as the

town of Kitati. And when the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil received authentic information that the Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, with his troops, was following him and his party, he turned aside into the most arid deserts, as was his established custom. Upon this, our Sultan halted in the town of Kitati, waiting for that part of his forces which was with Meydelā, son of Fātima, and which had rested in [the town of Menduh after the departure of the Sultan. In this place died Deletū-Turgha (may God have mercy upon him).

In the morning, therefore, the Sultan's lieutenant, Meydelā, son of Fātima, marched from Menduh after the funeral of Deletū, intending to proceed in the direction of Māw. He placed the shieldsmen in a body in front of the column, as a measure of precaution, and caused the cavalry to follow slowly, until they had passed beyond Māw, and then he halted in another place, where the messenger sent by our Sultan came up with us, and ordered us all to join him in the town of Yereh. Indeed, every wise man has an opinion and a plan, and a way of thinking, and a calculation! Do you not see what Meydelā did in organizing the march of the army? How excellent an organization!

The next day also the Sultan's lieutenant, Meydelā, son of Fātima, marched again, and this time also he placed the shieldsmen in the front of the column as he had done before. We halted that night in the town of Yikmi before reaching Yereh. After our night's repose we started again, and reached the town of Yereh at noon, after suffering much from thirst. We entered the town about the time of noon prayer, and passed the night in safety.

In the morning, the three generals assembled at the quarters of the High Priest Ahmed, son of Safiyya, there to hold a council. One of them was Kīghama-Bekr, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, the second Yerīma-'Alī, son of Gūh, and the third the Lieutenant Meydelā, son of Fātima. And they consulted together on the subject of not having received any intelligence as to what might have occurred between our Sultan and the people of the tribe of Bulāla; the result of the council being an agreement to remain where they were, after having surrounded the whole of the houses with an inclosure of *palissades* or abattis, in length and in breadth. Such was our situation, when in a short time accurate intelligence reached us from our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī, informing us that he was staying in the town of Sitati¹, after the removal to a distance of 'Abdu-'l-Jelil in his flight from his country, and that the

¹ Variant for Kitati.—J.W.R.

Sultan, the Commander of the Faithful, Idris the Pilgrim, desired our party to come to him. Thus we heard from the messenger; and upon this, the Lieutenant Meydela, son of Fatima, ordered the troops to march. Then the foot marched, the horsemen mounted, the led-horses were led, and the shieldsmen were made to advance in front of the cavalry, in the same manner as before. In this order we set out for Sitati; and then it was that we saw the pilgrim, son of Mūsa, and met him on the road travelling towards us, and bringing a letter from our Sultan for us to march towards him with the troops, as also one who knew the road, a man of sagacity. When we had thus met him, our people were very happy and rejoiced with an exceeding great joy; we then marched with him until we reached the camp of our Sultan, in which were his troops, before the time of noon-prayer. There every one separated and sought out his own companions, and by reason of this meeting the pleasure of every one was complete from the Sultan downwards; and this for two reasons, the first from having joined the Commander of the Faithful in health and safety, the second on account of the fuel which was in the possession of the party that had accompanied the Sultan. The people then occupied themselves in seeking food, whether of millet, or otherwise. And the Sultan rested two whole days. After which he marched from Sitati, subsequently to giving notice by beat of drum, and took a westerly road in the intention of reaching the land of Burnū, with all his people, commanders, guards, shieldsmen, javelin men, and archers, without leaving one behind. He encamped not far from Sitati, and from thence the Arabs who had been with him returned to their homes, after having demanded and obtained permission to do so. And the Sultan continued to conduct his army towards the west by easy stages, until he arrived at the town of Biri. In this place he caused a herald to proclaim among the people that every one who had any captives in his possession was to present himself with all such captives before the Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim (whom God strengthen and assist!), and that if any one concealed a single Muslim captive, he would sin against God and the Prophet. Upon this, every one brought the captives that were in his hands, whether freemen or slaves, without any being left behind, and presented themselves as they had been commanded. Then the Sultan, Commander of the Faithful, ordered the free captives to be separated from the slaves,¹ that is, that all freemen, whether male or

¹ According to Muslim Law, nothing can ever make a freeborn Muslim become a bonâ fide slave; but all non-Muslim captives of war become slaves.

female, should be separated absolutely. They were in consequence so separated; and after this separation, the Sultan sent home to their tribes and families all the freemen, but kept the slaves to be distributed. Verily our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, did this merely from the goodness and generosity with which God had endowed him, well knowing the ancient mode of procedure used in like cases by the Sultans of the Bulāla when they were in the habit of making excursions into the land of Burnū; that is, that they never made any distinction between freemen and slaves, but distributed them all. Such had been their custom in days gone by, and such were the acts of our Sultan, following the path of justice and equity with every good quality, as we have formerly narrated in the beginning of this work. The characteristics of a virtuous disposition are many and various, respecting which there is no contention. May God place us and every Mussulman among the people of this category, marked with the distinguishing features of faith and good works, who attain unto the extreme of happiness, felicity, and beatitude. He alone is the hearer of prayer, and the granter of requests.

Now, when the Sultan, Commander of the Faithful, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali (may God grant him honour in this world as in the world to come!), showed his munificence in the town of Bārī by releasing the whole of the free captives without ransom, as a result of his generosity and greatness of mind, he ordered his army to disperse, each man to his own country, after exciting them to renew their preparations for another expedition, by providing themselves with beasts of burden, arms, and provisions, such as are necessary to all warriors striving for the good of their country and their faith. He was by no means wanting in his exhortations to them, or in his invitations to prepare themselves and hold themselves in readiness to set out in the direction of whatever country Providence might decide for them.

The generals, governors, and guards, separated therefore, and went away each to his own home. But after a very short time news was brought that the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jellī had drawn near with his forces to the town of Belowj, beating his drums as he marched. And when our Sultan, Commander of the Faithful, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali (may God strengthen him and fortify him!), heard this intelligence, he prepared to go and face them; but they,

Thus the captive Muslims were still freemen, and not slaves like their non-Muslim fellow-prisoners. Had the terms ever been used, the words "enslavable" and "non-enslavable" would express the ideas.—J.W.R.

their Sultan 'Abdu-l-Jehl, and his party, turned away towards the north, and went to the town of Kera and to the town of Jetekū, where they rested a short time. The Vezīr Idrīs, son of Hārūn, was then staying at Buttih, near to the two towns of Kera and Jetekū; but the Bulāla people were unable to undertake anything against him, in spite of the small distance that separated him from them; for they well knew his bravery, his firmness, and the impetuosity of his attack. Thus matters rested for several days; and when the Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim (may God bless his children and his posterity!), became acquainted with the attitude of the Vezīr and of the enemy, it did not seem good to him to remain in Ghamberū without marching towards the Vezīr. Upon this, therefore, he set out towards evening on the Wednesday, marching quickly, and halted at the town of Mila; from thence he started after a night's rest, halted in a town towards the middle of the forenoon, and then continued his march until he had reached the town of Berī, from whence he passed on to Ghayū, joined his Vezīr, and after their junction marched with the forces and encamped in the town of Sekurta about the time of night-prayer. That day our people used great exertions in performing these marches.

Intelligence was then received to the effect that the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jehl had turned back from the town of Jetekū and gone towards the east, camping in the town of Ekrima, while our Sultan also reached a town named "Red-Water" (El-Mā'u-'l-Ahmar), at a swift pace. After reaching this spot, he would not follow the road he had formerly taken through Selū, but turned aside, he and his forces, towards the north, in the desire of reaching the above-named town of Ekrima. He made every exertion to hasten his march, and about noon halted at a well in which there was plenty of water, where he watered his horses, and from whence he started again with his followers after having performed the mid-day prayer and also that of the afternoon. Our Sultan was not then accompanied by the two principal men of his army, Kighama and Yerīma, according to what we have heard from some of the chief officers. He travelled with all diligence until sunset, and after the evening prayer mounted again with his forces, making every possible haste in the march until they reached the great dug well with a wide mouth and abundance of water, from whence they irrigate the lands where millet is sown, the name of the well being Rebuka. Here they all alighted, and watered their horses with great ease and expedition, and they spread themselves about the neighbourhood in order to suspend the nose-bags on their horses, remaining in this

place as long as God willed, until the end of a portion of the night, as the half, or the third part. God is he who knows the truth in this respect. Some of the party found grass for their horses.

They then mounted again in a great hurry, and marched during the remainder of the night until the break of dawn, when the Sultan, Commander of the Faithful, halted for the performance of morning prayer, and after that they all mounted and set out towards the town of Ikrīma, continuing on the march until near noontime. Now the dust of our army as it rose and extended itself, overshadowing the country as the sun attained his altitude, was seen by the people who came out of the place where the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil was staying, to fetch in their corn; and they turned back to report what they had seen. Then were the drums beat softly, in haste, and with a lack of composure, in order to recall their people who had that morning dispersed themselves into the desert.

According to what we have heard, the tribe of Bulāla have two different ways of beating their drums. When they receive bad, disagreeable news, they beat them softly, but quickly and without composure; but when pleasing intelligence reaches them, they beat them slowly and with composure, without haste. Thus have we heard from natives of Kānim, who reported these words.

Now when they perceived the dust we raised, spreading in the air and reaching unto the clouds, they lamented with an exceeding lamentation, and trembled for their lives with great fear. And they were agitated, and came down in terror; some of them fled on foot, others mounted on horseback, and some on camels, and they became scattered in a state of flight and dismay, like asses frightened and terrified by a lion, or like sheep and goats which have perceived wolves hunting for prey, and cannot distinguish one thing from another. Thus did they fly and thus were they dispersed; the army of the Sultan followed them swiftly at full speed. Of their horsemen, we did not overtake a single one this time; but we found the whole of their camels, and all the oxen that were in their possession, without one escaping; their utensils also, and their furniture, we found thrown about and cast to the ground. There were no wares, no merchandise or other effects remaining; and as to the women who were with them in this place, not one of them got away.

When the heat of the day acquired its full intensity, our Sultan returned to the well that was by the side of their camp, in order to

water the horses, The bulk of the commanders and officers also returned with the Sultan to the well, bringing their followers with them; only the general, the brave champion, the Vezir Idris, son of Hārūn, did not return from pursuing the enemy until noon, and then only on account of the thirst from which his horses were suffering, otherwise he would have followed them to the remotest places.

The crowd of our people becoming very great round the mouth of the well, our Sultan commanded his troops to dig other wells, so that the affairs of the people might be set in order, and their necessities be provided for in point of water. They dug, therefore, several wells, and were themselves fully supplied with water, as were also their horses and cattle.

After watering his horses, the Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim (may God grant him prosperity!), turned to go to the camp deserted by the enemy, and alighted at the habitation of 'Abdu-'l-Jehl. Thus likewise did our own captains and commanders take similar possession of the quarters deserted by his officers; so that there was not one of the late habitations of the Bulāla which was not occupied by one of our people. Still, as there was not a sufficient number of habitations to contain the whole of our army, those who could not find room were obliged to go out into the open country to pass the night there. The High Priest Ahmed, son of Safiyya, author of this book, took up his quarters on this occasion in the habitation of the Vezir named Firū. The army remained here with our Sultan two whole days, making merry and rejoicing exceedingly.

At noon on the third day the Sultan gave to the people the signal of departure by causing the big drum to be beat. They mounted, therefore, and travelled with him towards the place known by the name of Rubuka. They passed two nights on the road, arriving at that place on the third day, and halting there in the middle of the forenoon; after which we set out again and journeyed until we reached the town of Berth. Upon which the Sultan, the Pilgrim, Commander of the Faithful, commanded the people who were with him to prepare themselves and to procure an abundance of necessaries, with a sufficiency of munitions, so as to be ready for a new expedition when the autumn should set in and the unripe dates should begin to turn yellow. This command was heard with pleasure; and the Sultan, after performing his noon and afternoon devotions at Bāri, set out again in a southerly direction, and hastened his pace, and arrived in the night near to Kebūh; he left that place also, and halted about napping time at the town of Kikeri.

Passing onwards with his forces towards Debūbuh, he arrived there in the evening; and in the course of this day there fell a violent rain, being the first that falls before the termination of the summer season.

In the morning the Sultan, the Pilgrim, started from Debūbuh and halted at the town of Rewāya about noon. The minds of our people here found great satisfaction, seeing that they drew near to the town of Ghamberū. From Rewāya the Commander of the Faithful, the Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may God aid and protect him!), started after performing his noon and afternoon devotions, and travelled with his troops towards Ghamberū, arriving there in the latter part of the afternoon. And the people who were in the great city, such as Fekūma-'Alī, son of Gharū, with those who were with him, and others besides, red men and black, rejoiced at the approach of our Sultan in a wished-for manner, and a desirable condition, after driving away the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelīl and his people from the town of Ikrīma, seizing their effects and their goods, even their provisions. They offered congratulations, they shook hands, they embraced each other, for the return of the Sultan in complete triumph and with his army safe. He then commanded them also to apply themselves to prepare every kind of warlike stores, and necessaries, so as to return to the land of Kānim in all haste, and not to lose the opportunity of the date season before arriving there.

Our Sultan resolved upon adopting this surprising course and this amazing measure, by reason that he knew the benefits derived from their dates by the people of the land of Kānim is a question of great importance. He wished therefore to carry on an expedition into their country at that particular season, so as to bring the greater injury upon them. Besides this, he would have great facilities in subsisting his men and his cattle, by reason of the abundance of grass and water and vegetables. Therefore he preferred that season to any other.

Then the governors, commanders, and guards made ready their preparations against Kānim in a very short space of time; and the army collected together the men of the east and of the west, of the north and of the south, and joined themselves to the body of guards in the town of Ghātīh, excepting those who dwelt towards the east, such as the men of Ghufūta, and others living in that direction; these remained in their towns awaiting our arrival there.

So when the people had thus joined him in the town of Ghātīh, he departed from thence, after the big drum had been beaten, and

took the road to Kānim, marching by the side of or towards the River Thād, and thus continuing until he arrived at Ghufūta, then at Belowj, then at Sekrūt, and lastly, in the neighbourhood of Rāru. In this latter place, the Sultan held a council of war on the question of causing the best of the horsemen to take the lead of the army and proceed towards Kānim; and he ordered them to prepare provisions for carrying this measure into execution. And he appointed the commander Hiruma-Yāghā over the party that he left behind with the baggage-camels, the baggage, and the weaker of the shieldsmen, commanding him to march to the town of Gharni-Kiyāla, the same celebrated place where formerly the battle took place between the Sultan Idrīs, son of 'Ali, son of Ahmed, and the Sultan Dūnma, son of Selma, until the Sultan Idrīs obtained the succour of God Most High over his enemies.

Our Sultan, the Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim, marched after the sun had risen, and journeyed with the princes of his people, men known for their courage and strength, men who cared for no human creature, and feared not the revilings of the reviler while executing their sovereign's commands, who were never backward in causing his word to take effect. And they proceeded until they reached the town of Kessa-Kemisnū about noontime, halting there for the afternoon nap. After performing the noon and afternoon prayers, he started again at a rapid pace with his army, and arrived at the town of Lebā towards evening, a little before sunset. This is a celebrated town, and according to what we have heard, its inhabitants till the arable lands without rain. Our Sultan passed the night there, and in the morning conducted his army towards the east, journeying until he reached the town of Gharni-Kiyāla in two or three days. He halted there about the middle of the forenoon, and the people rested there a little, watered their beasts, and performed their noon and afternoon devotions. They then mounted their horses and ascended a high hill in the direction of the well; from thence they moved forward towards the east, in the design of reaching the town of Issembū¹, travelling until sunset, when¹ they encamped in the open country for the people to eat their food and hang their nose-bags on to their horses. It was a very difficult matter to eat a meal in such a place, since the prevalent custom is for cooking to be done by women and female slaves, not by men and male slaves; whereas, in this journey there was not a single female slave accompanying one of us. For this reason, cooked victuals became a great luxury and very scarce.

¹ Variant of Yesebū, p. 81.

We remained there but a short time: after which we got into our saddles and travelled the whole night. Again, when we had performed the morning prayer we mounted and journeyed at a rapid rate until we had reached the town of Vessām, which is in the vicinity of Yessemū. Before we had travelled far, distinct traces appeared; upon which our people wished to make a foray in that direction. The Sultan, however, Idrīs the Pilgrim, prohibited them from doing so until we approached near to them, when he ordered the Vezīr Idrīs, son of Hārūn, and Ferkma-Muhammed, son of the daughter of Fātima, to make a dash at the quarters of 'Abdu-'l-Jelīl, son of Bih: he also ordered the rest of his troops to attack Keluhma Dunma, son of Bih. The horse were thus sent in two directions to the two different quarters alluded to, and each party arrived at the spot to which they had been ordered. Keluhma-Dunma, son of Bih, however, had departed with his followers from the town, and emigrated to a distance from his native place; so that our people found his house empty, and could lay their hands on nothing whatever, excepting what they found scattered about on the ground. And as to 'Abdu-'l-Jelīl, son of Bih, he, too, fled and saved himself, dreading our warriors, and leaving his wife, the daughter of Yerīma, behind him in his house, turning his back upon her when he perceived the dust of our army rising into the air; and he verified the saying that "a man's own escape is more profitable to him than the escape of his wife;" for this reason he ran away, leaving her behind. Again, "the necessity of saving one's life is more stringent than the inconvenience of being without a wife," as is remarked in the book on the affairs of Africa.

Our troops now dispersed to the north and to the south in search of prisoners, and collected an immense booty. On that day was taken captive the woman, daughter of Struma-'Abdu-'l-Jelīl, son of the Sultan, wife of the Pilgrim, son of Dijā, in like manner as the woman, daughter of Yerīma and wife of 'Abdu-'l-Jelīl, son of Bih. Neither did our people cease from exploring the interior of the land of Kānim and from taking prisoners until the sun had nearly reached the meridian. Then the Sultan turned away towards the west to seek for water, and with him the whole of the army, after becoming fatigued by the excess of their movements, both horses and men being thoroughly weary. They arrived then at the town of Dellīh, where there is an abundance of date trees yielding large and good fruit. Here the Sultan and all his followers watered their horses, after which the Sultan ascended a hill on the western side of the town, and alighted in the midst of the date groves. Our people

dispersed themselves in search of shade, that they might shelter themselves from the heat of the sun; and they did a large amount of damage to the inhabitants of this place, cutting all the ripest and juiciest and most promising fruit, as well as the unripe, since there is much and perfect nutriment for the eater in these latter.

Our people passed two nights in this place, and on the morning of the third they mounted and took a westerly direction in the view of effecting a junction with that part of the army which was left under the orders of Yerūma-Yāghā, leaving to Providence to decide where the junction should take place. Under these circumstances, intelligence was received that the tribe of Tub was gathered together on our road, and had interposed themselves between us and our other companions. This tribe inhabits the wilderness. The intelligence thus received was confirmed and proved to be correct; upon proof of which the Sultan commanded the Vezir, Idrīs, son of Hārūn, and Erjenūma-'Abdu-'llāh, Son of Sa'id, with others of the most distinguished personages among his governors, commanders, and guards, to take the lead and to march against the above-named tribe of Tub. These, therefore, made all haste to come up with those sinners; and the Sultan followed after them, marching quickly, but without galloping, so that he might learn with certainty all that might happen. Before he could come up with them, he was informed that the officers he had sent in advance against the Tub, had fallen in with them; that the whole of the tribe of Tub had placed themselves in battle array, seizing their shields and their javelins, and resolved to dispute the passage with the officers. This was communicated by a person of confidence, not a liar, nor a *vagabond*.

The Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim (may God succour him with a mighty assistance!), then spurred his horse on in an impetuous manner, his example being imitated by all his governors and commanders who were with him, and they galloped at full speed in advance of their Sultan until they came up with the tribe of Tub drawn up in battle array. Every one of the commanders and governors then dashed into the fight with the enemy under the eye of their Sultan without the slightest pause; and the battle became sore against the Tub, and they turned their backs in utter confusion, pursued by the whole of our horse, who killed the men and made captives of the women. None of them escaped but such as God saved by his decree of destiny. The Sultan followed up the pursuit of them into distant deserts, and every one of them that he saw wounded and weltering in his blood, he ordered to be dispatched by

killing, so that he might die. Not one that we saw with our eyes escaped from thence. Death dealt with them on that day more subtly than the heaviness of indigestion; and that day was more unfortunate for them than the day in which the tribe of 'ād was destroyed by a hurricane, as God has narrated in his plainly written Scripture.

When the enemy we were pursuing were utterly extinguished, our Sultan turned aside in quest of a dug well in which there was abundance of water, so as to water his horses and give drink to his army. The sought-for well was found, and the horses were watered without stint; after which the troops dispersed to shady places and reposed a while. Some of our people even had a second draught of water after the first, but others were not so fortunate. Thus the Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim (may God strengthen him and fortify him!), invented by his sagacity a wonderful plan and an astonishing scheme.

He then marched from thence towards the town of Gharni-Kiyala to make a junction with that part of his army that he had left with his lieutenant and representative Hiruma before; and he caused an intelligent guide to march in advance of the army, to lead the people in the road to the town of Gharni, as conducting thereto. He was a robust man of the tribe of Tub which we had exterminated, a man whom our troops had spared and left alive when they destroyed his tribe, so as to make use of him as a guide in the road when we should move forwards. The preservation of this man alive was one of the Sultan's sagacious ideas; for had it not been for him, the road leading to Gharni would have remained undiscovered by our people. He preceded our army until he had brought them to the town without one mistake and without any deviation from the direct road.

We then watered our horses and our camels unto the very last of them; after which, we ascended towards the east from the well, and dismounted on a table land, each man getting off his horse, and every one causing his baggage camel to kneel down, in the idea that we were going to halt and encamp there until the weak portion of our army should join us, which we had left with Hiruma-Bir, son of the Sultan, and Hiruma-Yagha. We waited in expectation until the morning, when authentic information was brought that the troops were approaching the town of Gharni, whom we had left in company with the lieutenant. And all the people who were with the lieutenant rejoiced at the junction, and at our being again assembled in one camp. The Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī,

however, immediately dispatched a messenger to the lieutenant and his party, with orders for them to halt on the table land to the west of the town of Gharni, until he should permit them to take up their quarters or to come to him; so they halted there, and nothing but the fortified town of Gharni intervened then between them and our party.

When our Sultan, Commander of the Faithful, Idris the Pilgrim, quitted his lieutenant and the weaker portion of his forces on the day that he set out in the intention of reaching Issembū, he made a proclamation to those who were to accompany him on the expedition, that each man should take eight days' provisions with him. Upon this he started for Issembū, and afterwards returned to Gharni, and there did not elapse between the arrival of the Sultan on his return and the arrival of the lieutenant, but seven days, neither more nor less. It was for this reason that he ordered the lieutenant with his party to halt short of his own station, and not to effect a complete junction with those who had accompanied himself, so that the eight days should be completed which he had fixed in his proclamation, and that his word should accord with the event. Such coincidences are uncommon.

The next morning found us at Gharni in the above recited disposition, and the eight days were completed which had at first been fixed upon by the Sultan, Commander of the Faithful, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali (may God grant him honour, and bless his children and posterity for ever and ever, from age to age; for God Most High is the Hearer of prayer and the Granter of requests!), he marched from Gharni, ordering his lieutenant to march also. The Sultan with his party took the lead, preceding the lieutenant, who, with his forces, followed in the rear of the Sultan. In this order they proceeded towards the east in the design of reaching certain fruit groves. These they reached about napping time, and the Sultan dismounted in a hollow. The lieutenant then came forward with his party, so that each person that was with him could re-attach himself to his original company in the camp. Thus were completed the eight days first marked out, and the night was passed in that region.

In the morning the Sultan marched with his whole army, leaving no part behind, but the whole in a body without any subdivision; they proceeded thus until they halted at a place known by the name of Yidh, which is a town in which there are many fruit trees. At that time the fruit (dates) *was hanging down even with the roots of the trees.* So the people dispersed, and every man occupied himself

with cutting fruit for his own use ; great and small, they all spread themselves about, cutting the fruit for their horses, camels, asses, and oxen. Some of the people pounded the fruit until it became like paste, some ate it in its natural state ; some scattered them over the surface of the wilderness after having eaten to repletion ; some threw them down under the palm trees, others cut the green dates before they were ripe or fit to be eaten, as an act of enmity, and threw them over the plain ; so that they destroyed the fruit in every different way, taking great pains and much trouble, in order that the fruit should utterly vanish from Yidh, from Debekū, and other places where it abounds. They remained in this place but a few days, until they had destroyed the fruit from every point of the horizon ; and we were as the motes in the sunbeams. So when everything was reduced to the condition above described, the Sultan with the whole of his people put themselves in motion, marching towards the south of the land of Kānim, and halted in a country abounding in fruit, and named Ghūgha (or Fūgha). Here also they destroyed the fruit as they had done in the country of Yidhih, of Dubkū, and others. Here the rain fell in abundance after our Sultan had alighted. And he marched again with his army, passing onwards, and halting near to the town of Dellih, after passing it ; nor did they cease from journeying towards the south of the land of Kānim, day after day, until they had reached the town of Iweneh, or near to it. There they passed two or three nights, and then set out anew, with all diligence, for the town of Daghlawā, which is a noted place among the people of Kānim, and was at that time a very populous town with an exceedingly great multitude of inhabitants residing in it.

And when we had passed the town of Delmi, our people perceived some scouts stationed by the people of the town of Daghlawā on horseback. These our people wished to capture ; but they turned back in flight, and our people gave chase at full speed. They could not catch them, however, on account of the great quantity of water collected in pools which were full at that time. For this reason they gave up the pursuit. The heat of the day becoming extremely oppressive, the Sultan and his army alighted in that spot with the intention of spending the night.

As soon as the greater part of the night was passed, and dawn was approaching, the Sultan with his army mounted and marched, journeying towards Daghlawā ; they performed the morning prayer on the road, after which they advanced again, passing through many pools of water in their journey, until the middle of the fore-

noon, when they reached the town, and found it deserted by its inhabitants, who had all fled in the night, after being informed by their scouts that we were coming towards them. Upon finding this, our people were divided in opinion, some going to the south and others to the east, whereas those who were on camels and of the tribe of Kiyām, with others, followed up the traces of the fugitives before arriving at Daghālwa, as soon as they perceived them clearly trending towards the north. These last overtook the fugitives, and took from them much booty; whereas those who followed different roads met with but trifling spoil as God has destined for them.

The Sultan passed the night in this place, and in the morning the beat of drum gave the signal of departure. We started, therefore, taking a westerly direction, intending to return to Burnū. This change of route was determined upon by our Sultan Idrīs, the Pilgrim (may God succour him!), solely by reason of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelīl having retired to a great distance. And thus, when the Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim, Commander of the Faithful, came into the land of Kānim in the season of rain, the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelīl fled to the utmost limits of the deserts.

According to some accounts that we have heard, as soon as our Sultan reached the town of Ismēbū on his march, the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelīl fled from the town of Aghu, with all who were with him of his people, and they dispersed completely. As for 'Abdu-'l-Jelīl, son of Bih, he, too, fled to distant deserts about Itnāweh and other places, nor did he approach the land of Kānim again until our Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim, turned back from Daghālwa towards Burnū. So also, the whole of the officers of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelīl retired from the land of Kānim, as he had done.

One of his stratagems was this. When the Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim, arrived at the town of Yidh, and the troops were occupied in the matter of the dates, he came to an outskirt of Yidh on a sudden, seized a few camels, and fled to the desert. After this no one, neither 'Abdu-'l-Jelīl, nor any one else, made his appearance until the return of the Commander of the Faithful, Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī, to Burnū (may God grant him honour in this world and in the next!).

To return, however, to our original history. When our Sultan arrived at the town of Daghālwa, and his captains separated in different directions round the town in quest of captives, he passed but one night there, and set out at early dawn the next day. So it was until he reached the town of Ghalā, or the region of Ghalā, or the neighbourhood of Tetenu. And our people found an abundance

of provisions in the neighbourhood of Tetenū, and their distress from short allowance ceased; for they had plenty of millet, of milk, and of condiments to eat with their bread; it was also easy to find wild pot-herbs when they were required. In short, the circumstances of our people were changed from distress to abundance.

¶ Our Sultan continued after that journeying towards our own country of Burnū, by easy stages, sleeping by night and napping at the regular time, until he reached the town of Rūr (or Ruwur) with all his forces. There was no one among the inhabitants to contend against him, neither was there any hardship to endure, unless it may be the fatigue of the journey which fell upon us, and which is a variety of pain and suffering. Now, when the morning appeared in the town of Rūruh, and the army prepared to march towards Burnū, the Sultan presented himself to his troops, and harangued them, ordering them to prepare themselves by procuring three days' provisions. They obeyed the order and procured such food as would last them three days, returning then to the Sultan with all dispatch.

After this he set out and marched with them towards the north, in the direction of the town of Siruh, a day and a night. On the morning of the second day, after advancing a little, our people perceived much property, consisting in oxen and sheep, which they seized, and of which there was enough for all of them; but there were only a few camels. They passed the night in that place, filled with great joy for what God had bestowed upon them in his favour. The next morning, being the third day, the last of the contract proposed by the Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim (may his Lord grant him honour!), he turned back towards the camp in which he had left his lieutenant, and we marched with him, reaching them about sunset, when both parties rejoiced, those of the expedition, and those who had remained in camp, and they congratulated each other, bade one another welcome, and shook hands.

Consequently upon this, permission was given by beat of drum to break up the camp, when every one mounted and set out on the march, continuing thus from day to day, until they halted in the town of Dilārā, where they spent two or three nights. Our Commander, Idrīs the Pilgrim, did not turn aside in this our return, either to the town of Ghatkih, or to the town of Béri; but when he had reached the town of Ghayawā, he turned into the path which is in the direction of Dilārā, and avoided the road to those two towns. Upon his departure from Dilārā, the army was divided into two classes, one of these taking the road to their own homes and

quitting their Sultan, while the other class accompanied him until they halted with him in the town of Ghamberū by the shore of the sea. From this place the governors, commanders, and guards separated and dispersed to their homes, after the Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim, had delivered to them a most eloquent oration, inciting them to prepare again all needful things for another expedition into Kānim, without deficiency and without fail.

These recommendations of the Sultan were received with respect and readily responded to. So every one departed to his home, and without delay or supineness set about using every endeavour to procure beasts of burden, spears and shields, horses and provisions, with every other necessary. In this way did our people employ their time until the autumn waned away, and winter had set in.

And when the greater portion of the winter was past, and the people had celebrated the feast of the termination of the month of fasting, the Sultan set out on his purposed expedition against the land of Kānim, starting from the town of Ghamberū on a Sunday in the month of Shewwāl, and halting in the town of Zentem. So when the people heard that the Sultan had marched, they also quitted their homes, and flocked towards him, some joining the army at Zentem, and others at more distant places. The High Priest Ahmed, son of Safiyya, author of this book, joined the army in person at the town of Deybeh without his baggage. The march of the army was continued until it arrived at the town of Itnāwa, and thence to 'Atika (*query* Ghātika). Here the army received great accessions of strength, increasing exceedingly, after which it marched forwards in an easterly direction towards the country of Kānim just about the commencement of summer, accompanied by the governors and commanders, and arrived at the town of Ghukūtih; from thence to Belowj, then Sekerta, then to the town of Rura, then to the town of Keswādā. From thence we took the road to the town of Sikem, leaving that of Ghumāmi; afterwards we proceeded from Sikem to Rirkmih, and then to Waghām; neither did we cease advancing until we reached Wessām, then the town of Māwā, then Ghamrā, and then to the great town known as Jīm.

When the Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may God grant him honour in this world and in the next!), encamped at Ghamrā, he sent Ferekma-Muhammed, son of the daughter of Fātima, to the town of Belāghih, as a spy to investigate the state of the country and the occupation of the inhabitants, and to inform him of everything he could ascertain. Afterwards, when the Sultan

left Ghamrā and arrived at the great city of Sim, and had passed one night there, the Commander Ferekma-Muhammed returned from his excursion after having examined and scrutinized the country, and informed the Sultan of all that he had been able to ascertain of the state of things in the district of Belāgha.

After his arrival at Sim, the Sultan only remained there two days, or three; he then marched from thence after ordering his troops to provide themselves with water, by the customary method of causing a herald to make a proclamation to that effect. So when the people heard the proclamation for their providing themselves with water in all their vessels, large and small, they set about obtaining and preparing it; and when their preparations were completed, and the whole congregation had taken a full stock of water, the Sultan started with his army, subsequently to the performance of the midday and afternoon prayers, and travelled at a quick pace until they alighted at the town of Aghāfi a little before sunset on a Monday. They slept there, and on the Tuesday morning they marched again towards the town of 'Azkū. On our march we heard shrieks in an easterly direction, and upon enquiry, we were informed that the spies of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jehl had come on horseback towards us to examine our array and condition; that when they had ascertained our occupation, they had turned back quickly upon swift horses; so at least our people pretended.

Another circumstance connected with the expedition of which we are now treating, is that on our arrival at Sim the water becoming very low in the wells by reason of the long-continued drought, the army was divided into two portions, one remaining in charge of the wells to dig them, or to water their horses with what they could draw therefrom, little by little, and by slow degrees; while the other portion spread itself over the face of the country in search of water. And according to what was related to us, when the men of the dignity, the Grand Forager, known as the "Son of the handmaid of God," went away over the country in quest of water or of food, spies came to them from the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jehl in the wilderness, and took from the people of Jerma-Muhammed, son of the handmaid of God, horses and camels, to the number of we know not how many.

After this the Sultan determined to march from the town of Sim on the Monday, and he ordered the Vezir Idris, son of Hārūn, to proceed with his followers in the direction of the enemy. The Vezir marched therefore at early morn, and the Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali (may God succour him!), towards evening, about

the time of afternoon prayer, in a southerly direction, and halted at the town of Aghāfi.

When the Vezir Idris above-mentioned marched towards the enemy, he halted on that same night of Monday opposite to them, as the Sultan halted at Aghāfi. And when the Sultan marched on the Tuesday, and halted with the army at the town of Ghanjeyh near about noon, the Vezir did not come to the Sultan; but when we had performed our noontime devotions, and the hour approached for the afternoon prayer, our people descried a cloud of dust rising in the direction of the enemy, and those who were near our quarters cried out when they perceived this dust, while the troops that were with the Sultan imagined that this must be dust raised by the Bulāla, and they, too, shouted with a great shout. But when this increased, the people who accompanied the Sultan perceived that it would be much better to prepare for battle; so they arose, put on their armour, hung their swords over their shoulders, mounted their chargers, which were also furnished with armour; and all this in the shortest time, the twinkling of an eye. They then advanced in the direction of the dust, and as they went forth from the interior of Sensena, they perceived that the dust was caused by the Vezir Idris, son of Hārūn, returning towards us, so the troops went back to their quarters.

The Vezir then arrived, and every one alighted in the quarters assigned to him, reposing there for the night. And when the Lord in his favour and protection brought forth the glorious morning, the Sultan ordered the whole army to march, and they commenced loading their beasts of burden, after seeing to the pads that prevent them from being galled. Then were perceived spies sent on the part of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil to examine into our movements, and they returned to him with news of us, as the Vezir had gone in their direction in the first instance. So there was a similarity of action on our side and on theirs, but perhaps we differed in that respect in another place.

To return to the prosecution of our original history. When the Sultan, Commander of the Faithful, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may God Most High grant him honour!), moved from Ghanjeyh on the Tuesday, and designed to proceed with his army to the town of Gharkewā, in which took place the nocturnal battle with our enemies, he ordered the horsemen to march with prudence and precaution at a very slow pace, and he also commanded the shieldsmen to observe the same rule;—the fruits of the sagacity and foresight with which God had endowed him in his eternal wisdom;

for the wise man is he who prepares for events before they happen. In this manner we reached the town of Gharkewā at a very slow pace, and when we had arrived there and alighted, every one of us with the same praiseworthy care and caution, our people began immediately to cut down trees of such kinds as have thorns about them wherewith to surround the whole camp or quarters of the Sultan, as much as circumstances would permit of.

One of the customs of our people, introduced by our Sultan Idris the Pilgrim (may God grant him honour!), since his accession to the sovereignty, was this: whenever he halted with his forces in any camping ground whatever, he commanded that they should divide the ground into portions, and that each captain and commander should have his own individual portion allotted to him, that he might lay it out and surround it with a fence, and thus did they do until the whole circle of the abattis was complete with an ample space of ground in it, and every one would rest from his labour of edifying with the utmost speed and dispatch.

In this town of Gharkū¹ took place a nocturnal battle between us and our enemies, when they came upon us suddenly and by surprise, though the fence was raised as we had raised it elsewhere. And in the construction of this stockade or abattis which our Sultan had invented by his judgment and talent, genius and understanding, there are many advantages, and much usefulness. In the first place, it prevents all animals, whether horses or others, from getting out of the camp when they slip their tethers, and may be straying about inside: secondly, it prevents thieves from entering to commit any mischief or perfidy, for it frightens them, and they turn back: thirdly, it prevents those in the camp from going out to commit wickedness or vice, and from deserting: fourthly, when the enemy attempts to penetrate therein for depredation or for battle in an open manner, he is not able to do so before you are on foot and have completed your preparations ere he can come within reach of you: fifthly, when many captives and much spoil is taken and are placed therein, you may sleep with a tranquil mind and a quiet heart: sixthly, when male or female slaves wish to abscond from the camp, they are afraid to leave it. In fine, its uses are innumerable, and for this reason our people constructed it, and did not imagine beforehand that the tribe of Bulāla would come to the camp of our Sultan by night suddenly, though they knew it afterwards, subsequently to the night prayer. Some of our people knew they were coming in the end of the night, but others did not know

¹ Gharkewā.

of it until they had got into the middle of the camp, or until they had approached near to it.

The cause of that circumstance was this. Formerly strife, enmity, and warfare having broken out between the tribe of Bulāla and our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may God grant him honour, and bless his children and his children's children, for ever and ever, from age to age, for the sake of the Prince of mankind, our Prince and Lord, Muhammed the chosen, and his posterity, upon him and upon them may God look graciously, and grant them peace, Amen!), the Sultan marched into Kānim four different times before this expedition in which open warfare occurred between them and us by night and by day. In those incursions he destroyed three great and celebrated fortresses, levelling them with the ground; one of them was the large town of Ekma, the second the stockade of Aghāfi, and the third the town of Aghū. The destruction of these three fortresses caused great sorrow among the Bulāla, but withal their whole country was devastated, and besides that, the people residing in Kānim were transferred to the country of Burnū, even the people of the whole country which lies to the south at a distance from the river (query, *Lake Thad*), so that not one of the tribes was left in the country of Kānim of those which migrated to the land of Burnū for some of their people. And besides, these did not come to Burnū of their own free-will and heartfelt desire, but on the contrary, they were compelled by force and by fear. Indeed, had it not been for the tribe of Tub, who undertook to strengthen the Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jelil and assist him, we should have undertaken but one single expedition into the land of Kānim. God is he who knows the truth of the matter.

One of the gifts from the Lord of Grace in his goodness and favour to our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may his Lord grant him honour, and his Superior assist him!), consisted in enabling him to carry on war against numerous enemies by means of the dread he inspired; for he was enabled to fight the Sultan of the Bulāla, who trusted for assistance upon the tribe of Tub, and he opposed them all. Is it not said in what we have heard related by the elders and principal people of by-gone days, and by our predecessors and forerunners, that the tribe of Tub sought for war against the Sultan Dunma, son of Deblā, son of the Sultan Selema, son of Bekera, openly, until war broke out and continued between them and this Sultan Dunma, seven years, seven months, and seven days, the fires of strife continuing burning all that while. Thus have we heard from persons worthy of credence; whereas

in those days the tribe of Bulāla did not even exist. And again, according to what we heard related by the individual named Dunma-Muhammed the younger, son of Jiyūma-Habātha, when he told over to us the descents of the olden Sultans, and he was a learned man in point of history and ancient chronicles; the number of horses belonging to the Sultan Dūnma, son of Debla, was thirty thousand. Thus did we hear from that speaker, and we have neither forgotten it, nor been ignorant thereof, since we heard it. Now the wars of the Sultan Dūnma, son of Debla, were made against the single tribe of Tub; whereas those of our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim (may God grant him honour!), were against the Bulāla, the tribe of Tub, and others whose origins are unknown; and he faced them all, being patient and relying upon God, and turning towards him and putting his trust in him, until God gave him the victory over them, turning them back from before him in confusion, as we will hereafter relate if God Most High so will it.

Now the Bulāla, after our Sultan had destroyed their towns in the land of Kānim, even the town of Ekma, and the town in which was the stockade and which was called Aghāfi, undertook to build the town of Aghū the ancient and to restore it; so they restored it and dwelt therein. And according to what we have heard, they, while tarrying there in the design of inhabiting it permanently, received the intelligence of our Sultan's having arrived in the town of Iseembū on a warlike expedition in the autumn, until he encamped in the town of Dellih. And when they knew of his arrival, they were seized with great fear and abandoned the town of Aghū entirely, never returning there, and they were lost in amazement and terror as to a place of abode in Kānim, and they perceived clearly that the Sultan Idris the Pilgrim would not allow them to come into Kānim so long as the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil should retain the sovereignty. So they emigrated from that town and abandoned it, leaving it tenantless like the open country, lest the army of our Sultan should come upon them and find them unprepared. Besides this, their women, daughters of kings, sent to the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil and his forces when they heard of their shameful cowardice, such messages as put them beside themselves and drove them to desperation; this increased their fear, and they agreed and counselled together to construct a stockade in the town of Kiyāyeka. So they built therein their houses, their shops, and all other needful kinds of edifices, &c. And we have heard from certain credible persons who had entered the palace of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, that they saw when they entered therein, one place as a Yeki, another

as a Mekreneh, and a third as a Kurkirweh.¹ Such is the mode of their dwelling in their houses. It was also told us that they had said, "We will not depart from this dwelling-place, neither will we forsake it for ever until we die," even as saith the poet :

"My companion wept when he saw the defile near him,
And he knew for certain that we should overtake Cæsar;
And I said to him; Let not thine eye weep, for verily
We shall return kings, or we shall die and decay."

And they furthermore built up the boundary of the land adjoining the river (query, *Lake Thād*), and forming part of the country of Keluh, also they built, in the country in which are many forts, a fortress of timber on each side, excepting the south alone. And when they had made an end of building, they turned their attention towards conveying people thereto, so as to fill it with men, and they saw no one in Kānim but they conveyed him to their new forts, excepting the inhabitants of the town of Tetānū, and the adjacent districts, or those whose habitations were at a great distance, to reach whom was a matter of difficulty. As for the tribe of Tub, they conveyed them to their said town of Kiyāyeka, even the tribe of Kesredā, nor did there remain in the land of Kānim any one of the tribe of Tub but what came to them, without there being even a few left. And every one who came to the town, whether of his free-will or by force, built around their shops in which they might dwell with their families: until, by these means, there was collected in that place a great number of people, of whose total none was cognisant save God. They then set about collecting corn and provender for their subsistence, and they concluded a treaty with the inhabitants of the south, and entered into a covenant with them and ceased not to draw supplies from them, recurring to them late and early, and running between the two countries for the purposes of purchase and sale, buying corn with oxen and sheep and other kinds of property. This traffic was kept up between them and those who possessed corn, until the Commander of the Faithful, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may God grant him honour, and bless his children and children's children, until the end of time, for He is our trust and an excellent refuge!), arrived at the town of Gharkawā.

We now return to the consideration of what relates to the Bulāla. When they undertook to surprise our army by night on the Wednesday, the fifth day from the end of the month of God Dhi-'l-

¹ The meaning of these three terms is quite unknown to the Translator.—J. W. R.

Ka'da the sacred, according to what we have ascertained, not being careless about it, they took the road which was between the two camps, the same which leads between the town of Kiyāyeka and the town of Gharkuwā, after having first performed their mid-day and afternoon prayers, and marched towards us. Their nobles and grandees urged on their common people, exciting them with the hopes of plunder and manifold advantages, so that their bodies might be enticed to the fight; they raised their spirits by stirring up their cupidity for riches, and stimulated their vanity by pompous speeches, and thus they persuaded them to advance until they arrived in the neighbourhood of our camp. Now when the news was brought to our Sultan, and a reporter had acquainted him with it, and when they themselves made their appearance after the news of their approach had been spread, the mode of their arrival differed very greatly from what had been submitted by the reporter. His information was to the effect that the army which was coming against us from the town of Kiyāyeka was divided into four parts, so as to penetrate into the stockade by four separate gates, and thus throw our people into confusion.

Immediately on learning this intelligence, the Sultan called his people together in council, and they decided that each chieftain and leader should remain at the post where he was encamped, and that each should defend that part of the stockade which was in the vicinity of his own quarters. They did not wait long before the enemy came up to the stockade at great speed, like locusts spread over the place. Then the Sultan mounted and met them with a few of his followers in the middle of the stockade, and charged them once only; their drum bearer was killed immediately, and this impetuous charge drove them clean out of the stockade, so that our Sultan (may God Most High give him the victory!), repelled them utterly. They then began to deny flatly that they belonged to the people of the tribe of Bulāla; and thus it was that when our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, charged with his horse against any one of them, and cried to his followers after striking the enemy, "This is one of the Bulāla," he would stoutly deny the connexion, saying "I am not one of the Bulāla," and he would take hold of the pommel of his saddle, and would fly in the direction of his own country at full gallop, without regarding any one.

And when the Sultan returned from the outside of the stockade to the interior thereof, others of the enemy had penetrated into it with one drum by another gate, beating the drum and frightening the minds of the people, setting fire to the tents and to the hay,

wounding the troops, houghing the cattle, whether horses, camels, or oxen, and committing villany and havoc to the extent predestined by God Most High in his book.

Our enemies were divided into three parties. One party seized and pillaged whatever they could find, either animals or baggage, from first to last, and returned to the place from whence they had come. Another party stood up to fight and followed in the direction of the drum, the only one remaining; while the third party wandered about in the midst of the stockade, not knowing in what direction to escape, until at last they were killed. Our people also, the men of Burnū, were divided into three parties, the first were the warriors who fought in the same manner as our Sultan, these being but few in number on this occasion; the second were those who stuck close to the stockade, not facing the enemy, but sheltering themselves under God's protection, such as the tribe of Heyām; while the third went about inside and outside the stockade, not being acquainted with any manœuvres whatever.

When our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may God assist him with a mighty assistance!), returned from outside the stockade to the interior, after having driven the enemy away in the direction of their own country, he found the followers of the single drum of the enemy in the midst of the stockade, and his horse was fatigued and exhausted, and drooping and sweating from his great exertions, so that matters wore a very serious appearance for him. So he said in his courteous way of speaking, "There is no other means of effecting the clearance of the stockade from the enemy, except such of our property as they have obtained possession of; but is there no one of our people who will recover from them what they have taken?" And no one answered him at that time. Had it not been that his horse was utterly exhausted, he would never have spoken those words, but would have returned himself to recapture the spoil; and if the rest of the leaders, chieftains, and commanders had imitated the example set them by the Sultan in the fight on that night, it would have been an easy task to cope with the enemy and there would have happened no battle in the daytime of the Monday. But the pen (of God's providence) rules every thing that has being.

When the break of dawn drew nigh, the enemy departed from the interior of the stockade, hastening towards their own country with what they had got possession of, horses, camels, clothing, and other property, and went to Kiyāyeh, after having fallen in with their companions. And they rejoiced at what they had acquired of

our property alone; but we did not suffer half or one-third as much loss of men as they did, only in property did we suffer more.

When God in his favour and mercy brought forth the glorious morning, some of our people wished to follow the enemy in a great hurry, whereas others kept silence, so that their thoughts were not known. The Commander of the Faithful, however, our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, did not give his consent to the pursuit of the enemy, with what God Most High had bestowed upon him of a correct judgment and a laudable understanding. His outward appearance was like that of a person who cares for nothing whatever; but God knows what was passing within him. He gave orders, however, to the chiefs and commanders to collect much grass on the eastern side of our camp over against the road which leads between Gharkuwā and Kiyāyekeh; he told them all to collect separately the grass, so that it might be greatly increased in quantity. Then, after performing the prayers of mid-day and afternoon, he sent a herald to proclaim among the people, saying "Do you not hear the word of the Sultan, that every stout horseman or foot-soldier should come forth from the stockade, using every care and caution, and should pass the night in the place where the grass is collected?" So when they heard the proclamation, they commenced issuing from the stockade, even the High Priest, author of this book, and his beloved companion, 'Umer the Pilgrim, lord of the town of Feyā; and no one remained behind of those who were strong, excepting those, but only those, who were cowards or infirm. Thus we went out in the evening of the Thursday, and we performed our sunset prayers in that place, as also the night prayer and the morning prayer, with the Sultan. We continued in this fashion, issuing from our camp towards evening, and returning to it in the morning, until the Sunday.

On the morning of the Sunday, the last day but one of the month of Dhī-'l-Ka'da, the Sultan ordered the army to march. So all mounted, and he marshalled them in excellent order, taking the direction of the southern part of the district of Keluh, with caution and circumspection, and with every laudable stratagem properly executed, and marching slowly, until they passed the river which exists between the country of Keluh and the country of Kānim. Nor did we desist from marching until we arrived at the town of Lesetri. According to what we have heard related, this town belonged to the tribe of Kilitih. And we halted therein towards the middle of the forenoon, when the Sultan Idris the Pilgrim ordered all his people to cut down the trees bearing thorns, and to

surround the camp with them. This was executed as was customary. There it was that the shieldsman Muhammed, son of Birsāla, died, as did also Siruma 'Abdu-'llāh, son of Shatatūna, on that day (may God have mercy upon them both).

The Sultan, Commander of the Faithful, Idrīs the Pilgrim (may God grant him honour!), out of his great judgment, gave orders to the chiefs and rulers of his people to place the tents near the stockade, but outside of it, as they had arranged the collected grass in the district of Gharkuwā. It was only on account of the great number of tents (or houses) that were in the district of Lesetri, that the Sultan gave this order. So after they had completed the construction of the stockade and the erection of the tents behind it, the Sultan issued forth towards the evening of the Sunday near sunset to the outside of the stockade, also the army, according to what they had before practised in the country of Gharkuweh, also the High Priest, Ahmed, son of Safiyya, issued forth with his companion, 'Umer the Pilgrim, lord of the country of Feyā, and they came near to where the Sultan was, performing with him the sunset, night, and morning prayers. The leaders and rulers passed the night outside of the stockade, as they did before, and in the morning the Sultan ordered the army to march.

So we all mounted, and marched with the Sultan in a northern direction, with the design of reaching the town of Kiyāykeh, after regulating properly the distribution of the forces, and using both prudence and precaution, effort and endeavour. And according to what we have heard related, the tribe of Bulāla, when they heard of the approach of the Sultan towards them with his army from the south side, were dismayed and confounded, their understandings were troubled, and their counsels rendered abortive, by reason of their amazement at his coming against them to fight from that direction, for they had only looked for his coming from the west, whereas his arrangement differed from what they had imagined in their minds. They believed thus on account of the fortresses that were between the town of Gharkuwā and the town of Kiyāykeh, whereas between Lesetri and Kiyāykeh there were no fortresses of trees like those which were between Gharkuwā and Kiyāykeh.

The Sultan continued to advance with the army towards Kiyāykeh until we had gained the summit of an eminence of some height, where the Sultan halted for a little while, in order to allow the troops to collect together around him. And when they had collected many deep, and were gathered together in great numbers, they saw an abundance of water towards the south, in a place

surrounded with land like a reservoir of considerable extent. They also saw in front of them, in the direction of Kiyāyekeh, large assemblages, which our people knew to be the army of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jellī, without doubt or surmise.

Immediately on perceiving this water, the whole of our army wished to go and drink there. So the Sultan consulted his Vezīr, Idrīs, son of Hārūn, about this question of drinking the water, and the Vezīr said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, how is it possible to reach the water now, when the enemy's troops are drawn up and watching us?" Upon this, he ordered him to take the whole of the shieldsmen to the water to drink, for they were suffering from thirst, inasmuch as when they set out from Lesetri for Kiyāyekeh, they saw no water until we halted on this hill, this is why the troops who were carrying their shields on their backs were afflicted with thirst to such a degree, and why he ordered the Vezīr to take them to the water, as we have already narrated.

So when the Vezīr was gone to the water with the shieldsmen, and the whole of the rest of the army were halting with the Sultan on the high hill, and looking at the numerous forces which were collected on the side of the town of Kiyāyekeh, and observing them attentively, they perceived the enemy's troops get into motion like locusts spread abroad, or like crawling ants carrying grains and going and coming between a barn and their nests, and march from the west towards the east. And when they arrived opposite our people, they turned their faces towards the south, moving towards our position at a rapid pace in the view of attacking us. Such was the position of the two armies.

As soon as the Sultan, the Commander of the Faithful, Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may God grant him honour in this world as in the world to come, and may he bless his sons and his sons' sons until the day when the last trump shall sound!), acquired certain cognizance of their commencing their movement, he did not remain inactive a moment, or wait for an increase of his army by the return of the shieldsmen who were gone with the Vezīr to the water, caring not for the approach of the enemy, by reason of the patience and trust, the knowledge and contentment, the gratitude and truth, the faith and submission to holy writ, which God Most High had infused into his heart; as also his conforming to the acts and sayings of the most holy Apostle, to the writings of the celebrated doctors of the law, the noble leaders of the just, from his long study of them and continued reading. For this reason we abridge our descriptions, and confine ourselves to our subject matter.

Should we have undertaken to relate all the military expeditions of our Sultan in the whole course of his reign, we should extend this book with what we have seen, what we have known, and what we have heard, to the end of time; neither do we say this vaunting our own abilities above those of our companions, brethren, and friends.

As our Sultan reached the hill named Milimilih, the enemy's troops also came advancing to the same, and the two armies met. Those of our people who were mounted on camels, some of the tribe of Berber and some of the tribe of Kuyam, did not dismount on account of the advance of the enemy towards them, or of their terrible onset against them. The shieldsmen who went with the Vezir to drink water did not return to the Sultan at that time; the line of battle array was not formed, nor was the arrangement of the army made in the accustomed manner. In front of the Sultan there were but very few horsemen, crossbowmen (or musketeers) and shieldsmen. So the enemy charged us in a dreadful manner, giving us a most violent shock, like sparks of fire, or like locusts spread about; and they got in among us with their arms and shields in complete panoply; their horsemen also drove them on from behind, fighting with every kind of arm they possessed with the utmost violence, and without intermission. The few of our people who were in advance of the Sultan then turned round and passed beyond the Sultan in their flight, upon which our horsemen made a furious charge. Our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali, Commander of the Faithful and Chief of the Believers, the Visitor of the two Sacred Places, the Descendant from the Most Noble Personages (may God grant him honour in both worlds, and bless his posterity to the end of time, for the sake of our Prince and Lord Muhammed the Chosen and his posterity, upon him and upon them may God show favour and peace!), did not move from the spot where he was standing from the first, neither did he march therefrom, but remained like a firmly-rooted mountain, trusting and confiding in God, having recourse to him with prayer and supplication, seated on the back of his grey charger, holding in his blessed hand his drawn sword, broad and sharp; and when his horse moved to turn away on account of the retreat of the forces on both sides in a body, he checked him and turned him towards the enemy; neither did he desist from boldly remaining there until God Most High, his Lord, had given him a complete victory and a general advantage, according to what he had inscribed on the preserved tablet of destiny. It is one of

the marvels of our Lord's providence (may He be blessed and glorified!) that He sent down upon our Sultan in this field of strife, out of his favour and beneficence and goodness, assistance and comfort (for He grants to whom He wills whatever special qualities He wills, and in his hands are help and hindrance). For indeed I heard and saw, and my companion, the learned and the legist, 'Umer the Pilgrim, lord of the country of Feyā, heard and saw also, an indication of that assistance, and an undoubted sign, in that there sprung up a violent wind blowing from the west towards the east. When this came up between our Sultan and the enemy, they turned back in a body confused and routed, without stopping. Upon this, our Sultan pursued them with his chiefs and rulers and guards to a great distance, striking the enemy with the sword and with the spear, killing them and wounding them until the sun had declined from the meridian. It is not known how many were killed then and there of the enemy, unless it be by God Most High, but if the wise from among the race of men were to strive to count them, they would never be able to accomplish it, neither could they compass the numeration of the slain.

The heat of the day becoming now excessive, the Sultan gave up the pursuit, and went in the direction of their abode at Kiyāyeh, and alighted therein about the beginning of the period fixed for noon prayer. Of our people who had come from the land of Burnū, those who were killed were killed, those were wounded who were wounded, and those who were safe were safe. But of the people of Kānim, of the tribe of Tub, and of others, it was as we have already narrated. God is most knowing; may He be praised and exalted; He is the Judge between His worshippers in every matter respecting which they differ, and nothing can escape the current of His knowledge, though but of the weight of a mote, whether on earth or in heaven, whether smaller even than that, or whether larger.

No one was killed of the leaders of note among the men of Burnū, excepting two, the governor Meydukma 'Abdu-'llāh, who was wounded on the Wednesday in the nocturnal combat, and died in Kiyāyeh, and Fukilma 'Othmān, son of Dāwūd, who was overthrown in the field of battle, was carried alive to the town of Kiyāyeh, where he died (may God have mercy upon them both, and upon all who were slain of our people, or who died during the expedition, or in former ones of our Sultan; may He pardon them for the sake of the Prince of Men, our Prince and Lord, Muhammed the Chosen, the elected Apostle, the Seal of the Prophets, the Chief of the Pure, and for the sake of his posterity, the pious (upon him and upon

the whole of them be the most perfect praise!). God is the hearer of prayer.

And when the Sultan, our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim (may God grant him power and assistance over his enemies!), alighted in the town of Kiyāyekeh, at the house of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, he gathered together the poets and bards and others of his people, and consulted them as to what he should do in that place. So they answered: "We command thee to alight in this house;" then he alighted in the courtyard of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, and passed the night in that house two nights successively. The drum was beat, and the other musical instruments were sounded in that town two whole days; and in this place the new moon of the sacred month of Dhī-'l-Hijja appeared. On the third day our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may God Most High grant him honour!), marched with his army, after giving the signal by beating the great drum, and after burning the whole of their houses without leaving one single house standing, moving in an easterly direction from Kiyāyekeh until he reached the town of Mih.

The commander, the Vezir Idris, son of Hārūn, did not sleep at all in that place, but journeyed in pursuit of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil after he was routed on the field of Milimilih, and fled in the direction of the town of Kewāl, and towards Kewākeh, or towards Itnāwa. So the Vezir followed him until he arrived very near to him in all diligence; and when the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil was aware of the Vezir Idris, son of Hārūn, following on his traces, he fled from the town of Itnāwa into the wilderness. And when the distance from the Vezir was very great, the Vezir made an expedition against the tribe of Tub, taking prisoners their women and their children and their goods in great numbers. So he returned to the Sultan with a great quantity of booty, and remained with the Sultan in the town of Mih until they had performed the service of the great festival, the feast of sacrifice, in that town.

After the sacrifice the Sultan marched from thence in haste, and returned speedily to the neighbourhood of the town of Kiyāyekeh, alighting at the south side of it. Here it was that Tēwāmet, son of Ghafkurū, died, who was usually named Kerdenma. From this halting place the Sultan sent Ferkma-Muhammed, son of Fatima, to the town of Kāla, to take away the people who lived there and carry them to Burnū. Next morning our Sultan set out with his forces, and marched until they arrived at Gharkuwā, where a tribe of Arabs came to meet him, and a long conference took place between him and them.

Marching from thence, our Sultan resolved upon making an incursion against the tribe of Tubu, after commanding three of his chieftains to act as his lieutenants over the people left behind. These three were: first, his own son Siruma-Bir, son of Idris; secondly, Kājelma-'Alī; and thirdly, Yiruma-Yāghā. These marched with the people in haste to the town of Sim, and rested there, awaiting the Sultan's return from the incursion. When they were gone, the Sultan mounted with his attendant forces, and proceeded to the vicinity of Kiyāyekeh, where they halted and performed the mid-day and afternoon prayers; they then mounted again, set forth, performed the evening prayer on the road, then set out again, and halted about night-prayer time to sleep. In the morning they travelled in a northerly direction, continuing to advance until the sun had passed the meridian, when they halted and reposed themselves awhile; after performing the noon and afternoon prayers they travelled rapidly, and halted at sunset to pass the night. The troops had no idea of what the Sultan had projected, but about the middle of the night, or a little or a good bit before or after, the Sultan mounted with his troops after giving the signal with the horn, and marched rapidly, halting only to perform the morning prayer. After this they travelled but a little way before there appeared clearly on the road evident signs and traces of the tribe of Tubu. Upon this, our people beat the drum repeatedly to collect the men, who ran quickly towards the drum at full gallop. The enemy became aware of us and took to flight, scattering themselves into the wilderness in confusion, when the Sultan with his troops gave chase, killing their men, and capturing their women and children, until the heat of the day waxed insupportable. Upon this he turned aside towards a well in which there was water to give their horses drink. And they found two wells dug in the wilderness having an abundance of water, so they gave drink to their horses, performed their noon prayers during the first part of the canonical time, and then mounted, turning aside to go back with the booty at a slow pace, and taking with them a young growing lad not yet adolescent, of the tribe of Tubu, who knew the road, to go before them and show the way to the wells having water in them. This lad took us the right road and conducted us truly, without deceiving us, until we came to a town in which were two wells dug, where we watered our horses a second time. In this place I said my afternoon prayer with the enquirer after the truth, Kedā, son of Jilbū; with the junior Priest Muhammed, son of Ahmed; with 'Umer the Pilgrim, lord of the country of Feyā; with

Muhammed, son of Setatima, and with Gharima 'Abdu-'llāh, son of Mani, by the side of the town on the south border of it.

The Sultan then turned aside in a southern direction, marching with his troops, and halted in the town of Yeliwa towards the latter part of the afternoon, where we rested the whole night. When the glorious morning was come and the sun was risen, the trumpeter gave the signal for departure, when the Sultan mounted with his followers, journeying to the south, and halted before noontime in the town of Tina for the afternoon nap. After performing the noon and afternoon prayers they started with their Sultan in great numbers, taking a southerly direction, and halted before sunset in a certain part of the country. In the morning of the Wednesday the Sultan mounted his charger, and marched with his troops in the design of reaching the town of Sim, in which were the weak ones of our people, with the three lieutenants above-mentioned. So we marched quickly, and arrived there about noon; after watering our horses, the Sultan ascended a hill in a westerly direction, and alighted with the people who were with him, in the design of passing the night in that place apart from the bulk of the army, and not united to it. On that day died Furkuma-Muhammed, son of 'Abdu-'llāh (may God have mercy upon him).

The Sultan passed that night on the western hill, while the three lieutenants remained within the stockade. The next day he rested there for the afternoon nap, performing both his noon and afternoon devotions. In this interval a great body of men collected together about him from the tribe of Tub in anxiety and alarm, without anyone from our army having invited them to do so; on the contrary, they came out of love for our Sultan, and out of love for the Sultan Muhammed, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, in duty and obedience, in submission and respect, and entered into his allegiance, renouncing the allegiance of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelll with an utter renunciation. Then was made known and apparent to every one possessed of understanding the power and majesty of the condition of our Sultan; and they said, "The condition of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelll will be weakened from this day forth, if God Most High so will it, while the Sultan Muhammed, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, will find a great increase of power over his kingdom, by reason of what passed in conference between our Sultan and the tribe of Tub." So our people rejoiced with an exceeding great joy.

After this the Sultan mounted towards the evening of Thursday, and travelled with that part of his forces which had accompanied him, and entered the stockade. Here a deputation came to him

from the country of the Fitiri, with their attendants. There also came unto him 'Ali, son of Yerdhā, the Arabian, with his followers; and there came also an ambassador from the tribe of Kukū-milih. There was also collected in the city of Sim a great multitude of Arabs bringing corn to sell, this imported corn being of great advantage to our people. Our Sultan remained but a few days in the town of Sim, but news of it was spread far and near.

The Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, meanwhile, was gone a very great distance towards the west, and had not returned up to that time; so the Commander of the Faithful, the Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali (may God Most High assist him!), sent his Vezir, after having joined to him in the commission a great number of chieftains, such as Kīghama-Bekr, Yerima-'Ali, Deltū-Ghizim, Kājelma-'Ali, Erjenūma-'Abdu-'lāh, Sentelma-Keda, Hirīma Muhammed, son of 'Othmān, Elbuma-Dūnma, Buyūma Ahmed, son of the daughter of Juldī, and Kuluyma Dūna; also of the tribes of Keyām, and the Berbers, many chiefs and leaders. And he commanded them to go in pursuit of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil with these great forces, he himself accompanying them on their road the distance of a race-course out of the stockade. He then returned to his quarters, and marched himself a good distance to the north from the town of Sim. Traces of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil were then seen, and of his army travelling from the west towards the east; and when this fact was fully established, they got into the tracks, followed them up, using all speed and endeavour until our people became quite fatigued, and our cattle worn out, suffering greatly from thirst, without their being able to overtake them by any means; on the contrary, they gave up all hope of overtaking them. So they then held a council among themselves as to what direction they should choose for an incursion, and they said; "let us make an incursion into the country of Kerīwa, it will be better for us than to return foiled." So they agreed upon this and journeyed to that country, making therein much spoil; they killed also the brother of Dūnma, the sinner, and then returned to the town of Māw, remaining there in expectation of their Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim (may God Most High grant him honour!).

The Sultan, the Commander of the Faithful, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali (may God grant him honour in each of both worlds, and bless his children and his children's children until the day when the trump shall sound! for the sake of our Prince and Lord, Muhammed the Chosen, and his posterity! Amen! may God look with favour upon him and upon every one of them!), did not remain in the

town of Sim after the departure of the Vezir Idris, son of Hārūn, and of so many of the most famous among the chieftains and tribes as we have described above. On the contrary, he marched from thence, and journeyed with his forces towards the west, and halted at the town of Ghamrā, passing two or three nights there. God knows best.

From this town the Sultan Muhammed, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, set out in a southerly direction after the conclusion of a treaty of peace and amity between him and our Sultan, and after greeting each other in public, so that all and every one of our people, high and low, and all the chiefs and leaders of the Sultan Muhammed, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, knew of the same. And after the departure of the Sultan Muhammed in a southerly direction from Ghamrā, our Sultan passed but one more night there, marching on the morning of the second day with his forces, and arriving at the town of Māw, where he alighted, and where was effected the junction of the troops under the Sultan and the Vezir. There then took place mutual congratulations and greetings, and they remained there one night. Next day they marched again, after notice had been given by three beatings of the big drum, the Sultan leading his troops in a westerly direction with a view to returning to Burnū. He halted at Mālihi, and proceeded until he arrived at the tombs of the two saints, Mūla Ghim and Mūla Fūl, and thence to the town of Sūlū, where Metrāma, son of Selema died, as also the man named Messema-'Ali, in one day, being buried on the same (may God have mercy upon them both!).

The Sultan marched from thence and halted at Kessūdā, and from hence with the people, until he had passed the town of Rūru, to the towns of Sekerta, and afterwards to the town of Bulowj, and to Ghafūta; then to the place well known to every one, Ghātefa, where they passed two nights or three. From thence, after performing the noon and afternoon prayers, he journeyed to the town of Itnāwa, reaching it about the time of night prayer. Thus they continued marching until they halted at the town of Ruwāya, then at the town of Ghamberū in the month of God Safer the Good, when the Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, took up his abode therein with the rest of his army, and did not enter the great city known as Birni,¹ nor their different homes. They resided there about ten days or more, until the people gathered together there, men and women. He then pledged the chiefs, leaders, and guards, to continue the war, to defend the country, to act bravely, to attack

¹ Burnū.

and to assault, after causing to be brought forward the whole of the women, daughters of the kings, until every one of the grandees of renown and leaders of repute had finished what they had to state in respect to assisting and supporting the Sultan in prosperity or adversity, in pleasant or unpleasant circumstances, in public or in secret. Upon this there appeared the greatest joy, satisfaction, and delight, between the chiefs and their Sultan; they congratulated one another and wished each other success repeatedly, and then they separated to go to their homes, some of the chiefs departing from thence, while others remained with the Sultan in expectation of his leaving in order to enter the great stockade.

The chieftains and leaders assembled together in the town of Ghamberū before they dispersed, and held a council without asking leave of their Sultan, and made a pact and fixed a term of forty days for their preparations for another expedition; and when they had made this arrangement, they presented it to their king, Idris the Pilgrim (may God grant him honour in both worlds!). And when he heard what they had agreed upon and undertaken, he answered them graciously, and said; "perform it according to what you have agreed upon." So the army broke up upon this from Ghamberū to go home, and every one remained at home until the expiry of the term. But when the time came, they had not made their preparations, or had not completed them.

The Sultan, the Commander of the Faithful, the Lieutenant of the Lord of all worlds, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may God grant him honour and bless his children until the day when the trump shall sound!), knew in his foresight, sagacity, and correct judgment, that it would not be advisable to undertake the expedition until after the rains and the end of the autumn, so that the grass might grow on the lands, and the journey be rendered easy for travellers. So he commanded the lords of his empire to gather around him on the twenty-seventh of the month of the latter Rebi'; and they came to him at that date, assembling in the great city named Burnī¹. He then spoke to them of the matter he had in his mind, and commanded them to return to their countries and collect what was necessary for the expedition without hesitation or delay, and to assemble in the town of Fakrā in the middle of the month of the first Jemādi. But he did not discover unto them what was in his mind, neither did he say to them; "my intention is an expedition to such or such a place," nor did the people know the place to which he designed to go.

¹ Burnī.

Now the object of his intention was the tribe of Kenāniyya, which is among those who inhabit the land of Kānim, and is known as dwelling in the town of Sulā. The reason was that they were stubborn, arrogant, continually doing evil, committing violence and injustice, and trusting to the multitude of their men and children; they had at various times dealt treacherously and inimically towards the armies of our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, intercepting their path in going and in returning, sometimes by thieving and sometimes by openly attacking them, nor did they once refrain from placing themselves in this position towards our people in either of our four expeditions to the land of Kānim, or on our return to our fifth expedition in which we marched to the town known as Ikrīma. In that expedition our people met with no injury, because we deviated from the road in a northerly direction; which deviation was the means of our people remaining safe from their mischief, their wiles, and their guile. Our Sultan concealed his thoughts respecting these evil-doers, merely from a dislike to the thing being noised abroad, when the enemy would take their precautions. For in all things he was an imitator of the actions of the Prophet of God (may God look favorably upon him and grant him peace!), as much as God most High granted to him the ability in his favour, kindness, and grace.

A singular circumstance connected with this people, the tribe of Kenāniyya, is that parties of two or three of them, sometimes more, sometimes less, came to the Sultan to beg for things of which they were in want, clothes, food, or otherwise; and of those who came to him, none ever returned without being gratified, receiving presents and provisions from our Sultan; at least their constant practice was as we have mentioned in each of our expeditions towards Kānim, as well as on our return. Nevertheless, they abstained not from perfidy, nor did they reverence the requirements of a sense of favours and benefits received, neither did they depart day or night from working evil; so that whoever of our people or of our army passed by their country or near their town, was in fear of their violence and misdeeds, excepting those to whom God gave sufficient strength to set at naught their wickedness. Things went on in this way a long while until God sent us forth to attack and combat them on a Monday. And when we arrived at their town of Sulā, they all took shelter in Kergha, which is a place surrounded with the waters of the river (lake?) Thād, behind which there is grass for pasture. We halted in a spot known as Ghiwa, about the middle of the forenoon, and we did not pass the night in that

country excepting with the adoption of great caution, by reason of their cunning in practising theft. Thus we passed the night, and in the morning we marched in the direction of Burnā, napping in the afternoon and sleeping at night, until we alighted in the town of Ghamberū, as we have related. From that time, the determination was never once forsaken by our Sultan of making an expedition against them, until the time of their gathering together in the above-mentioned town of Fukrā, though he concealed his resolve from his chieftains and leaders, keeping it entirely to himself for fear of its being noised about, and reaching the ears of the enemy, as we have already related.

So our Sultan Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (whom God assist against his enemies!), encamped at the town of Fakrā on Tuesday the fourteenth day before the conclusion of the first of the two months of Jemādi, and spent three nights there for the troops to collect. When they became numerous enough, he marched from thence (may God give him power and victory, and facilitate matters for him!) on the Friday, the tenth day before the end of the month, with his forces, and alighted in the town of Deliknih at napping time; he passed the night there, and on the morning of the Saturday the Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī, marched from the town of Delkineh advancing with his forces, and halted at the town of Medāma at napping time; they passed the night there also, sleeping the whole time till morning. Then the big drum was beat, all mounted, and they marched the Sunday till mid-day. They then halted at the town named Keri-Kurūk, where they passed the night, said the morning prayer, mounted, and travelled on the Tuesday, after notice given by the big drum; and they used all diligence on their march, until they halted at the town of Keri-Kermenū. On the Wednesday, the Sultan travelled with his forces, and when napping time was arrived they halted at the town of Wurqih. On the Thursday, they journeyed till mid-day, and encamped at the town of Lebūd; they left this on the Friday, travelling quickly, and halted at the town of Kesredā (or Keswedā); after which, they travelled on the Saturday, alighting at Belowj, on the Sunday at Béri, and on the Monday at mid-day at Rūruh. Here they only remained a sufficient time to perform the noon and afternoon prayers, and then they all mounted and set out, using all expedition, and alighting only at sunset to say prayers at a pool named Kitnākih; after this, they mounted and marched towards the east, with the view of reaching the land of the tribe of Kenā-niyya, in order that they might reach it in the morning and bring

upon it whatever God (may He be honoured and glorified!) might will, with His assistance and His strengthening. So they marched in the middle of the night a long way without stopping; a night which, from its fatigues, seemed equal to three or to four, to more, or to less, God knows best. We had not endured during our whole journey from the time we left the town Fakrā on the Friday, as we said, until the eleventh day, being Monday, so much fatigue and exhaustion as in this night; so much so that some of our people could not distinguish the direction of the Kibla, towards which to direct themselves for prayer in that night, without being set right by some one else. Others could not distinguish the place of alighting to which they had been accustomed of old; some got separated from their company and could not find them again. Such was the state of some of our people in this night after the Sultan alighted at his halting place, which proves the truth of the saying that "journeying is a variety of torture," and gives evidence of the same. An action is only called an action, because men's souls are thereby called into activity and suffering.

When the Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may God exalt his majesty and degrade those who seek to vilify him; and may He bless his children and posterity for ever and ever!), determined, in the town of Bāri, on this forced march for the Monday, he abstained from causing the drum to be beaten, and commanded the whole of his troops to provide themselves with three days' provisions, neither more nor less. He also commanded that no efficient foot-soldier should remain behind, nor any valuable horse, or common gelding, or camel, having serviceable strength, with the infirm who were left to take care of the baggage; and that no shieldsman, bucklerman, or targetman whatever, should stay behind with the baggage. His intention was to excite every serviceable man and beast to follow him. He mounted and started with those who were to be of the expedition, before his lieutenant and substitute who was deputed to remain with the infirm and the beasts of burden, this being Yuruma-Yāghā. So he marched with his forces and halted at the town of Rūr, as before mentioned, at noon, or thereabouts, remaining there only the necessary time for performing the two prayers of noon and afternoon, when they set out, using every possible diligence in their march, until the people were involved in the fatigue, weariness, and exhaustion which we have already described, and until we had halted in the famous town of Sīkih, or near to it. We did not march from thence in the night, but we slept there till the morning; when the Sultan divided his forces

into three portions, one for pillage, another for fighting, and the third for taking captives.

He sent his son Kighama 'Abdu'l-Jelil, son of Idris, with his Vezir Idris, son of Hārūn, towards the south against the tribe of Kenāniyya, to go as far as the town of Ririkema and others. He sent his son Yerīma Idris, with the troops known as the northmen, such as the chieftain Erjenūma, and others of the chiefs of the northmen, towards the north against the Kenāniyya, and they reached the town of Māy and others belonging to that tribe, killing many of the enemy, and capturing their women and their children. The Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī, (may God, whose name be honoured and revered, grant him honour!), took the middle road with his own followers, until they reached the town of Didi, and others in which dwelt the people of the Kenāniyya. These troops who accompanied him, killed numbers of the enemy, and captured their women and children and property, to the number of about a thousand or more; God knows best. After which, when the fire of war was extinguished, the Sultan returned to his camp at Ririkema, alighting there at the time of afternoon prayer. The great chieftain Kighama 'Abdu'l-Jelil, son of Idris, and the Vezir Idris, son of Hārūn, alighted at the town of Ririkema before the arrival of the Sultan, as their departure had been, with what they had taken, an immense spoil. But the great chieftain Yerīma, son of Idris, did not return with his party until the evening, when they came with what they had found, an immense booty, after killing numbers of the enemy.

So the Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī, passed the night in the town of Ririkema with his mind at rest and his eyes sparkling, now that abasement and contempt, and the sword and captivity had fallen upon the enemy who had made war, who had disturbed the safety of the roads of the Muslim people. At the same time our Muslim warriors were rejoiced when they learnt the success of our Sultan over those enemies, the unsubmissive and rebellious. And the whole expedition slept in that town without any precaution, and taking no thought of the enemy, since some of them were killed and some were fled to places of concealment and safety. They enjoyed themselves to satiety in eating there the flesh of sheep and goats abundantly, so that all traces of fatigue were effaced from them, and they reposed themselves and slept the livelong night.

In the morning the Sultan gave orders to his troops to march; so they mounted and travelled towards the west with the intention

of gaining the town of Rāruh. And they continued their course till near noon, when the Sultan halted in a place called Kintāka, where he saw a reservoir with water in it. Here they passed their napping time, performing the noon and afternoon prayers, and afterwards resumed the journey towards Rāruh without any one remaining behind, either chief or leader or guard, or other person, even the herdsmen of the camels or horses; all were engaged in driving on the spoils they had met with, though no one hurried, but travelled by easy stages.

When the army reached the place of the frontier, where the drum was beat on the occasion of our first expedition to Kānim, at the time of our return therefrom, the Sultan, the Commander of the Faithful, Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī, (may God Most High grant him honour, and bless his children and grandchildren to the 'day when the trump shall sound; for the sake of the Prince of mankind, the everlastingly Radiant of countenance, the Seal of the prophets, the Chief of the pure, our Prince and Lord Muhammed the chosen, and of his posterity, upon whom may God look favourably, and grant peace! Amen!), halted, reining up his horse by the side of the tamarisk tree, known to every person without doubt or surmise.

And our people were lost in wonderment at that time by reason of our not being joined by our infirm corps, who were with the lieutenant, Yiruma; but the Sultan did not entertain any expectation of their joining us that day. He alighted under the tree above mentioned, that is, the tamarisk of which we have spoken; upon seeing which the whole of our people alighted without delay, slackening the saddle-girths, and unloading the burdens. They also erected their tents under the idea of passing the night there, exerting themselves to the utmost, and then slept till morning full of joy and mirth, free from fear of robbery or of being attacked, and all the spoils they had taken surrounding them; also because they were returned in safety without an accident happening to one of the Muslims, except some men who were wounded and were healed almost immediately; whereas the infidel enemies were not able to ascertain the whole extent of the injury that befel them, except after a thorough inquiry and investigation. And this, because their combatants who appeared in the fight were killed at first on the field of battle, and knocked down; whoever made his appearance to offer injury to our troops was quickly put to death, excepting those whose hour was not yet come and who fled. Our champions did not cease to hunt them in every house where the Sultan alighted to search, and they killed all the male adult prisoners by the

Sultan's orders, and there was not one of our people who kept one of them alive to possess him.

Among other singular doings of our people of which we have heard, Ka'amka'amma-Bemū, one of the chieftains of the Sultan, killed the youths and also the boys who were not yet adolescent, on account of the evil actions of their tribe, except such as God caused to be spared. Thus those of the tribe of Kenāniyya who became prisoners were killed in the same way as some were in battle. Those who escaped, escaped; those who perished, perished; and none remained in the hands of our people, excepting their women and their children, so that the tribe of Kenāniyya became after that extinct and of no account, whereas they were previously proud, supercilious, and exceedingly haughty and overbearing.

We have heard that there was no other tribe in the land of Kānim so numerous in its members as that of the Kenāniyya. It is also said that when they conceived anger against any other people with whom they might have a dispute, they used to march at once against the country of their opponents, caring for nobody, even as the Sultan did against his adversaries. This it was that urged them to commit iniquity, injustice, and perversity, until they ventured to trespass against the troops of our Sultan, practising upon them their arts of thievishness and highway robbery. They had no arrangements made for the defence of their lives, for they were blinded by their surpassing ignorance and pride, until the evils of captivity, death, and extirpation fell upon them, and the land in which the Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim (may God grant him honour in this world and in that to come!), waged war against them became as dust scattered to the winds, and the remnant of the evil-doers was cut off, so that Tuesday became in their estimation like deadly poison. Evil is the morrow of those who terrify people; evil is the morrow of the sinner; evil is the morrow of the guilty! Thus have we read in the book of Genesis when destruction fell upon the people of Sodom by reason of their disobedience to their prophet Lot (upon him be peace), whom they contended with, and would not take warning by what had happened to the refractory nations of former days, nor be advised by the events of time, even as the poet hath it:

"He that will not be warned by the events of time, will not be benefited by that which the apostrophiser breathes forth to-day or to-morrow."

The tribe of Kenāniyya, among the inhabitants of the land of Kānim, were a set of stupid, foolish, ignorant, obstinate brutes,

without sense, intelligence, or capacity, according to what we know ourselves. We have qualified and described them with these three qualities of stupidity, folly, and ignorance, by reason of the difference of the words with the similarity of their meaning, for stupidity is worse than folly, and folly than ignorance. The stupid man is he who cannot distinguish what is profitable and what is detrimental, and never takes advice at all; a foolish man will not accept what is proper, whether it be profitable for him or the reverse, in which respect he resembles the stupid man; but the case of the ignorant man is less serious, for when he has advice given to him, he listens to it, and if he turns aside from it, injures himself.

We return now to what we have to relate in connexion with the town of Rūruh on our return towards the great city of Burni. When we halted at the town of Rūruh on the Thursday, we did not remain there more than three days, in which all our people rested themselves, and finished their preparations, so that when, by the grace and favour of God, the morning of the Sunday came, the Sultan, the Commander of the Faithful, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali, (may God, whose name be blessed and exalted, grant him honour!), gave orders for the drum to be beat, and they were beaten very loudly. Upon this, the army made their preparations, saddled their horses and beasts of burden, camels, oxen, and asses, mounting afterwards with the Sultan and travelling towards the west, following the well-known path which leads towards Burnū, and hastening their march, until they halted at the town of Beri. They started again and halted opposite the town of Belūj, from whence they marched to Furtū, from thence to the pool called Melghiyughu (or Melfiyughu), where they halted; from hence they marched to the town of Merdeli, halted there, and proceeded to the town of Ghuwi-Keghūkwa, where the Sultan alighted with his troops.

After these things, the merchants travelling in company, people of the town of Burnū, came up with us, accompanied by people of the town or country of Bulmi, or Bulim, of the town of Fewāl, and of Ghazbi, and arriving from the direction of the country of Fezzān; and a meeting took place between them and the Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, in the above-named town. He became possessed there, through them, of many horses, as many as God most High had decreed concerning him on his tablet of destiny. He passed the night of Saturday in that town of Ghuwi-Keghūkwa, and the following morning we did not proceed on our journey by reason of the

Sultan's being occupied with the affairs of the horses. We performed the noon prayer of the Sunday there, after which he started with his people, having finished this new business, and took a westerly road, travelling at a quick rate. When we reached the town known by the name of Kikiw, towards the end of the afternoon, there fell very much rain, and the Sultan alighted at that station with his troops who were with him. On that night no one of our people was able to eat his fill of cooked provisions, by reason of the very heavy rain, unless it were some who had an extraordinary power of providing necessaries; nor did the rain cease the whole night, except a very little while.

When the morning of Monday came (for which praise and glory be to God!), the Sultan mounted and travelled quickly, halting at the town of Ghiskirū, where he passed the night, setting out again on the Tuesday, and halting at the town of Zemtem, from whence many of our people dispersed and went to their several countries, excepting those who were bound to the Sultan, such as servitors and others. From thence the Sultan set out on the Thursday, passed the great river by the will of his Lord (whose name he blessed and hallowed!) and alighted at the town of Ghamberū, which is near to the river, where he passed the night of the Thursday.

On the morning of the Friday, the Sultan performed his congregational devotions in the mosque of Ghamberū. He afterwards performed likewise the afternoon prayer, and then mounted with the forces remaining by him, taking the direction of the great city Burni, which they entered towards evening on the Friday, and where he remained only a few days, something like ten, or more, or less. God most High knows the real state of the case. Then we heard certain and well-authenticated intelligence to the effect that the tribe of Kenāniyya, of the people of the country of Kānin, had advanced in great numbers, accompanied by Hanno the Pilgrim, lord of the town of Rūruh, towards the country of Burnū, in the design of offering excuses to the Sultan Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (whom God exalt in this world and that to come!), for the evil acts which they had formerly done, to entreat his compassion, and fearing for the future a repetition of what had already befallen them, trembling at what they were suffering from as it was. So certain and authentic news arrived before they made their appearance in the town of Burni, even while they were at a distance; nor did they cease to prosecute their journey through our country of Burnū until they halted near the river, to the northwards of Gham-

berti. From thence they despatched a messenger to our Sultan, and requested permission to pass the river and to come to Burni and to appear in his presence. Permission having been granted them fully, they passed the river, came to Burni, entered therein, and came before the presence of the Sultan, accompanied by Hanno the Pilgrim above-mentioned. So they appeared before him, and presented their excuses, humbling and abasing themselves; they admitted the iniquity of every thing they had done, such as thieving, rebelling, unjust dealing, and brigandage, demanding a general amnesty and full pardon, with a cessation from hostilities against them in future. They then retired from the presence, and seated themselves in the Sultan's court-yard, near to the apartment of the Vezir Idris, son of Hārūn, to whom also they offered their excuses, demanding safety for their lives and property. They swore also upon God's book that they would never more oppose the Sultan. After that, they departed to their own country, having undertaken and engaged to offer as a mark of respect about a thousand cows, or more, God knows best.

But a short time elapsed again when the great news was received of the discomfiture of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, son of 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, and his forces, when they met the Sultan Muhammed, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, in the northern parts of Kānim, on a Wednesday in the month of God Most High, Jemādi the latter; so that God Most High assisted the Sultan Muhammed, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, with abundant succour, unto the cutting off the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil with the princes of his party, after they had subjected the Sultan Muhammed to unworthy treatment with his party, whom they had abased and treated as cowards, not knowing that victory comes from God Most High, not from the multitude of a party, nor from strength. Unto God Most High be ascribed the most worthy praise and the most abundant thanksgivings!

A circumstance connected with the history of our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali (whom may God Most High assist with a mighty assistance!), is that he conducted hostilities against the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil in the town of Kiyāyeka, and that the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil fled, with his followers who were with him, to distant wildernesses, in order that our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, should not fall upon them. On the other hand one of the qualities characteristic of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil and his party who followed after him and helped him in his rebellion and wicked dealings, consisted in their resembling in the commencement of their doings the roebucks breaking into fields of corn and eating up the young plants,

whereas, if they see anything in the shape of a human being, they immediately take to flight into their hiding places. This matter, as thus related, is the very emblem of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil and his party before war broke out and the battle took place with them at the town of Keyäyeka. But in the latter part of their transactions they rather resembled the wild cows which pasture in the utmost parts of the wilderness, and are seen by no man in his journeyings unless he go into the distant wilderness for something of which he is in want, or for the purpose of hunting.

So when the circumstances of 'Abdu-'l-Jelil and his party assumed the aspect above described, our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali, in his wisdom and sagacity conceived a line of action, and discovered an admirable stratagem, such as had never entered into the heart of man, or could ever be imagined to have entered. And in this manner when he had exercised his thoughts on the subject, he sent for several tribes of Arabs, with their chiefs, such as 'Ali, son of Yerdhā, with his followers, and others besides. He then addressed them in an eloquent speech, and spoke to them in an oration full of sweetness and feeling, ordering them to attach themselves to the Sultan Muhammed, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, and commanding them to assist him in his wars against the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, with an open public assistance, never tiring or neglecting so to do. So they complied with these orders, and obeyed them. And they were unto him as wings, and accompanied him until God Most High gave him the victory over his uncle the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, out of His mercy, and favour, and loving kindness, and long suffering, for He is the Lord of Grace, the Great God.

We pass on now to relate what occurred in the seventh journey to the land of Kānim by the Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali (may God Most High grant him honour in this life and in the life to come!).

At what time the great king, the just, the pious, the pacifier of the land of Islām, the guardian of the rights of every Muslim, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali (may God assist him with a powerful assistance!), determined upon the journey to the country of Kānim in his seventh expedition, after the destruction of the rebels, he commanded his followers, his chiefs, his leaders, his guards, and others of his forces, to provide themselves without delay or negligence, with the necessaries for an expedition. And as soon as these preparatives were completed, the Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali, set out on his journey in God's month of Shewwāl from the town of Ghamberū, and halted at the town of Zemtem; from

thence he proceeded to the town of Ghatā, from thence to Miluh, then to Ledā, then to Burkumwa, then to Ghawālih, then to the town of Multi, then to Berih, then to Ghayewā, then to Melhā, then to Dighimsil, then to Jughulghuluh, near to Diyelerem, then to the town of Rūruh, then to Keswādā.

Here the Sultan halted three or four days, after sending Melghalma-Deltū, lord of Muri, to the Sultan Muhammed, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, inviting him to come to meet him at Sulū, of the tribe of Kenāniyya, with his followers of the tribe of Bulāla. And after the departure of Deltū, as above mentioned, from Keswedā on a Saturday, our Sultan marched from thence on the Tuesday, journeying towards the east, and halted at the town of Sika-Danenma, to wait for the Sultan Muhammed, son of 'Abdu-'llāh. So the Sultan Muhammed, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, came with his forces, preceded by our envoy, Melghalma-Deltū, as above mentioned, on the Friday night, and they alighted in the courtyard of our Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī. Upon this our Sultan commanded his troops to be drawn up in complete array in the court-yard, and then our Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim, seated himself with the Sultan Muhammed, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, in one apartment, where much conversation passed between them, and they fixed upon a frontier between the two countries of Kānim and Burnū. According to this, the whole of Kefesta, with its regions, fell to the lot of Burnū; also the whole of the countries of Siruh, with their regions, became the portion of our land of Burnū. This was proclaimed and published to the people, being heard by our chiefs, as by their chiefs, who were present in the courtyard, so that no doubt remained, nor any ground for dispute. So also the town of Bebāliyā became the property of Burnū, even as Kufusta and Siruh, as above mentioned. And our Sultan gave unto them the remainder of the land of Kānim, out of his friendship for the Sultan Muhammed, son of 'Abdu-'llāh; but had it not been for this consideration, he would never have given them an inch of the land of Kānim. We relate this, because, when our Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī, journeyed to the land of Kānim in his first expedition, in which he halted at the town of Māw, he routed the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil in three places of the land of Kānim; first at the town of Kirsila, secondly at the town of Tushu, or Ghamirā, and thirdly at the town of Aghāfi, where he remained many days waiting for a meeting with him whom he loved. Then many of the troops of the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil came and joined him; and all who thus came, chiefs or leaders, he caused to attach themselves to the Sultan Muhammed,

son of 'Abdu-'llāh, after making them swear on the holy Kur'ān to hear and obey, to assist and succour him.

So thus he gave his word of truth regarding his love for the Sultan Muhammed, and regarding his gift to him of the remainder of the country. Had it not been so, he would not have abandoned a single one of the towns to anyone else. And all those whom he caused to swear of the tribe of Bulāla in the town of Aghāfi, heard our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, speak this word which we have here mentioned, as well as all those who came to him of the chiefs and leaders of the tribe of Bulāla, and so it happened until he returned to the land of Burnū after the determination of the frontier between Kānim and Burnū.

We proceed now to notice the covenant, the agreement, and the stipulation which was entered into between us and the tribe of Bulāla in the town of Sikih. When the conference took place between our Sultan and the Sultan Muhammed, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, in the court of the Sultan, in the town of Sikih, and every one of the Bulāla began to proffer excuses and exculpatory protestations, swearing by the Almighty God that they would never oppose our Sultan Idris to the end of time, then our Sultan commanded them never to offer opposition to their Sultan Muhammed and his son to the end of time. They then swore to perform this command, as they had before sworn respecting our Sultan. And after all these things, the Sultan Muhammed, son of Abdu-'llāh, returned with his followers who had come with him on a moonlight night, being the night of Friday, after having thus obtained an indubitable security, and great joy succeeding to their violent grief and lamentation.

According to what we have heard related by various reporters of anecdotes, the people of the Bulāla, when they came to our Sultan at his halting-place in the town of Sikih, applied themselves to prayers for preservation, recitations, and incantations, out of fear for their lives, until they had all alighted from their horses, except their Sultan Muhammed, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, alone; into him fear did not enter, for he knew the sincerity of the friendship of our Sultan towards him. So when they had sworn the oath, and full pardon had been granted to them by our Sultan, they rejoiced and were glad, giving praise to God Most High for the safety of their lives from harm; also, when they mounted their horses in order to return, they offered manifold thanksgivings to the Lord, after which they set out with their Sultan to return to the place from whence they had come.

When the Friday morning was come, Siruma, son of Dimuh,

with the rest of the chiefs and leaders of the Bulāla, who had not come before, presented themselves before our Sultan on the Saturday, offering excuses and begging pardon, in the same way that their companions, who had gone back, did the day before. Upon this the Sultan gave orders to his Vezīr Idrīs, son of Hārūn, to cause them to make oath on the Holy Book of God; and they accordingly did so make oath, without exception of any one of them.

On the same day of Saturday, the Sultan gave orders to his troops that when God, the All-bountiful Lord, should vouchsafe unto us the morning on the morrow, every one of the chiefs and leaders should be drawn up with his followers, the men wearing quilted cotton or felt armour, or bearing bucklers, each fully accoutred and stationed alone, so as to be presented before him one by one, and that he might see and inspect them without confounding them together. So when the morning was come, the whole camp put on their arms and accoutrements in the best style, and were drawn up one by one in great numbers, without one of them being joined to another, so that the Sultan might inspect them publicly on the Sunday. On that day the Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim, did not inspect the bucklermen of the infantry of Kuyām, but he inspected them the day following, being Monday. So the whole of our people, with the chiefs and leaders, rejoiced exceedingly at what they had obtained in extending the boundary of our land of Burnū, and at the termination of our journeying towards the east.

When the morning of Tuesday was come, the Sultan, the Commander of the Faithful, commanded the drum to be beat, and it was beat. Then the people made themselves ready, saddling their horses and binding on their loads to the beasts of burden. After which, the Sultan and all the people mounted and travelled a long distance until they alighted at the town of Rūruh. On the Wednesday we departed thence, halting near to Dilirem, leaving it also on the Thursday and camping near to Belūj. We left this place on the Friday, and halted near to the town of Ghayewā, starting from thence on the Saturday and camping at Bert. In this place the Sultan gave orders to the whole of his army that no one should separate himself from the camp until they reached the town of Ruwāya. So we journeyed again and alighted at the town of Multi; from whence we reached Didi, from Didi to Mīluh, and from thence to Ruwāya, where we camped.

In the morning the whole army mounted their horses, after putting on their arms and accoutrements, for themselves and their

horses, armour, mail, shields, and their best and most handsome clothing. And when we had travelled a little distance towards the west, we were met by ambassadors from the king, the lord of the country of Dembuluh, who had sent them to our Sultan, accompanied by the learned Yūsuf the Pilgrim, known as their Bāb (*Gate or Guide to the truth*). They were drawn up in a line, standing, according to the requirements of respect for their different ranks, and near to the town of Berselema, and with them our companions Dirukma-Fatar, son of Ghambū, and others, merchants, in large numbers. Then the people who were accompanying the Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim, drew up in a line towards the east, while the others remained drawn up in a line towards the west, as far off as a spurred horse will gallop. Our people then moved their horses towards the other party, who also moved theirs towards us, and we remained in this position a long while until the men on foot were tired out with standing.

After this the Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim, journeyed towards the west, and passed the town of Berselma, then he reached the town of Ghatā, and afterwards the flowing river which is in the vicinity of the town of Ghambertū, where he alighted with his forces on a Friday. Then our people rejoiced and congratulated one another, and danced and made merry exceedingly, so that it is impossible for us to describe their joy in detail. O men of understanding among our brethren and companions! Have you ever seen a king equal to our Sultan, or approaching to it, when the sovereign of Debuleh sent his ambassador to him from his city with soft words indicative of real friendship, desirable amity, and praiseworthy intercourse! Away, away! every Sultan falls short of these Princes; for they are of the Kureysh, of the posterity of Himr, their forefather is one and the same with the forefather of our Prince, our Prophet, and our Lord, Muhammed (upon whom may God look favourably!), and their stock unites with his in Lūy, son of Ghālib, as is most distinctly known and ascertained.

Among the wonderful and curious accounts which we have heard related by our great teachers, whose discourses are more pleasant than draughts of fresh water, is one saying that in the possession of the family of the sons of Seyf, there was a something encased in wrappers and kept covered up, in which lay the secret of their success in war, and which was named Munī. No one had ever uncovered it of the kings of the family of Seyf, son of Dhī-Yezn, and it remained constantly in their possession unopened, until the days of the Sultan Dūma, son of Debelā. The Sultan Dūma determined,

however, upon breaking into it and uncovering it; though his people who were about him cautioned him, saying "Do not this thing, for in the matter lies the cause of the success of your predecessors, whom no one was able to withstand from among the unbelievers or others, so long as this matter has remained in their possession encased in wrappers and covered up, until these days when God has caused you to succeed to the kingdom out of his favour and loving kindness to the true believers." He refused, however, to abide by their advice; so much so, that he broke open the ancient relic. And it is said that when he had opened it, the thing which was contained therein flew away, crying out an invitation to every possessor of power among men, who might have any desire or ambition to acquire the kingdom and majesty. Thereupon took place in the days of the Sultan Dünma, son of Debelä; those wars which occurred between him and the tribe of Tub, so that wars and dissensions lasted between them for seven years, seven months, and seven days. Thus have we heard from people of information, but God is He who knows best.

After that, disputes and quarrels broke out in the time of the Sultan Dāwūd, son of Nikālih, with the people of Fitiri, as we have already mentioned in the former part of our work on the affairs of the country of Kānim. Had it not been for the opening of that thing, known by the name of Muni, which took place in the time of the Sultan Dünma, son of Debelä, no one from among the unbelievers would ever have opposed the family of the sons of Seyf. This, however, took place by the effect of God's providence, decreed beforehand, and inscribed on the preserved tablet of destiny.

The semblance of this thing which was in the possession of the family of Seyf, son of Dhī-Yezn, until the time of the Sultan Dünma, son of Debelä, and which was named Muni, and which flew away upon the breaking and opening thereof, and disappeared from the sight of the people who were looking on, was like unto that which God (be His name exalted!) sent from above unto the children of Israel as an ark in which was the secret of their victories in the time of the King Saul, as he (be His name exalted!) has recorded in his holy book. We have also read in the "*Book of Individuals*," written by the son of Fāris, that on every occasion where the word "*Sekinet*" occurs in the Kur-'ān, it has the signification of "*rest*" and "*tranquillity*," excepting where it is found in the passage relating to Saul; there it stands in the sense of "*a certain thing like the head of a cat, possessed of two wings*." We have also read in the

Kāmūs of the learned doctor, the last of the collectors of holy legends and the seal of lexicographers, Mejdu-'d-Dīn, of Fīrūz-ābād (may God fill him with His mercy!), wherein he says, after giving another explanation, "It is a thing which had like the head of a cat of emeralds and rubies, with two wings."

Know all ye of the faith who possess the qualities of justice and equity, that the family of the children of Seyf, son of Dhi-Yezn, has been free from polytheism and idolatry from their remote ancestors till the present time. They act not, excepting on what is found written in the Kur'an, or is consonant with the acts or sayings of the Prophet, or with the canons of the doctors of the law. No one has ever doubted as to the propriety of their acts, unless he be at heart a sceptic in religion, or envious, or ignorant, not able to distinguish between truth and error. The nobility of the "Children of Seyf" is noted and celebrated in every place and in every age.

"They are of the first class; if they pride themselves thereon, God has said: Preeminence

"Is rebellious sin in man; be your latter end a free pardon."

May God bless their generation and their posterity, with a great blessing, until the day of the resurrection. God is the hearer of prayer, and the fulfiller of requests; He is our trust, and a present help in trouble; neither is there any power or ability except by God Most High and most great. May God be favourable unto our Prince Muhammed, unto his family, his companions, his wives, his posterity, and give peace unto them!

It was permitted to rest from the labour of this sacred transcription at noon on Friday, the fourth from the end of Sha'bān, 1269.¹

¹ 2nd June, 1853.

ART. VI.—*Assyrian Texts Translated.* By H. F. TALBOT, Esq.

[Received 3rd October, 1859.]

IN presenting the following translations to the Royal Asiatic Society, I hope to make a useful contribution to the study of Assyrian Antiquities. They have been prepared quite independently and without any communication with other enquirers. This has been done once before, under the auspices of the Society, in the case of the important inscription of Tiglath Pileser I., and I believe that the result has not been considered unsatisfactory by the Council of the Society and by the learned world in general. It is indeed a cogent argument, and persuasive to all candid minds, that when independent enquirers agree in the interpretation of writings of such extreme diversity and complexity, their opinions must rest upon a foundation of truth.

It is understood that Sir H. Rawlinson has prepared translations of the greater part of these documents. The comparison between the versions therefore cannot fail to be of utility.

The notes which I have added are brief, because to have given a full account of the various investigations, which have been found requisite, would have involved me in details too long for the present occasion. I hope, however, to elucidate some parts of the text more completely hereafter.

No. I.

INSCRIPTION FROM A BROKEN OBELISK OF ASHURAKHBAL,¹

^{*} *Found at Kojunjik (Nineveh), but originally belonging to Kileh Shergat (Ashur), now in the British Museum.*²

[This interesting inscription is in two columns, but the lower half of each is broken away.]

First Column.

The gods Ninev and Sidu, who upheld his footsteps, gave unto him (*the king*) a vast menagerie, or collection of animals. At one

¹ This king is called Sardanapalus by Sir H. Rawlinson.

² The Cuneiform text of this inscription will be found in plate 28 of the new volume published by the British Museum.

time he embarked in ships belonging to the city of Arvad, and he killed dolphins in the Great Sea (*the Mediterranean*).

At another time, many³ buffaloes, both young and vigorous, in the district of Araziki, which belongs to the land of Syria, and at the foot of Mount Lebanon he slew. (*A blank number of*) the young of these buffaloes he captured alive. All of them he kept in places well enclosed. (*a blank number of*) elephants with his arrows he slew, and (*a blank number of*) them he captured alive and brought them home to his city Ashur. 120 lions in the very same place in the ardour of the chase he slew in his open chariot and others on foot with his club or mace. And (*a blank number of*) lions he also slew with

At another time, through the thickest forests, the gods commanded him to make a chase after rare animals. In the short days of winter, and in the days of spring he went hunting. In the provinces of Ebitak, Urasha, Atzamiri, Anakna, Pizitta and Kasiyari, the cities of Assyria, Khanaraddi, Lulumi, and the mountains of Nahiri, he caught in hunter's toils (*a blank number of*) armi, turakhi, nali, and yaeli.

Every one of these animals he placed in separate enclosures, (*or in cages*). He brought up their young ones and counted them as carefully as young lambs. (*A blank number of*) nuri, midini, asi, malahirku, (*and several more kinds of rare animals*) he slew. But as to the creatures called burkish, utrati (*dromedaries*) tishani, and dagari, he wrote for them and they came. The dromedaries he kept in enclosures where he brought up their young ones. He entrusted each kind of animal to men of their own country to take care of them. (*There were also*) curious animals of the Great Sea (*the Mediterranean*) which the king of Egypt sent as a gift and entrusted to the care of men of his own land. The very choicest animals were there in great abundance, and birds of heaven with beautiful wings. It was a splendid menagerie, and all the work of his own hands.

The names of the animals were placed beside them.

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Second Column.

Many portions of my majesty's palace which had decayed, I rebuilt from the foundation to the roof. The *black palace*? of Tsu-Yem and the great *colonnade*? which fronts the north? which Sardakki king of Assyria built, was gone to decay, I rebuilt it.

³ The number of them is left blank.

The wall of my city of Ashur which had fallen down, and had crumbled into fragments I built up again, from the great gate of Erishlu as far as the gate of the river Tigris. The beams of the great gate of Erishlu, which were of cypress wood, I demolished and replaced them by most excellent beams of asukhi wood. And I fastened them with nails of copper. The great mound of the citadel in the city of Ashur I renewed in every part, and rebuilt it. The heaps of fallen fragments which lay around it, I took up and spread them on the mound. I built many palaces in my city of Ashur. Each was built of a different kind of wood. I erected against the walls four burkish and four lions of atmas stone, and two sacred bulls of paruti stone, and two burkish of pari stone and I set them up at the gates of the city.

The aqueduct which Ashurdanan king of Assyria built, the fountain which supplied that stream had been destroyed and during 30 years the waters, for that reason, came no longer. I restored the fountain of the stream and caused the waters to pass through it as before. And I planted trees by the side of it.

The *rampart* of the gate of the river Tigris which Hu-zab-adan king of Assyria built, was gone to decay and had fallen in. Down to the waters of its fosse or ditch, I repaired it with bitumen and brick. The great colonnade of the new palace which fronts the . . . which Kubar king of Assyria had built to the height of 63 . . . , had gone to decay and had fallen down. I rebuilt it from its foundation to its roof.

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Having thus given a general translation of the text, I will proceed to analyse the separate portions of it.

COLUMN I.

The gods Ninev and Sidu (1), who upheld his (2) footsteps, gave unto him a vast menagerie (3).

(1) Ninev and Sidu were the deities who presided over hunting.

(2) Viz, those of the king, who here speaks in the 3rd person. These two deities are frequently called by the king, *ram ratti-ya*, "the upholders of my footsteps." In the present passage the text has, *Ninev u Sidu sha rat-tzu iramu*.

(3) *Buhur gazab*. This phrase, and *muhur gazab*, which occurs in l. 32, I consider to be the same. The excessive fondness of the Assyrian monarchs for hunting and for forming collections of curious animals is apparent from many of their inscriptions. *Buhur* might perhaps be translated "the hunting expedition," during which the animals were caught—but I prefer the first explanation.

He embarked (1) in ships belonging to the city of Arvad (2), and he killed dolphins in the Great Sea (3),

(1) *irkab*, from *rakab*, to ride—either in a chariot, thence itself named *rakab* כַּב in Hebrew—or in a ship—or in short in any *vehicle*.

(2) This is a most important passage. The event doubtless occurred during the great expedition of Ashurakhbal to Syria and the Phœnician coast which he has recounted at large in his annals. Upon that occasion the king embarked and “dipp’d his weapons in the Great Sea.” I am not sure whether this is to be taken literally.—That he dipped his arms in the waves of the Mediterranean, from veneration, because it was accounted a Holy Sea—or whether the weapons thus ‘dipped in the waves’ were not rather the harpoons and arrows which he shot at the monsters of the deep. The city of Arvad (Aradus of the classical authors, but the Arvad of Scripture) was at this period the most flourishing of Phœnician seaports, taking precedence even of Tyre and Sidon.

(3) *Nakhiri* as *yobba rehti iduk*. It appears from the inscriptions that the teeth of dolphins were especially valued as curiosities. In the long lists of presents and tribute offered to the Assyrian kings we frequently find mentioned, *Ka nakhiri binuta yobba*—“the teeth of dolphins, creatures of the Sea.” The *grampus* is probably meant, which is frequently found in the Mediterranean. Both these fish have sharp teeth and are very voracious. Whales have none.

It remains to enquire why these fish were called *Nakhiri*. The word meant properly “snorters” or “puffers,” from their habit of throwing up the salt water through their nostrils like a fountain. From *nakhar* to snort. Hebrew נַחַר Syriac ܢܚܪ. And *nakhira* is the nostril in Syriac.

. . . . (1) buffaloes (2), young and vigorous (3), in the district of Araziki which belongs to the land of Syria (4), and at the foot of Mount Lebanon he slew. (A blank number of) the young (5) of those buffaloes he captured alive (6). All? of them (7) he kept in places well enclosed (8).

(1) It is very remarkable that a blank is left in the inscription for the number of buffaloes thus slain, as if the sculptor had not yet received any authorised statement respecting it. And so for most of the other animals, their numbers are left in blank.

(2) I find that this word was pronounced, at least in the plural, *rimu*. Probably the buffalo is meant, which is called כַּב in Hebrew, and כַּב *rim* in the Book of Job, xxxix. 9 (see Gesenius, p. 915. I quote his valuable Lexicon from the Latin edition, Leipzig, 1833).

(3) *suturti*.

(4) Compare the inscription of Tiglath Pileser VI. 64. Where that monarch tells us in very similar language: “Four young buffaloes, large and vigorous, in the land of Mitani and in the district of Araziki which belongs to the land of Syria, he slew with his arrows, but their skins and horns he sent home to his city of Ashur.”

Such trophies doubtless formed a part of his *muhur* or museum.

(5) *mirl*. (6) *bulthut wezabbit*. (7) *tzukullat*—every kind. (8) *yektsur*.

(*So many*) Elephants with his arrows he slew and (*so many*) he captured alive and brought them home to his city Ashur. 120 lions (1) in the very same place, in the ardor of the chase (2) he slew in his open chariot and others on foot with his *club* or *mace?* (3) And (*so many*) lions he slew with Also through the thickest forests (4), they [*the gods*] commanded him (5) to make a chase after rare animals (6).

(1) *II susi urmakhi.*

(2) *as kitrup mitluti-su.* This passage may be compared with Tiglath Pileser VI. 78, where we have *in yekrup* instead of *as kitrup*.—Open chariot, *patrut*, from *𐎶𐎶𐎵 patak* to open.

(3) *paki.*

(4) *karshanu shakutu.*

(5) *yekbuni su.*

(6) or to make a menagerie for them, *epish buhurisun.*

In the short days of winter (1) and in the days of spring (2) he went hunting (3). In the provinces of Ebitak, Urasha, Atzamiri, Anakna, Pizitta and Kasiyari (4). The cities of Assyria, Khanaraddi (5), Lulumi and the mountains of (6) Nahiri, he (7) caught in (8) hunter's toils, (*so many*) *armi*, *turakhi*, *nali* and *yaeli*. Every one (9) of these animals he placed in separate enclosures (or in cages) (10). He brought up their young ones (11) and counted them (12) (*as carefully*) as young lambs (13). (*So many*) *nuri*, *midini*, *asi*, *malshirku?* (*and several more kinds of rare animals*) (14) he slew.

(1) Very doubtful.

(2) Ditto. Text has, "rising of the star"

(3) *itsudu.* This is precisely the Hebrew verb *tsud* to hunt, *צוד*

(4) The city of Kasiyari existed in the days of Tiglath Pileser I. who captured it.

(5) Called Khanirabbi in other inscriptions.

(6) The high mountainous region about the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates.

(7) *wetimmikh.* This verb is exactly the Hebrew *timik* *תִּמַּק* *prehendit*. See Gesenius, p. 1059.

(8) *tsadirati*, probably from *tsud*, to hunt.

(9) *tzukullati sun.*

(10) *yektsur.*

(11) *weshalat marsit-tzun.* Compare "mirani-sun ana mahatish weshalidi." B. M. 44, 16.

(12) *amnu.* Compare Tiglath Pileser Inscription VII. 11. *Minutsun kima sha marait lu-tzieni malu amnu.* I counted the number (*malu*) of their young ones, as if they had been the young of sheep.

(13) *kima marait lu-tzieni*—"as the young of sheep."

(14) Their names are rather difficult to read with certainty, but three of them are likewise named *together* in the volume of inscriptions published by the British Museum, pl. 44, lines 18 and 19. I think therefore they may be depended upon as the correct names of the animals.

The wild beasts called here *na'i*, *armi*, and *turakhi* are likewise named together in Tiglath Pileser VII. 5.

But as to the rare animals called *burkish*, *utrati* (dromedaries) *tishani*, and . . . *dagari*, he wrote for them and they came (1). The dromedaries he kept in enclosures where he brought up their young ones. He entrusted (2) each kind (3) of animal to men of their own country (4) to take care of them.

(1) *ishbur illikuni*. This apparently shows they were not natives of any part of the king's dominions accessible to his hunting expeditions. Perhaps translate "he commanded and they came."

(2) *weshipri*. (3) *tzukullati sun*. (4) $\text{—}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{—}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{—}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{—}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{—}$ *matti-su*.

[After a few words of which the sense is not clear, it continues.]

(1) Creatures of the Great Sea (*the Mediterranean*), which the king of Egypt sent as (2) a gift and entrusted to the care (3) of men of his own land (4).

(1) *huvami sha yobba rebti*. (2) *sar Mutsri weshabila*.

(3) $\text{—}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{—}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{—}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{—}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{—}$ *mat su weshipri*.

(4) The rare animals are divided into three classes,—*first*, those which the king himself caught in his hunting expeditions; *secondly*, those which he sent for from the remoter parts of his dominions; and *thirdly*, those which he received as a gift from the king of Egypt.

The very choicest animals (1) in great abundance (2) and birds of heaven with beautiful wings—(It was) a splendid menagerie (3)—all the work of his own hands (4). The names of the animals were placed beside them (5).

(1) *sittit huvami*. (2) *mahadi*.

(3) or museum; for many of the animals had been killed and the collection contained only their skins and teeth. (See the inscription of Tiglath Pileser, where that monarch slays many great wild beasts and sends home to Ashur their skins and horns and teeth). We may therefore translate *muhur gazab*, "a splendid museum."

(4) *ebahait kati su*.

(5) *sumi sun itti huvami . . .* (the verb is lost by the fracture of the stone). This is really a most curious passage.

At this point the 1st column of this interesting inscription is unfortunately fractured. A small portion only of the succeeding lines is preserved, but they refer to another subject. The king relates how he visited different parts of his extensive dominions—both those which were friendly (1) and those which were hostile (2).

(1) $\text{—}\text{X}\text{X}\text{X}\text{X}\text{—}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{—}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{—}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{—}$ *rashi*, friends, from Chald. *rash* a friend $\text{—}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{—}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{—}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{—}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{—}$ in Hebrew $\text{—}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{—}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{—}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{—}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{—}$

(2) $\text{—}\text{X}\text{X}\text{X}\text{X}\text{—}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{—}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{—}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{—}$ *enemica*.

And how he traversed the good or level (1) districts in his chariot and the hilly districts (2) on foot. Then, how he invaded the enemy's country and destroyed their army (3). Finally he describes the extent of the empire—of which only the words remain “from Babylon and Akkadi,” and a little further on, “the land of Akharri” —which was the province on the Mediterranean coast, often called in the inscriptions the land of Martu, but in after ages called Phoenicia.

(1) khiga.

(2) martsa.

(3) tapdasun ishkun.

SECOND COLUMN.

This column enumerates the repairs which were made by order of Ashurakhbal to the numerous edifices erected by his ancestors, which from lapse of time had fallen to decay. And it seems that he names these kings in the order of time in which they reigned. If so, this is a valuable document. The order in which they stand is the following :—

Ashur-adan-akhi, or Sardanakki,
 Ashurdanan.
 Huzabadan.
 Kubar.

The two last are his own father and grandfather, whose names occur in most of his inscriptions.

And Ashurdanan was his great-grandfather, as appears from the first sheet of the Annals. It is therefore probable that Sardanakki was the father of Ashurdanan. (*See Note at the end of the Paper.*)

Many portions (1) of my Majesty's palace which had (2) decayed, I rebuilt from the foundation to the roof. The Beth (3) Shakuri of Tsu-Yem (4) and the great *talia* (5) which fronts the north? (6) which *Sardanakki*? king of Assyria built, was gone to decay. I rebuilt it.

(1) These are enumerated,

(2) sha enakhu.

(3) Doubtless some large and important building, but the name is otherwise unknown to me. Perhaps however it means nothing more than *the black edifice*, that being the meaning of the adjective *shakur* in Hebrew שָׁחֹר

(4) Apparently a private individual—perhaps some nobleman of the Court.

(5) Probably arcade or colonnade, from Heb. תֵּלֵל *tehil*: obumbravit: Gen. 390.

(6) yem sidi, one of the points of the compass—north?

The wall (1) of my city of Ashur (2) which had fallen down (3) and had crumbled (4) into fragments, (5). I built up again (6) from the great gate of *Erišlu?* as far as the gate of the river Tigris. (7)

The *beams?* of the great gate of *Erišlu?* which were of cypress (8) wood, I demolished (9) and replaced them by most excellent (10) beams of *asukhi* wood. And I fastened (11) them with nails of copper.

(1) Kharita.

(2) sha ir-ya Ashur-ki.

(3) sha huabtu.

(4) imlu. Passive from *malaḥ* מלח elapsus est, evanuit (Gesenius, 577) *Malakim* are pieces, fragments (Gesenius, *ib.*)

(5) pishati (fragments), here, as elsewhere, expressed by a monogram

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵

(6) akhruta.

(7) This passage shows that the city of Ashur was seated on the Tigris.

(8) *barrati*, from *barut* a cypress (Gesenius, 173). But perhaps it only means that they were *grown old*.

(9) wenikir.

(10) *tsirati*, (excellent).—The *asukhi* seems to have been a sacred tree. It was either the *Asoka* of India, now planted round temples, or else the sacred *Sycamore* of Egypt.

(11) *werikits*, from Hebrew רִכַּץ *rikis* to fasten, often written *werakkits*.

The great mound of the citadel in the city of Ashur, I renewed in every part and rebuilt it. The heaps of fallen fragments which lay around it I took up and spread them on the mound.

The words of the text are "Til raba sha ir-ya Ashur-ki ana sikharti-su asu kumutti, artzib. Shipik pishati ana limiti-su ana elinu ashbuk."

In this passage, *asu* signifies "I made," from *asah* אָשָׂה to make.

kumutti, new: *ana sikharti-su*, in every part of it: *artzib*, I built it up.

Shipik, a scattered heap, from Hebrew שָׁפַק *shapak*, fudit, effudit (Gesenius, 1082).

Ashbuk, I scattered or poured forth, from the same verb שָׁפַק or from the Arabic form of it *shabak* (see Gesenius, 978). This verb frequently occurs in the inscriptions with reference to fallen buildings and scattered ruins: e.g., *ishapik tilanish*, it was scattered in heaps.

Pishati, fragments: expressed by a monogram as before.

Ana limiti-su, all around it.

Ana elinu, upon the mound or elevation. This was probably done with a view to make the mound as high as possible before building the citadel on it.

I built many palaces in my city of Ashur: each was built of a different kind of wood. I erected (1) against the walls (2) four *burkish* (3) and four lions of *atmas* (4) stone and two sacred bulls of *paruti* stone, and two *burkish* of *pari* stone and I set them up at the gates of the city.

(1) abni.

(2) ana khiriti. From Hebrew *kir* קיר a wall; chiefly the wall of a city (Gesenius). And from thence any walled town was called *kirith* קרית (*kirjath* of our authorised translation). Also we have *kiria* קריה urbs, oppidum (Gesenius) from the same root.

(3) Some large animal. Its name has already occurred in Col. I.

(4) The name resembles the *αδαμυς* of the Greeks.

The aqueduct which Ashurdanan king of Assyria constructed (1), the fountain (2) which supplied that stream had been destroyed (3) and during 30 years the waters for that reason (4) came no longer. I restored the fountain of the stream and caused the waters to pass through it as before, (5) and I planted trees by the side of it.

(1) akhru.

(2) rish, Arabic *resh*, *head* of the stream: source of the water.

(3) huabitu.

(4) as *tsibbi sha*, because thereof. From Chaldee *tsibu* צבו *res*, *causa* (Gesenius, 852).

(5) perhaps *read*, *ki* (or *kim*) *sha sanni makri*, "as in former years."

The *rampart?* of the great gate of the river Tigris, which Huzabadan king of Assyria had built, was gone to decay (1) and had perished (2). Down to the waters of its fosse or ditch (3) I repaired it with bitumen and brick. The great *colonnade?* (4) of the new (5) palace which fronts the . . . which Kubar king of Assyria had built to the height of (6) sixty-three . . . had gone to decay and had fallen down. I rebuilt (7) it from its foundation to its roof.

(1) enakhu.

(2) husbit.

(3) nakbi sha.

(4) talia raba.

(5) kumti.

(6) ana siddi.

(7) artzib.

The remaining part of the column is fractured. From what remains we see that the king constructed many other large buildings (beth galla). One of them seems to be described as "both large and new" (beth galla kumta).

Additional Notes.

Additional Notes.—It is probable that the name of King Ashur-adan-akhi was pronounced in the reverse order, Ashur-akhi-adan, which is identical with the name of *Esarhaddon* as written by the Assyrians. The ancient monarch named in this inscription should therefore be called *Esarhaddon I.*

The word which I have transcribed as *gazab* in this memoir, is of very doubtful pronunciation: and as the same cuneiform sign expresses the syllable *zab* and *bir*, perhaps it would be better to transcribe it as *gabir*. It always signifies something *very great* or *powerful*, and *gabir* may easily be referred to either of the two Hebrew roots כָּבַר or גָּבַר which signify *fortis, magnus, longus, &c.*

I have translated *Beth shakuri*, "the black palace, or edifice," supposing it to be the Hebrew שַׁחֲבֵר *black*. I have since remarked what I consider to be a great confirmation of this, viz., the mention made in the inscription of Tiglath Pileser (VIII, 1) of a certain lendid edifice which is called *Beth Khamri*, "the Red house or temple," viz., of the god Yem: *khamri* being the Hebrew and Arabic כַּמְרִי *khamar* "red," fem. *khamra, hamra*.

The presents received from the king of Egypt (col. I. line 29) commence with the words *paguta rabta*, "great paguta," which I am unable to translate. These *paguta* are frequently mentioned, and distinguished as "great" and "small." The next present consisted of "Namsa-fish natives of the River," viz., the Nile, which was called the River of Egypt. This I have likewise left untranslated, but I suspect them to have been crocodiles. The crocodile was called by the Egyptians *χαμψα* according to Herodotus, but I think the plural of this word may have sounded *namsa*, because the plural of Egyptian words was often formed by prefixing the syllable *ni*, according to Champollion's Egyptian Grammar.

ART. VII.—*Assyrian Texts Translated.* By H. F. TALBOT, Esq.No. II.¹

INSCRIPTION OF SENNACHERIB,

Containing the Annals of the first eight Years of his Reign (B.C. 702 to 694), from an hexagonal Clay Prism found at Koyunjik (Nineveh), in 1830, and now in the British Museum.

THIS very important inscription is written on a cylinder in the British Museum, generally known as Taylor's Cylinder, from the name of its former possessor. For many years it was supposed to be lost, which would have been a great misfortune to archæological science, since the only copy which had been made of it was a rubbing, or impression on paper, in the possession of Sir H. Rawlinson, which had become partly illegible from time. It was, however, at last discovered to be in private hands in London, and was purchased by the British Museum. The following is my translation of it :²—

SENNACHERIB the great king, the powerful king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the king of the four countries, the pious ruler (1), the worshipper of the great gods. [*The next two lines are obscure.*] The embellisher of public buildings (2), the noble hero (3), the strong warrior (4), the first of kings (5), the great punisher (6) of unbelievers (7) who are breakers of the holy decrees (8).

- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| (1) ribitu (king or ruler), itpisu (pious). | (2) tsakhiru damgati. |
| (3) itli buli. | (4) zikaru gardu. |
| (6) rabbu labit. | (7) la magiri. |
| | (8) mushprikü zamani. |

¹ Received October 18th, 1859.

² The original text will be found in the new volume of inscriptions published by the British Museum, plates 37 to 42.

ASHUR the great lord (1), has given unto me (2) the throne of the world (3). Over all dwellers in every place (4) I have exalted (5) my warlike arms.

- (1) bilu rabu. (2) weshatilma annima.
 (3) sarut lashanan. The meaning of the latter word is not yet made out.
 (4) pa shalki. (5) wesarba.

From the Upper Sea of the setting sun (*the Mediterranean*) unto the Lower Sea of the rising sun [*the Persian Gulf*] all (1) the chief men (2) I forced to bow down (3) as my slaves (4).

- (1) gimri.
 (2) nishat reshdu. nishat (men), reshdu (heads). *Head-men*, that is, kings. For the parallel passage on the bull has *malki sha koprati*, kings of the countries.
 (3) weshaknis.
 (4) shabua. *Shab* is a slave, Hebrew שָׁבִי and the verb שָׁבָה fut. שָׁב. Thence, shabua, *my slave*, like abua, *my father*. Another inscription replaces *weshaknis shabua* by *ebit abshani*, a phrase of identical import. *Ebit*, I compelled to serve (servire feci, subjugavi) *abshani*, as my slaves.

And the kings, who were heretics (1), fled from my attack (2). They flew from their towns (3) like frightened birds. They were scattered singly (4) (*or alone*) to places of safety (5).

- (1) shipsut. (2) eduru takhazi. (3) sharnmi sun etsibu. (4) edish.
 (5) This is the end of the *proœmium* or introduction, containing *general* praises of the king. His annals now commence. (*See Additional Notes at the end of the paper. Note A.*)

THE BEGINNING OF HIS REIGN.

At the beginning of my reign I destroyed the forces of Merodach Baladan, king of Karduniash, and the army of (1) Nuva-ki, his allies, in the neighbourhood (2) of the city of Kush. In the midst of that battle he quitted (3) his army. He fled alone (4) from the field and saved (5) his life.

- (1) Susiana is generally called Nuva-ki, or the land of Nuva, but sometimes it is called Elamti (Elamitis of the Greeks—Elam of Scripture).
 (2) or, in the *plains* of Kush (tamirti).
 (3) etzib. (4) edish.
 (5) ekhir *salvasit*. Perhaps, however, the line should be translated "he fled from the field, but thereby saved life alone."

His chariots and his horses, his waggons and his mares, which in the conflict (1) of battle he had abandoned (2), I captured (3). His palace in the city of Babylon I plundered (4) completely (5). I broke open (6) his treasury (7). The gold and silver, and the vessels of gold and silver, with precious stones called *agarta*, and other goods and treasures beyond number plentiful (8). And the . . . of his palaces, his noblemen and his . . . his slaves, male and female, all his friends and guards, and all of rank and distinction in his palace, all those I carried away and distributed them as a spoil.

(1) *yekrup.* (2) *wemisharu.*

(3) *iksuda suti-ya, I seized with my hands.*

(4) *erumma.* (5) *khatish.*

(6) *apti, from patah, to open, Hebrew פתח*

(7) *Bit Nitairti.* The *nitairti* are the chief treasures of the king, sometimes his *regalia*. The etymology is probably from *נזר* *nezor* or *nitzir*, a royal crown: consecrated, as well as the wearer of it. See Gesenius, p. 658. *Agarta* may be a diminutive from *Hagar*, a stone, and may be a general expression for *precious stones*.

(8) *la niba kabittu.*

In the name (1) of Ashur my lord, 76 large cities (2) and royal residences of the land of Chaldæa, and 420 smaller towns belonging to them, I took and destroyed and carried away their spoil. The artificers, both Aramæans and Chaldæans, who were in the cities of Kabal, Bel, Kush, Karrishun, Tigga, and the district of the Euphrates, and the common (3) people of the land who were able-bodied (4), I carried away and distributed as a spoil.

(1) *emnk.* (2) The first sign Υ I take to mean *sixty*.

(3) Υ Υ Υ Υ may mean small people, common people. (See note B.)

(4) *Bel khiddi, capable of labour, able-bodied, from Hebrew כח* *khad*, to work at hard labour; graviter, operosè laboravit instar. (Gen. 465.) The sense of the passage, however, is extremely doubtful.

During my return (1) I captured or destroyed the following rebellious (2) tribes: the Tumuna, Rikiku, Yadakku, Hubudu, Kipri, Malaku, Gurumu, Hubuli, Damunu, Gambuli, Khindaru, Ruhua, Bukudu, Khamranu, Khagaranu (3), Nabatu (4), Lihutahu, and the Aramu (5).

(1) *tayarti*. The etymology of this word is rather obscure, but probably from Hebrew תָּרַד *yarad*, descendere, revenire.

(2) *la kansut*. N.B.—There is, perhaps, an error in the text, the sign *kas* appears to be misprinted.

(3) The Hagarenes, a name connected with the biblical Hagar?

(4) The Nabathæans, mentioned by classical authors.

(5) The Aramæans. The name of the whole nation stands last, and of course comprises all the preceding. I would translate, therefore: "the Tumuna tribe, &c. and all the other tribes of the Aramæans."

208,000 people, small and great, male and female, horses, mares, mules, camels, oxen, and sheep without number (1), a vast spoil (2), I carried off to Assyria.

(1) *la nibi*.

(2) *shalltu kabittu*.

EVENTS OF THE FIRST YEAR.

In my first year (1), a certain man called "Nebo lord (2) of names," chief of Ararat (3), brought a gift of gold and silver, meshukanni wood of great size, mules, camels, oxen, and sheep. His great present I received.

(1) The preceding events took place in "the beginning of his reign," which was part of the last year of the preceding reign, according to the Assyrian mode of reckoning.

(2) A great many kings and princes were named after Nebo. His oracle seems to have been consulted before naming a child. We shall see in the course of this inscription that a son of Merodach Baladan was called Nebo m'ishkun, or "Nebo gave the name," and we read on the cylinder of Neriglissar that the father of that monarch had a similar name.

(3) *Hararti*. A district of Armenia, spelt *Urarda* in most of Sargon's inscriptions.

The people of the city of *Khismi* (or *Khirimi*) who were enemies and heretics, I put to death. Not one of them escaped (1). I stuck up their heads (2) on stakes (3). The whole of the city I destroyed (4).

(1) The corresponding passage on the Bellino cylinder (line 19) is still more emphatic. *Napishthu val etzib*—not one soul escaped. (See note C.)

(2) *khuri sun*—their heads. I think we have here the true etymology of the Hebrew word *khuri* or *khurim* (noblemen), see Gesenius, p. 365. Similarly *chef*

in old French meant "the head," but now a chief or leader. I cannot admit Parkhurst's etymology of the *khurim*, from their wearing *white* dresses, nor is Gesenius much more satisfactory.

(3) *in gapni*. The passage is rather obscure.

(4) *weshalmi*. This I believe is the *causative* or *sha* conjugation of *almi*, I destroyed.

That city I built again. One bull, ten sheep, ten *ku* (1), twenty *kali marishati-su* (2), to the gods of Assyria my lords, as a sacrifice of expiation, I slew (3).

(1) Illegible here; but the inscription on one of the bulls has *Ku*. Bellino seems to have *Du*.

(2) The Bellino cylinder agrees in the name of these animals, which means "strong-heads." (See note D.)

(3) It was usual when a new city was founded to offer sacrifices to the gods. But in this instance it was especially needful because the new city had to be purged from the taint of heresy.

EVENTS OF THE SECOND YEAR.

In my second year, Ashur my lord giving me his support, I made an expedition against the Bisi and the Yassubi-galla (1), who from old time had never submitted to the kings my fathers. In passing through the thick forests (2) and over the hilly districts (3), I rode on horseback (4), for I had left (5) my two-horse chariot (6) in the plains below (7).

(1) Or, greater Yassubi.

(2) *kharshani*, from *kharsha*, a forest; nearly the same as the Hebrew שרש sylvæ densa, and כרשית *khursha*, which has the same meaning (Gen. 376) I see that this etymology has already been given by Dr. Hincks, in Layard's "Assyria," p. 117.

(3) *asib namratsi*, hilly districts, sites, or places.

(4) *aredu*. The radical syllable is *red*. It belongs, no doubt, to the Indo-Germanic family of languages. Compare the German *reiten*, to ride.

(5) *weshassi*.

(6) *Rakab niri-ya*. Probably a chariot similar to the Roman biga and Greek δίφρος. It was used also by the Egyptians, vide the restoration of one in one of the plates of Wilkinson's "Egypt."

(7) *in tikkati*, from the Hebrew *takati* תַּקַּתִּי loca inferiora, which comes from *takat*, below, beneath.

But in dangerous places (1) I alighted (2), and went on foot with great activity.

(1) *ashru* (places), *rusuku* (dangerous).

(2) *attakhits*. At first I supposed this verb to be the same as the common word *amtakhiz* (I fought), and that *rimanish* meant "like a common foot-soldier," from *ramani*, soldiers. But there is no question of fighting in the passage now under consideration. The king speaks of the natural obstacles he encountered, not of opposition from the enemy. *Attakhits* means "I descended," or "got down," from a verb *takhit*, to descend, root *takhat*, Hebrew תַּחַת below, beneath. This interpretation acquires certainty from the following parallel passage in this inscription, col. III, 77: *Ashar ana guza rusuku in nir-ya ashtakkit*—"In places dangerous for my palanquin I alighted on foot."

It remains to inquire the meaning of the adverb *rimanish*? It is very uncertain. Yet, considering that in the parallel passage, III, 77, the king having alighted to his feet climbs upward most actively, *kima armi* (like a mountain goat), I think that *rima-nish* may stand for *armi-nish*, euphonise causâ, and may therefore mean "like an *armi*."

The cities of Beth Kilamzakh, Kar-Thisbe, and Beth Kubitti, with other strong forts, I took and destroyed.

The inhabitants, horses, mares, mules, oxen, and sheep from that country I carried away and distributed as a spoil. The smaller towns, without number (1), I destroyed, overthrew, and reduced to ruins (2).

(1) *sha niba la yeshu*, *quarum numerum non fecerunt*, or *non noverunt*?

(2) *weshami karmi*.

Beth Gabir (1) their *mutari* and *mushabi* (2), with fire I burnt and utterly destroyed it (3).

(1) The Great Temple?

(2) Two words not yet explained. The inscription on the bull omits the latter word, and only has, Beth gabir, their *tari*.

(3) *dirilish weshumi*, in this inscription. But the Bellino Cylinder has *dirilish weshali*. This may mean "I plundered;" Gesenius says that שׁל occurs sometimes for ללשׁ *spoliavit*.

Once more (1) I rebuilt that city of Beth Kilamzakh into a strong fortress. Beyond what it was in former days, I strengthened (2) its citadel. Men from lands conquered by me (3) in that place I caused to dwell.

(1) *wetaru*. *rursûs, iterum*.

(2) *wedannin*.

(3) *kisitti suti ya*.

The people of Bisi and Yassubi-galla, who had fled before my army, I brought back (1) from the hills, and in the cities of Kar Thisbe and Beth Kubitti I caused them to dwell (2). And I placed them under the authority of my secretaries, who were magistrates (or noblemen) of the city Arrapkha.

(1) Or, I brought away, *wesharidamma*; composed of *wesharida* deduxi, I brought down, and *amma*, away.

(2) *wesharab*. I believe this is only a broader pronunciation of *wesharib*, I caused to dwell.

I made a marble tablet and I wrote upon it (1) the glorious actions which I had performed there, and in the centre of the city I set it up.

(1) *tairussu weshashdhiru*.

Then I turned round the front of my chariot (1), and I marched (2) straight (3) before me to the land of Illipi.

(1) *pan niri-ya wetaru*. This phrase occurs very often, and is always followed by a complete change in the campaign, the king moving off his army in a different direction.

Pan is the front. *Nir* is the two-horse chariot in which the king rode. *Wetaru*, I turned. This verb must not be confounded with the adverb *wetaru* (again), although they are etymologically closely connected.

(2) *aahzabit*.

(3) *kharranu illamua*. When the king marches direct on an object, without stopping by the way, he generally employs this phrase. *kharranu* (straight) *illamua* (before me).

Ispabara (1), their king, abandoned (2) his fortresses and his treasury (3), and fled to a distance. I swept (4) away all (5) his land like a mighty whirlwind (6).


(1) This name probably means "the horseman."

(2) *wemasshiru*.

(3) *beth nitsirti su*.

(4) *aahkup*.

(5) *kimri*.

(6)  *im*, or *yem*, denotes wind, storm, hurricane. It is here joined to *kabta*, mighty.

The cities of Marupishti and Akkupardu (1), his royal residences, and thirty-four smaller cities of their jurisdiction, I took and destroyed, and burnt them with fire. The inhabitants, small and great, male and female, horses, mares, mules, camels, oxen, and sheep, abundantly (2) I carried away (3), and I distributed (4) them as a spoil unto my noblemen and other chief people (5).

- (1) Or Akkuddu?
 (2) *ana laminam*.
 (3) *ashlulamma*, composed of *ashlula*, I seized or took, and *amma*, away.
 (4) *weshalik*, from 𐎶𐎵𐎶 to divide the spoil, which was usually done by lot (Gesenius, p. 344).
 (5) *la basie*, non ignobiles; the meaning of the phrase is, however, very uncertain.
-

I diminished (1) his territory. I cut off from his land (2) the great cities of Yatsirtu (3) and Kummakli, together with the smaller towns belonging to them. And also the province (4) of Beth Barru (5) throughout the whole of it (6). And I added (7) them to the empire (8) of Assyria.

- (1) *wetzakhir matsu*. (See note E.)
 (2) *valu kireb matsu abratu*. From 𐎶𐎵 *parad*, to cut off or break off. Gesenius says "rumpendo separavit."
 (3) In the name of this city I think we should read *ya*, instead of the first *tsi*.
 (4) *nagu*.
 (5) The house of Barru, evidently a great chief in some former time. So Samaria was called the capital of the province of Beth Kumri, or the house of Omri.
 (6) *ana gimirti su*.
 (7) *weraddi*.
 (8) *eli mitair*, to the empire, dominion, or supreme authority. From *tsir* supra, *mitsir* superior.
-

The city of Ilbelzash (1) I took (2) for the chief city and capital (3) of those districts (4). I abolished (5) its former name (6), and I gave it the name (7) of the City of Sennacherib. People of the countries subdued by me (8) therein I placed to dwell. And I put them under the authority of my secretaries, magistrates (or noble-

men) of the city Karkar. I also granted to it an extension of its territory (9).

- (1) Or Hatzash.
- (3) ir sarti u dannat.
- (5) wenakkir.
- (7) attabi nibitsu.
- (9) werappiah mati.

- (2) aahbit.
- (4) nagie suatu.
- (6) sumu su makhra.
- (8) kiaitti sut-ya.

During my (1) return, the inhabitants of the more distant Media, who in the days of the kings my fathers no one had ever heard even the name of their country (2), brought me their rich presents, which I received. And I caused them to bow down to the yoke of my majesty (3).

(1) in tayarti ya.

(2) mamman la ishmu zigir matsun.

(3) The account here given of the events of the first two years, closely resembles that contained in Bellino's Cylinder: for the translation of which see vol. xviii, page 76. Some things are omitted, especially the elevation of Belibus to the throne of Babylon.

EVENTS OF THE THIRD YEAR.

[The third year of Sennacherib was the most important period of his reign, since it was then he undertook his celebrated war against Hezekiah, king of Judah. The account we find of it on this cylinder is not exempt from difficulties and obscurities.

There exists another account on one of the bulls found at Nineveh. The inscription on this was copied by Mr. Layard, and has been translated and explained with great sagacity by Dr. Hincks (see Layard's "Nineveh," p. 143). But it is much more defaced and obliterated than the inscription on the present cylinder, with which it agrees in all essential particulars.]

In my third year I advanced in hostile array against the land of the Khatti (1). Luliah, king of Sidon (for the great terror (2) of my

majesty had quite overwhelmed (3) him), had fled to a distant (4) island in the sea. I subjugated his land (5).

(1) Syria. There is a misprint in the text. We should read *lu allik*, "I advanced," as in col. 1, line 66. The inscription on the bull is correct, it has

𐎶𐎵 *lu*, and not 𐎶𐎵 *ki*.

(2) *bulkhi milammi*.

(3) *eskhubu su*. From 𐎶𐎵𐎲 *skhub*, prostravit, in Hiphil; prostratus est, in Hoph. (Gea 1002.)

(4) *ana rukki*. The island was probably Cyprus.

(5) *matsu ebit*. (See note F.)

The cities of Sidon the greater, Sidon the lesser, Beth Zitti (*the city of olives*), Sarepta, Makhalliba (1), Husu (2), Ecdippa (3), and Akko (4), all his great cities, and his fortresses, and chief towns (5) (for terror of the arms (6) of Ashur had overwhelmed (7) them), submitted to me (8) most humbly (9).

(1) This city I suspect to be the same with the Makhallata of Ashurakhbal's inscriptions.

(2) Or Husuva.

(3) Of the classical authors, but called in the Book of Joshua and in our present inscription Akzib.

(4) $\alpha\kappa\chi\omega$ of the LXX. *Akka* of the Arabs, now St. Jean d'Acre, or simply Acre.

(5) Should we not read, beth *rallati su*? it is a word of frequent occurrence.

(6) *rarubi esku*.

(7) *eskhubu sunuti*.

(8) *yeknusu*.

(9) *shabua*, literally "as my slaves," 𐎶𐎵 a slave.

I placed Tubal on the throne as king over them. A fixed tribute to my majesty, an honorary (1) one and not oppressive, I imposed upon him.

(1) *shatti u la matlu*. The sense is doubtful. *matlu* may be coined money, from 𐎶𐎵 *matlu*.

Then (1) Menahem, king of Samaria, Tubal, king of Sidon, Abdilut (2), king of Arvad, Uruski, king of Gubal, Mitinti, king of

Ashdod, Buduel, king of Beth Ammon (3), Kammutsu-natbi, king of and Yorammi (4), king of Edom.

(1) Sha.

(2) His name may mean, "Servant of the goddesses." We find in Plautus, *alomin* (gods), *alonuth* (goddesses). Similarly, if I mistake not, *ilu*, were gods, and *ilut*, goddesses.

A name similar to this is found in Josephus, *Αβδηλεμος*, from *ilimu*, the gods, a word which occurs sometimes in the cuneiform inscriptions; *ex. gr.*, *ki bilem ilimu*, by the will or decree of the gods. Compare also the name of Abdalonymus, from *alomin*, gods.

(3) This may be rendered, the children of Ammon, or the house of Ammon.

(4) "The Moon is my support." Yo, or Io, was the goddess of the moon among the Assyrians. She became the Io of Grecian mythology. A very similarly constructed, although a different name, is that of Jehoram, or Joram, king of Judah, which means, Jah (or Jehovah) is my support.

The kings of the land of Martu (1), all of them brought (2) their splendid gifts and wealth (3) unto my majesty (4). And they kissed (5) my yoke.

(1) Phœnicia. Literally the West Country.

(2) *issunu*. See note EE.

(3) *shasu*.

(4) *ana tsiri-ya*.

(5) *isiku*, *nir-ya*, from *nassik* 𐤒𐤍 future *isik* 𐤒𐤍 (Ges. 693.) The verb is used especially *de osculo quo victi victori fidem et obsequium promittunt*. The kiss of submission and promise of future fidelity. (Ges. *ibid.*)

And after this Zedekiah, king of Ascalon, who had not bowed down to my yoke; the gods of his father's house, himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brothers, the seed of his father's house, I carried them all (1) away, and brought (2) them to Assyria. Sarlupri, son of Rukipti, their former king, I placed in authority over the men of Ascalon. A fixed gift (3) of (4) I imposed on him, to make him my vassal.

(1) *assukha amma*, I carried away.

(2) *weraah-su*.

(3) *nadan tikun*.

(4) *katrie belluti-ya*, images of my majesty? coin of the empire? perhaps from the root *kat* 𐤓𐤍 *cudit*, *percussit*.

During the advance of my army (1), the cities of Beth Dagon, Joppa, Banaya-barka, and Atzuru (2), cities of Zedekiah which had

not bowed down to my imperial yoke, I destroyed entirely, and carried away their spoil.

(1) in mitik girri-ya.

(2) Asher!

The priests, princes, and people of Amgarrun (1) had seized Padiah, their king, the friend and ally (2) of Assyria, and had loaded him with chains of iron (3), and had delivered him up (4) to Hezekiah, king of Judah, and had behaved in a hostile manner (5) against the Deity (6) himself in the folly of their hearts (7).

(1) Ekron? *Ασκαρων* of the LXX.

(2) This translation is conjectural. The inscription on the bull omits the second clause, which I have rendered "and ally."

(3) biritu almas iddu.

(4) iddinu su.

(5) nakrish.

(6) Against Ashur apparently; perhaps by destroying his images or defiling his altars.

(7) eblukh libba sun, *בלב* *balak*, inanis (Gen. 158). The translation is merely conjectural.

The kings of Egypt, and the archers and chariots and horses of the king of Ethiopia, beyond all number (1), collected (2) together, and came (3) to their assistance (4).

(1) emuki la nibi. (*See note G.*)

(2) iktirunu.

(3) illiku.

(4) ritzut-tzun.

In the plains (1) of the city of Altaku, in front (2) of me they pitched their camp (3). I despised their (4) weapons. In the arms (5) of Ashur my lord I fought with them, and I destroyed their army.

(1) tamirti.

(2) illamua.

(3) sitru meshkunu. *See note FF.*

(4) weshailu eskuti sun.

(5) kuti.

The chief men in chariots, and the sons of the king of Egypt, and the chief men in chariots of the king of Ethiopia, I took alive in the battle. The cities of Altaku and Tamna (1) I utterly destroyed, and carried away their spoil.

(1) The name of this city signifies "the South," which agrees very well with its situation on the southernmost border of Palestine.

I then advanced to the city of Amgarrun. The priests and the princes who had rebelled and were (1) heretical, I slew. On stakes (2) around all the city (3) I stuck up their heads (4). The common people of the city (5) I reduced to slavery.

(1) *weshipsu*.

(2) *dîmî*. This word is half effaced, but can be restored from the Annals of Ashurakhbal, Col. II. 19.

(3) *sikhirti ir*.

(4) *khuri sun*.

(5) *See note H*.

Then I brought back (1) Padiah, their king, from the midst of Jerusalem, and I placed him once more upon the throne. I imposed upon him a tribute payable to my majesty. Then Hezekiah, king of Judah, who had not bowed down to my yoke, forty-six of his large cities, and smaller towns belonging to them without number, in the fury of my vengeance (2) I utterly destroyed.

(1) *weshaza amma*.

(2) Lines 15 and 16 contain a description of his vengeance, but it is so obscure that I am obliged to omit it.

Two hundred thousand one hundred and fifty persons, small and great, male and female, horses, mares, mules, camels, oxen, and sheep, without number, from the midst of them I carried away (1) and distributed them as a spoil. He himself, like a fugitive bird (2), shut (3) himself up in his royal city Jerusalem.

(1) *weshaza amma*.

(2) *kima khu kuppi*. The Hebrew כַּיִן which for a reason presently to be explained, we may venture to transcribe *ghup* or *ghuph*, denoted a wing, and thence birds, or the feathered tribes in general. The Assyrian language employs a great number of words which in Hebrew commence with the letter *Āin* י and invariably, as far as I have observed, represents the *Āin* by a simple vowel, such as a short *ē*, or at most by an aspirated vowel *hē*. This word *kuppi* seems, however, to be an exception to this rule. The great authority of Gesenius, p. 746, informs us that כַּיִן a wing, and כַּיִן *canph*, a wing, are probably derived from the same source. If so, we must suppose that *canph* became *caph*, or *cuph*, by rapid pronunciation (something in the same way as *ben*, a son, gives *bath*, a daughter, and not *banth*, the N being absorbed).

Kuppi, or *Kupapi*, winged. The reduplication of the P is also found in the Hebrew *ghupap* כַּיִן volavit (Gen. 746). But see note DD.

(3) I think there is an error in the text, and that we should read *eziru*, he shut himself up, because that phrase occurs very often of kings who are besieged in their cities by the Assyrian monarchs. The sign *zir* has I think become *bu* by mistake.

He built towers of defence (or battlements) over it, and he strengthened and rebuilt the bulwarks of his great gate (1).

(1) From the whole of this passage I think it may be concluded that the siege of Jerusalem was not attempted by Sennacherib. (See note I.)

In the meanwhile, the cities which I had sacked, I finally cut off from his dominions (1), and I gave them (2) to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, Padiah, king of Amgarrun, and Ismi Bel (3), king of Gaza.

(1) *valu kireb matsu abratu.*

(2) *attanu.*

(3) Similar names are Ismi Dagon (an ancestor of Tiglath Pileser I.), and perhaps the biblical Ishmael.

Thus I diminished his country (1). And in addition to the former tribute, and the land-gift (or land-tax), I augmented (2) the tribute of (3), and imposed this burden upon them. As to Hezekiah himself, the dreadful terror (4) of my power had overwhelmed (5) him.

(1) *wetzakhir matzu.* Here the bull reads *wetzakhin matsu.* (See note J.)

(2) *weraddi.*

(3) *katrie belluti-ya,* images of my majesty? perhaps some description of coined money.

(4) *bulkhi milammi belluti ya.*

(5) *eskhubusu.*

Then I seized and carried off all his artificers, and all the other whom he had collected in order to fortify Jerusalem, with thirty talents of gold, eight hundred talents of silver, scarlet robes, *precious stones?* royal *thrones?* made of ivory (1), palanquins of ivory (2) for travelling, skins and teeth of elephants, beautiful (3) precious woods of two kinds, altogether a vast treasure (4). And also his daughters, and the *female inhabitants?* of his palace, and their men slaves and women slaves.

(1) *Ka,* ivory: literally *dens* (i.e. *elephantis*).

(2) *guza nimidi.* See Col. IV. 8, where the king travels in one, up a steep mountain.

(3) *sutaksu.*

(4) *nitsirta kabitta.* (See note K.)

This mighty spoil, unto Nineveh my royal city, after me I brought away (1). And he swore a solemn oath (2) to pay tribute to me (3), and to do homage to me in future (4).

(1) arka-ya weshabilamma, composed of *weshabil*, I brought, *amma*, away.

(2) ishburu shalbu su. (See note L.)

(3) ana nadan mandatti.

(4) u epish arduti.

EVENTS OF THE FOURTH YEAR.

In my fourth year, Ashur my lord giving (1) me confidence, I assembled my brave soldiers (2), and I gave the command to advance (3) against Beth Yakina (4).

(1) wetakkil annima.

(2) ummanati-ya gashati atki.

(3) alaku akbl. *Akbi*, I gave the word, *alaku*, to march, advance, or attack. Or perhaps *alaku* is in the imperative mood, *ite in hostes!* advance against the enemy! The syntax will then be, "I gave the word of command—*attack!*"

(4) A great country of Lower Chaldea near the sea.

During the advance of my army, Susubi the Chalybæan, who dwelt within the river Agammi, assailed me at Bittutu; but I overthrew (1) his army. He himself (2), quite terrified (3) at the fierceness (4) of my attack (5) on him (6), lost heart (7), and like a mountain goat (8) (or antelope), he fled alone (9), and his hiding-place could not be found (10).

(1) ashtakan.

(2) suhu.

(3) emkutu.

(4) kharbasu.

(5) takhazi ya.

(6) eli su.

(7) itraku libbu su. (See note M.)

(8) atzari or atahari, often written *etzuri*. From *atz* אץ a goat, and *tzuri* צורי a rock: goat of the rocks, *rupicapra* in Latin.

(9) edish ipparidu.

(10) val innamir ashar su.

I then turned round the front of my chariot (1), and I marched (2) straight against the land of Beth Yakina. Then Merodach Baladan himself, whose army I had conquered in my first campaign (3), now fled (4) before (5) the warlike shouts (6) of my powerful army, and the shock of my fierce attack (7).

- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| (1) pan niri-ya wetaru. | (2) ashzabit kharranu. |
| (3) in alak girri-ya makhrie. | (4) ethuru. |
| (5) illat. | |
| (6) tzurikim. 𐎠𐎢𐎽 <i>tzurakh</i> , clamor bellicus (Gen. 875). | |
| (7) tib takhazi-ya itzi. | |

His gods and his women he collected (1), and transported (2) them in ships, and crossed (3) over with the greatest speed (4) to the country of Nagiti-rakkin, which is in the sea.

- (1) itki.
 (2) wesharkipu, he caused them to be conveyed. *Rakab* is to carry in a ship, chariot, or any other vehicle. Thence the *causative* conjugation is *wesharkab*, I caused to be conveyed.
 (3) eppaahak. From *pasach* 𐎢𐎠𐎢 to cross over.
 (4) itzurish—literally, like an *itzuri*, or mountain goat, which is the standard of comparison whenever speed and flight are wished to be denoted.

His brothers, the race of his father's house, whom he had abandoned (1) on the seashore (2), and the best men of his land I carried off (3) from the land of Beth Yakina, beyond the river Agammi (4), and distributed them as a spoil.

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| (1) wemasharu. | (2) akhi yobba. |
| (3) weshaza amma. | (4) <i>u apparati</i> is added in the text. |

Once more (1) I destroyed his cities and reduced them to ruins, and to the king of (2) Susa, who harboured (3) him, I caused terror.

- (1) wetaru, adv. iterum.
 (2) Text "the Susian," i.e. the king of Susa.
 (3) bel salmi, (*qui fuit ei*) dominus salutis. The translation here is conjectural.

On my return (1) I placed upon his (2) throne Ashur-nadan-mu (3), my eldest (4) son, who was brought up (5) in my camp (6). The whole of the land of Leshan and Akkadi (7) I bestowed (8) upon him.

(1) in tayarti ya.

(2) i.e., that of the fallen king Merodach Baladan.

(3) i.e., "Ashur gave the name," or "Ashur gave a gift."

(4) tar reshtu.

(5) tarbit.

(7) Mesopotamia.

(6) birki ya.

(8) weabagil panussu.

EVENTS OF THE FIFTH YEAR.

In my fifth year I made war on the people (1) of the Tocharri—Sharum, Eetzama, Kipsu, Kalbudá, Kua, and Kana—who had built their dwellings (2), like the nests (3) of birds, upon the highest summits (4) and lofty (5) crags (6) of Nypûr mountain, and would not bow down to the yoke (7).

(1) bakhlati. The name of this warlike people, the Tochari, still remains in the modern Tocharistan, whose chief city is Balkh.

(2) subat tzun meshkunat.

(3) kima kinnit khu—like the nests of birds. From the Hebrew *kis*, a nest פ which also came to mean (exactly as in our text) a human habitation perched like a bird's nest on a lofty and almost inaccessible cliff. Gesenius says: *domicilium in altâ rupe exstructum instar nidi aquilini*; quoting the following passages of Scripture, Numb. xxiv. 21, Jer. xlix. 16, Obad. iv., Hab. ii. 9.

(4) asharat khudi. They are called *thudi* in Col. IV. 4.

(5) tair.

(6) shukti.

(7) u la yeknusu ana niri.

At the foot of Nypûr I pitched (1) my camp^s and with the help of some chiefs^s (2) who had submitted (3) to me, followed by my fierce soldiers who knew no mercy (4), like (5) I marched at their head (6).

(1) karasi wehashkin.

(2) Or perhaps *guides* (gurbut).

(3) nir-ya naahkut—literally, who had kissed my yoke—from *nassik* to kiss,

especially any emblem of the king's authority, in token of complete submission to him.

- (4) *la gamilut*. Latin "immites."
- (5) *kims amikdi*.
- (6) *panassun ashbit*.

Over the *peaks*? (1) and high (2) cliffs of the mountain (3), and across wild torrents (4), I advanced (5) in my palanquin (6). But in places which were dangerous (7) for my palanquin, I descended (8) to my feet.

- (1) *kharrinn*, may be from כַּרְן *karn*, cornu, vertex montis (Isaiah v. 1).
- (2) *kalli natkhu*. The latter word may mean *prærupta*, broken places; from Hebrew קַלְתָּ or else from קַתָּ
- (3) *mati*.
- (4) *milie marsuti*.
- (5) *ashtadik*. I think it is the T conjugation from *etik* or *etitik*. (See note N.)
- (6) *in guza*.
- (7) *ashar ana guza rusuku*.
- (8) *ashtakkit*, from *takkit*, down; Hebrew תַּחַת *takhat*, below, beneath.

And then I climbed (1) like a mountain goat (2) among those lofty (3) cliffs.

- (1) *eli tsirussun*. *eli* (I climbed) *tsirussun* (upon them).
- (2) *kima armi*. *Arma* is a mountain goat in Syriac (Ges. 99, *capra silvestris*). Here M is used for N. Among the animals caught and collected by Ashurakhbal there is frequent mention of these *armi*.
- (3) *ana shukti shakuti*.

[Lines 79 and 80 are very obscure. The account then continues—]

I hunted (1) them over the mountain summits (2) which were covered with forests. I destroyed all their soldiers (3), and I overthrew (4) their cities. I carried off their spoil, and I destroyed them and burnt them with fire.

- (1) *ardi sunuti*, I pursued them.
- (2) *sutzi*. This word is used in the Annals of Ashurakhbal as a synonym of *hubanat* (mountain summits).
- (3) *ashtakan takta sun*.
- (4) *ekshatu*.

Then I turned round the front of my chariot (1), and I marched straight (2) against (3) Maniah, king of Ukku (4), the monarch of the rebellious (5) Dahæ (6).

(1) pan niri-ya wetaru.

(2) aahzabit kharranu.

(3) tsir.

(4) Ukku meant only "the great city," or the capital of the kingdom. It is the Scythian or Median word *ukku* (great). See Norris, Scythian Version of the Behistun Inscription.

(5) la kanaha.

(6) The Dahæ are often spoken of by the classical authors. This is the earliest mention of them anywhere.

Through mountains (1) that were pathless (2), and over lofty summits (3), where, on account (4) of the craggy rocks (5), none ever went (6) before (7) me, of all the kings who reigned in former days (8).

(1) *Urki*, usually written *arkhi*.

(2) la pittuti.

(3) thudi pashkuti.

(4) la pan.

(5) *mati*? or *pili*? *marsuti*.

(6) mamman la illiku.

(7) *vallanu-ya*, before me. It means nearly the same as *illamu-ya*.

(8) *pani makhruti*.

At the foot of Anorra (1) and Arpa (2), two strong hill-fortresses, I pitched my camp (3).

(1) I cannot refrain from offering a conjecture, that this strong hill-fortress was no other than the celebrated Aornos, besieged many ages afterwards by Alexander the Great. The Greeks may easily have slightly altered the name to give it the meaning of a rock so high that even birds could not reach its summit!

(2) Or Uppa?

(3) *karassi wushashkin*.

Then I in my travelling palanquin (1), along with my gallant warriors, bent on plunder (2), climbed laboriously to those difficult heights (3).

(1) *guza nimidi*.

(2) *shalalut*, from *ללל*

(3) in *niribi-sun pikuti*, in steep ascents: *sukhar erumma* [the sense of this is doubtful]; *mariaah* (laboriously) *etilla* (I ascended) *sutzi* (the summits) *mati pashkati* (of lofty hills). *Etilla* is probably the T conjugation of *eli* to ascend.

Then Maniah himself was alarmed (1) at the *fierceness* (2) of my army. He fled (3) from Ukku, his royal city, and went to a great distance from it. I took and destroyed the city of Ukku, and carried off its spoil, which was very precious (4). And the goods, and wealth, and regalia of his palace I carried away and distributed as a spoil. And thirty-three cities which belonged to that province, I carried away from them all their inhabitants, mules, oxen, and sheep, and I destroyed and burnt their cities.

(1) ekharu.

(3) etzibu.

(2) tarbukh.

(4) sutaksu.

EVENTS OF THE SIXTH YEAR.

In my sixth year, the principal inhabitants of Beth Yakina, who had flown (1) like *turimi* (2) before my army, collected (3) their gods and their treasures, and crossed over (4) the Great Sea of the Rising Sun (5), and in the district of Nagiti, of Nuvaki (Susiana), founded new dwellings (6).

(1) yekruru, from Hebrew *rur*, to fly, and to flow. The Assyrian language inserts K in some conjugations of verbs, as in this instance.

(2) some birds; probably pigeons.

(3) itku.

(4) ebiru, from עִבְרָא *transire*.

(5) The Persian Gulf.

(6) itdu, *jecerunt* (scil., *fundamenta urbis*) or *posuerunt*, subatzun, their dwellings.

Then I crossed (1) the sea in Syrian ships, and the cities of Nagitu, Nagitu-di-Khubina, Khilmi, Billatu, and Reshpan, belonging to Nuva-ki, I destroyed. The men of Beth Yakina and their gods, and also the men (2) of Nuva-ki, I carried off, and none of them escaped me.

(1) lu-ebir.

(2) Viz, those who dwelt in the five cities before-named.

I caused them to be transported (1) in ships, and to be carried across (2) to the opposite shore (3), and then I marched them off (4) straight (5) to Assyria.

(1) *wesharkipu*, the *sha*, or causative conjugation of *rakab*.

(2) *weshabirama*, from *weshabira*, I caused them to cross over, the *sha* conjugation of *בָּרַךְ*, and *ama*, away.

(3) *ana akha anna*, to the opposite shore. *Amma* and *anna* are opposed to each other, as *hic* and *ille* in Latin. They are the right and left banks of a river or gulf. *Akha* is the bank of a river, and the shore of the sea.

(4) *weshashbit*, causative conjugation of *ashbit*, I marched.

(5) *kharran*.

The cities within those provinces I destroyed and burnt, and I turned them to heaps of ruins (1). During my return (2), Susubi, prince of Babylon, whom his soldiers had restored (3) to the sovereignty (4) of the provinces of Belus (5), Leshan, and Akkadi, in a very great battle I destroyed his army.

(1) *ana til u karmi wetar*. *Til*, a heap, *Karmi*, ruins or desolation, *Wetar*, I turned, or I turned again.

(2) *in tayarti ya*.

(3) Sense doubtful.

(4) *eliti*, supreme power, from *eli*.

(5) *Bil-lu*. This orthography of the name is unusual.

I captured him alive. I loaded him with very heavy chains (1) of iron, and unto Assyria I carried him (2) off (3).

(1) *takmannu biritu almas atdi su*. *Takman*, *fortis*, is a quadriliteral word which seems alien from the Semitic dialects. I believe it is a Persian word. The proper name *Sitra takma* is derived from it, if I understand Sir H. Rawlinson's remarks aright in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*; and besides, I find the word *takman* in the inscriptions of Xerxes. *Atdi* (*jeci*) is the 1st person singular. *Iddu* (*jecerunt*) is the 3rd plural. *Biritu*, chains.

(2) *werash-su*.

(3) And yet it is expressly said in the Constantinople inscription that all this was done by his *generals*, the king himself remaining at Nineveh.

The king of Nuva-ki, who had assembled (1) his standards (i.e. his forces) and had come (2) to his assistance, I attacked, and destroyed his army (3).

(1) sha itti-su eskhuru.

(2) illiku ritsutsu.

(3) I have omitted line 42, of uncertain meaning.

EVENTS OF THE SEVENTH YEAR.

In my seventh year, Ashur the lord giving me courage, I marched to attack Nuva-ki (Susiana). The cities of Beth Kahiri and Raza,—two cities which belonged to the Assyrian empire, but which, nevertheless, in the days (1) of my father, the Elamite (2) seized by violence (3),—on the first advance (4) of my army I took (5) and carried off their spoil.

(1) in kutsi.

(2) Elamu, i.e. the king of Elam or Susiana.

(3) ekimu dananish.

(4) in mitik girri-ya.

(5) ekshatu.

The soldiers who were my subjects (1), but who were residing (2) in those cities, I forcibly brought back (3) to their allegiance (4) to the Assyrian empire, and I delivered them over to the hands of the commander of my strong fortress, called Kar-el-Ki (5).

(1) suluti-ya.

(2) wesharib kireb sun.

(3) wetarramma; composed of *wetarra*, I restored, or I brought once more, and *amma*, away.

(4) ana mitsir.

(5) Fortress of the Planet.

Then I destroyed the cities of Bubi, Duni-Shemesh (1), Beth-Ritsiah (2), Beth-Aklami, Duru, Kaltitsulaya, Silibta, Beth-Assutsi, Kar-Mibasha, Beth-Gitsi, Beth-Katpalani, Beth-Imbiah, Kamanu, Beth-Arrabi, Buruta, Dinta-sha-Zuliah, Dinta-sha-Antarbit-Karsa, Karrishlaki, Rabaya, Rassu, Akkabarina, Til-Ukhuri, Kamran,

Naditu (with the other cities of the gate (or entrance) of Beth-Bunaki (3)).

(1) *i.e.* the setting Sun, elsewhere called Dimi-Shemesh. Perhaps the city was so called as being the westernmost city of Susiana

(2) *i.e.*, town of the man Ritsiah. So for *most* of the other names in this list beginning with *Beth, Kar,* and *Til*; *e.g.* city of the man Mibasha, fortress of the man Ukhuri, &c.

(3) The Constantinople inscription, which omits all the other names, singles out Beth-Bunaki for mention. It was, therefore, evidently a place of superior importance; or rather the name of a district or province, comprising the others.

Til-Khumbi (1), Dinta-sha-Dumian (2), Beth-Ubiah, Balti-lishir, Taga-lishir, which is the city of the Nakindati (3), Massut the Lower (4), Sarkudiri, Zalisha-tarbit (5), Beth-Akhidan (6), and Iltimarba. All these large cities, thirty-four in number (7), together with very many smaller towns belonging to them, I took and carried off their spoil. And I overthrew them and burnt (8) them with fire.

(1) *i.e.*, Fortress of the god Khumbi, one of the principal deities of the Susians.

(2) *Dinta* was probably the Susian word for *city*. It is followed by the proper name of a man. The *Dinta* of Zuliah, of Dumian, &c. I think it is an old Arabic word. *Dis*, a city; root of Medina, Medinat, Medinta, &c.

(3) A plural feminine substantive.

(4) *shiplitu*.

(5) *Zalisha the elevated?*

(6) The name of this person, Akhi-adanna, means "he gave brothers," which, as it stands, has no meaning. But it is probable that his full name was Bel-akhi-adan, or else Nebo-akhi-adan, *i.e.* "Bel has given brothers," &c. &c. The name of the deity was probably omitted in common parlance for shortness. A similar instance is that of Zabdan, the brother of a Chaldean king mentioned in the Annals, whose full name was probably Nebo-zab-adan, or "Nebo has given a warrior." *Akhi* "brothers," forms also a part of the name of Sennacherib, and is found in very numerous inscriptions of that monarch. We may also compare the name of Merodach Baladan (Merodach has given a son), &c. &c.

(7) I think this agrees with the number of names enumerated.

(8) *akmu*, I burnt.

The smoke of their burning, like a mighty cloud, obscured the face of high heaven (1).

(1) *Kutar nakmuti sun kima im kabitti pan shami raputi weshakti.*

Kutar is the Hebrew *kitur* קִטוּר *fumus*.

Nakmut, the burning, and *akmu*, I burned, are from the root *kum*, fire, which very frequently occurs in the inscriptions.

Weshakti, it destroyed. This verb occurs also in a passage where the king relates his hunting exploits. He says, I attacked the lions and destroyed (*weshakti*) their lives.

Upon hearing (1) of the capture (2) of his cities, Shadu-Nakunda (3) the Elamite (4) was utterly confounded (5). He assembled (6) hastily the best men (7) of his cities for his guard (8).

- (1) *ishmiu*.
- (2) *kishitti*. The Constantinople inscription has *Kashat*, which is the same.
- (3) In the inscriptions of Sargon, this king is called Saturna-Kunda.
- (4) *Elamu*, viz., king of Susiana.
- (5) *imkutsu*, he was struck down; passive of *𐎶𐎵𐎠* *makhatz*, to strike; *khattu*, with terror: from Hebrew *𐤍𐤕* *khat*, terror.
- (6) *wesharib*. The Constantinople has *weshali*.
- (7) *sitti*.
- (8) *ana dannati*.

And he himself (1) abandoned (2) Madakta (3) his royal city, and fled (4) unto Khaidala, which is among the mountains (5), by long marches (6) and without stopping (7).

- (1) *suhu*.
- (2) *etzibu*.
- (3) This city has been well identified by Sir H. Rawlinson with Badaca of Diodorus, a city 25 miles N.W. of Susa.
- (4) *itzabit*.
- (5) *sha kireb matdie*.
- (6) By forced marches. The sign for "long" (*tsir*) is repeated, to denote "very long."
- (7) *kharranu*, straight; i.e. without stopping by the way, or turning aside.

Then I gave the word (1) to storm Madakta, his royal city. In the month of . . . (2) I assaulted (3) the city, and . . . (4).

- (1) *alaku akbi*. *Alaku!* attack! There appears to be a spirited account of this attack, but I am unable to explain many of the words employed.
- (2) The Constantinople has "the month of *kutsi dannu*," which I think means the month of *long days*. The Hebrew *𐤍𐤔* *spatium temporis*, has a certain amount of resemblance, but is not quite the same. The expression in *kutsi abi-ya*, "in the days of my fathers," is very frequent in the Assyrian inscriptions.
- (3) *eruba amma*. The Constantinople has *iksuda amma*. *Kasud* is to take a city. *Eruba* may be the Heb. *𐤅𐤓𐤁* *herab*, a sword; also, utter destruction caused by war. The Syriac *harba* has the same meanings.
- (4) See note HH.

The (1) *fled?* to the summits (2) of the hills. Then I turned round (3) the front of my chariot and I marched straight (4) home to Niniveh.

(1) *shal guna*; perhaps "the effeminate garrison." In Hebrew, *ganan ir* is to guard the city; future 𐤒 *igan*; root 𐤒 *gan*, to protect.

(2) *akli natku matdi*. The Constantinople agrees, except that it reads *kalli* for *akli*. *Kalli natku matdi*, is a very common phrase.

(3) *pan niri-ya wetaru*.

(4) *aahzabit kharranu*.

After that (1), by the will of Ashur my lord, Shadu-Nakundi, king of Nuva-ki, did not live three months (2). During the days of his disgrace (3), in a pitiable manner (4) he was put to death (5).

(1) in *tamisu*, "after that," or "at that time." This phrase always implies that the narration now changes to a new subject.

(2) *val wemalli*, he did not complete three months.

(3) in *tamu la simti su*, in the days of his discrowning. From *simat*, the crown. The defeat of the king of Nuva-ki was so severe that it was tantamount to the loss of his crown.

(4) See note O at the end of this paper.

(5) *imtul* (see Gesenius, p. 558) is from the Hebrew מוֹתַת *mutut*, to put to death.

Umman-Minan, his younger brother, who was no (1) friend to religion and law (2), ascended the throne after him (3).

(1) *la rash*, Chaldee *rash*, a friend 𐤒 Hebrew 𐤒

(2) *bilemi u iahki*. *Bilemi* are the decrees of the king; and sometimes those of the gods.

(3) *arka su*.

EVENTS OF THE EIGHTH YEAR.

In my eighth year, after Susubi had escaped, the princes of Babylon, who were heretics (1), *repaired?* (2) the great gates of the city, and resolved (3) to resort to force (4).

(1) *sinuti*.

(2) *wedilu*, repaired and strengthened? *Mudil* is a restorer, repairer.

(3) *yekbut libba sun*, spoke out their mind or intention.

(4) *ana epiah itami*, 𐤀𐤒𐤔 strength, force. The word occurs frequently, and spelt in the same manner.

Then Susubi the Chalybæan; and Lidünnamu, a man who knew nothing of; and Kilpan, prefect of the city of Lakhiri, who was a refugee (1) from Arrapkha, of which city he was a native

(1) *munabbu*, a refugee: participle of the verb *innabit*, he fled.

[At this point the text offers considerable obscurity. A contest is alluded to, but with whom does not plainly appear. It then continues.]

He, Susubi, fled (1) over the frontier (2) unto Nuva-ki. Thence he returned (3) with a vile rabble (4), and stopped at the city of Banna.

(1) *innabit*.

(2) *lapan pati u nibriti*.

(3) *ikhivu*.

(4) See note P.

The people of Babylon in their great folly placed him on the throne, and invested him with royal power over the lands of Leshan and Akkadi. He immediately broke open the treasury of the great temple (1), and he cut (2) off the gold and silver of Bel and Sarpanita from the temples of those deities, and unto Umman-Minan, king of Nuva-ki, who knew nothing of religion and law (3), he sent it (4) as a bribe (5).

(1) Beth-Shaga sha Beth-Shagathu. (*Shaga* is treasure).

(2) *weshatzun*.

(3) *sha la isu bilemi u ishki*.



(4) *weshabilus*: for *weshabilu su*, he sent it.

(5) *dahut*; plural, bribes, gifts. See Botta, plate 146: "He gave him 22 cities, *ki dahututs*, with great gifts or bribes."

Saying, "Oh eldest son of Umman! send thy army unto Babylon!" (1)

(1) This is followed by several obscure words; and I am unable to explain the end of line 24 and the beginning of line 25. I will therefore confine myself to some remarks upon the above passage.

Umman was the great deity of the Susians. Many of their kings and princes were named after him, as Tivumman, Umman-Nibi, and the monarch whom we are here reading of, Umman-Minan. Cities also were named after him, as Guz-Umman (the fortress of U). He was known to the Greeks by the name of *Ομανης*, and it is remarkable that in the Behistun inscription one of the impostors who pretended to be king of Susiana adopted the name of Umanea.¹

¹ Rawlinson reads Imanes; but the first sign , although frequently *im*, is also very often used for *u*, and is replaced by , in the name of the deity who ruled over the Sky.

Whether he was identical with the Ammon of the Egyptians is uncertain ; but, in my opinion, he was. If we are to admit that the Proto-Chaldean language, so different from the Chaldean, was a Hamitic dialect, the worship of Ammon there, becomes probable. A relic of the name and worship of this deity still survives on the spot. The Persian Gulf is called the Sea of Oman.

At Karnak in Egypt there are vast hieroglyphical sculptures. On some of these are represented the ambassadors of an Asiatic nation approaching the presence of the Pharaoh to sue for peace. They begin their discourse, "Oh ! eldest son of Ammon," &c., &c.

In the Assyrian text the words employed are, "Bukhar Umman ! kadi kaya," &c. &c. *Bukhar* is *filius primogenitus*. See Gesenius in voce בַּכַּר. See note P (*bis*).

But to return from this digression. The text continues thus :

Then the Elamite (1), although in my first campaign (2) against Nuva-ki I had destroyed his cities and turned them into heaps of ruins, did not change his hostile mind (3). He accepted (4) those bribes (5).

(1) Elamu, i.e. the king of Susiana.

(2) in *alak girri ya makriti sha Nuva-ki*. *Alak* is an attack.

(3) See note Q.

(4) *imkhar*.

(5) *dahut sunuti*.

He assembled his armies, and collected his chariots and waggons, with horses and mares well accustomed to draw them. An immense host, composed of the following nations, Utzush, Anzan, Pasiru, Illipi, and the men of the cities Yashan, Latri, Kartsun, Dummiku, Tzulaya, Beth-Samuna, the son of Merodach Baladan (1), Beth-Adini, Beth-Amukkan, Beth-Kutlan, Beth-Salatakki, Lakhiru, Bukudu, Gambuli, Kalatu, Ruhua, Ubuli, Malaku, Rapiku, Khindaru, and Damunu, a vast multitude (2), he led along with him (3).

(1) Simon or Simeon. Merodach Baladan was in friendly relations with Hezekiah, to whom he had even sent an embassy. For this reason, perhaps, he gave to one of his sons the Jewish name of Simeon.

(2) *ikru rabu*. (See note R.)

(3) *iktira itti-su*.

They seized (1) on the land of Akkadi (2), and made a rush upon Babylon (3). And with Susubi, the Chalybæan, king of Babylon, they made a close alliance, and ratified that treaty with solemn libations. (See note S.)

(1) *esbatunu*.

(2) One of the finest provinces of Babylonia.

(3) *ana Babel tibuni*.

Then, as a mighty swarm of locusts covers the face of the earth, destroying everything in their passage, they rushed against me.

This fine simile recalls to mind the description in the prophet Joel of the utter desolation of Judæa by the Assyrian armies, who spread over it as a cloud of destroying locusts, obscuring the face of heaven. "That which the palmer-worm hath left, hath the locust eaten; and that which the locust hath left, hath the cankerworm eaten. For a nation is come up upon my land, strong and without number, whose teeth are the teeth of a lion. A day of darkness and of gloominess, a day of clouds and of thick darkness—a great people and a strong—a fire devoureth before them, and behind them a flame burneth; the land is as the garden of Eden before them; and behind them a desolate wilderness."—Joël ii. 3.

Then the simile of the locusts is still further continued. "They shall run like mighty men, they shall climb the wall like men of war. They shall run to and fro in the city; they shall run upon the wall; they shall climb up into the houses; they shall enter in at the windows like a thief."—Joël ii. 9. A most animated piece of Hebrew poetry.

Let us now analyse the Assyrian text. *Kima tibuta aribi mahadi sha pan matti, belkharish ana epish dukuti tibuni tsiru-ya.* *Tibuni*, they rushed, *tsiru-ya*, against me, *belkharish*, violently, *ana epish dukuti*, on their work of destruction, *kima tibuta*, like a rushing (that is a swarm), *aribi mahadi*, of innumerable locusts, *sha pan matti*, over the face of the Earth. Hebrew *aribah*, a locust, ארבה

The arrows (1) from their chariots, like a mighty cloud, which they (2) shot against me, obscured (3) the face of heaven in front (4) of me.

- (1) *ishki* or *ishdi*.
- (2) *sha dinni eri yaati.* *Dinni* is, I think, for *iduni*, jecerunt. See note T.
- (3) *katin*, they obscured. From *kat*, Hebrew כח to conceal.
- (4) *illamu-ya*.

THE BATTLE OF KHALULI (1).

In the city of Khaluli, which is on the banks (2) of the Tigris, they made another fierce attack on me. They assaulted the front of my entrenched (3) camp. But I despised their weapons.

(1) This is the most elaborate account of a battle which has yet been found in the Assyrian annals. See note T on the name of *Khaluli*.

(2) *kishat*.

(3) *pan barki-ya zabtu*; or, perhaps, we should read *maski-ya.* *Maska* is a fence in Hebrew.

I prayed unto Ashur, San, the Sun, Bel, Nebo and Acherib, the Moon-goddess of Nineveh, and the Moon-goddess of Arbela, my guardian deities, that I might gain the victory (1) over my powerful enemies. They heard with pity (2) my sighs and prayers (3), and came to my assistance (4).

(1) ana kashadi.

(2) ishmu likrnt

(3) tzupie-ya.

(4) illiku ritzuti. *See note U.*

[The next two lines, I think, describe the king putting on his armour; but many of the words are unknown to me. He then mounts his chariot to enter the battle. And it is very remarkable that his war-chariot had a name. This is a new feature. None of Homer's heroes, I think, gave names to their chariots.]

In my great Chariot of War, called Sapinat Zahiri (1) (sweeper away of enemies), in the exultation of my heart I rode (2) proudly (3). And I took (4) in my hand (5) the powerful (6) arrows which Ashur had given me (7).

(1) The next time the chariot is mentioned it is called simply *Sapinat* (the sweeper away). This was doubtless for the sake of brevity.

(2) artat. T conjugation of *arat*, I rode.

(3) kantish.

(4) ashbit.

(5) There is an error in the text. $\Xi\Upsilon$ should be $\Xi\Upsilon\Upsilon$

(6) dannanut.

(7) weshatlma.

[I have omitted line 60, which I do not understand.] *See note V.*

Then I *rushed* against (1) all (2) that army (3) of enemies (4) and heretics (5), and I hurled (6) thunder on them like Yem (7).

(1) tair.

(2) gimri.

(3) ummanati.

(4) nakiri.

(5) sinuti.

(6) eshgum.



(7) Yem was the Jupiter Tonans of the Assyrians, and the king in battle is very often compared to him.

[Lines 63 to 69 evidently contain a spirited description of the battle; but they are full of obscure terms. It is said, among other things, that the king of Nuva-ki did not command in person, though he was present in the battle. He entrusted the chief command to his general Khumban-undash. *See note W.* This name is derived from Khumba, one of the chief deities of the Susians. A former

king of Susa, Khumba-nikash, was the great opponent of Sargon. One of the chief strongholds on the frontier was called Til Khumba (the fort of Khumba). The text then describes the officers of the enemy as wearing swords inlaid with gold, and anklets of silver and gold around their feet. He says, I attacked and destroyed them (ashkun takta sun) [see note X], and I cut off their heads (kishadati sun wenakkush). Among other things the king speaks (line 80) of the noble steeds (karniski) who were yoked to his biga or chariot (tsibitti rukupi-ya, derived from *rakab*, a chariot), whose name was Sapinat. But all this description must await elucidation from further researches into the language of these inscriptions. (See note Y.)

He then says that he massacred his prisoners:—*khuri kuradi sun*, the heads of their soldiers, *gabir sapsapati*, with great axes? *wenakush*, I cut off. *Bulta sun*, their lives? *abut*, I dissipated? *kima bini kishtar*, like a breath of vapour? קִישָׁר vapor.

He then plunders the dead bodies of their ornaments:—*Simani wenakush kati sun*, I cut off the bracelets from their arms. *Karri*, the anklets, *ashpi*, of silver, *kiresi*, of gold, *ebbi*, of ivory, *sha ratti sun*, of their feet, *amkhar*, I took off.

In namzari pattuti khuzanni-sun weparriku. I do not attempt to translate this line. In the next line (col. VI. 5) there is, I believe, an error in the text. I would read the fourth sign  *tsur*, instead of 

Ekim (I took or made prize of) *ru sha kabal*, with plural sign (their swords of battle), *mitsur* (inlaid) with gold and silver. These may have been Damascus blades. The account then continues thus:—]

The greatest of their chiefs, together with *Nebo-sum-ishkun* (1), son of Merodach Baladan, who had fled from my attack (2), surrendered (3), and I took them alive in the battle (4). Their chariots and horses, which into the conflict of fierce battle (5) they had driven (6), were completely plundered, and the spoil given to my soldiers. (See note Z.)

(1) i.e. "Nebo gave the name."

(2) *sha lapan takhazi eblaku*.

(3) *iddu ida sun, dederunt manus*, or laid down their arms.

(4) *bulhutsun in kabal takhari itmikha suti-ya*. Here we should have had *atmikha*, I grasped or seized, *suti-ya*, in my hands (from Hebrew *timikh*, תִּמַּח prehendit. Ges. 1059). But *takharitmikha* was probably pronounced continuously, or as a single word, and thus the vowel *a* got changed to *i*.

(5) as *yekrup takhazi danni*.

(6) *rakibu*, from רָכַב

For the space of nearly two *kasbu* (1) from the battle-field I buried their slain (2) who lay scattered on the ground.

(1) About twelve miles. The *kasbu* was, I believe, a walking distance of two hours, or six miles. The syllable *mi* is added to *kasbu*. This might mean "and a half;" but such a mode of expression would be too exact, and I rather think that *mi* is short for *minuta* (small). Two small *kasbu*. But I have preferred to render the phrase "nearly two *kasbu*." In the annals of Ashurakhbal, I. 88, certain objects are divided into *mi* (small) and *dan* (great). And similarly in col III. 68, of the same annals.

(2) *dak sun abruz*. For *abruz tsu*, I buried them. This is from *barut*, a pit, בַּרְוֹת (Gen. 128.) Surely the Greek Βαρυρον is hence derived.

Then he himself, Umman-Minan, king of Nuva-ki, and the kings of Babylon, and the princes (1) of the Chaldeans who had followed his standards (2), were alarmed like . . . (3) at the fury (4) of my attack (5).

(1) *nasikkan*.

(2) *alikut itti su*. The *itti* were military standards, ensigns, signa militaria. And also, signa quæcunque, signs or striking objects of any kind; ostenta, portenta—even miracles. It is the Hebrew אֵרוֹת Chaldaean אֵרֹת Syriac *ata*, signum (in all its senses). (See note AA.)

(3) *lidan* (some timid animals, probably doves or pigeons.) See note BB.

(4) *karbasu*.

(5) *takhazi-ya*

They abandoned their pavilions (1), and fled to save (2) their lives (3).

(1) *zarati su wemasharu*.

(2) *ana susup*.

(3) *zi sun*.

[Their flight is then described; but it contains many difficult words. The king says, "I sent my chariots and horses after them (*wemahir arki sun*). To those chiefs who vowed submission for the future, I granted their lives as an act of grace" (*napshati weninu*, from *ninu*, favour, grace). But the other prisoners, a vulgar rabble, I put to death.] See note CC.

SENNACHERIB EMBELLISHES THE CITY OF NINIVEH.

After that, I completed the palace in Niniveh called "Centre of the City" (1), to be the royal residence (2) of my majesty. I finished its towers (3), for a wonder to the generations of men.

(1) *Kabal ir*.

(2) *ribit* (throne).

(3) Or its façade, *lulie wemallu-si*. This is equivalent to the more usual phrase, *lulie-aha wemallu*. *Si* means "of her," "of it."

The palace of Kurili, which the kings my fathers who went before me began to build for the lodgement or protection (1) of troops (2), and for the care and safe custody (3) of their horses, as well as for the custody (4) of their valuables (5). Its mound (6) had never been finished (7). Its beautiful (8) façade was not . . .

(1) ana sutishur.

(2) karasi. Perhaps a military post, a garrison. In Hebrew קרצי are *light troops*. In this passage, the Eearhaddon inscription, IV. 52, substitutes *kiil* (army) for *karasi*.

(3) pakadi. Hebr. pakadah פקדה cura, custodia. Gesenius particularly observes (p. 836) that *pakadah* is the same as *mashmar* משמר. We shall find the latter word employed a little later, or at least one from the same root.

(4) *tsanaki*, a place of safe custody. Sometimes a prison for criminals (Hebrew צינק *tsinak*. Gea. 863, *carcer*). From root *tsanak* צננן clausit.

(5) sutaksu, valuables. The Constantinople inscription says these were chiefly the spoils of foreign enemies.

(6) talu sha, its mound.

(7) val ebsi

(8) subat-sa sukrat

From extreme old age (1) its *timin* (2) was lost (3), its foundations (4) were laid bare (5), its upper part (6) had fallen down (7).

(1) labarish tami.

(2) Dedicatory tablet? to the preservation of which great importance appears to have been attached.

(3) emanu. From a verb *eman*, עמן to lose, in Hebrew *emam*, עמם to be lost or hidden.

(4) ishda sha.

(5) irma. Root *aram* or *iram* (nudus) ערים, עירם. (6) risha sha.

(7) ikupa. Perhaps from נקף *nikup* (deletus est; Gesenius, who quotes Job xix. 26.) But for this word the Constantinople inscription substitutes *itrura* (defluxit), which is the Hithpael or T conjugation of the Heb. *zur* fluxit.

That palace I pulled down (1). I demolished every part of it.

(1) ana sikhirti sha aggur.

[The king now proceeds to give a very curious account of the rebuilding of the palace, much more grandly than it was before. The sculptures of Sennacherib in the British Museum show us slaves toiling up a hill with baskets of earth to make a mound.]

I brought (1) a vast quantity (2) of earth (3) in baskets (4) from the *low fields?* (5) and plains (6) about the city. On the top (7) of that I cast (8) the ruins (or rubbish) of the old (9) abandoned (10) palace. And with earth (11) of the *low fields?* (12) which I

brought (13) from the banks of the river, I completed (14) the mound (15).

(1) ashbata.

(2) mahidu.

(3) kirubu. From the Hebrew *kirub*, כִּרְבֵּב dry earth; but chiefly used to denote rubbish and ruins. See Gesenius, pp. 366, 367.

(4) kireb kastim. This word may be compared with the Hebrew *kast*, a vessel, קֶסֶת (Gen. 896). And also with קֶשֶׁת (Gen. 908).

(5) uhalli. Loca demissa? depressa? Related to לָשַׁל which varies to שָׁלַל and signifies *stratus, prostratus, humilis, debilis* (Gesenius).

(6) tamirti.

(7) As eli (thereupon). The Constantinople inscription has *tsirussha* (upon it).

(8) vasraddi. It is the *sha* or causative conjugation of *weraddi* (I added).

(9) makriti.

(10) etzibu.

(11) ebgar.

12) ushalli.

(13) ashbata.

(14) vasmalli. It is the *sha* or causative conjugation of *wemalli*, which occurred a few lines previously.

(15) tala.

Two hundred (1) *tibki* (2) in height (3) I raised (4) its wall (5).

(1) The Constantinople inscription has "3 *vas* and 20." From which I conclude that a *vas* was 60. I believe it was the same as a *sus*.

(2) This is the Hebrew *tipik*, תִּפְכָּח palma. Gesenius says, "ubique pro mensura 4 digitorum." If we take the palm at 3 inches, the height of the wall mentioned will be 50 feet.

(3) ana elani.

(4) weshak, I extended.

(5) kiritu.

In the month Shami (1), on the day called Bitgari (2), upon that mound (3) . . . I began a palace of stone and pinewood (4), built wide (5) and low after the manner of the Syrians, and another palace built (6) loftily after the fashion of Assyria.

(1) Shami, *i.e.* the month of heat.

(2) or Belgari.

(3) tsir tall.

(4) irni.

(5) *napišti* or *naphid*, broad, expanded, or extended. Niphal from *pešit*, or *pešid*, פִּשַׁד expando, extendo. Here the Constantinople (l. 64) has *takut*, תָּכַת low and humble, "after the fashion of Syria," is added.

(6) *tsirtu ebahid*. The Constantinople has *tsirtu epišti* [elevati operis]. But *epišti* and *ebahid* are only different ways of writing the same word. So the word meaning "life" is written either *naphat* or *napišti*; and the word meaning "foundations" is written either *ishid* or *ishdi*.

Which beyond the former (1) one was vastly more (2) strong, more grand (3), and more architectural (4).

- (1) eli makriti. (2) suturat. (3) rabat. (4) naklat.
-

I finished this palace for my royal dwelling on the birthday of Kim-galli (1), the Master (2) of my arrows.

(1) His name means "the great bow," which was probably rather the name of his office than of himself. And yet as English history has its Earl Strongbow, Assyrian history may have had a Strongbow likewise. *Kim-galli* is from *kim*, a bow, Persian *kaman*, and *galli*, great. It is observable that in this passage both *kim* and *kuti* (arrows), want the usual 𐎶 , or sign of *wood* prefixed.

2) Bel kuti ya. Hebrew צַיִת sagitta. The Arcifer regis, who carried the king's bow, was doubtless a nobleman or great favourite. Gobryas, the *arcifer* of Darius, is honoured with a special tablet at Nakshi Rustam; and another tablet commemorates Aspathines, the keeper of his arrows.

I used fir trees and lofty pine trees, the growth (1) of the land of Khamana (2). With precious (3) stones I adorned (4) them. *Columns?* of wood inlaid (5) with shining (6) brass (7) I placed (8), and I added (9) them to their gates.

- (1) tarbit.
 (2) Mount Hermon. Khamána or Hamána; sounded as Harmána.
 (3) pili illi. (4) weshatriza eli shin. (5) mitsir. (6) namri.
 (7) eri. The same word as in Latin. *ses, æris, æra.*
 (8) weshalkush. (9) weratta.
-

Carved out of *pitsi* stones, which were found (1) in the province (2) of Balada, gigantic divine bulls I caused to be made, and I placed them

- (1) innamru. (2) irtait. Hebrew צַיִת
-

These *buildings?* (1) I destined (2) both for the reception and protection (3) of my great Council (4) of state (or national assembly), and also for the care (5) of horses (6) and mares called *agali*, able (7) to draw cars, baggage-waggon, and all the other vehicles which are commonly used in war (8).

- (1) Sisha.
 (2) This double object of the great building, or rather series of buildings, is also stated in many other inscriptions.

(3) *sutishur*.

(4) *nishat reahdu*, literally my principal men — my noblemen. This assembly of the notables of the empire is alluded to in many other inscriptions. For example, Esarhaddon says (speaking, I believe, of this very building) "I assembled the great men of the empire, the chiefs and the people of my land, all of them. I lodged them in the halls and galleries and apartments within the palace."— From my translation in the "Journal of Sacred Literature," No. 17, p. 78. (The last sentence is somewhat doubtful.)

(5) *pakadi*.

(6) *karniski*.

(7) *belli*, masters; i.e. having the power of, so doing.

8) *hunuta takhazi*.

And also for the care or custody (1) of horses and mares well accustomed (2) to the double (3) collar (4), and trained to draw the chariot (5).

(1) *nashmadi*. In Hebrew this would be *nashmar*, Niphal, from the verb *shamar*. But instead of this, the Hebrews use the verbal substantive *nashmar*, נֹשְׂמָר a place of safe custody, which Gesenius says has the same meaning as *pakadah*. We have thus three words in this inscription all of which Gesenius translates by *custodia* and *carcer*, namely *pakadah*, *nashmar*, and *tsinak*. And the sense of "custodia" suits in every instance.

(2) well accustomed. The text has *sha isu* (who knew, or knew well).

(3) *tsibati*, double, or joined together. This adjective (often written *tsibitti*) is the Hebrew צִבְיָה *tsimid*, a pair, a yoke, a pair of oxen yoked together. When two warriors rode in the same car they were called *rakabim tsimidim*. We read in 2 Kings, ix. 25: "And Jehu drew a bow and smote Jehoram. Then said Jehu to Bidkar his captain, Remember how that when I and thou rode together after Ahab his father, the Lord laid this burden upon him."

(4) *emuki* a collar. From the Hebrew *emuk*, a collar, עִמּוּק. In this word, and some others, the Assyrians use M for N. This word has already been treated of in note G.

(5) *patnuah ana niri*. *Niri* was the biga, or two-horse chariot. See note GG.

And I greatly extended (1) the defences (2) of the great gate of Nuva.

(1) *vasrabbat*.

(2) *kiahalla*.

This palace from its foundation to its summit (1) I built and I completed it. My tablets—the written records of my name (2)—I fixed up within it.

(1) *naburri*, summit.

(2) *mushari sidhir sumi ya*.

In future (1) days, under the kings my sons, whom Ashur and Ishtar shall call (2) to the sovereignty (3) of this land and people; when this palace shall grow (4) old and decay (5), the future king (6) who shall restore (7) its ornaments—who shall lead aloud (8) the written tablets of my name (9)—who shall raise (10) an altar and sacrifice (11) a male victim—and shall then replace them in their place (12)—Ashur and Ishtar will hear (13) his prayers (14).

(1) arkat tami.

(2) inambu zigir su. Literally "they shall name their names;" i.e., shall call them, as it were by a divine decree, to the throne.

(3) ana ribitut.

(4) ilabbiru.

(5) innakhu.

(6) rubu arku.

(7) ankhut-sa luttish.

(8) likharu.

(9) mushari sidhir sumi ya.

(10) libsu.

(11) likki.

(12) ana ashri su lutar.

(13) ishimmu.

(14) ikribi su.

The destroyer (1) of my tablets (2) and my (3) name—May Ashur, the great lord, the father of the gods, utterly confound him! (4) May he take (5) from him, and sweep away from (6) him, his sceptre (7) and his throne! (8)

(1) Munakkir.

(2) shidri.

(3) sumi ya.

(4) nakrish lizitsu.

(5) likim su.

(6) lishkibbul su. I believe this verb is the same as lishkibbussu (may he sweep away from him). It may however be derived from *kabal* battle.

(7) ispa.

(8) guza.

COLOPHON.

In the month of Shakkut, day the twentieth, is the birthday of Bel-Simiani (1), prefect of Karkamish.

(1) His name may mean "Adorned with the bracelet," viz. the bracelet of gold conferred by the King as a mark of nobility. From *Simani* a bracelet.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

[October 1861.]

DURING the two years which have elapsed since this translation was presented to the Society, I have been able to elucidate the meaning of some passages better than before, and I have therefore added these Explanatory Notes.

NOTE A. Places of safety, *ashar la khari*. I think that *takhari*, battle, is derived from the Hebrew *khari*, קרי to fight. Gesenius (p. 905) gives the following example: הלך קרי עם *halek khari am*, he went to fight with. But in the present passage we meet with the contrary expression, *la khari*, peaceable, or tranquil.

NOTE B. I have translated *shimbi*, "artificers;" properly, I think, carpenters or joiners, the same as *shimdi*, from *shimid*, to join, Hebrew צמר. The persons named after the artificers were probably of lower rank. I have therefore translated "common people." We shall see further on, that the king carried off all the *shimbi*, or artificers, of Jerusalem.

NOTE C. The text has *edu val etzib*. *Edu* is the numeral one, in Chaldee חד *had*. Hence the adverb *edish*, singly: one by one.

NOTE D. *Marishati*, heads, is found also in Hebrew. (See Ges. p. 615.) Examples: *marishati-u*, ad caput ejus, 1 Samuel xix. 13; *irad marishati-kum*, &c., your crown of honour falls from your heads, Jeremiah xiii. 18.

Hukin ebru, I made an expiatory sacrifice, or a sacrifice of purification.

Huk is the Hebrew חק *hag*, victima.

Ebru is from the verb *bara*, a word much used in Hebrew in the sense of "purification." בר *bar*, puritas. בר or ברית is res purgatoria; res purgandi vim habens, according to Gesenius, pp. 171 and 176. The Hebrew verb is ברר *purigare*; of which the original root must be בר. The Latin *purus* seems related.

NOTE E. *wetzakhir mat-su*, I diminished his territory, from *takhir*, parvus; which is written in Hebrew צער (see Gesenius,

p. 869), so that the letter *y* must have had the force of *gh*, or the Arabic *ghain*, in this word. This is confirmed by the modern Arabic *soghir*, small, which Gesenius also quotes.

Zachæus, of whom we read that he was "of small stature," probably took his name from this adjective, צעיר "the little man." For certainly the Assyrian pronunciation of that word did not much differ from *Zacchir*.

NOTE F. *Mat su ebit*, I subjugated his land. עבד *serviit*, makes in Hiphil עבד *ebid* (servire fecit: subjugavit, see Gesenius, p. 727), as in Ezekiel xxix. 18, and elsewhere.

NOTE G. After "chariots and horses," is added, *emuki la nibi*, the sense of which words is uncertain. Perhaps they may be rendered "*jugales sine numero*," or "*numerosissimi*," taking *jugales* as an epithet of the horses drawing the chariots.

Emuk is used elsewhere in this inscription for a collar on the neck; it is the word עמק *emak*, an altered form of the Hebrew ענק *enuk*, "collare" (Gesenius, p. 784).

NOTE H. The text has: "the common people of the city, who were *ebishanni* and *killati*, I reduced to slavery." The first word, *ebishanni*, means shameful people, or rascals. It is the Hebrew בשה *bishana*, "shame" (see Gesenius, p. 182). The root is בוש and in Hiphil הביש *ebish*, which Gesenius renders "ignominiâ affectit," and "turpiter egit." The verb יבש *ibish*, "turpiter se gessit" (Ges. 397) is closely related, and I think might well be considered the same. The second word, *killati*, also means persons of bad character, probably women. It occurs again in this inscription. It is evidently derived from the Hebrew כלי "cheats" or "rascals." Gesenius says "fraudulentus: dolosus." The sense of the whole passage is the following: "As to the common people of Amgarrun, I reduced to slavery all the dregs of the population, and the malefactors, both male and female; but the better sort of people (*sittati*) I did not" The rest of the passage is obscure; but it seems to imply that he *pardoned* the inhabitants who were not very deeply compromised in the guilt of rebellion.

NOTE I. *Defence of Jerusalem*. The word which occurs (col. III. 22), *weshalkushu*, "I built a strong defence," is probably to be derived from *shalku*, a fortress or citadel, a word of frequent occurrence in the inscriptions. The next word *atsie*, bulwarks, is the Hebrew אץ *atz*, which is *robur*, *praesidium*, as a substantive, and

firmus, munitus, as an adjective. Then follows *wetarra*, he renewed it, and *ikhibu-su*, he built it up. The sense, therefore, is "he built up again newly the bulwarks of his great gate."

NOTE J. *wetzakhir*, I diminished. This word has already been considered in Note E. But *wetzakhin mat-su* appears to be a different phrase. It probably means "depauperavi regnum ejus," from כן pauper fuit (Ges. 718).

NOTE K. The text of lines 34, 35, appears to be *vassuti gukli karmutsi*; "scarlet robes." Commerce brought these to Jerusalem from the western coasts of Tyre and Sidon, and Carmel, &c. They seem to have retained their western names. *Vassuti* is like *vestis* and εσθη, or possibly it may be compared with the Hebrew שתה *textuit* (Gesenius, p. 1042), perhaps pronounced *essatha*, as in Spanish *estar*, from the Latin *stare*.

gukli I have long ago explained (in the Journal of Sacred Literature) to be the κοχλη, or scarlet dye of the Greeks; and *karmutsi* also means "scarlet," or "crimson;" Arabic *kermes*, Italian *cherмесино*, or *cremesino*, French *cramoisi*, &c. The colour is obtained from the insect called "coccus ilicis," found on the "kermes oak." If this translation of the word *karmutsi* is correct, this is the first mention of this scarlet dye. The cuneiform sign which begins the word is *kar*, figured nearly as in the name of the city Karduniash, in col. I of this inscription.

Another part of the tribute was *guza nimidi*, a travelling palanquin made of ivory. I derive this from the Hebrew עמס otherwise עמש *emesh*, to carry (Ges. 778, and following page). For this, I believe, the Assyrians substituted עמד *emed*, whence the passive form, *nimidi*, signifies "carried." It was a splendid "chaise à porteur" for the king when travelling. In the inscription of Pul, which I give further on, line 20, it is simply called *nimatti* (omitting the word *guza* for brevity). It is there said to be adorned with ivory carvings, which is likewise implied here.

NOTE L. *Ishbur*, he swore, is merely a different pronunciation of the Hebrew *ishbud*: the liquid R taking the place of a breathing at the end of the word. *Ishbud* is from the Hebrew שבוע *juravit* (Gesenius, p. 978). And so in another inscription, where the rebellious princes confederate together, and swear hostility to Assyria; the same word, *ishbur*, is used for "he swore."

Shalbu is a broad pronunciation of *shabbua*, or *shabua*, an oath; in Hebrew שבעה especially applied to making a treaty, see Gesenius,

p. 976, who says that princes united by treaty are said to be *baali*, or *beli shabua*.

If it be doubted whether *shabu* could receive the broad pronunciation of *shalbu*, there is an exactly parallel case in the prayer for the prosperity of the palace: "in *girbi-su sibbuta luksut*, inside it may Peace for ever dwell!" For the two last words are altered in other inscriptions to *shalbuta luksu*. This pronunciation *shalbu* is also found in Botta, pl. 151, where it is said "His fathers swore to my fathers" (*shalbusun*).

NOTE M. *Itruku* is the Hithpael or T conjugation of *ruk*, to be terrified (Ges. 936, 937). The verb is רִכַּךְ *rukuk*, whence in Niphal לֵב יִרָד לֵב *iruk leb*, fractus est animus, i.e., timidus factus est. The adjective is רָד *ruk*, whence רָד לֵבב faint of heart (Gesenius).

NOTE N. This verb *etik*, and its different conjugations, are much used to express *movements*, especially of a *military* kind. It is the Hebrew עָתַק *etik*, movit, transtulit, and especially castra movit (Gesenius, p. 807).

NOTE O. I have translated *likrut*, "in a pitiable manner," because it occurs in that sense in other passages of this inscription. But the form of the word renders it doubtful. Adverbs in Syriac often end in T, but in Assyrian usually in *ish*.

NOTE P. The text says he returned, *kiri kilti u killati tsirussu basi*, "with a vile rabble of infamous men and women along with him." Here the writer employs a string of the most vituperative epithets he can think of.

Kiri is *stercus*, in Hebrew חָרִי. It is here used for a filthy rabble. *Kilti* is the plural of Hebrew כִּילִי a rascal, and *killati* is a plural feminine from the same. *Basi* is the plural either of בָּאֵשׁ *malus*, which is the chief word used in Syriac to denote all kinds of wickedness; or else, which is more probable, it is the Syriac בָּסִי *basi*, contemptible (see Schaaf, p. 70).

Before quitting this subject I would remark that it appears to throw some light upon a singular statement in 2 Kings vi. 25, that a famished garrison were reduced to subsist upon חָרִי יוֹנִים *kira ionim*, *stercora columbarum*.

Commentators have been sorely perplexed by this, and some have suggested that there may have been a *plant* so named; although they have failed to point it out. But from the passage in this inscription, I think it possible that חָרִי יוֹנִים should be translated

rūssimas columbas, and that it was merely a mode of speaking with contempt of anything.

NOTE P (*bis*). In the book of Daniel, when the astrologers, &c., approach Nebuchadnezzar, they salute him thus: "O king! live for ever!" In the present passage I think the messengers from Babylon to the king of Susa began to speak thus: "O son of Umman, live for ever!" and then stated their errand. I propose to translate *kadi khaya*, "live for ever," for the following reasons: *Khaya* answers very well in sound to the Hebrew חיה Chaldee חיה to live, which is the term used in the passage of Daniel referred to. It occurs in several places in the Assyrian inscriptions, but written *shaya*, an unimportant difference. "For ever," is denoted by *ka*, in many inscriptions of Sargon, with a plural sign added. It is possible that *kadi* may be that word written at length. I may add, that the Syriac for "always" is כּל עדי *kal adi*, i.e., omne tempus; but I doubt whether this could be contracted to *kadi*, though it may easily have been pronounced as a dissyllable, *kládi*. The Hebrew uses לִי אֲדִי *li adi*, in æternum.

As I should wish to be able to make out the rest of this remarkable discourse of the Babylonian envoys to the king of Susa imploring his succour, I will at least make an attempt to do so.

After saying, "O king, live for ever!" (Col. V. 23) they continue thus: *Kulil-ka ana Babilu-ki khivu! ida-ni izitsu, Tamita sar atta!* "Turn (or direct) thy Army unto Babylon! Aid us with its strength! for a powerful king art thou!"

The first sign in line 24 should I think be 𐎶 the preposition *ana*, and not 𐎶𐎶

Khivu, to turn, occurs a few lines previously, viz. line 16; *ikhivu*, he returned, where it is spelt in the same way.

Ida-ni, help us! 𐎶 is properly the hand, whence it is used metaphorically for *help*, as in the following passage, quoted by Gesenius, from Deuteronomy xxxii. 36: 𐎶 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎢𐎡 *evanuit auxilium*. *Izi-su*, the strength of it, from Hebrew עִזָּה and עִזָּה strength.

Tamita may be for *ta amita*, or rather *da amita*. I read the sentence thus: *da amita sar atta*, for a powerful King art thou! *Da* is the Chaldee for the Hebrew שׁ *Sha*. Both these particles are used to express *nam, enim, quia, quoniam*, &c. Gesenius gives examples (p. 972), for instance, Canticles I. 6. *Amita* is either the Hebrew אֲמִצָּה *fortis*, or else אֲמִתָּה. The latter word contains the notion both of *great power* and *good faith*, and is applied to a king in Psalm xlv. 5, and to the Deity himself in Psalm xxx. 10, and elsewhere. (see Ges. p. 77.)

NOTE Q. The text has *libbu-s val ikutzutz*, spem non terminavit, he would not relinquish his hopes. The verb קצצ *katzatz*, is præcidit abscedit, to cut off a thing, and make an end of it. *Libbu-s*, means his heart, or his heart's desire; which no doubt was to make a conquest of Babylonia.

NOTE R. *ikru rabu*, "a mighty gathering" of warlike tribes. From the verb אגר *agr*, to collect together; whence אגר *igr*, acervus, a heap of things collected. The Greek ἀρχειν seems closely related to this Hebrew word.

NOTE S. "And with Susubi the Chalybæan, king of Babylon, they made a close alliance, and ratified that treaty with solemn libations." *Adi Susubi Kalebaia sar Babili-ki ana akhati ikrubu, bukhar-sun insukunu.*

Ikrubu, they drew nigh to him; from Chaldee קרב *kereb*, propè accessit, appropinquavit.

Akhati often occurs for *alliance* or *brotherhood*; derived from *akh*, a brother, because nations united by treaty become as brethren. *Bukhar* is a word difficult to explain. The Hebrew language admits of strange permutations of letters: thus *tibki*, measures of length, are sometimes written *tikki* in the inscriptions, and in Gesenius's Lexicon a great many similar examples of *metathesis* will be found. I think it possible, therefore, that *bukhar* may be merely another pronunciation possible of *khubar*, a treaty of peace. חבר *foedus junxit*, conjunxit, consociavit (Ges. 317). *Insukunu*. The last sign in this word is sometimes *du* and sometimes *kun*, as in the name of Sargon, and the country of Beth Yakuna. I have here supposed it to be *kunu*. *Insukunu*, they poured a libation, from נסך *nasuk*, libavit (see Gesenius, p. 671, who says it is σπενδεσθαι σπονδην, *foedus inire*, quoniam in fœderibus pangendis libare solebant veteres). And this passage leads me to offer another interpretation of *bukhar*, viz., that it may stand for *bukhu*, libations, which word I find on the cylinder of Sargon. It is derived from ביק *buk*, to pour out water.

Why should this rebellious chief, Susubi, be called the Chalybæan? There was certainly a nation called Chalybes, but they lived far away to the North. Considering the abuse which is lavished on Susubi's followers, I think that perhaps *Kalebaia* may be a term of contempt, meaning that he was of the lowest extraction, from כלב *kaleb*, a dog. So, in another passage, a rebellious chief is contemptuously called "the son of nobody." This curious phrase was first explained by Dr. Hincks.

NOTE T. But, perhaps, instead of *dunni*, we should read *shakuni*. This may stand for *shalkuni*, "they shot arrows." In Hebrew we find שָׁלַק *shalak*, jecit sagittas, 1 Samuel xx. 20 (see Ges. p. 1009).

I think that the name of Khaluli was given to the city after the battle, because כַּחֲלָל *khalul* signifies "slaughter." In all probability, like Battle in Sussex, the place lost its previous name and acquired a new one, which the chronicler adopted, without reflecting on the anachronism involved in his statement.

NOTE U. *Ishmu*, they heard; *likrut*, with pity (see Note O for some remarks upon this word); *tzupie-ya*, my sighs and prayers. The etymology of this last word is curious. It is derived from the Hebrew צָעַק otherwise צָעַח *zakh*, or *tsakh*, by a remarkable interchange of P and Q. See Schaaf, p. 152, and Gesenius, pp. 808 and 870, for this word, which they interpret clamavit, invocavit. Clamor à dolore et luctu, vel quo opem implorant. Clamor ad auxilium impetrandum, &c.

NOTE V. This line 60 seems to describe the armour which the king wore on his legs. *Atsur*, I enclosed (from Hebrew אָצַר *clausit*), *rattu-ya*, my legs, *napshati*, with (something) broad or wide; this is followed by a word indistinctly written, which may mean "greaves."

NOTE W. It is very remarkable that this statement about Khumban-undash in col. V, line 70, has been purposely erased on the cylinder by the original writer. It is nevertheless legible. I read it as follows: *Khumban undash aish nakiru, sha sar Nuva-ki itsalu bel matdu mumahir ummanati-su.* "Khumban-undash, a stranger whom the king of Nuvaki had advanced to high honour, and had made him Chief of the Land (perhaps vizier or prime minister) and Commander of the Army." I think the sign 𐤏𐤃𐤃𐤃 is an error for the very similar sign 𐤏𐤃𐤃 which, when it ends a word, is often a simple U, or a slight breathing, as *uh* or *ukh*. The only word in this sentence which requires explanation is *itsalu* or *itsalukh*, which is the Hebrew צָלַח *tsalah*, or *tsalakh*, to advance a person to high honours in the state. In this sense it occurs in Daniel iii. 30. See Gesenius, p. 864. He renders it "ad munera publica et honores citò promovit;" and in German, "schnell avanciren."

NOTE X. Before these words *ashkun takta-sun*, we read (line 75) *likrut webul sunuti*, in a pitiable manner I destroyed them; where *likrut* appears to have the same meaning as in col. V, line 2, *likrut*

imtu. *Webul* is probably another form of *abbul*, I destroyed; the latter word being applied to the destruction of cities.

NOTE Y. In col. V, line 79, it is said, concerning these horses, *Weshirda*, I brought them down, *tsir irtsiti*, from the district, *shadi ilti*, of the upper country (perhaps from the province of Farsistan, celebrated for horses). Hebrew שדה *shada*, campus, ager (Ges. 956). These horses (*karniski*) are described as being *faultless* (*la ashmuti*), from אשם *ashem*, culpa: see Gesenius, p. 107. So the Greeks continually employ the epithets *αμωμος* and *αμωμων*, blameless or irreproachable. He then adds, that when they were yoked to his car (*tsibitti rukupi-ya*), from their gallant blood they tossed their heads proudly: *in dami-sun gashuti ishallu anakish*; using the word *dami* (blood) as we do. Hebrew דם *sanguis*, Syriac *dama*. The word *gashuti*, gallant or high spirited, is very common in the inscriptions, and is usually applied to the soldiers of the king's army, whom he calls *bakhulati gashati* and *ummanati gashati*.

Ishallu, they shook their necks, is the Hebrew זל and זלל *zalla*, to shake (Ges. 302). It is especially to shake the neck, for it occurs elsewhere in the inscriptions with *nir*, a yoke, added.

Anakish, from *anak*, the neck, Hebrew אֵנַק. I am not sure whether this is an adverb signifying *loftily*, or whether it is put for *anaki-su*, their necks.

NOTE Z. Col. VI, line 12. *Ramanussun*, to the soldiers; *ittana*, they were given; *alaka*, to plunder (Hebrew חָלַק *halak*, to plunder); *belkharish*, with violence, or utterly and completely. This adverb occurred before (see page 162). I think it may be derived from כָּרַח *khari*, occursus hostilis. (Gesenius, p. 905.)

NOTE AA. It is difficult to distinguish in all cases the substantive *itti*, standards, from the preposition *itti* (with).

NOTE BB. After *lidan*, is added *tzukhar-sun itsikhu* (the last word doubtful), meaning probably "to save their lives." The word *tzukhar* occurs also in a bas-relief of king Ashur-bani-pal slaying a lion. *Assilik tzukhar-su*, I put an end to his life. *Assilik* is probably from *silik*, an end.

NOTE CC. Some of the words appear to stand thus: line 19, *itarraku libbu-sun*, they utterly lost heart, or were panic-struck. This is a common phrase; but *itarraku* is more usually written *itruku*.

Line 20 may be given thus: *Sitati-sun*, the chief men among them; *wezarabu*, took flight (?); *kireb rakabi-sun*, in their chariots.

Line 21. *Wemasharuni*, and they fled rapidly; *tsu-sun*, their lives; *ana radadi-sun*, upon their quick driving.

I do not trust much to the exactness of this translation of l. 21, "their lives upon their driving," but it suits the sense of the passage extremely well: for the king says he sent his chariots and horsemen in quick pursuit of the fugitives. The word *radad* is from the Syriac, **רדד** *rad*, to ride fast (especially as the couriers of the king did), see Gesenius, p. 930. The old word *ratha*, a chariot, comes from hence; also, perhaps, some old Gothic and Germanic words, as *rheda*, a chariot, and *reiten*, to ride.

The king sent his chariots and cavalry in pursuit of them (*wemahir arki sun*); from the verb **מחר** *mahir*, festinare (Ges. 551.) He then says: *Munnadir-sun ashkaya*, *napshati weninu*, "to those of them who vowed submission for the future, I granted life."

Munnadir, participle from *nadir*, to vow to perform something. Hebrew **נדר** translated by Gesenius, p. 650, "vovit aliquid agendum."

Ashkaya or *Shaya* (for it may be read either way), appears to be the Hebrew **יקחה** *ikhaya*, obedience. It does not exactly agree; nevertheless I think there can be but little doubt that it is another form of the same word. (See **יקחה** in Gesenius, p. 439.)

Akhar ibishanu weratsabu in esku (col. VI, line 24). *Akhar*, the other; *ibishanu*, vile contemptible rabble; *weratsabu*, I slew; *in esku*, with my arrows. The first word, *akhar*, is the Hebrew **אחר** *alius*.

We have had the word *ibishanu* before, in the same sense (see Note H). It comes from *ibishana*, shame, which is from the verb *ibish*, turpiter se gessit. In this passage, the final sign *nu*, **נ** seems to have been changed for *du*, **ד** by mistake.

Weratsabu, I struck to the ground, or stretched them lifeless; from *ratsab*, pavementum, related to the Hebrew **רצב** pavementum stravit. This verb *weratsabu*, occurs in several other passages in the same sense of putting malefactors to death, and followed by *in esku*, "with my arrows." Therefore I have little doubt that the same expression was used here. And therefore **ד** is a misprint for **נ**

NOTE DD (see page 147). *Kima khu kuppi*, like a winged bird. I have said in a note to this passage, that it offered an apparent exception to the rule by which the Hebrew letter **כ** when initial, is

The second sign in this word should probably be **כ** *ta*, and not **כ** *na*.

represented in Assyrian by a simple vowel. But I find that we need not admit this exception, because it is more simple to consider *kuppi* to be from the Chaldee and Syriac word נַפַּץ *gupa*, a wing (Ges. 220).

NOTE EE. *Issunu*, they brought; from נָשַׁן *nassa*, portavit, just as *issiku*, they kissed, from נָשַׁק *nassik* to kiss. The initial N of verbs is generally rejected in the tenses. *Issunu* occurs again in the last line of the Pul inscription.

The verb *werash*, I carried off, in the next paragraph (note 2), is probably the Heb. וָרַשׁ *cepit vi*, of which the imperative tense is simply וָרַשׁ *rash* (Ges. 447).

NOTE FF. *Sitru meshkunu*, they ranged themselves in order of battle; from וָרַדְדוּ *ordo militum*; and this again from וָרַדְדוּ *to place in order* (Ges. 957).



NOTE GG. Horses, *patnush ana niri*, I have translated, well accustomed to draw together in the *biga* or two-horse chariot; the sense evidently requiring that meaning. I have since found the word in Schaaf's Lexicon, p. 445. *Padna* פָּדְנָא signifies, both in Syriac and Chaldee, *biga arantium boum*; *par boum*. It occurs in the New Testament, Luke ix. 62, and xvii. 7. In Arabic the word is changed to *fadna*. From hence, in my opinion, the Greeks took their word λεπαδνον. For פָּדְנָא ל would evidently mean "something belonging to the yoke; the appendage to the yoke;" and in Scott and Liddell's Lexicon the word λεπαδνον is thus rendered: "a broad leather strap fastening the yoke under the neck," &c. &c. Æschylus says αναγκης δυναι λεπαδνον, to wear on the neck the yoke of Necessity.

NOTE HH. This very difficult passage requires the aid of the Constantinople inscription, which describes the event as follows (British Museum, pl. 43, line 42): *Iksuda-amma*, I took the city by assault; *la zizut*, the cowards; *illiku*, ran away; *shagabita*, to a lofty place of refuge; *adura*, but I hurled down; *shal guna*, the effeminate garrison; *kalli natku mati*, from the high precipices of the mountain.

In this passage we have first, *la zizut*, infirmi, from *zitzu firmus*. Examples of the latter word are frequent. *Altakan zitzu*, means, I fixed it firmly. *Weshazitz* occurs very often, and has the same meaning. It is the *sha* conjugation of the verb, which is the Hebrew וָאִזַּץ *aziz* or *azitz*, from וָאִזַּץ *robur, fortitudo*.

Shagabita, a lofty place of refuge, from Heb. שָׁגַב *shagab* (Ges. 956), which he renders *altus fuit*; *sublimis fuit*; and therefore, *tutum fecit* (aliquem) *ab hoste*. And the derived word *mashgab* מַשְׁגָּב he renders *locus editus*; *rupes*; *refugium et securitatem præbens*. Inde dicitur de ipso *refugio*. Psalm ix. 10, &c.

Adura, I hurled them. The root is *dur* דָּרַר or דָּרַר in orbem egit: *cursu citato egit*. The remaining phrase *kalli natku mati* occurs frequently. But our cylinder gives quite a different sentence from the Constantinople inscription. We there read: I took the city by assault. *Shagabita*, on the lofty refuge; *mattu*, of a mountain; *weshashnin*, I attacked them. *Ya ilu! sha ya ilu!* (This I take to be the battle-cry of Sennacherib's soldiers: Hurrah! in the name of the gods!)

The end agrees with the Constantinople inscription. "And with cries of (*ya! ilu!*) I hurled the garrison down the precipice." In this phrase, *shagabita* agrees with the Constantinople, but the second syllable  *gab*, is erroneously given as 

Weshashnin is the *sha* conjugation of *shanan*, to fight, of which verb a great many tenses and conjugations occur; as *ishtanan*, I fought; *ishananu*, they fought against him (pl. 17, 1 of the new volume of inscriptions), &c. &c.

No. III.¹

INSCRIPTION OF PUL.

Found at Nimroud, on the edge of the Mound between the N.W. and S.W. palaces.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

THIS historical inscription is for the most part extremely clear; but, unfortunately, only a portion of it has been preserved. The monarch whose actions it commemorates was the grandson of Divanubar, the Obelisk King. The true pronounciation of his name has not yet been ascertained. Rawlinson considers him to be the biblical PUL.

The name consists of three elements: the first is the name of the god HU, or YU, the god of the Sky; the second is *Zab*, a warrior; the third is uncertain; but, perhaps, means *dan* or *idan*, 'he gave.' Thus the name would be *Yu-zab-dan*, 'YU has given a warrior.'

¹ Received 18th January, 1861.

But in this uncertainty it is, perhaps, best to adopt *provisionally* the name of PUL.

A much more ancient monarch had the same name of Pul, or Yuzabdan, whom Ashurakbal names frequently as his ancestor. Consequently the present monarch will be Pul the Second. His wife, Semiramis the Second, is commemorated along with him on a statue of Nebo in the British Museum.

The original text of this inscription will be found in plate 35 of the new volume.

THE INSCRIPTION.

1. Bit-rab PUL, sar rabu, sar dannu, sar (*kushati*), sar ^{^^} Ashur:
sar sha as tarsu Ashur u \rightarrow ∇ (.) uttu-su, malkut
2. la shanan wemallu katu-su: shebet-tzu kimuti eli (*nisi*)
^{^^} Ashur wekhibu :
3. wesharsidu guza-su rat illu: zanin beth-khira la muttu:
musipan beth shat.
4. sha as kuti Ashur bel-su duduku: malki sha kiprat arbati
5. weshaknisu ana niri-su. Kashid ta mutzi luna
6. sha napakh Shemsi, ^{^^} Shemsi, ^{^^} Illipi, ^{^^} Karkar,
^{^^} Araziash
7. ^{^^} Mitzu, ^{^^} Madaya, ^{^^} Girbunda ana sikarti-su,
8. ^{^^} Munna, ^{^^} Utzua, ^{^^} Allabria, ^{^^} Abdadan,
9. ^{^^} Nahiri ana kol gimri-sha, ^{^^} Andiu sha ashar-su ruku,
10. Belkhu matu ana kol gimri-su, adi eli parti rabti
11. sha napakh shemsi. Ta eli (*flumen*) Arat ^{^^} Khati,
^{^^} Akharri ana sikharti-sha,
12. ^{^^} Tsurru, ^{^^} Tsidunu, ^{^^} Khumri, ^{^^} Udumi, ^{^^} Palashta,
13. adi eli parti rabti sha dimi shemsi, ana nir-ya
14. weshaknis: tikun madata eli-sun wekhar. Ana
15. ∇ sha Tusu lu-alik: ∇ Mariah sar sha ∇ Tusu
16. as ir Dimashki ir-sarti-su lu-etsir-su:
17. bulkhi milammi sha Ashur bel-su iskhut-su: nir-ya itsbit:
18. arduti ebus: 2300 tikun kaspā, 20 tikun khurasai,
19. 3000 tikun takabar, 5000 tikun almaa, thibbulti birmi (.)
20. (*thronus eburneus*): nimatti ka akhzi talie: shaga-su,
shasu-su,

21. ana lamani as ir Dimashki ir-sarti-su as kireb bit-rab-su amkhar.

22. Sarin sha ² Kaldi kol-sun arduti ebusu, tikun madata ana ka

23. umati eli-sun wekhar. Babel-ki, Bartsip-ki, Tigga

24. ki, rika Bel, Nebo, Acherib lu-issuni, (*victimās*) illiti

[*Cætera desunt.*]

TRANSLATION.

Palace of PUL, the great king, the powerful king, the king of the nations, the king of Assyria: the king who, by the help of Ashur and (.), his protecting deities, acquired a vast and boundless empire, and planted his royal power firmly over the people of Assyria, and raised his throne upon golden feet. Restorer of noble buildings which had gone to decay. Who went forth in the strength of Ashur his Lord, and caused the kings of the four regions to bow down to his yoke. Conqueror of all lands, as far as the day-spring of the Rising Sun; I subdued to my yoke the Land of the Sun, and the countries of Illipi, Karkar, Araziash, Mitzu, Media, Girbunda (in all its provinces), Munna, Utzua, Allabria, Abdadan, Nahiri (in all its parts), Andiu, whose situation is remote, the Belkhu mountain (in all its parts), as far as the Great Sea of the Rising Sun.

From the river Euphrates, in the land of Syria, I subdued to my yoke all the provinces of the land of Akharri: the lands of Tyre and Sidon, Omri, Edom, and Palestine, as far as the Great Sea of the Setting Sun, and I imposed upon them a fixed tribute.

Against the land of Tusu I advanced in hostile array. Mariah, king of Tusu, I besieged in Damascus, his royal city. Immense fear of Ashur his Lord overwhelmed him; he took upon him my yoke, and performed homage and prostration. Two thousand three hundred talents of silver, twenty talents of gold, three thousand talents of copper, five thousand talents of iron, fine cloths of various colours, scarlet and yellow, his ivory throne, his ivory palanquin carved with ornaments, and his other goods and treasures in abundance, in the city of Damascus, his royal city, in the middle of his palace I received.

The kings of Chaldæa, all of them performed homage and prostration, and I imposed a fixed tribute upon them with an equal hand. The cities of Babylon, Borsippa, and Tigga brought out to

me the images of Bel, Nebo, and Acherib; then precious victims [*I sacrificed to the gods of those cities*].

* * * * *

Observations.

- Line 1. *tarsu* may be a noun of the T form, from the common word *risu* or *ritsu*, a helper. Compare Assyrian *rash*, or *resh*, a friend, which seems to be the Hebrew *רץ* *amicus*. This and *רצ* *benevolentia*, are two related roots according to Gesenius, pp. 941, 949. Hence I translate *tarsu*, help.
- Line 2. *wemallu katu-su*, literally "he filled his hand." Hebrew *מלא* *mala*, to fill. In *katu* the sign **E** is *tu*, which value frequently occurs, though the normal value is *ku*. Thus in the name of king Nebo-kudur-ussur, the syllables *ku*, *du*, are *both* represented by this sign; at least in some inscriptions.
- shebet*, a sceptre. Hebrew *שֵׁבֶט*.
- kimuti* or *ginuti* (for it may be read either way), is a doubtful word. Perhaps *shebet-tzu kimuti*, is "his sceptre of command;" from Chaldee *קִים* edictum regis: statutum (Ges. 890).
- Line 3. "upon golden feet." The monarch of the Burmese empire who resides at Ava, or Ummerapoora, is even now called "the Golden Foot."
- Beth-khira* seems a general name for all very splendid buildings. I would derive it from Chaldee *ikar* *יקר* honor, dignitas (Daniel, ii. 37), also adjective *splendidus*. And *ikir* *יקיר* is *carus*, *honoratus* (Ges. 439).
- la muttu* may be "out of repair." Perhaps we should read *la amuttu*, from *עמד* *amed*, stetit, stabilivit, conservavit (Ges. 776).
- Line 5. *Kashid*, conqueror. Compare *kashat*, conquest; *ekshut*, I conquered, &c.
- mutzi*, the source of a stream. *Luna* is an unknown word.
- Line 6. The Land of the Sun is probably Khorassan, the most eastern province of Persia. It is named in other inscriptions, and its chief city, Shemes-pata (city of the sun).
- Line 7. Girbunda was, perhaps, a large country, since "all its provinces" are spoken of. Perhaps it was Caramania.
- Line 8. *Munna* is unknown, unless it is put for *Manna* (believed to be the modern Van), which is very frequently mentioned.

Utzua may also be read *Tatzua*, or *Partzua*. Its position is doubtful.

Line 9. The country of *Nahiri* contained an immense number of tribes, which are enumerated in some of the inscriptions. Each tribe had a king.

Andiu may be India, since it is added "whose situation is remote." But this is very uncertain, since there was an *Andia* much nearer home, named in some inscriptions as attacked by the Assyrian arms.

Line 10. The *Belkhu* mountain was some mountainous region of great extent (*all its parts or provinces*, being spoken of). It may have been the Himalaya, or Hindoo Koosh. *Belkhu* seems to mean *great*; compare the river *Balikh*, or *Great river*, and the adjective *bulkhi*, "immense," in the phrase "immense terror," which the Assyrian arms constantly inspired, see line 17.

Line 11. *Arat*, the Euphrates. Xenophon calls the Euphrates by the name of *Araxes*. Probably he was deceived by the provincial name of the river which it bore in part of its course.

The land of *Akharri* comprised Phœnicia and the neighbouring provinces on the sea-coast. It is also frequently called *Martu* (the West Country). It is the Hebrew *akhor*, the West, אַחֲרַיִם (Ges. 36). A very important illustration of this is found in the Hebrew name for the Mediterranean Sea, viz. *Ha-yom ha-akharon*, the Western Sea (Ges. 40).

Line 13. The West is called *dimi shemsi*, the true meaning of which is "the sleep of the sun," or his *repose* or *rest*, Heb. דִּמָּה *dimah*, "quievit" (Ges. 250). Another name for the West was *Shalam shemsi*, the sleep of the sun, from the Chaldean שָׁלַם *sleep* (Ges. 343), which in Assyrian was pronounced *shalam*. So in many other words CH changes to SH, for example: חָלַק *chalak*, meaning *præda*, a spoil; and also a part or portion of anything (Ges. 345). But the Assyrian uses *shalak* in both senses, and not *chalak*.

The sleep of the Sun. In all languages we find this primitive poetical idea of the Sun reposing from his labours:

"Behind his Delphian cliff he sinks to SLEEP."—BYRON.

Line 14. The preface, or general praise of the King, ends with the word *wekhar*. The last word in the line *Ana*, very

abruptly begins the narrative of a *particular* campaign which he undertook to conquer Syria.

- Line 15. He attacks the land of Tusu, or Tûsh, an ancient name for Syria, of which, however, no vestige remains, except in the Assyrian inscriptions, and (possibly) in the Egyptian hieratic MSS. This land of Tusu was previously conquered by Divanubar, and is frequently named on the Obelisk; but after the reign of Pul the name disappears from history.

Mariah, or Moriah, appears to be the Syriac *Moria*, *Dominus summus* (see Schaaf, p. 326). It was, therefore, the Syrian king's *title* (meaning supreme lord of the country) rather than his individual name.

- Line 17. *iskhut-su*, it overwhelmed him or prostrated him; *iskhub-su* has the same meaning. Both are in very common use. The latter is the Hebrew שָׁכַב, in Hiphil *prostravit* (Ges. 1001).

ûsbû, he took. Other forms of this verb frequently occur; e.g. *utzabbû*, "I took," especially "I took captives in war." Various Hebrew roots answer more or less nearly; e.g. שָׁבִית *shabit*, captives. צָבַט *tsabith* (in Arabic *arripuit*), and צָבַת *tsabit*, manipulus, a handful, whatever can be grasped at once. See each word in Gesenius.

- Line 19. *thûbbulti*, dyed cloth; *bîrmi*, scarlet. The last sign means *yellow*.


- Line 20. *ka*, tooth, i.e. elephant's tooth; so the Hebrew *shin*, tooth, means ivory. *Nimatti*, palanquin: for *nimidi*. *Khatri*, carved: from קָצַע to cut or carve. *Talie*, with sculptures. Another inscription has *taliti akkuzati*.

- Line 21. *amkhar*, I received. It is properly "I put into my treasury," from *makhar*, the king's treasury. When this word *amkhar* occurs, it almost always concludes the paragraph, and the subject then changes, as here.

- Line 22. The king now turns his arms against the Chaldeans.

ka, the hand, plural *kati*. *Ana ka umati*, with a similar hand, with an equal hand, impartially.

- Line 24. *rûka*, idols or images; from רִיק *rik* (Ges. 936) *vacuus*, *inanis*, *vanus*; so *idol*, from εἶδωλον, an empty shade.

The second sign  which is ambiguous, is determined to be *ka* in this word by other passages which relate this bringing forth of the idols of Babylon.

No. IV.¹

THE INSCRIPTION OF SENKEREH,

*From the Cylinders found at Senkereh, in the Ruins of the Temple of the Sun,
and now in the British Museum.²*

COLUMN I.

1. Nabiu-kudur-ussur sar Babel
2. ashri kansu mutninnu
3. palikh Bel Bieli
4. zanin beth shagghathu u beth zida
5. pal kini sha Nabiu-pal-ussur
6. sar Babel anaku.
7. Ninu >𐎶 Marduk bel rabu
8. shik ili mustarkhu
9. mati u nisi
10. ana rihuti iddina.
11. In tamisu beth Tara,
12. beth >𐎶 Shemesh, sha kireb (Shems) ki
13. sha ishtu tami rukuti
14. imu tilanish,
15. kirbus subat-sa isshapku,
16. la utdaya ussurati.
17. In palie-ya bel rabu >𐎶 Marduk
18. ana beth suati
19. irtasu tsalimi—
20. Im arbu weshatvamma
21. ishdi kirbi-su itsukhu
22. innamra ussurati—
23. Yaati Nabiu-kudur-ussur sar Babel
24. riesu palikh-su
25. ana ebisu beth suati

¹ Received 24th January, 1861.

² The cuneiform text will be found in Plate LI of the volume published by the British Museum.

COLUMN II.

1. rabish wemahiranni :
2. timin-su labiri
3. akhit abriu,
4. eli timinni-su labiri
5. ishdi illuti amsuku,
6. wekin libnat-sa.
7. Beth Tara beth kini,
8. subat >✠ Shemesh belni-ya,
9. ana >✠ Shemesh asib beth Tara
10. sha kireb (Shemesh) ki
11. bel rabu, bel-ya, lu-ebus.
12. >✠ Shemesh bel rabu!
13. ana beth Tara subat belluti-ka
14. in khidati u rishati
15. in eribi-ka
16. libit gati-ya damgati
17. khadish nablitzu!
18. malat tami rukuti,
19. kunnu guza,
20. labar palie-ya
21. lishakin shiptuk-ka!
22. sippi, sigari, midili, (*columnas*),
23. sha Beth Tara,
24. damgatu-ya
25. la naparkaya,
26. litsuru makhar-ka!

TRANSLATION.

Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, the pious and powerful king, the worshipper of the Lord of Lords,¹ the restorer of the houses of prayer and of the sacred treasuries, the eldest son of Nebopolassar, king of Babylon, I am he. The favour of Marduk the great Lord, the chief of the gods, the *celestial ruler*? hath given me this land and people to rule them.

¹ The god Marduk (supposed to be the planet Mars).

Moreover, the temple of Tara, which is the temple of the Sun, in the city of Senkereh, which from extreme old age had crumbled into ruin, and the interior of the edifice had fallen in heaps, and the *ussurati*³ were not

In my first year the great Lord Marduk commanded me to restore this temple. It had been scattered to the four winds of heaven, and the very foundations of its interior had been dug up and thrown about, in the search for its *ussurati*.

Then I, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, his chief worshipper, nobly determined to complete this temple. Upon its old foundation platform I made a *burnt-offering* (?) Beyond the size of the old platform I measured out much wider foundations, and I firmly built up the brickwork. There I built the temple of Tara, that noble temple the dwelling-place of the Sun my Lord, dedicated "to the Sun dwelling in Beth Tara in the city of Senkereh, the great lord, my Lord."

Oh Sun! great Lord! in Beth Tara the dwelling-place of thy greatness, look with pleasure and benevolence, and in thy merciful kindness, upon these works of my hands! Abundance of long days, a firm throne, prolonged years to my reign, may thy sceptre confirm to me! And these thrones and towers, and *midili* and columns of the temple of Tara, which I have built at no mean cost, may thy divine power protect them!

Observations.

Line 2. *Itari* frequently means a *king*. Hebrew אשרי imperavit (Ges. 789). I think *ashri* may be another form of the word.

kansu, pious, obedient. Rebels are called *la kansut*, disobedient. *Mutninnu* is probably from נָתַן *tanin*, to be powerful, an ancient verb, concerning which see Gesenius, p. 1062.

Line 3. *palikh* is Hebrew פָּלַח *colere*: agreeing with the Latin *colo* and *cultus* in all its senses, as the worship of god, cultivation of the earth, religious service, as well as common labour.

Line 7. In the word *ninu* one cylinder has the final syllable *um*, or *uv*; the other omits it, showing it to be unessential. If we insert it, we may read *ninuv*.

³ Supposed to be the sacred clay tablets hid in the foundation.

Line 8. *Shik*, a Chief, is a very common word. I am uncertain whether it is related or not to the well-known Arabic word *Sheikh*, a Chief.

mustar khu may be two words; but this is uncertain. *Mustar* I would render *ruler* or *ordainer*, from 𐎠𐎢 to set in order (Ges. 704). *Khu* usually signifies a *bird*; but since *Marduk* was the planet Mars, and the planets are called the divine *khi*, or *ki*, and their temple sometimes *Beth-el-ki*, sometimes *kar-el-ki*, it is possible that this *khi* was the plural of *khu*, and that they were viewed as celestial birds in their flight through the heavens. I have therefore translated *mustar khu*, the celestial ruler. The true meaning, however, is quite uncertain.

Line 10. *rihuti*, dominion or royal power. Another word (apparently to be read *ribiuti*) often occurs in the same sense. I believe Sir H. Rawlinson considers them the same. If so, it will be necessary to admit that the syllable *bi* can also be read *hu*. But before admitting this I wish for further confirmation.

Line 11. *intamisu* is an expletive, serving chiefly to change the subject of discourse. I render it *moreover*.

Line 14. *imu*, from 𐎢𐎠 *mukh*, to decay (Ges. 610). The Birs Nimrud inscription has the Niphal *innamu*, in a parallel passage to this.

Line 15. *isshapku*. The Birs Nimrud has *isshapik*.

Line 16. The *ussurati* were probably the clay cylinders placed in the foundations as a sort of talismans. Their conservation was deemed all-important to the prosperity of the structure. From Hebrew *ussur* or *yussur*, anything moulded in clay, יצר יצר

At the same time it must be observed that another origin may be assigned to the word, viz. *אוצרות* *ussurut*, the treasures of a temple (Ges. 28), which suits the context so well that I have some difficulty in rejecting it. My chief reason is the existence of a long and important inscription of Nabonidus, which may be called "The Search for the Cylinder," since it is mainly occupied with an account of the excavations undertaken at various times and by many different kings to recover the cylinder or dedicatory inscription of a certain great temple in Babylonia. It will be found in Plate LXIX of the British Museum volume of inscriptions.

- Line 19. This line is obscure. *Tsalimi*, or *Zalimi*, may be "me commovit," from Heb. לָ
- Line 20. *weshatva-amma*. I doubtfully deduce *weshatva* from שָׁתַף *shatef*, effluxit. (Ges. 996).
- Line 21. *ishdi*. Hebrew *ishd* יִשְׁדִּי fundavit ædificium. (Ges. 427).
itsuktu, effusa sunt. Hebrew *tsuk* צָק and also *isuk* יָצַק both signify *fudit*. (Ges. 859).
- Line 22. *innasra*, "in looking for." This verb usually signifies "finding."
- Column II. Line 3. *akhit abriu* may mean "I sacrificed a victim" (on the old platform) before I commenced the new building. Then follow lines 4, 5, "I marked out on the old platform the foundations of the new temple." *Akhit* from אָחַי *Hag*, victima: sacrificium. Nearly the same phrase occurs in the Annals of Sennacherib, viz. *hukin ebru*, on the occasion of laying the foundations of a new city. Moreover, in the Phillips cylinder (III, 8) certain oxen which are sacrificed to the gods are called *akhit-sun rabti*, their great or noble victims. *Abriu* is probably "I burnt"; from בָּעַר *bar*, or *ber*, to burn (Ges. 164), and therefore it is possible that *akhit* may be the Heb. *ashit* אִשָּׁה or אִשָּׁה a burnt offering (Ges. 103), although I prefer to derive it from אָחַי as I mentioned before.
- Line 5. *iluti* generally means *splendid*; but here it may mean *larger, superior, more extended*: from the preposition *il*, which is the same as the more usual *eli*, above, beyond. For instance, in the Bellino inscription we read, *il sha as tami pani*, *beyond* what it was in former days.
amsuku, "I measured;" from *mesek*, to measure מָסַח (Ges. 625.)
- Line 6. *wekin*, I made firm or solid: *stabilivi*. From *kun*, firmus.
- Line 15. *in eribi-ka*, in thy benevolence or mercy. Hebrew עֵרֵב *ereb* dulcis, suavis fuit. (Ges. 791).
- Line 16. *damgati* and *damukti* are the same word, meaning building, edifice.
- Line 17. *khadish nablitzu*. Vide Birs Nimrud, col. II. line 19. This is a phrase of uncertain meaning. Let us consider the whole passage. The King having completed this splendid temple, then prays for a blessing on his work. "Oh Sun! great Lord! look with pleasure and benevolence, in thy merciful goodness, on these works of my hands, which I

have built for thee, in Beth-Tara the temple of thy Majesty! and shed upon them thy heavenly blessing!"

Khidati I have translated *pleasure*. In the Esarhaddon inscription we find, *Kidat kala mu*, the pleasures of all the year. It may be derived from נִדָּה joy.

Rishati I have translated *benevolence*, from רִשָּׁה *risha*, which Gesenius (p. 948) renders *benevolè exceptit dona ferentem*, and *delectatus est*. It is the verb specially used, *ubi Deus accipit sacrificia et preces hominum*.

In *erebi-ka*, in thy goodness or kindness. This is the Hebrew עֵרֵב.

Libit, the works or constructions; *gati-ya*, of my hands; *damgati*, built or constructed by me; *khadish*, with joy (another word derived from חָדַשׁ); *nablitzu*, descend upon them! or, shed upon them a heavenly influence! This word, in my opinion, may be derived from the verb *napal* or *nabal*, נָפַל *cecidit*, which is specially employed to denote a divine or heavenly influence. Thus, divine oracles are said, in Is. ix. 7, to fall (*napal*) i.e. from heaven. The spirit of God is said, in Ezekiel, to fall on a man (*napal*). Compare also, in Daniel, קִל כִּן שְׁמַיָא נָפַל *vox cœlitus delapsa est*. These examples are from Gesenius.

Nablitzu is preceded by the adverb *khadish*, which may mean "joyfully."

In the great inscription of Nabonidus, the hearts of the gods are said to have rejoiced (חָדַשׁ *khada*) when they looked at the temples which the king had made.

Line 18. *malat* (alibi *malatha*) fullness, abundance; from Hebrew *mala*, to fill, מָלָא

Line 21 *lishakin*, may it make firm! *Sha* conjugation of *Kun* כּוּן firmare, and answering to the Hebrew Hiphil form הִכִּין stabilivit, firmavit. (Ges. 468).

Line 25. *la naparka* seems to mean not small or trifling. From *parak* פָּרַךְ comminuit, *naparka* minutus, would be a regular form. In many other passages the king uses a similar negative mode of expression, viz. that his works were *not small*, or *not contemptible*.

Line 26. *lituru*, may it protect! Optative of נָצַר *natsir*, to protect. (Ges. 684).

makhar seems often to mean a divinity or divine power.

No. V.

THE INSCRIPTION OF NABONIDUS,¹

From the four Cylinders found at the Corners of the Temple of the Moon at Mugheir, and now in the British Museum. Mugheir is supposed by Rawlinson to be the "Ur of the Chaldees," mentioned in Genesis.²

COLUMN I.

1. Nabo-imduk sar Babel
2. zanin beth shaggathu
3. u beth zida
4. pata ili rabi anaku.
5. Beth sar sidi
6. ziggurra^t beth Asuku rabu
7. sha kireb (ussur) ki
8. sha ¶ Uruk^h sar sut makhri
9. ibusu, la weshaklilu's,
10. ¶ Ilgi tar-su
11. banut-su weshaklil.
12. in mitsarie sha ¶ Uruk^h
13. u ¶ Ilgi tar su akharu
14. sha ziggurra^t suati
15. ¶ Uruk^h ibusu
16. la weshaklilu's,
17. ¶ Ilgi tar-su banat-su
18. weshaklil.
19. In anni ziggurra^t suata
20. lamarish illiku :
21. eli timinna labiri
22. sha ¶ Uruk^h u ¶ Ilgi
23. tar-su ibusu
24. ziggurra^t suati
25. kima labirimma
26. in kupri u agurri

Received 24th January, 1861.

² The cuneiform text will be found in Plate·LXVIII of the British Museum volume of inscriptions.

27. batak-su ashbitu :
28. ana →✠ San bel ili sha (shamie) u kiti,
29. Sar ili ili sha ili
30. asib shamie rabi, bel beth Asuku rabu
31. sha kireb (ussur) ki, bel-ya,

COLUMN II.

1. vassishu
2. ebus.
3. →✠ San! belni ili,
4. sar ili sha shamie u kiti
5. ili sha ili
6. asib shamie rabi :
7. ana beth suati
8. khadish in erebi-ka
9. (damgati) beth shaggathu,
10. beth zida, beth Asukhu rabu,
11. bethim iluti-ka rabti
12. lishakin shipduk-ka :
13. u bulukhti iluti-ka
14. rabti, tsibbi nisi-su
15. suskinu, la ipathu
16. ana iluti-ka rabti.
17. kima shamie ishda-sun
18. likunu !
19. Yaati ✠ Nabo-Nid sar Babel
20. in khilu iluti-ka
21. rabti suzib annima !
22. malathu tami rukuti
23. ana sirikhti surkam !
24. u sha ✠ Bel-sar-ussur
25. tar reshtu,
26. tsit tsibbi-ya,
27. bulukhti iluti-ka rabti
28. tsibbu's suskinu !
29. yatsa shaya
30. khiditi
31. lalie-sha lishbi !

TRANSLATION.

Nabo-imduk,¹ king of Babylon, restorer of the temples and sacred treasuries, servant of the great gods, I am he. There is a building called Sar sisi, which is the lofty tower of the temple of the great Asoca tree in the city of (Mugheir), which Uruk, a king of former days, began to build but did not finish it, and Ilgi his son finished the edifice. And I have read in the clay tablets of Uruk, and Ilgi his son, how Uruk began to build this tower but did not complete it, and Ilgi his son completed the building. But in my time this tower had quite disappeared. So upon the old foundation which Uruk, and Ilgi his son, had constructed, I erected this tower again in bitumen and brick as it had been before. From its foundations I built it, dedicating it "to the Moon—chief of the gods of heaven and earth—king of the gods *and goddesses?* who are the great inhabitants of heaven: and Lord of the temple of the great Asoca tree in the city of Mugheir, my lord."

Oh Moon! chief of the gods—king of the gods of heaven and earth—of the gods *and goddesses?* who are the great inhabitants of heaven—bless and purify this temple in thy goodness! Protect with thy sceptre the buildings of the house of prayer, and of the sacred treasury, and of the temple of the great Asoca tree, which are the habitations of thy great divinity. Fix in the hearts of its inhabitants the awe of thy great divinity, that they may not transgress against thee. May the foundations of the temples stand firm as heaven! And as for me, Nabonidus, king of Babylon, preserve me in the pure faith of thy great divinity! Give me abundance of length of days, even to overflowing! And to Bel-sar-ussur, my eldest son—my rising hope—fix firmly in his heart the awe of thy great divinity! And like the duration of the Moon itself may the splendours of this temple endure!

Observations.

This inscription is of great interest and importance on various accounts. When Nabonidus repaired the temple of the Moon, he dug up the clay tablets which were doubtless in the corners of the old building, and read thereon the names of Uruk and

¹ Otherwise called Nabonidus.

Ilgi, its founders—two very ancient Chaldean kings. It is most interesting to find that the British Museum possesses tablets found also at Mugheir, inscribed with the names of these two kings, but written in the Hamitic language, of which not much is yet understood. But of course in the days of Nabonidus this ancient language was perfectly intelligible, and, perhaps, in some places still vernacular. He says of the tablets, *akharu* (I read them). The names of these ancient kings are very doubtful, being expressed by unusual symbols. It has been proposed to read them as Urukh and Ilgi, and I have thought it advisable to adopt this reading till more is known about them.

Line 1. The king's name was Nabo-nahid (Nabo is glorious), often written Nabo-nid. But he had also another name, Nabo-imduk, which probably meant the same thing in the Hamitic tongue. I think that the tribes who spoke Hamitic called the king by one name, and the Semitic tribes by the other; just as Cœur-de-lion had another name among his Saxon subjects, and was called by translation Lion-heart. *Imduk* seems to be a Hamitic word, and to that language I also refer *inga* (great or glorious), as *rubu inga* (the good prince).

Line 6. *Asukhu* has the sign for *tree* or *wood* prefixed to it. It occurs again, line 30, and *there* the other cylinders have the variant reading *nuyak* or *nuik*, with the sign for *tree* prefixed. This reminds one of the holy *nu* tree (or sycamore) of Egypt. The Orientals have retained the practice to this day of planting beautiful flowering trees round the temples, the flowers serving to adorn the altars. *Asukha* may be the *Asoca* tree of India.

Line 8. *sar sut*, rex qui fuit olim.

Line 11. It is doubtful whether the first word should be read *sita*, or *limut*, or *panut*. I prefer the latter, which may be the same as *banut*, a building.

Line 12. *mitsarie*, probably clay tablets; from *itsar* 𐎢𐎣 to mould clay. I believe *misharie* (lines of writing) to be a different word: which may conveniently be derived from *ishar*, straight.

Line 13. *akharu*, I read; from *khar*, to read aloud, Hebrew קרא *kara*: thus *kara bi sepher*, to read from a book (Gesenius). In the Bellino inscription, near the end, *likharu*, let him read aloud!

- Line 14. *sha*, that : (conjunction).
- Line 19. *in anni*, under me, in my time.
- Line 20. *mari*, visible ; *la mari*, invisible ; whence (adverb) *lamarish*.
illiku, it was gone ; from Hebrew *alik* אִלֵּךְ to go.
- Line 27. *batak*, related to *pitik*, an ornamental building ; *eptik*, he built, &c.
- Line 28. San or Sen, the moon. In Syriac Sin. It forms the first syllable in the name of Sennacherib.
- Line 29. Is very obscure, unless *sha ili* means "goddesses."
- Column II. Line 5. *sha ili*. See column I. line 29.
- Line 15. *suskin*, keep firm! fix or establish firmly! an imperative.
Weshaskin, I kept firm, is the indicative of the same verb.
It is the *sha* conjugation of *sakan*, fixit שָׁכַן (Ges. 1005).
la ipathu, that they may not sin or rebel against thee, as well explained by Dr. Hincks in "Journal of Sacred Literature," vol. iii. p. 402. *Patha*, to rebel, is in Hebrew *pasha* פָּשָׁע defecit à Deo ; peccatum adversus Deum.
- Line 18. *likumu*, may they be firm! the *sha* conjugation of this verb occurs frequently, viz. *lishakin*, may it make firm, or establish.
- Line 20. *khilu*, probity, purity ; from *khil* חִיל virtus, probitas. (Ges. 335).
- Line 21. *suzib*, imperative, save thou! Hebrew שָׁצַב to save or deliver. (See Hincks, in "Journal of Sacred Literature," vol. iii. p. 402).
- Line 23. *sirikhti*, abundance ; Hebrew *serek*, or *sherekh*, שָׂרַח redundare. Also effundere, to give copiously (Ges. 723).
Surkam, give to me! imperative. Compare *ishrukku*, he gave ; from the same root *sherek*, to give plentifully. The final M is the pronoun personal in many instances, as *iddina*, he gave ; *iddinam*, he gave to me.
- Line 26. *tsit tsibbi-ya*, my rising hope, from *tsit*, a rising ; as *tsit shemesh*, the rising of the sun, which is from Hebrew יָצָא to rise.
tsibba, hope, is the Chaldee צָבָה from צָבָה *tsiba*, voluit, cupivit : also the mind (cor : animus), in which sense it occurs in line 28. In meaning it agrees so nearly with *libba*, Hebrew לֵב, cor, voluntas, consilium, that in Assyrian they are used for each other nearly indifferently.
- Line 29. This passage is obscure. It may mean "May these temples of the Moon last as long as the Moon itself endures!"

Yatza shaya khiditi, even as the life of the Moon. Compare the great inscription of Nabonidus, column 2, line 27, where the king prays the gods to bless his son: *Suriku tami-su yatza shaya khiditi*, grant him length of days even as the duration of the Moon!

Yatza or *yasha*, even as, equal to. The only word, according to Gesenius's Lexicon, which the Hebrew has for *even* or *equal* is *יָשָׁר* *yashar*, and therefore I refer the Assyrian word to that root, notwithstanding the final R. I find a similar example in *צִבָּר* *tsibar*, a heap of stones, which becomes *tsiba* in Assyrian, rejecting the final R.

Shaya may be life, or existence. Compare the Chaldee *ܫܝܗ* *Chaya*, life (Esra vi. 10; Daniel vii. 12); Hebrew *חַיָּה* *Chayah* vixit, et subst. *vita*.

Khiditi is a Chaldee word for the Moon *ܚܕܬܐ* (Ges. 32).

The Hebrews changing *ת* into *ש*, say *חֹדֶשׁ*, which has two senses: (1) novilunii dies, (2) luna ipsa, sive mensis.

Line 31. The fourth sign is an error for *𐎶 sha*.

lishbi, may it remain. From *יִשֵּׁב* *isheb*, to dwell or remain.

ART. VIII.—*Translation from the Original Arabic of an Account of many Expeditions conducted by the Sultan of Burnu, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī, against various Tribes his Neighbours, other than the Bulāla, &c., inhabitants of the land of Kānim. Translated by J. W. REDHOUSE, Esq., and communicated by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs.*

PREFACE.

IN the name of God the compassionate, the merciful; and may God look favourably upon our prince and prophet Mohammed the elect, the prince of those who preceded as of those who come after him, the messenger sent in victory and conquest, with glad tidings and warnings, to all the spheres of creation; may God look favourably upon him and upon his family, the just, the good, the pure, as also upon his companions, his household, his posterity, and the universality of the church who have responded to his call.

Praise be to God who first originated existence by His wisdom, and commanded that obedience be shown to Himself and to His prophet (may God look favourably upon him, and grant him peace), as an establishment of His evidence, and as the crowning work of His grace. He created of His power and will two mates of every thing, as He has manifestly declared in His scripture revealed to His best creature. He formed of water all living things, that they might believe; he excited their attention by the effects of His creative power, that they might surely know. And after having called all things into existence, he preferred the children of Adam to honour, and he confirmed this by what they built, which shall not be laid waste by the artifice of any demolisher. He divided them into two conditions, salvation and perdition, by a pervading decree of providence, one class for heaven, one class for the fire of hell. He is not to be questioned as to what He does, neither can any one retard the execution of His command. Nothing, even the weight of a mote, on earth, or in the firmament is divorced

from His extensive knowledge. He knows every furtive glance of the eyes, and what is concealed in breasts, and in His hand is the incoming and the outgoing of every matter. He is the first and the last, the outside and the inside, the origin and the result; He is the loving, the mindful of services, the rewarder, the punisher, the giver, the preventer, the guide, the confounder, the acceptor of penitence, the merciful, the mighty, and the pardoner. O our brethren, resigned ones of Islām, God has created us and you among those who shall inherit paradise, (of which the Kur 'ān says) "*they shall therein be everlasting;*" and has sheltered us and you from the wrath of our Lord and from the torment of hell. He is the hearer of prayer, Amen. There is no power or ability except by God, the highest, the very great. There is no God but He, the Lord of the throne, the beneficent.

Know ye, then, that what stirred us to the composition of this work at the present time, is a book which we have seen, the compilation of the elder, the legist, Mesfermā-'Umer, son of 'Othmān, in the reign of his Sultan, the just, righteous, pious, brave, intrepid king, Idris, son of 'Alī, son of Ahmed, son of 'Othmān, son of Idris, the pilgrim to the sacred house of God (may God bless the realm of his grandchildren, his state, and his majesty, to the day of the last trumpet; Amen). When, therefore, we became acquainted with that composition, dated from the expedition against Sim, the incidents and accidents of which are therein related, we formed the design to perform a similar work to it on the reign of our Sultan, who is the legist, the just, pious, religious, righteous, faithful to his engagements, and brave king, Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī, son of Idrīs, son of 'Alī, son of Ahmed, son of 'Othmān, son of Idris, the pilgrim to the sacred house of God, of the lineage of Umā, son of 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, and of the stock of Seyf, son of Dhī-Yezn, of the pith of Kureysh, and of the marrow of Himīr (may God bless his successor with a great blessing, for the sake of the prince of mankind, Muhammed the elect, and his posterity, upon him and upon them may God look favourably and grant peace, for He is our trust, and a very present help in trouble).

The high priest Ahmed, son of Furtū, of the tribe of Muhammed, son of Mānī, commenced writing this book on a Sunday, the third day from the end of God's month Réjeb the single, in the city of Burni. We have not done this out of vainglory, or hypocrisy, or dissimulation, or pride; but as a work due from a successor as following in the footsteps of his forerunners, and as a noble undertaking, even though we are one of the vile. God is the governor

of secret motives, and the pardoner of sins. To relate the benefits we receive is a species of thanksgiving, to conceal them totally is ingratitude. To every period its men, and the rise of every one is according to his creed and his watching for opportunity. The chief quality of leadership is the jewel of equity, by which is justified the obedience of every man to his leader; he precedes them and they follow him, and he guides them to heaven by their reins, after their registers are given into their right hands, and after their being congratulated on account of their salvation and their belief, their having stood upright for their final sentence to be passed, and their knowledge of every kind of retribution for or against them. The virtue of equity is well known, its exercise by a king for one day is equal to sixty years spent in prayer; its mentioners are numerous. The incentives to sovereignty and to the fulfilment of its duties are innumerable, nor can the various passages of Scripture which bear testimony thereto be fully fathomed. The house in which there is an unjust monarch is better than one altogether void of a monarch. (Examples exist of the noun "monarch" being feminine; there are even proofs of such use in the language of the Arabians, as, for instance, the following distich :

" Verily I shall see thee flying from the tyranny
" Of this (hæc) monarch—I say : Certainly."

If this matter be so, how much more will it be true as applied to a just king, in whose heart is the fear of God, and whose injunctions or prohibitions are obeyed according as God gives him power to enforce them. This is why we have undertaken to commemorate the acts and deeds of our Sultan, and what he performed in the time of his reign, whether military expeditions, war against unbelievers, defending the frontiers, or making the highways safe for travelling merchants. We are not equal to the task of recounting his numerous qualities and his abundant perfections; were we to exert ourselves to the utmost in such an endeavour, we should not be able to give a description of the tithe thereof, even in a long space of time. How can any one be able to enumerate his acts when, in one single year, he undertook many expeditions? If the whole of the numerous body of the learned were to unite together to commemorate the same, they would fail in the attempt, and even if they were to relate the whole of his expeditions without any omission whatever, they would not know for certain their order, which took place anteriorly and which afterwards.

Our Sultan Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali, son of Idris, accustomed himself to model his conduct upon that of our Prince and our Lord, Muhammed the elect (may the favourings of God and His benedictions be upon him and on all the prophets) during his wars against unbelievers, which he (may God favour and bless him) followed up as a special profession, and in which God (be His praises sung and His name exalted) directed him, and assisted him in all his endeavours, and strengthened him, and helped him to follow the straight path, and exalted him. Look, therefore, unto what the Lord (may His name be exalted and glorified) enabled him to perform, according as we have heard related by our elders who are gone before us, wonderful acts and astonishing administrations, such as no one had been equal to since the retreat of the Sultan Dāwūd the Pilgrim, son of Nikālih, to the realm of Burnūh¹ until now. We will relate, according to our ability and our weakness, some of the things which we know, for we are incompetent to describe the greater part, even as we have often explained to you before now; for what are these matters and what are you? They relate to what he performed against the tribe of Sew², in obedience to what God (may He be exalted) commanded respecting war with the unbelievers, who were near neighbours of the Muslimīn, and at enmity against them. Also, to what he did to the people of the town of Emseka³, the fortifications of which are said to have been dug before the fortifications of our town, which were dug by the Sultan 'Ali, son of Ahmed. Also, what he did to the people of Kenuh,⁴ when they built in their country many forts, in the design of acting treacherously towards the land of Burnūh, against which they organized plundering expeditions, making spoil of whatever they found, fleeing afterwards to their forts and strongholds, where they placed themselves in security with all that they had in their possession, until such time as he undertook to attack them, out of his high resolve and exalted determination, demolishing and devastating the whole of their buildings without leaving a single one, except the great fortress named Delā only. Also, what he performed when he led an expedition against the tribe of Berber, until the land in its wide extent became straightened unto them, and dearth weighed upon them; so that, arising therefrom, they could find no pasture, nor place to inhabit, in the whole

¹ Burnū is written in various ways by the author. The translator has thought it necessary to follow him.—J. W. R.

² Saw?

³ Muugo?

⁴ Kano?

breadth thereof. Also what he performed in respect to a journey to the town of Eghrem, and to the regions of the Kewār, such as Emer, and the mountain called Eyemma, on which were the enemy of the tribe of Tubu, whom he slew, and whose posterity he took captive, returning thence in triumph and in joy to the town of Fewāni, and to Bulma, where he halted and remained a few days, and where the inhabitants of the town of Jādū came to him with blood-horses as presents to him on their part, since they feared him, and offered their submission until they gained admittance to his presence, and returned from thence under his protection. Look ye, then, again at his journey to the sacred House of God, in order to attain unto the most exalted degree, after having abandoned the beloved sovereignty and the desired majesty, upon the whole of which he turned his back, lending himself as an acceptable loan to his Lord (whose praise be sung), and he performed the pilgrimage, and visited the city of the chosen prophet (upon him be the favour and benediction of the One, the Subduer, so long as the alternation of day and night is repeated); he also took the blessed opportunity to visit (the tombs of) the just, the men from whom were received the word, the blessed (may the satisfaction of the Lord be upon them and His esteem be near them). After that he purchased a house and a palm-grove in the ennobled city, where he took up his abode as a simple worshipper, in hopes of meriting the great reward from the Lord of Majesty. After that, again he turned his steps towards the region of Burnū; and when he reached a town called Burāk, he put to death every one in it who fought against him. These people were powerful, but they became so very much weakened in consequence of this that they became subjects after having long been masters.

Among the various things which God (be He exalted), in His favour, beneficence, and goodness, enabled him to obtain, was the existence of certain Turkish musketeers in his service, and the great number of his born slaves, instructed and cunning in the art of using the musket;¹ so much so, that he was able to combat the people of the town of Emsekā with muskets alone, without using any other kind of weapons, until God (be He exalted) gave him the victory over them, and he seized upon all they possessed.

One of the most astonishing of his good qualities was his prohibition and prevention of scandal by the open practice of

¹ After the pilgrimage to Mecca, the Sultan must have known fire-arms. I therefore translate "musket," and not "cross-bow," which the word "*būdūt*" means as well.—J. W. R.

fornication, so that no open practicer thereof was to be seen in his days; whereas, before that time, the people made no difficulty on the subject, by night or by day, in secret or openly, as though it were in honour among them, and they were violently inclined thereto. He extirpated this and destroyed it, and the countenance of the age became lustrous; he corrected as much as he was able the outward manners of the people, for the secret things pertain unto God, in whose hand is the guidance to right and the seduction to wrong, the giving and the depriving.

Another of the most noble of his customs was his inciting the people to submit themselves to the judgments of the holy law, instead of recurring to worldly government, in their disputes and in their transactions, whether the subject be great or small; whereas, according to what we have heard related, the preponderating voice was formerly that of the chieftains, not of the doctors of the holy law.

Another point is the pains he took to extirpate wrong and malice, treachery and intestine war, from among the Muslimin, as they had existed between the two tribes of Kubur and Ki, who were constantly committing acts of warfare against each other by way of reprisals; but when our Sultan succeeded to the throne, he prohibited this in the most peremptory manner; so much so, that they became like brothers, loving one another in God.

An enterprise of his, worthy of mention, is his progress, in one single expedition, to the countries of Ghamerkū, Merki, Kubsh, and to the rocks of Hajar-Mitukuh, and Hajar-Humd.

He further came against the inhabitants of the rocks Hajar-Zebedū and Hajar-Gharasa, who were named the Ghāmū, and who were united (in blood?) with the children of the Sultan Dāwūd, with their grandchildren, and with their relatives. In former times they had been used to make forays into the land of Burnūh, slaying the men, and carrying off the women and children. In the time of our Sultan, however (may God, whose name be exalted, grant him honour in both worlds), he destroyed their confederacy, and broke up their union, excepting such as he confirmed and permitted to inhabit those parts; so that the people of the tribe of Ghāmū, residing among those rocks, submitted themselves universally to his dominion, without dispute and without quarrel.

Also, when the tribe of Ghizm,¹ people of Muklum, Ghamazen, and other places, of the Ghizm nation, lying in the direction of those two, manifested a spirit of haughtiness and obduracy, our

¹ Ngussum ?

Sultan went forth against them, accompanied by numbers and in every way prepared, and he cut down their corn and set fire to their dwellings, in the rainy season; thus did he press upon them to devastate their country, so that they submitted to him and became obedient to him, placing themselves under his rule, and he furnished them with a measure of food, by the might and power of God.

Again, the tribe of Ghizm, dwelling towards the west, and named the Bināwā, could never be persuaded to desist from carrying people away captives from the land of the Muslimin, or from committing depredations therein; they would not depart from their evil deeds, but they adopted the castles of the tribe of Bedih as their strongholds, their retreats, and their places of concealment for the plunder they seized, in their perfidious dealings towards the Muslimin, which they practised by night and by day, without rest or intermission. So when our Sultan succeeded to the sovereignty, he and his chief Vezīr Kursū imagined an excellent plan for putting a stop to their perfidy and unjust actions; and thereupon they left their evil doings, some of them attaching themselves to our Sultan, some to the Vezīr Kursū, some to others of the chieftains who followed our Sultan to the war; while the rest of them embraced a settled life, established themselves in a fixed place, and devoted themselves to the pursuits of agriculture and husbandry.

Another of his great exploits is that which he brought about and performed in respect to the tribe of Sew, who dwelt towards the east on the shore of the great river (lake?) Thād, and were known as the Tetāla. Formerly, these were an extremely vicious and wicked race, and it is said of them that they used to provide themselves with water in skins,¹ or some kind of vessels, and then, taking their weapons and their shields, would set out for the populous and cultivated parts of the Muslimin country, in the design of committing depredations therein, some of them travelling a distance of two or three days' journey, more or less. But when the days of our Sultan came, he prevented them most efficiently from these deeds, and subjected them to many kinds of serious injuries, so that they became subdued, submissive, and abject, some of their towns being laid waste and made utterly desolate.

Know, O brethren, that we have made manifest to you our incompetency, and represented to you our inadequacy to penetrate fully into the acts of our Sultan which he did during the time of

¹ The word here used, bukhas, is not known to the translator.—J. W. R.

his reign, to pourtray them with the pen or by the motion of our fingers; how then shall we be able and competent to do this in respect to his adapting his actions to the greater portion of what is in the Scripture, and in the acts of the prophet, particularly in respect to the customs of war on God's account, which he undertook for the noble cause of God and His abundant reward. For this reason we have reduced the relation of the whole of his military expeditions to what we have expounded in this compilation alone, excepting the expeditions against the tribe of Bulāla separately; which latter we intend also to narrate, if God so will it, showing the principal part of his actions towards that tribe, in an uniform manner, clear and explicit, according to what we know positively of the results of all that we may describe relating to the expeditions which he carried through by the aid and support of God.

We propose now to append to every particular feature of the political acts of our Sultan Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali, son of Idrīs, a few anecdotes having a natural connection therewith, and divided by classes, from the subject of the tribe of Sew-Ghafatā to that of Sew-Tetālā, in detail and distinctly, if God will it, so that people of information may know the real state of the case respecting his numerous exploits and the true nature of his wars with the enemies of God; also with what stratagems he combated them, with what cunning he destroyed them, and in what way he arrived at the victory over them all, and at their slaughter. Thus will we follow up the track of what we have done in this book, if God (whose name be extolled) will it, as far as we were spectators of the same, or have heard related. Perfect knowledge belongs to God alone, as does also the complete power of decision.

After completing what we here contemplate, we will compose, if God (whose name be extolled) will it, a relation of what is connected with the affairs of the country of Kānim, in a separate treatise, according to what we witnessed and took note of in our journeyings and travels, in the same manner as was done by the elder, the legist, Mesfermā-'Umer, son of 'Othmān, according to what he knew, in the days of his Sultan, Idrīs, son of 'Ali, son of Ahmed. We have divested ourselves of every kind of doubt that the acts of our Sultan Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali, are more important and considerable than the acts of his grandfather, and, if God (whose name be extolled) will it, we will make manifest the reasons why they are more important, when we treat on that matter, so that no one who becomes acquainted with our book

shall remain in ignorance of the same, with the aid and assistance of God our Lord (whose name be extolled), and with his help, and favour, and will; He is our trust, and a very present help in trouble; neither is there any power or ability, except through God most high and most great.

CHAPTER I.

EXPEDITIONS AGAINST THE TRIBE OF SEW-GHAFATĀ.

THE time is now come for us to turn to the history of the Sew-Ghafatā, of which we have already made mention; and afterwards we will relate all the particulars of the various tribes that we have mentioned, placing them in a regular series, as we have done in first naming them.

Know then that the relative condition of children, fathers, and forefathers, ancestors in a remoter degree, may be in one of three categories. Some children are in a superior condition to that of their forefathers, and surpass them by attaining to a manifest degree of excellence, and an evident state of merit, while some fall short of their ancestors in a degree that admits of no cavil, and others again resemble their progenitors in regard to their general condition, without having advanced a step or lost any ground. These latter are like a casting which fits into its mould, or like a shoe placed alongside of its fellow, whereas the first-mentioned superiority is an act of grace from God (whose praise be sung, and whose name be extolled) unto His servant, and a portion unto him for the enlargement of his fortune and his inheritance, even as He has explained it in His holy scripture, in the passage relating to His prophets (upon whom be salutation and peace), and also in other passages, so that language is incompetent to make comments thereupon.

Now we have been eye-witnesses of the fact that God (whose name be glorified), out of His very grace and favour, included the condition of our Sultan in this first category; since he brought about and manifested in the time of his sovereignty things the existence of which we had never heard mentioned in the days of any other monarch (may God augment his might and majesty, his excellence, and his posterity, to the end of time).

Even when it is admitted concerning any one, that he is fully

equal to his compeers from amongst his tribe or nation, this is certainly a subject of honest pride to him ; we can therefore have no doubt on the subject when he is superior to his fellows, excelling them in adversity and in prosperity. Has not Ibnu-Dureyd spoken in his book in the following manner :

“ Of all things which a child of man can acquire, I have been possessed ;
 “ Whereas, of man, there remains after him but his good name !”

and has it not been said also in the same sense :

“ Man, after his existence, is but a subject of conversation ;
 “ Be thou therefore a good subject for those who mention thee.” †

and so in truth is it in this matter.

Now our Sultan, the commander of the believers, and representative of the Lord of the universe, the visitor to the two sacred places, Idris, son of 'Ali, son of Idris (may God grant him honour in this life and in the next), when he determined upon making war against the enemy of the tribe of Sew-Ghafatā, and resolved upon destroying them and exterminating them, built a large city opposite to the town of Demesekh, and appointed therein as commanders Shatma-Biri-Ghatrāma and his son Ejima Ghazma, son of Biri. He arranged four gates for the city, and nominated a warden to each gate ; he also established therein a garrison of his soldiers, and commanded every one of his chieftains and leaders who had the ability, and whose valour was known, to build therein houses and to place there a portion of their followers, horsemen with coats of mail and cuirasses. After completing all this, he named the city “ the Great Fortress ” (Sensa-'l-Kebīra). The inhabitants thereof, who dwelt therein, were men of energy and activity, who never ceased, early or late, from making tours in quest of the enemy, persevering in so doing until God (may His name be glorified) enabled them to destroy his strongholds.

Our Sultan built also a second city to the north of the castle, opposite to the southern fortress, an extensive city, and established therein Shikema-Bumū, arranging two gates to it, the eastern gate and the western gate ; more than these he did not make. He strengthened Shikema-Bumū with a great number of his servants of the tribe of Kirdi, so that the city became insufficient to accommodate the throng. So Shikema and those who were with him went in search of the enemy of the tribe of Ghafatā, early and late, without negligence or sluggishness, without carelessness or fail ; and they ceased not to act thus until God rent the ramparts of the polytheists and destroyed the strongholds of the wicked.

And when our Sultan had rested from the building of these two afore-mentioned cities, he turned his attention to the means of utterly destroying the nation of unjust dealers. So he sent forth heralds among the whole nation, proclaiming that they should come to him with axes and bucklers, and weapons, with abundant provisions, and that no one should remain behind, whether doctors of law and divinity, or herdsmen, or merchants, so that they might cut down the trees to the north and to the south, and thereby leave no retreat in which the heathen could fortify themselves; and that no excuse would be listened to for holding back from this service, except on the part of invalids who were utterly unable to perform a journey, such as old men bent with age, or the sick, and on the part of women and female slaves. He also commanded the heralds to proclaim in every market-place in Burnū,¹ that the people were to come to him prepared and equipped to complete what he had resolved upon. And the people heard, and obeyed, and complied with what he desired.

When news of this matter was spread abroad, and reached the ears of the polytheists, they came together in great numbers, and those who were of kindred tribes to them joined them also, although they were under subjection to the Sultan and paid the customary tribute, which they then threw up, in order, by collecting together, to prevent the destruction of their trees. The Sultan paid no attention to their assembling, but marched against them with his army, horse and foot, until he reached their trees and their strongholds; this was in the summer season. He then drew up the shieldsmen and bucklersmen in front of the army in ranks; behind these he placed the horsemen clad in coats of mail with armour on their steeds, and not unarmed, also in ranks, and further to the rear again he ranged the axemen behind the horsemen, so that they might cut down the trees in full security as to their persons, and safe from the malice and assaults of the heathen. Mixed with these were the musicians, playing on the lute, the tambourine, the horn, the flute, and other kinds of instruments of amusement and recreation, so as to cheer the body in the cutting down of the trees, and to create mirth and activity, drowning the sense of fatigue.

While our people were thus singularly occupied in carrying out this curious stratagem, the enemy came and attacked them with darts and javelins; they combated a long while, and God (may His name be glorified) gave patience to the Muslimin and firmness to

¹ Burnū.

their feet, so that the enemy could not hinder them from cutting down the trees. Sing, therefore, the praises of God, the Unique, the Subduer.

When the autumn came and the rains fell, and their seed-corn shot forth and grew up, and looked beautiful, and was near being ripe, the Sultan, the Commander of the believers, Idris the Pilgrim (may God grant him honour, as also to his armies), went forth against them, and destroyed their cornfields, leaving nothing whatever standing in them.

Thus the Sultan ceased not to harass them in three different manners; he cut down their trees in the summer, their corn in the autumn, and carried on predatory incursions against them in the winter, until it became insufferable for the heathen to remain any longer in their strongholds. So they abandoned the districts which had been thus devastated, and transferred themselves to other places.

And the next year, when the time was come for cutting down the trees, the Sultan Idris, the Pilgrim, came up, according to his custom, intending to cut down their trees in the town of Māyeh; and the polytheists assembled together, their breasts filled with rage, and they fought a severe battle with the Muslimin, so that they prevented them from destroying the trees, and the Muslimin returned to their napping places; at this the polytheists rejoiced on that day with an exceeding great joy, since their trees were not cut down. And they mightily desired to preserve their trees, and imagined that their attack had procured them a great advantage; so they returned to their habitations. But when the Muslimin reached their napping place, the Commander of the believers was exceedingly wroth with them, and asked how they could do such a thing. So when the Muslimin acquired precise knowledge of the wrath of their Commander, they were grieved at it extremely, and when the morning dawned they went out against the stronghold of the enemy to cut down the trees. Upon this, the pagans hastened to drive them away, designing to repeat their doings of the day before. With this view they made a most furious attack upon the Muslimin, who, however, paid no attention to them, but continued the work of cutting down the trees. They then resorted to stratagem in their attack, and divided into numerous parties, who rushed upon our people in different directions; but this also brought them no advantage. Our troops now began to assemble, the horsemen with the archers who had come from the western country:—

“ Lo ! they have an assemblage like the back of the porcupine,
 “ A collection of bows united to their arrows.”

also the bucklersmen. And each leader took up a separate station, and the cutting down of the trees was continued, nor did our people turn back until a long while afterwards, when the sun was high. Thus did they cut down the trees on the second day and on the third, until the whole were destroyed from about the stronghold of Māyeh and that of Bedemh, so that in a short time they arrived at Termuwā; the MuslimIn being astonished at the rapidity with which the trees had been cut down in so short a time, while the enemy were utterly confounded.

The Sultan now divided his army, and gave permission to each division to return home to attend to their ploughs until the season should arrive which was proper for cutting down trees, or for destroying corn-fields, or for carrying on forays against the enemy, as has already been narrated. And when the enemy fully comprehended the three kinds of compulsion which were thus unintermittingly brought to bear upon them, they became utterly averse to the planting of any corn whatever, unless in such fields as were surrounded on all sides by long reservoirs of water. Thus then was fully established the victory of the Sultan over the men of blasphemy, and the advantage of the household of faith, its chiefs, its leaders, its followers, and its horsemen, when a stop was put to the tillage of the enemy, upon which depended the duration of their existence. Every one then who dwelt in the land of Burnū longed for the destruction of the enemy's strongholds, whereas, previously to this time no such expectation had ever entered the heart of one of them, excepting the Sultan Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī, who had disposed the means for its accomplishment, and had trusted in his Lord (whose name be glorified) for the fulfilment and facilitating of the same, who had been accepted by his Divine Master (to whom be all honour and glory), and endowed with wonderful judgment, and a successful power of organization. There is no one among the people of the age who can oppose him or dispute with him; but on the contrary, all obey him and submit to him, complying with the injunctions of the acts of the Prophet and of the Scripture.

Not one of the household of faith, great or small, and none of the congregation of the heathen, had imagined it possible to extirpate those extensive groves, and upon this had the enemy foolishly grounded his calculations to such a degree, that twice they had come up against the Great Fortress to fight with the Sultan. The

first time they came, they retraced their steps without any meeting taking place between the two armies; for the Sovereign Master (may His Majesty be exalted and His perfection be glorified) sent the thunderbolt of fear into the hearts of the idolaters, people who doubt. Afterwards, they came up the second time, and the two armies met, when God confounded their troops, according to His faithful promise in His eloquent scripture; so they were defeated, and took to flight, retreating to the place whence they had set out, and were followed by the Muslimin, as many as were there, killing and wounding them. Their slain were very numerous, and they were left as the trunks of palm-trees overthrown.

After these events, the Sultan never ceased from harassing them with warfare, and with cutting down the rest of the tragacanth trees, by night and by day, with his slaves and with his free followers. So when their distress became exceedingly great, they came in a great body to the Sultan, making supplications, and offering submission and obedience, abject, and imploring forgiveness, saying "We are thy slaves, thy captives, the same as thy slaves who accompany thee, who obey thy every command; cause us to dwell in whatever place thou wilt." The Sultan was then lodging in the town of Demesekh, and he said to the High Priest Ahmed, the author of these memoirs, "Write down the names of the whole of these people in a public register." So they were brought to him, and he wrote down the name of every one of them, with his distinguishing characteristics, one by one, and completed the registry of them, and counted them. The Sultan, then, with his penetrating mind and sagacious intellect, imagined a new line of policy, and an appropriate system of action, such that never before was the like seen, by the reason that, with the help of God (whose name be glorified) he was a truly wise man. In consequence, he divided them into separate companies, and sent them to different places, some to the town of Dubüskeh, some to the town of Ghäzer,¹ some to Zembem. Thus he dispersed them separately to out-of-the-way distant places.

He then recommenced his work of cutting down the trees, so that he might entirely extirpate the remnant of their groves. And he cut down as many as God (whose name be glorified) had predestined; after which he gave permission to his troops to return to their homes, that is, to such as still remained in that country after the Sultan had gone forth to the holy war. So they went to their own cities, all but the chiefs, the leaders, and the guards, who

¹ Gider?

never leave the Sultan, night or day, while he is in the field on his military expeditions; these remained with him after the departure of the whole of the common people.

The Sultan next proceeded with these followers towards the city of Kēblū, that is, near to it; he there divided his chiefs and leaders, sending Kighamma-Muhammed-Kedā, which in Arabic means 'Abdu-'l-Kadīm (*servant of the Ancient of days*), to the town of Dubūshekh, with his troops, on a Saturday, to slay the pagans of the Ghafatā tribe; he dispatched Jirima-Ibrāhīm, with his people to the town of Zembem, and Mulimer-'Abdu-'llāh-Hafnū, with his followers, to Ghāzer, to kill the enemies on a Saturday. He also sent Yerīma-Ghuti, with his clan, to the town of Ghurū; he sent Shikema-Muhammed, son of Ferkma, with his attendants, in the direction of Ghankā, to put to the sword the pagan enemies who dwelt towards the north from the sea (qu., *river* or *lake?*). And he gave his commands to every one of them to slay the enemies dwelling in the places to which he was sending them, on the Saturday, without deferring it to another day. So each of them set out for the place to which he was ordered, on the Thursday.

After the Sultan had arranged these matters, as we have related, he came to Kēblū, where he performed his congregational public devotions of the Friday; and when the night descended upon him, and he had performed the night prayer, he departed with such of his forces as were with him, marching in the dark moonless night towards the east, in the direction of the town of Māmukh. When the dawn appeared, and the time of morning prayer was come, being nigh to the said town of Māmukh, he alighted and performed his prayer; after which he mounted his steed and led his followers to the pillage of the infidels who dwelt therein. They slew the inhabitants with a most serious slaughter, none of them escaping but those whose hour of death was not come.

Having completed this slaughter and carnage, he turned his rein towards the north, and travelled until he halted in the middle of the forenoon at Demesekh on his return. His commanders also, whom he had sent to different places with orders to slay the pagans, carried out his injunctions to the letter, putting the inhabitants to the sword on the Saturday, in the same way that the commander of the believers had done on his part. So the morning was a sad one for those who had been denounced, and sorrowful was the latter end of the unbelievers.

Such are the true rules of action for kings, whom God has appointed for the execution of what is right and the extirpation of

what is wrong, who follow the book of God (may His name be glorified) the All-wise, and the acts of His holy prophet (upon whom, and upon whose lineage, be the most perfect ascriptions of peace and salutation); and in conformity with these safe guides of conduct, the Sultan Idris the Pilgrim drove out his enemies of the tribe of Sew-Ghafatā, ridding the regions of Burnū of their presence, by which he conformed himself to the recommendation of our apostle and prophet, Muhammed (may God look upon him with favour, and grant him peace), as the companions of the prophet had conformed themselves before him, and those also who succeeded them. Again, from his scrupulous attention to perform the precept of the scripture and of the acts of Muhammed, he referred the discussion or decision of all matters to the learned doctors of the law and divinity, and hung his halter upon their necks in every design (may the omniscient Ruler of all things reward him with a rich recompense in this world and in the next).

We will now return to the history of the limits of the cutting down of the trees. The trees of our enemies commenced, to the south of the sea (*river*, or *lake*), at the town of Kesdir (or Kessidr), as far as the town of Kirki, or the town of Bedna; to the north of the sea (*lake*, or *river*), at the town of Ghatwa, or of Daghambi, as far as the town of Dibā, or of Kuwekwa. All this extent was swarming with our enemies, the unbelievers of the tribe of Ghafatā, who never relaxed from acting treacherously towards the land of Burnū, night or day, according to this their custom from of old, until the time of the reign of our Sultan Idris the Pilgrim (whom may God prefer to honour in this world and also in the next), when God (whose name be glorified) facilitated unto our great King Idris the Pilgrim the destruction of those Ghafatā enemies in various ways.

For instance, when the Sultan alighted at the town of Bedruguh pursuing his well-known custom of cutting down the groves of the enemy, with the whole of his forces, horse and foot, bucklersmen and archers, musketmen, axemen, and others in great numbers, they began to cut down the trees there, and extirpated them in a few days. And when he resolved to disperse his troops to their several homes, on a Thursday, he commanded his chiefs and leaders to slay the tribe from Ghidamh towards every district and every direction; so they put them to death until the number of the slain could not be known.

Again, as the Sultan was once returning from an expedition against Kenuh towards Burnū, and had travelled until he halted at

the town of Rūni in the forenoon, he passed his napping time there also; and when the afternoon was past he set out again with his forces in an easterly direction in quest of the enemy who were in the interior of the Great Fortress, so that he might put them to the sword and rid the fortress of them. Accordingly, he came upon them unawares, by the aid and succour of God, finding them in great numbers, of whom not one escaped by becoming aware of his approach; so he slew them all, even to the last man, without leaving one alive; he even put to death the man Bagha, who had passed backwards and forwards between them and the Muslimīn. So they were utterly destroyed. And the distress of the enemy reached such an extremity that they dispersed themselves among places inhabited by people of Burnū of the tribe of Tūreh and others, in order to save their lives by this stratagem. But when our Sultan gained intelligence thereof, he sent out his officers to make inquiry concerning them in the villages, commanding them to slay every one of them that they could find; and they did so.

Then these people understood that the land of Burnū was too confined for them, as they could find therein no place for residence or for refuge. Upon which they left the country of Burnū, and retired to the fastnesses which they had still remaining in the district of Bekedwā and others lying towards the east. The Sultan followed after them, with the Muslimīn, and, according to the old system, cut down their trees, and made forays upon them; the scouts and the foremost of our horsemen came up with them, and slew all the unbelievers they could find unawares. So they were routed, and fled, and shut themselves up in their strongholds. The remainder of our army then came up, and our Sultan alighted in the town of Bekedwā, so that the Muslimīn were collected in a body; after which, they sallied forth in search of the pagan habitations, in order to build Muslim houses in their stead, so as to have a shelter from the eyes of men, from the wind, and from the heat of the sun. Upon this the enemy took to setting their houses on fire themselves, from that time, before the Muslimīn had fired any of them; for fear fell upon their hearts, as it is written in the page of the revelation of the Lord most glorious; thus they went in dread of the Muslimīn, the obedient people of the Lord of heaven and earth. Arrant cowardice was also sent upon them, and baseless panic, to such a degree that they could no longer distinguish a he-camel from a she-camel, a cow from a bull, a ewe from a ram, a goat from a sheep, or a lamb from a kid; they became so that they

knew not the number of the days, of the months, or of the years, even, as the poet Būsīri says :

“ The nights pass, but they know not the number thereof,
“ Nor which belong not to the nights of the sacred months.”

And after these things, the Sultan marched from that place, and dispersed his army, according as he had done in his first expedition.

One of the surprising acts of our Sultan consisted in his commanding the inhabitants of the Great Fortress to come up in the direction of the misbelievers on such and such a day, so as to deceive and mislead them, causing them to suppose the design of attacking them was entertained when it was not so in reality ; but the object was to get them to leave their stronghold and come out into the open country, without any real fighting taking place, so that perhaps an opportunity might be found of getting between them and their stronghold, and of thus defeating them. So those inhabitants attended to this injunction and complied with the command, taking up their weapons of war, and coming against the enemy as had been arranged by the Sultan. And accordingly the misbelievers came out of their stronghold against them, upon which, our people, of their own accord, made a show of taking to flight, and the misbelievers pursued them into the plains, in such manner that when they came close up with them, these inhabitants of the Great Fortress retired further back in the design of alluring them forwards, and waiting for the Sultan to make his appearance. The misbelievers did not in the slightest degree detect the stratagem or device, but continued in total ignorance of it until the Commander of the believers, Idris the Pilgrim, marched from the town of Ghayawā towards day-dawn, and advanced in the direction of the enemy at an accelerated pace, taking the lower road which skirts the stronghold and passes between it and where its inhabitants had advanced to. Thus he advanced with that part of his forces which he had taken with him. So when he approached near to the stronghold, the people of the Great Fortress beheld the cloud of dust and column of black dust ; upon which they charged the misbelievers with great violence, being rejoiced at the arrival of the Sultan. On the other hand, when the sinners saw behind them the dust raised by the Sultan in the air, they fully and perfectly comprehended its meaning, and turned their faces towards the stronghold of their safety ; but the Sultan with his troops

intercepted the road between them and the stronghold, and on that day in which God (may His name be glorified) gave the victory to the Sultan, not one of them escaped, not even the man who, being an atheist, had sometimes joined the Muslimin, and again gone over to the misbelievers, who was named Muhammed, son of Maghuwa, who was killed among the last of his tribe as he was fleeing towards the stronghold. So the Sultan obtained in that place a most signal triumph, and the whole army of the Muslimin rejoiced exceedingly, returning in the evening to their Fortress, which they entered in the beginning of the nightfall. Behold ye then this surprising plan and astonishing stratagem of this politic prince, this noble monarch! Neither did our relative circumstances alter, by day or by night, until rock or stronghold became too much straitened for them; such were his modes of action.

According to what we have heard narrated by persons worthy of credence, the servants of the Sultan who resided in the town of the Fortress (Sensenh), people of the tribe of Kerda, bucklersmen, marching on foot, and not horsemen, used to cover their bodies with the leaves of trees, and sit in the path of the misbelievers, waiting their passage and approach; if they were adult men, they used to kill them at once, but if women or children, they would carry them off, sparing their lives in the design of selling them.

It is also said, that some of these servants of the Sultan would go by night to the town of the misbelievers when they were asleep and reposing, so as to take the enemy unawares, and this to a degree such that a further residence in those parts became very difficult for them, especially with the scarcity of provisions which had fallen upon them; so that their insides were, like their skins, exposed to the effects of our hostilities, through the hunger which they suffered. Such was their state, and such their condition, until the time came when they were definitively and utterly routed.

And when the year was come in which God (may He be lauded and glorified) had decreed their expulsion from their stronghold, through His assistance and will, the Commander of the believers, and representative of the Lord of the universe, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali, came up with the whole of his forces, in the same way that the polytheists also collected together all their strength to oppose him. He halted at the town of Bedkurū, or near thereto, and the Muslimin commenced their work of cutting down the trees that remained; the enemy came forth to prevent them from doing so, but they were not successful in their endeavour. So each day

they expended their strength and their energies in attempting some new device, but they failed in whatever they undertook. At length they gathered all together in a grand council, in which it was deliberated and agreed upon to attack the Muslimin with their whole strength by night when they should be asleep. So when the night came and people had retired to their couches to sleep, and when sound and motion were stilled in the camp, they came upon the east side of the Muslim array in great numbers, and rushed upon them, wounding some of those they encountered. The troops stationed in that quarter of the camp were soon in motion, but those distributed over the remainder of the encampment did not stir, or take any notice of the enemy's arrival at that hour wherein they had expected to obtain a victory over us. When the enemy perceived this by a kind of instinct, they turned back, and in the morning were pursued by the Sultan and his troops, who followed them up closely. At length the two bodies came in sight of each other, and the Muslimin charged the enemy, who were routed and took to flight without any attempt at a rally, and retired into their stronghold. The Sultan then passed through the town of the tribe of Dughūta, where he put to the sword those who had rebelled and acted treacherously. Afterwards the whole of the Ghafatā people who were in the stronghold, came out therefrom, without one remaining behind, and they departed and went over to other tribes of the enemy, of their own race, namely, the tribe of Sew-Tetālā, among whom they took up their abode, and in whose territory they built themselves houses, and dwelt there a short time.

But when the rainy season was come, they would make incursions into the land of Burnū, in the design of committing depredations and making havoc, returning again to the Tetālā country as soon as the rains were over. Such ceased not to be their practice, going and coming backwards and forwards between Tetālā and Burnū. As soon, however, as our Sultan was informed of this new feature, he followed them into the country of the Tetālā, with his forces; and when they comprehended that the Sultan was not likely to leave them undisturbed in that place, they were seized with fear, and emigrated as fugitives in a body to Menderā,¹ taking up their abode between the country of Menderā and that of Ghamerkū, in a district named Berera, which they adopted as a home and as a stronghold.

News of these people having established themselves in the

¹ Wandala!

above-named place, soon reached the ears of the great king, the brilliant Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali (may God grant him honour now and hereafter), he completed his preparations, and marched against them with his army, encountered them in the country they had thus chosen, and slew of them in the battle so great a number, that none could compute the amount of the killed, unless it be God himself; after which time, the camping place of this people became of as little consideration as the motes in the air. The Sultan returned with his forces to Burnū in safety, laden with spoil, joyful, and of good cheer. Those infidels, after this expedition, could not rest in any part of the country, but a part of them, the tribe of Dughūtih, small in numbers, migrated to the land of Kānim.

This is what I have been able to ascertain relating to the events connected with the tribe of Ghafatā, and no person has kept a memoir of what took place between them and our Sultan; for which reason we have kept within narrow bounds, mentioning only a few circumstances out of a host of facts, according to our ability and deficiency. May abundant thanksgivings be offered unto God, whose name be extolled, for he is an excellent Lord, and a perfect helper.

CHAPTER II.

EXPEDITION AGAINST EMSIKĀ, AND PASSAGE BY MENDERĀ, GHAMERKŪ, AND MERGHI.

WITH the permission of God (whose name be glorified) we shall now turn to the description and relation of the history of the land of Emsikā.¹

The inhabitants of the country of Emsikā are not of one single tribe, but they are a mixed people, comprising various races. They have no permanent prince, but they built a fortress or stockade, to the east of the country of Menderā, surrounding the same with a long ditch. They then became insolent and oppressive, obstinate and self-esteemed, in a high degree, persisting in this conduct for a long space of time, neither had it ever entered into the mind of any man to attempt to destroy the virus of their perversity, or even to temper it; and they were never tired or backward in

¹ Musgu ?

committing injuries upon the people, without end and without ceasing.

We have heard it affirmed by persons of knowledge and veracity, that Kighama, son of Burzī, and the Sultan 'Alī, sovereign of Yemtiḥ, used to join together and undertake military expeditions in alliance against every country, the inhabitants of which were misbelievers, excepting only the country of Emsikā. They refrained from attacking this country, and were repugnant thereto, only by reason of the obstinacy with which the inhabitants fought, and because of the difficult nature of their strongholds. Such was the degree of power to which this people had formerly reached, and which they retained all the days of the Sultan 'Alī, son of Ahmed.

And when the days of the reign of our Sultan Idrīs were come (may God, whose name be glorified, grant him honour now and hereafter), he was astonished at the position occupied by the inhabitants of that country, at their extreme insolence, overbearing, and waywardness. So he went up against them, with the grace of the Universal Benefactor, in company with the sovereign of Yemtiḥ, to ascertain their circumstances, their stratagems, their mode of warfare, and their refractory spirit. So when they had posted themselves in the neighbourhood of the fortress of that people, fighting ensued between the two parties without delay or procrastination. And the battle between that people and the Muslimin was very severe, so that they prevented the latter from reducing their fortress. Upon which, the Sultan departed from them at that time, returning with his forces to his own country, as did also the sovereign of Yemtiḥ on his part, and the matter was allowed by the Sultan to stand over for a few years, on account of a scheme which he imagined.

When the time approached, however, in which God (whose name be glorified) had decreed their destruction on the preserved tablet of fate, the Sultan ordered his horses to be picketed in the spot called Ghūkā¹, according to the custom established in the country of Ghūkā, in order to feed them up and fatten them. The time being come, they were loosened from their pickets, and passed in review before the Sultan, who caused them to be exercised for a few days; after which, he marched from Ghūkā in God's month of Rejeb the solitary, after performing his noon and afternoon prayers. He travelled in the evening in the direction of the town of Sedā, which is a place of assemblage for the army, when the bases of the

¹ Kukawa?

conditions of service are first agreed upon. He alighted there in the forenoon of the second day, and remained there two nights, during which the whole of his forces were assembled around him from every quarter of the country; he marched on the third day, advancing towards the misbelieving tribe of Tetälä, and passing in his journey near to the people of the town of Tewätih, who were taken by surprise, and were all put to death, none escaping but such as were absent from the town, or those whose allotted term was not yet come.

The Sultan then quitted the regions inhabited by the Tetälä and marched towards Emsikä, nor did he cease from journeying during several days, until he had reached the town of Kāsa,¹ and then Senghayä (or Senfeyä), near to Emsikä. When the Lord most great caused the bright morning to dawn, the Sultan and his army moved forwards and arrived at Emsikä in the forenoon, when the inhabitants, perceiving the dust raised by the Muslimin ascending towards the sky, mounted on to the roofs of their houses and the highest parts of their fortifications, in order to observe what the Muslimin were doing, and to report the same. So when our troops perceived that the misbelieving polytheists were aware of our approach they wished to send their skirmishers against them. The Sultan, however, prohibited the execution of this idea, commanding them to wait patiently and act with circumspection. He then passed on in the direction of the fortress, opposite thereto, and going beyond round by the south side of it, halted near the east gate, at a distance of about a heat of a horse in exercise.

When the Sultan had thus alighted, the whole army unsaddled their horses and beasts of burden in that same place, where he and they all passed the night until dawn of day. The inhabitants of Emsikä thereupon added insolence to insolence, and obstinacy to obstinacy, and wickedness to wickedness; they commenced shouting and rejoicing and merry-making, not exhibiting any signs of uneasiness at the arrival of the Prince and his army against them; for they reposed full confidence in the determination with which they were accustomed to fight, and in the strength of their fortress. It is even related that they taunted the Muslimin by saying to them: "You are as you were, and we have not changed our original qualities; neither side has been subjected to alteration of any kind, and nothing shall see the inside of our castle and fortress, unless it be the birds." Such was the tenor of their addresses to our people.

Later in the day the Commander of the believers came forward

¹ Waza?

towards the fortress in the design of seriously engaging them; so they mounted on to their battlements, and threw a perfect shower of darts and arrows against us. Not one of the Muslimin could stand up on any side of the fortress without becoming a mark for their arrows, and their hard stones which break men's heads when they strike them; for the fortress was well filled with people. The Sultan then commanded the Muslimin to fill up the ditch which surrounded the place, with the stalks of millet which they cultivate for their food; and this plan was persevered in with great ardour for two or three days. But as soon as the Muslimin returned to their quarters in the evening, the enemy came out and carried away all the stalks that had been thrown into the ditch, so that nothing remained. Much time having been thus lost, the Sultan commanded the whole army to change its position, and to take up fresh quarters near the fortress on the north side; this they did, and these occurrences took place in God's month of Sha'bān.

The morning following this change of position, the Muslimin came forth in the design of filling the ditch of the fortress. And the trumpet was sounded, and the flute and all kinds of instruments of music, in the interior of the place, the inhabitants of which made every sort of preparation to combat the Muslimin, exerting themselves to increase their resistance by various tricks and stratagems. The first and most formidable of these consisted in a house in which fire was kindled; the second, poisoned arrows; the third, pots filled with the excrement of pole-cats; the fourth, indurated clay, which, when it strikes the head breaks or smashes it; the fifth, darts as weapons; the sixth, long spears, such as they alone are accustomed to use. These weapons were only a part of their means of defence, nor did they relax in their combats night or day; and if any part of their ramparts was damaged on any occasion a spear's length, and the Muslimin tried to obtain entrance thence into the fortress and possession of the same, they would openly repair the damage with clay in the very faces of the Muslimin, who were unable to prevent it.

In consequence of these proceedings, the Sultan ordered the troops to cut down some tall trees, with which to construct three platforms on the three sides around the fortress, so that musketeers might mount upon these and fire in the easiest and most advantageous manner upon the enemy occupying the sinuosities of the ramparts; and this was done according to his commands. He next excited the troops to fill the ditch of the fortress with earth instead of millet stalks; this also they complied with and performed, until

they had filled up a good proportion of the ditch with earth, and the spot had become a level piece of ground. They then commenced demolishing and breaking down the ramparts themselves with hatchets and axes, until they made a considerable breach in the wall of the fortress. Thus did they press and distress the enemy.

The Commander of the believers, the representative of the Lord of the universe, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali (may God, whose name be glorified, grant him honour in this world and in the next), was a Prince of sound judgment and possessing great sagacity of view. An instance of this was the order he issued to the whole of his army not to take precedence of the musketeers in throwing missile weapons, lest their stock of weapons should be expended and they themselves remain unarmed, and also that the stock of weapons in the possession of the misbelievers should become exhausted, and they should remain empty-handed, when it would be easy to triumph over them. Results proved the truth of these considerations; for the misbelievers commenced to throw large quantities of darts and arrows against the Muslimin, while our people occupied themselves diligently with collecting together every weapon with which they were assailed, and brought them all to the Prince. What numbers there were of them! None could tell the quantity but God (whose name be glorified).

At length the enemy exhausted their stock of darts, none remaining in their possession; and upon that the misbelievers collected together all the blacksmiths who were in the fortress, demanding their assistance in the manufacture of darts, and the Muslimin who were outside of the fortress could hear the din of the strokes of the hammers upon the great post (which is underground, and which is of iron, grafted upon a root,) as they forged new missiles. They then recommenced shooting at us with these new arrows smeared over with clay (for the stock of original poisoned arrows was exhausted) to frighten the Muslimin and make them suppose they were poisoned.

When the Muslimin, after filling up the ditch of the fortress, commenced breaking down the wall thereof with axes and hatchets, they soon threw down a portion of it on the western face, which the defenders were not able to repair; and after a short while they demolished an angle, and also destroyed a piece in the middle. Upon this, the misbelievers were troubled in their minds, lost their wits, and remained bewildered and terrified. The day was then waxen old, little remained ere it also would fall in ruins, and ultimately, the sun set. This was on Saturday, the 30th and last day of the

month Sha'bān, and, after sunset, the new moon of Ramazan was descried, being seen from that very place. The Sultan, therefore, performed his sunset prayer in that spot, and felt a disinclination to retire from thence; he, therefore, gave orders for a tent to be erected, saying he would pass the night in the midst of his troops. He also commanded the big drum to be struck at different times, so as to alarm the misbelievers; and God sent great fear upon their hearts, and exceeding timidity. They were seized with trembling and agitation, and in that moonless night they fled from the fortress, being pursued by the Muslimīn, who slew their men, and made captives of their women and children, using all diligence and making every effort, without sloth or delay, so that but few of the misbelievers escaped. The Muslimīn afterwards returned in the middle of the night in safety, with much booty, victorious and rejoicing; no one having been hurt among them, excepting only one man, known as Ejiyema, son of Keli, who fell a martyr to the cause of religion in some part of the night (may God grant him His pardoning grace).

The Muslimīn then passed the night in the intention of observing the fast on the morrow. And when the day broke, the prince commanded his people to cut down the trees that were within the fortress; which they did, leaving not one. Many of the enemy were killed inside the fortress, more than could be counted, so that the stench of the slain and of the carcasses was very grievous to our people in our camp. The Sultan then commanded his troops to collect all the adult male captives of the misbelievers into one place, and when they were so collected, he ordered them to be slaughtered by his Kurdish servants, who performed his bidding, so that not one was left alive.

The Sultan then gave permission, by beat of drum, for the return homewards. He broke up his camp and led his troops from Emsikā after the news and the fame of all the particulars relating to this expedition had been spread abroad and reported, concerning what had happened to those rebellious, sinful, obstinate, and perverse wretches, so that tidings of the same reached the four points of the compass, and the dwellers far and near became acquainted with the facts, and recognized the prowess of our active monarch. The inhabitants of every quarter came out to meet him, bringing many presents, and giving assurances of respect and submission, wherever they were, and wherever they dwelt, when he destroyed that fortress which had resisted every one before him, and when he gained possession thereof, and made it as

the dust scattered abroad. And they who brought these presents, did not cease to pay tribute, according to ancient custom, every year, and they added obedience to obedience, while the Muslimin who were present had full cognizance of every thing which we have here related.

This is what has come to our knowledge in relation to the town of Emsikā and our great Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim (to whom may God grant honour now and hereafter). We are not able to relate the whole of his acts towards them, by reason of our deficiencies and incapacity, as we have previously expressed to you, so as not to require repetition, which breeds repugnance.

When our Sultan, the Commander of the believers, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali (may God grant him honour now and hereafter), took his departure from Emsikā with his forces, he took the road towards the west, in the design of coming upon his enemies in Ghamerkū. He did not, however, divulge this to the army, but confined it within his own breast, the supposition of the Muslimin being that he intended to return to Burnū, without any different idea occurring to them. They advanced then in this fashion; and when they had passed by Menderā, he marched secretly in a moonless night with his forces, at a rapid pace, arriving thus at Behwā of Ghamerkū, taking the inhabitants by surprise. He put them to the sword, making their families captive, without its being known how many were killed of the enemy or were made captive of their families, unless it be by God (whose name be glorified).

According to what we have heard from persons whose word can be relied on, no one had ever made war on Ghamerkū, neither the Sultan of Yemtiḥ, nor the Sultan of Magheyh, nor the Sultan of Menderā, nor any one else, openly; but only such as held that people a secret grudge and acted by stealth in the hope of taking them unawares. If it was known that they had obtained intelligence of the design, and were prepared, the invader would retire in flight to the place from whence he had come, so that they should not overtake him and subject him to harm. These were the relations subsisting between the whole race of Sultans and the country of Ghamerkū. In fact, according to what has been related to us concerning them, the falcon never pounces upon the chicks of the hens of Ghamerkū, from fear of the great numbers of the inhabitants, and of their poisoned arrows; thus have we heard people express their opinions.

When our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim (may God grant him honour now and hereafter), halted in the forenoon with the forces of the

Muslimin, they took no notice of the valorous bearing and great numbers of the inhabitants of Ghamerkū, but they napped there, passed the night there, and marched on the second day in search of them, without a single one of them being seen, those misbelievers having taken to flight in order to save their lives, leaving empty and desert their populous towns.

The Sultan then marched in the direction of the country of Merghi,¹ swerving therefrom afterwards, and taking the direction of Burnū, until he reached the great city of Burni-Delā, when the whole army dispersed to their homes in joy and hilarity with the spoils and booty which they had been able to acquire.

CHAPTER III.

EXPEDITION AGAINST KŪNU, OR KUNUH.

It is proper that we should now enter upon the relation of the affairs of the country of Kūnu, with the permission of Him who, when He wills a matter, and says: "Be," it is.

When the inhabitants of the country of Kunuh² intended to deceive, circumvent, and act treacherously towards the land of Burnū, they invented a new thing which had not existed in the days of their fathers and forefathers of old; they built also in their country many fortresses; namely, one at the town of Kerzā, one at the town of Kelmésenh, a third at the town of Mejjiah, a fourth at the town of Ekluya, a fifth was the fortress called Dulūh, the sixth the fortress named Ewezākih, the seventh the fortress known as Ejyajiya, the eighth, as Sa'iyā, the ninth, the great fortress called Féléki or (Ghaléki), with others besides, the names of which are not known; also one of them was the castle called Key.

Upon this our Prince, the Commander of the believers, Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may God grant him honour here and hereafter), gave orders for the trees to be cut down in the country of Key. This was carried out with a firm intention and a singleness of purpose, as were those said fortresses demolished. It was brought about by reason of the evil design conceived by the inhabitants of Kunuh, of the wickedness they committed, when they imagined deceit against the land of Burnū, and built the

¹ Marghi?

² Variant.

fortresses mentioned above, and had made incursions into the land of Burnū, fleeing into the nearest of these their strongholds with what they had plundered from the Muslimīn, and secreting themselves with their booty before they could be reached by their pursuers from among the people of Burnū, who would then return without having come up with them. Such was the mode of their treachery in all the quarters of the Muslimīn, going to and fro between the two countries, without tiring and without intermission.

And when our great Sultan Idrīs the Pilgrim became aware of their evil deeds, their deceit, and the crookedness of their counsels, he imagined a salutary scheme for the demolition of the whole of their fortresses, upon which he consulted with his warriors, who approved the plan. He therefore commanded them to make themselves ready, and they made provision of axes, hatchets, and all kinds of instruments for cutting and demolishing; after which, they set out towards Kunuh, and the first of their acts there was the demolition of the fortress of Mejiya.

When the Sultan and the Muslimīn approached their country, they commenced a desultory kind of warfare against us with arrows and darts, which they discharged in great numbers, so that serious combats took place between them and the Muslimīn. After that the Sultan ordered the musketeers to fire a volley upon them all together, which was done with alacrity and in full obedience. This caused them to fall back from us in confusion, and at nightfall they fled into the desert, pursued by the Muslimīn warriors, who found much booty and many of the enemy who were weak and infirm. After securing their booty, our people returned to the fortress, and demolished it; so that Mejiya became as the surface of the ground and as an empty plain. And on their return they perceived within the precincts of the fortress many of the slain, both man and beast, lying about; and the Sultan gave orders to march onwards to some other fortress, giving the signal for moving by beat of drum. They therefore marched, and advanced against each of the fortresses, the names of which we have already given in a preceding page. They found the whole deserted, without a single inhabitant, who had dispersed in all directions so soon as news reached them of the fate of the town of Mejiya, and of what had happened to it at the hands of the Muslimīn. Our people set about demolishing those fortresses, and they utterly destroyed them, so that not one was left in the land of Kunuh.

Then were the Muslimīn, people of the country of Burnū, overwhelmed with joy and gladness, inasmuch as God (may His

name be glorified) had enabled them to destroy the remainder of those fortresses without fighting, without difficulty, without trouble. And there remained none of the new fortresses which had been called into existence in the view of treachery and for strategical considerations. On the contrary, they had all become like the dust raised into the air, or like yesterday, which is past and gone. The fortress of Delà alone remained; and there descended upon the people of Kunuh a deep grief and an intense sorrow, such that God only (may His name be glorified) knows and estimates, the Lord of praise, the God of Majesty. After this the people of Burnū carried several times military incursions into that country, one of which is known as the expedition of Mejefni.

This is what we had to say respecting our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī, and what happened between him and the inhabitants of Kunuh, according to what we had understood with our imperfect mind and bewildered intellect. May God grant him honour here and hereafter; He it is who hearkens unto our requests, and fulfils our petitions.

CHAPTER IV.

EXPEDITION AGAINST THE BERBERS CALLED TĒWĀRIK.

WE now proceed to relate what occurred between our Sultan and the Tewārik, who make war on the agriculturist, the depredators, the thieves, who act perfidiously towards the Muslimin, committing havoc in the land, and will not mend their ways, attacking them by night and by day, without intermission. We will also recount the method by which he proceeded to put a stop to their depredations, and to prevent their artifices, their stratagems, and their obstinate opposition, until he had cast them into the ditch of contrition, and given rest to the Muslimin under the shadow of ease and security.

Our Sultan Idris, the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may God grant him honour now and hereafter), led in person three military expeditions against the Tewārik; and his Lord (whose name be glorified) gave him power to slay his enemies, besides the expeditions of his chiefs, his leaders, and his people of the tribe of Kelewitih, and others; so that, after his expeditions, the tribe of the Berbers became submissive to him, and sought after his justice.

Of these three expeditions which we have named, the first is called the expedition of Siktela, or Butris; the second, the expedition of Denkir, or Terghifa; and the third, the expedition between the town of Ehir¹ and the town of Tādus.

When our Sultan went forth in full preparation for the expedition of Sektela, the inhabitants of that place took flight to the deserts, with their women, their children, and their property. The Sultan followed on their tracks, came up with them towards evening, a little before sunset, and put to death there nine persons of the chief among the combatants of renown. And according to the information given to us, these nine were of the boldest and most zealous among them, men who would not flee from any mortal creature, who swore so before God, that so long as they had life they would not go away. Thus was it related to us in the news brought by the people, both before and after their slaughter; but, in spite of this, God (whose name be glorified) struck them, in his grace and favour, with extreme fear and exceeding cowardice, when our Sultan marched against them; so that they fled from their country. This, however, helped them not; for they perished in one place, without a survivor, and they became like unto nine of the people of the prophet Sālih (upon whom be peace), of whom God (whose name be glorified) makes mention in His sacred Scripture. So, having slain these men, he took captive their women, their children, and their property, returning therewith to Burnū with his army in safety, laden with spoil, victorious; and rejoicing. The chieftains and the guards became rich with what they received from the Sultan out of the fifth of the spoils.

In his expedition against the inhabitants of Denkir, he marched against them, after the necessary preparations, from the town of Kuliya or Lestera, and reached their station in two days' journey; coming upon them in the day time, in the middle of the forenoon. They drew up in battle array with their bucklers, and the Muslimin charged them vigorously on both flanks, right and left, so that they broke through the middle of their line and penetrated to their rear; which, when the enemy saw it, caused them to fall into confusion and take to flight, pursued by the Muslim troops, who slew them and overthrew them with their weapons, until none could tell the amount of their slain, save God (whose name be glorified). No loss befell the Muslimin in this action except one man, a Turk, named 'Alī-Ghār, who was killed.

After this, the great Sultan Idrīs, the Pilgrim (may God grant

¹ Air ?

him honour now and hereafter), turned on one side, and halted for napping time about the period when the sun makes no change in the lengths of the shadows of objects, with the booty which had fallen into his hands, victorious and happy, successful and pleased. He divided this spoil in the midst of the enemy's country, as a taunt and insult to them, as a wound to their pride and arrogance, and in order to give more speedy cause of rejoicing to the hearts of the Muslimīn, as is recommended in passages of holy writ, to which it is needless to make more direct allusion, or to cite textually. The said our Sultan walked in the clear and manifest path indicated in scripture, in the acts of the prophet, and in the doctrines of the learned divines, in all that he did and in all that he undertook, never departing from one of those three guides, or forsaking them, or turning away his face from following them; this is known to those who were familiar with him, and is not unknown to the author, who was one of his contemporaries. Among other things indicative of his virtue may be cited the works which he instituted in his reign by building mosques of clay, whereas before his time they used to be constructed of reeds. He took this circumstance into his serious consideration, and became convinced that it would be preferable and more proper to effect this change; so he caused the whole of the mosques to be pulled down which had been built in the city of Burnū, and rebuilt them of clay, being persuaded as he was of the facilities which attend upon religion, as is declared in the scripture, and in the sayings of the prophet; neither did he seek in these actions for any other thing than the all-sufficient reward promised by the Lord of glory, whose name be extolled, and whose command be exalted.

Another of the circumstances which shed lustre on his reign, is the plan he carried into execution in the question of large-sized ships, with a view to advance the prosperity of the Muslimīn, and facilitate their passing the lakes and rivers in a short space of time and with complete ease and comfort. In days of yore, these ships consisted in trunks of trees hollowed out, such as are used by cattle-drovers as troughs for watering their cattle, and in the barbarous idiom of Burnū were named "*ghafrā*." Whenever the ruler of the day had occasion to pass a river or lake with his troops, he never could accomplish it under two or three days, even though the sailors and shipmen should exert themselves to the utmost of their strength and power. But when the days of the reign of our Sultan Idrīs the Pilgrim were come (may God grant him honour now and hereafter), he abandoned those trunks of trees, and con-

structed large-sized vessels, so that the people could cross the water with great celerity, while each single vessel, too, was capable of taking on board a great number of persons.

Again, he organized and prepared, for the better execution of the duties of his troops and gallant warriors, a number of camels both for riding and for carrying burthens, whether of provisions, or the necessaries of the soldiers, so that the fatigues of the march should be made lighter to them. In former days, the bulk of the cattle used in warfare and in military expeditions, was composed of oxen, geldings, mules, and donkeys, none of the people at that time making use of any great number of camels for carrying burdens. For this cause, they used to suffer very much on their march while crossing arid tracts where water was not to be found. When, therefore, our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali (may the Lord of goodness grant him honour now and hereafter), succeeded to the sovereignty, he ordered the chiefs, leaders, and guards, with all who had the ability, to buy camels, so as to diminish the inconveniences of marches and journeys, which are at best but varieties of vexation and trouble, as is stated in our standard moralists. This arrangement was one of the justest of his perceptions and one of the most advantageous of his plans and inventions; had it not been for this, it never would have been possible for the chieftains to march to the town of Agrem, or to the towns of the regions of Durkuh.

The wonderful actions of our Sultan, similar to these which we have related here, are very numerous; we have restricted ourselves to mentioning a few, omitting the greater part, so as not to be prolix and not to cause tediousness. People of judgment who are in possession of a knowledge of the facts, are cognizant of the truth that beyond this pool there is an extensive ocean.

We will return now to what remains to be related of our original theme, the wars against the Berbers, and proceed to mention that our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali, marched from the town of Etrebissa, of Kutussih, towards the country of the Berbers, in person, with his army, until he had passed beyond the town of Ghamarmah, using all diligence by the way, with determination and caution. He came up with the greater part of the inhabitants of Ehir¹ in extensive cornfields between the town of Tedessa and the town of Ehir; and he slew the men even to the last, so that not one of them escaped, except those whose fate was not yet sealed. He then turned back, and marched until he

¹ Air?

halted at the town of Zibedū, from whence he proceeded to the town of Sussūbāki¹, remaining there a few days, and returning from thence to the town of Muniyū,² and to the town of Kiliri, where also he remained a few days, and then returned to the country of Burnū, the whole of these events occurring in one and the same year.

However, the Tewārik people had come, before the occurrence of these events, with their assembly of the Telazz tribe and others, in great numbers, demanding of our Sultan that he should march out against them to battle. So when our Sultan heard of their assembling, he being then encamped in the town of Kessimbū, he refused to go out against them in person, by reason of his light estimation of them, and in order to show how trifling and despicable he considered them. He therefore kept quiet himself in that town, and appointed his chief Vezir Kursū, as Captain over the Muslim host, ordering him to go forth against them. The meeting of the two forces was immediate, for they and the Berbers met each other in the place called Aghalwa, the fires of war becoming kindled, and the Tewārik displaying against the Muslimin considerable firmness for a short time, after which they turned their faces and fled in disorder, pursued by the forces of the Muslimin, who slew great numbers of them. No one knows the number of those slain, save God alone (may His name be exalted), while none of the Muslimin were killed, excepting one servitor alone, whose name was Nasr, son of Seleki. The Muslimin took great quantities of spoil, consisting in camels, slaves, weapons of war, &c., with which they were exceedingly pleased. While they were yet staying in that spot with all these acquisitions, their Prince made his appearance among them, and found them triumphant and rejoicing.

After this, the Sultan commanded that every inhabitant of the country, whether of the tribe of Ketitih, or others, should make incursions against the lands of the Berbers, at all seasons, by night as well as by day, until they should depart from the dominions of Burnū, and go far away into the most distant wildernesses. So when the people heard these injunctions of the Sultan, they set, with all their might and main, about the execution thereof, by carrying on forays, against the Berbers, morning, noon, and night; so that, by reason of their multiplied expeditions they drove them out entirely, and expelled them to remote parts; insomuch that extreme misery and privation befell them and their property, and they were forced to beg that war should cease between them and

¹ Baki.

² Muniyō.

the Muslimin, never to happen again. Thus, by reason of their losing their pasture-grounds, and suffering various kinds of evil, they were brought to demand peace of the Sultan in the most humble and abject manner, in order that their cattle should not be totally destroyed, and they themselves perish in consequence. Peace was therefore concluded between him and them, and permission was granted to them to return to the parts of the country from which they had been driven. This course was adopted by the Sultan in compliance with what is inculcated in the Scripture, the word of which is truth and justice, and in reliance upon the God of all created beings. The Berber shepherds became thus obedient and submissive subjects of the Sultan, paying no attention to the lord of Ehir,¹ or caring anything about him; on the contrary, they contracted allegiance to the Sultan, and abandoned that of the lord of Ehir completely. This is what remains in our recollection of the events which occurred between our Sultan and the Berbers. From God (whose name be exalted) comes all success, and He it is who vouchsafes unto us our companions.

CHAPTER V.

EXPEDITIONS AGAINST THE RULER OF MERGHI,² AGAINST THE USURPER OF MENDERĀ,³ THE VARIOUS MARAUDING TRIBES OF GHIZIM,⁴ THE TRIBE OF TETĀLĀ, THE TOWNS OF KUSUR AND SEBELFUTUH, ELARIBA, GHAZEELIH, &C.

PASS we now on to the relation of what concerns the ruler of Merghi-Magheyh.⁵ The ruler of Merghi, who was named Edweh, had been accustomed to follow our Sultan in all his military expeditions, in the same manner as the chieftains of our land of Burnū. Upon this footing were we with him a certain inconsiderable time, after which he became refractory, and rebelled, showing a haughty and self-sufficient spirit, utterly refraining from following the Sultan. As often as the Sultan required his attendance, so often did he persevere in his refusal; whereupon the Sultan set out in quest of him, and marched to Kufsih, to the rocks called Hajar-Mitkul, and to those called Hajar-Humdi, where he found

¹ Air?

⁴ Ngussum?

² Marghi.

⁵ Wandala?

³ Molghoy?

the chief wife of the ruler, named Kumsu, and everything that she had with her of the nature of abundant stores of provisions. After that, the great King, Idris the Pilgrim, turned back again, having thus cut up the root of the plottings and designs of the ruler, and took up his abode in the ancient city. The ruler of Merghi then came to the city of Burni, and entered into the presence, and sat down opposite the Sultan in a kneeling position, and recumbent, casting earth upon his head with his two hands together, humbling himself and exhibiting signs of penitence.

Similar to this was what our Sultan did to the usurping prince of Menderā, when he drove out and dethroned his nephew, the son of his own brother, expelling him from the country. The dethroned and expelled prince came to our Sultan for shelter and protection, imploring aid and assistance against his uncle, the unjust one, who had stript him of his sovereignty, invested himself with the purple, and seated himself on the throne; this assistance being a carrying out of the last wishes of the father conveyed to our Sultan while he yet lived, and a performance of the same now that he was dead.

The source of this matter, according as we have been able to collect it from reliable narrations, was as follows: This dispossessed Prince of Menderā, who came to our Sultan praying for assistance, had been left by his father, while yet alive, under the protection of our Sultan, because he feared that, after his death, his brother, the son of his father, with his adherents, would humiliate the youth. This guardianship was accepted by our Sultan, and when the anticipated evil treatment of the youth occurred, and he applied to our Sultan for assistance, the monarch set out in person, after completing his preparatives, with his troops, and marched to the great town of Kirāwā; and when the inhabitants thereof saw the array of the Muslimīn approaching against them in broad daylight, they fled with the unjust usurper, their chief, to the great and extensive rocks which lie westward from Kirāwā, and ascended to the summit of the same, so that the army of the Muslimīn were not able to attack them, or even to come near them, by reason of their thus sheltering themselves. The Sultan returned, therefore, to his own city.

But, when a year had revolved and the following season was come, he set out again with his forces in search of the usurper and his party, whom he found on the summits of the same mountains as in the year preceding. Then it was that our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, conceived an admirable project, and resolved upon establishing

himself by the side of the mountain for a long space of time, so that the enemy should be made to feel the dire effects of famine and other sufferings. As soon as this project became evident to the besieged, they were terrified, and came down from the tops of the rocks to the plain, and presented themselves before him. His heart then relented and his wrath was appeased, when he saw that God had fulfilled his desire, and had increased unto him His favour and His manifold benefits. The Muslimin, too, were very much rejoiced at this success, and they restored the dispossessed Prince to the throne of his kingdom.

Behold, then, my brethren, what this Sultan, our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, did on this occasion; how he carried out the dying request of a misbeliever after his death. Remark also his actions in respect of the Muslimin, upon whom he bestows his munificence and his liberalities, equally upon all, without departing from what is just in the case of any one of them, or preferring one person over the others; on the contrary, he treats them all with equal goodness, so that none can calculate that such a one is more in favour with the prince than himself. These are the customs and the acts of our Sultan on all occasions and in every instance. May God establish his kingdom in his children and his children's children till the last trump shall sound, and grant him honour now and hereafter with joy and gladness as his companions.

We have already related in a former part of this work our Sultan's marching, during a single campaign, against several places in the country of Ghamerghū, and in the country of Merghi, the country of Kufsa, the country of Mitkuh, and the country of Humdih, in quest of the ruler of Merghi. He did this only in order to distress that prince in the place of his sojourn, and force him to return to himself when longer resistance would be productive of increased suffering. We have now, therefore, to relate the matter concerning Ghamzena and the inhabitants of the town of Makulma, with those of the town of Dūrā¹, of the tribe of Ghizim,² who, when the number of their horses was increased, used to transgress all bounds and commit all kinds of excesses, carrying their depredations into the surrounding parts, and their marauding expeditions against the peasantry. Such was their custom in days gone by, and latterly they made no distinction between one person and another, but included all in one common exposure to their inroads.

When the Commander of the believers learnt this state of things,

¹ Dora.

² Ngussum!

by the rumours spread abroad concerning their evil practices, he marched against them with his numerous forces fully equipped, at the season when their corn had attained its full height, and the troops cut down the whole of their corn, without sparing any; neither did the Sultan desist from devastating the whole of their crops, even the millet and the sesame, until several years had passed away in this manner, he often destroying in one day on his arrival in their country what it had cost them a long while to prepare and cultivate. There is no injury that can be inflicted upon an enemy that is more severely felt than the destruction of his cornfields; and for this reason the Sultan invented that mode of annoyance by the exercise of his great sagacity.

Among other things that have come to our knowledge in connection with this subject is the following:—The Vezir Kursū, son of Hārūn, went forth with a numerous and sufficient army against the town of Mukulum, which he surrounded in a moonless night, slaying many of the inhabitants, carrying others away captive, and returning home after having thus inflicted upon that place a calamity greater than can be described by the pen of the historian. In spite of this, however, they would not be admonished, even as they refused to be admonished by the yearly destruction of their means of sustenance, which was inflicted upon them without intermission and without fail. But when the Sultan increased unto them the calamities which it was customary with him to inflict, by adding thereto the terror of military expeditions against them, they humbled themselves and submitted, acknowledging themselves anew his obedient subjects, who contribute every year a fixed quantity of corn.

These are the various points of information which we have gathered up concerning the history of the above-mentioned people of Ghizim, as the facts occurred in the days of the reign of our Sovereign, Idris the Pilgrim, to whom may God grant honour now and hereafter, for to God belongs the granting of the means of all true success.

We shall now enter upon the relation of the occurrences which happened to the tribes of Ghizim, inhabitants of the west, and known by the name of Bīnāwa. According to information which we have obtained, the hostile tribe of Ghizim which goes by the name of Bīnāwa, is more relentless than the inhabitants of Ghamzena, than the inhabitants of Makulum, than the inhabitants of Daurā,¹ and others, by reason of their frequent intercourse with

¹ Dora or Dawra!

the Muslimin, and by reason of the inveteracy of their daring to commit depredations in the land; also from the fact that they are personally acquainted with the whole country, and have no need of spies and intelligencers. If they determine upon taking their midday nap or their night's repose in the vicinity of a village belonging to the Muslimin, they do so wherever they may chance to be, caring for nobody; when, on the other hand, they resolve to start from any place after having rested themselves from the heat of the day, or after a night's repose, whether in a body, or in scattered order, they call for their chief whom they have appointed over themselves to lead them to sin and wickedness, they make him accompany them, and they march with him through the land of Burnū.

According to what we have heard related on the subject of their doings in the time of the reign of the Sultan 'Abdu-'llāh, son of Dūnma, their chief, named Ghamrū, used to follow the tribe of Felātiyya, his troops forming part of their array, and they used to issue publicly and by day from the town of Ghamzā for the purpose of pillage, travelling towards the west, and afterwards return to that town without fear for the consequences. In those days, the King, sovereign of Burnū, used to live in the town of Kitlā, the governor of which was named Kuluyma-Dūna, son of Hārūn, who ruled at that time over the part which lies to the north of the sea (river?), while Fukūma-'Abdu-'llāh, son of Fukuma, governed the southern part as lieutenant for the Sultan. Each of these governors ruled his own district, but the Bināwa people cared not the least for either of them. They harassed the inhabitants of the land to such a degree that at last these latter dared not travel on the roads, and all communication was interrupted between Burnū and the town of Fāghih,¹ no person being able to journey from east to west, or in the contrary direction. When any one wished to travel in either of those directions, he was obliged to make a great circuit towards the north, and so gain in an indirect manner the place to which he was travelling. These were the circumstances to which travellers were exposed, whether merchants or others, and whether in small or in large bodies, so long as the excess of these depredations lasted on the part of the Bināwa people; there was no possibility for the Muslimin to travel by the high road, until the time came when our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, succeeded to the throne (may his Lord grant him honour, and facilitate unto him the objects of his endeavour).

¹ Fika?

When this prince succeeded to the supreme command over the kingdom of Burnū, very little time elapsed before the chief of the tribe, named Ghamrū, came and made his submission, and embraced the faith of Islām at his hands. After him, the individual named Nasr, and surnamed Bulut, embraced Islamism also, with a few of his family. The greater proportion of the Bināwa people would not, however, embrace the faith, because they were in fear of being made to feel the ill effects of their former misdemeanours and their recent evil acts. The above-mentioned Ghamrū, their chief, died not long after his conversion; but Nasr, surnamed Bulut, came to the chief Vezīr Kursū, and remained attached to his suite, as the good fruits of his conversion. Having thus been enrolled among the household and social circle of the Vezīr, he was consulted as to the best stratagem by which victory and success might be achieved over the Bināwa people, who continued to persist in their sin and rebellion. Now when he heard this address from the Vezīr, he was struck with amazement, and turning towards him, said: "How can you consult me on that point, who am of the tribe of Ghizim, and thou also art of the same? This matter is a trifle, a thing of no account, if God (whose name be exalted) so will it." So they agreed to go forth; and they went forth, the Vezīr and the aforementioned Nasr, and halted in a place where there were trees and plants. From thence they sent to collect the people of the tribe of Bināwa who were scattered over the plain occupied in committing depredations; and every one who came to them was made to swear true and sincere allegiance, taking his oath upon the sacred book in the usual form, so soon as his sincerity was attested by acts indicative of the same. In the case of those who were doubted, mildness and consideration were employed, until they entered the path of salvation. Such was the plan he put into operation in the case of this tribe, and from that time forth the whole of the inimical tribe of Bināwa abstained from the commission of sin and wickedness, even to the individual named Ferseskuh.¹ Righteousness and good conduct were exhibited by the whole of them, while some became champions of the faith, and others merchants, so that God (whose name be extolled) again made the roads safe between the east and the west, and every one was enabled to travel by the high road, without swerving therefrom, or having to make long and troublesome circuits. These circumstances are what we know of the matters relating to the tribe of Bināwa, as far as we are able to describe or to recollect them, God is our refuge, and a present help in trouble.

¹ Qy. Francisco

Among the most remarkable enterprises of our Sultan Idris the Pilgrim, was what he performed in the destruction of the four fortresses, or towns of Māwa, Agham, Bāni, and Ghajambanā,¹ each of which was strongly fortified, and inhabited by people of the tribe of Ghizim. These people acted rebelliously and obstinately, walking in the ways of perversity, wickedness, and exceeding mischief. They put their trust in two things; firstly, the great numbers of the men of their tribe who shot poisoned arrows; and lastly, the strength of their fortresses. These two things were their incentives to act rebelliously and as enemies, even as was the case in days of old with the misbelievers their predecessors, as is notorious to all who have eyes wherewith to see and behold.

Now, when our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may his Lord grant him honour), became aware of their rebellion and wickedness, he made up his mind to march to the town of Māwa after performing the prayer of the Feast² in the town of Mukulū. The reason why the prayer of the Feast was performed in that town, was that the Sultan had remained as long as God willed in the town of Kessimwa, marching from thence with his forces, and halting in the town of Ghayewā; when God caused the next morning to appear, he marched with his troops and halted at Kebluwā, and he continued journeying towards the south until he halted at Merkubā, where he passed two or three days. He then marched from thence and journeyed until he halted at the town of Disī, from whence he passed on to Mewā, where he halted, and then journeyed to the town of Ghaja-Ghajima; neither did he cease to advance until he reached the town of Fika, where he encamped. In this journey, the Sultan Idris the Pilgrim visited the natural curiosity of the waters called by the name of Jinjina, after passing beyond Fika. He returned from thence in the direction of Sedih, which place he reached in a few days, and led his troops against it. They found a great booty and a sufficiency of spoil; and from thence he led the troops towards the north, arriving at Dharā, Ebūlā, Ghamzana, and Mukulum. Here he encamped with his troops for the space of the month of Ramazān the great in worthiness, and remained in this town, organizing predatory and kidnapping excursions, until the month was finished, and the services of the Feast were performed. This is the reason why he performed the services of the Feast in that town.

Return we now to our original purpose of relating one of the

¹ Gujeba?

² Muhammedan festival immediately subsequent to the fast of Ramazan.

transactions of our Sultan with the tribe of Ghizim. So soon as our Sultan Idris the Pilgrim had performed the prayer of the Feast in that town, he tarried there no longer, but set out with his troops for the town of Māwa, after sending to Burnū whatever he had chanced to seize in the shape of booty. He travelled the whole of one day and halted on the plain, so that we reached the town of Māwa with him in the middle of the forenoon on the day following. And as soon as the tribe drew near to us from their fortress, they began at once to engage our troops in fight, without shewing any fear of us, by reason of their being in ignorance of our qualities, and of their firm reliance upon their fortress. Had they clearly known what sort of enterprises we were in the habit of carrying out, they would never have ventured out of their stronghold. So the Muslimin met them in the fight which they had commenced, and the two armies were mingled, our troops shooting at them with darts and arrows without intermission: and pressing them by showering missiles upon them without rest or interval. Our troops behaved with the firmness of fidelity, and our musketeers began to pour in their volleys upon them, firing altogether, paying no attention to their courage or fierceness. When the enemy perceived this, they fled in haste towards their fortress, pursued by our people, who surrounded the place on all sides; which, when the enemy became aware of it, caused them to falter and threw them into extreme perplexity, as they saw that the approach to their town was cut off, and that it was useless for them to turn their thoughts to escaping in any direction; for the flames of war raged fiercely around them, and all that were struck by a musket-ball fell straightway dead, even the cattle and the horses. Then the whole of their cattle broke loose, frightened and terrified; and all that came out of the fortress were seized by our men, and driven away to our own tents and huts as spoil and booty, neither did this state of things alter until the fortress was entirely stripped of its cattle. As to their women and young children, all who, through fear and cowardice, came out from the fortress, were taken possession of in the same manner as the cattle: while the men became divided into two classes, one of which was stationed at the gate of the fortress, or near it, or opposite to it, ready for war and battle, until they were slain with the musket-balls, in an instant, as though they had had poison given them to drink. How fearful then was the fight with muskets; for whoever was struck with one of the balls, was either wounded or killed, or had a limb broken. Thus perished every brave and courageous

man among them so soon as he stood forward; while the cowards and the vile slunk back to the rear, or hid themselves away, lest they should be perceived by the musketeers, and lest these should slay them as they had slain the men of courage. In this manner they waited for the advent of the darkness, with such of the women and children as remained, according to the sense of these lines of Ibn-Yākūt in his work on the subject of praise :

“ The brave among them tasted destruction ; their cowards
 “ Found the hill-country and the plains too narrow for flight.”

These watchers for the darkening of night remained in the fortress until the night set in, when they might get away.

As for the Muslimin, when they expressed a wish to turn back and disperse to their several tents, the great leader Idris, son of Jum'ā, prevented them, the important post of the Vezirate being then held by his elder brother, Kursū, son of Hārūn. The troops gave ear, therefore, to the words of the leader, and conformed thereto, remaining near the fortress, and watching for the egress of the fugitives. Accordingly, when the end of the evening twilight was come, they emerged from the fortress by one gate, with their women and children, and took to flight; which circumstance being perceived by the Muslimin forces, they furiously attacked the fugitives, and charged them with one accord. Upon this, the men hastened their speed in flight, abandoning the women and children to captivity and to the hand of the spoiler. Our people ceased not from making them prisoners and capturing them so long as any remained, very few escaping. Joy and gladness prevailed in our camp to a very great degree, and this success was taken as a fortunate omen for the reduction of the remaining fortresses. They then returned to their tents by night, and passed the rest of the hours of darkness in mirth and glee.

In the morning the Sultan gave the signal to march by the beat of drum. Upon which they set forth, and took the direction of the town of Agham, reaching it before the hour of noon. On the instant of the Sultan's alighting from his horse, he commanded the trumpeter, named Mūlema-Nasr, to call the troops together by a blast of his instrument. This was done immediately, and all the men, cavalry, and shieldsmen, flocked together in haste and in great numbers, without fail and without delay, the sick and infirm alone remaining behind who were quite unable to go forth to battle. So the Muslimin arrayed themselves under their Sultan against the fortress in which the enemy was to be found, and they disposed

their forces without loss of time. On the other hand, the misbelievers of Agham, when they saw the Muslimin, shut themselves up in their fortress, with the intention of doing battle, taking up their arms, and opposing us by throwing poisoned arrows. Our musketeers then commenced to ply them with their balls, and broke their ranks by firing into them; upon which they took to their heels and fled in disorder, the greater part of them being soon put to death, though some of them escaped by flight through the great extent of the fortress of Agham. As for the women and children, they were made captives by the Muslimin as spoil, and the same things happened here as had occurred at Māwa. Our people, laden with booty, returned to their camping ground before sunset, in gladness of heart; neither did they suffer so much fatigue here as they had experienced before Māwa by being occupied in the work of pillage during the night; on the contrary they slept peaceably the whole time.

In the morning the signal was given to march, by the command being issued for the great drum to be beat, and our people made haste to set out. Our Sultan marched with his troops towards the west, and continued to advance until he had reached the town of Bānī before the hour of noon. But when the misbelievers, the inhabitants of the town, perceived the halting of the Muslimin against them, they refused to come forth out of their stronghold to fight, lest they should be exposed to the same evils as the people of Māwa when they came forth to drive away our troops who were advancing against them, but were not able to drive them away, being vanquished themselves and driven back in confusion and in shame. The people of Bānī were like the wise man who takes example by the experience of others; so they remained within their fortress and stood to their arms, even their poisoned arrows. When this became known to the Muslimin, they prepared themselves for the assault, and arrayed the shieldsmen and musketeers in due order, marching against the fortress, and approaching close to it. The enemy thereupon set to work most assiduously at shooting their arrows, which resembled swarms of locusts spread abroad, or clouds which pour out rain; the Muslimin, however, paid no attention to these, relying upon the assistance usually granted to themselves, and on the favour generally shown to their Sultan, by the Lord most merciful, and encouraged by the success they had already met with in their attack upon the two captured fortresses of the town of Māwa and the town of Agham.

As for the chieftain and leader Idrīs, son of Hārūn, we saw no

one exert himself in this undertaking against the fortress of Bāni like he did. Among other things, he it was who drew up the order of our forces; in doing which, he placed the shieldsmen in the front, and the musketeers in their rear, he himself, and the horsemen who accompanied him, taking up a position on a line with the musketeers, or somewhat further back, facing towards the fortress, and paying no attention to any other direction, so that no injury should befall his forces. So our people continued to advance, and the polytheists to hold their fortress. But when these heathen became sorely pressed, they retired into a narrow and circumscribed part of the fortress, where no one could see them, and hid themselves there with their weapons, in expectation of the approach of night, that they might then make their escape, as the inhabitants of Māwa had done. Thereupon, the great leader Idrīs, son of Hārūn, took up his station with his troops in expectation of events, according as he had done in the case of the fortress of Māwa; so that as the evil-doers had contemplated making use of the night as a veil for their flight and a means of escape, so also the Muslimīn arranged a stratagem opposed to their wiles; this consisted in waiting for them to come out of their stronghold, and then attacking them. The two parties remained, therefore, in this state of expectancy until the shades of night fell; the heathen then prepared themselves for flight, with such of their women and children as had hitherto escaped being made captives. The Muslimīn were, however, made aware of their design by their movements and by the hum of voices in the midst of the fortress. They prepared themselves, therefore, accordingly, with sincere zeal and unmixed fervour; and when the enemy came forth in great numbers, a mixed multitude of men and women, the Muslimīn attacked them with great fury and most destructive vigour, so that they dispersed the crowd, and broke up any kind of organization that was left among them, pursuing them to a great distance, putting to death their males, and taking captive their families. Of the misbelievers very few escaped, and such only whose hour was not yet come, but whom God (may His name be glorified) led into safety by His almighty power and by His divine will, as was determined of old in His omniscience. As for the women and children, they became our prey and booty; and of the Muslimīn none were slain excepting one man named Bermūma, son of 'Abdu-'llāh, of the followers of Māghūmih-Mūlīma, who fell a martyr to his faith on that night as he was pursuing the enemy. May the mercy of God be upon him.

When morning dawned with the divine permission and the almighty command, the Sultan Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī (may God grant him honour in this world and hereafter), gave orders for marching, according to his well-known custom, by beat of drums, and took the direction towards the fortress of 'Ajambenā.¹ So he mounted, and the whole of the people mounted; and he journeyed on the road to that country with them, and arrived there. It was a strong fortress, larger than the two former, the fortress of the town of Māwa and the fortress of the town of Bānī. The town of Agham is of very great extent, but in point of the great numbers of stockades and the strength of its fortress, 'Ajambenā was superior to Agham, if God so will. Verily God knows best.

Now when our Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim (may God grant him honour in this world and the next), reached the town of 'Ajambenā with his troops, and disposed himself to fight against the people and combat with them, God, out of His favour and mercy, cast among the inhabitants a violent dissension, so that they became divided into two parties, by reason of the disunion of two great men, the speech of each of whom contradicted the speech of the other at the council, since the one wished submission to be made to the Sultan without fighting or dispute, and the other recommended a vigorous resistance. These two grandees separated themselves with their partisans; those who desired to submit quitted the town with their wives and children, retiring to a place distant from the fortress, and remaining there; whereas those who were stubborn and refused to submit, stayed behind in the fortress with the intention of defending it by arms.

According to what we heard related at the time, the fighting men of the enemy polluted their bodies and limbs with dung and blood as a preventative against musket wounds; and in this state they entered upon the business of fighting with our people from within the fortress. Our commander-in-chief disposed our army of shields-men and musketeers after the former method and the preceding plan; and we saw no one among the Muslimīn who strove that day with an energy equal to the ardour of our commander-in-chief. More was done in point of severity of fighting in this fortress than had occurred in any of the three former places, Māwa, Agham, or Bānī, and the misbelievers of Ghajambenā fancied in their minds that they were superior in point of fighting to the inhabitants of Māwa, those of Agham, or those of Bānī, and reckoned that their arrows were more to be dreaded than the

¹ Ghajambenā.

arrows of those people. It was their sin and wickedness which led them into this erroneous self-sufficiency; otherwise they never would have resolved to fight against our Sultan, after the inhabitants of their town had divided themselves into two parties. For this reason also, our commander added valour to valour and energy to energy, taking greater pains than had been taken before against the other fortresses. So the enemy stood in a row in the midst of the fortress, shooting their arrows and their darts against the Muslimin. The commander then ordered our shieldsmen to close their shields together and remain motionless, and the musketeers to fire on the misbelievers, and press them, and redouble their efforts to do them harm, without any sloth or supineness, lack or back-sliding. Thus did our youthful heroes resolutely engage in the combat without caring for repose.

According to what I had formerly heard, the chief man among the enemy, he who stood over the heads of the polytheists, wished to act perfidiously towards our chief commander, Idris, son of Hārūn, and to play him a trick, keeping him only in view. For this reason he projected weapons against no one, looking intently to find an opportunity and an unguarded moment against the chief commander, when he might shoot him; this he did out of presumptuous esteem for himself, of complacency for his own valour and excellence, even as was known to our chief commander, of his own discernment, the same as the things that were immediately around him, or even better. But how great a difference existed between the conditions of the two, and how great a dissimilarity between the two things compared! For indeed God assisted the Vezir, and the hosts of the enemy were utterly discomfited. Their chief was taken prisoner, and ordered to be put to death by our Sultan; and the Muslimin met with great booty, they were made glad with a signal favour, and with universal joy.

These occurrences were noised abroad and were rumoured among the possessors of all the castles of the people of the country of Ghukayh, and of the people of the country of Ketākum,¹ with others besides these of the tribe of Ghizim and others. So they sent in their submission, and became obedient to our Sultan, without one stubborn or refractory person. The Sultan, therefore, returned with his forces to the great city, victorious and rejoicing. He did not remain, however, after this in the land of Burnū more than a year or two before he set out on the pilgrimage to the holy house of God. May God propitiously accept his pious endeavour, and crown

¹ Katagum.

him with exceeding glory both here and hereafter. This we ask in the name of our prince and lord, Muhammed, and his posterity; may God look favourably upon him and grant him peace.

It is now fitting that we should turn to the recital of what occurred between the tribe of Tetālā and our Sultan Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali (may the Lord give him honour here and hereafter). It is this. The tribe of Tetālā were a people of pride and self-sufficiency. The whole of their weapons consisted in white javelins, neither did they hold in esteem any other kind of weapon. They fancied themselves the most cunning and artful among the misbelievers, since their custom was to attack people when asleep or when unawares, rushing upon them to commit depredations. There were none other among the misbelievers who acted in a manner similar to the evil deeds of this tribe. And, according to what I have heard of their condition, the supreme occasion of glorying among them was to have killed a virtuous man; so that, when they assembled to eat, if any one should be among them who had not killed a Muslim, they would drive him away from the feast, and give him his portion of it apart, that he might eat it by himself and not share with them. Such was their practice from of old, until the days came of our Sultan Idris 'the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali (may his Lord grant him honour, and his Master give him his reward).

So when he succeeded to the kingdom by the grace of God, His mercy and goodness, he looked and considered as to how he could abolish and put a stop to their iniquity; and for this purpose he originated many plans by his great intelligence and his sharp invention. One of these consisted in constructing stations near them and in multiplying the improvements of the Muslim in their vicinity so as to make them suffer more and more from dearth. Another consisted in carrying warlike incursions into their country very often, both in winter and in summer, so that they should find no tranquillity in their homes. A third was to destroy their crops in the autumn; and a fourth was the exciting the tribe of Ketekuh¹ to assail them with ships unawares, killing some of them and taking others prisoners. These things were carried on so, until that tribe had become very much reduced in strength; whereas, up to the time of our Sultan they used to penetrate into the land of Burnū and traverse it far and wide until they had reached the country of Maghiburm (or Mafiburm), and the country of Maba. In his days they were prevented from doing so; neither were they able to travel a single day's journey in the midst of the land of Burnū,

¹ Kotoko?

from the fear in which they stood of the Sultan who administered the affairs of the MuslimIn and the extermination of infidels, lest he should find them in the uncultivated parts of the country and destroy them. For this reason they left off their excursions away from home, and kept close to the places bordering upon the river Sād; so that where the river retired towards the direction of the east, they advanced towards it and built themselves houses close to it for the safety of their lives, taking the river to be their most effectual castle.

Afterwards the Commander of the believers (may God eternise his power and his supremacy) marched one day with his forces to the country of Sabih, and came up with them there, and made a great slaughter of them. And again, another day he marched to the country of Kensa-Kuskuh, coming up with them in the forenoon, and making a still greater carnage among them, besides carrying away captives. Among other things that we recollect is this, that when the Sultan, the Pilgrim, left off cutting down the crops of the tribe of Ghizim of the inhabitants of Ghamzana, he divided his forces into two parts, appointing Kayghama-Muhammed-Akdā as commander, and giving into his charge the more numerous body of the two. He ordered him to march to the south until he should arrive in the country of Taghalaghā (or Tafalafā) of the tribe of Ghamā, on a Sunday; fixing that special day for him, which he was not to overstep, but was to reach the appointed place on that day. He himself marched with all those under him, officers and men, in a northerly direction, until he reached the town of Tewāta in the forenoon of the Sunday, even as Kayghama, with his officers, reached the town of Taghalaghā on the Sunday; and they killed all the enemies of those two towns, so that the number of the slain in both could not be counted, unless by God Most High. And God caused great fear to fall upon the hearts of those among the enemy whom He had determined to save, and scandalous cowardice, so that they fled in a body. After this, they increased the number of their emigrations in the direction of the sea of Thad,¹ for fear of their lives at all times. And also, the whole country of the enemy, the tribe of Tetālā, remained in constant trepidation, until some of their villages became desolate and their green fields withered.

Again, when the Sultan, the Commander of the believers, Idrīs the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali (may God eternise his dominion and set up his superiority), alighted one day at the town of Marah, there came unto him the lord of Maghti (or Mefti) with many ships, each of

¹ Lake Tchad!

them having on board many of the enemy in confinement; these he caused to be brought forth to the Muslim army, where they were all put to death without one being left. He then gave in charge to his servant the chamberlain, named Sekā, to look after the enemy of the country of Kensa-Kuskuh, and to remain with the army in their vicinity as warden of the marches. They remained so a short time, and each side was on its guard against the other, keeping a sharp look-out for its sting and its horn. And when the time of dark nights came round, the chamberlain ordered the troops to march against the enemy by night when they should be asleep, in order that God Most High might make manifest in respect to the two belligerents the thing which He had predetermined in His providence. The troops agreed with him in opinion upon this point in every respect. A good son is he who resembles his father in his qualities and in his actions, even as a good servant is he who resembles his master; a want of resemblance in either of the two classes is a shame. So they supplied themselves with every necessary and set out against Kensa-Kuskuh by night, and when they had arrived in its vicinity they abstained from attacking the inhabitants, waiting for them to arise from their slumbers at dawn of day. When, therefore, the inhabitants awoke in utter ignorance of the vicinity of the Muslim forces to their town, and arose as usual, the chamberlain and his followers fell upon them fiercely, without hesitation or weakness; and they began to kill the misbelievers with every kind of weapon, lances, or anything else. The natives fled at once, without offering the slightest resistance, towards the sea of Thad, hastening to save their lives; and the Muslimin, with their leader, the chamberlain, followed on their track, killing the men, and making captives of the women and children. On that day, but few of the misbelievers escaped, with God's permission, and by His will. After this, their fires were extinguished and their houses became a ruin and a howling wilderness, even as had occurred to the people of the town of Sebih. They also dispersed themselves in the countries of the misbelievers to the south, in the same manner that the inhabitants of Sebih had been scattered towards the south also; so there remains now in those two towns no place of repose. And when news of these two expeditions spread abroad and reached the different stations of the Tetālā, they disliked the idea of remaining there, and deserted them, emigrating to the shores of the sea of Thād, where they established their dwellings, out of fear of the incursions of the Muslimin; which fear did not cease to hold

possession of them until they became struck with abjectness and depression, all their former courage and daring having forsaken them in respect to their oppression and tyranny and depredations committed during their incursions into the land of Burnū, from whence they were thus cast forth, taking warning by what had befallen others among the misbelievers. They fortified themselves through two things; had it not been for which, they would have been utterly destroyed. One of these was their forsaking the practice of entering far into the borders of the land of Burnū as they had been accustomed to do in by-gone days; and the second, their forsaking their original country and towns which their forefathers had built, and retreating to the shores of the sea of Thad, as we have already narrated.

An enemy possessed of understanding is more profitable than a friend who is stupid, as was said by Salih, son of 'Abdu-'l-Kadūs, in his book of proverbs, and which he gave the substance of in the following metrical lines;—

“ Man collects together, and time disposes;
 He ceases not to patch, but affairs will get out of order;
 If he is at enmity with a man of understanding, it is better
 Than if he have a friend who is a fool.”

Such is really the case. And everything that our Sultan instituted, or contrived, in his kingdom during his reign, by means of his judgment and sagacity in connection with the tribe of Tetālā, and others of his various enemies, was merely in obedience to the book of his Lord, which contains the details of every judicial case, or to the acts of His apostle (upon whom be the most excellent salutations and greetings), or to the doctrines of the ancient fathers of the faith, who deduced the cases from their principles or comprehensive roots and the ripe fruit of these latter, who were either the companions of the prophet, or their immediate successors, or, after those, the orthodox founders of the different orthodox sects (upon each of whom may the favour of God Most High repose).

Proceed we now with the narration of the history of the tribe of Tetālā. Our Sultan Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Alī, so soon as he had conquered the inhabitants of the town of Tewāta, marched with his army towards the east, and alighted at the town of Biskudi, where the enemy carried out a plundering expedition one night against the Muslimīn by surprise, and fell upon several people; but the Sultan took no notice of what they thus undertook

of themselves. He afterwards returned to the town of Tewāta, alighted there, and remained there a short while, when he set out again towards Ghafadikusī, where also he remained a short time. The whole of this was comprised in a single expedition, which was undertaken by the Sultan merely to abase them and to demolish their power.

This tribe of Tetālā had formerly increased the building of houses between the north and the south in length; and the extent of the breadth thereof was between the town of Sebih and the town of Ganh, or Maghumī. The inhabitants of that country became totally extinguished through them; since some utterly abandoned their dwellings and established themselves in another district; some emigrated to the borders of the sea; others became single, unaccompanied by a wife; others lost their sons and their property; and others again neglected their affairs out of fear, and were exposed to all sorts of privations, as we have formerly explained.

The Commander of the believers built, therefore, many stations and houses in forts over against the misbelievers, so as to prevent their incursions into the territories of the faithful by night. And in the midst of every fort he stationed numerous troops, capable of doing war with the enemy singly and independently. So, when the Sultan had originated this device, the incursions of the enemy towards the Muslimīn became diminished; and with their incursions, the various kinds of their ancient depredations were put a stop to, and they gave up all hope of being able to renew them, fearing for their own lives and satisfied with the safety of the same more than with any other source of gratification. And mankind wondered with an extreme astonishment on account of the tribe of Tetālā, how meek they had become after so much perversity; how humble, after so much pride; and how they continued to live in fear, early and late. May God never cause their fear and their abjectness to cease, for ever and ever, so long as periods of time shall recur. This is all we know of their matters and their history, as to what happened between them and our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, son of Ali, whom God preserve. God is our portion, and He is the best of referees. He is also the support of his humble and necessitous servant.

Now we are not aware that true warfare ever broke out between the Sultan, the Commander of the believers, the Vicegerent of the Lord of the universe, and the tribes of Mekir,¹ excepting with the inhabitants of the town of Kusur, and those of the town of Sebel-

¹ Merki?

futuh. As to the lord of Kusur, when he sallied forth to fight with our Sultan, he was taken alive, and our Sultan gained a great victory by his capture. Again, when the lord of Sebelfutuh and his subjects became more exceedingly perverse, rebellious, and tyrannical in their strongholds, and intelligence thereof reached the Sultan, the commander of Islamism, he turned aside out of his road towards them with his forces, as he was going by and beyond, to Menderā'. When he had reached their stronghold, they made themselves ready for battle, and came forth, and drew up in array. But, when the Prince began to engage them, God smote their hearts with severe dread, and shameful cowardice. So they fell into disorder and fled from their city. Many of these polytheists were slain, and their women and children were made captives, while the MuslimIn obtained a complete triumph, taking much booty. They rejoiced exceedingly at this circumstance, accepting it as an auspicious omen for the expedition on which they had originally set out. They sent the whole of the booty they had found back to the city of Burnū, so as not to be troubled and fatigued with it on the march, since their expedition was not completed in that place. On the contrary, they passed on and journeyed towards the tribe of Menderā, which they came up with in a short time and vanquished, as they had overcome Sebelfutuh, with the assistance and succour of God Most High. In the fight with these two towns the MuslimIn did not suffer the slightest injury, and they returned home loaded with booty, victorious, and rejoicing.

CONCLUSION.

GENERAL CHARACTER AND ILLUSTRATIVE ANECDOTES OF THE SULTAN.

Be admonished, O my brethren, and give ear, O company of friends; for verily our Sultan, Idris the Pilgrim, whose triumph may God perpetuate, and whose affairs may He facilitate, is endowed by God Most High with many qualities of various virtues. For instance, whatever he pronounces in speaking, be it much or be it little, he always accomplishes it; whatever he promises, he performs; whatever he undertakes, he fulfils; he never holds rancorous feelings against a just man after becoming acquainted with his condition; when he gives to any person, he never taunts that person with it;

¹ Wandala?

he never extols himself at the expense of any created being ; he restricts his resolutions to the commands of God, and resigns his affairs to the decrees of Providence, be they sweet, or be they bitter ; he never laments when misfortune or sufferings overtake him ; he never leaves an oppressor alive when he gains intelligence of his oppression ; he on no account ever prefers this life to the future state ; he knows that this world will pass away and be annihilated, as also that the future state will last and be enduring ; he does not postpone the service of prayer beyond its appointed time, even when he is journeying in haste ; he is beneficent in his gifts, compassionate towards orphans, widows, and the necessitous ; he devotes all the powers of his mind and body to the amelioration of his kingdom, and does not approve of any injury happening thereto ; whenever he undertakes to do any virtuous or kind action, he invariably fulfils the same, as he evinced in the case of the Prince of Menderā, who came to him with supplications after his uncle had expelled him from his states and usurped them himself ; he exerted himself to replace that prince on the throne of his kingdom, never ceasing to go to and fro between Menderā and Burnū until he had driven out the usurping prince, the unjust one, from the sovereignty in discomfiture, and installed in his room the one who had applied to him for succour, establishing him in his kingdom without a competitor or an antagonist, and carrying back to Burnū the usurping tyrant, so that he should not again perpetrate the like of his former injustice. After which, God facilitated for the Prince of Menderā every one of his affairs, so that all those of the leaders who had been abettors of hatred and disaffection against him became obedient to his rule, such as Tekmā and others, and they acted as good and dutiful subjects.

One of the most astonishing traits of the political character of our Sultan, Idrīs the Pilgrim, (whom God exalt,) consists in this : One day he started from the town on the twenty-seventh of Ramazān, journeying towards the west. He alighted at the town of Mār for the morning's nap, and after performing his noon and afternoon devotions, he mounted again and took a southerly direction, travelling quickly, and this in the time of the rains. When he approached the town of Diskem, on his road, there fell an abundant shower of heavy rain, so that indications were perceived among the army of a desire to enter that town ; but he passed it without taking any notice of it, or of the rain that was pouring down upon him. The people continued to suffer from this severe fall of water until their clothes and their saddles were wet

through, and until they reached the town of Dag hazeyh in the evening, when the end of fast-time was arrived at, and the people broke their fast without delay by reason of their great thirst. After that, he and they all mounted again and proceeded until they passed the sea (river?) from the town of Ghazā; they travelled all night at a rapid pace until morning, and arrived in the forenoon at the town of Elariba. Then, plundering parties were sent out right and left (north and south), who were reassembled again at noon-time, after taking some captives; and they then proceeded towards Ghanemū, where they alighted before the close of twilight, the people passing the night very uncomfortably. They could only perform their evening devotions by great exertion, and it was not possible for the chief priest Ahmed, son of Safiyya, upon that night to perform the long special prayers of Ramazān with his Sultan by reason of his fatigue and utter prostration. Verily travel is an infliction. Again, when the Lord, whose praises be manifest, caused the morrow to appear, the Commander of the believers, Idris the Pilgrim, mounted, and his troops mounted, and travelled in the direction of the great city of Burni, but did not reach it until they had seen the new moon of Shewwal on the road, and they entered it between sunset and the time of night prayer, and slept there, and that night the drums beat to announce the feast of the conclusion of the month of fasting.

Another of those traits is the astonishing journey he performed when he went to the town of Ghazezlih. It was in this wise. After he had turned back from the town of 'Ajama of the land of Merghi, our Sultan journeyed towards Ghazezlih, and alighted at the town of Zumbem at the time of the moon's fulness on the fourteenth day from the end of the month. And when the night was come, the Sultan mounted with his troops and proceeded in the direction intended, taking as their guide on the road for the night Salih, son of Kewseni. He therefore preceded the army, advancing at an easy pace without hurrying or using any particular diligence, and we shall never forget that journey of his in that night, if God Most High so ordain. So when he had reached with them the tall tree that is nigh to the road, and which is commonly known by the name of Ghiltawa, he stood still on the spot for a long time, so that the misbelievers should not hear the movement of the army near them. And when the time of dawn was come, the guide went forward with the troops, after they had prepared themselves for battle by putting on their armour and the armour of their horses; and they attacked the polytheists, who were thus taken by sur-

prise, as no news had reached them of the approach of the Muslimin, nor had they seen a single horseman of our warriors. The misbelievers were, therefore, immediately thrown into confusion; some of them escaped from being killed because their time was not yet come, and others were put to death, by reason of their hour having arrived. As to the women and children, they were met with in great numbers, and the bulk of the children of the offenders were found newly circumcised and could not escape. After this, the Sultan returned towards Zimbem, and he arrived with his troops at the place of the river.

Again, there is his return from one of his warlike expeditions towards the west, which was as follows. When he had reached the town of Jeba and passed the night there, he left it by night, and travelled towards the south on the road coming from the tribe of Ghizim, and left the road to Burnū, until he had reached the land of the miscreants, where he killed some, and made captive some others, after which he turned his horse's head in the direction of Burnū.

There are many other anecdotes on this point of a like nature; we have not told one quarter or one-fifth of them; indeed we are unequal to the task, and our forgetfulness is apparent and confessed. There is his journey in quest of the man named Duna, son of Ammetu-'llāh, lord of the town of Bulūgha, until his servant, named Dhirsu-'d-dubbi (*grinding-tooth of the bear*), killed him; after which, the whole of his followers were made captives. Our mistakes, too, are many and evident. Yes, yes, yes. Certain doctors of law have established a distinction between mistakes and forgetting. Forgetting is the losing the recollection of a thing after we have once known it, and not recalling it to mind as a thing that exists; but a mistake is the putting one thing for another not of the same kind. This we have seen set forth as a curious piece of science in a certain book. It belongs to God alone richly to endow his creatures.

“ There is no end to Thy praise when duly set forth,
But to words there is an end and a conclusion.”

And unto God does everything return. He is our trust, and the best we can depend upon.

O men! If you know for certain any of the matters of our Sultan relating to his military expeditions, to his wars, and to his border conflicts, and you have them recorded, make them known unto us in their details, of how and how much; for we have not a

comprehensive knowledge of all of them. May our Lord, whose praises be sung, and whose name be glorified, strengthen him, and finally establish him in the implanting of the requirements of religion and of worldly affairs, with all grace and benevolence, without any lack of power or zeal. May God make his reward perfect both here and hereafter; for He never allows the reward of the good to be lost to them.

We have formerly learnt from the book called "the Canons of the Law" that the number of military expeditions of our Prince and Lord Muhammed (upon whom be salutations and the favour of God) is distinctly declared to be twenty-seven, beginning with that of Weddana, and ending with that of Tebük, which was undertaken in summer time. We have also read in the book styled the "Hemistichs of Lovers," that 'Ali, son of Ebu Tālib, did not remain behind absent from any one of these expeditions, excepting alone that of Tebük, when he stayed away by command of the Prophet (upon whom be salutations and greetings), acting as his lieutenant during his absence. May God be pleased with him.

A particular feature of the policy of our Sultan Idris the Pilgrim, son of 'Ali, Commander of the believers (whom may his Lord exalt, and upon whom, with his children, may his Principal multiply the manifestations of favour), was, that he devoted himself to combating the enemies of the faith, and protecting the borders of the land of the faithful, desiring thereby to obtain the approbation of God Most High, and hoping to merit His reward, since he never preferred the world to the future state. And when he contemplated any single undertaking, of whatsoever kind, he first considered the matter well and pondered over it. If he found it in the Scripture, or in the acts of the Prophet, or the jurisprudence of the ancient and leading fathers of the faith, he would perform it cheerfully and willingly; whereas, in case they did not contain the matter, he would abandon it, and altogether turn his back upon it. These two rules were his constant guide of conduct, as is well known to all who frequented his society.

Again, whenever, being on an expedition, he heard any fresh intelligence respecting the enemy, either by night or by day, he would never loiter where he was; but, on the contrary, would set out first and foremost, before any one else, in the direction respecting which he had learnt the intelligence, leaving his people to follow him. And this, in order that no harm should happen to his people or to himself from any cause whatever, through his own want of circumspection and energy in the direction of affairs.

Withal, he put his trust in his Lord in all his undertakings, well knowing and perfectly perceiving that nothing comes to pass without being ordered by God Most High. For this reason he was courageous and bold, persevering in every matter that required his attention; never flagging, or desisting, or turning aside, or being diverted, until he had accomplished the thing he had undertaken. Such was his character: such was his practice.

Among the gifts bestowed upon him by God Most High were those of grandeur and majesty of presence, and none of those subject to him, whether great or small, felt their minds at peace excepting when he was in sight. If he moved a large army in any direction, and remained behind himself with a few troops, his chiefs and leaders were never pleased, though they might be never so numerous and superior to those who were with him. And again, if he resolved on going on an expedition himself with a small force in any direction, leaving the bulk of his troops behind in immense numbers, they were never happy in remaining among the people without him, and their minds were never at ease in either case until God Most High had re-united them with him. May God assist him with a great succour. This we know for certain, from having often witnessed the fact. What then are you all in respect to the affair of the Thursday in the town of Sim, in which our people suffered so much fear, until God sent a great favour upon them, and a mighty assistance, with great joy, by his coming to join them. It was thus: the Sultan 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, son of 'Abdu-'l-Jelil, of the tribe of Bulāla, came to Sim, as a champion for his country, with a few followers of his own tribe, and matters went rather sorely with our people, their eyes waxing dim and their hearts coming into their throats. But when the Commander of the believers, Idris the Pilgrim, arrived in the forenoon of the Thursday, and found them in that state, the enemy were routed and fled like asses flying from a lion, or like sheep fleeing from wolves in chase, by merely catching sight of his dust in the east rising up into the air. And the Sultan pursued them (may God ennoble all that is connected with him, and magnify his triumphs to the utmost!) until the horses and camels were worn out with fatigue, as the poet has thus expressed it:

“ I pressed forward with them by night until their horses were tired,
And until their chargers had no need to be tied with halters.”

He returned about the time of noon. And had it not been that God shed his favour upon the men of Burnū by his approach, and

helped them by his marching, as He assisted the forces of our Prince and Lord, our Prophet and Apostle, Muhammed the Chosen One (upon whom be salutations and greetings!) on the day of Seysebān, by the presence of his son-in-law and next of kin, the lion, our Prince and Lord, 'Alī, son of Ebu-Tālib (upon whom be the approbation of God Most High!), verily much suffering would have ensued. So the minds of the men of Burnū were set at ease, and their eyes brightened, and they congratulated one another, and hugged and embraced each other on the Thursday, the Friday, and the Saturday. He covered them with the veils of joy and overpowered them with all kinds of happiness, until they returned in the direction of Burnū. This is what we had to relate concerning the affair of the Thursday, which happened to be the third of the month Shawwāl. It is an instance of the imposing grandeur of our Sultan, notwithstanding that he left behind him many more horsemen than he took with him, as was the case with the baggage horses. As for the shieldsmen, he had left the whole of them behind, so that none of them were with him. This is an instance of his government and leadership which God Most High bestowed upon him on the day when he gave him being. May God recompense the poet Ibnu-Dureyd for what he had written in his poem so celebrated and which begins with the words: "O gazelle."

" And mankind, a thousand of them are but as one,
And one as a thousand, if (God's) command so require."

There is no obstacle when He gives, and no giver when He withholds, no establisher when He takes away, no expeller when He establishes; to Him belong universal favour and all-encircling beneficence; He distinguishes with His mercy whomsoever He pleases, and in His hand is the power of commanding and of bringing into existence. May God increase the majesty of our Sultan, his eminence, his goodness, his victories, his glory, his rank, his justice, and his opulence, for the sake of our Prince and Lord Muhammed (upon whom be the salutations of God and greetings!), of his chosen companions, their disciples, and the followers of those disciples; for the sake of Gabriel, Michael, Isra'īl, and 'Azrā'īl; of all the prophets and apostles (upon all of whom be the blessing and salutations of God!). Amen. Amen. Amen.

This is what we have become acquainted with respecting the state and doings of our Sultan, and his acts during the time of his sovereignty, which we have related after twelve years since his reign passed away. We will relate at a future time the occurrences

which took place between him and the people of Kānim, if God so will; for God is He who enables us to do what is right, and to Him must all things be referred.

Here ends this memoir, with the help of God (whose name be glorified!) and his sustaining grace, in the forenoon of Sunday, the fifteenth day of God's sacred month of Rejeb the solitary, the respected, one of the months of the year 1269,¹ after the emigration of him upon whom be salutations and greetings, and honour, and majesty, and reverence and greatness.

NOTE.

DR. BARTH, in his "Travels and Discoveries in Africa," informs us that the manuscript from which the foregoing translations in Articles V and VIII were made, was a copy sent to the British Government by the "late Vizier of Bórnu, Haj Beshir ben Tirab."

From the researches of this learned and successful African traveller, as given in the "Chronological Table of the History of Bórnu," in the Appendix to his second volume, we learn further, that the Sultan Idris, the subject of these memoirs, reigned thirty-three years, from A.D. 1571 to 1603, and that the two parts of the memoir together give the events of the first twelve years of his reign; the only thing as yet known respecting the rest of his history being the fact that he was killed on the field of battle by a handbill thrown at him by a pagan concealed in a tree while waging war with a tribe on the borders of Bagirmi, perhaps the Ghamergú, and was buried in Aláwo, a place in the district of Ujé, touched upon in the Doctor's journey to Adamawa.

From this passage it appears that the paragraph (in p. 257) translated "which we have related after twelve years since his reign passed away," should have been rendered "which we have related after twelve years of his reign have passed away." The paragraph in the original is given below;² it is somewhat faulty at

¹ 23rd April, 1853.

² وهذا ما وقفنا عليه من احوال سلطاننا و وقائعه (وقائع) ازمان امارته اتينا به بعد ان مضى من دولته اثنا عشر عاما و سنذكر بعد ما وقع بينه و بين اهل كانم ان شاء الله تعالى

best. The name Himīr, which occurs several times as that of a remote ancestor of the Sultan, should be written and pronounced Himyer or Himyar, though not so accented in the original. Lūy, son of Ghālib (p. 45), should be Luwayy.

Dr. Barth gives the orthography "Njimiye" as the equivalent for what the manuscript calls sometimes Jīm, and sometimes Sīm, the capital of Kānim. It appears also that the description of the eastern frontier of that kingdom (as mentioned in Art. V, p. 44), should be "reached unto the country of Dhūy, and unto the Nile, countries of the Rif (sea-shore)."¹

Dr. Barth has made much use of this historical work in his Chronology of Bórnu, and holds it in high esteem. The translation, made in the year 1854 by desire of the Foreign Office, before Dr. Barth's return from Africa, when read in connexion with the learned doctor's narrative of his travels, will doubtless acquire therefrom increased interest in the eyes of those who follow up any of the various questions included in that of African discovery.

¹ و نقل الينا من اخبار المشايخ العارفين ان غاية مملكتهم من
الجهة الشرقية الى البلد ضوى و الى النيل من بلاد الريف

ART. IX.—*Assyrian Texts Translated.* By H. F. TALBOT, Esq.

THE NAKSHI RUSTAM INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS.

THIS important inscription was published by Westergaard, in the "Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord," Copenhagen, 1844, where it is given in Plate XVIII.

Since that time, however, a more perfect copy has been obtained by Tasker, and from these materials Sir H. Rawlinson has given a restoration of nearly the whole inscription, accompanied by a Latin translation,¹ and the transcription of the Cuneiform into Roman characters.

The first part of this translation (which I believe was made some years ago for the Royal Asiatic Society) is quite satisfactory; but the latter part is imperfect.

It appears that Darius there addresses some advice or commands to the Persians who shall live after him in future times; but what he says is rather vague and obscure.

It is, however, extremely probable that all parts of this fine inscription contained clear and weighty statements; if we could only arrive at the true decipherment of them. I have, therefore, ventured in the following pages to offer a new translation of the latter part of the inscription; the general meaning of which, in my opinion, is nearly as follows. Darius, after giving a long list of all the nations whom he had conquered, then says, "that he had reduced them to such entire obedience and subjection to his will that they did whatever he told them, and even desired whatever he desired." He then (as is the case in many other of the Cuneiform inscriptions)² addresses the king who may reign after

¹ I have not seen any other translation of this interesting inscription.

² See, for instance, line 105 of the Behistun inscription, where Darius says: "Mannu atta, sar, sha billa arki-ya." *Whoever thou art, O king, who shalt reign after me!* and then he goes on to give him advice.

him, thus: "If ever these nations whom I have subdued shall once more rise up in rebellion against thee, then, O king, my successor on my royal throne, I charge thee to assemble the whole force of Persia, and instantly to crush the rebels."

This appears to me to be a sentence not unworthy of the rude barbaric vigour of Darius and his times. Whether it is the true meaning must be left to the judgment of others. I shall offer a careful analysis of the text, showing the grounds upon which my version is founded.

THE INSCRIPTION TRANSCRIBED INTO ROMAN CHARACTERS.

Iim rabu Ahurmasda, sha shamie u kiti ibnu, u nishi ibnu: sha tuki ana nishi iddinnu: sha ana Darius sar sha sarin madut ibnu. Anaku Darius sar rabu: sar sarin: sar mati sha kharkhar lishan gabbi: sar ebgar rukta rabita: pal Vastasp Akhamanisia: Parsaya tur Parsaya.

Darius sar igabbi: as itzmi sha Ahurmasda, anniti mati sha anaku ashbat, elat mat Parsu. Anaku as eli sun sha aldaku mandatta anassi inassun: sha lapani-ya-attua iggabun-assun ana apus-su, ibbussua, u dinat attua ikaslua.

Madaya: Nuvaki: Partu: Arimu: Bakhtar: Sukdu: Khuvarisma: Zaranga: Arukhattia: Satgusu: Kandari: Indu: Nammirri Humurga: Nammirri Karbul suti-sun raphua: Babel: Ashur: Arabi: Mitsur: Hurasda: Katpadukka: Saparda: Yavanu mati gimirri, sha akhi ulluya sha marrata bit iskuduru: Yavanu shanutu, sha maginat as reshda-sun nasu: Buda: Kusu: Issidu: Karsa.

Darius sar igabbi: Ahurmasda ki imuru mati anniti nikra-ma, "Ana sibbi akhati summukhu arki anaku iddannu assinati." Va anaku as-eli-sin ana sarut eptivas. Anni anaku sar, as itzmi sha Ahurmasda, anaku as ashri-sin valtisib sinati. Va sha anaku agabu, assinat ibbussua: tsibbu sha anaku tsibaka.

Va ki tagabbu umma: "mati annita ikishua ikitashua sha Darius sar zir sun amuru, sha guza attua naka, as sibbi tamasi sunuta. As tamisu yim ildakka sha amilu Parsaya ashmar-su ruku yallik. As tamisu yim ildakka shanshu Parsaya ruku valtu bit-su shalut inasu's.

Darius sar igabbi: haga gabbi sha atasu, as itzmi sha Ahurmasda etibus. Ahurmasda itsi idannu adi-eli-sha haga ebus. Anaku Ahurmasda litzur anni lapani mimma bishi, u ana biti-ya, u ana mati-ya: haga anaku ana Ahurmasda etirik: Ahurmasda liddinnu!

Ansh! sha Ahurmasda wetahama as-eli-ka la imarru's.

TRANSLATION.

The Chief of the gods is Oromasdes, who created heaven and earth, and created mankind: who gave to men their various fortunes: who made Darius the king of many kings. I am Darius, the great king of kings, the king of the nations of every various tongue: the king of the wide and vast world: the son of Hystaspes the Achæmenian: a Persian, the son of a Persian.

Darius the king says: These are the nations, besides Persia, which I reigned over by the help of Oromasdes. And whatever tribute I commanded them to bring, they brought it. And whatever from me was told to them to do, they did so. And all my laws they observed. Media: Susia: Parthia: *Aria?*: Bactria: Sogdia: Chorasmia: Zarangia: Arachotia: Sattagydia: Kandaria: India: the Namri: the Amurgi: the Namri who wear gloves on their hands: Babylonia: Assyria: Arabia: Egypt: Armenia: Cappadocia: Saparda: the Ionians of all the tribes who have fixed their dwellings on the hither side of the sea: the other Ionians who wear helmets on their heads: the Budians: the Kust: the and the

Darius the king says: Oromasdes, when he had compelled these nations to serve him, spoke to me and said: "Now that I have given them to thee, let them be united to thee as if they were thy brothers!"

And I became king over them. And so long as I have been their king, by the help of Oromasdes, I have kept them all firmly in their places. And whatever I told them to do, that they did. And they desired whatever I myself desired.

O my successor on my royal throne! when in future times thou shalt speak thus: "Lo! the nations have risen in rebellion. whose ancestors were conquered by Darius the king!"

Then shalt thou instantly restrain them by force. In that day, each one of thy subjects who carries the long Persian spear, shall advance with it! In that day, each one of thy subjects shall draw his long Persian scymitar from its scabbard!

Darius the king says: All this that I have done, by the power of Oromasdes I did it. Oromasdes gave me help when I did these things. May Oromasdes protect me from everything that is evil, both my family and my country. This thing I have prayed to Oromasdes, and may Oromasdes grant it!

O man!¹ whatever thing Oromasdes has commanded, let it not be neglected by thee!²

ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT.

I will now give each line with an interlinear Latin translation of it. It will then be seen clearly to what words of the text the explanatory notes apply.

1. Ilim rabu Ahurmasda, sha shamie u kiti ibnu:
Deorum summus Oromasdes qui cælum et terram creavit
2. sha nishi ibnu: sha tuki^a ana nishi iddinu: sha ana
*qui homines creavit qui fortunam
cujusque hominibus dedit qui*
3. Dariaus sar sha sarin madut ibnu. Anaku
Darium regem regum multorum creavit. Ego sum
4. Dariaus sar rabu, sar sarin, sar mati
Darius rex summus rex regum rex regionum
5. sha kharkhar lishan gabbi, sar ebgar^b rukta rabita
diversarum linguarum omnium rex terræ longæ(et) vastæ
6. pal^c Vastaspa Akhamanisia: Parsaya tur Parsaya.
filius Hystaspis Achæmenii Persicus filius Persici

^a *tuki*. A great many conjectures have been offered respecting this unknown word. Some have translated "qui vitam hominibus dedit," but this differs too little in meaning from the preceding phrase "qui homines creavit." Others

¹ The king here apparently speaks again to his successor.

² There is one more line, which has become illegible.

render it "who hath given food to men." And many other things might be suggested.

But if we consider the *sequence of ideas* we shall see that they are :—

1. Ormuzd is the greatest of the gods.
2. He created Heaven and Earth.
3. He created Men.
4. All their various fortunes are dependent on his will.
5. And he has willed that Darius should be king of the world.

Thus there is nothing superfluous in this solemn exordium, as the mention of "food" would assuredly be.

Tuki much resembles the Greek word ΤΥΧΗ. I am in doubt whether the resemblance is accidental or not. There is some difficulty in supposing that this Greek word could be adopted into the Assyrian language; but, on the other hand, there had been intercourse between the two nations long before the age of Darius.

^b *ebgar*. The second sign in this word denotes *gar* in the Achæmænian inscriptions. It differs in form from that employed in the Khorsabad and other inscriptions of the earlier age. *Ebgar*, like the Latin *terra*, has a wide extent of meaning; from the world itself, or *orbis terrarum*, down to a handful of earth or dust. The Hebrew word corresponding is *ephar* עֶפְרָא which means (1) earth, dust, or clay; (2) terra, orbis terrarum, the World: as in Job xix. 25, and several other places (see Gen. 785).¹

^c *Pal* or *Pol* (filius), is often written *Aphu*.

7. Darius sar igabbi: as itzmi^a sha
Darius rex dicit in potentiâ
8. Ahurmazda, anniti mati sha anaku ashbat,^b elat^c
Oromasdis hæ sunt regiones quibus ego imperavi præter
9. matu Parsu. Anaku as-cli-sun sha aldaku^d mandatta anassi^e
terram Persidem. Ego illis quod jussi tributum afferre
10. inassun:^f sha lapani-ya-attua iggabu-assun ana apus-su
afferebant quod à me ipso dictum fuit illis ad-faciendum-id
11. ibbussua, u dinat attua ikhaslua.^g
faciebant et leges meas observabant

^a *itzmi*, the oblique case of *itzm*, or *itzum*, which is the Hebrew עִצְמוֹ *itzum*, robor (Gen. 788); therefore, *as itzmi* signifies "in the strength," or "by the help," of Oromasdea.

^b *ashbat*. 1st person singular from the verb *shebet*, to reign or govern. So

¹ I may remind the reader that the edition of Gesenius's Hebrew Lexicon referred to is the Latin edition, Leipsic, 1833.

in Hebrew שֵׁבֶט *shebt*, or *shept*, is a king's sceptre. Gesenius says, and it is manifest, that this is cognate with the Greek word σκηπτρον.

° *elat*, besides or beyond; from the preposition *eli*, beyond.

° *aldaku* seems related to the common verb *altakan*, I commanded or appointed.

° *anassi*, to bring; from נָשָׂא *nasa*, which Gesenius, p. 690, renders in Latin *attulit*, *apportavit*, and in German *bringen*.

° *inassun*, they brought; 3rd person plural preterite of the same verb.

° *ikhasua*. This verb is unknown to me; I take it, as well as the translation, *observabant*, from Rawlinson's transcription.

12. Madaya: Nuvaki: Partu: Arimu: Bakhtar: Sukdu: Khuvarisma:
Media Susia Parthia Aria Bactria Sogdia Chorasmia

13. Zaranga: Arukhattia:° Satgusu: Kandari:°
Zarangia Arachotia Sattagydia Candaria

14. Indu: Nammirri Humurga: Nammirri° karbul suti-sun raphua:°
India Namri dicti Amurgii

15. Babel: Ashur: Arabi:

° *Arukhattia* may mean "the Rocky Mountains." *Ar* (which would be *Ar* before a guttural) is the Hebrew אֶרֶץ a mountain (so in Greek ορος). *Ar* occurs frequently in the inscriptions in the names of mountainous localities. Armenia (called in Scripture *Minni*) is probably *Ar-minni*, meaning the mountains of Minni.

khattiti signifies *broken rocks* in the inscription of Bellino, from Heb. כְּרִית *fregit*, of which the primitive form is כָּת or *khat*. Hence *Aru-khatti* may be the rocky mountains."

° *Kandari* I would identify with the modern Candahar.

° The *Namri* are frequently mentioned. I suspect that the word originally merely meant "highlanders," and was therefore applied to various tribes, not necessarily of the same stock. Gesenius says that *umra* was an ancient obsolete term for a *mountain*, and thence he derives the name of the Amorites of Palestine. *Namar* in the inscriptions sometimes seems to signify a *hill*.

° In ancient times the different races of men had widely different modes of dress. But generally the same dress was worn by the whole nation; therefore foreigners often called them by a name descriptive of their dress, ignoring the true or native name of the country. Thus we find a tribe called by the Greeks Μελαγχλαίται, or *Black Cloaks*, and they are still called by the Turks the *karakalpak*, which has the same meaning. Sir G. Wilkinson found among the ruins of Thebes a sculptured procession of foreigners bearing gifts, and among these the Bebo, an Asiatic people, were represented as bringing, among other things, a tribute of *gloves*; showing that they were a people inhabiting a cold country, and that the article was somewhat unusual, and was accounted curious (see Wilkinson's Thebes, p. 158). In our inscription the *Namri* are described as *karbul suti-sun raphua*, an obscure phrase. First I think that *raphua* must represent the Heb.

verb *rapha* (רָפָה) to sew (Gen. 945), which is obviously the same as the Greek verb *ραπτειν*, to sew; whence *ραφή*, a seam; *ραφίς*, a needle, &c. The sense then is, that the Namri *sewed something together*. And they did this *suit-sun*, "for their hands." Hence I conjecture that *karbul* must mean *skins*, or something of that sort. I do not find this word in Hebrew, but in Chaldee *kalpa* means *leather* (Buxtorf, p. 2049). In Turkish *kabuk* is a *covering*, also a crust or rind. But these terms are not sufficiently near to the word in the text, which must therefore be left for future enquiry.

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16. Mitsur: Hurasda: Katpadukka: Saparda: Yavanu
Egyptus Armenia Cappadocia Saparda Iones
17. gimirri,^a sha akhi^b ulluya sha marrata bit iskuduru:
omnes qui in litore citeriore maris domum incolunt^c
18. Yavanu shanutu, sha maginat^d as reshdu-sun nasu: Buda:
Iones alii qui galeas in capite suo portant Buda
19. Kusu: Issidu: Karsa.
Kusu Issidu Karsa

^a *gimirri*, Hebrew גִּמִּיר *gimir*, whole, entire, complete.

^b *akhi*, juxtà (fluvium vel mare); ripa fluminis; litus maris. It is frequent in the inscriptions.

^c *iskuduru*, hitherto taken for the name of some nation, appears to me to be a verb in the 3rd person plural, meaning *they inhabit*. קִדְדוּר *kidur* is *to inhabit*; also the inner part of a house, &c. קִדְדוּרֵי תִמָּן *kiduri teman*, the habitations of the South, Job ix. 9 (see Gen. 321). This verb in the *sha*, or causative conjugation, would be *skudur*, to make or build a habitation.

^d *maginat*, helmets. This is a very interesting passage. It is the plural of the Hebrew word *maginna* מַגִּנָּה any kind of defensive armour (see Gen. 544). This comes from מָגָן *magan*, armour; whence מִגְּשָׁאֵי מָגָן *aish magan*, vir armatus. And this is from the root מָגַן *gan*, redupl. מָגָן *ganan*, to cover and protect. The strong cap or helmet which the Greeks used for a protection for the head, was called by them *κυνη*. This has been erroneously derived from *κυων*, and consequently affirmed to have been made of dog skin, although Homer says, *παγχαλκος κυνη*. But there is very little doubt that *κυνη* was an Eastern word, a mere variation of the Hebrew מָגָן *gan*, or *gun*, to protect. So the English word *hat* meant originally a covering or protection. This will be evident, if we consider the German *hut*, which has both meanings. A curious illustration of this is seen in the German word *finger hut* (a thimble), literally a *finger-hat*, a cap or protection for the finger.

20. Darius sar igabbi: Ahurmasda ki^a imuru^b mati
Darius rex dicit Oromasdes quando subjugavit regiones
 anniti nikra-ma^c
has dixit mihi
21. ana sibbi akhati^d summukhu,^e arki anaku iddannu assiniti.
in loco fratrum tene firmiter postquam ego dedi(tibi) eas.
22. Va anaku as-eli-sin ana sarut eptivas.^f Anni^g anaku sar,
et ego super eas regnavi. Quamdiu ego rex fui
 as itzmi-
in potentia
23. Ahurmasda anaku as ashri-sin valtisib^h sinati. Va sha
Oromasdis ego in locis suis firmiter tenui eas Et quod
24. anaku agabu, assinat ibbusua: tsibbuⁱ sha anaku tsibaka.^j
ego dixi eae fecerunt: voluerunt quod ego volui.

^a *ki*, when; so in line 25.

^b *imuru*. 3rd person preterite, from the verb *amar*, אָמַר subjectit, servum fecit (Gen. 779). The original meaning of this Hebrew verb was *to bind*.

^c *nikra-ma*, said to me. *Nikra* is a kind of *niphal* form of Hebrew *kara*, קָרָא to call, or speak aloud; which verb is usually employed when gods speak to men. *Nikra-ma*, he said to me; like *iddina-ma*, he gave to me; *surka-ma*, grant to me! &c.

^d Plural form, from Hebrew אָחַי *akh*, a brother.

^e *summukhu*, he joined! he united! from Hebrew *semek* שָׁמַק cohesit, conjunctus fuit (Gen. 717). Adjective, *semuk* שֶׁמֶק *firmus*. And parties allied by treaty, are called, שְׂמֻכִּי *semuki* in Hebrew.

^f *eptivas*; a doubtful word. *Sarut ebus*, he reigned (literally *regnum fecit*), is a common phrase. This, with the verb in another conjugation, might become *sarut eptivas*.

^g *Anni* (adverb), *quamdiu*. This is the Hebrew אָן *an*, otherwise אָנָּה *anak*, *quamdiu*, so long as, ever since (see Gen. 78).

^h *valtisib* is one of the conjugations of the verb *sib*, to place, otherwise *asib*. Likewise *sib* and *asib* are substantives, meaning *a place*. In Hebrew, the verb is שָׁבַע *collocare*, in loco suo ponere, &c.; whence שִׁבְעָה *domicilium*.

ⁱ *tsibbu*, they wished. From Chaldee *tsiba* צָבָא to wish; whence substantive, *tsibu* צָבָו a wish (Gen. 852). In another inscription, Darius says of these same nations: *tsibbu sha anaku bilemi ashtunussun*: THEY WISHED that I should enact laws for them."

^j *tsibaka*, I wished. This grammatical form seems peculiar to the Assyrian. Thus from *kabitta* or *kapta*, strong, we have *kaptaka*, "I am strong;" and there are many other examples of this form.

25. Va ki^a tagabbu umma: "mati annita ikishua^b
Et cum dixeris ita "regiones hæ pugnante (et)
ikitashua^c
bellum gerunt (mecum)

26. sha Darius sar zir (.....) sun amuru:^d sha guza attua
quas Darius rex stirpem patrum eorum subjugavit" throni mei

27. naka,^e as sibbi tamasik^f sunuta.
rex illicò firmâ manu illas
prehendes

^a ki, quando; as in line 20.

^b *ikishua*, "they have struck a blow;" 3rd person plural, preterite of *nakash* נקש (Ges. 688). The initial N of verbs is usually dropped; as from *nassik*, to kiss, comes *issiku*, they kissed. From *natan*, to give, *attan*, I gave, &c. The same change is very frequent in Hebrew. But the reading *ikishua* is not very certain. In Westergaard's copy the first sign is >|<| This probably should be altered to >|<|Σ or *ik*.

^c *ikitashua*, "they have fought a battle;" 3rd person plural preterite of *katash* קתש to fight (see Gesenius and Schaaf, p. 287, who renders it *contendit, certavit, bellum gessit*).

^d *amuru*, subjugavit; from Hebrew נרמ *servum facere*, subjugare. This verb has already occurred in line 20.

^e *naka*, is an old Persian word for a king; perhaps related to the Greek *αναξ*, *avaktos*; as the old word *ner*, a man, is to *avnp*; *nam* in Persian (*nomen* in Latin) to *ονομα*, &c.

^f *tamasik*, thou shalt seize, coerce, or restrain; 2nd person future, from Heb. *masik* משק cepit, prehendit (Ges. 627).

28. As tamisu yim^a ildakka^b sha amilu^c Parsaya
in die illo unusquisque gentis tuæ qui gestat Persicam
ashmar-su^d ruku yallik.^e As tamisu
hastam suam longam prodibit. In die illo

29 yim ildakka shanshu^f Parsaya ruku valtu bit-su^g
unusquisque gentis tuæ ensem Persicum longum e vaginâ suâ
shalut^h inasu's.ⁱ
extractum portabit

^a *yim* or *gim*, every one. The same as the Hebrew דן (see Ges. 216), e.g. *gim kol*, every one; *gim shanim*, each of the two.

^b *ildak-ka*, thy people; literally "thy children." For *ilda-ka*, by accentuating the final syllable. From *ild* יל a child, also a young man; here it probably means a young man of military age. All the youth of Persia are summoned to the defence of the empire.

* *amilu*, Hebrew מיל *amil*, to carry something that is heavy or laborious, to exercise it strenuously, &c. The sign preceding the word *amilu* is, I think, a mistake for *sha* (who).

^d *ashmar*, a spear. This is a most important word, and one which throws the greatest light on the whole sense of this inscription. Fortunately we have decisive proof that such is the meaning. For in the Museum of the Louvre, at Paris, there is a sculptured hunting scene, representing king Ashur-bani-pal seizing a lion by the ear and piercing him with his spear; and the inscription says "as *ASHMAR* eda suti-ya, assilik zukhar su:" with my *SPEAR* in my hand I destroyed his life.

As this curious inscription is a short one, I have added the whole of it as an Appendix to the present paper. It is important to observe that the cuneiform sign prefixed to *Parsaya* does not here mean "a man." It is merely the customary gentile sign, indicating that *Parsaya* is a proper name of a nation. If a Persian horse were spoken of, the same sign would be prefixed to *Parsaya*.

• *Yallik*, future of Hebrew הלך *halek*, to advance.

^f *shansh*, a scymitar. A very ancient and widely diffused word. The old Egyptians said *shopsh* (see the hieroglyphics). It was the same in Coptic. Other ancient nations seem to have pronounced it shafah, shamah, shansh. Afterwards it became *shafshir* שפסר in Chaldee and Syriac, but *shamshir* شمشیر in Persian. The additional syllable *shir*, is doubtless the Assyrian *shir*, longus vel magnus. So in Gaelic, the claymore is derived from *clay* (a sword, *glaise* in French); and *more*, great. The Greeks mentioned it as a kind of oriental sword, and call it by its native name, *σαμψιρα*,—see Schaaf, p. 393, respecting these words.

This is the word which appears to me to occur in the text. It will be observed that where the Persian *spear* is spoken of, the adjective *Parsaya* is preceded by the *gentile* sign; but here, where the *sword* is spoken of, it is preceded by two such signs. The explanation of this is, that the first of these signs does not belong to the adjective *Parsaya* at all, but is the final syllable of the preceding word. Its value is *ansh*. When it stands alone, it signifies "a man;" in Heb. *ansh* אִישׁ (Gen. 81). Therefore, the word for a *sword* is composed of two signs, *sha* and *ansh*; together *shansh*.

^g *bit-su*, its dwelling-place; its house. But the dwelling-place of a sword is its scabbard.

^h *shakut*, drawn out. Participle of Hebrew שלח *shala*, to draw out. The verbs שלל and נשל *nashal* (whose future is *ishal* ישל), are nearly related to the first-mentioned one. Gesenius renders them all by the Latin *extrahit*.

ⁱ *inasu's* for *inasu-su* (an usual form of contraction), *portabil eum*; from נשן *portare*, a verb in very common use. But the reading is very uncertain, the word being partly destroyed on the stone. Perhaps it should be read *imasu's*, "*extrahet eum*," from משה *masah*, *extrahit* (Gen. 698).

30. Darius sar igabbi: haga gabbi sha atasu,^a as itzmi sha
Darius rex dicit hoc omne quod feci in potentia

31. Ahurmasda etibus. Ahurmasda itsi idannu
Oromasdis feci Oromasdes robur dedit

32. adi-eli-sha^b haga . ebus. Anaku Ahurmasda litzur anni
quando hoc feci Me Oromasdes protegat
33. lapani mimma^c bishi,^d u ana biti-ya, u ana mati-ya.
à quocunque malo et domum meam et patriam meam
Haga anaku
Hoc ego
34. Ana Ahurmasda etirik:^e Ahurmasda liddinnu!
Oromasdem precor Oromasdes concedat
35. Ansh! sha Ahurmasda wetahama, as-eli-ka la imarru's!
O Homo quod Oromasdes jubet à te ne negligatur

^a *ataru*, I have made, is the T conjugation of *asaħ* 𐎠𐎵𐎶 to make.

^b *adi-eli-sha*, means "when." See the Behistun inscription, line 109 :—
. . . . itti-ya iturus ADI-ELI-SHA anaku ana Gumati "Only these men
were with me WHEN I killed Gomates." I may here remark that this verb, *iturua*,
has not yet been explained. It signifies *they remained* (with me): from 𐎠𐎵𐎶
itur, to remain. Gesenius, p. 456, renders it *remansit* : relictus est.

^c *mimma*, anything. This word is written in many various ways: e.g.,
manma, &c.

^d *bish*, evil; a very common word in Syriac. Is it not possible that the Latin
vitium may descend from a common root with this Syriac word?

^e *etirik*. This reading is uncertain. It may be *etirish*. The Cuneiform signs
𐎠𐎵𐎶 *ish*, and 𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎠𐎶 *ka*, are frequently confused together in this and the
other Achæmenian inscriptions. There is a slight difference between them, the
ends of the first two wedges being prolonged in *ka*, so as to be seen between the
last two wedges. But when from lapse of time or careless writing this becomes
obliterated, the signs coincide and the true reading must be determined from the
context.

APPENDIX.

INSCRIPTION OF ASHUR-BANI-PAL,

Preserved at Paris.

IN the Museum of the Louvre there is a tablet, representing King Ashur-bani-pal seizing a Lion by the ear, and killing him with a spear. It is accompanied by the following inscription :—

"Anaku Ashur-bani-pal sar kishat, sar Ashur, as sutakhiti-ya
as niri-ya urmakh itzu sha gabir su, as 𐎠𐎵𐎶—|| su ashbit, as
kuti Ashur u Ishtar billat takhazi, as ashmar eda suti-ya assilik
zukhar-su."

I, Ashur-bani-pal, king of the nations, king of Assyria, in my great courage fighting on foot with a Lion, terrible from his size, seized him by the ear, and in the name of Ashur and Ishtar, goddess of war, with my spear in my hand, I terminated his life.

From this short inscription we learn the meaning of several words, and obtain a confirmation of others previously known. Thus, *urmakh* signifies a *Lion* (though probably that is not the correct pronunciation of the word).

𐎶𐎵-*pi*, the face (Hebrew פֶּי of the same meaning). When it has two cross lines added, thus—

𐎶𐎵-|| signifies an *Ear*: the two lines evidently implying the two ears.

Ashmar is certainly a *spear*. It has the sign for *wood* prefixed to it (as in the Nakshi Rustam inscription).

The translation of *sutakhuti* "courage" is only conjectural.

Itzu is the Hebrew עֲזָה *izah*, strong (Ges. 787). It is used frequently in the inscriptions for "terrible," or "very powerful," as an epithet of weapons; and it occurs continually in the Achæmenian inscriptions in the phrase *itzi idannu*, he gave me strength. A nearly related word is עֲזוּם *itzum*, fortis, robustus, potens. This epithet is actually applied to a Lion in Psalm x, 10.

gabir is used as an epithet of all objects that are exceedingly great. I think it is either the Hebrew גָּבִיר *gabir*, magnus: or כָּבִיר *kabir*, of the same meaning.

eda is, I think, the Hebrew preposition אִתְּ which signifies *with*, *in*, &c. And is also nearly related to the very common Assyrian preposition *itti*, "with."

assilik may mean "I terminated;" from a common Chaldee word, *silik*, terminus (see Buxtorf).

Zukhar is *life*. The word occurs in the British Museum Volume, pl. 42, line 17, where a battle is described, and the chiefs of the enemy, like frightened birds, *zukhar-sun itsiku*, escaped for their lives.

As I have referred to this inscription in the first part of this paper as authority for the meaning of *ashmar*, a spear, which is a most important word for the interpretation of the Nakshi Rustam inscription, I have here added it in full. The Cuneiform text is given in the new volume published by the British Museum, pl. 7, No. IX, b.; but I do not understand from this, whether a duplicate

exists in the British Museum, or whether it has been copied at Paris.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

One of the most curious things in this inscription is the allusion to the peculiar dresses of the Ionians and the Namri. Similar short notices occur elsewhere. Thus, in the annals of Ashurakhbal (col. 2. line 75), a certain nation is spoken of, "*sha kima shalat shabruni*," who wear long flowing robes like women. This word is derived from the *shabla*, Hebrew שַׁבְּלָה and the same in Arabic, which Gesenius (p. 978) renders *syрма*: [*Συρμα* is a robe with a long *train*: from *συρω*, trahe]. This nation may have had some affinity with the old Ionians, whose original seats were undoubtedly in Asia. For, when Homer describes the dress of the ancient Athenians, he paints it in a single word: *ἰωνας ἔλκεχιτωνας*. This epithet conveys the idea of a very singular costume, for men: the more so, that the dress of the Trojan women is described by a very similar epithet: *Ἰδεομαι Τρωαν και Τρωαδας ἔλκεσιπεπλους*.

The translation of line 20 is unsatisfactory. The final sign $\Xi\Upsilon$ is probably an error for $\Xi\Upsilon$ which has one stroke less. If we make this alteration we obtain the word *nikrat*, "foreigners:" from Hebrew נִכְרִי *alienus, peregrinus*. This word *nikrat* is frequent in the Behistun inscription. The phrase will then stand thus: *Ahurmasda ki imuru mati anniti nikrat, ana sibbi akhati isummuku arki anaku iddannu assiniti*. "When Oromasdes had subdued these foreign nations, he joined them [to me] by treaties of friendship, after he had given them to me."

Akhati is the usual word for treaties of alliance: it comes from *akh*, a brother: because allied nations become as it were brothers to each other.

Ana sibbi occurs frequently instead of the simple preposition *ana*. *Isummukh*, he joined together, or made a close alliance. The initial vowel of this word is absorbed by the final *i* of the preceding word *akhati*.

Anaku iddannu, mihi dedit. *Anaku* is indeclinable. It generally means *Ego*, but in line 32 it stands for *Me*: (*anaku litzur, me protegat*). And here it apparently stands for *Mihi*.

ART. X.—On the Indian Embassies to Rome from the Reign of Claudius to the Death of Justinian. By OSMOND DE BEAUVOIR PRIAULX, Esq.

AFTER the Singhalese embassy to Claudius, the Indian embassies to Rome were few and far between. To the death of Justinian, A.D. 565, four only have been noticed, and barely noticed, by historians. The first, to Trajan,¹ was present with him at the great shows which he offered to the Roman people, A.D. 107. The second, to Antoninus Pius,² A.D. 138, 161, came to pay homage to his virtues. The third, to Julian,³ though intended, Zonaras asserts, for Constantius, reached him, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, before it was expected, A.D. 361, and included ambassadors from the Divi (Maldives) and the Serendivi (the Singhalese), who now for the first time appear under their own name, and the name by which they were known to the Arabs. And the fourth, to Justinian,⁴ brought him gifts, and was at Constantinople, A.D. 530.

These are but scant memorials of petty diplomatic courtesies, and scattered as they are over nearly 500 years, they do little to illustrate the intercourse between Rome and India, which, during

¹ Προς δε τον Τραιανον ες την Ρωμην ελθοντα πλεισται οσαι πρεσβειαι παρα βαρβαρων αλλως τε και Ινδων αφικοντο· και θεας . . . εποιησεν εν αις θηρια . . . χιλια και μυρια εσφαγη· οτι ο Τραιανος τους παρα των βασιλεων αφικνουμενους εν τω βουλευτικω θεασασθαι εκουσι.—Dio. Cassius, L. 68, 156; II. v. 313 p. Bekker.

² “Quin etiam Indi Bactriani Hyrcani legatos miserunt justitiâ tanti imperatoris compertâ.”—Aurelian Victor, Epit. xvi.

³ Perinde timore ejus adventus . . . legationes undique solito ocuis concurrebant . . . nationibus Indicis certatim cum donis optimates mittentibus ante tempus abusque Divis et Serendivis, Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii., 7, 277, p. i; but Zonaras Εχρηματιζε δε και πρεσβεισιν εκ διαφορων εθων σταλεισι προς τον Κωνσταντιον.

⁴ Εν παντω δε τω χρονω (A.D. 530,) και πρεσβευτης Ινδων μετα δωρων καταπεμφθη εν Κωνσταντινουπολει, when John of Cappodicia (v. Smith, Biog. Dict.) was prætorian exarch. Malala, p. 477.

the first half of these long centuries, reached its highest point of development, while during the last it had so fallen away that, in so far as it was direct, it may be regarded as extinct. Of that intercourse I now propose to give a rapid sketch.

The discovery of the monsoons, and the distracted state of the Parthian Empire had, at the beginning of the second half of the first century, the close of Claudius' reign, driven the whole of the trade between the East and West to the great city of Alexandria.¹ Its people, quick-witted, but restless of disposition and excitable of temper, grew wealthy, and grew insolent as they grew wealthy. The person and character of the sovereign was a favourite theme for their ridicule;² and on every slight occasion, when not taken up with factious fights among themselves, they rose in tumult against their governors, and sometimes even in revolt against the State. The emperors looked upon them with no friendly eye. And it was, perhaps, as much to abate their insolence as to forward the interests of trade, that Hadrian put an end to their monopoly, and admitted Palmyra into the commercial system of the Roman Empire.³ Under his patronage, and that of his successors, the Antonines,⁴ who lived

¹ Dio Chrysostom, time of Trajan, speaks of it as second only to Rome, *πολις δευτερα των υπο τον ηλιον*, Oratio xxxii., 689, 70 p; while Cosmas calls it *Μεγιστη πολις*.—Montfaucon, *Nova Collectio Patrum*, I., 124.

² See Hadrian's letter to the Consul Servianus in Flavii Vopiscus: "Genus hominum seditiosissimum, vanissimum, impurissimum: civitas opulenta dives fecunda . . . utinam melius esset movata civitas . . . huic ego cuncta concessi . . . et in filium Verum multi dixerunt, et de Antinoο quæ dixerunt comperisse te credo."—Augustæ Scriptores, 234, II. Dio Chrysostom speaks of the turbulent sneers, and mocks, and angry hisses with which they greeted both king and private man, *ουκ ειδισα τον υμετερον θρονον, ουδε τον γελωτα, ουδε την οργην, ουδε συριγμους, ουδε τα σκωμματα ος παντας εκπληττετε . . . και ιδιωτην και βασιλεια*, id., p. 664; and that this had estranged the emperors we may gather from p. 687, *εις υποψιαν αυτους κηθ' υμων ηγαγετω*. Also p. 700, Reiske ed. And Ammianus Marcellinus "Sed Alexandria in internis seditionibus diu aspero fatigata."—xxii., 16 §, 207 p.

³ Ersch and Gruber, *Encyclopedie*, art. Palmyra. Not, however, forgetting that between India and Palmyra trade already existed; for Trajan, having descended the Tigris, *επ' αυτον τον Ωκειανον ελθων . . . και πλοιον τι ες Ινδιαν πλεον ιδων*.—Cassius, L. 67, c. 28.

⁴ Of works treating of India belonging to this period we have—The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (A.D. 81, 96); Prolog. de Auct. Perip., p. xcvi., L. Geog. Minor, ed. Didot—a manual of Roman, or rather Egyptian, trade with India; a really original work, the result of the author's own observation and experience as a merchant and supercargo. The Geography of Ptolemy (A.D. 138, 161), the first work which makes the circuit of Ceylon, and names the harbours and headlands on its coast, its rivers, mountains, and towns. The Expedition of Alexander and the Indica of Arrian (A.D. 150, 160), both compilations, but the compilations

much in the East, and followed out, we have every reason to believe, his policy, Palmyra rapidly developed the advantages which it derived from its position on the nearest route to India. It flourished and grew daily in importance. And when Emesa, almost on its frontiers, and on its high road to Antioch and Damascus, gave to Rome Julia Domna, the wife of one Emperor, Severus, and the mother of another, Commodus, and afterwards two Emperors, Elagabalus and Alexander: sated with wealth it aspired to illustrate itself by other than the arts of commerce; it began to levy or hire armies; it made conquests and acquired territory; it became a power, and for a moment held with Rome divided empire.¹

During the reigns of Severus, his son Commodus, and the pseudo-Antonines, when Alexandria and Palmyra were both occupied with commerce and were both prosperous, Roman intercourse with India was at its height. Then Roman literature gave more of its attention to Indian matters, and did not, as of old, confine itself to quotations from the historians of Alexander or the narratives of the Seleucidian ambassadors, but drew its information from other and independent sources. Then Clemens Alexandrinus (A.D. 192, 217), thus wrote of the Gymnosophists. They are, he says, Sarmanai, or Brahmins. Of the Sarmanai, the Allobioi neither dwell in cities nor under a roof, but "wear a vesture of bark," and live on acorns, and drink water from their hands, and know neither marriage nor the

of a man of sense and critical acuteness—the one made up from the cotemporary histories of Alexander, the other from the narratives of Megasthenes, Eratosthenes, and Nearchus. We have besides notices of India and Indian manners scattered through several of the numerous treatises of Plutarch and the orations of Dion Chrysostom (A.D. 100), and a longer, and somewhat satirical description of India in his *Oratio in Cœlenis Phrygiæ*; but both drew their information from the common storehouse; and Dion, in his *India*, as the true *pays de Cocagne*, merely throws together in one piece the various Indian myths which Ctesias so willingly collected and believed. Among the writers of this age we may also, though with some hesitation, class Q. Curtius (Smith's *Biog. Dict.*, 1 v.), and Dionysius Periegetes (*Geog. Min. Proleg.*, 18 p. II., Didot); but neither had of himself any knowledge of India. The first merely copied and compiled from the old historians of Alexander, and the second, as well in his *Bassarika* as in his *Periegesis*, is *original*? only in so far as he connects the known country of India with the exploits of Bacchus. He says of himself—

κυ γαρ μοι βιος εστι μελαινων επι νηων
ουδε μοι εμπορη πατρωιος, ουδ' επι Γαγγην
ερχομαι, οια γε πολλοι.—709 vv.

¹ See de Odenato XIV., the Duo Gallieni III., the Claudius XII., Trigint. Tyran., Trebeli. Pollio., and Aurelian's letter to the Senate, excusing the appearance of Zenobia in his triumphal procession. Vopisci, *Hist. Aug. Script.*, and note 9 to 32 c., vii. L., of Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, Heinichen's ed.

procreation of children. And they are *the* Indians¹ who obey the precepts of Boutta: and him for his exceeding majesty they honour as a god. And in another place, but on the authority of Alexander Polyhistor, he tells of the Brahmins,² how they neither drink wine nor eat of animal food; how some of them break fast daily, others but once in three days;³ how from their belief in a second birth, *παλιγγενεσιαν*, they despise death and are indifferent to life; and how they worship Hercules and Pan. He says, further, that those called Semnoi go naked, and cultivate truth, and foretel the future, and worship a pyramid which is supposed to cover the bones of a god; and that neither Gymnosophists nor Semnoi marry, because marriage they look upon as contrary to law and nature, and they therefore keep themselves chaste; and that there are Semnoi women who also devote themselves to a virgin life; he adds that they observe the heavenly bodies, and through them foretel the future.

The name and precepts of Buddha, and the worship of the pyramid topos, recorded in these passages, are to be found in no other ancient writer whatever. If derived originally from Megasthenes, as is supposed, it is strange that they have escaped the notice of Plutarch and Porphyry, curious in such matters; and still more strange that, as characteristic of one of the great religions of India, they should have been passed over by Strabo, Diodorus Siculus,

¹ In general rendered "And there are Indians," &c. I subjoin the whole passage:—*Καὶ τῶν Σαρμανῶν οἱ Ἀλλοβιοὶ προσαγορευόμενοι, οὐτε πόλεις οὐκ οἰκοῦσιν, οὐτε στεγὰς ἔχουσιν, δένδρων δὲ ἀμφιεννύνται φλοιοῖς (Menu vi., 6 §); καὶ ἀκροδρῶνα σιγούσιν καὶ ὕδωρ ταῖς χερσὶ πίνουσιν· οὐ γάμον, οὐ παιδοποιῶσαν ἰσασιν, ὡς περὶ οἱ νῦν Ἐγκρατῆται καλούμενοι. εἰσι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν οἱ τοῖς Βουττα κειθόμενοι παραγγελασιν· τὸν δὲ εἰ ὑπερβολὴν σεμνοτήτος εἰς Θεοὺς τιμηκασιν.—Stromata, I. xv. I beg attention to the ambiguity of the last paragraph.*

² Βραχμαὶ . . . οὐτε ἐμφύχον ἐσθίουσιν, οὐτε οἶνον πίνουσιν· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, ὡς ἡμεῖς, τὴν τροφήν προσιένται· ἐνίοι δ' αὐτῶν, δια τριῶν ἡμερῶν, ὡς φησὶν Ἀλεξάνδρος ὁ Πολυῆστωρ ἐν τοῖς Ἰνδικαῖς· καταφρονουσι δὲ θανάτου; καὶ παρ' οὐδενὸς ἡγούσιν το ζῆν· κειθόνται γὰρ εἶναι παλιγγενεσιαν· οἶδε σεβούσιν Ἡρακλῆα καὶ Πανα· οἱ καλούμενοι δὲ Σεμνοὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, γυμνοὶ διαίτῳνται τὸν πάντα βίον· οὗτοι τὴν ἀληθειᾶν ἀσκούσι καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων περιμηνύουσι, καὶ σεβούσι τίνα πυραμίδα ὑφ' ἣν ὄστια τοῦ Θεοῦ νομιζούσιν ἀποκίσθαι. οὐτε δὲ οἱ Γυμνοσοφισταὶ, οὐθ' οἱ λεγόμενοι Σεμνοὶ, γυμναίε χρώνται· παρὰ φύσιν γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ παρανομὸν δοκοῦσι· δι' ἣν αἰτίαν σφας ἀγνοῦσι τήρουσι· παρθενεύουσι δὲ καὶ Σεμνοὶ. δοκοῦσι παρατρεῖν τὰ οὐρανια, καὶ διὰ τῆς τούτων σημειώσεως τῶν μελλόντων προμαντεύεσθαι τίνα.—*ib.* iii., vii.

³ In the Prabodhatechandrodaja is an allusion to this observance. The scholar asks of his master why the observers of religious rites eat but one meal in three days. "Wenn Essen und Trinken die Hauptaufgabe des Menschen ist . . . denn warum wird . . . das Leben . . . durch Bussübungen . . . wie in 3 Tagen nur ein Mal speisen, gequält?"—Hirzel's Tr., 28 p., and Menu vi., 18, &c.

and Arrian, who, in their works, have embodied his *Indica*, at least that part of it which treats of the sects and castes of India. But the paragraph with the name of Boutta, at the close of the first citation, is so loosely worded that it is impossible to ascertain whether it refers to the Sarmanai previously mentioned, or to some altogether different sect. It is, besides, so clumsily introduced, that it reads like an afterthought, a fact thrown in that it may not be lost, or a piece of information which Clemens had obtained from some of those Indians Dion speaks of as residents at Alexandria,¹ and which he now tacks on to a description notoriously taken from Megasthenes.

Of the second² passage, all that refers to the Semnoi I am disposed to look upon as an addition of Clemens.³ For though

¹ Ad Alexandrinos, ὅρω γὰρ οὐ μόνον Ἕλληνας παρ' ἡμῶν, οὐδ' Ἰταλοὺς, &c. &c. ἀλλὰ καὶ Βακτριῶν, καὶ Σκυθῶν, καὶ Περσῶν, καὶ Ἰνδῶν τινῶν, οἱ συνθιέονται καὶ παριστῶσι ἕκαστος ἡμῶν.—Orat., xxxii., 672 p., Reiske ed.

² The term Sarmanai, as the name of a Hindu sect, was first used by Megasthenes, and is found in Strabo and Clemens cited above; that of Samanæoi belongs to Alexander Polyhistor, and is found in Clemens, in the same section, and just before the passage relating to the Gymnosophists which I have given in the text, and in Cyril, cont. Julianum iv., but is in both writers the name of the philosophers or priests of Bactria, and copied from Polyhistor. After Clemens, who lived at the close of the second and beginning of the third century, it is used by Bardesanes, A.D. 217, to designate, for the first time, so far as we know, the Buddhist priests of India, and in the same sense by Origen (A.D. 244, 249), and lastly, by Hieronymus, close of the fourth century (Epistles, cont. Jovian, pt. i., tr. ii., xxxix.), but expressly borrowed from Bardesanes. But to show that both Clemens and Cyril have been writing from the same authority, I will place their words side by side, observing that Cyril expressly quotes from the Pythagorick symbols of Polyhistor.

Προεστῆσαν διανῆς (φιλοσοφίας) Αἰγυπτῶν τε οἱ προφῆται καὶ Ἀσσύρων οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, καὶ Γαλατῶν οἱ Δρυῖδες, καὶ Σαμαναῖοι Βακτρῶν, καὶ Κελτῶν οἱ φιλοσοφῆσαντες καὶ Περσῶν οἱ μάγοι . . . Ἰνδῶν τε οἱ Γυμνοσοφισταὶ . . . Σκυθῆς δὲ καὶ Ἀναχαρσίς ἦν.—Stromat. I.

Ἱστορεῖ γοῦν Ἀλεξάνδρος ὁ ἐκτελεῖν Πολυίστωρ ἐν τῷ περὶ Πυθαγορικῶν συμβολῶν . . . ἐφιλοσοφῆσαν καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίους οἱ ἐκτελεῖν προφῆται καὶ μὴν καὶ Ἀσσυρίων Χαλδαῖοι, καὶ Γαλατῶν οἱ Δρυῖδες καὶ ἐκ Βακτρῶν τῶν Περσῶν Σαμαναῖοι, καὶ Κελτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι, καὶ παρὰ Περσῶν οἱ Μάγοι, καὶ παρ' Ἰνδοῦσιν οἱ Γυμνοσοφισταὶ, καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἀναχαρσίς παρὰ Σκυθῶν.—Cyril cont. Julian, L. xv, (A.D. 375?)

³ Bardesanes we examine at length presently.—Origen, cont. Celsum, L. 24, speaking of the innate force of words, ὡς τισὶ χροῦνται Αἰγυπτίων οἱ σοφοὶ καὶ τῶν παρὰ Περσῶν μάγων οἱ λογιῶν, καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἰνδοῦσιν φιλοσοφούντων Βραχμανῶν ἢ Σαμαναῖοι.—Hieronymus, "Bardesanes vir Babylonius in duo dogmata apud Indos Gymnosophistas dividit, quorum alterum appellat Bragmanos, alterum Samanæos." See, however, Schwanbeck in Müller's Hist. Græc. Tr. 437 p. III, v., and Lassen Ind. Alterthum, III. v., 355-6 pp.

Alexander Polyhistor was a great reader and voluminous writer, he was a compiler merely, and no more professed originality than does an encyclopædia. A native, too, of one of the Greek cities of Asia Minor, he fell upon unhappy times, and, carried away to Rome before mid age a prisoner and a slave, passed the remainder of his days in Italy. Under these circumstances I do not see how he could have heard or learned any new thing about India, anything not already contained in books. But look, now, at Clemens Alexandrinus. He lived in Alexandria, then in frequent communication with India, where Hindus occasionally resorted. He was besides a Christian, and, as a Christian, he necessarily frequented the society of artisans and merchants, and among them, if anywhere, had opportunities of meeting either with Hindus, or with those who had visited India. But could a man of his acquirements, and eager, earnest, and inquiring mind, meet with such men, and not draw from them some information relating to India before unknown? His keeping within the well beaten path of old facts would be to me as surprising as Polyhistor's straying from it. Again, in no known fragment of Polyhistor are the Buddhist priests called Semnoi; indeed the term, as applied to them, is found only in this passage. And I can very well understand Clemens choosing it, because, in sound, it sufficiently resembles the Pali Sammana, and in sense expresses satisfactorily the ideas attached to an ancient priesthood; and perhaps, also, because unaware of their brotherhood, he thus distinguished the Hindu Buddhist from Polyhistor's Samanæos, or Bactrian priest.

Then Philostratus,¹ a cotemporary of Clemens, published his romance of Apollonius of Tyana, and Ælian² his *Variæ Historiæ*, in which are many notices of Indian animals and Indian peoples and customs, but from Megasthenes and Ctesias principally. And then, too, Art employed itself on Indian subjects, as we gather from Callistratus' description of the statue of a drunken and reeling Hindu.³ Then Dio Cassius wrote his history, lost in its entirety, but of which the fragments and summary by Xiphilinus sufficiently attest the interest he took in all that related to India. Then, too,

¹ Philostratus published his Apollonius after the death of the Empress Julia Domna, as he himself states, consequently some time after A.D. 217. V. Dio Cassius, L. 78, 6, 24.

² Ælian flourished A.D. 225.

³ Descript. iv. *εις το Ινδου αγαλμα*, On the statue of an Indian, evidently; and not, On the statue of the Indus, as Lassen renders it.—Ind. Alt. III., 78. Callistratus wrote about A.D. 250.

Bardesanes, as we learn from the extracts preserved by Porphyry,¹ gave to the world his *Indica*, the materials for which he obtained, he states, from one Dandaas or Sandamines, the chief of some unrecorded embassy to the Cæsars, and whom he met, it seems, at Babylon, in the reign of Antoninus of Emesa,² Elagabalus (A.D. 218, 222). He writes, that the Indian Theosophs, whom the Greeks call Gymnosophists, are divided into two sects, Brahmans and Shamans, *Samanæoi*. The Brahmans are one family, the descendants of one father and mother, and they inherit their theology as a priesthood. The Shamans, on the other hand, are taken from all Indian sects indifferently,³ from all who wish to give themselves up to the study of divine things.

The Brahmans pay no taxes like other citizens, and are subject to no king.⁴ Of the philosophers among them, some inhabit the mountains, others the banks of the Ganges. The mountain Brahmans subsist on fruit and cow's milk, curdled with herbs.⁵ The others live from the fruit trees, which are found in plenty near the river, and which afford an almost constant succession of fresh fruits; and, should these fail, on the self-sown wild rice that

¹ Porphyry, *de Abstinentiâ*, iv. 17.

² Ἰνδοὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῆς Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ ἐξ Ἐμεσῶν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν Βαρδῆσανη τῷ ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας εἰς λόγους ἀφικομῆνοι ἐξηγήσαντο.—Stobæus *Physica*, i., 54. Gaisford's ed. This reading proposed by Heeren, and adopted by Gaisford, necessarily, it seems to me, brings down our embassy to the reign of Elagabalus (A.D. 218, 222), the only Antonine who can be described as of Emesa. Lassen, however, (*ut sup.*, III., 348.) is of opinion that it was addressed to Antoninus Pius (A.D. 158, 181, an error for 138, 151), but as his reference is to Heeren's ed., whose emendation I presume he adopts, I cannot conceive how he arrives at this conclusion.

³ Megasthenes, as quoted by both Arrian and Strabo, had some indistinct notion that the Indian sophistai, or some of them, were not so bound to caste as the other Indians. But Arrian so puts it as if the whole Brahman caste was open. Μουνον σφισιν ἀνταὶ σοφιστῆν ἐκ παντός γενεὸς γενέσθαι, and that because of the austerity of their lives.—*Indica*, xi., 7, xii., 9. Fr. *Hist. Græc.*, II., 427, 429 pp. Didot ed. Strabo, on the other hand, that no man can exercise two trades, except he be a philosopher, πλὴν ἐῶν φιλοσόφων τρεῖς, and this because of their virtue.—*ib.*, p. 430. Diodorus omits the passage: doubtless it was ambiguous.

⁴ Ἀλειουργητοὶ γὰρ οὐτεῖς οἱ φιλοσοφοὶ πάσης ὑπὸνυργίας, οὐθ' ἐτεῶν κυριουοῦσιν οὐθ' ὑθ' ἐτεῶν δισποζονται.—Diodorus, II., 400; Fr. *Græc.* II., 405 p. Menu says, "A king, even though dying, must not receive any tax from a Brahman learned in the Vedas."—cvii., 133. "The temple lands (of Buddhist priests) were invariably free from royal duty."—Hardy, *Monachism*, 68 p.

⁵ "Buttermilk may be swallowed, and every preparation of buttermilk," 10 §. "And every mess prepared with barley or wheat, or with dressed milk," 25 §, v. c., Menu.

grows there.¹ To eat any other food, or even to touch animal food, they hold to be the height of impiety and uncleanness.² Each man has his own cabin, and lives as much as he can by himself, and spends the day and the greater part of the night in prayers and hymns to the gods. And they so dislike company, even of one another, or much discourse, that when it happens, they expiate it by a retirement and silence of many days.³ They fast often.

The Shamans,⁴ on the other hand, are, as I said, an elected body. Whoever wishes to be enrolled in their order presents himself to the city or village authorities, and there makes cession of all his property. He then shaves his body, puts on the robe, and goes to the Shamans,⁵ and never turns back to speak or look at his wife and children, if he have any, and never thinks of them any more, but leaves his children to the king, and his wife to his relations, who provide them with the necessaries of life. The Shamans live outside the city, and spend the whole day in discourse upon divine things. They have houses and temples of a royal foundation, and in them stewards, who receive from the king⁶ a certain allowance of food, bread, and vegetables, for each convent. When the convent bell rings,⁷ all strangers then in the

¹ "Let him eat green herbs, flowers, roots, and fruits," &c., 13 §. "Let him not eat the produce of plowed land," 16 §, vi. c. of the Anchorite ed. But as a Sannyasi, "an earthen water-pot, the roots of large trees, coarse vesture, total solitude,—these are the characteristics of a Brahman set free," 44 § *ib.*

² The Brahman student must "abstain from flesh meat," 177 §, ii, *ib.* "The Manava Dharma affirms that the Brahman who eats flesh loses instantly his rank."—Tr. Rl. As. Soc., 163 p., iii. v.

³ As anchorite, "Let him live without external fire,—wholly silent," vi. 25, *ib.* As Sannyasi, "Alone let him constantly dwell for the sake of his own felicity, observing the happiness of a solitary man—without a companion," *ib.*, 42.

⁴ Samanaioi, from the Pali Sammana, found first in Clemens Alexandrinus from Polyhistor, and applied to the priests of Bactria.

⁵ "The priest can only possess three robes," 66 p. "From the commencement of his novitiate he is shaved," 112 p. "The wearing of the robe is imperative," 114, 122. Hardy, *East. Monachism*.

⁶ The regular and usual mode of obtaining food is "to take the alms bowl from house to house," Hardy, *ut sup.* 94, but as we may gather from the Sacred Books of Ceylon and the Legend of Anepidu (Hardy, *Monachism*, 68 p., and *Buddhism*, 218 p.), land and food were also provided by kings and rich men for monasteries; indeed, under certain circumstances, the priest is enjoined to refuse the food "that is given stately to a temple." *Id.*, *Monachism*, p. 97.

⁷ So in the legend of Sāmgaha: "Au bout de quelque temps le son de la plaque de métal qu'on frappe pour appeler les Religieux s'étant fait entendre, chacun d'eux tenant son vase à la main vient s'asseoir à son rang."—Burnouf, *Introd. à l'Hist. du Bouddhisme*, 320 p.

house withdraw, and the Shamans enter and betake themselves to prayer. Prayer ended, at the sound of a second bell the servants place before each individual, for two never eat together, a dish of rice; but to any one who wants variety they give besides either vegetables or fruit. As soon as they have done dinner, and they hurry over it, they go out to their usual occupations. They are not allowed to marry or to possess property. They and the Brahmans are so honoured by the Indians, that even the king will come to them to solicit their counsel in matters of moment, and their intercession with the gods when danger threatens the country.

Both Shamans and Brahmans have such a notion of death, that they impatiently bear with life, and view it but as a necessary though burdensome service imposed upon them by nature. They hasten therefore to free the soul from the body.¹ And often when a man is well in health, and no evil whatever presses upon him, he will give notice of his intention to quit the world, and his friends will not try to dissuade him from it, but rather account him happy, and give him messages for their dead relations, so firm and true is the conviction of this people that souls after death

¹ Onesecritus says, when suffering from disease, *Αισχιστον δ' αυτοις νομιζεσθαι νοσον σωματικην' τον δ' υπονοησαντα καθ' αυτου τουτο εξαγειν ιαυτον δια πυρος ησαντα πυραν.*—Strabo, xv., 65. Pomponius Mela more generally, "At ubi senectus aut morbus incessit, procul a cæteris abeunt mortemque . . . nihil anxie expectant . . . Prudentiores . . . non expectant eam sed ingerendo semet ipsis læti et cum gloriâ arcessunt."—III., vii., 40. "On voit . . . dans l'Inde des hommes se brûler sur un bûcher. . . Cet usage vient de la croyance . . . à la métempsychose."—Reinaud, *Rel. des Voyageurs Arabes*, I., 120 p. Yet Menu rather discountenances, except in sickness, voluntary deaths. "If he has an incurable disease," (for an example see Radja-Tarangini, i., 311—12. Note,) "let him advance in a straight line towards the invincible N.E. point, feeding on air and water till his mortal frame totally decay," vii., 31; but 45 *ib.*, "Let him not wish for life, let him expect his appointed time as a herd expects his wages." Similarly the Buddhist. "The rahats do not desire to live, nor do they wish to die; they wait patiently for the appointed time."—Hardy, *E. Mon.*, 287. But from the answer of Punna (Purna) to Buddha, "There are some priests who from various causes are tired of life, and they seek opportunities whereby their lives may be taken, but this course I shall avoid," (*id.*, Buddhism, 260 p.); and from the fact that the perfected priest when "at the point of death would cause his body to be spontaneously burnt" (*id.*, Monachism, 261), we may presume that voluntary deaths among priests, even in Buddha's time, were not unfrequent and permissible on some occasions, i.e., were, as among the Brahmans, not very strictly prohibited, and that Megasthenes very fairly states both the doctrine and the practice, *Ὅτι είναι δογμα φησι ιαυτους εξαγειν' τους δε ποιειν αυτους τουτο νεαικουσ κρινεσθαι.*—Geog. Hist. Græc., II., 439.

have intercourse with one another. When he has received all his commissions, in order that he may quit the body in all purity,¹ he throws himself into a burning pile, and dies amid the hymns of the assembled crowd. And his nearest friends² dismiss him to his death more willingly than we our fellow-citizens when about to proceed on some short journey. They weep over themselves that they must continue to live, and deem him happy who has thus put on immortality. And among neither of these sects, as among the Greeks, has any sophist yet appeared to perplex them by asking, "If everybody did this, what would become of the world?"

Thus far Bardesanes on the Gymnosophists. To form any just estimate of the value of his information, we must compare it with the accounts given by more ancient writers. The companions of Alexander speak of the Indian sophists, and of them as divided into classes, but nowhere mention the Sarmanai³ by name. Thus Aristobulus,⁴ of two Brahmans he saw at Taxila, and who in the presence of Alexander displayed each in his own way his powers of endurance, remarks that the younger wore all his hair, while the other was shaved.⁵ And Nearchus⁶ distinguishes between the Brahmans who are engaged in political life, and are councillors of the king, and those who give themselves up to the study and contemplation of nature, as Calanus. He adds, that with these last women philosophize, and that all lead austere lives. With Megasthenes, as we know him from Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and Arrian,⁷ begins our knowledge of the Sarmanai. Of the philosophers gene-

¹ Megasthenes ascribes no particular virtue to the death by fire: it is merely the death preferred by fiery spirits, *τους δε πυρωσεις εις πυρωθουμινους, ib.*

² The Relation des Voyageurs Arabes, 9th century, thus describes one of these self-immolations. The man "se met à courir dans les marchés ayant devant lui des cymbales et entouré de sa famille et ses proches." . . . A crown of burning coal is placed upon his head. . . . "Le homme marche la tête en feu . . . et pourtant il marche comme si de rien n'était et on n'aperçoit sur lui aucun signe d'émotion: enfin, il arrive devant le bûcher et s'y précipite."—Reinaud, i. 122.

³ Sarmanai, Sans. Cramané, used by Megasthenes and his copyists.

⁴ From Strabo, xv., I. 61.

⁵ The shaved head would imply a Buddhist priest, described in the Prabodhatechandrodaja as "Kahlgeschirner, Kopfbüschelverzierter, Haarausrauer," 39 p., and whoever compares the whole account of this shaved Brahman, how he came to Alexander and followed him to the end, with Onesecritus' story of Calanus—save that no mention is made of this Brahman's voluntary death—will be inclined to think that he and Calanus are one and the same person.—Strabo, xv., I., 65.

⁶ Strabo, *ib.*, 66.

⁷ Strabo, xv. I. Diodorus Siculus, II., 35. Arrian, Indica, vii.

rally, he says that they do no labour, pay no taxes, and are subject to no king; that they are present at all sacrifices, whether public or private, and preside over all funeral rites;¹ and that on New Year's day they meet in the king's palace, and there make known the future of the year, its events and harvests, and that he who thrice fails in his predictions is condemned to a life-long silence. These philosophers he divided into Brahmans and Sarmanai.

Of these the Brahmans were the most honoured, because their opinions were the most fixed and uniform. The Brahman's education began even in his mother's womb. During the period of gestation she was soothed by songs and chants in praise of continence, which, in proportion as they won her pleased attention, beneficially influenced her future offspring. After the child's birth, and as he grew in years, he was passed on from one preceptor to another, until he was old enough to become an auditor of the philosophers. These lived frugally, abstained from animal food and women, and in a grove outside the city spent their days in earnest discourse, communicating their knowledge to all who chose to listen. But in their presence the novice was not permitted to speak, or hawk, or spit, under the penalty of one day's banishment from their society. At the age of 37 his student life ceased.² The Brahman then returned to his home, lived more freely, wore gold rings and silk, and ate the flesh of such animals as were of no service to man, abstaining, however, from pungent and highly seasoned food. He married, too, as many wives as he could, for the sake of offspring, but did not admit them to a fellowship in his philosophy.

Of the Sarmanai, he writes that the Hylobioi were the most honoured. They dwelt in the woods, and subsisted on leaves and wild fruits, "wore a vesture of bark,"³ and abstained from wine and venery. Through messengers they advised with the king on the causes of things, and were employed by him as his intercessors before the gods. Next to them were the physicians. They, too,

¹ Menu, III., 124, &c., §.

² "The discipline of a student in the three Vedas may be continued for thirty-six years in the house of his preceptor, or for half that time," &c. Menu, III., 1. That on his return home he lived more laxly and elegantly may be gathered from §§ 3, 61, 62, *ib.*, and iv., 34. In the chapter on Diet, from 25—35 §, are the rules to be observed in eating flesh meat. Among the Jains, "A student till he is married should tie only a thread round his loins, with a rag to cover his nakedness." But "as soon as he is married, then he may dress properly at his pleasure."—As. Resear. ix. 248.

³ See on the third and fourth Orders. Menu, vi., 6, &c.

lived abstemiously, but not in the open air. They ate rice and flour, which they seem to have got by begging. They made barren women fruitful. They healed by diet rather than by medicine, and of medicaments preferred cataplasms and unguents. Both they and the Hylobioi would remain a whole day in the same posture. Others were diviners, and skilled in the rites to be observed towards the dead, and wandered as mendicants about the towns and villages. And yet another class, but more urbane and better nurtured than these last, was like them occupied with the things of Hades, in so far at least as they conduced to piety and a holy life. With some of these Sarmanai the women are allowed to philosophize¹ under a vow of chastity.

Another writer, quoted also by Strabo² towards the close of the same chapter, speaks of the Pramnæ,³ no doubt for Sramnæ, as Garmanai for Sarmanai, as of a class opposed to the Brahmans, as argumentative⁴ and contentious, and as jeering the Brahmans for their love of physiology and astronomy. They are Mountain, or Gymnete, or Political, or Rural (προσχωρησι). The Mountain Pramnæ are clad in skins, and carry wallets full of roots and medicaments, and in their cures use charms and incantations. The Gymnetes, as their name implies, go naked, and for the most part live in the open air till their 37th year. They admit women to their society, but both they and the women are strictly chaste. The Political⁴ and Rural classes live, the one in the city, and are clad in silks; the other in the country, and "wear for their mantles the hides of goats."

It would appear from these accounts that the companions of Alexander knew of Brahmans only, Megasthenes and our anonymous author of Brahmans and Sarmanai, and that they divided the

¹ Of the Sannyasi, "Let him repair to the lonely wood, committing the care of his wife to her sons, or accompanied by her, if she chuse to attend him."—Menu, *ib.*, 3 §.

² Geogr., xv., l., 70.

³ In a paper on the Religious Sects of the Hindus, I find that the late Professor Wilson derives the term Pramnæ, from Pramana, proof, and inclines to think that they were Bauddhas; the Sarmanai, on the other hand, ascetics generally. As, however, in his latter years he identified, I believe, the Sarmanai with the Buddhist Shamans, his great authority can scarcely be brought to bear against the view I have taken.—As. Res., xvii., 279, 280 pp.

⁴ So in the legend of Sāmgaha, when in his wanderings he finds a hermitage with 500 Rishis, to avoid receiving him they say one to another, "Continuons de nous livrer à nos occupations ordinaires: ces Çramanas fils de Çakya sont de grands parleurs."—Burnouf, *ut sup.*, 323.

⁵ Menu, vii., 37, and compare 54 and 58, *ib.*

Sarmanai into four classes. But of these four classes, it seems, that while the two first in both writers pretty fairly correspond with one another, the first of one with the second of the other, the two last have no one point in common, and can scarcely be intended to represent the same members of the same society; indeed, the Political and Rural Pramnæ are much more like the Brahmans of Megasthenes than his Sarmanai—the one to his Brahmans whose novitiate or student life has ceased; and the other to those of them who are philosophers. Moreover, the Gymnetes, who go naked and live in the open air, and the Hylobioi, clad in bark and subsisting on leaves and wild fruits, bear some resemblance indeed to the Digambara of the Jains¹ and the Brahman Sannyasi as painted by Menu, but very little to the Shaman or Buddhist priest, as we know him, who wears and is obliged to wear a robe of a particular stuff and colour, and who lives on rice and grain generally, but who is also permitted when in bad health to eat ghee, oil, sugar, honey, and even flesh meat.² Again, the anonymous author speaks of the Pramnæ in no very favourable terms, much as Brahmans might be expected to speak of Buddhists; but Megasthenes of the Sarmanai with a respect, an admiration really extraordinary, seeing that he was resident at the court of a Brahminical sovereign, Chandragupta, and in such terms, that it may very fairly be doubted whether his Sarmanai were indeed intended for Buddhist priests.

Take now Bardesanes' account. His Brahmans are hurriedly and superficially sketched, as if his pen had been guided by a Buddhist hand. His division of them into Mountain and River³ is unmeaning—really a distinction without a difference, for both led the same ascetic lives in the same sort of solitude. But his Samanæoi, or Shamans are the Buddhist priests of our day. He shows us their order open to all who wish to take upon themselves its duties. But, to enter it, the aspirant must give up wife, and children, and property. He must shave his body and put on the yellow robe, and then retire to some vihâra,⁴ where, having made vows

¹ In the Prabod'h Chandrâdaya the Digambara is thus described: "His disgusting form is besmeared with ordure, his hair in wild disorder, his body naked and horrible to the view."—Act III., Taylor's tra.

² Hardy, *Monachism*, p. 92.

³ Corresponding with the "Mountain and Plain" Brahmans, probably, of Megasthenes.—Strabo, *ut sup.*

⁴ In the early days of Buddhism, according to the "Book of the Twelve Observances," (Burnouf, *ut sup.* 304,) another mode of life prevailed. "L'obli-

of chastity and poverty, he lives, supported by the alms of kings and the pious rich, and is thus enabled to pass his days in prayer and discourse on heavenly things. His manner of life is decent, orderly, and temperate even in its austerity, and his retirement is at once cheerful and improving, and contrasts favourably with the sulky loneliness of the Brahman. For though the Brahmans have their *agrahâras*,¹ where the ordinary members of their caste are found collected together, and though the Buddhist ascetic, notwithstanding his convents, occasionally retires to the solitude of the forest, yet is Bardesanes' account of the two priesthoods, in this particular, characteristic of the spirit of the two religions. In it we see the Brahman, who lives by himself and for himself, with his strong will conquering the wants and appetites of his body, but indifferent to the wants and miseries of his fellows; and in it the Buddhist, not less earnest in self-sacrifice, but not neglectful of the social duties, cultivating a kind and genial nature, and knitting his own good to the good of mankind.

But Bardesanes also represents both Brahmans and Shamans as willingly devoting themselves to death by fire. The self-cremation of widows of the higher castes was within even a few years, and until forbidden by law, no uncommon sight in India; but among men, Brahmans, this sort of death has long fallen into disuse. History tells of a Calanus, who, with much parade and of his own free will, died by fire in the presence of Alexander and his army; and of a Cumarilla,² who, to purify himself from the slaughter of heretical Buddhists, ascended the funeral pile. But in modern times another form of suicide has been preferred. The Hindu pilgrim now toils up the snowy heights of the Himalaya, to the sacred source of the Ganges, there to die; or he commits himself to its stream, and thus perishes in its holy waters. He suffers and dies to ensure to himself a happy birth in his next existence. The Buddhist also has freely chosen the death by fire as before

gation de se retirer dans la solitude des forêts, celle de s'asseoir auprès des troncs d'arbres, celle de vivre en plein air . . . sont certainement trois règles primitives."—*Id.*, 311 p. Hardy says, "It was an ordinance of Buddha that the priests, who were then supposed to dwell most commonly in the wilderness, should, during the three months of the rainy season, reside in a fixed habitation."—*Monachism*, 222, and *Burnouf*, 285, 6.

¹ "Agrahara est le nom de tout terrain ou de tout village particulièrement affecté aux Brahmanes. Dans le sud de l'Inde . . . on ne trouve presque pas d'endroit sans un agrahara habité par des Brahmanes seulement."—*Radja Tarangini*, I., 348 p., note. Troyer. Tra.

² *Tr. Royal Asiatic Society*, I., 441.

Augustus. And if ever Brahmans did so choose to die, and if these their deaths worked at all on the religious feelings of the vulgar, I have no doubt that for every Brahman who so died two Buddhists stepped forward to die beside him, but with other and higher aims. They died not for themselves, but for the honour of their creed. They died as Buddha, who, in a former existence, laid himself down as food for a hungry tiger; as the Arya Sâmgaha,¹ who flung himself into the troubled sea to save the degraded Nagas; as Purna,² who to preach his master's law, went forth to an expected death. They died as they had lived, for others' good. Their death was but a last and crowning self-sacrifice. Except in this sense, a voluntary death is contrary to the spirit of their religion, and incompatible with its duties.

But the Indian ambassadors also told Bardesanes of a lake in their country, known as the Lake of Probation,³ and of the use they make of it. When any one is accused of a crime, and insists upon his innocence, the Brahmans ask him if he will undergo the trial by water. If he refuse, he is sent away and punished as guilty. If he consent, they bring him down to this lake, and to check frivolous or malicious charges, they bring his accusers down with him. Together they go into the water, which is knee-deep for everybody, and together pass over to the other side of the lake. The innocent man walks along without any fear, and is never wet above the knees; but for the guilty, the water rises and rises till it is quite over his head, and he is then dragged out by the Brahmans, who hand him over to be punished in any way short of death. The Indian, however, rarely pushes matters to this extremity; he too much fears the ordeal by water.

But besides this lake for voluntary, they have also another to try both voluntary and involuntary offences; in fact to probe a man's whole life. Of this lake Bardesanes, and I will quote his very words, has left the following account:—In a very high mountain, situated pretty nearly in the middle of the earth, there was, as he heard, a large natural cave, in which was to be seen a

¹ Burnouf, Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme, 317 p.

² *Id. ib.*, 253—4 pp.

Troyer, in his notes to the Radja-Tarangini, I., 361, 6 pp., describes several sacred and extraordinary fountains in Cashmere which the credulity of the people, favoured by their distance and inaccessibility, may have easily worked up into the lakes of Bardesanes. See also Ctesias' account of a fountain, the waters of which became solid, and when given to drink in water made one tell everything one ever did.—Photius, 147 and 155.

statue,¹ ten or perhaps twelve cubits high, standing upright, with its hands folded crosswise; and the right half of its face, its right arm and foot, in a word, its whole right side was that of a man; its left, that of a woman;² and the indissoluble union of these two incongruous halves in one body struck all who saw the statue with wonder. On its right breast was engraved the sun, on its left the moon; on its two arms were artistically sculptured a host of angels, mountains, a sea and a river, together with the ocean, and plants, and living things, all that is. And the Indians told him that God, after he had created the world, gave this statue to his son³ as a

¹ The Radja-tarangini has a passage which reminds one of this cave and statue. "La possession de la jouissance de la béatitude éternelle devient le partage de ceux qui dans l'intérieur du sanctuaire de Papasudana (qui détruit tout péché) touchent l'image de bois de l'époux Uma. La déesse Sandya entretient dans cette montagne aride, l'eau dans laquelle on reconnaît ce qui est conforme et ce qui ne l'est pas à la vertu et au vice."—I., 32, 33, Slokas. Of this passage, however, Professor Goldstücker has favoured me with the following translation:—"There those who touch the wooden image of Siva standing in the interior of the sacred place Papasudana, attain as their reward worldly enjoyment and final bliss, 32. There on the waterless mountain the goddess of twilight (the wife of Siva) places water to show to the virtuous that which will benefit (agree with), and to the wicked that which will injure (disagree with) them," 33.

² "La réunion de Civa et de Parvati dans un seul corps est le thème de l'invocation par laquelle commence chaque livre du Radja-tarangini . . . Cette forme est l'objet d'une grande vénération dans l'Inde. Je rappellerai parmi les images . . . de l'île d'Eléphanta une statue colossale—représentant Civa moitié homme et moitié femme avec une seule poitrine."—Radj., II., 326, 328 pp.

³ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΝΟΝ ΦΑΣΙ ΔΙΔΩΚΕΝΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ Τῷ ΥΪΩ ΔΗΝΙΚῶΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΟΣΜΟΝ ΚΕΚΡΙΖΕΙΝ.—Stobæus, Physica, Gaisford's ed., p. 54. This expression indicates a Christian author, and indeed Bardesanes has been identified with the great heresiarch of that name who lived in the second century, and gained so great celebrity by a work on Fate. In this case the Christian author was still living (A.D. 218, 222). Porphyry (A.D. 233, 304), says of the Bardesanes he quotes that "he lived in the time of our fathers." But the Christian Bardesanes presented his book, Cedrenus of the eleventh century affirms, to Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138, 161), and Epiphanius (ad. Hæres., II., 36, II. v., 477 p.) speaks of him as faithful to the Church up to the death of Antoninus Verus (A.D. 169), and of this book as of one of his orthodox works; but this book Eusebius (A.D. 324) asserts (Hist. Eccl., iv., 24, 30) he presented to Marcus Antoninus, and further adds that he wrote it in consequence of the persecution of the Christians by Marcus (A.D. 167, 177), and about the time Soter, Bishop of Rome, died (A.D. 179). Now, from the earliest and latest of these dates, the deaths of Antoninus Pius and the accession of Elagabalus, there elapsed thirty-seven and thirty-nine years respectively, and our author must either have been very young when he wrote his work on Fate, or very old when he published his Indica. Again, the Edessene Chronicle (Assmanni, Bib. Orient., I., 47 p., note, and 389, note), gives the precise date of his birth, July 11, A.D. 154. On this authority he must have been seven years old when

visible exemplar of his creation. And I asked them, adds Bardesanes, of what this statue was made. And Sandanes assured

Antoninus Pius died, and twenty-five when Soter. And at twenty-five he might have written his book on Fate, and at sixty-four his Colloquy with the Indian Ambassador. But of late years this "Book on Fate," or rather "Book of the Laws of Countries," has been found in the Syriac original, and was in 1855 published in its entirety by the Oriental Translation Fund, together with a translation by the Rev. Mr. Cureton. The work is in the shape of a dialogue. Two youths, who have been discoursing on "fate, free-will, fore-knowledge absolute," meet with Bardesanes, and appeal to his superior learning and wisdom. They address him sometimes as lord—a homage paid, perhaps, to his rank and relationship with the Abgari—and sometimes as father, a deference due only to his age and experience. He, too, alludes and appeals to former works of his, p. 5. "For it has been said by me in another place." When he wrote this work, then, he must have been a man of at least mid age, and either not born, A.D. 154, or his book not written, A.D. 179. Again, in the book itself are allusions which may assist us in fixing its date. In p. 30, "Because as yesterday the Romans took Arabia and abrogated all their ancient laws, and more especially that circumcision with which they circumcised." Mr. Cureton, Pref. iii., is of opinion that this passage refers to the conquest of Arabia by Marcus Aurelius (Lucius Verus), but of such a conquest by him I find no record, not even in the titles Armeniacus, Parthicus, and Medicus, which the senate so lavishly bestowed on him, and which he afterwards dropped. (Life, Smith's Hist.) But on the other hand, Trajan (Eutropius, viii., 3):—"Arabum regem in fidem accepit," and "Arabiam postea in provincias formam redegit." But to this conquest (A.D. 116) could Bardesanes, even A.D. 167, allude as "of yesterday" I think not. Severus, however, A.D. 196, again conquered and reduced Arabia to a province (Eutropius, iii., 18). "Arabos simul a tortus est, in ditionem redegit provincie modo." Aurelius Victor, xx., 14, 15, "Persarum regem, Abgarum subegit, Arabas in ditionem accepit; Severi, Hist. Spartianus; Hist. Aug., l. v., 157 p. But if it is of this conquest Bardesanes speaks, then his book can scarcely have been written till after the death of Severus (A.D. 211), or in the reign of Caracalla (A.D. 211, 217). But as any such date is wide of the several dates ascribed to this work by the early Fathers, and as these dates are themselves wide of one another, and very indefinite, we will examine how far such a date is consistent with the circumstances. The Edessene Chronicle gives the date of his birth so precisely, that I should be loath, except on evidence, to reject it, A.D. 154. His book, as we have seen, indicates that it was written at least in mid-age, perhaps in old age; if written A.D. 214, it would have been written eighteen years after the conquest of Arabia by Severus,—neither too late nor too early for the "but as yesterday," and when he was sixty years of age,—when he might well quote other works of his own, and be addressed as lord or father. But tradition spoke of this work as having been presented to Antoninus, and hence the embroglio of dates. For that Bardesanes, a Syrian, and of the Abgari, should know and be known by the Emesene Elagabalus is no way improbable; neither is it improbable that on Elagabalus' nomination to the Empire he should present him, evidently of a religious turn of mind, with a work already of repute, and which was Christian, rather because it was catholic, than because it contained any special Christian doctrine; nor that when he so presented it, he should

me, and the others confirmed his words, that no man could tell; that it was not gold or silver, nor yet brass or stone, nor indeed any other known material; but that, though not wood, it was the likeliest a very hard and sound wood. And they told how a certain king of theirs had on a time tried to pluck one of the hairs off from about its neck, and how that he was so struck down with terror, that he hardly recovered his senses, and only after long intercession of the Brahmans. They said that on its head was the image of a god seated as on a throne, and that in the great heats it would run down with such a sweat, as would, unless stopped by the fanning of the Brahmans, wet the earth around. Well, further on, beyond the statue, it was, according to the Indians, very dark, and those who wished to go so far took with them lighted torches, and went on till they came to a sort of door, whence a stream of water welling out fell into or formed a lake in the deepest recesses of the cave. Through this door those who wish to prove themselves are obliged to pass. For the pure-minded it opens itself out very wide, so that they enter easily enough, and within they find a fountain of the brightest and sweetest water,¹ the source of the stream I spoke of. The wicked, however, struggle long and vainly to get in, for the entrance closes in upon them; at length, they are forced to confess their sins, and to ask the others to intercede for them, and they are made to fast a long time.

Sandanes further told, that on a certain day the Brahmans flock to this place; that some spend their lives there, but that others come in the summer and autumn, when fruit is plenty, both to see the statue and to meet their friends, and to prove their lives by means of the door. They at the same time examine and discuss the sculptures on the statue; for it is not easy to understand them

address the Emperor as Antoninus—a name he much affected, and by which he was in Syria generally known. But it is also not improbable that the Christians, who so carefully chronicled the interview of Origen with Mammoë, should likewise bruit abroad the honour conferred on this work of Bardesanes, which thus became associated with the name of Antoninus. But the name of Antoninus, as applied to Elagabalus, can scarcely be said to have ever obtained in either Greece or Rome, but see Macrinus Capitolini, vii. Hist. Aug. Script., and in Epiphanius' time was probably only given to Pius and Marcus; what more natural than that our Fathers, when they heard of this presentation copy, should refer it to one or other of these great Emperors—more especially as the work was not heretical, and should therefore be a work of Bardesanes' younger days? though so far as that goes, it might just as well have been written by a Jew as a Christian.

¹ Φασι δε εξαιρετον αυτοις ειναι μιαν πηγην την της αληθειας πολυ παντων αριστην και θειοτατην, ης ουδεποτε τους γευσαμενους εμπικλασθαι.—Dio Chryso. II., 72.

all, both because of their number, and because no one country contains all plants and animals. This, then, is what the Indians relate concerning the ordeal by water.

The Lake of Probation Lassen connects with the ordeal by water; one of the ordeals¹ which, on a deficiency or absence of testimony, is allowed and even prescribed by the Hindu law (Menu viii. 190; and Colebrooke, Hindu Law I. 503-5). Of the manner in which these ordeals are performed, Warren Hastings has given an interesting account in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches. In that by water, which, except that it is by water, and conducted by a Brahman, resembles in nothing Bardesanes' Lake of Probation, the accused is made to stand in water, either flowing or stagnant, up to his navel, and then holding the foot of a Brahman, to dive and remain under as long as a man can walk fifty paces very gently, or till two men have fetched back two arrows which have been previously shot from a bow. If, before the man has walked thus far, or the two men have brought back the arrows, the accused rise above the water, he is condemned; if not, acquitted.

In the cave of the second lake, Weber² finds the first Greek notice of a Hindu temple, and Lassen³ sees one of the cave temples so frequent on the western coast of the Indian peninsula. The statue he identifies with that of Siva as Ardhanari, or half-man, half-woman; and of Siva also recognised as the Supreme God. The image on the head is that of the Ganges, the angels are Devas, and the characters on his arms are typical of him as the Creator.⁴

¹ In the Radja-tarangini, the widow of a Brahman applies to the king to punish the murderer of her husband, and names a Brahman whom she suspects, but refuses the ordeal by water. "O radja, cet homme est connu pour être versé dans le fameux art de l'eau, il peut sans crainte arrêter le jeu divin."—iv., 94, 121 p., II. v. Eventually they try the ordeal by flour of rice, and the Brahman is convicted. "Le roi lui infligea toute punition sauf la punition de la mort." 105.

² Indische Skizzen, 86 p., note.

³ Indische Alterthumakunder, III., 351.

⁴ A statue of Siva and Parvati united, or as Ardhanari, is in the Elephanta cave.—Moor's Pantheon, 98 p. And in pl. 7 and 24 of the same work are representations of Ardhanari, two seated and one standing. On each side of the united deities are the bull and tiger, the Nandis of Siva and Parvati respectively, but in pl. 7 interchanged. In all the figures

"From the moon-silvered locks famed Ganga springs;"

but in pl. 7 the goddess is seen personally with the serpent's head over her; all bear the soli-lunar emblem on the forehead, the drum and trident or sword in the hands, and the collar of flowers or skulls about the neck; but on none are to be found the symbolical characters which adorned the statue of Sandanes.

The door and the great sweat he explains as pious frauds, and the sacrilegious king as a legend invented and promulgated by priests to secure the treasures which they habitually deposited within their statues. On Weber's conjecture I would observe, that the cave is a natural cave, and seemingly in its natural state, without pillars or carvings in relief; but, nevertheless, a cave which the patient fervour of a religious idea may hereafter develope into a cave temple. Lassen's conjectures have an air of probability about them; but still it seems to me that the lake and the cave are each, in its kind, unique; that, with regard to the first, we have no indication whatever of its locality; and, with regard to the second, the very indefinite one, that it is in a very high mountain,¹ somewhere near the centre of the earth; not, therefore, in the country of Sandanes, or Sadanes, if he came from Ardjake, or the Malabar coast, as Lassen supposes. I cannot but think that our ambassadors spoke of this lake and mountain, not from knowledge, but from hearsay, and that they repeated stories current in their country, which they conscientiously believed perhaps, but for which there was about the same foundation as for that Fontaine de Jouvence so famous in old romance.

But as between India and the Roman empire there never existed any interchange of thought or any common sympathies, the allusions to India in Roman literature are at the most but indications of that curiosity which is excited by commercial intercourse. But that intercourse was in the hands of the merchants of Alexandria and Palmyra. These cities, situated the one on the shores of the Mediterranean, the other in the midst of a desert far inland, and halfway between Mesopotamia and Syria, can scarcely be said to have had any direct communication with India. They could not be reached but by a long portage and river navigation: and yet the facilities which the one, as the great seaport of the Roman empire, afforded to the transit of Western merchandize, and the advantages which the other derived from its proximity to India, and the comparatively small cost at which it obtained and delivered the

¹ Perhaps in the N. of India, towards Mount Meru, where also is that cave of Pluto, *παρα τοις Αριανοις τοις Ινδιαισις*, described by Ælian, xvi, 16, with its mystic recesses, its secret paths stretching deep under ground, and leading no one knows whither, but down which, when the people drive them, all sorts of animals willingly hurry, never to return; though who will may hear the bleating of sheep, the lowing of oxen, and the neighing of horses, coming up from the depths of the earth.

products of India, gave them the monopoly of Roman trade with the East. The Alexandrian route Pliny¹ has traced out. At Juliopolis, a suburb of Alexandria and its port on the river, our merchants embarked with their goods, and favoured by the prevailing north wind, sailed up the Canoptic branch of the Nile, and in twelve days reached Coptos, distant 303 miles and a city of a mixed population, Egyptian and Arabian,² and communicating with the Nile by a canal. Here they left their boats, and with their merchandize on camel back pushed across plains and over mountains to Berenice, another twelve days' journey, travelling mostly by night, because of the heat, and regulating their halts by the wells on the road. At Berenice, a seaport on the southern frontier of Egypt, they met the fleet intended for India. The ships of which it was composed were large, well-found and manned, and carried besides a body of armed men as a safeguard against the pirates who infested the Indian seas.³ From Berenice, about Midsummer time, or in the beginning of the dog-days, they set sail, and in thirty days made Ocelis, or Cane, the one on the eastern shore of the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, the other on the western coast of Arabia in the frankincense country, and thence or from Syagrus to the north of Cane they struck out through the open sea for Muziris, in Pliny's time the haunt of pirates, or for Necaïdon (Nelcyndon) or Barake, a forty days' sail. At Barake they took in pepper, which was brought there in native boats from Cottonara. In the month of December or in the beginning of January they returned, taking advantage of the south-east monsoon, and, when they entered the Red Sea, of the westerly wind. So far Pliny. But when he wrote the trade with India was in its infancy; as it developed itself, in the marts which Alexandrian ships most frequented, the merchants not improbably found Greek factories⁴ to which they were consigned, and which managed

¹ Hist. Nat., vi., 26.

² Καὶ ἡ εἰς Κοπτον διαρῶξ. πολὺν κοινὴν Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Ἀραβῶν.—Strabo, xviii, I., 44.

³ "Sagittariorum cohortibus impositis: etenim piratæ maxime infestant."—Pliny, *ib.* πλεὶς δὲ εἰς ἐμπορία τούτα μεγάλα πλοῖα, Periplus, 56 §§; and see also the description of an Egyptian ship in the Indian trade from Philostratus' Life of Apollonius, 97 p. xvii., *Rl. As. Journ.*

⁴ I have no direct authority for this; but besides such names on the Indian coast as Byzantium, found also in the Periplus, &c., Ptolemy, speaking of the situation of some Indian town, states that he has it from those who had resided in the country some time, *παρα τῶν ἐντευθεν εἰσπλευσαντων καὶ χρόνον πλείστον ἐκελευσάντων τοὺς τοποῦς καὶ παρα τῶν ἐκείθεν ἀφικουμένων πρὸς ἡμᾶς*.—Proleg. I.,

all their business with the authorities and the people. In this way we may account for the Greek names of towns on the Indian seaboard, and for that temple of Augustus near Muziris—if it ever existed—which appears in the Peutingerian tables.

Of the course of trade to and through Palmyra we know little. Palmyra, we have every reason to believe, had no ships of its own. Arab, and perhaps native vessels, brought the produce of India up the Persian Gulf to the mouth of the Euphrates; and, if they did not themselves ascend the river, at Teredon they discharged their cargoes¹ intended for Vologesia, which was reached either by land on camels, or in vessels of lighter draught by the river; but in what time—the distance was nearly 250 miles—I am unable to ascertain. At Vologesia, however, a two days' journey from their city, the merchants of Palmyra took up the trade. In its market or fair, held always at some little distance from the town itself, they met the Arab or Indian traders, and exchanged with them by sale and purchase the manufactures of the West for the goods and produce of India. By this traffic Palmyra silently but so rapidly grew in wealth and power, that its prince and king, Odenatus, with his own forces and by his energy and generalship, saved the Roman empire, and for his services to the Roman state was raised by Gallienus, A.D. 266, to the title of Augustus.² At his death, its queen, his widow Zenobia, ventured to throw off her allegiance to Rome. For a moment she held the sovereignty of the East,³ but was at length defeated and taken prisoner by Aurelian, who at the same time pillaged and destroyed Palmyra,⁴ A.D. 275, and thus put an end to the Roman trade with India through the Persian Gulf.

The Alexandrian trade with India, unlike the Palmyrene, was

xvii. And though much later in time, Procopius says of Abraham, whom the Homerites elected their king, that he was the slave of a Roman, and lived at Adule as (a ship agent or broker). *Ὁ δὲ Ἀβραμὸς οὗτος χριστιανὸς ἦν, δούλος δὲ Ῥωμαίου ἀνδρός, ἐν πόλει . . . Ἀδουλίδι ἐπὶ τῆ κατὰ θάλασσον ἐργασίᾳ διατριβὴν ἔχοντος.*—*De Bello Persico*, I., 20.

¹ Vide Strabo, xv., III., 5, and Pliny, vi., 22. Very possibly they sailed up to Vologesia itself, for a passage in the Meadows of Gold, of Massoudi, to which Sir Henry Rawlinson called my attention, speaks of ships from India and China, as, in the 5th century of our era, lying at Hira, a little to the S.W. of Babylon, 247, I., Sprenger's tr., and see also Reinaud's Observations, xxv. vi. pp., with note I., *Relations Arabes*.

² Vide Pollio, *Hist. Aug. Script.*, x., xii., 90, 92 pp.

³ Vide Zosimus, *Lib. I.*, 440.

⁴ Vide M. Aurelianus Vopisci, xxxi. *Hist. Aug. Script.*, II., 176.

not broken up by any one great catastrophe. It remained some time stationary; but from the reign of Caracalla it rapidly declined, and when Palmyra was destroyed, it was in so languishing a state, that, in so far at least as it was a trade directed and controlled by Alexandrian merchants, it may almost be said to have died out. Among the circumstances which affected its prosperity, we may reckon:—

I. The privileges accorded to Palmyra by the Emperor Hadrian. The comparatively short sea passage of the Palmyrene route, and the very situation of Palmyra, must have soon drawn to its markets not only such commodities as were intended to supply the wants of the neighbouring districts, but such also as, before they were fitted for consumption, required the manufacturing aid of the great cities of Phœnicia, as *e. g.*, silk, of which the Indian mart was Nelcyndon, and which, if brought over in its raw state or in the thread,¹ was taken to Berytus or Tyre² to be made up into stuffs; or if in stuffs, to Tyre or Sidon to be dyed.³ The Palmyrene route then once opened, must have affected the Alexandrian trade with India, and must so far have counteracted the stimulus given to it, first by Roman protection, and afterwards by the discovery of the monsoons, as to have stayed its further development. But there was ample room for both, and to spare. The Alexandrian people, however, filled with the jealousy and hate usually induced by commercial antagonism, assailed with taunts,

¹ If it was brought in stuffs, was it re-made? Pliny, Philemon Holland's tr. "The Seres kemb from the leaves of their trees the hoary down—'Velleraque, ut foliis depectunt tenuia Seres,' Georgics II., 121—and when it is steeped in water, they card and spin it, yea, and after their manner make thereof a web; whereupon the dames here with us have a double labour both of undoing and also of reweaving again this kind of yarn. See what ado there is about it! What labour and toil it costeth, and how far fet it is, and all that our ladies and wives when they go abroad in the street may cast a lustre from them and shine again, in their silks and velvets."—I., 124 p.

² Ἱματία τα ἐκ μεταξῆς ἐν Βηρυτῶ μὲν καὶ Τυρῶ πόλιν ταῖς ἐπι Φοινικῆς ἐργαζέσθαι ἐκ παλαιοῦ εἰώθει. διὰ τε τούτων ἐμποροὶ τε καὶ ἐπιδημιουργοὶ καὶ τεχνίται ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἀνεκαθὲν ὠκοῦν, ἐνθενδὲ τε ἐς γῆν ἀπασαν φερεσθαι τὸ ἐμπολῆμα τοῦτο ζυμβαιεν.—Procopius, Hist. Arcana, 25 c., p. 140, and Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv., 9, 7.

³ "Quid lineas Ægypto petitas loquar? Quid Tyro et Sidone tenuitate perlucidas micantes purpurâ, plumandi difficultate pernobiles."—Vopiscus, Carinus xx., Hist. Aug. Scrip. That the stuffs from Tyre and Sidon were of silk, I gather from the difficultate plumandi.—χίτων ἐκ μεταξῆς ἐγκαλλωπισμασι χρυσοῖς πανταχοθεν ὠραίνμενος, ἀ δὲ νενομηκασὶ πλουμμία καλῶν.—Procopius de Ædificiis, III., 1., 247 p., and Ammianus Marcell., xiv., 9, 7.

and sneers, and ribald jests those emperors who specially favoured the rival city—Hadrian,¹ who gave it its privileges; and Caracalla and his mother, who were almost native there. Hadrian heard and despised their abuse; Caracalla² treacherously and savagely avenged it; and his massacre of the people and plunder of the foreign merchants was a blow from which Alexandria did not easily recover.

II. The disturbed state of the Roman Empire from the death of Alexander Severus, A.D. 235, to that of Aurelian, A.D. 275. During this dreary period of Roman story, Palmyra almost independent, on a distant frontier, and not subjected to the influences of a turbulent garrison and an ambitious General, went on to the very hour of its fall uninterrupted in its career of prosperity. Under its able chief, from a rich but merely commercial city, it became a powerful State. Alexandria, on the other hand, in the very centre of civil discord, was driven on by its excitable people to take a prominent part in every civil war.³ It itself set up or readily acknowledged as emperor more than one unsuccessful competitor⁴ for the imperial purple. Ever on the losing side, it necessarily suffered much, and was, indeed, once taken and held by the forces of Zenobia, and twice besieged and sacked, and its principal and noblest quarter destroyed, by Roman armies.⁵ Under such circumstances, trade was neglected, and that with India, as carried on from a distant port, so fell away, that it no longer found employment for large fleets of large ships, but was in the hands of a few

¹ Vide note 2, 273 p. *supra*, from the Hist. Aug. Scrp.

² Besides his massacre of the citizens, he compelled all strangers to leave the city, except merchants and *τα κενων παντα διηρασθη*.—Dio. Cass., 22 c., 77 L. He also took away the Jus Bulerarium conceded to them by Severus.—*id.*, 17 c., 51 L.

³ "Sed Alexandria . . . internis seditionibus diu aspere fatigata, ad ultimum multis post annis Aureliano imperium agente, civilibus jurgiis ad certamina interneciva prolapsis, diutisque mœnibus, amisit regionis maximam partem, quæ Bruchion appellabatur, *diuturnum præstantium hominum domicilium*."—Aur. Mar., xxii., 16, 15.

⁴ As Æmilianus, xxi., Tr. Tyranni Treb. Pollio. Saturninus and Firmus, vid. Flav. Vopis., Hist. Aug. Scrp., 123 p., 228, &c., pp., ii. v.

⁵ Eusebius (Hist. Eccl., vii.) tells of the misery and confusion in Alexandria, A.D. 261, the consequence of sedition and civil war; *ib.* 22, of the plague which afflicted it; and *ib.* 32, of its siege and capture, and the destruction of Bruchium. In the Chron. Canon., under Claudius, A.D. 273, "Alexandriæ suburbium post diutinam obsidionem summo, excidio deletum est."—p. 392 ed. Maius et Zohrab.

rich merchants, as Firmus,¹ who probably derived from it more honour than profit.

III. The weakness of the Roman Empire. It was no longer able to repel the incursions of the barbarians, who everywhere pressed upon its ill-guarded frontiers. And the Blemmyes, a fierce people, whose heads once did grow beneath their shoulders,² so infested the neighbourhood of Berenice, that Firmus—one of the last of the Alexandrian merchants who sent ships to India—no doubt from motives of interest sedulously cultivated their friendship. They seem to have occupied Coptos and Ptolemais, for Probus³ (A.D. 279) is said to have recovered these towns from them. But with Coptos—the town where portage on the route to India either began or ended—in the hands of a savage race, Alexandrian trade with India, if not diverted into some other channel, was impossible; and that for the present it came to a stop the wretched state of Alexandria and Rome leads us to believe; but that in time Indian trade again flowed to Alexandria, though under other conditions, and by other means than of old, I shall endeavour to show in another paper.

¹ Vopiscus dwells on the wealth of Firmus: "De hujus divitiis multa dicuntur, nam et vitreis quadraturis, bitumine aliisque medicamentis insertis, domum indurisse perhibetur: et tantum habuisse de chartis, ut publice sæpe diceret, exercitum se alere posse papyro et glutino. Idem et cum Blemymis societatem maximam tenuit et cum Saracenis;" and then adds, "*naves quoque ad Indos negotiatorias sæpe misit: ipse quoque dicitur habuisse duos dentes elephantis pedum denum.*"—*ib.*, 280, p. II. Vopiscus describes the wealth of Firmus in so far as it was extraordinary, rare, and with this classed his ships to India. After him I cannot anywhere find that ships went from Alexandria to India.

² "Blemmyis capita absunt vultus in pectore est."—Pomp. Mela., I., viii., 60. But Rome was able to form a more correct opinion of them after the triumph of Aurelian in which they figured: "prætor captivos gentium barbarum, Blemmyes . . . Indi, Bactriani, Saraceni, Persæ."—Vopiscus, *ib.*, 178, II. The Indi and Bactriani must have been captives from Palmyra.

³ Vopiscus, Probus xvii., *ib.*, 221, II.

ART. XI.—*Verses from the Sarva-darśana-sangraha, the Vishnu Purāna, and the Rāmāyana, illustrating the tenets of the Chārvākas, or Indian Materialists, with some Remarks on Freedom of Speculation in Ancient India.*—By J. MUIR, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D.

[Read Saturday, 14th December, 1861.]

IN his essay on the heretical schools of the Hindus, Mr. Colebrooke has given an account of the tenets of the Chārvākas, or Materialists (Misc. Essays, i., 402 ff). Professor Wilson also, in his "Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus" (As. Res., Vol. XVI., pp. 5, 6), alludes to the attacks made by the founder of the atheistical, or materialistic school, Vṛihaspati, on the Vedas and the Brahmans, and quotes some verses attributed to that author, in which he asserts that "the whole Hindu system is a contrivance of the priesthood to secure a means of livelihood for themselves." I am not aware whether either the aphorisms of Vṛihaspati (Vārhaspatya Sūtras), to which Mr. Colebrooke refers (Misc. Ess., i., 404) as having been quoted by one of the commentators on the Vedānta, or the work which contains the verses adduced by Professor Wilson, be still extant or not. As, however, the Sarva Darśana Sangraha¹ of Mādhava Āchāryya (a work containing a concise account of the different philosophical schools of India, both orthodox and heretical), from which Professor Wilson derived the verses which he cites, contains a good many more of a similar tendency, which are both satirical and clever, I shall translate the whole, and compare them with passages of the same tenor which occur in the Vishnu Purāna and in the Rāmāyana.

(1.) The passage from the Sarva Darśana Sangraha is as follows:—

"All this has been uttered by Vṛihaspati also:

"1. There is no heaven, no final liberation, no soul [which continues to exist] in another world, nor any ceremonies of castes or orders which are productive of future reward. 2. The Agni-

¹ Published in the Bibliotheca Indica, Nos. 63 and 142.

hotra sacrifice, the three Vedas, the mendicant's triple staff (*tridanda*),¹ and the practice of smearing with ashes, are the means of livelihood ordained by the Creator for men who have neither understanding nor energy. 3. If [it be true that] an animal slaughtered at the Jyotishtoma Sacrifice is [in consequence] exalted to heaven,² why does not the worshipper immolate his own father? 4. If a *brāddha* (offering of food to the manes)³ satiates even defunct creatures, it is quite superfluous to furnish people who are setting out upon a journey with any provisions [as their friends who remain behind can offer food to them]. 5. Since [as you say] persons in heaven are filled by oblations presented upon earth, why is not food similarly offered [by those below] to people on the roof of the house? 6. While a man does live, let him live merrily,⁴ let him borrow money, and swallow clarified butter: how can a body return to earth after it has once been reduced to ashes? 7. If a man goes to another world when he quits his body, why does not affection for his kindred impel him to come back? 8. Hence ceremonies for the dead are a mere means of livelihood devised by the Brahmans, and nothing else. 9. The three com-

¹ See Professor Wilson's "Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus," above referred to; and for the words *tridanda* and *tridandin*, consult Boehtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, with the passages there cited from Manu, ix., 296, and xii., 10, 11, and other writers.

² This refers to the notion expressed by Manu, v. 42:—"The twice-born man, who, knowing the meaning and principles of the Veda, slays cattle on the occasions mentioned, conveys both himself and those cattle to the summit of beatitude." (Sir W. Jones.) In the second act of the drama called Prabodha chandrodaya (which has been translated into English by Dr. Taylor, and into German by Professor Goldstücker), *Māyāmoha* (or Delusion), and a *Chārvāka* are introduced among the dramatis personæ, and give utterance to the tenets of the Indian materialists. The second and third of the verses quoted in the text from the *Sarva-darsana-sangraha*, are adduced there also. Verse 4 of the text is varied as follows:—"If a *brāddha* satiates even defunct creatures, then oil must nourish the flame of an extinguished lamp." The following stanzas are of a similar purport with verse 1 of the text:—"The idea that the soul exists with an essence distinct from that of the body, and that it enjoys rewards after it has gone to another world, is [as vain as] the expectation of luscious fruit from trees growing in the sky." "If heaven is obtained by worshippers, after the performer, the ceremonial, and the materials of the sacrifice have all passed away, then will abundant fruit be produced from trees which have been consumed in the conflagration of a forest." In another verse the gratifications of the voluptuary are contrasted with the mortifications of the ascetic in a sense favourable to the former.

³ See Manu, chap. iii., verses 122 to the end.

⁴ *Dum vivimus, vivamus.* "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die."—1 Cor. xv., 32.

posers of the Veda were buffoons, rogues, and goblins: every one has heard of *jarbhari*, *turphari*, and such other [nonsensical] exclamations of the Pandits.¹ 10. It is well known that in an *akvamedha* (horse-sacrifice) the embraces of the horse must be received by the Queen;² and it is in like manner well known what other sorts of things also are to be grasped by those buffoons.³ In the same way the eating of flesh is prescribed by those goblins."

(2.) The ideas in the following verses from the Vishnu Purāna are of the same tendency, and in part identical with those just quoted. The passage is considered by Professor Wilson as representing the sentiments of Vṛihaspati's school, and has been already translated by him in his Vishnu Purāna (p. 340, f.), but I shall give a version of my own, prefixing to it the original Sanskrit, which has never been printed.

Vishṇu Purāna, iii, 18. 14. *Anyān apy anya-pāshanda-prakārair bahubhir dvija | Daiteyān mohayāmāsa Māyāmoho vimoha-krit |*
 15. *Svalpenaiva hi kālena māyāmohena te 'surāḥ | Mohitās tatyajuh sarvām trayi-mārgāśrītām kathām |* 16. *Kechid hi nindām vedūnām devānām apare dvija | Yajña-karma-kalāpasya tathā 'nye cha dvijanmanām |* 17. *Naitad yuktīm-sahaṁ vākyaṁ hiṁsā dharmāya neshyate | havimshy anala-dagdhāni phalāyetye arbhakoditam |* 18. *Yajñair anekair devatvam avāpy endreṇa bhujyate | śamyādi yadi chat kāshtham tad-varam pattra-bhuk paśuh |* 19. *Nihatasya paśor yajñe svarga-prāptir yadiśhyate | Sva-pitū yajamānena kinnu tasmād na hanyate |* 20. *Triptaye jāyate puṁso bhuktam anyena chet xatah [tatah?] | dadyāch chhrāddham śraddhayā 'nnaṁ na vaheyuh pravāsinaḥ |* 21. *Jana-śraddheyam ity etad avagamyā tato vachah | upexya śreyase vākyaṁ rochatām yad mayeritam |* 22. *Na hy āpta-vādā nabhaso nipatanti mahāsu-āḥ | yaktimad vachanaṁ grāhyam mayā nyaiścha bhavad-vidhaiḥ |* 23. *Māyāmohena te daittyāḥ prakārair bahubhis tathā | vyutthāpitā yathā naiśhām trayimkāśchid arochayat |* 24. *Ittham unnmārga-yāteshu [teshu?] daittyeshu te 'marāḥ | udyogam paramam*

¹ Compare "Original Sanskrit Texts," ii., 183, and iii., 45. The words *jarbhari*, *turphari*, occur in Rig Veda, x., 106, 6. See Boehtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under these words, and Nirukta, xiii., 5.

² I give the literal meaning of this line in Latin:—"Fāmā notum est equi membrum genitale a reginā capiendum esse." See Wilson's translation of the Rig Veda, vol. ii., Introd., p. xiii.; Rāmāyana, i., 13, 36 (Schlegel's edit.); i., 13, 34 (Gorresio's edit.); Mahābh., xiv., 2645; Vājasaneyi Saṁhita, xxiii., 20 ff. and commentary; Śātapatha Brāhmana, pp. 990 ff.; Kātyayana's Sūtras, p. 973.

³ I do not perceive the exact allusion here, unless it be to the Brahmans' grasping character. Possibly there may be a reference in the next line to the practice of the Śāktas. Goblins are represented by the Hindus as fond of flesh.

*krītvā yuddhāya samupasthitāh | 25. Tato devāsuraṁ yuddham punar
evābhavad dvija | hatāścha te 'surā devāḥ sanmārga-paripanthināh |
26. Sa dharmā-kavachas teṣāṁ abhūd yah prathamāṁ dvija | tena
razā 'bhavat pūrvaṁ neśur naśhte cha tatra te |*

After describing how Māyāmoha, the great impersonated Delusion, had seduced the Daityas (who here stand for the heretical Indians in general) into embracing the Jaina and Buddhist doctrines, the writer proceeds: "The great Deceiver, practising illusion, next beguiled other Daityas by means of many other sorts of heresy. In a very short time these Asuras (=Daityas), deluded by the Deceiver, abandoned the entire system founded on the ordinances of the triple Veda. Some reviled the Vedas, others the gods, others the ceremonial of sacrifice, and others the Brahmans. This, [they exclaimed,] is a doctrine which will not bear discussion; the slaughter [of animals in sacrifice] is not conducive to religious merit. [To say that] oblations of butter consumed in the fire produce any future reward, is the assertion of a child. If Indra, after having attained to godhead by numerous sacrifices, feeds upon *śami*, and other woods, then an animal which eats leaves is superior to him. If it be a fact that a beast slain in sacrifice is exalted to heaven, why does not the worshipper slaughter his own father? If a man is really satiated by food which another person eats, then *śrāddhas* should be offered to people who are travelling abroad, and they, trusting to this, should have no need to carry any food along with them.¹ After it has been settled that this doctrine is entitled to credence, let the opinions which I express be pondered and received as conducive to happiness. Infallible utterances do not, great Asuras, fall from the skies: it is only assertions founded on reasoning that are accepted by me, and by other [intelligent] persons like yourselves. Thus, by numerous methods, the Daityas were unsettled by the great Deceiver, so that none of them any longer regarded the triple Veda with favour. When the Daityas had entered on this path of error, the deities mustered all their energies, and approached to battle. Then followed a combat between the gods and the Asuras, and the latter, who had abandoned the right road, were smitten by the former. In previous times they had been defended by the armour of righteousness which they bore, but when that had been destroyed they also perished."

(3.) The following is the passage of the Rāmāyana to which I

¹ The satirical purport of this half-verse has not been correctly understood by Professor Wilson, who renders it thus:—"It must be unnecessary for one who resides at a distance to bring food for presentation in person."

have alluded. It contains the speech of the Brahman Jāvāli, in which he endeavours ineffectually to shake the resolution of Rāma, who was unwilling to deviate from the arrangements made by his late father Daśaratha, and return from the forests of the south to Ayodhyā, to take possession of the throne now offered to him by his dutiful younger brother, Bharata. This passage may be found, translated, in Carey and Marshman's edition of the Rāmāyana, but I have rendered it anew, both according to the text of Schlegel's and of Gorresio's editions, and have placed my own two versions in parallel columns for facility of comparison. I have put in italics the passages which coincide most closely with those from the Sarva-darśana-sāgraha, and Vishnu Purāna :

RAMAYANA, AYODHYAKANDA,
Section 108, Ed. Schlegel.

1. Jāvāli, the most excellent of Brahmans, addressed to Rāma, who was thus comforting Bharata, and who was thoroughly versed in duty, the following words, which were contrary to duty.¹ 2. You, descendant of Raghu, who are intelligent and of superior understanding, ought not to entertain such unprofitable notions, as if you were an ordinary person. 8. How can any one person be of kin to any other? what has any one to gain from any other, seeing that every creature is born alone and dies alone?² 4. Any one,

RAMAYANA, AYODHYAKANDA,
Section 116, Ed. Gorresio.

1, 2. Then Jāvāli, most excellent of Brahmans, the king's logician (*naiyāyika*) versed in all learning, and acquainted with duty, being desired by them all, and seeking to comfort Bharata, addressed to Rāma, who was unwilling to go to the city, these words in consonance with duty :¹ 8. You, descendant of Raghu, ought not, like an ordinary person, to entertain such unprofitable notions, the contemptible ideas of an ascetic.² 12. How can any one person be of kin to any other? what has any one to do with any other?

¹ Schlegel reads here *dharmaṭpetam*, and Gorresio *dharmaopetam*. The former is the best reading.

² Verses 4—11 in Gorresio's edition, urging that Rāma had sufficiently fulfilled his duty to his father, and exhorting him to take possession of the kingdom, have nothing parallel to them in Schlegel's recension.

³ The same reflection, with a different moral annexed, occurs in the very striking verses of Manu, viii., 17, and iv., 239 ff.; which I have attempted to put into verse as follows :—

1. Our virtue is the only friend that follows us in death,
While other ties and friendships end with our departing breath.

therefore, who feels attachment to any persons, as his father and mother, is to be regarded as insane, since no one is anything to any other. 5. Just as in the case of a man who goes into a strange village, and sojourns there, and then quits his abode and proceeds on his journey the following day; 6, so are men's fathers, and mothers, and houses, and property but temporary possessions (*lit.* abodes), on which the good will not suffer their affections to fasten. 7. You, most excellent of men, ought not, by abandoning your paternal kingdom, to enter upon a wrong road, painful, uneven, and beset with troubles. 8. Permit yourself to be enthroned in opulent Ayodhyā; that city eagerly expects you, with her hair fastened in a single braid [in token of mourning]. 9. Enjoying, prince, the exquisite gratifications of royalty, disport yourself there as Indra does in paradise. 10. Daśāratha [his

seeing that every creature is born alone, and dies alone. 13. Hence a mother and a father both resemble a lodging; the man who feels any attachment to them is to be regarded as insane. 14. Just as in the case of a man who goes into any strange village, and sojourns there, and then quits his abode, and proceeds on his journey the following day; 15, so are men's fathers, and mothers, and houses, and property, but temporary possessions (*lit.* abodes); away with all idea of loving them. 16. You ought not, hero, to abandon a level path, free from dust and alarm, and to enter upon a wrong road beset with troubles. 17. Permit yourself to be enthroned in opulent Ayodhyā; that city eagerly expects you, with her hair fastened in a single braid [in token of mourning]. 18. Enjoying, prince, the exquisite gratifications of royalty, disport yourself there as Indra does in paradise. 19. Daśāratha [his father] is now

2. Nor father, mother, wife, nor son, beside us then can stay,
Nor kinsfolk,—virtue is the one companion of our way.
3. Alone each creature sees the light, alone the world he leaves,
Alone, of actions, wrong or right, the recompense receives.
4. Like log or clod, beneath the sod, their lifeless kinsman laid,
His friends depart, with aching heart, but virtue guards the dead.
5. Be then a hoard of virtue stored, to help in day of doom,
By virtue led, we cross the dread, immeasurable gloom.

This passage is imitated, and expanded in the xiiith or Anusāsana Parva of the Mahābhārata, verses 5,805—5,815. The words in Manu, iv., 244, *tamas tarati dustaram*, "he crosses the gloom difficult to cross," are probably derived from the Atharva Veda, ix., 5, 1. *Tīrvā tamāṃsi bahudhā mahānti ajo nākam ākramatām tṛtīyam*: "Having crossed the dark abysses in many directions immense, let the unborn [or, the moving] one ascend the third heaven."

father] is now nothing to you, nor you to him; that king [was] one person and you [are] another; do, therefore, as I advise. 11. A father is nothing more than the seed of a creature; his seminal principle and blood combined with the seminal substance of the mother—such is a man's terrestrial generation. 12. That monarch has gone to the place to which he had to go; such is the course of human beings; but you are being needlessly injured. 13. Therefore I lament¹ [the fate of] such men as adhere to justice, and of no others; for the just suffer affliction here, and when they die they incur annihilation. 14. Men are intent upon oblations to their progenitors and to the gods: but see what a destruction of food! for what can a dead man eat? 15. *If an oblation eaten here by one [really] passes into the body of another, then let a śrāddha be offered to a man who is travelling abroad; he need not eat upon his journey.* 16. These books composed by wise men [containing such precepts as] worship, bestow, offer sacrifice, practise austerities, abandon [the world], are mere charms to draw forth gifts. 17. Understand, intelligent [prince] *that no one exists hereafter*; regard only that which is an object of perception, and cast behind your back whatever

nothing to you, nor you to him; that king [was] one person, and you [are] another; do therefore what I advise. 20. A father is nothing more than the seed of a creature; his seminal principle, with blood and air, combined with the seminal substance of the mother—such is a man's generation of a son. 21. That monarch has gone to the place to which he had to go; such is the course of human beings; but you are being needlessly injured. 22. Wherefore I inquire of such as adhere to justice, and of no others; for the just suffer affliction here, and when they die they incur annihilation. 23. Oblations are offered to progenitors and to the gods; men are intent upon the ceremony, but see what a destruction of food! what is left for the dead? 24. *If an oblation eaten here by one [really] passes into the body of another, then let a śrāddha be offered to a man who is travelling abroad, and let him carry no provisions for his journey.* 25. These books composed by wise men [containing such precepts as] worship, bestow, offer sacrifice, practise austerities, abandon [the world], are merely meant to multiply gifts. 26. Understand, intelligent [prince], *that no one exists hereafter*; regard not that which is beyond the reach of your senses, but only that which is

¹ Compare Mahābhārata, Udyoga Parva, verse 4205.

is beyond the reach of your senses.¹ 18. Acting upon this principle, which should be the guide of all mankind, allow yourself to be persuaded by Bharata, and accept the kingdom.

an object of perception.¹ 27. Acting upon this principle, which should be the guide of all mankind, allow yourself to be persuaded by Bharata, and accept the kingdom. 28—33. Follow, therefore, wise counsels, and abide in your proper path. Xupa, the illustrious mental son of Brahmā, these (whose names are enumerated in verses 29, ff), and many other excellent monarchs, abandoning their dear sons and wives, 34, Have yielded to the power of time. We know not whither they, nor the Gandharvas, Yaxas, and Rāxasas, 35, may have departed; such a scene of illusion is this world. For it is the names only of these kings which are now heard. 36. Any one imagines them to exist in whatever region he pleases. Thus there is no firm foundation on which this world may abide. 37. *It is this which is the other [or highest] world*; enjoy, therefore, happiness; for just men are not qualified for this enjoyment. 38. Just men, descendant of Kākutstha, are very miserable, while the unjust are seen to be happy. 39. This world, again, is in every way confused and perturbed; do not, therefore, most eminent of men, contemn the fortune which seeks you. 40. Accept this great kingdom, which is free from rivals and

¹ These are the principles of the Chārvākas. "Perception is the only proof," says the Māyāmoha, in the Prabodha-chandroya, Act ii.

enemies. When Rama had heard this discourse, though slow to wrath, he was greatly incensed at being exhorted to atheism.¹

¹ This section of the Rāmāyana, and those which follow it, as given in the three different editions of the Rāmāyana, well illustrate the peculiarities of their different texts. In Schlegel's edition, section 108 concludes with the 18th verse, which is immediately succeeded by the reply of Rāma to Jāvāli's suggestions, in the 29 anuṣṭubh verses, which stand at the commencement of section 109. To these are added nine more verses in a longer metre, the *Upajāti*, which Schlegel regards as spurious. As regards some of the verses his opinion is no doubt just; for Rāma is represented in the first of these additional stanzas as a *second time commencing* his answer to Jāvāli, and the tone in which he then repudiates the sentiments of the latter is much harsher than in the earlier (anuṣṭubh) verses of the section. In the 36th and following verses of the addition, Jāvāli is introduced as apologizing for, and half recanting, the opinions he had expressed:—"The Brahman then addressed to Rāma these true, wholesome, and believing (*āstika*) words:—'I do not utter the doctrines of the nihilists (*nāstikas*): I am not a nihilist; nor does nought exist. Having regard to opportuneness of time, I have again become a believer (*āstika*), and on an opportune occasion I may again become a nihilist.'" In one of these *Upajāti* verses, the Buddhists are expressly mentioned. Gorresio's edition, however, contains much more extensive interpolations than Schlegel's. As we have seen, stanzas 4—11, and 28—39, of section 116 of the former, are all in excess of the verses contained in the corresponding section of the latter. But section 116 of Gorresio's edition does not stop even there. It contains, in verses 40 ff., a short repudiation by Rāma of Jāvāli's doctrines. Another discourse of Bharata's follows in section 117, and it is not till section 118 that Rāma is represented as beginning (a second time) the answer to Jāvāli, which corresponds to that in section 109 of Schlegel's edition.

Carey and Marshman's text generally coincides (as regards the sections under consideration) with Gorresio's, though in some readings it agrees with Schlegel's when that and Gorresio's differ.

I will not here enter on the question, of which I have not studied both sides, as to the comparative antiquity of Schlegel's and Gorresio's texts, but I will adduce from the speech of Vaśiṣṭha in the 110th section of Schlegel's edition, as compared with the corresponding section of Gorresio's, what I conceive to be one decided argument in favour of the greater antiquity of the former text. We there read (in Schlegel's edition), "There was then nothing but water, in which the earth was formed. From thence was produced Brahmā, the self-existent, together with the deities. He then becoming a boar, raised up the earth, and created the whole world, with his sons, who were perfected in spirit. Brahmā was produced from the ether," &c. It is therefore *Brahmā*, who here becomes a boar, and in that form raises up the earth,—an incarnation and an act which are elsewhere, as in the Vishnu Purāna (pp. 27—32 of Wilson's translation), and in the Bhāgavata Purāna, i., 3, 7, and iii., 13, 18 ff., ascribed to Viṣṇu. To harmonize the account in the Rāmāyana with that in the Purānas (which is to all appearance of later origin), the author of the recension edited by Gorresio changes the words *Brahmā svayambhūr dāivatais saha*, "Brahmā, the self-existent, with the gods," into *Brahmā svayambhūr Viṣṇur avyayaḥ*, "Brahmā,

As the doctrines, which in these verses are put into the mouth of the Brahman Jāvāli agree essentially in their tenor with those ascribed to the Chārvākas in the verses I have quoted from the *Sarva-darśana-sangraha*, it would appear (if the section be genuine) that those Materialists must be as old as the composition of the Rāmāyana, to whatever era that may be referred. And that a sect bearing that appellation must have existed at the time when the Mahābhārata received its present form appears highly probable from the contents of the following passage from the Sāntiparva, or xiith Book, verses 1,414, ff., in which a story is told about a Rāxasa or demon of that name, who was a contemner of the Brahmans, and who, there can be little doubt, is meant to stand for a hostile sectary.

After Yudhishtira had entered the city, and had bestowed largesses on the Brahmans, &c., the following scene is described as having taken place :

“When the Brahmans were now again standing silent, Chārvāka, the Rāxasa, in the disguise of a Brahman, addressed the King. This friend of Duryodhana, concealed under the garb of a mendicant, with a rosary, a lock of hair on his crown, and a triple staff, impudent and fearless, surrounded by all the Brahmans, exceeding a thousand in number, who were anxious to utter their benedictions, —men who practised austerity and self-restraint,—this wretch, wishing evil to the magnanimous Pāṇdavās, without saluting those Brahmans, thus addressed the King: ‘All these Brahmans, falsely imputing the malediction to me, themselves exclaim, Woe to you, wicked king, the slayer of your kindred. What can be the issue of this, son of Kunti? Since you have slaughtered your kinsmen and elders, death is desirable for you, and not life.’ Hearing this speech of the wicked Rāxasa, the Brahmans were pained and indignant, being maligned by his words. But they all, as well as King Yudhishtira, remained silent, being ashamed, and cut to the heart. Then Yudhishtira said: ‘Let all your reverences be reconciled to me who bow down and supplicate you: you ought not to curse me who have recently [?] undergone so great mis-

the self-existent, *imperishable Vishnu*,” and in a subsequent line substitutes the words *sacharācharam avyayam*, for *saha putrair kṛitāmabhiḥ*, i.e., “he created the whole *imperishable* world, *moveable* and *immoveable*,” instead of “he created the whole world, *with his sons*,” &c. This last alteration was rendered necessary by the fact that sons are ascribed by mythological tradition to Brahmā, but none to Vishnu. When, therefore, the name of Vishnu was introduced, it became necessary to strike out all reference to sons. These alterations are not found in Carey and Marshman’s edition, which here agrees with Schlegel’s.

fortunes.' All the Brahmans then exclaimed: 'We never uttered the words imputed to us: may your Majesty enjoy prosperity.' Then these noble-minded Brahmans, versed in the Vedas, and purified by austerities, recognised [the pretended mendicant] by the eye of knowledge, and exclaimed: 'This is the Rāxasa called Chārvāka, the friend of Duryodhana; in the garb of a vagrant he seeks to accomplish the purposes of your enemy; we say not so, righteous King; let all such fears be dissipated; may prosperity attend you and your brothers.' Then all these pure Brahmans infuriate with anger, uttering menaces, slew, with muttered imprecations, the wicked Rāxasa, who fell down, consumed by the might of the utterers of Vedic incantations, burnt up by the bolt of Indra, like a tree covered with leaves."

Krishṇa then, in the following verses (1,430—1,442), explains to Yudhishtira that formerly in the Kṛita age this Rāxasa, Chārvāka, had for many years practised austerities at Badari; and that having in consequence received from Brahmā his choice of a boon, he had selected that of being perfectly secure against the hostility of all creatures. This boon was granted with the sole condition that he should abstain from showing any disrespect to Brahmans (*dvijāva-māndā anyatra*). Having obtained this prerogative of immunity from attack, he began to oppress the gods. The latter applied to Brahmā, who told them that he had decreed that the Rāxasa's death should shortly be brought about through his friendship with Duryodhana, which would lead him to treat the Brahmans contumeliously, when they would consume him, as the King had seen; and that Yudhishtira was not to feel any remorse for the slaughter of his kindred, since this carnage had taken place in the exercise of his functions as a Xatriya, and the victims of it had gone to heaven.

Chārvāka* is again briefly mentioned in the "Lament of Duryodhana," ixth, or Śalya Parva, 3,619: when that prince had received his death-wound, his thighs having been fractured by the blow of Bhimasena's club: "If Chārvāka, the wandering ascetic, skilful in discourse, learns [that I have been mortally wounded], he will certainly perform an expiation¹ for me in the holy [lake] Samanta-panchaka, renowned in the three worlds."

I am not aware how far back the sect of the Chārvākas can be traced in Indian literature. *Nāstikas* (nihilists), *Pāshandis* (heretics), and revilers of the Vedas are mentioned in many parts of Manu's

¹ The word which I have translated expiation is *apachita* (*apachiti*?). The word *apachiti* occurs in the viith, or Drona Parva, 7,811.

Institutes, ii., 11; iii., 150, 161; iv., 30, 61, 163; v., 89; viii., 22, 309; ix., 225; xi., 65, 66; xii., 33; 95, 96. I quote two of these passages as specimens: ii., 11: "Whatever Brahman, addicting himself to rationalistic writings¹ (*hetu-śāstra*), shall despise these two sources [of knowledge, *the śruti* and the *smṛiti*], is to be cast out by good men as a nihilist, and reviler of the Veda." xii., 95, 96: "All religious systems (*smṛitis*) which stand apart from the Vedas, and all heretical opinions whatever, are unprofitable in the next world, for they are founded on darkness. Whatever books, separate from the Vedas, spring up and disappear, are worthless and false, from their recentness of date." Such heretics appear to have been numerous at the period when these Institutes were compiled, as the faithful are warned (iv., 61) against living in a village "overrun with heretics;" a kingdom "in which Sūdras predominate, overrun with nihilists, and destitute of Brahmans," is said (viii., 22) to be doomed to destruction; a king who is a nihilist is threatened with perdition (viii., 309); and it is enjoined (ix., 225) that heretics shall be banished. Nihilism is, however, only pronounced (xi. 66) to be an *upapātaka*, or sin of lesser heinousness. Allusion is said to be made in v., 89, 90, and viii., 363, to female anchores of an heretical religion.

The anti-brahmanical opinions here referred to are, however, most probably those of the Buddhists, though possibly some other sects may be included.

It is evident from some of the hymns of the Veda (see Müller's *Hist. of Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 556 ff.) that theological speculation has been practised in India from a very early period. In fact, the whole of these hymns, even those of them which are most artless, poetical, and anthropomorphic in their character, may, in a limited sense, be regarded as speculative; since the religious ideas which they express, being founded on no external revelation, must have owed their existence not only to the religious emotions and imagination of their authors, but also to a certain exercise of reflection, which assigned particular attributes and functions to the different deities, and proceeded on a certain theory of the relations of the Godhead to the universe. As, therefore, the religions or mytho-

¹ Though reasoning is looked upon by Manu (ii. 11.) and other orthodox writings (e.g., *Mahābhārata*, iii. 13,463, *śūshka tarka*), with great jealousy, as likely to be employed against the Vedas, its aid is also invoked as necessary for their defence and exposition (Manu, xii. 105), and professors of different systems of logic or speculation (*haituka* and *tarkin*) are referred to (xii. 111) as essential component members of a Brahmanical conclave of ten (*daśvairi parīshat*).

logical systems of India became developed, it was to be expected that they should exhibit numerous variations springing out of the particular genius of different writers; and more especially that, whenever the speculative element predominated in any author, he should give utterance to ideas on the origin of the world, and the nature and action of the Deity or deities, more or less opposed to those commonly received. In the stage here supposed, a fixed and authoritative system of belief or institutions had not yet been constructed, but was only in process of construction, and therefore considerable liberty of individual thought, expression, and action would be allowed; as is, indeed, also shown by the existence of different schools of Brahmins, not merely attached to one or other of the particular Vedas, but even restricting their allegiance to some particular recension of one of the Vedas. Even after the Brahmanical system had been more firmly established, and its details more minutely prescribed, it is clear that the same strictness was not extended to speculation, but that if a Brahmin was only an observer of the established ceremonial, and an assertor of the privileges of his own order, he might entertain and even profess almost any philosophical opinion which he pleased (Colebrooke, *Misc. Ess.*, i., 379; Müller, *Anc. Sansk. Lit.* 79). In this way the tradition of free thought was preserved, and speculative principles of every character continued to be maintained and taught without hindrance or scandal. Meanwhile the authority of the Vedas had come to be generally regarded as paramount and divine, but so long as this authority was nominally acknowledged, independent thinkers were permitted to propound a variety of speculative principles, at variance with their general tenor, though perhaps not inconsistent with some isolated portions of their contents. It was only when the authority of the sacred books was not merely tacitly set aside or undermined, but openly discarded and denied, and the institutions founded on them were abandoned and assailed by the Buddhists, that the orthodox party took the alarm.

Accordingly traces of a sceptical spirit are not wanting in the different parts of Indian literature.

In the *Rig Veda*, viii., 89, 3, 4, reference is made to some free-thinkers who had doubted the existence of Indra. (See *Original Sanskrit Texts*, iii., 151.)

In the *Nirukta Yāska* refers to an older author, named Kautsa, who had spoken of the hymns of the *Veda* as being often unmeaning or contradictory (*Original Sansk. Texts*. ii. 180 ff.).

Śākya Muni, the founder of Buddhism, who is generally considered to have flourished in the sixth century B.C., and, as is well known, rejected the authority of the Vedas, and promulgated a system of doctrine and practice at variance with their contents, most probably derived many of his tenets from other speculators who had preceded him. Burnouf (who is followed by Lassen, Müller, and others) is of opinion that Śākya merely carried on a work which had been previously commenced by Kapila and Patanjali, and proceeded upon the atheistical principles furnished to him by the former of these philosophers.—(Bouddhisme Indien, pp. 211; 520.) This may be true, and may be susceptible of proof from a comparison of the principles of these two systems, and an examination of their mutual relations. In the meantime, however, it is worthy of remark that the Sāṅkhya Sūtras, i. 27—47, adduce and refute certain tenets which are those of the Buddhist schools. The opinions in question are, (1) the momentary duration of external objects, which succeed each other in a perpetual flux (Sūtras, 34, 35); (2) that things exist only in perception, and have no objective reality (Sūtra, 42);¹ (3) that there is nothing but a void (*śūnya*). All these doctrines are those of the Buddhist schools (as described in Mr. Colebrooke's Essay on the Heretical Sects). The first doctrine is mentioned in p. 397 of that Essay, as Buddhist; while the second is that of the Yogāchāras, and the third that of the Mādhyamikas, who are both Bauddha sects, *ibid.* p. 391. (See also p. 380, where Mr. Colebrooke alludes to the Buddhists being noticed in the Sāṅkhya.) If, therefore, the Sāṅkhya Sūtras are to be regarded as the original form in which that system was propounded by its author, and if they have remained free from interpolation, the Sāṅkhya must be later than Buddhism. It appears, however, to be *primā facie* very improbable that the Sūtras of the different philosophical schools (whatever may be the age to which the earliest nucleus of each may be referred) should have remained unaltered from the date of their first composition; and the mutual references which are to be found in the Brahma and the Sāṅkhya Sūtras, to each other's doctrines, totally preclude such a supposition. The Sūtras must, therefore, either have received interpolations at some period subsequent to their first compilation, or they must be regarded as nothing more than later summaries of doctrines which

¹ See Professor Banerjes's Dialogues on the Hindu philosophy, where Śankara's refutation of this doctrine, the *Vijñāna-vāda*, is quoted from his commentary on the Brahma Sūtras, ii., 2, 28.

had been handed down, either orally or in writing, from an earlier period.

Mr. Colebrooke, with his usual caution, does not determine whether or not the Buddhist doctrines are derived from those of Kapila, but merely notices the "strong resemblance" which the latter "manifestly bear to the opinions of the sects of Jina and Buddha" (Misc. Ess. i., 228). In another place (i., 378), he says no more than that the last-named sects "exhibit some analogy to the Sāṅkhyas."

But it is not the systems of Buddha and of Kapila alone which are atheistic in their principles. Three of the other Darśanas, reputed more or less orthodox, or subdivisions of them, are known, or suspected, not without some appearance of reason, to have once professed the same opinions, or to profess them still.

In his Dialogues on the Hindu philosophy, which have lately appeared, Professor K. M. Banerjea states his opinion (pp. 141, ff) that the Nyāya and Vaisesika systems were originally atheistic, though their modern adherents have adopted a theistic creed.¹

The wide prevalence of atheistic sentiments in the middle ages of Indian history (*i.e.*, in the centuries subsequent to the commencement of the Christian era) is, however, yet more distinctly shown by the remarkable fact that tenets of this description had, as the orthodox Kumārila himself confesses, in one of the introductory verses of his Vārttika,² become in his day quite general among the adherents of the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā School, who thus strangely combined the two characteristics regarded by Manu and the Vishnu Purāna as incompatible, namely, that recognition of the authority of the Veda, and strict observance of Vedic ceremonies, which these works so strongly enjoin, with the nihilism, atheism, or materialism (*nāstikya*), which they so strenuously denounce. If we are to understand from the term *Lokāyata*, applied by Kumārila to the hostile section of the Mīmāṃsakas, that they had abandoned the belief in a future life as well as in a God (as we, no doubt, should understand, and as I have been assured by Pandit Nehemiah Goreh, an intelligent and well-informed convert from Brahmanism to Christianity), then they have only practised their Vedic ceremonies

¹ See also "Original Sanskrit Texts," Part iii., p. 216.

² He there says, "For the Mīmāṃsā has generally been turned into a school of materialism (or atheism, *lokāyatikṛita*), but I have made this attempt to bring it into the paths of theism (or the recognition of a future existence, *āstika-pāthe*). See Orig. Sansk. Texts, iii., p. 209. Comp. Professor Banerjea's Dialogues, pp. 78 ff., 477 ff.

either for the sake of the prosperity and happiness which they conceived them to procure in the present life, or on account of the gains, and the respectability, connected with their performance. In this case it is a singular fact that the votaries of the Vedic rites should have adopted the speculative opinions of those very materialists by whom these ceremonies and their performers have been so keenly ridiculed and denounced.

P.S. Since the preceding paper was delivered to the Royal Asiatic Society, I have learned, by a letter from Dr. FitzEdward Hall, that he has made long, but fruitless search in India, for the aphorisms of Vṛihaspati, alluded to in p. 299.

ART. XII.—Notes on the production of Tea in Assam, and in India generally.—By J. C. MARSHMAN, Esq.

[*Road Saturday, 18th January, 1862.*]

THE subject of the cultivation of tea in Assam was first brought under the notice of the Committee of Trade and Agriculture of this Society on the 10th November, 1838, when "An Account of the Manufacture of Black Tea as practised in Upper Assam by the Chinamen sent thither for that purpose," which had been drawn up by Mr. W. Bruce, the Superintendent of the Tea Culture, on the part of the Indian Government, was presented by the Secretary of the East India Company.

At a subsequent meeting, held on the 15th December, a specimen of the "Tea grown and prepared in the British possessions in Upper Assam," was presented by the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

On that occasion, Dr. Royle said he thought it of very good quality, and a highly favourable specimen of what was likely to be a still more successful culture. He stated that from the tea plant being distributed over 20 degrees of latitude in a country of extreme climates—that is, where the cold of winter and the heat of summer were both excessive in degree—there could be no doubt of its growth in various parts of the Himalaya, where every diversity of climate was to be found. He said that Upper Assam was totally unknown when he wrote his essay, and, though perceiving the eligibility of making the experiments in Nepal, he had only pointed out such places in Kemaon, Gurwal, and Sirmore.

It will be interesting therefore to resume the consideration of the subject, and to trace the progress which has been made in the last twenty years in the cultivation of tea, not only in Upper Assam, but also in other districts in the Presidency of Bengal, the north-west provinces, and the Punjab.

The Government of India led the way in this experiment; twenty-five years ago Mr. Bruce was appointed the official

superintendent of the experimental gardens which were established in Assam, and seed and artificers were imported from China. But Government announced at the same time that they were prepared to hand over the undertaking and the establishments to any association which appeared to be in a position to carry out the experiment with vigour.

In the year 1839, the Assam Company was formed in London, with a branch in Calcutta, for the purpose of prosecuting the cultivation of tea in Assam, with a nominal capital of £500,000, of which only £200,000 was called up; and the Government nurseries, with all the apparatus, were transferred over to them. But unfortunately the whole of the subscribed capital was in a short time absorbed and extinguished in the costly experiments which were made, and the Company were reduced to the necessity of borrowing £7,000 from their bankers. Not only were their operations crippled for want of resources, but the undertaking was on the verge of extinction, when it was happily rescued from insolvency, and enabled, simply on the strength of this small borrowed capital, to creep up gradually to its present height of prosperity, when the local assets exceed in value the capital which was sunk, and a dividend of 12 per cent. delights the shareholders. This happy result is due in no small degree to the exertions of the superintendent in India, M. de Mornay.

The progressive improvement of the prospects of the Company will be seen from the following statement:

The gross proceeds of Assam Tea sold in London and Calcutta in—

	£		£
1847 amounted to	11,300	1854 amounted to	47,200
1848 " "	15,200	1855 " "	55,000
1849 " "	19,500	1856 " "	71,000
1850 " "	21,200	1857 " "	66,200
1851 " "	25,100	1858 " "	80,700
1852 " "	30,000	1859 " "	76,800
1853 " "	39,000	1860 not yet ascertained.	

The nurseries in Assam were originally stocked with seed from China, but it has been found more advantageous to confine the cultivation to the indigenous plant of the province. All the tea therefore which is sent from Assam to London is the produce of the shrubs which were found growing wild in the country, though they have been not a little improved by care in the cultivation.

The young plants are reared in nurseries, and when sufficiently

mature, are transplanted to the fields and planted about six feet apart. It is simply necessary that the soil should be well hoed and kept completely free from weeds, and that the shrubs should be trimmed, to counteract the injurious tendency to shoot upwards.

They begin to yield in the third year, and attain the maximum of produce in the seventh, after which there has been as yet no diminution in the quantity or quality of the return.

At the commencement of their operations the Company prepared a quantity of green tea, but the experiment was speedily abandoned, and their operations have been limited to the production of black tea, of which there are six varieties :

1. Flowery Pekoe.
2. Orange Pekoe.
3. Pekoe.
4. Souchong—1st and 2nd Class.
5. Congou—1st and 2nd Class.
6. Bohea, and Dust.

All these varieties are gathered from one and the same plant. The finest and most delicate leaves yield the Flowery Pekoe, the largest and coarsest the Bohea, while the other descriptions consist of intermediate qualities. All the leaves of every kind are culled at once, and thrown promiscuously into a heap for two or three days, which promotes a gentle fermentation. They are then dried in cast-iron pans over a charcoal fire. The leaves gathered at the out-stations are subjected to the same process, and then transmitted to Nuzeera, the head-quarters of the Company. There they are sorted by means of sieves of different degrees of fineness.

The leaf which passes through a sieve with the smallest interstices is the first quality, or the Flowery Pekoe, and the denomination of the tea is determined by the number of the sieve through which the dried leaves will pass.

One of the greatest improvements which has been made latterly, is the invention of machinery, by M. de Mornay, the general superintendent, which enables the manipulator to pass the leaves more expeditiously through the sieves, and thus economizes labour. After the leaves have thus been sorted, they are again fired and packed in chests containing, according to quality, from 70lbs. to 100 lbs.

The Assam Tea bears a somewhat higher price in the London market than that of China, that is to say, from 8*d.* to 6*d.* per pound.

The following is the rate at which each quality is insured in bond, and which gives the best idea of its relative value:—

				<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Flowery Pekoe	..	..	..	4	6
Second quality Pekoe	..	..	..	2	6
Souchong	..	..	..	2	3
Congou	..	..	..	1	6
Bohea	..	..	..	1	3

The Assam Company, in addition to their factories in Assam, have established tea gardens in Cachar, in the north-east corner of Bengal. In the former locality, which they have occupied for upwards of twenty years, the quantity of land under cultivation is about 4,000 acres. The gross value of the tea raised in the last year, of which the accounts have been made up, was £76,800, which gives a little less than £20 as the produce of a single acre of land, which heretofore was waste and valueless.

In the more recent experiment in Cachar, the quantity of land placed in cultivation is estimated at about 900 acres, but the plantation is as yet young.

The land available for tea cultivation in the region where it has been prosecuted by the enterprise of the Assam Company is of such vast extent that these operations are susceptible of any degree of expansion.

The land is leased to them by Government at little more than a peppercorn rent, which varies from fourpence halfpenny to nine pence an acre. The sum paid annually for the land cannot therefore be said to have any influence on the cost of the tea. Still, the assurance of obtaining the absolute proprietorship of the tea estates, free from any possible contingency, is calculated to increase the confidence of the public. The Company will, doubtless, therefore take advantage of the regulations proposed by Lord Stanley, and at length adopted by the present Government, redeem the tax on the land they now lease, and purchase outright whatever lands they may hereafter require.

The great obstacle to the enlargement of the Company's operations is the deficiency of labour.

According to the last statement received from Assam, it would appear that the total number of labourers employed by the Company in their establishments in Upper Assam is 5,200. Of these, 1,965 are natives of Cachar, and perhaps 800 from other districts, and scarcely one half the number is from Assam proper. In that

country, as in Aracan and Pegu, the crying want is that of labour. Though it has been generally supposed that Bengal is a pauper warren, yet it is found to be a point of extreme difficulty to induce the native to take his labour to this adjoining province, where it would find a higher remuneration. Yet, strange to say, the men who cannot be persuaded to remove to Assam, are readily embarking for the Mauritius, the West Indies, and even the French colonies, under the stimulus of the energetic system established by the Government of India. With an adequate supply of coolies the productive power of the province would be indefinitely increased.

Encouraged by the success of the Assam Company, various other bodies have been formed for the cultivation of tea in Assam and other localities.

In 1859, there were in all 68 tea factories in Assam, and the total area under cultivation was 7,600 acres. At the end of 1860, it is reported that there were 110 factories, and that the quantity of land either actually in cultivation, or prepared for it, was 21,000 acres.

The entire crop of the past year was estimated at 1,700,000 lbs., and as the quantity which the Assam Company expected to raise was 1,000,000, we have 700,000 lbs. as the produce of the other Companies who have embarked in the enterprise.

In Cachar, a hilly district on the north-eastern border of Bengal, with a very spare population of highlanders, the total amount of the Government revenue, five years ago, was £5,000. There are now 80 English settlers in the district, who are said to expend not less than £60,000, and the public revenue has increased to £20,000. It contains 53 tea plantations, with about 6,000 acres under culture; but as these enterprises are yet in their infancy, the crop of the past year is not estimated at more than 200,000 lbs.

At the sanitarium of Darjeling, and in its neighbourhood, efforts have been made by the Europeans settled there to introduce the cultivation of tea, and, as far as can be ascertained, about 3,000 acres have been planted out, yielding about 62,000 lbs.

For the last twenty years the hills in the north of India have been the scene of very energetic efforts on the part of Government to extend the cultivation of tea. When the subject was first brought under the notice of the Committee of Trade and Agriculture of this Society, that locality was considered by its members as far more favourable for the cultivation than Assam, and the most sanguine expectations of early success were entertained.

Those expectations, however, have not as yet been realized. While the produce of Assam has been augmented twentyfold, the northern nurseries have been stationary. It is said that the difficulties in the way of cultivation are chiefly those connected with the acquisition of land, which even the Fee-simple Resolution of Government does not remove. But the great advantage possessed by Assam, Cachar, and the region to the east of Bengal, over the localities in the remote north, consists in the cheapness and facility of conveyance to the port of Calcutta.

During the past year, 2,000 maunds, of 80 lbs., of tea seed have been distributed from the Government nurseries at and about Saharunpore at the rate of 20 rupees a maund. There are, moreover, now in Kumaon 16 plantations, 25 in Dehra, and 18 in Kangra, besides three companies recently established.

The result of this inquiry regarding the progress of tea cultivation in India therefore stands thus:—In 1840, a few pounds of tea raised in Assam were introduced into England, and considered as great a rarity as the tea sold by Garraway, in 1657, in the coffee-house which still bears his name in Change-alley, when he gave notice that, “to the end that all persons of eminence and quality, gentlemen, and others, who have occasion for tea in leaf may be supplied, the said Thomas Garraway hath tea to sell from 16s. to 50s. the pound.” In 1839, the first parcel of tea from Assam sold from 16s. to 32s. the pound in London. In the course of the last twenty years, 250 tea plantations have been established in the Bengal Presidency, the produce of which in the past year was equal to 2,000,000 of pounds, of the value of about £200,000. The facilities for cultivating it, except in the article of labour, are indefinite. The cultivation is spreading with a rapidity of which there is no former example in India; and wherever the operations are conducted with judgment and economy, upon the basis of experience, the returns are so considerable as to afford the strongest encouragement to the embarkation of capital in the undertaking.

ART. XIII.—On the Vedic Conception of the Earth.¹—Atharva Veda, xii, 1.²—By CHARLES BRUCE, Esq.

[Read Saturday, 8th March, 1862.]

THE following paper contains a translation of a Hymn to the Earth, from the Atharva-Veda, followed by some remarks on the structure of the original composition, which the translator conceives to be made up of verses (in different metres) drawn from different quarters and thrown together by the compiler. The translator then proceeds to explain the conception of the earth which the hymn exhibits, and to compare therewith some representations of ancient Greek writers on the same subject.

Om !

1. Truth which is mighty, righteousness which is strong, consecration and dedication to holiness, prayer and sacrifice, sustain the World; may the World, the mistress of the past and future, give us free room ;

2. Unmolested among³ the sons of man ; may the World, which hath ascent and descent and much plain country, which beareth herbs having every one its virtue, increase for us and prosper for us.

3. May the Earth, on which is the sea, likewise the Great River [Sindhu], and the waters, on which are corn and fruitful fields, on which all that hath life and breath is quickened, make us chief among them that are well satisfied.

4. May the World with its four corners, on which are corn and fruitful fields, may the Earth, which beareth everywhere breathing and living things, place us in possession of cattle which shall not dry.

¹ The writer of the following article desires to acknowledge the generous assistance which he has received in its preparation, particularly in the translation of the Vedic Hymn, from Professor Roth, of Tübingen, and takes this opportunity of returning his warmest thanks to that learned and amiable man.

² Atharva Veda Sanhitá. Herausgegeben von R. Roth und D. D. Whitney.

³ The reading *madhyatas* is here suggested in place of *badhyatas*.

5. May the World, upon which the first-born of old conflicted,¹ upon which the gods overcame the demons,—may the World, the home of cattle, of horses, of birds, grant us enjoyment and honour.

6. May Earth, the place of habitation, which containeth all things, which holdeth all treasure, which suffereth every creature that hath life to repose on her golden breast,—may Earth, which holdeth fire whose presence is in all men,² whose lord is Indra, grant us the object of our desire.

7. May the Earth and World, which the gods, that never slumber, guard without ceasing, yield us sweet and pleasant things as it were milk; may they shower down honour upon us.

8. May the World, which in the beginning was a floating mass upon the moving water, which the Wise Ones sought after with cunning devices [whose heart is in the highest heaven—immortal—girt about with truth]—may the Earth and World give us energy and strength in high places.

9. May the Earth, on which the waters, going round about continually,³ flow night and day and fail not,—may the Earth give us milk [in a thousand streams] and shower down honour upon us.

10. May Earth, which the Aswins meted out, on which Vishnu hath stepped, which plenipotent Indra hath rid of all his enemies,—may Earth pour out her milk—mother Earth to me her son.

11. May thy hills and thy snow-clad mountains—may thy waste and woodland, O World, be pleasant; [unwearied, unhurt] unscathed may I dwell on the World—on the Earth and World, which are tawny, dark, ruddy, of divers colours, firmly established, protected by Indra.

12. About the middle of thee, O World, about thy navel, where the virtue of thee lieth, even there do thou establish us—do thou purify us; the Earth is our mother, I am the son of the Earth; Parjanya is our father, may he further us.

13. On the Earth do ministrant men enclose the consecrated ground, there do they lay out the sacrifice; there are the sacrificial pillars erected—the upright, shining pillars before the offering; may the glad Earth yield us fruits of gladness.

¹ See v. 43.

² *Agni* here as elsewhere comprehends both the divinity and the material representant.

³ The uniform distribution of the waters is here considered, by which they neither fall short of, nor exceed their mark and bound. See *Rig-Veda*, v. 85, 6.

14. Him who hateth us, O World, who plagueth us, who provoketh us by thought or action¹—him, O Earth, do thou prevent² and give him over into our hands.

15. Mortals that are born of thee do go upon thee, thou bearest two-footed things and four-footed; thine are those five races of men, upon whom the Sun at his rising doth shed immortal glory with his rays.

16. May these all render tribute unto us; and thou, O Earth, do thou give me sweetness of speech.

17. The Earth is the mother of herbs, of whom all things are born; the Earth and World are sure, and established on a firm foundation, glad and pleasant; may we walk thereon for ever.

18. Great is the place of thee, thou hast become great, great is the force of thee, the trembling and the quaking; may great Indra watch over thee and relax not; thou, O Earth, make us to shine like gold; may no one hate us.

19. Agni is in the Earth, in herbs; the waters contain Agni; Agni is in the flint rock; Agni is in men; in cattle and in horses are many Agnis.

20. Agni shineth forth from heaven; the wide firmament is the place of the god Agni; men kindle Agni;—the bearer of the sacrifice, who loveth fat things.

21. May the World, whose garments are of flame, whose knees are dark,³ make me vigorous and active.

22. On the Earth men present to the gods the sacrifice, the prepared oblation; on the Earth mortal men are satisfied with food; may the Earth give me breath and life, may the World make me to be full of years.

23. With the odour which is produced of thee, O World, which herbs, which the waters contain, which the Gandharvas and Apsaras delight in,—with that do thou make me fragrant; may no one hate us.

24. With the odour of thee which has penetrated the firmament,—the odour which of old the immortals gathered and brought to the

¹ *Vadhena*, lit. weapon.

² *Pūrvakṛtvāri*, ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. The translation is here rendered in accordance with the reading, suggested by Professor Roth, *pūrvakṛtvāri* (the accent thus analogously with *pūrvagātvan*).

³ The figure is rather obscurely expressed; the comparison seems to be to a swarthy person, in a mantle of bright colour (i.e. the sunlight), which only discovers from the knees downwards.

marriage-feast of Surya¹—with that do thou make me fragrant; may no one hate us.

25. With the odour of thee which exists in humanity—loveliness and beauty in men and women—in the horse and in the elephant—which is the glory of the maiden—fill us, too, with that; may no one hate us.

26. The Earth is formed of rock, and flint, and dust; the Earth is firmly wrought together² and established; to the World whose breast is of gold let me do honour.

27. Where the timber trees stand fast for evermore, even to the World which upholdeth all things, which is surely founded, let us render praise.

28. Rising up and sitting down—standing still and going forward—may we never stagger upon the Earth with the right foot or with the left.

29. I praise the World which is continually renewed, the patient Earth which rejoices in our prayer; may we dwell about thee, O Earth, thou that bearest refreshment and nurture, store of food and fat things.

30. May clean waters flow for our body; that which defileth us do we throw off upon him that is not lovely;³ I wash me thoroughly and am clean.

31. All thy corners, O Earth, to the east and to the north, to the south and to the west, may they become pleasant for me as I go; may I not fall as I walk upon the Earth.

32. Thrust us not away from behind, nor from before,—not from above nor from below; bless us, O Earth, may no robber come upon us; do thou keep far from us the destroying weapon.⁴

33. All the range of thee, O Earth, which I look over by the help of the Sun—may the sight of my eye lose none of it, till the latest years which are to come.

34. What though, as I lie, I turn on my right side or on my left,—what though we lie us down with our backs against thee,—do not thou, therefore, harm us, O Earth, thou cradle of all.

¹ *Savitar* had given his daughter *Suryā* in marriage to *Soma*; for the legend, which is often alluded to, see *Rig-Veda*, 10, 85, 9, and 99. *Aitareya Brāhmana*, iv. 7.

² The text reads *sandhṛtā*, perhaps *sambhṛtā*.

³ That this very unpleasant habit prevailed is unfortunately confirmed in other places.

⁴ Or the murderer.

35. That which I dig up, O Earth, may it quickly grow again; may I not pierce through a joint or through the heart of thee, thou that continually renewest thy face.

36. May thy summer, O Earth, thy rains, thine autumn, thine early and late winter, thy spring,—may thine appointed seasons, thy years, thy day and night, O World, yield us blessings as it were milk.

37. The World, which is continually renewed unto perfection, in which are the Agnis that are in the waters, took unto herself the serpent, though with trembling, while, giving up the godless *Dasyus*,—preferring *Indra* and not *Vritra*,—she was subject unto *Śakra* as unto her lord.

38. May the Earth, on which are placed the tabernacle and the ark,¹ in which the pillar of sacrifice is set, on which the priests who know the offices give praise with hymns and intonations, on which the ministers set themselves to their duties that *Indra* may drink the *Soma*;—

39. May the Earth, on which the seven ancient *Rishis* who fashioned creation, being instant in service, extricated the kine, by a solemn feast, by sacrifice with dedication to holiness;—

40. May that Earth reveal the wealth which we covet; may *Bhaga* be on our side, may *Indra* prevent us.

41. May the Earth, on which mortal men sing and dance with a loud noise, on which they war, on which the battle-cry and the drum shout aloud,—may the Earth do away with our adversaries, may the World rid us of all our enemies.

42. To the Earth, on which is nurturing food, rice and barley,—on which are the five peopling races,—to the Earth, whose lord is *Parjanya*, be honour,—to the Earth on which the rain drops fatness.

43. In the World, where are the strong towers built by the gods, where is the ground on which they contended,—in the World, the womb of all things, may the Lord of Creation make every corner to be for our delight.

44. May the World, that holdeth everywhere treasure in hidden places, give me wealth—jewels and gold; may the bounteous Earth, the kindly goddess, give me much wealth.

45. May the World, that holdeth everywhere people of different tongues, of various customs according to their homes, yield me a

¹ *Sadchavirdhāne havirdhāna* appears to have been an ark or chest on wheels, to receive rice or other offerings; *sadas* a hut erected in the consecrated ground for sacrificial purposes.

thousand sources of pleasure, like a milch cow that standeth ready to the milker.¹

46. Thy serpents, thy scorpions of deadly bite, thy wasps which are driven in by the cold and lie in hidden places,—all thine insects, O World, which are quickened into life in the rainy season,—may these crawling things not creep upon us; favour us with the thing that is innocent.

47. Thou hast many paths on which men go, a highway for the chariot and for the cart to go upon, the paths on which the lofty and the lowly travel; may our path be rid of every enemy, of every robber; do thou favour us with the thing that is innocent.

48. The World, which endureth the burden of the oppressor, and beareth up the abode of the lofty and the lowly, suffereth the hog and giveth entrance to the wild boar.

49. Keep away from us, O World, thy cattle of the wild, thy beasts of the forest, thy lions and tigers, which go about to devour men,—keep far from us the jackal and the wolf, the evil being, the wicked spirit, and the Rakshas.

50. Defend us, O Earth, from the Gandharvas and the Apsaras, the Aráya and the Kimidin, the Piśacha,² and all the family of the Rakshas.

51. Two-footed winged things fly to the Earth, swans and eagles, vultures and fowls of the air; the wind cometh out of heaven and passeth over the earth, raising the dust and causing the trees to shake, and the flame followeth all the gusts of the wind.

52. Darkness and twilight are disposed, day and night are ordered on the Earth; the Earth and World are covered by the rains; may they grant us a pleasant home that it may be well with us.

53. May the Heavens and the World and the Air make room for me in this place; may Fire, Sun, and Water, and all the gods give me wisdom.

54. May I be lord, even a Mighty One on the Earth, may I lord it mightily, lord over all, a conquering lord over the whole Earth.

55. What time of old, O goddess, at the word of the gods, spreading thyself abroad thou didst expand into greatness; then did welfare enter into thee, then didst thou set the four corners in order.

¹ *Dhenuranapashpuranti*, a cow that does not kick against the milker.

² We should convey something of the idea by translating these names, "the sprite, the faery, and the elf."

56. In the peopled places, in the waste and woodland, in the congregation of men upon the Earth, in the assembly and in the gathering together, may our words be acceptable.

57. As a horse scattereth the dust, so hath Earth scattered the people which have dwelt upon her since she existed,—yet is she kindly and prevenient, the protector of creation, bearing plants and trees in her bosom.

58. May all the words that I speak be pleasing, according to my appearance may they desire after me; may I be full of force, pressing forward; may I scatter all them that are violent.

59. May the peaceful Earth, whose fragrance is excellent, whose breasts contain the heavenly drink, whose breasts are full of milk, bless me,—may the World bless me as it were with milk.

60. The Earth, which, by means of the offering, Viṣwakarman drew forth out of her hiding place in the mist, even the vessel which was to yield pleasure, as yet concealed in secret, was made manifest for the enjoyment of the sons of the noble mother.

61. Thou art the capacious vessel of humanity, bestowing all desires as it were milk, and art not exhausted; that which thou lackest may the Lord of Creation fill up—the first born of righteousness.

62. May children be born to us, O World, that shall dwell in thee, without sickness and without decay; do thou give us long life; never shall we be slothful in bringing to thee the appointed offering.

63. Mother Earth, do thou fix and stablish me, that it may be well with me; thou that art the associate of heaven grant me prosperity and fortune.

This hymn, like others of equal length in this part of the Atharva Veda, is by no means to be considered as the result of a single inspiration; a slight inspection of its contents will suffice to show that the materials of which it is composed are put together without any strict regard to continuity either of metre or of subject. An attempt to restore order into the confusion of this and similar compositions, can hardly hope to be more successful than to bring into relief some of the more considerable fragments.

The first six verses of this hymn, which divide themselves into three strophes of four lines each, exhibit a fairly consecutive gradation in the expression of their subject, and are nearly identical in metre. The three verses which follow may reasonably be classed

together, as they seem to embrace one range of thought, and two trifling alterations will restore a sufficient unison of metre: this will be effected by striking out the line 8 *b*. which is inserted in brackets in the translation,—a change which is equally advantageous to the expression of the idea,—and by also striking out the word *bhúmidhárá* in the line 9 *c*. It will be observed that in these stanzas the second line is in each case introduced, something after the manner of a refrain, a feature which we also remark in the tenth, twenty-second, and forty-first stanzas, which stand widely isolated, but (with the exception of 10 *c*., which bears internal evidence of mutilation,) are sufficiently identical in metre.

Next in order we find a tolerably continuous fragment, which we are in every respect justified in attributing to a single source, extending from the eleventh to the seventeenth verse. The following suggestions are offered in order to restore a due metrical unity; in verse eleven, the words *ajáto shato* at the commencement are placed in brackets, and the first line of verse fourteen is considered as wanting.

Following the isolated and probably mutilated eighteenth verse, which, however, may find a place subsequently, we find a fragmentary interpolation which seems rather to belong to an invocation of Agni, but which, from its consideration of Agni as connected with the earth, the compiler may easily have thought admissible into the hymn.

The twenty-third and twenty-fourth verses present the same refrain which has occurred in the eighteenth verse; the latter verse, as well as the twenty-fifth, which also fails to harmonise with the metre, bears indications of mutilation in the construction, and under this supposition we may attribute them to a single inspiration.

No difficulties present themselves in the way of grouping the next three verses, and to these, as similar in metre, and bearing closely on one another in thought, I am inclined to annex the three consecutive verses, 33—35, omitting the line 34 *a*.

The verses which are inserted between these two groups seem to have been so placed on account of a correspondence of the thought which they express, though bearing to them no metrical connection.

The two following verses stand entirely isolated, both with regard to the metre and to the subject matter, but are followed by a fragment which is apparently well connected, extending as far as the forty-second verse; we may be justified, however, in

holding the line 38 *c.* for an interpolation, as the construction is exceedingly awkward. I have already suggested the reference of the forty-first verse to another place.

Beyond this point the text presents such a confusion of measure, that but one considerable fragment can be gathered out of the remaining twenty verses: this may include the verses 53, 54, 56, 58, 59, and 63. These verses seem to form a quite distinct prayer, and are oddly enough separated by verses which seem to have no connection with them, either in measure or in sense.

With regard to the remaining stanzas, it would not be easy to associate more than two together with any probability of their deriving from the same source, although the fragment 46—51 is evidently a continuous expression of idea, and the forty-sixth and forty-seventh verses exhibit a refrain which may possibly indicate that they are disfigured portions of the same original hymn.

From what has been here said it will readily be seen that the hymn before us is a compilation made up of appropriate fragments, wherever they presented themselves in the materials which lay at hand to the compiler, the productions undoubtedly of different bards, put together in the somewhat careless manner which distinguishes similar compositions in the Atharva Veda. The example may serve as a single confirmation of the general remark already made by Professor Roth,¹ that the compilation of this collection by no means displays that conscientious care and intimate acquaintance with the subject which are so admirable in the other Vedas. In truth, however, the hymn loses none of its value on this account; the compiler of course chose such fragments, drawn from a number of witnesses, as contained the expression of that conception which his own or a preceding generation had formed of the earth and all that is thereon: nor is the subject without interest. In the absence of all positive historic knowledge upon this point, we betake ourselves, not without a peculiar charm, to those early monuments which reveal the opinions and recall the remote traditionary legends which those who, in point of time, were the foremost men of all this world, had entertained of the origin and existence of the earth and its inhabitants. For the rest, this hymn possesses the special value that, with a single exception in the Rig Veda (Maṇḍala, v., 84, three stanzas), it is the only one dedicated to the earth that occurs among all those which Vedic literature has preserved.

I purpose to consider briefly the conception of the earth which

¹ Abhandlung über den Atharva Veda. Tübingen, 1856. Page 8.

is here exhibited, bringing into comparison some similar characteristics which are discovered in the mythology of Greece upon this subject.¹ In the absence, however, of those pre-Homeric and pre-Hesiodic poems, which must undoubtedly have existed and held a place relative to that of the Indian Vedas, comparison must be sought chiefly in such allusions as show the germ out of which were developed the subsequent mythologies which, in the plastic imagination of the Grecian genius, so soon lost the simpler charms of pure nature-religion.

The following hymn, which is preserved among the minor Homeric poems under the title—*To the Mother of All*—gives a conception of the earth possessing the completest simplicity of early nature-religion, and showing in many points a marked similarity to the Veda hymn.

HYMNI HOMERICI, XV. (BAUMEISTER).

1. I will celebrate Earth, the Mother of All, whose foundations are sure,
The most ancient Earth, that nutureth all things that are in the world;
Truly all things that move over the divine land, and in the sea,
And all things that fly in the air,—all these are nurtured out of thy treasures;
5. And out of thee are men blessed with children, and with fruitful increase,
August Earth! and it is in thine hand to give and to take away life
From mortal men: but he is blessed whom thou, after thine heart,
Shall be willing to honour, and all things are in plenty at his hand;
His glebes are heavy with food, and in his pastures
10. He has wealth of cattle, and his house is filled with good things.
Their city is full of beautiful women, they rule their city in order,
And great wealth and treasure follow after them;

¹ The principal works which have been consulted on this subject are: Preller's *Griechische Mythologie*, Welcker's *Griechische Götterlehre*, and Gerhard's *Griechische Mythologie*.

- And their young men rejoice in the freshness of their joy,
 And their maidens—in garlanded circles—with glad heart
 15. Sport and skip over the soft flowers of the meadow,—
 Even they whom thou shalt honour—august goddess—bounteous deity!
 Hail! mother of the gods—consort of the starry heaven,
 And be willing as guerdon of my song to give me wealth that
 rejoiceth the heart.

This hymn, in its main scope and burden, as well as in some striking details, presents some expressions of thought remarkably coincident with that in the Atharva Veda. It will be observed that the first line of the Homeric hymn, by the allusion to the “firm foundations” of the Earth, in connection with the expression “mother of all,” unites two attributes of the Earth which the earliest phase of nature-religion failed to distinguish, but which at a later period diverged into two distinct objects of worship—a distinction which is precisely described by Ovid in the lines

*Officium commune Ceres et Terra tuentur,
 Hæc præbet causam frugibus, illa locum.*

The burden of the Atharva hymn is mainly devoted to this latter contemplation of the earth, as affording space and room to treasure, vegetation, and life, rather than to the consideration of those active agencies which it manifests in producing these, or to the operation of the changing results which they display. Thus the earth is invoked for “free room without molestation from men;”—is described as “suffering everything which hath life to repose on her golden breast,” and as “bearing up the place of the lofty and the lowly,”—as “surely founded,”—“formed of rock, and flint, and dust firmly wrought together.” In this contemplation of the earth, as the passive sustainer of all things, we find no hint of the tasteless speculations of later Indian mythology, as to that on which the earth itself rested,—not the slightest allusion to elephant, turtle, or serpent.

In the Grecian conception of the earth, on the other hand, more importance was early attached to the manifestation of active agencies and external operations, so that the passive function of the earth is alluded to, for the most part, incidentally, in the shape of those perpetual epithets, which seem like the echo of an earlier conception, rather than the expression of a lively realization in the mind of the poet, as in the epithets—*ἴδος ἀσφαλῆς αἰαί—γαῖα πελώρη*

—μέλαινα—εὐρύτερον, and in the expression γαίης εὐρυδειγῆς to which latter consideration, it will be remembered, a quite special importance is attached in the Atharva hymn, v. 47.

In the contemplation of the earth as a mother—an expression which is also introduced in the Atharva hymn—“may mother Earth give milk to me her son;” “the Earth is a mother—I am the son of the Earth;”—it must be remembered that this conception in its earliest phase by no means embraces that relationship of mother which the later Greeks understood when they declared, γῆ ἔτεκεν ἀνθρώπους. The conception which first symbolised the earth as a mother, as furnishing, by means of corn and fruit (which in the Atharva hymn are considered as an absolute part of the earth, v. 35), food and nourishment for the human race, contains only the germ of that essential meaning which is attributed to the earlier symbol by Plato, and is used by him as an argument for the deduction of his conception, in the passage in Menexenus :—(P. 238.)

“A remarkable proof that the earth bore (ἔτεκε) our forefathers lies in the consideration that everything, which has given birth, possesses the necessary food for that to which it has given birth, so that a woman who has given birth is readily distinguished from one who pretends to have done so, but has no fountains of nourishment for the birth; in regard to which point our earth gives a notable proof that she has given birth to men, for she produced crops of wheat and barley, which are admirably adapted for the nourishment of the human species; and this proof is of far greater consideration in the case of the earth, than in the case of women, for the earth does not imitate women in conception and parturition, but women imitate the earth.”

The idea which is here so precisely stated, had at an earlier time found more general and less definite expression, as for example in Pindar :—(Nemea. VI. 1.)

ἔν ἀνδρῶν, ἔν θεῶν χείρας· ἐκ
μῆς δὲ πνίομεν
ματρὸς ἀμφοτέρου·

a passage which should seem almost identical with the Hesiodic line :—(Works and Days, 108.)

ὡς ἄμωθεν γαγάσει θεοὶ θνητοὶ τ' ἀνθρώποι,

though the account given in Hesiod of the origin of the human race is totally at variance with this idea, and everywhere describes men as having been created by the gods.¹

¹ See an essay “Über den mythus von den fünf menschengeschlechtern bei Hesiod.” Roth. Tübingen, 1860.

The paragraph preceding that which has been quoted from Plato alludes to the production of animals out of the earth in terms precisely similar to those which are applied to the origin of the human race. The Atharva hymn takes no notice of the origin of the animal kingdom, merely recognizing the earth as the place on which all manner of cattle, and beasts, and creeping things—the domestic cow, and the lion, and jackal of the wilds—have their existence. In particular, frequent allusion is made to the circumstance that the earth, though full of good things for the service of man, is also the home of deadly beasts and reptiles. With these passages may be compared the fragment, to be found among the Homeric hymns, entitled—"To the mother of the gods;" its internal evidence satisfactorily proves it to have been addressed to the earth:—(Hymni Homerici, xiv. Baumeister.)

The mother of all gods, and of all men,
 Do thou sing—sweet-voiced muse—daughter of great Jove!
 Her whom the echo of the cymbal and the drum, and the hum
 of fifes
 Delight, and the roar of wolves and tawny lions,
 And the re-echoing mountains.

A further parallel to the idea which is here expressed of the earth rejoicing in the noise and activity of life, is found in the invocation of the Vedic bard to the earth as the place where men shout and dance, where the noise of the battle-cry and drum are heard. (v. 41.)

But the activity of life upon the earth was in general a feature of far greater interest to the Grecian than to the Indian; in this connection I refer to the contrast which is exhibited in the Vedic hymn and in the Homeric hymn which has been earlier given, in the nature of the blessings desired from the earth. In both, indeed, wealth and the good things of this world are prayed for; but the latter presents us with a charming picture of the social pleasures enjoyed by those who are under the favour of the earth, while the former dwells only on the negative social advantage of being unmolested by others, and of not being hated by any one.

It will be observed that each of these hymns closes with an invocation to the earth, as the consort of heaven. How this relationship originated—which is, at all events, readily conceived—is clearly expressed in different passages of the Atharva hymn;

independently of those passages where the personification is more substantially brought out in the Grecian poets, we have a remarkable statement by Æschylus in the fragment in Athenæus:—(xiii., p. 600 B).

*ἰρᾶμεν ἀγνός οὐρανός τρῶσαι χθόνα,
ἔρως δὲ γαῖαν λαμβάνει γαμοῦ τυχεῖν·
δμβρος δ' ἀπ' ἐνάστετος οὐρανοῦ πεισών
ἔκκει γαῖαν· ἥ δὲ γίγεται βροτοῖς
μήλων τε βοσκάς καὶ βίον δημήτριον,
δινδρῶτις ὄρα δ' ἐκ νοτίζοντος γάμου
τίλειός ἐστιν.*

To the subject of the earth's origin we find in the Vedic hymn but vague allusions; these occur in vv. 8, 55, 60, and an expression which may refer to the same myth occurs in v. 29. It should seem that reference is here made to a tradition of the earth having been concealed in the midst of a watery mist or nebula, out of which it was brought by the exertions of the gods in answer to the prayers and sacrifices of Viṣwakarman; the myth implies a contradiction in itself, but seems to contain the germ of a tradition which lay at the bottom of the three principal accounts of the earth's origin in the Grecian theogonies. The first of these, namely, that the Earth was produced out of Oceanus, which Aristotle declares to have been considered by many the oldest tradition, is but incidentally alluded to by Homer (*Iliad*, xiv. 201), Ὁκεανὸν θεῶν γένεσιν, and (246) Ὁκεανὸν ὅσπερ γένεσιν πάντεσσι τέτυκται. Oceanus, it must be remembered, is here not the sea, which was itself produced out of Oceanus. (*Iliad*, xxi. 196.) Of the nature of this element it is probable that the ancients themselves entertained no definite idea; it undoubtedly refers to the chaos of the Hesiodic account, in which "Oceanus" is the personification of what we call the ocean, and it reappears at the basis of the Orphic theogony, which represents Æon as having been produced out of Oceanus through an intermediate nebulous substance.

With this tradition of the earth's origin may be compared the myth of the Island of Delos, which rose out of the ocean at the birth of the god of light. I have the more pleasure in introducing the passage in Theognis, where this legend is referred to, as it contains an allusion to the sense of smell, which is brought into marked prominence in the Atharva Veda, vv. 23, &c., but occupies no such conspicuous place in the Greek contemplation of nature:—(Bergk. *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* p. 381.)

Φοῖβε ἀναξ ὄρε μὲν σε θεὰ τίς, πότνια Δηῶ,
 φοίνικος ῥαδινῆς χερσὶν ἰφαψαμένη,
 ἀθανάτων κάλλιστον ἐπὶ τροχοειδοῖ λίμνῃ,
 πᾶσα μὲν ἐπλήσθη Δῆλος ἀπειροσίῃ
 δέμῃς ἀμβροσίης, ἐγίλασσε δὲ γαῖα πελώρη,
 γήθησεν δὲ βαθὺς πέστος ἄλλος πολυῆς.

It will have been noticed that the Indian myth represents the gods as anterior to, and auxiliary in, the origin of the earth,—a priority which is nowhere conceded to the gods of Grecian mythology; they are further described in the Indian legend as guarding the earth without relaxation and without slumbering¹—a far higher conception of them than was entertained in the Grecian systems, in which they were as subject to fatigue and drowsiness as to the other weaknesses which are incidental to mortal men.

There remain some allusions, embraced in the Vedic hymn, which the scope of this essay will not allow me to enter upon. Two especially might well furnish subject for particular investigation, and for comparison with what Grecian mythology offers on the same subjects; I refer, first, to that allusion to pre-historic times which notices the victorious combat carried on by the gods with the dæmonic powers here called the Asuras, and the conflicts of earth's primeval inhabitants among themselves; and secondly, to the consideration of fire in its connection with the earth, which is here so prominently insisted on.

But the Atharva hymn contains the expression of a religious idea, which proves the earth to have been viewed by the early Indian religionists from a bearing where the Greeks appear to have found no stand point. In the concise but forcible expression of the opening line of this hymn, we find the three component parts of religion laid down as the basis of the world; truth and justice, as the rule and conduct of life in its relation to others; religious consecration, temperance, and abstinence as the rule of self-guidance and the means of inward purity; and prayer and sacrifice as the outward manifestation of devotion and obedience to the gods. Hence it is obvious that, in their conception of the world, they embraced more than the idea of a natural material power, and strove after the recognition of an unknown power—a supreme spirit of order, which had created and ordered all things in just proportion, whose equilibrium was maintained by the absence of

¹ For instances in the Veda where the watchful providence of the gods is fully recognised, see the Essay on the five ages mentioned above, page 18.

all excess, and whose prerogative it was, as the disposer of all things, to be entreated for his favour. But of this spiritual recognition no more was possible to these early religionists than dim and uncertain foreshadowings, which lost themselves more and more in material and visible contemplations, until the fundamental religious idea, in all its parts, came to be considered merely as the means of obtaining material benefits and enjoyments.

But out of this religious idea, which was beyond the horizon of Grecian inspection, arose an idea of the purity of the earth, which is here represented as continually renewing itself of all impurities, and further, a connection of the earth with the material parts of religion, which is more than once alluded to, and in the prosecution of which idea the earth is invoked as the ground on which the services of religion are performed. Vv. 13, 29, 30, 38.

In conclusion, I offer a single remark upon the style of this Vedic composition; it is one of great simplicity; the earth is, for the most part, considered as yielding its blessings and its good things under the simple figure of a cow, the most frequent of all illustrations in the Veda, and as expressive of its kindly bounty, it is here naively alluded to as a cow which does not kick against the milker.

ART. XIV.—*The Sutra of the Forty-two Sections, from the Chinese.*—Translated by the REVEREND S. BEAL.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE ordinary account of the introduction of Buddhist books and tracts into China is the following:—

“In the fourth year of the reign of Ming-Ti,¹ of the Han dynasty, the Emperor dreamt that he saw a divine personage, with a body like gold, and six chang² in height, his head surrounded with brightness like the sun. Flying towards him, this Being entered his palace.

“Favourably impressed by what he had seen, the Emperor inquired of his ministers what the meaning of the dream might be; on which Fou-i, who was connected with the Board of Astronomical Calculations, replied:—‘Your minister has heard that India possesses one who has arrived at perfect wisdom, and who is called Fo (Buddha). It must have been his body flying through space, and having a divine splendour, that was the origin of your dream.’ The Emperor on this hastily dispatched the high military officer Tsai-In and the civil officers Wang-Tsiung and Tsin-King,³ with others, amounting in all to eighteen persons, directing them to proceed to the country of the Tai-yue-chi (Getæ) and to Central India, and diligently seek after the law of Buddha.

“After eleven years, In and the others returned from India, having obtained the picture of Buddha, which King Yau-Chau⁴ caused to be made, and also the classic of the Forty-two Sections. They were accompanied also, on their invitation, by the Shamans⁵ Ma-Tang and Tchou-Fa-Lan, and so on the thirtieth day of the twelfth month they arrive at Lo-Yang.⁶

¹ A.D. 64.

² 141 inches; ∴ 6 chang = 846 inches, or about 70 feet.

³ Vide Kang-Hi, sub voce.

⁴ Oudayana, vid. Julian, sub voce.

⁵ Matānga, vid. Lalita Vistara, xvii. n.

⁶ Honan-fou, the eastern capital, built by the first emperor of the East Han dynasty, A.D. 26.

“Then the Emperor began to question Matāñga in this wise:— ‘When the King of the Law (Buddha-Dhárma-vadya) was born, why did he not assume his apparitional form in this country?’ To which the priest replied, ‘The country of Ka-pi-lo¹ is the centre of the Great Chilocosm. All the Buddhas of the three ages, therefore, were born there, and, moreover, the Devas, Dragons, and Kwai-shin² above all things desire that they may be born in that country, and practise the law of Buddha, in order that by its transforming influence they may obtain complete intelligence; for when born in other places no influence of this sort can be exerted, and so the Buddhas never appear elsewhere. But although this is the case, yet the brightness of his doctrine reaches to other parts, so that for a period of 500, nay, of 1,000 years,³ those without, having holy men (or sages) preaching to them the traditional doctrine of Buddha, may obtain transformation.’

“The Emperor believing this testimony, and approving it, at once ordered a temple to be founded outside the western gate of the city (of Lo-Yang), and called it the Temple of the White Horse, where they reverently placed the image of Buddha for worship; and also he ordered a likeness of Buddha to be set up at the Tsing-leung-toi,⁴ or the Southern Palace, as well as over the chief gate of the city (of Lo-) Yang, that both the ministers and people might see and reverence it.”

This account may be also found briefly given at the end of the book itself (i.e., of the Forty-two Sections).

It is also alluded to by Abel Rémusat (“*Foe-Koue-Ki*,”⁵ p. 44); by M. Forceaux (“*Lalita Vist.*,” p. xvii. n.), and by M. Huc (“*Travels in Tartary*,” &c., vol. ii., p. 78).

We may therefore take for granted that this Sutra of Forty-two Sections, or Divisions, is the first work on the subject translated into Chinese.

This is, indeed, no proof of the absolute age of the work itself, nor of its authenticity; yet, from internal evidence it would seem to be of an earlier date, and not the Sutras known as those of the “Great Vehicle” (Mahayana). Its style is simple, its object to enforce the moral precepts of the Buddhist religion, its method natural and uniform. Yet, as there is no evidence that this work is known in the

¹ Kapilavastu.

² i.e., restless spirits.

³ Confer *ót. éξω.* Col. iv. 4, κ.τ.λ.

⁴ Called by Rémusat “*Tour de la Pureté.*” *Fo-Koue-Ki*, p. 44.

southern school of Buddhism, we cannot venture to place it among the earliest productions of that religion; and as in the first section there is a distinct mention of the Two Hundred and Fifty Rules (*i.e.*, of the Pratimoksha), it must be later than that work at any rate. On the whole, considering that it was brought to China A.D. 64, and must have had considerable notoriety in order to have attracted the attention of the mission from the court, we may at any rate assume that it is as old as our era, if not of an earlier date.

The present version was made in the "Sin-chow" year of the Emperor Keën-lung, *i.e.*, A.D. 1721, by a priest (Koue-sse) Chang-Ka, and is the one generally used in China.

THE SUTRA OF THE FORTY-TWO SECTIONS.

At this time, the world-honoured one having perfected reason, considered thus in his mind:—"The banishment of lust (or desire), resulting in a state of perfect rest and quietness, this is the very first and most excellent standing ground, the great means of subduing all the wiles of Mara (or of overcoming all the followers of Mara, or the way of Mara)." So now he began to turn the wheel of the law for the purpose of giving deliverance to all men (or all sentient beings) in the midst of the garden of the park of deer (Mrigadava, *Jul. sub voce*); and (particularly) on account of Chin-ju and his four companions (*viz.* Aṣwajit, Bhadrīka Mahanama, Daṣabala Kachyaha, and the one mentioned, *i.e.* Ajuata Kanudēnya, *vid. Jul. ii. 364, n.*) did he turn the wheel of the law of the four great truths (*arya satyani, vid. Jul. ii. 443*), and so enabled them to arrive at the accomplishment of the paths. It was then that those Bikshus who had any doubts as to what had been spoken, requested Buddha to confirm their faith and confidence in his doctrine; on which the world-honoured one proceeded to instruct and answer them, opening their understanding on every point, as each one stood, with closed hands, in a reverent posture, attentively listening to, and receiving the instruction of their master. At this time the world-honoured one spoke this exact Sutra, containing forty-two sections.

1. Buddha said: The man who leaves his family, quits his

house, enters on the study of supreme reason, searches out the deepest principle of his intelligent mind, (so as to) understand the law which admits of no active exertion,—this man is called a Shaman. Such an one, ever practising the 250 rules (viz those contained in the book of the “four divisions”), following in the four paths, aspiring to and attaining a state of perfect rest and purity, completes in himself the condition of a Rahat.

2. Buddha said: The Rahat is able to fly, change his appearance, fix the years of his life, shake heaven and earth. The successive steps (towards this condition) are: A-na-hom (Anagami), which is the condition that allows a man at the end of his life to mount in soul above the nineteen heavens, and in that region of bliss to attain the condition of Rahat; next (is the condition) of Sz'-to-hom (Sakradagami), in which after one birth and death more, a man becomes a Rahat: next (is the condition) of Sü-to-hun (*i. e.* Sowan), in which, after seven births and deaths more, a man may obtain the state of a Rahat. These are they who have entirely cut off their passions of love and desire, which like severed branches of the tree are now useless (and dead).

3. Buddha said: The Shaman, who has left his family, separated himself from lust, banished his sensual affections, examined the true source of his individual mind, searched out the hidden wisdom of Buddha, understood the unselfish nature of the Buddhist religion, who finds nothing within to obtain, or without to seek after, whose heart is not too much attached to the pursuit of reason (or the accomplishment of the paths), nor yet involved in the web of Karma (*i. e.*—the cause which is followed by an effect—as the life of a tree by the fruit), in whom there is an absence of all unquiet thought, an absence of all active exertion, an absence of all anxious preparation, an absence of all fixed direction of purpose, who without passing through the successive stages of advance has yet attained the highest personal (individual) dignity (of being)—to attain this state is (indeed well) named “to accomplish reason.”

4. Buddha said: He who shaves his head and beard in order to become a Shaman and receive the law of Buddha, (must) forego all worldly wealth, and beg a sufficiency of food for his support, eating one meal in the middle of the day, and occupying one abode beneath a tree, and desire nothing more! That which causes a man to become foolish and blind, is nothing more than lust and desire!

5. Buddha said: Living creatures by ten things attain virtue,

and by ten things become vile; what are these ten things? There are three pertaining to the body, four to the mouth, three to the thoughts; the three pertaining to the body are the slaughter of living creatures, theft, lust; the four belonging to the mouth are double-tongueness, slandering, lying, hypocrisy (or glozy conversation); the three evils of the thought are envy, anger, and wandering thoughts (chi). Disbelief in the three precious ones is the true source of all this evil. But the yan-po-sat (upasamandi) who observes the five rules untiringly, and advances to the ten, he must obtain reason.

6. Buddha said: A man guilty of many crimes, not repenting himself, does but confirm the sinful principle within his heart, and necessitate his return to the world in a bodily form, just as the water returns to the sea. But when he has personally fulfilled, as far as possible in his circumstances, the destruction and relinquishment of evil, understanding the character of sin, avoiding crime, doing what is right,—this man, the power of guilt destroyed, may obtain reason.

7. Buddha said: A man foolishly stating or considering that I do that which is not right, will obtain no other refutation from me but that which proceeds from the exercise of my four qualities of love (?), so the more evil he brings against me, the more good will proceed from me; the influence of *this* resting on me, the effect of *that* returning to him. A foolish man once hearing Buddha explaining this doctrine came and blamed him on account of it. Buddha was silent and answered not, pitying the folly of the man which caused him to act thus. At length, when he ceased, Buddha asked, saying, When one man (an inferior) visits another as a matter of politeness, and finds him away from home, what is the expression used to him who pays the visit? They say "chi kwai." [This passage is very difficult, perhaps a better translation would be this: "What is the polite expression to use to an inferior who, in paying a visit or making a present to another, has not observed the rules of propriety? They say 'keep—return' (i. e. do not trouble yourself, allow me to return you your own)."] So now this follower of mine abusing me, I decline also to receive his abuse, and so it will return to himself, a source of misery. For as sound belongs to the drum, and shadow to the substance, so does misery attach itself to the evil doer.

8. Buddha said: A wicked man who abuses the good one, is like one looking upwards and spitting against heaven; his spittle does not soil the heavens, but returns on himself. Or, when the

wind is contrary, like one who aims dust at another, the dust does but return against him who threw it. You cannot injure the good man, the misery will devolve on yourself.

9. Buddha said: A man who distributes alms from a principle of private affection or violent pity, has not much merit; but he who bestows alms with no private end, but from fealty to the principle of supreme reason, his merit is great indeed! So he who beholds another engaged in almsgiving, and from a principle of reason approves of what he does, and rejoices at it, this man shall also share in the merit of the action itself. It may be asked if the merit of the first is hereby decreased? Buddha (in answer to this) says, Like as many men lighting a fire for cooking rice from one torch, diminish not the light of that one, so is it in this case of merit.

10. Buddha said: To feed a hundred learned men is not equal in point of merit to feeding one virtuous man; feeding a thousand virtuous men is not equal in merit to feeding one man who keeps the five precepts; feeding ten thousand such is not equal in merit to feeding one Sz'-to-hom (Sakradagami); feeding ten million such is not equal to feeding one Oh-na-hom (anagami); the merit of feeding one hundred million such is not equal to the merit of feeding one Rahat; the merit of feeding ten thousand million such is not equal to the merit of feeding one Pi-chi [Pasé, (Pratyeka)] Buddha; and the merit of feeding one hundred thousand million such is not equal to the merit of feeding one Buddha, and learning to pray to Buddha, desiring him to save mankind. The merit of feeding virtuous men is much greater indeed than the matters which occupy the attention of mere worldly wise men; and the matters of heaven and earth, spirits and demons, are not equal in point of importance to the reverence due to parents; our parents are indeed the most divine of all the gods.

11. Buddha said: There are twenty difficult things in the world, viz.: being poor to be charitable; being rich and noble, to learn supreme wisdom; to risk one's life and yet escape death; to gain sight of the Buddhist scriptures; to be born in the age of a Buddha (or, in the world of a Buddha); to repress lust and banish desire; to see an agreeable object and not covet it; having power, not to be supercilious; not to be angry when insulted; to be passive amidst all worldly influences; to understand completely the end of learning; not to despise the ignorant; to eradicate selfishness; to unite virtuous conduct with learning; to observe one's nature, and at the same time pursue the study of supreme reason; having

attained one's end, not to be moved (by exultation); to explain satisfactorily the nature of final deliverance; to pass through various forms of being to deliver men; to have a heart enlightened and unmoved in action; to avoid positive and disputatious assertions.

12. There was a Shaman who asked Buddha "By what influences is supreme reason engendered, and what are its characteristics?" Buddha replied: "Supreme wisdom has no form or qualities; so that to seek a knowledge of it is profitless. If you desire to possess it, guard well your mind (or active powers of will) and conduct. It may be compared to the polishing of a mirror; the dust and dirt disappearing, the brightness of the mirror is at once produced; so it embraces in itself, as it were, the power of beholding that which has form; so separate (yourself) from lust, guard well the passionless (empty) nature of your mind, then you will perceive reason and understand its characteristics."

13. Buddha said: What is active virtue but to practise the dictates of reason? What is morality (or virtue), but the highest agreement of the will with the requirements of reason? What is magnanimity, but the untiring exercise of patience under injury? He who bravely bears injury undeserved is a man indeed! And what is a sage (or the wisdom of a sage) but a man whose heart is enlightened and free from stain, all evil conduct destroyed, calm and pure within, without blemish? To combine a complete knowledge of what was before either heaven or earth existed with what happens to-day, a knowledge of the universe when as yet nothing existed, so that there is nothing unknown, unseen, unheard,—to possess this transcendent knowledge is true enlightenment.

14. Buddha said: A man who cherishes his passions, unable to discern (the beauty of) supreme reason is like (a vase of) impure water in which objects of variegated colours are placed; (such a vase) being shaken up with violence, men coming and looking over the water can perceive none of the objects which ought to be reflected in it. So in the heart lust and passion cause obscurity, so that supreme reason is darkened and hid. But if a man gradually understands and repents of his sins, growing in knowledge, the foul water, losing its obscurity, will become pure, and calm, and clear, reflecting in itself the forms around. So fire placed under a pot, the water in it boiling and bubbling, nothing within it below the surface can be perceived;—so the three moral evils which naturally rage in the heart, causing the five chenk (skandha) to combine with that which is without, in the end

reason is obscured. It is by the banishment, therefore, of these influences that our spiritual nature is perceived; we leave the trammels of life and death, and ascend up to the land of all the Buddhas, where virtue and reason abide.

15. Buddha said: A man who cultivates supreme reason is like one who takes a burning torch and enters a dark house; the darkness which dwelt within is immediately dissipated, and lo! light ensues! He who still continues the pursuit of wisdom, and fathoms the systems of true philosophy,—his follies and mistakes all destroyed, there must be perfect illumination!

16. Buddha said: In religious exercises, in conduct, in language, even in philosophizing, I never forget (the necessity of founding all on the basis of) supreme reason.

17. Buddha said: To behold heaven and earth, and reflect on their impermanency, so also the mountains and rivers, and all created things, the changes and productions of nature, all fleeting and impermanent; but the heart, relying on this as constant, how quickly reason may be attained!

18. Buddha said: During an entire day to reflect and act according to the dictates of supreme reason, and in the end to obtain the root of firm faith,—this happiness is indeed immeasurable!

19. Buddha said: Never tire of reflecting on that which is yourself! Remember that the four elements composing your body, which are sometimes considered as real existences, are, in fact, all mere names, without personality, and that the so-called "I" is but a passing guest, a thing of a moment; all things around us are only illusions!

20. Buddha said: A man following the dictates of his passions, seeking those so-called sweets of indulgence (flowers), is just like the burning incense, the fragrance of which men may perceive, but the incense itself in those very fumes is self-consumed! So the foolish man, exalting the character of the vulgar enjoyments found in selfish pleasures, and not guarding the treasure of his reason,—the only true source of happiness,—endures both the misery of his past gratification (*i.e.*, of its being passed) and also the bitterness of after repentance!

21. Buddha said: The man who rudely grasps after wealth or pleasure, is like a child seizing a knife (to cut honey),—the sweet delight of the first taste of the honey is scarcely lost before he perceives the pain of his tongue cut with the knife!

22. Buddha said: The man enthralled by the deceitful pleasures of concupiscence (marriage), suffers misery greater than the collars

and chains which bind the inmates of the infernal regions; for from these pains there is remittance, but the desire for the indulgence of sensual passion (wifeage), though it have the misery of the tiger's mouth, still, by its sweetness of appearance, fascinates the heart. The guilt of such indulgence, how can it be remitted?

23. Buddha said: Of all the passions (*lit.*, lusts and desires) the greatest is love of women. Besides this,—so great is it,—there is no other. Were there two of the same sort, no mortal would be able to attain supreme reason.

24. Buddha said: Passion governing a man is like one seizing a torch and rushing with it alight against the wind. The foolish man who does not drop it must have the pain of a burnt hand. So the poisonous root of covetousness, lust, anger, envy, planted in the body of the foolish man, and not early overpowered by the exercise of reason, must necessarily bring calamity and woe, as the hand of this foolish man who desires to carry the torch is burnt.

25. On a certain occasion a Deva presented a woman of pleasure to Buddha, desiring to tempt him. Buddha thought, I will display the wisdom of Buddha (to this being.) So he said, "For weeds and filth there is a receptacle! What then would you do? Why talk to me of such foolish vulgar things (as sensual desires)? Surely it would be difficult to excite passion in one who has for ever banished the means (*tung*) by which these things are gratified." The Deva, overpowered with awe, reverently desired Buddha to explain the subject of supreme reason, which doing, he immediately became a *Su-to-hun* (Sowan).

26. Buddha said: Those who practise the acquirement of supreme reason are like a piece of wood which floats down with the tide of a stream, neither touching the left bank nor the right, not detained by any worldly scheme nor misled by spiritual theories (that which concerns spirits, *i.e.*, hope of attaining the condition of a Deva), nor caught in the whirl of the tide to stop and rot;—I will secure that this man enters the sea! So the man who practises reason, not held by the hallucinations of passion, nor the false notions which distinguish the wicked,—this man progressing and banishing doubt, shall under my protection arrive at supreme wisdom.

27. Buddha said to a Shaman: Beware of placing trust in your thoughts, or they in the end will destroy the groundwork of all belief. Beware of mixing yourself up in worldly matters (*shik*), for what are these but the cause of all misery? But the *Rahat* may trust his thoughts.

28. Buddha thus addressed all the Shamans: Beware of looking on a woman! if you see one, let it be as seeing her not! Beware of words with a woman; but if you speak with one, with pure heart and upright intention say, "I am a Shaman, necessarily in this impure world; but let me be as a lotus, which grows pure though in the mud." Is she old? Regard her as your mother. Is she honourable? Consider her as your elder sister. Is she of small account? Consider her as a younger sister. Is she a child? Treat her politely according to the usages of society. Above all, consider in your reasoning that what you see is only the external appearance, within that body what vileness and corruption! So, thinking thus, your evil thoughts will be all banished!

29. Buddha said: A man practising reason, and (wishful to) expel his lusts, ought to behold himself (or them?) as stubble awaiting the fire which will come at the end of the world (Kalpa). He would then certainly be earnest in removing these desires and lusts.

30. Buddha said: There was a man (or there being a man) who, afflicted with sensual lusts which he could not repress, was sitting on sharp knives in order to destroy the members which ministered to his passion (or in order to eradicate his passions or senses); on which Buddha addressed him thus:—"If you should succeed in removing those lustful members, what is this in comparison with the removal of the (lustful) heart? It is the heart which is the workman (at the bottom of all); if you rightly compose this, then all these evil thoughts will be dissipated. But the heart not composed, what profit can arise from removing the member? What is this but mere bodily death?" Buddha said: So it is the world commonly mistakes on these matters.

31. There was a certain lewd woman who had made an engagement to meet a certain man. When she came not he began to repent himself (of his wickedness), and said: "Lust is but the offspring of my own thought. There being no thought, lust cannot be born." Buddha passing by and hearing this, said to the Shaman: "I recollect this as a saying of Kasyapa Buddha, and it now has become common in the world." Buddha said: "Man by lustful desires engenders sorrow; from sorrow springs apprehension (of evil); there being no lust, then there is no sorrow and no apprehension."

32. Buddha said: A man practising reason (aiming at the attainment of supreme reason) may be compared to a single warrior fighting against ten thousand. Whilst other soldiers, armed for the battle, rush from the gate, desirous to fight, he yet fears in

his exhausted state that victory would be difficult, and so retreats from the field. When half way he returns to the conflict resolved to fight and die. This man, having attained the victory, and returning to his country, will (deservedly) be raised to high rank. So the man who is able to hold to the same mind, and, persevering against all obstacles, advances in his work (or profession), uninfluenced by any worldly follies or enticements, his evil desires destroyed, his wicked acts at an end, he must attain perfect wisdom.

33. There was a Shaman who during a night kept reciting his prayers (the Sutra, or book containing the words of Buddha), the sound of his voice piteous, and worn with fatigue, desiring (by so doing) to bring himself to repent of his sinful thoughts (of returning to the world). Buddha addressing the Shaman, said: "When you were living in the world as a member of a household, what was your particular pursuit?" He replied: "I was constantly practising the lute." Buddha said: "The strings being slack, what then?" He replied: "There would be no musical sound." "And the strings too tight, what then?" He said: "The sound would be over-sharp." "But if they were tuned to a just medium between the slack and over-tight, what then?" He replied: "All the sounds would be concordant and harmonious." Buddha addressed the Shaman: "The way of supreme learning is even so. Only keep your heart in harmony and union, so you will attain perfect knowledge."

34. Buddha said: A man practising the attainment of reason is as the place where (or the mode in which) they found metals, gradually dropping down and separating from the dross; the vessel made from this will be good. The way of wisdom (in like manner, is) by gradually ridding away the corruption of the heart, with earnest perseverance to go on, and thus complete perfect knowledge. If any other way be tried, it is only the cause of weariness to the body, this causes vexation of mind, this transgression in life, and this is only to practise the way of the wicked (or, and this the accumulation of guilt).

35. Buddha said: A man who is aiming to attain supreme reason has many sorrows, like him that is not engaged in this pursuit; for, considering a man's experience from the time of his birth to his old age, from this period to the time of his sickness, and from this to his death,—what countless sorrows does he endure! But the heart laden with regrets, guilt stored up, endless life and death,—these sorrows how difficult to speak of!

36. Buddha said: For a man to avoid the three evil ways of birth (viz., beast, demon, or in hell), and to be born a human being, is difficult; being so, to be born a man and not a woman, is difficult; being so, to have the six passions all well arranged (? to have perfect mind and body, "mens sana in corpora sano"), is difficult; being so, to be born in the middle country (India?) is difficult; being so, to attain to the knowledge of Buddha's doctrine is difficult; being so, to become eminent in the knowledge of Buddha is difficult; being so, to be born in the family of a Bosat is difficult; being so, to be born in the age of a Buddha, and heartily to believe in the three precious ones (Buddha, the Law, and the Community) is difficult.

37. Buddha asked all the Shamans, "What is the time of a man's life (or in what does a man's life consist)?" One replied, "(in) a few days (only)." Buddha said, "Son, you are not yet able to attain supreme wisdom." Again he asked a single Shaman the same question, who answered, "The time of a meal (or of taking a meal)." Buddha answered, "Son, you are not yet capable of attaining supreme reason." Again he asked the same question of another Shaman, who replied, "Man's life is but a breath, a sigh!" Buddha answered, "Well said, son! you are able to speak of attaining supreme wisdom."

38. Buddha said: A disciple removed from me by a distance of several thousand li, yet thinking on me and keeping my commandments (nim=observing by recollection), must in the end obtain supreme wisdom. Whilst another who dwells with me, and yet allows rebellious thoughts and does wickedly, he shall in the end not attain supreme reason. Truth of profession resides (or is exhibited) in correct conduct. If a man consorting with me does still not conform to my commandments in his conduct, what benefit will ten thousand precepts be to him?

39. Buddha said: A man who is practising the attainment of reason, is like one eating honey, which is sweet throughout. So my Scriptures (Sutras) are likewise sweet: the system advocated in them is altogether a source of pleasure. Those who practise it shall attain supreme knowledge.

40. Buddha said: A man practising the attainment of supreme wisdom, and able to extirpate the root of his lusts and desires, is like one who strikes the suspended gem. (The allusion is either to striking a temple bell, for the assembly or dispersion of the congregation, or it may be to the act of striking or grinding a substance in a mortar, *ex. gr.*). At every stroke the collection of people,

(or the compact substance), is broken up (*i.e.*, for the purpose of resorting to worship). So when all a man's wicked desires are broken up and dispersed, he will attain supreme wisdom. ·

41. Buddha said: All the Shamans who are engaged in the practice of religion ought to regard themselves as oxen carrying loads, and going through the mud; tired with their burdens, they dare not look (or wander) an inch (the least portion) to the right or the left; desiring above all things to get out of the mud, they go straight on, in order that they may obtain some ease and repose themselves. So a Shaman, regarding his lusts and passions as more troublesome than that mud, with a steadfast purpose bending his mind to (the attainment of) reason, will be able to avoid all sorrow.

42. Buddha said: I regard kings, princes, as to their dignities, only as patches of dust; gold, jewels, as to their value, only as clay fragments; dresses of silk and sarsnet, only as playthings (? pai-pak); the great chiliocosm as the letter 'a'; the four barren or weedy seas (? nan-shui) only as a miry road (?); the system of complete deliverance, only as a boat for carrying treasure; the highest vehicle (referring, probably, to the Mahayana), only as the gilt sheen of a dream; seeking the wisdom of Buddha only as a flower (which appears in fancy) before the eye; seeking any inferior standing ground, only as (su-ni-chiio?); seeking Nirvana, as a dead sleep; arriving at rest, as the dancing of the six dragons (?); the state of perfect equanimity, as the one true standing point; the power of endless transformation, as the trees and flowers of the four seasons;—all these things are thus great in comparison only. To hear the law of Buddha is the chief source of joy.

MONTHLY MEANS.

ANNUAL.

RAIS.

STATION.

STATION.	MONTHLY MEANS.												ANNUAL.					RAIS.						
	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Mean diurnal range.	Mean monthly range.	Annual range.	Mean dew point.	Mean humidity (saturation being 1).	Mean force of evaporation.	Mean annual temperature.	Depth in inches, &c.	Days of rain fall.	
Laul Bough Verandah, mean of maximum and minimum obs. 1859	70.4	76.3	82.1	84.8	83.1	77.7	74.8	75.5	74.4	75.4	71.8	70.7	79.7	55.5	51.6	1.25	4.41	5.0	...	...	76.4	33.4	102
Mean of 2 observations at 9.30 A.M. 1860	69.1	73.2	78.8	78.4	81.7	76.6	77.7	74.7	75.5	72.5	71.1	71.9	79.7	55.5	51.5	5.24	1.41	5.0	...	...	75.3	25.5	119
and 3.30 P.M. inside house on "the high ground" 1859	69.2	74.8	79.3	80.6	80.0	75.2	73.8	73.9	73.3	73.9	71.9	71.6	81.6	67.7	...	8.9	19.6	63.2	69.0	26.7	74.6	...	...
Mean of observations at 9.30 A.M. 1860	70.9	73.6	77.4	77.9	79.6	75.6	74.2	74.1	74.4	74.2	71.4	71.8	81.6	65.5	...	9.8	19.6	64.8	74.0	23.7	74.5	...	...
at ditto 1859	67.8	72.5	77.5	78.5	78.3	73.5	72.3	72.5	71.5	72.7	70.7	70.6	81.6	65.5	...	5.2	16.6	64.7	74.0	21.7	73.1	...	...
Bangalore Hospital, mean of observations at noon for 6 years 1859	68.9	71.6	75.9	76.4	78.3	74.2	73.1	72.6	72.9	70.1	69.5	78.2	65.5	...	...	6.4	17.6	65.7	76.0	19.7	73.0	...	...
Bangalore, computed from Hegne's Tracts 1805-6	73.0	76.2	83.7	86.8	85.0	80.5	78.5	77.7	77.7	74.4	74.3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	78.8	...	...
Madras Observatory 1860	72.0	76.8	81.9	83.2	84.9	81.9	79.4	79.3	78.7	81.1	81.6	86.6	75.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	75.1	...	...
Mean of the whole earth, from "Dove's" calculation 1860	77.5	77.8	81.7	85.3	89.0	87.1	85.6	83.8	83.1	87.4	87.6	91.0	82.5	62.9	14.4	...	...	...	...	...	82.5	37.6	78
Royal Observatory at Greenwich, mean of 79 years	54.3	62.4

Memo.—The instruments in the "Laul Bough," or Government Gardens, are the same as were used last year, and are suspended 5 feet from the ground, in the verandah of the Superintendent's house, where the direct rays of the sun never reach them. They are self-registering; of Negretti and Zambra's best make, and the barometer is one of Casella's best standard ones, No. 4066, with brass scales extending from the cistern to the top of the mercurial column; this was not in proper adjustment till the 20th May, from which date only are noted daily at 9 A.M.

The thermometer is of Casella's; the thermometer used in Mr. Garratt's house on the "High Ground," are self-registering the maximum being by Negretti and Zambra, and the minimum by Casella.

There is a great difference between the maxima and minima of the months at the "High Ground" and the "Laul Bough"; the latter observations are taken with the instruments exposed to the heated winds, while those at the "High Ground" are sheltered from them, by being inside an airy room; another reason of the difference is, that the Government Gardens are some 80 feet lower, and much more sheltered, than the exposed "High Ground."

From daily careful and regular observations between noon and 5 P.M. extending over a period of nearly 2 months (during which time there were some days the hottest on record, and some quite monsoonal) and from occasional observations at other times, I believe the hottest time of the day to be from about 3 to 4.30 P.M.

according to season; and perhaps 3.30 P.M. may be set down as a fair average for the year; the mean temperature of the day appears to be reached about 10.30 A.M. and the lowest about an hour before sunrise.

The diurnal oscillations of the barometer are regulated by the atmospheric wave, which is strikingly regular; the maximum during the day being reached about 9.30 A.M. and the minimum about 3.30 P.M. the mean being about 7.45 A.M., and 6.25 P.M. It is I believe equally regular during the other 12 hours, but I cannot state this from personal observation; the range also is very regular and small, the mean being a trifle more than 91, and the extreme range of 100, in the case of a single day.

There is not often fall between sunrise and noon, and most frequent about 4 or 5 P.M. The year nearly the average amount fell; but both the former and the latter rains having failed, the crops suffered.

The wind gauge (Whewell's) was placed on the top of the Chief Engineer's office, and daily noted from 1st July. The portion of sky clear I only commenced to register on the 1st September; the No. denotes the amount of cloud or sunshine, (on the average) from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. The amount of cloud at night I have not been able to note, but have observed that generally the nights, or the early parts of them, are clear, though a few (which may have been fog for thunder storms), clouds then bank up heavily, and there are occasional appearances of heavy rain, but by 8 P.M. the sky is perfectly clear and starry, and this is the case (with the occasional variation of a sand storm) for many days before rain actually falls.

Bangalore is in Lat. 12° 50' N., Long. 77° 30' E. The base of Commissionaire's flag staff is 4,000 feet above high-water mark at Madras.

ART. XVI.—Notes on the Cultivation of Cotton in the District of Dharwar; Past, Present, and Future. By J. C. MARSHMAN, Esq.

[*Read 22nd March, 1862.*]

THE district of Dharwar, which is likely to become the field of important operations in reference to the supply of superior cotton to England, lies within the presidency of Bombay, and is comprised in the Southern Mahratta country; the chief town of the district, which bears the same name, is 288 miles south-east of Bombay.

Previously to 1836 the collectorate of Dharwar consisted of eighteen talooks, and stretched nearly 300 miles from north to south. In that year ten of the northern talooks were formed into the new district of Belgaum.

The present zillah of Dharwar is therefore limited to 105 miles from north to south, and 77 miles from east to west, the area being 3,837 square miles, a great portion of which consists of extensive plains admirably adapted for the cultivation of cotton. In 1861-62 the number of acres planted with cotton in Dharwar was 379,000, and in Belgaum, including both the British territories and the political agency, 285,000.

The earliest commercial operations of the East India Company in India were connected with the district of Dharwar. At the distance of 12 miles from the town of Dharwar lies the great mart of Hooblee, in which the Company had established a large factory before the acquisition of Bombay from the Portuguese. It was subordinate to the neighbouring port and factory of Carwar, and to the presidency of Surat. Orme states that in 1673 Sevagee "sent an army to the country on the eastern side of the mountains at the back of Carwar and Goa, which abounded in manufacturing villages, under many towns of mart which traded with the capital and the sea. Sevagee's troops destroyed everything they did not carry away. Their booty was great, but in no place so valuable as in Hooblee, where they found a great store of cloth for exportation, and all kinds of imported commodities, of which Hooblee was

the deposit." Sevagee had previously plundered the English factory at Rajapoor; and the English chief at Bombay, Sir George Oxenden, proceeded to demand compensation for both these outrages. He found him engaged in the magnificent ceremony of his enthronement, in which he gave away his weight in gold and 100,000 pagodas to the Brahmans. He promised a speedy adjustment of the Rajapoor claim, but said that "he knew nothing of the Hooblee affair beyond the list produced by his officers, which consisted of a parcel of furniture and trumpery valued at 200 pagodas;" whereas the English factors estimated their loss at 8,000 pagodas. The historian states that he gave 10,000 pagodas as damages for Rajapoor, but would give nothing for Hooblee. It is therefore in the district which more than two hundred years ago supplied England with its manufactured cloths that efforts are now made for facilitating the export of the raw material; and the line of communication with the sea which we are improving in 1862 is the same which was used by our factors in 1662.

The first series of experiments made for the improvement of the cotton in Dharwar was undertaken by the East India Company in 1829. The object then proposed was "to introduce the culture of exotic cotton, and to improve the mode of cultivating and cleaning the indigenous species." An experimental farm was established by Dr. Lush at Seegeehullah, and powerful presses for packing and pressing were set up at Dharwar and two other places.

These experiments were continued from 1830 to 1836. On the 7th January, 1836, Sir Robert Grant, the Governor of Bombay, stated in his abolition minute that "Dr. Lush seemed to him to prove very satisfactorily that the cotton farms would not succeed in the Southern Mahratta country, and that the Revenue Commissioner made it equally clear that they would succeed no where else. It follows that the cotton farms should be broken up. The experiment has been tried sufficiently, and failed."

The Court of Directors were not, however, discouraged by the failure of the first experiment. In 1842, Mr. Shaw, the Collector of Dharwar, reported the result of a trial which he had made with foreign seed in ten acres in the Hooblee talook. The produce of the seed was found to be greatly superior to that of the native cotton cultivated by the ryots. Many of them expressed a strong desire to be supplied with seed, and both they and the merchants seemed to think that—but for the difficulty of cleaning the American cotton, the fibre of which adhered closely to the seed, and which could only be overcome by the introduction of machinery—its

culture would become general in the district. The Court of Directors on being informed of these circumstances determined to lose no time in renewing the experiment of cultivating exotic cotton in the district, and entered upon it with great spirit. Mr. Mercer, an American planter, was deputed to Dharwar, in April, 1843, to commence operations, and Mr. Channing was soon after associated with him. In July, 1844, Mr. Mercer reported, as the result of his first year's experiment, that the smallest average of the New Orleans cotton planted by the ryots was 49 lbs. of clean cotton; while the largest amount ever obtained from the indigenous cotton was 80 lbs. At the end of 1845 Mr. Shaw reported that the ryots in Dharwar and Hooblee who had taken to the cultivation of New Orleans cotton were perfectly satisfied with the enterprise, and that there were between 2,000 and 3,000 acres of land then under culture with foreign seed.

The Government farms were established in 1843-44, and a small portion of land was brought under cultivation by the natives. In 1844-45 the farms still existed; the New Orleans seed was extensively sown by the natives, and the crop was purchased by Government. In 1845-46 the public farms were discontinued, and the interference of Government was limited to the purchase of the crop raised by the natives. In 1846-47 the system of purchasing the produce of the exotic seed was continued, but the cultivation of it by the natives had been carried on to an increased extent. In this latter year, Mr. Shaw, to whom the merit of having commenced and urged forward these renewed experiments belongs, reported that the real merits of the New Orleans cotton had surmounted the prejudices of the natives, that the saw gin appeared now to be fully appreciated, and that the demand for gins was greater than could be supplied.

The Government having brought the experiment up to this point of maturity and made arrangements for the introduction of an adequate supply of saw gins, thought the time had arrived when they might retire from any farther interference in the cultivation or purchase of cotton, and leave it entirely to private enterprise. Since that period, the extension of the cultivation of the New Orleans seed by the natives in the district of Dharwar, which supplies 50 per cent. of all the cotton raised in the Southern Mahratta country, has been progressively increasing, from the mere impulse of private gain. It has extended into the neighbouring province of Bellary and the adjoining territories of the Nizam without any official encouragement, and the quantity of

land in Dharwar sown with New Orleans seed, which fifteen years ago did not exceed 3,000 acres, is stated to exceed 178,000 acres in the last year.

A letter from Mr. Heywood, who has been deputed by the Manchester Cotton Company to the cotton districts in India, dated Gudduck the 30th November last, contains the latest and most interesting report on the cultivation of cotton in the Southern Mahratta country. He states that the town of Dharwar is not in the great line of traffic, and that Hooblee, which now contains a population of 50,000, is rather a manufacturing than an agricultural town, having 1,200 looms in which only the native cotton is used, and is on the outskirts of the cotton districts on the road to Coompta. In the course of his progress through the cotton districts he noticed various instances in which the ryots have, of their own accord, substituted New Orleans cotton seed for the indigenous species. Beyond Bankapore to the north and the east, he states that there is an immense track of the fertile black soil chiefly cultivated with the American cotton. At Hoovin 600 acres are planted with New Orleans, and 500 with native seed. Out of 75 villages in one talook, 40 are now grown with American seed, and this in the neighbouring district of the Madras Presidency. The people affirm that it is the American cotton which has made them rich; and it is owing to the increasing demand for this superior class of cotton that the trade of the district has been so greatly increased.

Throughout the whole of the Dharwar district the American cotton has been largely cultivated, and it fetches a higher price than any other cotton in the market. According to Mr. Heywood's report, the people in the neighbouring district of Bellary, and in the Nizam's territories have for some years grown cotton from American seed and value it more highly than the native species. There appears, moreover, to be greater care taken by the farmers in keeping their American cotton free from any admixture with the native plant, the native cotton requiring to be ginned by the foot-roller which will not clean the New Orleans cotton.

The American cotton can only be separated from the seed by means of saw gins. When it was discovered that the cultivation of New Orleans cotton was likely to succeed in Dharwar, a factory was established in that town for the manufacture and distribution of suitable machinery for cleaning it. From this establishment 825 gins have been issued, with an aggregate of 10,685 saws. They have been purchased by the ryots and dealers in the district, and

some of them have found their way to Bellary in the Madras Presidency, as well as into the Nizam's dominions, a hundred miles distant. The rate they fetch is £13 for a ten saw gin, and £16 for one of eighteen saws.

The factory has likewise been used as a training school for native youths, who are regularly indentured for a definite period, and carefully instructed in all the branches of machine making, including carpenter's and smith's work, turning and casting metals. As the cultivation extended, it was found inconvenient and expensive to send the gins all the way to Dharwar for repair sometimes to the distance of 90 miles. Four years since Dr. Forbes made a tour through the district to examine the state of the gins at work. To obviate the serious difficulty which had arisen, he proposed to establish branch factories in different localities, where the gins might be within reach of the workmen. At the same time he established itinerant parties of workmen provided with the necessary tools for ordinary repairs, who were required, during the working season, to visit at stated periods every gin within their circuit, to make the requisite repairs, and to report on their condition. Two such factories were opened at Kurrajee and Gudduck, provided with turning lathes, machinery, and tools and implements for repairs.

These buildings are the property of the ryots by whose subscriptions they have been created, and at whose expense they are maintained. For a small annual payment the owner of the gin enjoys the advantage of having it kept in working order throughout the year, and regularly inspected. The subscription varies from 10 to 15 rupees a year, and is collected by the district officers, and paid by them to the punchayet, or committee of management, elected by the votes of the subscribers. The accounts of this committee are audited every month, and a half-yearly report is made on the subject to the contributors.

An itinerant party of workmen on arriving at a village report themselves to the patel, or municipal officer on the part of government, whose duty it is to see that every gin is attended to in his village. On the completion of the duty the workman receives a duplicate certificate from the patel, which states the material used, and the work which has been done. The circuits marked for these itinerating parties are of such limited extent as to admit of their visiting every village in it once in fifteen days. The system has been in operation about two years, and the cost of each factory is about 4,000 rupees a year.

The cotton of Dharwar and the surrounding districts, which is intended for export, is conveyed down to the Coast on the backs of bullocks, or in crazy carts, over roads of the most primitive description. The cotton is liable to constant deterioration from accidents, and to diminution from pilfering. All the cotton which proceeds to the coast from the Bellary district requires to be conveyed across the Toongbudra, which is 400 or 500 yards across, and it is ferried over in a coracle constructed of wicker work and covered with skins, three feet in depth and about fourteen in diameter. The detention of hundreds of carts which crowd to this ferry is most inconvenient to the merchant; and as all the cotton, which is in loose bales, is unloaded to be placed in the coracle, and then re-loaded on the opposite bank, it is subjected to great injury; and the first want of the country, therefore, is suitable roads for the conveyance of the cotton to the port of shipment. The Government engineer officers have been engaged for some time in constructing one from Dharwar to Sudasegur, which is promised in March next, and may possibly be finished in May.

As to the question of conveying the cotton of Dharwar and Belgaum by the railway of the Great India Peninsular Company, it may be sufficient to remark, that the rail, which is designed to run from Poonah to the Madras junction at Bellary, does not come within 100 miles of Dharwar, the nearest point being Moodgul. But the line has not as yet reached Moodgul, having been arrested at Sholapore. It cannot therefore be expected that the rail will be completed down to Moodgul for the next three years. Even when that is the case, there will still be 100 miles of common road over which the cotton must be conveyed to that station, after which there would be the cost of more than 400 miles of railway conveyance to the port of Bombay. It is therefore manifestly more for the cotton interests of the district, to construct a road of 80 miles from Dharwar to the coast, where the cotton will probably be at once shipped for Europe.

At present, all the cotton exported by sea goes down to Coompta, 40 miles south of Sudasegur. Coompta is rather an open roadstead than a harbour. The great disadvantage connected with the shipment of cotton at this place is, the necessity of conveying it to Bombay, where it is re-shipped for England.

To secure a healthy and prosperous cotton traffic in the Southern Mahratta country, it is necessary that the bales should, if possible, be screwed for the English market in the district itself, and placed at once on the vessel which is to convey it to its European destination.

To secure this object, the only course available is to resort to the port of Sudasegur, which was used by the East India Company two hundred years ago, when it was called Carwar, which is described by Dr. Buchanan, in his work on Mysore, as three miles above Sudasegur on the opposite bank of the river, but which was completely ruined by Hyder Ali and Tippoo.

During the south-west monsoon this port is difficult of approach, and the anchorage is not altogether safe; but on this point we have the latest and best information from Captain Fraser, of H.M.S. *Franklin*, who has been employed in surveying it for many months during the last season. In transmitting his report to the Governor of Bombay, the naval Commander-in-chief said, that "from the 26th June to the 15th of July, high rollers were breaking in all parts of the bay except Carwar head; and in a line between the head and the mouth of the river, the rollers culminated to such a height, and swept onward in such rapid succession, that Commander Fraser is of opinion, that large vessels could not have ventured to run through them without the risk of great injury, and small vessels would have endangered their safety in the attempt. There was not a single day during this interval in which the *Franklin*, from this cause, could have worked out of the bay.

"With this exception, the weather during the monsoon was generally moderate, and the water in the bay smooth, with occasionally a high swell; and the conclusion therefore, I think, to be drawn from his report is, that except during the first furious bursts of the monsoon, the port of Sudasegur is perfectly safe at all times of the year."

The future prospects of the cotton traffic in this division of India appeared to be very encouraging. It is not one of the least important elements of success, that the respective duties of those through whose joint agency we are to obtain the cotton, are at length as clearly understood in this country as they have hitherto been in India. While England continued simply to demand cotton of the public authorities of India, and to censure them for not supplying it, nothing was effected towards the accomplishment of the object. But the fact is at length practically acknowledged, that the importation of cotton from India in any degree commensurate with the exigencies of the time, requires the spirit of private enterprise in addition to the assistance of Government. It is now universally admitted that the duty of Government is limited to the construction of roads, bridges, and harbours, and cannot be advantageously extended beyond this circle; and that it is the resources of the

mercantile and manufacturing community which must be employed in stimulating the growth and improving the quality of the cotton. England has at length put her own shoulder to the wheel, and the prospects of the traffic have at once brightened.

A company has been formed in Manchester to promote the cultivation of cotton in India, and to secure its transmission to England in an unadulterated state. An able and energetic agent has been sent to India to make local enquiries, and to plant local agencies. He has already made arrangements for the establishment of two factories in the heart of the country, and on the great lines of traffic. He has, moreover, rendered us important service by ascertaining what are the impediments to success, and what are the means by which they may be removed.

From his reports and from other sources, we have the information confirmed, that the rich black soil of the region designated the Southern Mahratta country, can yield cotton of a quality almost, if not quite, equal to that of America; and that this soil is found to an indefinite extent. "There is ample black soil," says Mr. Heywood, "in India adapted to the growth of all that England or the Continent can consume."

We learn, moreover, that the yield per acre has increased from 60 lbs., as stated by Mr. Mercer in 1845, to 110 lbs. in 1861, and with the most inefficient ploughing. "When the ryot," remarks Mr. Heywood, "is rich enough and spirited enough to use better implements of husbandry, and to cultivate more carefully, he will obtain two or three times the produce."

We learn that the efforts made by government to promote the cultivation of a superior species of cotton in Dharwar have been crowned with success; that the natives, finding the return from the New Orleans cotton more remunerative than that from the indigenous seed, are everywhere substituting the one for the other, and that they consider the American seed to have introduced the age of gold among them.

We have also the gratifying assurance, that for the fulfilment of our hopes regarding cotton in the Southern Mahratta country, we have not to wait for a complete revision of the system of landed tenure, or even for a penal enactment in the matter of contracts, however important they may be considered elsewhere. Mr. Heywood (writing from the country) says, "Wherever this rich black soil exists, the New Orleans cotton will flourish. The people only want gins and *honest traders*. A fair price given to the growers direct, instead of leaving them in the hands of the numerous

agencies between the district and Bombay, who now consume the profits, would rapidly enrich the people, and give us all we want." What is required then of English capitalists is, that they should send honest and experienced agents into what Mr. Heywood aptly terms "the centres of population," to purchase the cotton at first hand, and to establish factories for pressing and baling it; and that they should stimulate the public authorities to the performance of that share of the labour which devolves on them, by improving the means of conveyance.

Since these notes were compiled, the following additional information has been received on the subject. The district of North Canara, in which the harbour of Sudasegur is situated, has been peremptorily transferred by the Home Authorities from the Presidency of Madras to that of Bombay, to which it geographically belongs. The port of Sudasegur is to be immediately connected with the cotton districts by two roads. In a comparison instituted by Dr. Forbes between the two harbours of Compta and Sudasegur, he remarks: "The cotton exported from these districts is at present taken to the port of Compta, whence it is conveyed in open native boats to Bombay harbour, for final shipment to England. At Compta there is what may be termed an inland creek, in which these native boats might find shelter in bad weather, were it not that a formidable bar prevents them obtaining access to it. They are consequently compelled to remain outside at anchor in an open roadstead, exposed to the dangers of a lea shore, should a storm set in; and during the period of the south-west monsoon (which may be from any time in May to September), they very rarely venture to approach the place. Owing, also, to the imperfect state of the communications with the interior, but a very small proportion of the cotton of each season finds its way to Compta (even from the nearest districts) in time for this boat-transport to Bombay, the remainder being detained at the places of growth, imperfectly stored, and so ill protected from the wet and damp of the monsoon, that its consequent depreciation in quality from this cause alone is computed at no less than one farthing per pound. To add to this evil also, so ill suited is Compta for the export of produce, owing to local difficulties—such as unbridged creeks, water-courses, &c., in the immediate neighbourhood of the harbour—that cotton, after arriving at that place, has to undergo no less than five changes of transport before it is deposited on board the native boats in the roadstead; and the result is, that the actual cost of its

transport, even thus far on its way to England (about 70s.), nearly equals that of its cultivation and production."

In addition to the expense of transporting it from the interior to Compta, the expense attending the conveyance of it from Compta to Bombay, till it is deposited on board the vessel which takes it to England, is about 1*l.* 5*s.* the ton of 14 cwt., which is the weight of cotton stowed by measurement, thus bringing up the charge, including the homeward freight, to 7*l.* 5*s.* The distance of Dharwar from Sudasegur is 75 miles as the crow flies, and that of the three other great cotton marts of Seegaum, Kurudgee, and Bankapore, 85 miles. The new roads to these places will be uninterrupted throughout, and if kept in proper order, and the cotton half-pressed, a common country cart will carry down 10 cwt. with ease. Including 1*s.* for half-pressing, the expense will be 26*s.* per ton. If to this be added the homeward freight 50*s.*, and 2*s.* for final pressing, the result will be, that "the produce would be conveyed from the cotton fields to Liverpool at a cost of 3*l.* 18*s.* per ton, instead of being subjected to an expense of 7*l.* 5*s.*, as is the case at present by the Bombay route; or, in other words, that the Lancashire spinners might have it delivered at their own doors at actually less cost of carriage than the Bombay mills have to pay for it at present, which is somewhere about 4*l.* 10*s.* per ton."

ART. XVII.—*On the Declensional Features of the North Indian Vernaculars, compared with the Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prākṛit.*

By the REV. DR. E. TRUMPP, C.M.S.

NOTHING is more important for the right understanding and analysis of the North Indian vernaculars, than a thorough comparison of their minute details with their noble mother-tongue, and the two intermediate languages, which we call Pāli and Prākṛit. Many things, which have hitherto remained doubtful, will thereby receive light, and their true structure will be laid open, if we take the trouble to follow the old Prākṛit down into its more modern branches. It is unquestionable that we shall never be able to decide what words in the modern vernaculars are of Sanskrit origin, and what are derived from some foreign (Tatar) source, until we have accurately defined the laws by which the system of sounds is regulated in the present (Sanskritical) vulgar tongues of India. An attempt of this kind I have made in an essay, entitled *The Sindhī System of Sounds, &c.*, published in the "Journal of the German Oriental Society," vol. xv. 4. It is my object in the present essay to show in what way the modern tongues of India¹ have supplied their declensional necessities, and how far their method is in accordance with Sanskrit or Prākṛit usage; from this will follow, naturally, how far they have a claim to be considered true daughters of their common mother, the Sanskrit-Prākṛit. We shall also find occasion, in the course of the following investigation, to oppose some claims which have lately been made in the name of the Drāvidian tongues of South India, and vindicate the original structure of the northern tongues, independent of any Drāvidian influences. As we tread on ground which has, to our knowledge, never been investigated, many of our conclusions may prove abortive, for which we beg the reader's kind indulgence.

¹ When speaking here of the modern tongues of India, I exclude throughout the South Indian or Drāvidian tongues, as being foreign to our object.

SECTION I.

ON THE FORMATION OF THE THEMES IN THE MODERN INDIAN
VERNACULARS.

Before we can enter on our main question, the investigation of the declensional features of the modern Indian tongues, we must premise a short discourse on the *formation of the themes*, or the *terminations of nouns*; their declensional peculiarity mainly depending on this point, as in all other languages with regular inflexions. In order to throw any light on this difficult and intricate subject, we must strictly compare them with the Prākṛit formation of themes, on which the modern tongues are still built up in their main features.

Among the present vernaculars none holds a more prominent position than the *Sindhī*, which resembles the old Prākṛit more than any of its sister dialects; for our present purpose we shall therefore place the *Sindhī* foremost, more especially as the *Sindhī* has preserved a *vocalic termination for every noun*, which greatly facilitates its declensional process, whereas in most instances its sisters have already dropped a *final vowel*, and thereby greatly changed the crude form of the noun.

I. *Themes in u and ă.*

The most common termination of Sanskrit nouns is that in ă (अः) which in certain positions had become already ū in Sanskrit; in *Pāli* and Prākṛit the termination ō alone was in use. According to the old Prākṛit grammarians this Pāli-Prākṛit termination ō was already shortened to u in the Apabhraṃsha dialect, which is the immediate source of the modern *Sindhī*;¹ we find, therefore, in *Sindhī* all those words ending in u which terminate in ओ in Prākṛit; e.g., नह् masc. 'a man,' Prāk. णरो, Sans. नरः; कसु masc. 'business,' Prāk. कसो, Sans. कर्मन्; जन्मु masc. 'birth,' Prāk. जसो, Sans. जन्मन्.

To this class belong in *Sindhī* also the nouns which end in a *consonant* in Sanskrit, but which either drop the same in Prākṛit or add

¹ As to the *Sindhī* characters, see my *Sindhī Reading Book*—Preface.

a final ओ, as Sindhī जसु masc. 'fame,' Prāk. जसो, Sans. यशस्; सिरु masc. 'head,' Prāk. सिरं, in Sans. शिरस्; सरउ fem. 'autumn,' Prāk. सरदो, Sans. शरद्; विजु fem. 'lightning,' Prāk. विज्जू, Sans. विद्युत्.

Further, have been classed under this head in Sindhī all those Sanskrit nouns (masculine, feminine, and neuter) which end in u, as Sindhī वाउ masc. 'wind,' Sanskrit वायु masc.; मदु masc. 'spirits,' 'liquor,' Sans. मधु neut.; वयु fem. 'thing,' Sanskrit वस्तु fem.

Themes ending in Sanskrit in उ change it in Prākrit either into उ; or form a new basis by adding आरो; accordingly we find in Sindhī forms as: पिउ masc. 'father,' भाउ masc. 'brother,' Prākrit already भादु (the द being regularly elided in Sindhī, etc.); माउ fem. 'mother,' Prāk. माआ; धिउ fem. 'daughter,' Prāk. धीदा, the Sindhī having followed a levelling method, and forming the feminines alike as the masculines; भताह 'husband,' Sans. भर्तृ.

Some nouns, which end originally in ū, have it shortened in Sindhī, as ससु fem. 'mother-in-law,' Sans. श्वश्रू; exceptional is भेषु or भेष 'sister,' Prāk. बहिणी.

From the examples just given here, it will be seen that the Sindhī has preserved only two genders, the masculine and feminine; the neuter is already discarded, and generally classed under the masculines, less frequently under the feminines, which we find already done in the inferior Prākrit dialects. The termination in u is, therefore, on the whole, masculine, with a few exceptions, which are feminine, and which follow a different method in declension. If we turn to the cognate dialects, we find that the Marāṭhī has preserved the original Sanskrit termination in उ (yet without Visarga), which, however, is never heard, except when being preceded by a double consonant,

of which ह is not the first part, or by व and प, when it is slightly pronounced, as हात masc. 'hand,' hāt; but संशय doubt, sanshaya; युग्म 'a pair,' yugma. The *neuter* has been preserved in Marāṭhī, but final म् or Anusvāra has been dropped, and outwardly masculines and neuters fall therefore together under this ending, as सत्य neut. 'truth,' कल्याण masc. 'happiness,' सुंदरपण neut. 'beauty,' etc. The Marāṭhī has also retained forms like साधु 'a saint,' मधु masc. 'honey,' धेनु fem. 'a cow,' which may be classified under this head, but which we better refer to the termination ū, as we shall see hereafter. The same holds good in Bengālī, where the original Sanskrit termination in अ has been preserved, just as in Marāṭhī, but which is generally quiescent, except when preceded by a *double consonant*, as दूत, 'a messenger' (=dūta), but पुत्रा, 'a son,' etc. The *neuter* has been likewise retained in Bengālī, but without any particular ending; as in Marāṭhī, as all *inanimate* things, irrespective of the original Sanskrit gender, are considered *neuter*.

We next come to the Gujarātī, which agrees in all these points with the Marāṭhī and Bengālī, with the only difference that all nouns which fall under this head end in a *quiescent* consonant; the *masculine* and *neuter*, which has been likewise retained in Gujarātī, are no longer distinguished by a peculiar termination, but both end in a quiescent consonant, as सुरज् masc. 'the sun;' चंद्र masc. 'the moon;' पेट neut. 'the belly;' नाक masc. 'the nose;' उत्तर neut. 'the north,' etc.

In Hindūstānī, Hindī, and Panjābī the final अ or उ has been completely discarded, and all those nouns end in a quiescent consonant, as Hindī काम् 'business,' Panjābī 'kamm;' Hindī मनुख् masc. 'man,' Panjābī 'manukkh,' etc. The *neuter* has been thrown off in Hindūstānī, Hindī, and Panjābī, and original Sanskrit neuters are made either *masculine* or *feminine*.

II. *Themes in ō and ā (masc.)*

We have noticed already that in *Pāli* and *Prākṛit* the Sanskrit termination अः becomes ओ without exception, and that final ओ is again shortened to ॊ in the Apabhransha dialect, resp. the *Sindhī*. The *Sindhī*, however, has not been consequent in this change, but many words have retained the original Pāli-Prākṛit termination in ओ. The language seems to have operated in this respect quite arbitrarily, as no rule can be traced out why some nouns have shortened ओ into ॊ, and why others again have retained it unaltered; every thing seems to be dependant on usage; in many instances both endings are in use at the same time or interchanged; e.g., *Sindhī* तरो masc. 'the sole of a shoe,' Sans. तल्लं neut.; गखो masc. 'the throat,' Sans. गखल masc.; whereas on the other hand मखु 'cheek,' corresponds to the Sans. 'crude,' गखल masc.; लुङ्कु 'lurku' or लुङ्को 'lurko,' tear; सोनारो masc. 'goldsmith,' Sans. सुवर्णकार; on the other hand खोहार masc. 'blacksmith,' or लुहार, Sans. लोहकार. In some instances the language has made use of these two different terminations to derive words of different significations from one and the same basis, as *Sindhī* चूरो masc. 'powder,' 'filings,' and चूर adj. 'powdered,' 'broken to atoms,' both from the Sans. चूर्ण; मयो masc. 'the head,' and मयु 'the top of anything,' both from the Sans. मखलं neut.

We may, however, lay down some general rules by which the *Sindhī* seems to have been guided in retaining the original Prākṛit termination ओ:

1. *Adjectives* derived directly from the Sanskrit-Prākṛit have on the whole retained the ending in ओ, as *Sindhī* चखो 'good,' Sans. चख; मिठो 'sweet,' Sans. मिष्ट; खारो 'bitter,' 'salty,' on the other hand खार 'subst,' masc. 'potash,' both derived from the

Sans. चार adj. and sub. masc. हखो 'hard,' 'rough,' Sans. हृव.
Some adjectives change as to their terminations, e.g. अमर or
अमरो 'poor,' 'indigent;' अधर or अधरो 'helpless;' निधर or
निधरो 'wretched;' few end only in u, as पूर 'pulverized,' with
the exception of such adjectives as have been borrowed from other
languages, which take u as the nearest vocalic ending, as गरीव
'poor,' 'humble,' Arabic غريب

Adjectives derived by secondary affixes from substantives, generally
retain the termination ओ, as जटिको relating to a जटु 'jat';
रतोक्तो 'of last night;' चोराणो 'belonging to a thief' (चोर);
रसीलो 'juicy;' खांधीरो 'patient;' माझो 'relating to a buffalo'
(मेंढि); डुहिलो, डुहेरो or डुहेलो 'painful.'

Excepted is the affix वान्, Prāk. वन्तो, Sans. वत्, as दयवान्
'merciful;' Marāthī ditto, वान् as गाडीवान् masc. 'a coachman,'
from गाडी 'a coach or cart;' but Gujarātī वन् as दभावन् adj.
'compassionate;' likewise the affix आल्, as दयाल् 'compassio-
nate,' and आर, when forming substantives, as धनार 'a herdsman';
whereas the affix आरो forms generally adjectives, as सघारो
'strong,' from सघ fem. 'strength;' अन्यारो 'having eggs,' from
आनी fem. 'egg.'

2. Verbal nouns, which are derived from the root of the verb, by
lengthening the vowel of the root, according to Sanskrit usage, can take
the termination in ओ as :

घाटो masc. 'decreasing,' from inf. घटणु 'to decrease.'

चाड्हो masc. 'increase,' from inf. चड्हणु 'to rise.'

झगिड़ो masc. 'quarrel,' from inf. झगिड़णु 'to quarrel.'

Besides this the ending in u is equally in use, as मर्कु masc. 'boast-

ing,' from मर्कषु 'to boast,' झटु masc. 'snatch,' from झटणु 'to snatch,' etc.

3. Nouns of agency, which are derived from the verbal root by changing a into ā (Vridhhi), i into ī, and u into ō (Guna), with the affix अक, the क of which is again elided in Sindhī, take the termination ओ, as:

वाढो 'a carpenter' (Hind. बढई), from वढणु 'to cut' (wood).

टोबी 'a diver,' from टुबणु 'to dive.'

चाड़हो 'a climber,' from चड़हणु 'to ascend,' 'to climb.'

4. Some nouns of foreign origin, which change final ā or ah to ō in Sindhī, as बाबो 'father,' Hindī बाबा, Turkish; दर्वाजो 'door,' Persian دروازہ

5. All the participles present, ending in Sindhī in अंदो or ईंदो (Prāk. अन्तो Sans. अत्), as Sindhī हलंदो 'going;' मरींदो 'beating;' Hindī ता, as वोलता (by throwing out the nasal); Marāṭhī ditto ता; Panjābī 'dā.'

6. It is seldom the case that an original final ā (fem.) has been changed into ō, and rendered thereby *masculine*, in the modern Arian tongues, as Sindhī तारो masc. 'star,' Hindī तारा masc., Sans. तारा fem.; Persian ستاره and thence Pushto ستوري 'storai,' masc. In Marāṭhī तारा is both masc. and fem.

In Sindhī all nouns ending in ओ, are *without exception masculine*, just as well as in Pāli and Prākṛit. If we turn to the cognate dialects, we find that the Gujarātī nearest resembles the Sindhī. Nearly all the nouns which end in Sindhī in ओ, have retained the same termination in Gujarātī; others again end in Gujarātī in ओ, which in Sindhī have shortened it into u, as Gujarātī घोडो ghōḍō, 'a horse,'

Sindhī घोड़ो ghōṛō; Gujarātī हीरो masc. 'a diamond,' Sindī ditto हीरो; but Gujarātī होकरो 'a lad,' Sindhī होकर or होकरो Hindī होकरा; Gujarātī दरीओ 'sea,' Sindhī दर्याओ, Persian دریا

As the Gujarātī has retained the *neuter*, it forms a regular neutral termination in उं from the masculine nouns ending in ओ, as कुतरं neut. 'a dog,' (generally) masc. कुतरो masc. 'a male dog,' डाहापणुं, neut. 'wisdom,' the affix पणुं corresponding to the Sindhī abstract affix पणो,¹ which is masculine. This neutral termination in Gujarātī we consider identical with the Sindhī ending in u, with the only difference that in Gujarātī the sign of the neuter (Anusvāra) has been retained.

If we turn to the *Marāṭhī*, *Hindī*, and *Panjābī*, we find that the final ओ of the Sindhī and Gujarātī has been changed to आ in these dialects: as *Marāṭhī* मामा masc. 'a paternal uncle,' Hindī ditto मामा, *Panjābī* 'māmmā'; *Marāṭhī* काका 'a paternal uncle,' Hindī ditto काका, *Panjābī* 'kākā, an elder brother,' Sindhī काको. The same feature we notice in regard to *adjectives*, as *Marāṭhī* चांगला 'good,' Hindī चङ्गा *Panjābī* 'chaṅgā.' The Hindī and *Panjābī* have lost the use of the *neuter*, but the *Marāṭhī*, which has retained it, forms from the termination आ a regular neutral ending in एं, which is in its origin again nothing but another masculine termination with the neutral sign of Anusvāra (see Lassen's *Institutiones Linguae Prakriticae*, p. 429, 14), similar to the Gujarātī neutral ending in उं;

¹ Regarding this affix and its origin from the Sanskrit abstract affix ल् see my Essay "On the Formation of Themes in the Modern Arian Tongues:" German Asiatic Society's Journal, vol. xvi.

² Some few nouns have the ending ō in *Marāṭhī* too, as साहो masc. 'covetousness;' Sindhī likewise साहो; बायको fem. 'a wife.'

³ The affix ला in *Marāṭhī* adjectives corresponds to the *Prākṛit* affix ल, see Varar, iv., 26, Cowell's edition.

as: केलें neut. 'a plantain,' Hindī केला; करणें neut. 'doing,' properly a verbal noun, Sindhī करणु, Hindī करना, Gujarātī करण or करणु; चांगले neut. adj. 'good,' from masculine चांगला.

In Bengālī, the termination ā is found only in a few words, as gādhā 'an ass,' ghōrā 'a horse.'

III. Themes in ā (fem.) and some in ā masc.

Nouns which end in ā are, as in Sanskrit and Prākṛit, generally feminines; this termination has been retained throughout all the modern Arian tongues of India. Sindhī, चिंता fem. 'anxiety,' 'thoughtfulness,' Hindī चिन्ता or चिन्त fem. (by shortening ā into ā, and then dropping it altogether), etc.; हत्या fem. 'murder,' Sans. हत्या; जाट्रा fem. 'pilgrimage,' Sans. यात्रा; खिमा fem. 'patience,' Prāk. खमा, Sans. क्षमा.

There exists a small number of masculine nouns ending in आ which must not be confounded with the preceding termination in ā (corresponding to the Prākṛit ending in ओ); they are the nom. sing. forms of Sanskrit bases ending in अन् and अच्. as the Sanskrit crude forms are never used in the modern tongues of India, as: Sindhī राजा 'a prince,' Marāṭhī राजा, Hindī likewise राजा, etc.; आत्मा masc. 'soul'; कर्ता 'the agent' (in grammar);¹ also some foreign words which terminate in ā, as: आत्रा masc. 'an acquaintance,' Persian آشنا.

IV. Themes in ā.

The ending ā is shortened in Sindhī from the feminine termination in ā, and is generally used to derive feminines from the masculines ending in u, as: कुमु 'unfortunate,' fem. कुम; सुजाणु 'well-knowing,' fem. सुजाण; in substantives, as Sindhī जिम fem. 'tongue,' Prāk. जीहा, Sans. जिह्वा; नुह 'daughter-in-law,' Sans. नुषा;

¹ In Hindī and Marāṭhī also forms like पिता masc. 'father,' माता fem. 'mother,' etc.

धिअ 'daughter,' Prāk. धीदा; आसीस fem. 'blessing,' Prāk. आसिसा from the Sanskrit आशिस्; हैड्र Turmeric, Prāk. हलडा from the Sanskrit हलदी;¹ a great many abstract verbal nouns are formed on the same principle (corresponding to the Sanskrit affix अङ्, forming abstract feminine nouns from verbs), as: चोख 'investigation, from चोखणु 'to investigate;' पख fem. 'examination,' from पखणु; in fact nearly from every Sindhī infinitive an abstract noun may be derived in this manner.

Very seldom an original masculine noun has been changed into a feminine, as Sindhī बाफ fem. 'steam;' Hindī likewise बाफ fem., Sans. वायु masc.

In *Marāṭhī*, *Hindī*, and *Panjābī* we find in a number of themes the original feminine termination ā likewise shortened to ă, and then dropped altogether, just like final ă of masculine themes. e. g. *Marāṭhī* जीभ fem. 'tongue;' Hindī जीभ, *Panjābī* 'jībh;' *Marāṭhī* दक्षिण fem. 'the south wind;' Sans. दक्षिणा; the same holds good in *Gujarāṭī*. In *Bengālī* the original feminine termination in ā has been preserved, without being shortened to ă or being dropped altogether. As in Sindhī every noun must end in a vowel, such themes as are borrowed from Hindūstānī and are used there as feminines, frequently adopt the feminine termination in ă, as: Hindūstānī जमीन् fem. (زمین) Sindhī जमीन; मिल्क ملک fem. 'property,' Sindhī मिल्क; in others, again, the gender is changed in Sindhī, as Hindūstānī کتاب fem., Sindhī किताबु masc. 'book.'

V. Themes in ī.

Themes in ī are in Sindhī of both genders; they are either *feminine* or *masculine*.

1. The feminine termination in ī corresponds to the Sanskrit-

¹ The change from final ī to ā or ă is seldom, and occurs occasionally already in Prākrit as well as in Sindhī: e. g. भेष fem. 'sister,' Prākrit बहिणी Sans. भगिनी; *Marāṭhī* बहीण; Hindī बहिन

Prākṛit ending in *ī*, by which feminines are derived from *masculine* themes, as: Sindhī भल्लो adj. 'good,' fem. भल्ली; मंदो adj. 'wicked,' fem. मंदी; गोलो masc. 'a male slave,' fem. गोली 'a female slave;' वामणु masc. 'a Brahman,' fem. वामणी. The same rule holds good in the cognate dialects, as Marāṭhī चांगला adj. 'good,' fem. चांगली; कुत्रा masc. 'a male dog,' fem. कुत्री 'a bitch;' Hindī: थोड़ा adj. 'little,' fem. थोड़ी; होकरा 'a lad,' होकरी fem. 'a girl.'

2. The feminine termination *ī* is frequently used to express *littleness, smallness, neatness*, as: Sindhī कातु masc. 'a large knife,' fem. काती 'a small (or nice) knife;' माटो masc. 'a large earthen jar,' fem. माटी 'a smaller ditto.' The same is the case in the other dialects.

3. The feminine affix *ī* forms *abstract nouns* corresponding to the Sanskrit affix *च्यञ्* (= *चं* neut.) from adjectives and substantives, as Sindhī: चोरी fem. 'theft,' from चोर 'a thief;' भली fem. 'goodness,' from भलो 'good;' दोस्ती fem. 'friendship, from दोस्तु masc. 'friend;' पुजिषाती fem. 'strength,' 'power,' from पुजिषातु 'strong,' etc. Besides this affix, another form in *आई* is also in use for deriving abstracts, as Sindhī काराई fem. 'blackness,' from कारो adj. 'black.' The same method of deriving abstract nouns from adjectives and substantives is followed in the other dialects.

4. Feminines which end in Sanskrit and Prākṛit in *ī* can remain unchanged, as: Sindhī नदी fem. 'a river,' Hindī नदी etc.; सती fem. 'a virtuous woman,' Sans. सती; राणी fem. 'a queen,' Sans. राणी.

5. Some themes which end in Prākṛit originally in *आ*, change into *ī* in Sindhī, as: वार्ह fem. 'speech,' Prākṛit वाआ, Sans. वाच् fem. Some even into *ī*, as: Sindhī डिटि fem. 'sight,' Prākṛit दिट्टी, Sans. दृष्टा.

The termination in *ī* is *masculine*, corresponding—

1. To the Sanskrit affix *ī* (= in), Pali and Prākṛit *ī* (but Prākṛit sing. nom. = *i*), as: Sindhī धर्मी adj. 'religious,' Sans. धर्मिन्; स्वामी 'lord,' Sans. स्वामिन्; हाथी 'elephant,' Sans. हस्तिन्, Prāk. हत्थि. The same affix *ī* is used in the other dialects, as Marāṭhī हत्ती masc. 'elephant,' Hindi हाथी; Bengālī svāmi, 'lord,' etc. माली (= मालिन् Sans.) Hindi, Bengālī, etc., 'gardener.'

2. To the Sanskrit affix *īk*, by eliding *k* and lengthening *i* into *ī*, as Sindhī हारी masc. 'a peasant,' Sans. हालिक; ओठी masc. 'a camel-rider,' from उठु masc. 'a camel;' ठेकरो 'a seller of earthenware,' from ठेकिन् masc. 'earthenware.'

3. To the Sanskrit adjective affix *īy*, by changing *y* into *ī*, as: Sindhī पिरिी masc. 'friend,' Sans. प्रिय 'beloved;' अभागी adj. 'unfortunate,' Sans. अभाग्य; Hindi likewise अभाग.

4. To the Sanskrit affix *īy*, by throwing off *y*, as: Sindhī लाडी 'a man of Lār;' हिंदी 'Indian,' from हिंदु masc. 'India;' हिंदुई relating to a हिंदू; the same affix *ī* is used in the other dialects; in Bengālī both affixes are in use, *ī* as well as *īya*, e.g. Māgadhi, 'a man of Māgadha,' Baṅgiya, 'a Bengālī.'

5. Sanskrit masculine crudes, ending in *ī*, generally lengthen final *i* into *ī*, as Sindhī कवी masc. 'a poet,' Sans. कवि; but in the other dialects 'kavi;' but Marāṭhī हरी masc. 'Vishnu,' Sindhī on the other hand, हरि; Hindi हरि or हरी. They either retain the original termination of the Sanskrit crude form, or lengthen the final vowel to *ī*, as it is done in the Prākṛit nom. sing.

VI. Themes in *ī*.

Themes ending in *ī* are in Sindhī, with few exceptions, *feminines*, the termination *ī* being shortened either from the Sanskrit-Prākṛit feminin ending in *ī*, or corresponding to Sanskrit feminine nouns ending in *ī*. The termination in *ī* is therefore generally used in

Sindhi to derive *feminines* from *adjectives* or *substantives* ending in *u*, as: Sindhi अणसुर्तु adj. masc. 'stupid,' fem. अणसुर्ति; सुंदर adj. masc. 'beautiful,' fem. सुंदरि; गड्ढु masc. 'a donkey,' fem. गड्ढि 'a jenny-ass,' परीटु masc. 'a washerman,' fem. परीटि 'a washerwoman,' बुधि fem. 'intelligence,' Sans. बुद्धि; मति fem. 'intellect,' Sans. मति. In the cognate dialects final *I* is often dropped, in the same way as final *ā* (= *a*), e. g.: Hindi मत् fem., or मति; रीत् or रीति 'custom,' Panjābī 'rit,' fem.; Sindhi राति fem. 'night,' Prākṛit रत्ती, Sans. रात्रि; Hindi रात् fem., Panjābī likewise रात्.

In Marāṭhī, Hindi, and Panjābī final *I* is often shortened, as in Sindhi, to *I*, and then dropped altogether, as Marāṭhī गोष्ट fem. 'story,' Hindi गोष्ट fem., Panjābī 'gōst,' Sans. गोष्ठी.

In some nouns the original gender has been changed, as Sindhi आगि fem. 'fire,' Marāṭhī आग्, Hindi, Panjābī, Gujarāṭī आग् fem.; but in Sanskrit अग्निन् masc., Pāli and Prākṛit अग्नि masc.

It is further to be observed that in Sindhi final *I* very frequently interchanges with final *ā*, as both are the regular feminine terminations, e. g. Sindhi आर or आरि fem. 'fondness,' 'love;' हनि or हन fem. 'a pond;' गोड़ि or गोड़ fem. 'thunder;' to this we must also reckon forms like Sindhi धुरि fem. 'origin,' Prākṛit धुरा, Sans. धूर, though the termination *ā* is no longer used in this noun.

In Sindhi, as well as in its cognate dialects, some masculine nouns have retained the original Sanskrit ending in *I*, as: हरि 'Vishnu' (see v. 5), विरस्यति the planet 'Jupiter,' Hindi बृहस्यति, commonly बिहस्यद्, Marāṭhī शनि masc. 'Saturn,' Hindi lengthened सनी; Foreign words also take occasionally the termination *I* in *Sindhi*, as: सेठि masc. 'a Hindi wholesale dealer,' Hindi सेद्; खुदाद् masc. 'God,' Persian خدا

VII. Themes in ū.

Nouns ending in ū are, with few exceptions, in Sindhi *masculine*; the Sanskrit-Prākṛit termination u is generally lengthened in Sindhi, as : साज्ज adj. 'upright,' 'honest,' Prākṛit साज्ज, Sans. साधु; Hindi likewise साधू (without elision of ध), but Marāṭhī साधू 'a saint,' and in Panjābī 'sādh,' by dropping final u altogether; Sindhi तारुं masc. 'the palate,' Sans. तालु neut.: Hindi likewise तालू masc., Panjābī 'tālū,' Sindī वाटाडू masc. 'a traveller,' from वाट fem. 'way,' and the affix आडू = Prākṛit आलु. Under this head come many substantives and adjectives in ū and āū, corresponding to the Sanskrit affixes उक and आकु (with elision of क and lengthening of u into ū), as : Sindhi विहू masc. 'scorpion,' Prākṛit किकुओ, Sans. वृश्चिक; जूं fem. 'louse,' Sans. यूक; जद्राज्ज adj. 'lasting,' from जद्रा fem. 'durability,' रहाकू 'inhabitant,' or रहाज्ज, from रहणु 'to dwell,' खटाज्ज adj. 'profitable,' from खट 'profit; Hindi कारू 'an artist,' Sans. कारक; Panjābī tārū, 'a swimmer' (= tāruka).¹ Compare my *Essays on the Formation of Themes in the modern Arian Tongues*.

In other nouns, again, a more complicated contraction has taken place, as Sindhi माडहूं masc. 'man,' Prākṛit माणुषो, Sans. मानुष, डाडहूं masc. 'pomegranate,' Sans. दाडिम, Hindi दाड़िम, Panjābī dāram or dārū.

That original u can hold its place, without being lengthened into ū, we have seen already in such feminine nouns as end in Sindhi in ū, as वयु fem. 'thing' (see themes ending in ū); in declension these themes differ from those in which u has been shortened from original ओ, as they never bend their final ū (feminine) before any postposition; in Marāṭhī a similar process takes place, as nouns (masculine,

¹ Marāṭhī विश्वासू adj. 'faithful,' etc.

feminine, or neuter) ending in original ū, lengthen the same into ū in the so-called *oblique case*.

Nouns ending originally in ū retain the same unchanged in Sindhi, as भू fem. 'earth;' Hindi likewise भू, Sans. भू; or they shorten ū into ũ, and affix one of the two common feminine endings in I or ũ, as: भूद fem. 'earth;' जुंअ fem. 'louse;' आविरू fem. 'honour,' or आविरूद; Marāṭhi अन्नू fem.; Bengālī badhū, fem. 'a wife,' Hindi बहू, Panjābī ditto bahū, Sans. बधू fem.

This short survey of the formation of themes will do for our present purpose; for the details I refer my readers to my Essay in question.

SECTION II.

FORMATION OF NUMBER.

In the modern Arian tongues of India the crude form of a noun is always identical with its *nominative singular*; the same is already the case in Pāli and Prākṛit, with the only difference that in Prākṛit masculine themes ending in I and ũ have the same lengthened in the nominative singular, a practice which is generally adhered to in the modern vernaculars likewise.

There is no more a *dual*, neither in Pāli nor Prākṛit, nor any of the modern Sanskritical tongues; we have therefore only to consider the *formation of the plural (nominative)*, which we shall best do according to the different terminations of nouns, exhibited in the preceding paragraph.

I. Nouns ending in ũ

Form in Sindhi their plural by changing ũ into ă, as: रूहु masc. sing. 'a well,' plural रूह 'wells;' वरू masc. sing. 'a husband,' plural वर 'husbands.' *Feminine* themes ending in ũ do not fall under this head, as their final ũ is unchangeable, and they will therefore be classed together with themes ending in ū, with which they accord in forming their plural.

We have noticed already that the Sindhi termination in *ū* is shortened from the Prākṛit ending ओ; in Prākṛit nouns ending in ओ form their plural in आ, which is likewise again shortened into *ā* in Sindhi, just as the nominative singular.

In *Hindī* and *Hindustānī* this class of words, having already dropped the short terminating vowel in the singular, throw the same off in the plural likewise, i. e. they remain unchanged in the plural, as: काम् masc. 'business,' plur. nom. काम् 'businesses;' हल् masc. 'a plough,' plur. nom. हल् 'ploughs.'

In *Marāṭhī* masculine words ending in the nominative singular in (silent) अ, remain unchanged in the plural, i. e. the Prākṛit plural termination आ has been likewise shortened into अ, and then been dropped (in pronunciation) as in the singular, e. g. बाप masc. sing. 'father,' plural बाप 'fathers;' हात masc. sing. 'hand,' plural हात 'hands.'

Neuter themes ending in the nom. sing. in अ (by dropping final Anusvāra) form their nominative plural in एं, as: घर neut. sing. 'a house,' plural घरे 'houses;' this is properly a contraction from the Pāli neutral plural termination आइ, Prākṛit आई (= आनि in Pāli), which we meet with already in Pāli and Prākṛit.

The *Panjābī* agrees in every respect with the *Hindī* nouns terminating in a silent consonant, remaining unchanged in the nominative plural, e. g. manukkh, masc. sing. 'a man,' plural manukkh, 'men.'

In *Gujarātī*, on the other hand, all those roots which end in a silent consonant form their plural by adding the affix ओ, as: नाम 'name,' plural नामो; माणस 'man,' plural माणसो 'men;' this plural affix ओ seems to be a change of the Prākṛit plural termination आ, or it may be compared with the Prākṛit plural of such words as end in a consonant and change the plural termination अस् consequently into ओ. But the first explanation seems to be preferable, as in *Gujarātī* all those nouns which do not terminate in ओ, be their final letter a silent consonant or a vowel, add the plural affix ओ, as: मा fem. sing. 'mother,' plural माओ 'mothers;' आंख fem. 'eye,' plural आंखो 'eyes.'

The *Bengālī* deviates from the foregoing features in forming the plural in quite an original way ; it forms the plural very generally by adding the affix *rā* to the nominative singular in *animate* words, irrespective of the terminating vowel of the root : *e.g.* *guru*, masc. sing. 'a teacher,' plural *gururā*, 'teachers;' *pitā*, masc. sing. 'father,' plural *pitārā* ; *svāmi*, masc. 'a master,' plural *svāmirā*, 'masters;' *strī*, fem. 'a woman,' plural *strīrā*, 'women,' etc. We have nowhere found any hint as to the origin of this pluralising increment, and we give therefore our opinion with some hesitation. In the first instance we should compare this Bengālī pluralising affix with the Nipālī plural increment **हार**, as : **राजा** masc. 'a prince,' plural **राजाहार** 'princes.' In the inferior Prākṛit dialects we find already the plural termination **आहु**, which Lassen has ingeniously compared with the old Vedic-Zendic plural in **आसस् = आसो = आसु = आहु** in Prākṛit (see Lassen, p. 399). In Nipālī the **स** has been hardened into **र** and thus we obtain the form **आरु**, to which, for euphony's sake, **ह** has been added.¹ Still there remains a considerable discrepancy from the Bengālī affix **रा**. We suppose that the old Vedic plural form **आसस्** has been changed in Bengālī first to **आरो = आरा** (**स** being changed in Bengālī in some other instances, which are past doubt, into **र**, as in the *genitive*, and **ओ** into **आ**, as in Marāṭhī, Hindī, Panjābī, etc.), and the initial **आ** shortened, and then dropped altogether, as the accent has been thrown on *rā*. This supposition is borne out to a certain extent by the old Pārsī and the modern Persian plural termination **ان**, which has undergone apparently a similar process of transmutation. It appears that the old Zendic plural affix *āōnhō* (corresponding to the Vedic **आसस्**) has been split into two separate pluralising increments, the first half (= *āōn*)

¹ **ह** is occasionally interpolated in the modern vernaculars to prevent a hiatus, as : *Sindhī* and Marāṭhī **हूँ, हून् = ऊँ** and **ऊन्**, an ablative affix ; likewise the *Sindhī* affix **हार** = **आरु**, Marāṭhī **आर**, in forms like *Sindhī* **लिखणहार** 'a writer,' Marāṭhī **लिहिणार** part. fut., **हार** and **आर** = Sanskrit **कार** (with elision of **क**).

having given rise to the modern Persian plural termination ان , and the other half (= hō) to ان . We might also strengthen our supposition, that the Bengālī *rā* has arisen out of the old Vedic आसम् in the way we explained, by referring to the *Apabhraṃsha* plural affix ह्रा , which, to all intents and purposes, is identical with the Bengālī *rā*. Lassen feels inclined to consider this plural affix as an interjection of the *vocative*; but we cannot see how a simple vocative interjection should ever serve to express the idea of a plural.

Neuter nouns in *Bengālī* have no proper plural, and if the idea of plurality must needs be expressed, a word signifying *all*, *much*, or *many* is added (see Yates's *Bengālī Grammar*, p. 13). In the same way also the plural of *masculine* or *feminine* nouns may be expressed, by adding to the singular words like *gan*, 'number,' *jāti*, 'tribe,' *dal*, 'a band,' as a sort of plural affix, which are added to the root without any change.

II. Nouns ending in *ō*

Form their *plural* in *Sindhī* by changing *ō* into *ā*, as: वाढो masc. sing. 'a carpenter,' plural वाढा ; टोबो masc. sing. 'a diver,' plural टोबा 'divers.' We have noticed already, that the *Prākṛit* termination ओ has in *Sindhī* either been shortened to ū or retained unaltered; the formation of the plural of the latter description of nouns is quite in accordance with *Prākṛit* usage.

In *Hindī* and *Hindustānī* the termination आ corresponds to the *Prākṛit* and *Sindhī* ending in ओ ; nouns which end in final ā (masc.) in *Hindī* and *Hindustānī*, form their plural in ए , as: कुत्ता masc. 'dog,' plural कुत्ते 'dogs,' लड़का masc. sing. 'a boy,' plural लड़के 'boys.' In the inferior *Prākṛit* dialects the plural termination in ए or आ is already very common. (See Lassen, p. 430.)

The *Panjābī* agrees in every respect with the *Hindī*, as all nouns ending in ā (masc.) form their plural likewise in ए , e. g. *Panjābī* कुर्सा , masc. 'a tunic,' plural कुर्से , 'tunics;' जोधा , 'a hero,' plural जोधे , 'heroes.' The same rule prevails in *Marāṭhī*, themes ending in आ (masc.) changing the same to ए in the plural, as: आरसा masc. sing. 'mirror,' plural आरसे ; some have both terminations in ए and आ , as: मामे or मामा , 'maternal uncles,' from मामा -nom.

sing. (see Lassen, p. 430). The *neutral* ending of this (masc.) termination is, as we have seen, एँ; these nouns form their plural by changing एँ into ईँ, which is a contraction from the Prākṛit neutral plural termination ईँ. (See Lassen, p. 307.)

Nearest to the Sindhī stands the Gujarātī, in which the final आ has predominated, as in Sindhī; but the Gujarātī forms the plural of nouns ending in ओ not simply in आ, as the Sindhī, but in आओ, e. g. होकरो masc. 'a lad,' plural होकराओ 'lads,' which ending I feel inclined to identify with the Prākṛit plural affix आहो or आहु (see Lassen, p. 399); the intermediate ह having been dropped in आहो; but the simple plural in आ also occurs, especially when a noun is connected with an adjective ending in ओ, the plural termination of which is always आ and not आओ. Neuters in उँ form their plural simply in आँ, as: गाहुँ neut. 'a cart,' plural गाहुँ 'carts,' as in Pāli and Prākṛit.

III. Nouns ending in ā.

Bases whose final vowel is ā, are in Sindhī for the most part *feminine*; they form their plural by adding the pluralising increment ऊँ to the final आ, e. g. हवा fem. 'murder,' plural हवाऊँ 'murders.'

Some few themes, ending in आ, are *masculine*; they remain unchanged in the plural, as: राजा masc. 'a prince,' plural राजा 'kings.'

The plural of feminine nouns ending in आ corresponds to the Prākṛit plural termination आउ (= आओ) resp. ओ or उ, which is affixed to the long final आ (corresponding to the Prākṛit termination अस् (see Lassen p. 307). In Pāli the nominative plural of nouns (fem.) ending in आ, is either the same as the nominative sing., or yō (y being euphonic) is added to the final आ of the singular, as: Pāli पुच्छा fem. 'a question,' nominative plural पुच्छा or पुच्छायो 'questions.' In Sindhī the final Prākṛit ओ = उ has been lengthened into ऊ, and Anusvāra added, which is frequently done in the modern dialects, to prop a long vowel.

Masculine themes ending in आ (= Sanskrit अन्) throw off the

final ओ¹ of the Prākṛit plural increment, as do the masculine themes in 1, e. g. Prākṛit राभाषो or राभाओ, Sindhī राजा (the अ, which is already elided in Prākṛit, having been preserved in the modern dialects), Pāli राजा, plural राजानो.

In *Hindī* and *Hindustānī* feminine bases ending in आ or आं form their plural by adding the increment एं to आ, as: बला fem. 'calamity,' plural बलाएं; this एं corresponds to the Prākṛit plural termination ओ, as we have seen that in the inferior Prākṛit dialects final ओ (even of masculine themes) is frequently changed to ए (compare Lassen, § 147, p. 398, § 156, p. 408). Masculine bases ending in आ, remain unchanged in the plural, just as in Sindhī; but this termination आ is not to be confounded with the ending आ, which corresponds to the Sindhī ओ.

In *Panjābī* the plural of feminine nouns in आ ends either in ई or इआं, as: बाला, fem. sing. 'misfortune,' plural balāin, or balāiān; the increment in being a change from the Hindī एं, and iān from the Prākṛit ओ or Pāli yō; but there are also simple plurals in आं, as: जग fem. 'a place,' plural जगं 'places.'

The *Gujarātī* entirely agrees with the Prākṛit method, adding simply ओ to feminine themes in आ, as: Gujarātī मा fem. 'mother,' plural माओ 'mothers.'

In *Marāṭhī* feminine themes ending in आ remain unaltered in the plural, as in Pāli, as: माता fem. 'mother,' plural माता 'mothers'; कथा fem. sing. 'story,' plural कथा 'stories'; masculine themes falling under this head remain unchanged in the plural.

IV. Nouns (fem.) ending in ă.

Bases the final vowel of which is ă, form their plural in Sindhī by changing ă either into आं or जं, as: तर fem. 'nostril,' plural तरां or तहं 'nostrils.' These themes are on the whole shortened from Sanskrit-Prākṛit bases in आ, and accordingly form their plural

¹ We must assume here again that ओ has first been shortened into उ and then dropped altogether.

either in आं (throwing off the Prākṛit plural termination ओ = उ) or in ऊं by dropping final अ before ऊं and lengthening the Prākṛit ओ = उ to ऊ with the final Anusvāra (see the same process under No. III).

This class of nouns is wanting in the cognate dialects, where final अ has become silent; e. g. *Hindī* जीभ fem. 'tongue,' plural जीभें, the plural being made up by the increment एं = Prākṛit ओ. (See also under No. III.) *Panjābī* बंह, fem. 'arm' (*Sindhī* बांह), plural बंहहंह, 'arms' (see under No. III).

The *Marāṭhī*, in which final feminine अ is generally silent likewise, forms the plural of such nouns in the same way as the *Sindhī*, only without Anusvāra, as: जीभ fem. 'tongue,' plural जीभा.

The *Gujarātī* is consequent in adding simply ओ as plural increment to feminine bases ending in a quiescent consonant, as: सांझ fem. 'evening,' plural सांझो 'evenings'; Sans. सन्ध्या.

V. Nouns ending in ī.

Masculine themes ending in I remain in *Sindhī* unchanged in the plural, as: बेली masc. 'a servant,' plural बेली 'servants'; feminine bases ending in final I on the other hand, change I in the plural into रऊं or यूं, as: गोली fem. sing. 'a female slave,' plural गोलीऊं or गोलीयू 'female slaves.'

In Pāli masculine themes in I (nom. singular) have the final I lengthened in the plural into ī; in Prākṛit the plural of such bases ends either in रओ (or shortened ईउ) or in I, as in Pāli; with this method the *Sindhī* altogether accords.

In Pāli feminine themes ending in I, either lengthen the same in the plural into ī, or add the increment yō (y being an euphonic interpolation); in Prākṛit, feminine themes in I add simply ओ or shortened उ to the final I of the singular (= Sanskrit अस् being added as plural affix). In *Sindhī* this plural affix yō, or Prākṛit रओ, ईउ has been changed to रऊं, उ being lengthened into ऊ (and with Anusvāra ऊं) and the preceding ई accordingly shortened, as the accent falls on ऊं.

In *Hindī* and *Hindustānī* masculine themes ending in *I* remain unchanged in the nom. plural, as in *Sindhī*, e.g. सिपाही mas. sing. 'a soldier,' plural nom. सिपाही 'soldiers'; feminine bases follow the Pāli-Prākṛit method, with the only difference that the Pāli-Prākṛit ओ is changed, as elsewhere, into आ, e.g. *Hindī* कुरी fem. 'a knife,' plural कुरिआं 'knives.'

The *Gujarātī* comes nearest to the Prākṛit, in this respect, as all nouns ending in *ī* (masculine or feminine) form their plural by simply adding ओ, as: घोडी fem. 'a mare,' plural घोडीओ 'mares,' etc.

The *Panjābī*, on the other hand accords most with the *Hindī*, masculine bases ending in *I* remaining unchanged in the plural, and feminine themes in *ī* adding the plural increment ān, e.g. पाली, masc. 'a herdsman,' plural पाली; धी, fem. 'a daughter,' plural धीआं, 'daughters.'

In *Marāṭhī* masculine nouns, the final vowel of which is *I*, remain unchanged in the plural as in all the other dialects, e.g. हत्ती masc. 'an elephant,' plural हत्ती 'elephants'; feminine themes in *ī* likewise follow the general rule, by changing *I* in the plural into *yā* (the final Anusvāra of the other dialects being dispensed with in *Marāṭhī*), as गाडी, fem. 'a carriage,' plural गाद्या 'carriages.' Neuter bases ending in *ī* form their plural regularly in एं (see the neuter plural in *Marāṭhī* under No. I.), as: मोती neut. 'a pearl,' plural मोतियें 'pearls.'

VI. Nouns ending in *I*.

Nouns ending in *I* are in *Sindhī* (with very few exceptions) feminine; they form their plural by adding to final *I* the affix जं, as: राति fem. 'night,' plural रातिजं or रात्यू 'nights.' Masculine themes ending in *I* make up their plural in the same way as feminines, as: सेठि masc. 'a wholesale dealer,' plural सेठिजं 'wholesale dealers.'

The *Sindhī* plural of these nouns (which are for the most part shortened from *I*) agrees with the plural of nouns ending in *ī*, as in Prākṛit the two terminations are no longer distinguished.

In *Hindī* and *Hindustānī*, as already stated, final *ī* has been dropped, and feminine nouns ending in अ or इ originally use therefore one common plural augment in एँ; the same is the case in *Panjābī* and *Gujarātī*.

In *Marāṭhī* masculine bases in *ī* remain either unchanged in the plural or (according to some Pandita) lengthen final *ī* to *i* in the plural, as in Pāli and Prākṛit, as: कवि masc. 'a poet,' plural कवि or कवी. The same is the case with *feminine* bases, which remain either unchanged in the plural or have final *ī* lengthened to *i*, as: रीति fem. 'custom,' plural रीति or रीती; the lengthening of final *ī* is more in accordance with Pāli and Prākṛit usage, as: Pāli rattī, fem. 'night,' plural rattī or rattiyō; Prākṛit nom. singular रत्ती, plural रत्तीओ or रत्तीउ. *Neutral* bases in *Marāṭhī*, ending in *ī*, have their plural either the same as the singular, or lengthen final *ī* to *i* in the plural, as: अस्त्रि neut. 'bone,' plural अस्त्रि or अस्त्री 'bones'; Pāli and Prākṛit usage points likewise to the lengthening of the final *ī* in the plural, as Pāli aṭṭhī, neut. 'bone,' plural aṭṭhī, 'bones' (contracted from aṭṭhīni, which is also in use); Prākṛit अट्टी, plural अट्टीइ or अट्टीइं.

In this class we must also include some few themes in *Marāṭhī*, which end now in अ (*quiescent*), having thrown off the original *ī* (= *i*), as: *Marāṭhī* गोष्ट fem. 'a story,' Sans. गोष्ठी; such nouns form their plural regularly in *i*, recurring again to their original termination, as गोष्ठी plural 'stories.'

VII. Nouns ending in *u* (original) and *ū*.

As we have already stated above, Sanskrit-Prākṛit nouns (masculine) ending in *u* have been lengthened in *Sindhī* to *ū*; they remain unchanged in the plural, as: विहू masc. sing. 'a scorpion,' plural विहू 'scorpions.' There are some *feminine* nouns ending in *ū*, which is in the majority of them *original*, in some not; these form their plural by lengthening final *ū* to *ऊं*, as: वयु fem. 'thing' (Sans. वस्तु fem.) plural वयू 'things.' In Pāli masculine themes ending in *u* (original) lengthen the same in the plural, as: bhikkhu, 'a religious

beggar,' plural bhikkhū, Sanskrit भिक्षु; Pāli masculine themes ending in ū remain unchanged in the plural, as: abhibhū, 'a chief,' plural abhibhū (contracted from abhibhuvō). In Prākṛit masculine themes ending in u lengthen their final vowel in the nominative singular always to ū, to which in the plural nominative ओ (= Sans. अस्) is added, as in themes ending in Y (= 1); e. g. Prākṛit वाउ masc. 'wind,' nom. sing. वाऊ, nom. plural वाऊओ. This plural affix ओ is again shortened to उ and then dropped altogether, as in the plural of themes in 1.

Feminine nouns in Pāli ending in ū, remain unchanged in the plural, as: yāgu, fem. 'a sacrifice,' plural yāgu, 'sacrifices,' or yāguyō; those ending in ū remain likewise unaltered in the plural, as: jambū, fem. 'the rose-apple,' plural jambū or jambuyō (in both cases y is euphonic and ō = Sanskrit plural affix अस्). The same plural features we meet with in Prākṛit; feminine themes, ending in original ū or ū, are in Prākṛit lengthened throughout, as बहु fem. 'a wife,' Sans. बहु; the plural is made up in the same way as in Pāli by adding the Sanskrit plural affix ओ (= अस्), as बहुओ or the same shortened, बहुउ, and then contracted बहु. In Sindhī final ऊ of the plural of feminine themes has been propped, as elsewhere, by Anusvāra.

The *Hindī* and *Hindustānī* seem to have preserved more accurately the original Prākṛit plural, changing only ओ into आ, in the same way as final ओ of masculine themes has been turned into आ; e. g. जोरू fem. 'a wife,' plural जोरूआ, ū being shortened before the heavy plural affix, upon which the accent rests, into ū. Masculine themes ending in ū are of the same form in the plural as the singular, as: बाबू masc. 'master,' 'lord,' plural बाबू 'masters.'

Gujarātī nouns in ū form their plural after the model of the Prākṛit, as: हिदू masc. 'a Hindū,' plural हिदूओ 'Hindūs.'

In *Panjābī* themes ending in u, if *masculine*, remain unaltered in the plural, as: piu or pēu, 'father,' plural piu or pēu, 'fathers,' *feminine* bases, on the other hand, form their plural by changing final u (or un) into vā (or vān), as: māunī, fem. 'mother,' plural mavānī, 'mothers.' In many feminine nouns, ending in original u, the final

vowel has been dropped in the singular; notwithstanding this elision they form their plural, according to the Sindhi method in ऊं, as: bast, fem. 'a thing' (Sindhi वय्य fem.) plural bastū, 'things' (Sindhi वय्यू).

The *Marāṭhī* contains a great many nouns ending in u or ū in which the original final has either been retained or lengthened to ū, as in Prākṛit (nominative); they make up their plural in the following way:

1. Masculine, feminine, and neuter themes ending in u remain *unchanged* in the plural, as: साधु masc. 'a saint,' plural साधु 'saints'; धेनु fem. 'a milch cow,' plural धेनु; मधु neut. 'honey,' plural मधु. The Pāli and Prākṛit plural termination of these various nouns has been shortened throughout to ū in Marāṭhī, so that the plural can no longer be distinguished from the singular.

2. Themes ending in ū, if *masculine*, are of the same form in the plural and in the singular, as in Sindhi and the other dialects, e.g. भाऊ masc. 'brother,' plural भाऊ 'brothers.' The same holds good of *feminine* bases, as: बाजू fem. 'side,' plural बाजू; others again (according to the union vowel of the oblique case, singular, which becomes उव) form their plural regularly in उवा (as common feminine themes ending in अ), e.g. सासू fem. 'mother-in-law,' plural सासवा. *Neuters* in ū remain either unchanged in the plural, as टापू neut. 'an island,' plural टापू 'islands'; or, according to the union vowel of the oblique case singular, they form their plural as regular neuters (ending in अ) in एं, e.g. करडू neut. 'a kid' (oblique case singular करडा), plural करडे 'kids'; जू neut. 'a yoke,' (oblique case singular जुवा) plural जुवे 'yokes.'

SECTION III.

FORMATION OF CASES; CASE-AFFIXES.

PROPERLY speaking there is no longer a *declension* in the modern Indian languages of Sanskrit origin; there are only a few remnants of the ancient Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prākṛit case-inflexions, all the other cases being made up by the help of case-affixes, or more properly speaking, by *postpositions*.

If we compare the modern Arian dialects with the Pāli and Prākṛit, we perceive at once the great deterioration the modern Indian tongues have undergone in this respect; for while the Pāli and Prākṛit have preserved all the cases of the Sanskrit, with the exception of the *dative*, which has already become scarce in Pāli, and been discarded altogether in Prākṛit, its functions being shifted to the *genitive*, the modern idioms have lost nearly all power of inflexion and substituted in lieu of flexional increments regular *adverbs*, which we generally term *postpositions*. The same process we notice in the modern *Romanic* tongues, where after the loss of the Latin declensional inflexions, *prepositions* have been substituted to make up the cases. It would be quite erroneous to conclude from the undeniable fact that the modern Arian tongues use *postpositions*, or flexional adverbs, that we have a reason for assimilating them with the Drāvidian declensional process. We have already seen that the way in which the themes and their plurals are formed can be traced up philologically, by the medium of the Prākṛit and Pāli, to their common source the *Sanskrit*; and we shall now attempt to prove further, that their *declensional* features and the use of *postpositions* point by no means to a *Drāvidian* influence, but that all these peculiarities may be fairly explained by the Pāli and Prākṛit. Dr. Caldwell, in his excellent Comparative Grammar of the Drāvidian Languages, has lately attempted to point out such an influence of the Drāvidian tongues on the north Indian vernaculars; he says (p. 225) "in the vernaculars of northern India, which are deeply tinged with Scythian characteristics, we find a suffix which appears to be not only similar to the Drāvidian, but the same. The dative-accusative in the Hindī and Hindustānī is 'kō,' or colloquially 'kū,' in the language of

Orissa, 'ku;' in Bengālī, 'ki;' in Sindhi, 'khi;' in Shingalese 'ghai;' in the Uraon, a semi-Drāvidian Kole dialect, 'gai;' in the language of the Bodos, a Bhutān hill tribe, 'khō;' in Tibetan, 'gya.' The evident existence of a connection between these suffixes and the Drāvidian dative case-sign 'ku' is very remarkable. Of all the analogies between the North-Indian dialects and the Southern, this is the *clearest and most important*; and it cannot but be regarded as betokening either an original connection between the northern and southern races, prior to the Brahmanic irruption, or the origination of both races from one and the same primitive Scythian stock." If this case-sign 'kō' or 'kū' be the *clearest and most important* analogy between the North-Indian vernaculars and the Drāvidian tongues, we shall see in its proper place that there will be no analogy whatever between them; for we hope to show in the following analysis of the case-affixes, that this analogy is only imaginary, not real, and this will be another proof, that in comparing languages we must not lay hold of the best word, analogous or even identical in sound as it may chance to be, and build a whole set of conclusions upon *one* word, but we must look to the *whole grammatical structure* of a language, and this will, in our instance, disprove the claimed affinity between the North-Indian vernaculars and the Drāvidian (Tatar) languages of the South, quite apart from the fact, that the dative case-sign 'ko' of the Arian vernaculars has nothing to do with the Drāvidian 'ku.'

We have seen above, that the crude form in the modern dialects constitutes at the same time the *nominative singular*, and that there is no flexional increment added to form the nominative case. The great distinctive feature of the declension of these dialects consists in this, that there are properly speaking only *two cases* of a noun, the *absolute* or *crude form*, corresponding throughout to the *nominative singular*, and the *formative case*, to which the different adverbs or postpositions are added, which serve to make up for the lost case-terminations; this latter case has been generally called the *oblique case* by our European grammarians, but we prefer to call it the *formative case*, an appellation which has been introduced by Dr. Caldwell, and which is far more to the purpose than that of *oblique case*.

The number of declensions depends therefore in the several dialects

upon the various methods in which this *formative* case is made up ; for the case-signs remain the same, as well for the *singular* as the *plural*, since they are, as we shall see in the following, either Sanskrit prepositions or adverbs.

We will now here first investigate the remnants of the ancient Sanskrit case-terminations, and the adverbs or postpositions, which have been substituted for such cases as have lost their original inflexions. In the arrangement of the cases we will follow the order as given generally by Sanskrit and Prākṛit grammarians.

1. The *nominative singular* and *plural* we may pass by, as they have been sufficiently explained in the preceding pages.

2. The *accusative case, singular* and *plural*, has been dropped in all the modern dialects, and both cases, the *nominative* and *accusative*, are alike throughout in all the bases, be they of *masculine, feminine, or neuter* gender. In Pāli and Prākṛit the *accusative case-termination* ञ् has as yet been retained, but it is already stated by the old Prākṛit grammarians, that in the inferior Prākṛit dialects the *accusative case-sign* ञ् is generally dropped ; this is expressly mentioned of the *Apabhraṃsha* dialect, the mother of the modern Sindhī (see Lassen, p. 459).

We must keep this fact constantly before our eyes, that in the *modern Indian* tongues the *accusative* is throughout *identical* with the *nominative*, and that, grammatically speaking, there is no such thing as an *accusative case*. If we find it therefore generally stated in European grammars, that को, के, खे, etc., serves also to make up an *accusative case*, we have, in the *grammatical sense* of the word, to repudiate this assertion. We shall see under the *dative case* what the origin of this disputed को, के, खे, etc., properly is, and the syntactical peculiarities of the modern Indian tongues must be explained according to this, and can satisfactorily be accounted for according to our derivation ; whereas, as long as को is promiscuously taken for a *dative* and *accusative* affix, all is in a maze.

3. The *Instrumentalis* is no longer denoted by any case-affix or postposition in Sindhī, but differs from the *nominative* only by the

change of the terminating vowel, and it is therefore *identical*, as well in the singular as in the plural, with the *formative* or *oblique* case; as: घर masc. sing. 'a house,' instrum. sing. घर 'by a house; *formative* case घर; plural घरनि or घरं instrum. plural, 'by houses,' formative plural घरनि or घरं. The Sindhī seems to have struck out its own way as regards the formation of the instrumentalis, and to have gone back to the original instrumentalis case-sign, which is in Sanskrit आ (see Bopp's Comparative Grammar, Eastwick's English Translation, i. p. 175); in *Zend* we find that this original case-sign आ is already abbreviated, so that the primary form and the instrumental are completely similar. The same is the case, to a certain extent, in Sindhī, as it is quite apparent in themes ending in ū (= ä), ū, ī, and a, which form the instrumental respectively in ä, ūa, ia, and ä. In the plural instrumental the affix अनि (= नि), or contracted आं recurs, as in Hindi.¹

The *Push̄tō* agrees with the Sindhī in this, as in many other instances, most strikingly, by forming the instrumental by a mere change of the final vowel, as: सराय sarai, masc. nom. sing. 'a man,' instrum. सराय sarai, formative case सराय; plural instrum. सराय sarāy, 'by men,' formative case सराय sarāy.

The *Hindī* and *Hindustānī* use as instrumental case-affix or post-position ने. In Hindūī (see Garcin de Tassy, Rudiments de la Langue Hindouī, pp. 26 and 99) we meet further the affixes ने, ने, नि, and न; and in the plural, अन् or ने, ने, and नि.¹ This is so far of importance that it will throw some light on the important question, *what the formative or oblique case originally was?* In Panjābī we meet with the instrumental affix नै or simply नै, or only ē or ī; in

¹ The Apabhraṅsha has not always been the model for the modern Sindhī; for we find in Apabhraṅsha the instrumental singular in एं = एन् = एन, and in feminine themes simply in ए. (See Lassen, pp. 461 and 464.)

² Garcin de Tassy writes (p. 27) in the instrumental plural बालकन, which is erroneous; it must be pronounced बालकन्. Compare the Sindhī बालकनि.

Gujarāṭī we have ए as the instrumental affix likewise (= Sindhī अ = आ with change of आ into ए).¹ In Marāṭhī we find ने used for the instrumental singular, and नी (lengthened from the Hindūī नि = अन् = Sindhī अनि) for the plural. As to the origin of these several instrumental affixes there can be no doubt. According to Bopp (see Comparative Grammar, i. p. 76) न is an euphonic interpolation, so that the proper instrumental affix would be nā. We have seen in Sindhī that this ā (without the addition of euphonic न) is shortened in the singular instrumental to ă, etc., whereas in the plural आं or अनि recurs; in Hindī and Hindustānī, as well as in Marāṭhī, the affix ना has been changed to ने (a change which is frequent enough in the modern dialects) and in Panjābī to nai, or nā is simply abbreviated to nā. A further change of ने seems to be नि, which we meet with already in the singular instrumental in Hindūī, and which is used as a distinguishing plural instrumental affix in Sindhī, अनि, and in Hindī अन, with the further difference that it is joined to the crude forms, and not written separately, as नि or ने is. The Marāṭhī likewise has managed to form two instrumental affixes out of the same base, one serving for the singular, and नी (= Hindūī नि) serving for the plural.² In Gujarāṭī the instrumental affix ए, as well as the Panjābī ē and ī, must always be joined to the noun itself, as they form a real case-termination just as much as in Sanskrit.

In Bengālī ने is used as an instrumental affix, which is originally identical with the ablative, and has sprung from the Prākṛit ablative affix तो = तस्, as we shall see under the ablative case.

4. The dative case, as already noticed, has totally disappeared from the Prākṛit, and its functions have been assigned to the genitive. We find therefore in the modern Indian tongues the

¹ If we do not prefer to refer this ए to the Apabhransha एं or ए, which seems to us rather doubtful, as ने in Gujarāṭī is of different origin.

² The Marāṭhī uses for the plural instrumental also the affix हीं, which corresponds to the Prākṛit plural instrumental affix हिनं or हि. (See Lassen, p. 310.) उ, ईं is also occasionally used with the elision of ह.

greatest discrepancy as to the way in which the dative case is provided for.

The *Marāṭhī* uses two affixes to make up the dative case, which are as all other declensional adverbs, joined to the root by the so-called *union vowel* (the nature of which we shall investigate hereafter), viz. : **स** and **सा**. The first of these two, namely **स**, is identical with the Prākṛit genitive-dative case-termination **स्स** = Sanskrit **स्य**, so that we have here the remnant of an ancient Sanskrit-Prākṛit case-inflexion. The latter one, **सा**, is more doubtful as to its origin. Lassen has already started a conjecture (see pp. 55 and 99) as to the origin of this affix **सा**; he derives it from the Sanskrit **आल** = **आलय**, 'place,' habitation,' signifying the *place* in which the action rests. "Dativus, quum notionem contineat personæ vel rei, in quâ quasi subsistit actionis ratio, domicilii vocabulum ei designando commode adhiberi potuit." We cannot indorse this derivation, as the *Marāṭhī* case-affix is not **आल** but **सा**, and we cannot see any reason why initial *ā* should have been transposed to the back of this particle; such jumps are always more than doubtful. We would compare this *Marāṭhī* dative affix **सा** with the *Sindhī postposition* **साइ**, 'on account of,' 'for the sake of,' 'for,' Hindūstānī **لِی**, 'liē,' both of which are derived from the Sanskrit root **सा** or **रा**, 'to give.' This seems to me to be borne out by the *modern Persian dative-accusative* particle **و** 'to,' which is as yet very scantily used in the old *Pārsī*, and which, according to Spiegel's *Pārsī Grammar* (p. 55), does not denote properly a *dative* case, but always signifies 'for the sake of,' 'on account of.' I am further strengthened in this supposition by the *Pushtō*; we find there as dative-case affix **د** or doubled **دو**, which corresponds to the modern Persian particle **و**; but besides this we find also a *dative-case prefix* used, **د**, which is identical with the old *Pārsī dative prefix* 'ō,' and which I suppose to be identical with the Sanskrit preposition **आ**, *ad, usque ad, tenus*.

In *Bengālī* we meet (besides **के**, which see presently) also, especially in poetical language, a dative-case affix **रे**, and in plural **ऐरे** (with the conjunctive vowel **ऐ**), which I do not hesitate to identify

with the Marāṭhī **खा** and Hindūstānī 'liṣ' (Hindūstānī root *lē*, as *lē-nā*, etc.), **ख** and **र** interchanging being a very common phenomenon in the Prākṛitical dialects; that **आ** is frequently changed to **ē**, we have had divers opportunities of observing.

We turn now to the *Sindhī*, *Bengālī*, *Hindī*, and *Hindustānī*, where we find in the *Sindhī* as dative-case affix **खे**, in *Bengālī* **के**, *Hindī* and *Hindustānī* **को**, in *Hindūsī* (according to Garcin de Tassy), also **कीं**, **कौं**, **कह**, **कंह**, **कहं**, or even **हि**.¹ Dr. Caldwell's conjecture as to the origin of these dative affixes we have already noticed at length. At the first coup d'œil the identity of **खे**, **के**, **को**, etc., with the Drāvidian dative-case affix 'ku,' etc., seems to be quite convincing; yet, on nearer investigation, we shall find this comparison to turn out illusive. In the first instance the fact speaks already very strongly against it, that the Marāṭhī, which is the closest neighbour to the *Drāvidian* tongues of the south, has repudiated the use of **के** or **को** altogether, and used an affix, the origin of which we have attempted to fix, and as we hope, past controversy. We shall further see that the *Gujarātī* and *Panjābī* have also made up for the dative case by postpositions, borrowed from the *Sanskṛit*, without the slightest reference to the *Drāvidian* languages, and we may therefore reasonably expect the same fact for the remaining Arian dialects. It would certainly be wonderful if those Arian dialects which border immediately on the *Drāvidian* idioms, should have warded off any *Drāvidian* influence, and that those more to the north should have been tinged "deeply" with Scythian characteristics. Fortunately we are able to show that such an assumption is not only gratuitous, but irreconcilable with the origin of the above-mentioned dative affixes. We derive the *Sindhī* **खे** and the *Bengālī* **के** from the *Sanskṛit* locative कृते, 'for the sake of,' 'on account of,' 'for,' 'as regards,' being thus altogether identical in signification with the Marāṭhī **खा**,

¹ The Marāṭhī has also preserved the same affix, only with a different assimilating (or rather, as regards the Marāṭhī, *dissolving*) process; for करितां is absolutely the same as कृतं. See my *System of Sindhī Sounds*, § 2, p. 399.

Bengālī 'rē,' etc. This will at once account for the *aspiration* of ख in the Sindhī खे; for this is not done by mere chance, but according to a fixed rule (see my System of Sindhī SOUNDS, § ii, 1, and Note I); in Bengālī there is no such influence of 'r' on the aspiration of a preceding or following consonant, and therefore we have simply के. The Sanskrit form कृते becomes in Prākṛit first किते, then (by the regular elision of त) किए, and contracted के, and in Sindhī by the influence of (elided r) खे.

The *Hindī* and *Hindustānī* form of this affix को (dialectically pronounced kū in the Deccan), which has apparently invited its comparison with the Tamil ku, etc., we derive in the same way from the Sanskrit accusative neuter कृतं, which is used adverbially with the same signification as the locative कृते. In Prākṛit already, and still more so in the inferior dialects, the *neuter* is confounded with the *masculine* (and in the modern dialects which have *no neuter*, the neuter has been altogether identified with the masculine); we have therefore first in Prākṛit, कितो, then again (by regular elision of त) किओ, and contracted को. We can thus satisfactorily account for all these three forms, खे, के, and को; how Dr. Caldwell will, in identifying them with the Drāvidian ku, etc., I cannot see. That this derivation of खे, के, and को rests not on a mere fancy of mine, is farther proved by the Sindhī particle रे 'without,' which is derived in the way described, from the Sanskrit locative form सृते, 'with the exception of,' 'excepted,' 'without,' Prākṛit first रिते, then रिए, and contracted रे.

The *Gujarātī* dative affix is ने, which we can identify without any difficulty with the Sanskrit preposition नि, Greek *iv*, Latin *in*.

The *Panjābī* uses as dative affix 'nū,' in which we likewise recognise the Sanskrit preposition अन्, 'towards,' 'to.'

If the derivation of these several dative affixes, which we have given, be correct, this will clear up, in a satisfactory way, the apparent anomalies met with in the syntactical structure of the modern Indian tongues. The *Marāṭhī* alone has a regular dative-case termination (= *genitive*, which is used for the dative) in स; all the other dialects

(the Marāṭhī with **स्त** included) use only *adverbial* affixes, which neither constitute a *regular dative*, far less an *accusative* (which, as a regular case, has been lost completely), just as little as the other adverbial affixes or postpositions constitute an *ablative* or *locative*, etc. . *Logically* in our own idiom we may translate a noun with **खे, के, को, ला,** etc., as a *dative*, or, as the case may be, as an *accusative*; but we must not forget that we have only to deal, in a grammatical sense, with *adverbial affixes*, whose significations we must strictly realize, if we wish to get a true insight into the genius of these languages. . The details of this idiomatic structure we hope to elucidate in a Sindhī Grammar, which will shortly appear in print.

It remains now for us to notice briefly the deviating forms of the Hindūī, as given by Garcin de Tassy in his Rudiments of the Hindūī Language. In **कीं** and **कौं** a euphonic Anusvāra has been added, which the modern tongues dispense very liberally; **कौं** is a different pronunciation for **कीं**, **ō** changing in Hindū very commonly to **au**. The forms **कह**, or, with euphonic Anusvāra, **कंह** or **कहं**, present again another proof of the correctness of the derivation **को**, etc., from the Sanskrit कृतं. For we have in **कह**, **कंह**, and **कहं** the same basis as in **कीं** and **कौं**, only the assimilating process has been different. The vowel **ह**, when joined to a consonant, can, according to Prākṛit usage, be resolved either into **ī** (as in **किते** from **कृते**) or into **ā**, as **कतं** for **कृतं** (see Varar. I, 27; Lassen, p. 116, 2 a.); in consequence of the inherent 'r' sound, the following consonant is *aspirated* (as in Sindhī the preceding **ख** = **क**), so that we have **कथं**; this aspirated **थ** is again, according to regular Prākṛit usage, elided (so that only **ह** remains, see Lassen, p. 207), and thus we get the forms **कह**, or **कंह**, or **कहं**. With the other alleged form **हि** the matter stands very different. We compare this Hindūī dative affix with the *Apabhraṅsha* genitive affix **हे** (**ए** being in Prākṛit aneaps, and frequently standing for **ē** or **ī**), the genitive, as frequently noted, supplying in Prākṛit the place of the dative. As regards the analysis of this **हे** see Lassen, pp. 462 and 466.

5. The *ablative case* is formed in Sindhī by the affix **आं**, which

is always connected with the base, and never written separately. The Sindhī shows itself thus fully conscious of the origin of this case termination, which corresponds exactly to the Pāli-Prākṛit ablative case termination आ, which originates from the Sanskrit ablative आत् by the elision or dropping of final त् (see Lassen, pp. 302 and 304).

Besides this common ablative affix आं, we find in Sindhī also अंउं, or contracted औं or ओं. In the older idiom, as used especially by the Sindhī bards, the ablative case generally ends in आउ. All these various ablative affixes are derived from the Prākṛit ablative आदो (Lassen, pp. 302, 304, and 599), = आओ or shortened आउ (with the elision of medial द्) and then again abbreviated अंउं.

Nearest to the Sindhī in this respect stands the Marāṭhī, which uses as *ablative-case* affixes जन् (without a *union vowel*) or with euphonic ह being interpolated हून्, with which latter affix the *union vowel* of the *formative case* is again joined. Both these affixes are sprung from the Prākṛit ablative form तो = दो = दु (the preceding vowel being always lengthened), with this difference, that ओ or उ (by the elision of त or द्) has been lengthened in Marāṭhī into ऊ,¹ and the final (euphonic) Anusvāra turned into a full dental n. We meet in Marāṭhī also occasionally with the affix तून्, which disperses all doubts as to the origin of these ablative affixes.

In Bengālī and Panjābī² we find as ablative affix ते, which has sprung from the Prākṛit तो (by change of ओ into ए). In Bengālī the affix 'haitē' is commonly used to express an ablative idea, which we consider to be originally a *double affix*, 'hai' corresponding to हे, which is already used in the inferior Prākṛit dialects as an ablative-case sign (see Lassen, pp. 461 and 465) and ते. That ए is changed into 'ai' we have numerous instances in *Hindui*, as

¹ The same we find already in the Apabhraṇaha (see Lassen, pp. 461 and 465).

² In Panjābī a regular ablative-case termination is also occasionally to be met with, viz. : एं (= आं), as, घरें 'from a house,' etc.

ए into 'ai,' *vice versa*. ऐ has sprung from अस्य (see Lassen, p. 179), and is therefore originally a *genitive-case* termination, which is further used also for the *ablative case*, both cases already interchanging in the inferior Prākṛit dialects. This may also account for the *ablative-case* termination हि (with lengthened preceding vowel आहि, etc.), already used in Prākṛit, about which Lassen is so much at a loss (see Lassen, p. 303). It seems to me that already in Prākṛit proper a confusion of cases has taken place, and that हि has been used besides the more ancient form तो or दो. This is clearly borne out by the inferior dialects, which use already ऐ promiscuously for the *genitive* or *ablative*, though the more ancient *ablative-case* terminations have still been retained. We shall presently have occasion to speak more of this affix ऐ, which will show its common use in the modern dialects.

In Gujarātī we meet with यी as an *ablative affix*, which is conspicuous by the circumstance that त् has been *aspirated*. We find in Hindī also ये, which is likewise *aspirated*; both forms are identical with ते = तो.

The Hindī and Hindustānī use (besides ये) as *ablative affix* से, سی. We have already pointed out, that ऐ is used in the inferior Prākṛit dialects as a *genitive* (and then further as an *ablative*) case termination; in Prākṛit ऐ is in the first instance an abbreviated form for अस्य the *genitive* of the pron. theme अ (see Lassen, p. 32). Bopp's theory (see *Comparative Grammar*, i. 194) on the origin of the *genitival termination* स्य seems so far to accord with this, as स्य has been likewise contracted into ऐ in the inferior Prākṛit dialects (Lassen, p. 462). There can therefore remain no doubt, that the Hindustānī postposition से is identical with the *genitive-case* termination ऐ (ह and स interchanging according to a common rule) separated from the base, and used now as an *adverbial affix*, in the same way as ने.

6. The Sanskrit *genitive-case* termination स्य, in Pāli and Prākṛit सस्, has been lost in all the modern Arian dialects, with the exception of the Bengālī, in which the *genitive-case* termination र् has

been hardened from स्स. All the other dialects have taken to a new way of forming the genitive, of which we find already some traces in the old Vedic dialect; *the noun, which ought to be placed in the genitive case, is changed into an adjective, by an adjectival affix, and thence follows naturally, that this so-called genitive, which is really and truly only an adjective, must agree in gender, case, and number with its governing noun, as every other adjective does.* The adjectival affix, used thus, to make up for a genitive, varies in the different dialects.

The *Sindhī* employs the affix जो, corresponding to the common adjectival affix को (= Sans. क), with transition of the tenuis into the media, very likely to make thereby some distinction between these two affixes, as जो, when serving as genitive-case affix, is always written separately, whereas the common adjectival suffix को is always joined to the base, as in Sanskrit. The *Marāṭhī* uses as genitive-case affix चा, with transition of the guttural क into the corresponding palatal, as in *Sindhī*, yet without changing the tenuis into the media. The *Hindī* and *Hindustānī* have preserved the original Sanskrit adjectival affix क without changing it into a palatal, viz. का; in *Hinduī* we meet with the genitive affix को = को. A further proof that these genitive affixes जो, चा, का, को, etc., are really the adjectival affix क of the Sanskrit, and the को of the *Prākṛit*, we have in the fact, that they all end in o, a long vowel, ō = ā; as all those adjectives do, which are formed with this affix (see my system of formation of themes under the termination को).

The *Panjābī* and *Gujarātī* seem to make an exception to what we have just stated. In *Panjābī* the genitive-case affix is दा, in which we recognise the *Prākṛit* ablative-case affix दो (= तस्), turned into a genitival affix in *Panjābī*, so that we have here again a confusion or interchange of cases. This *Panjābī* genitival-case affix will also clear up the *Pushtō* genitive sign ँ, which, however, is always a prefix, and not an affix, as in *Panjābī*. In *Pushtō* ँ is no longer an adjectival affix, but it has taken again the place of an adverb, as in *Prākṛit*, and the *Pushtō* genitive case is thus originally an *ablative*, just as in *Panjābī*.

The *Gujarātī* employs as *genitive-case affix* **નો**, which is another adjectival affix, corresponding in signification with **क**, and used identically with **को** in *Sindhī*, to form *adjectives* (on the origin of this adjectival affix, corresponding to the Sanskritical affix *i-na*, etc., see Bopp's *Comparative Grammar*, iii, § 839; compare also Latin forms like *Rom-ā-nus*, *urb-ā-nus*, etc.; see also my system of formation of themes under the ending **नो = आनो**). In *Pushto* **س**, which apparently corresponds to our **नो**, is again used as an *adverbial ablative affix*, denoting 'from,' 'out,' in the same way as **س** is used for the genitive in an adverbial sense.

7. In *Sindhī* the original Sanskrit *locative-case termination* **इ** has been preserved, though the locative can now only be distinguished in bases ending in *u*, as: **घरि** 'in a house,' from **घर** masc. 'a house;' in bases ending in any other vowel but *u*, the locative falls now together with the *instrumental*, if it is not preferred to express the idea of the locative, for the sake of perspicuity, by an *adverb* or *post-position*. In *Marāṭhī* the locative-case affix **इ** has been lengthened to **ई**, and at the same time nasalised, as **घरीं** 'in a house,' = *Sindhī* **घरि**. Besides this affix **ईं** we meet also in *Marāṭhī* with the locative termination **आंत**, which is originally the Sanskrit *ablative termination* (nasalised), and used already in Sanskrit in a locative sense, especially in adverbs, etc., denoting a place.

In *Bengālī* the *locative singular* ends in *ē* or *ī*, as in *Sindhī*, or is expressed by the *instrumental ablative affix* **ते** which is generally used for the plural also. We have here another instance, that the *ablative* is used for the locative, as in *Marāṭhī*:

In *Panjābī* the locative sense is generally expressed by adverbial postpositions, though the locative case has not been altogether lost, which ends either in **ईं**, as in *Marāṭhī*, or simply in *ē*, as: *ghāriṅ*, 'in a house;' *phajarē*, 'in the morning,' etc.

In *Gujarātī* the locative is either expressed by the case-sign **ए**, as: **आरंभे** 'in the beginning,' nom. **आरंभ**, or made up by the use of postpositions.

In *Hindī* and *Hindustānī* the locative, as a case, has been quite lost, and only some vestiges of it remain, as: **होते** or emphatic **होतेही**.

'in being,' and thus a locative can be formed with all participles, present or past, which are generally looked upon by our European grammarians as *indeclinable* participles, but which are in reality only *locatives*, as it is most clearly borne out by comparing the cognate dialects. In nouns the locative is generally made up by the use of postpositions or adverbs, if we do not prefer to take such expressions as *أس دین* *us-din*, 'on that day,' etc., rather as locatives (final *ī* being dropped generally in Hindī and Hindustānī, as *رات* *rāt* = *rāī*, *rīt* = *rīī*), than to explain them by the absence of a postposition or adverb.

8. The *vocative* is not expressed by any case-sign in the modern Indian tongues, but is generally identical with the nominative. The vocative is mostly indicated by prefixing an interjectional particle, as *ē*, or *hē*, or *hō*, or *rē*, *rī*, or *arē*,¹ or *yā*, with or without a change of the final vowel, as the case may be; the interjectional particle may also be suffixed after the example of the Persian.

SECTION IV.

THE FORMATIVE, OR OBLIQUE CASE.

WE considered in the preceding paragraph the remnants of the ancient Sanskrit-Prākṛit case-terminations, and the various affixes, adverbs, or postpositions, which are used to make up for the lost case-terminations. We have noted already, that, properly speaking, there are now only two cases in the modern Arian tongues, the *absolute* or *nominative* case, and the *formative* or *oblique* case, to which all the

¹ About *rē* and *rī*, and *arī*, see Dr. Caldwell's Remarks in his Comparative Grammar, p. 440.

various postpositions are added, which are now used to express the idea of the several cases.

I. *The Formative of the Singular.*

After repeated research and inter-comparison of the several Arian dialects, I have come to the conclusion, that the *formative* in itself does not represent any case, or does exist absolutely without a postposition or adverbial affix, though apparently there are many phenomena to disprove this. In *Sindhi*, as we have already noted, the *formative* is always identical with the *instrumental*, so that we might easily be induced to say, that the *instrumental* in *Sindhi* always represents the *formative* or *oblique* case. In spite of all this apparent conformity of both cases, if the *formative* is to be called a case at all, which I believe it is not, the origin of both is very different. We have already given our explanation of the *instrumental* singular in *Sindhi*, and we shall now attempt to show, that the *formative*, which only serves as a base to make up for the lost case termination, is of very different origin, though identical with the *instrumental*.

The *formative* in *Sindhi* undergoes exactly the same change of the final vowels, as if any *other affix* were to be added to the base. The declensional particles or affixes are now written *separately* in *Sindhi*, and not joined to the root, as they are more consequentially in *Marāṭhi*, but still the noun is considered as coalescing with them; e.g. घर, 'a house,' *formative* घर, with the declensional affixes घर जो, घर खे, etc.; the *same vowel-change* takes place if the noun is rendered a *diminutive* by the affix डो, डी, or रो with adjectives, as: घरडो, 'a small house.' Nouns ending in ū, but being *feminine*, retain their final u before any case-affix, just as they do before any *diminutive* affix, e.g. जिंदु fem. 'life,' *formative* जिंदु, as: जिंदु, जो, खे, ते, etc.; the same with a *diminutive* affix, जिंदुडो masc. 'life,' etc.

Nouns ending in ō change the same in the *formative* to ए, whereas with a *diminutive* affix it is generally changed to य, or even to ऌ, as: पखो masc. 'a mat,' *formative* पखे, as पखे, जो, खे, etc.; *diminutive* पखिडो or पखडो, 'a small mat.' The change of final ō to ए

in the *formative*, and not to *Y* or *ă*, as with other affixes, is, I believe, to be ascribed to an effort for perspicuity; besides this the accent is not so completely thrown back on the first syllable, as it is the case in a *diminutive* form, as: *pákhirō*, but is more divided between the noun itself and the declensional affix, as: *pákhé-khé*, not *pákhe-khé*, by which fact the language still seems to have preserved some consciousness, that it has to deal with affixes, which were (at least partly) originally *adverbs*.

Nouns ending in Sindhī in *ā*, *ă*, or *Y*, remain unchanged in the formative; those which terminate in *i* and *ū*, change the same in the formative to *īă* and *ūă* respectively, as they do when any other particle is added to the noun, as: हारी 'a peasant,' हारिञ्ज जो, माड़ं हू 'a man,' माड़ं हूञ जो.

In *Marāṭhī*, on the other hand, we see a different principle prevail in regard to the formative; for while the Sindhī *shortened* the final vowel, or depressed it to make room for the acceding affix, the *Marāṭhī*, on the other hand, *lengthened* a final vowel to preserve the *original accent*, which we see already partly done in *Prākṛit* (see Lassen, pp. 302 and 304); e. g. *Marāṭhī* घर neut. 'a house,' formative घरा, as घराचा, घराम्, etc. The formation of the formative case is in *Marāṭhī* rather difficult, but on the whole the *principle* which we laid down, that a final (short) vowel must be *lengthened* before any case-affix or post-position can be added to the root, will suffice. On the other hand, the same principle, which we have noticed in Sindhī nouns ending in *i* and *ū*, prevails in *Marāṭhī* too; a final *i* or *ū* may first be shortened into *i* (*a*) and *u* (*va*), or *av* (*o*), and then this final sub-sounding (euphonic) *a* is again lengthened before the respective case-affix; e. g. हू masc. 'cotton,' formative हूवा; भाऊ masc. 'brother,' formative भावा; विंचू masc. 'a scorpion,' formative विंचवा; बिगारी 'a forced labourer,' formative बिगार्या; पाणी neut. 'water,' formative पाण्या. It would lead us too far to enter into any details, for which we must refer to any *Marāṭhī* Grammar.

In *Gujarātī* the formative does not deviate from the nominative except in nouns (masc.) which end in *ō* or *uñ* (neut.); the formative of both these terminations is made by changing final *ō* or *uñ* into *ā* or

ān respectively, as: **होकरो** masc. nominative, 'a lad,' formative, **होकरानो** 'of a lad,' etc.; **अंडु** neut. 'an egg,' formative **अंडानो** 'of an egg,' etc. The Gujarātī agrees so far with the Sindhī, that in Sindhī likewise final *ō* (or *ū*) is changed into *ā* before the adjectival affix *nō* (see also what we have noted on *nō* under the genitive).

In *Panjābī*, nouns (masc.) ending in *ā* (corresponding to the Sindhī and Gujarātī nouns in *ō*) form their formative by changing final *ā* into *ē*, just as in Sindhī, as: **मुन्दा**, 'a boy,' formative **मुन्दे-दा**, etc.; feminine themes ending in *ā* remain, as in Sindhī, unchanged in the formative; masculine and feminine themes in *ī* and *ū* (or *ūn*) do not distinguish the formative from their absolute form; in the same way, all nouns ending in a *silent* consonant, have the nominative and formative singular alike.

The same nearly may be remarked of the *Hindī* and *Hindustānī*; masculine themes, ending in *ā*, change final *ā* into *ē* in the formative, whereas feminine nouns in *ā* are identical in the nominative and formative cases; the same holds good in nouns (masculine or feminine) ending in *ī* or *ū*, which remain unchanged in the formative. Themes ending in a *silent* consonant are, of course, exempted from any change in the formative singular.

In *Bengālī* the formative is throughout identical with the nominative, excepted those nouns which end in the singular nominative in *ī* (= Sanskrit **इन्**), and which shorten this final *ī* into *ī* before the accession of any case-affix, as: **स्वामी**, masc. 'a master,' formative, **स्वामी-ते**, **स्वामी-र**, 'of a master,' etc.

We may therefore sum up with the remark, that the formative singular in the several dialects is subject to the same euphonic rules, as nouns generally are, when any adjectival or diminutive particle, or any other increment, is added to them.

II. *The Formative or Oblique Case Plural.*

We have shown in the preceding remarks, that the formative singular is in itself no case, but merely the euphonic change of any noun before the accession of any flexional or other increment. With

the formative plural, though the matter stands different, and there can hardly remain a doubt that the formative or oblique case plural represents originally the genitive plural; all the dialects when inter-compared, point to the same source. And in the first instance the formation of the genitive itself seems to have given rise to its promiscuous use as the formative plural; we have shown above that the genitive in the modern dialects is properly speaking an *adjective*, with the affix क (= का, जो, चा, etc.); this affix could only be added to the *original* Sanskrit-Prākṛit genitive, if the idea of plurality was not to be lost; a similar use we find already in the Vedic dialect (see Lassen, p. 54). The Gujarāṭi presents to us the only exception, which affixes all flexional increments direct to the *nominative plural*. The Bengālī, on the other hand, forms the oblique case plural by adding a noun, denoting 'a region,' 'a band,' 'a multitude,' etc., to which again the same inflexional increments are suffixed, as in the singular.

In turning to the remaining dialects, we find, that the Sindhī forms its formative plural in अनि or आं, as: घरनि or चरां, e.g. घरनि जो, घरनि खे or चरां जो, चरां खे, etc. The only case which we can compare with these forms is the Prākṛit genitive plural in आहं or आह, = Sindhī आं, which seems to be the older form of the two, from which अनि has again been shortened.¹ That घरनि or चरां corresponds originally with the Prākṛit genitive plural is borne out by other compositions, in which the original signification of the genitive plural is yet manifest, e.g. घरनिवारो, 'a possessor of houses.' The nominative plural determines the *conjunctive* vowel for the formative plural, which, if *long* in the *nominative plural* is shortened into the corresponding short one, as: plural fem. सुखाञ्, 'vows,' formative सुखाडनि; बेखी nom. plural 'servants,' formative बेखिनि; बेखिआं, from this again बेखिअनि; even a form बेखिडनि is in use, which points to the Prākṛit nominative plural i-u. Femi-

¹ In the Apabhṛansha dialect the genitive plural is already shortened to अहं, as वक्खहं, etc. See Lassen, pp. 463, 12.

nine themes, ending in I or Y, form their formative plural alike, but changing आं into एं, as: जेडिजं 'companions,' formative जेडिडनि or जेडिनि, or जेडिअनि, or जेडिएं; in the same way those in ū and ü (feminine), as: विहुं nom. plural 'scorpions,' formative plural विहुनि, or विहुअनि, or विहुएं; विजु fem. 'lightning,' nominative plural विजुं formative plural विजुनि.

The formative plural is identical with the *instrumental*, just as in the singular; in Sindhī the *instrumental* proper of the plural has been lost, and it is already a significant fact, that no *instrumental* plural is mentioned in the Apabhransha by Kramadīshvara; the cases of the plural have been already considerably confounded in the Apabhransha dialect, and the *genitive* and *ablative* plural are given as identical, and as we now must add, the *instrumental* too. In the modern Sindhī the original *genitive* was reserved for the *instrumental*, whilst the *genitive* by the affix जो was rendered an adjective, and the *ablative* plural is expressed in the same way as in the singular, by suffixing the inseparable affix आं, अउं, etc., to the formative plural, as, घरनिआं 'from houses,' etc.

In Marāthī we meet with the same features; the formative plural ends, as a rule, in आं,¹ just as in Sindhī, with the exception of some themes ending in ū, ü, I, and i, which remain either unchanged in the formative singular, or lengthen final u and i into the corresponding long ones; such themes retain also in the formative plural the conjunctive vowel of the singular, and only add for the sake of plurality an Anusvāra, as: कवि masc. 'a poet,' formative singular कवी; plural nominative कवि, formative plural कवीं; हत्ती masc. 'an elephant,' formative singular, ditto हत्ती; nominative plural हत्ती, formative plural हत्तीं.

In Panjābī the formative plural of all nouns ending in a silent consonant (masculine and feminine), ends likewise in आं, as: manukkhān-dā, etc.; gallān-dā (feminine), etc. Masculine themes

¹ The Anusvāra is dropped before the *instrumental* plural affix नी, as unnecessary, घरानी 'by houses,' but घरांहीं.

ending in *ā* form the formative plural in *iān* (*i* being a euphonic interpolation), as: *mundiān-dā*, *nai*, etc.; the same is the case with feminine themes ending in *ā*, as *balāiān-tē*, *nūū*, etc. Nouns (masculine and feminine) ending in *i* and *ū* have the formative plural likewise in *ān*, as: *piū*, 'father,' nominative plural; *pīvān*, formative plural; *pālī*, 'a herdsman,' singular and plural nominative, *pālīān* formative plural; *māuñ*, fem. 'mother,' plural nominative *māvāñ*, 'mothers,' formative plural ditto, *māvāñ-tē*, *nai*, etc.

In *Hindī* and *Hindustānī* the termination of the formative plural **आँ**, which we have met with in *Sindhī*, *Marāṭhī*, and *Panjābī*, has been changed into **ओं**, as: **दोस्तों-का**, **ने**, **से**, etc.; all the oblique cases of the plural are made up with the same adverbial affixes as those of the singular.

The *Hindūī*, on the other hand, deviates again very strikingly from the *Hindī* in forming the formative plural; it accedes nearest to the *Sindhī*, by using for the formative plural the termination **अन्** or **अनि**, or **अन्ह**, as: **बासकन्** or **बासकनि**, or **बासकन्ह**; the last termination **अन्ह** reminds us most forcibly of the *Apabhransha* genitive plural ending **अहं** (**हं**), before which a final short vowel is *never lengthened*, as in *Sindhī* and in *Hindūī*; but themes, terminating in a *long* vowel, may retain the same unchanged in the formative plural, as: **टोटा** 'a son,' plural nominative **ढोटा** or **ढोटे**, formative plural **ढोटानि**; **पोथी** fem. 'book,' plural nominative **पोथीं** 'books'; formative plural **पोथीन्**; or they may shorten *ā* into *ē*, and *i* into *iy* in the formative plural: **ढोटेनि**; **पोथिअन्**, **बाईन्** or **बाइयन्** 'ladies,' (formative plural of **बाईं**, 'lady').

We see thus, in spite of all the dialectical discrepancies of the modern Arian dialects of India, one general principle prevails as regards their declensional process, which may easily be reduced through the medium of the *Prākṛit* and *Pālī* to their common mother tongue, the *Sanskṛit*; that the declension of the North-Indian vernaculars bears no analogy to that of the *Drāvidian* idioms of the South, we hope to have sufficiently illustrated. Many important points remain still doubtful, and must remain so, until we shall be

able to follow up more closely the development of the several dialects. To this end all the vestiges and inscriptions of the present dialects should be carefully collected and edited, and especially the popular poetry should be made accessible, which always contains a rich store of ancient forms and words. Any labour of this kind would bring its ample reward in the historical and philological investigations which it would invite, and to which it would serve as an unfailing clue.

ART. XVIII.—Comparative Arrangement of two Translations of the Buddhist Ritual for the Priesthood, known as the *Prátimoksha*, or *Pátimokhan*. By the REV. S. BEAL from the Chinese, and by the REV. D. J. GOGEBLY from the Pali.

THE importance of any document that throws light on the essential character of Buddhism will be at once confessed, when it is remembered that its doctrines are received, and its precepts obeyed, by some hundreds of millions of men. The writings of its priests are so vast in their extent, and appear in so many languages, that it is scarcely possible for one mind to make itself acquainted with them all. Hence the value of any authoritative treatise that presents in small compass a clear exposition of any one of its phases, whether it be its history, ethics, doctrines, or discipline. When we wish to know the practical working of any system as a rule of life, we do not refer to its legends so much as to its laws; and if a correct knowledge of them can be acquired, and they are known to be duly administered, we may infer, therefrom, almost with certainty, the kind of influence they must exercise upon the minds of the people among whom they obtain.

The *Prátimoksha* is a manual of this kind, affording us everything we can desiderate with reference to one aspect of the system propounded by Gotama Buddha. As a code of discipline, there is nothing that can be compared to it in any other document of the heathen world. It resembles the regulations of some of the orders among the monks of Christendom; and a similarity of position has evidently led to a similarity of obligation. Were the treatise of only local reception, it would still have an interest that would secure attention to its contents; but when we learn that its acquirements are enforced throughout China, with its one hundred million Buddhists, as supposed by Dr. Medhurst, as well as in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, its importance is increased in proportion to the wide extent of its influence.

Though in itself so remarkable a document, it has an additional value as illustrating the oneness of Buddhism in all the principal countries in which it is professed. This system claims to be the

offspring of a single mind; and yet it has been disputed whether such a personage as Gotama Buddha ever existed. In the legends respecting him, even in those that are the best authenticated, and the most worthy of credence, there are difficulties that in themselves would throw the whole story into the region of myths; but on a minute examination, it will be seen that there is a consistency running through its separate parts, a uniformity in the great principles it enunciates, and a oneness of character between narrative, precept, and discipline, which leads us to the conclusion that in its elemental form it has originated from the mind of one man; allowing it to have received, as its promoters avow, fresh illustration and further development as contingencies arose, during the life of its author. None of these modifications, that were made as circumstances require them, affect its general character, and in its essential principles it is one and undivided. Its moral precepts have a greater stringency than those of any other unrevealed religion; and as it is evident that superior purity cannot be maintained in any society without a proportionate strictness of restraint, we learn from the Prátimoksha that the discipline of Buddhism is in perfect harmony with the morality it inculcates. The imposing of a restraint so severe would be of little avail unless guarded and maintained by the watchful oversight of some authoritative power. This was exercised by the reading of the Prátimoksha bi-monthly in the assembly of the priests; and if any priest had transgressed, his offence could not fail to be discovered, so long as the members of the sangha were sincere in their profession. In the mildness of the penance imposed we have another fact equally in accordance with the gentle character of the entire system. The permission to lay aside the yellow robe for a season, and to become a layman for the nonce, is a regulation well calculated to preserve the character of the priesthood as an order, apart from its bearing upon the individual man; but it reveals to us, either that its author has been too severe in the restrictions he has imposed, or that the system presents no power adequate to help the priest when his will is weak and his passions are strong.

It is an object of importance to discover to what extent the Buddhism of one country agrees with the system bearing the same name as professed in another. There are some points of difference that are noteworthy; but the result of all recent researches by the orientalisks of Europe tends to the conclusion, that in its leading principles Buddhism is the same in nearly all the regions of the east. The printing of the two versions of the Prátimoksha in the

possession of the Royal Asiatic Society, derived from entirely different sources, yet agreeing with each other to a striking extent, will further illustrate and confirm this conviction. The translation by the Rev. D. J. Gogerly is made from the original Pali. This gentleman has an advantage in his uninterrupted residence of more than forty years in the island of Ceylon, in his profound knowledge of the language, and in his constant intercourse with the priests upon whom these precepts are binding as a rule of conduct. The translation by Mr. Beal has an importance of its own, as being simply the result of a study of the document itself, and from its having been made at a distance from the influences that might be supposed, in some degree, to bias the mind that has to come in immediate contact with Buddhism, as a system antagonistic to revealed truth. The nearness with which his translation agrees with the one made by the assistance of the priests is a clear proof of his competency for the task he has undertaken. The student of Buddhism will know how to appreciate the course taken by the Royal Asiatic Society in adopting, through its Council, the recommendation it has received, to print the two versions together, upon opposite pages; as, by this means, it will be seen that the statement of the identity of the two versions is not a mere supposition founded upon a few coincidences, but a reality so apparent that it requires only to be looked at in order to be at once understood.

The Pali original and the Chinese version agree in the name of the book; in the period appointed for the recitation of the precepts; in the arrangements that are to be previously made; in the preliminary questions, the number of times they are to be repeated, and the manner in which the affirmative reply is to be inferred; in the classification of the faults and of the consequences that are to follow their commission; and in the concluding illustrations. There is a slight variation in the Chinese version of the second *párajiká* precept, which ordains that the erring priest shall be separated from the community, even though he has been "killed." In four of the divisions the number of the precepts is the same, though the order is sometimes reversed in which they appear; but in the *páchittiyá dhammá* division there are two fewer in the Chinese than in the Pali, and in the *sékhiyá dhammá* division twenty-five more. The additional precepts, from the 60th to the 84th inclusive, are of little importance, and are distinguished from the rest by some reference in each to the "pagoda."

By the insertion of the two documents, in contrast with each other, it will be seen that Buddhism, as carried to China and as still

professed in that land, is essentially the same system that prevailed in the place of its original promulgation. The Chinese received its code of discipline without a single addition to its precepts of any moment, and they have transmitted from generation to generation the same ordinances, as nearly as possible in the *ipsissima verba* of the original formula. The consecutive reading of the two treatises, as here presented, will awaken the reflection, how it is that a system so cold and formal as Buddhism has been able to secure a reception more extended than any other religion that has yet appeared among men; and how it is that a system which holds as one of its principal tenets the impermanency of all things, has retained its primitive character unchanged by distance of time or variety of race.

THE REV. MR. BEAL'S PREFATORY REMARKS.

THIS is the Chinese version of the Prátimoksha, as is evident not only from a comparison of the several parts of the work with the account of the Prátimoksha found in Burnouf's *Introd. to Ind. Bud.* (pp. 300..), and also Spence Hardy's account of the same book (*Eastern Monachism, passim*), and also with Mr. Gogerly's Translation of the same work from the Pali;¹ but from the actual term employed by the Chinese, alluding to this work, which they render Po-lo-ti-mo-cha (Prátimokcha), as in the following passage:²—
 “Sakya Muni Buddha, when he first turned the wheel of the law, did so for the purpose of saving A-jo-kiu-chan (Adjnata Kaundinya, Jul. II., 364, n.), so the very last law he spoke was for the conversion of Su-po-to-lo (Subhadra, vid. Spence Hardy, *M.B.*, 346), after which he retired in silence to the two Sala trees, being about to enter Nirvana. At this time, in the very middle of the night, when all was still and wrapped in quietness, on account of all his disciples, he briefly delivered these laws: 1. All you Bikshus, after my Nirvana, ought to reverence and honour chiefly the Po-lo-ti-moh-cha (Prátimokcha), as that which is able to enlighten the dark

¹ Quoted in “*Eastern Monachism.*”

² *Vide* the “*Nirvana Sutra,*” at the end of the Book of 42 Sections.

and ignorant, as a treasure found by a poor man, &c.;" and that this Po-lo-ti-moh-cha alludes to the "book of the four divisions." seems to follow from the allusion made in the first section to the 250 precepts (evidently the same work), which is undoubtedly the number of the precepts contained in the Pratimokcha.¹

Why the work is called "the four divisions" is not so manifest. M. Rémusat gives a reason which is not satisfactory.² "In the number of the Vinaya is included the book called "Rules for the Four Sections," that is to say, for the direction of the mendicants, the female mendicants, for the observation of the Precepts, and the extinction of differences." But the fact is, that this book has no such directions for the female mendicants (Bikshuni) as this definition supposes.

The probable reason of the title seems to be found in the division of the whole Vinaya into four parts, of which this work is one part, as we may read in Mr. Spence Hardy's Eastern Monach,³ "Of the five sections into which the Vinaya Pitakā is divided, the Párajikā and Páchiti contains a code of ordinances relative to priestly crimes and misdemeanors, the 3rd and 4th Maha Waga and Chula Waga, miscellaneous rules, and the 5th Parivānapāta contains a recapitulation of the preceding books. The precepts and prohibitions contained in the Párajikā and Páchiti, 227 in number, are collected together in a work called Patimokkhan, or in Singhalese Prátimóksha."

So that, we take it, the Chinese title "Precepts of the Four Divisions" is the general name for the Vinaya, divided into so many parts, and that the work before us is the first of these four sections, and includes the Pátimokkhan or Prátimokcha.

The difference in the number of the precepts in the Southern and Northern versions of this work have been alluded to by M. Burnouf, and others. The difference actually occurs in the 5th and 7th sections, viz., in the Pachittiyá dhammá, where the Ceylonese version has 92 precepts and the Chinese only 90; and in the Sékhiyá-dhammá, where the Ceylonese copy has only 75 precepts and the Chinese 90: thus the difference in number is altogether 23, which explains the statement that the whole number of the precepts in the Patimokkhan is 227, whereas the number in the book now under consideration is 250.

¹ The book is expressly called by this name in the 1st section.—*Vide infra*.

² Fo Koue ki, p. 109.

³ E. M. p. 8.

A translation of the Prátimoksha has, I believe, been made by Mr. Gogerly, but I have had no opportunity of seeing it.¹

The title of the work in full is this, "The original work of the Precepts in Four Divisions, according to the emended copy of Sieun, a priest of the Tang dynasty. Taken from the version used by the School of the Dharmaguptas."²

INTRODUCTORY STANZAS IN THE CHINESE VERSION.
(*Gáthas.*)

Reverently prostrate I worship all the Buddhas,
And the Law, and the community (Bikshus and priests)!
Now am I about to declare the Law of the Vinaya (Pi-ni),
In order to the perpetual establishment of the Right Law.
These precepts are like the boundless ocean (in extent);
(Their value) like that of a gem, which one tires not in seeking
for.

Desirous, therefore, to preserve the treasure of the Holy Law:
Now, in the hearing of the whole community assembled together,
I announce it.

Wishful to exclude the four laws³ (which demand) separation,
and the corrupt laws, which are subversive of the priesthood,
guarding against the 30 (offences which demand) forfeiture;⁴

I now proclaim these Precepts in the hearing of the assembly:
Si-po-shi (Wipassí), Shi-hi (Sikhi), Pi-she-ku (Wessabhu), Liu-
sün (Kakusanda ?),

Ku-na-hom-mu-ni (Konagamana), Ka-hi (Kasyapa), Shi-ka-
man (Sakya Muni).

All these world-honoured ones, priests of Renown!

Have on our account delivered these things!

Worthily then do I desire now to proclaim them!

Let all the illustrious (followers of these Buddhas) now con-
jointly attend to me!

Like as if a man were to destroy his feet;

So that he would no longer have any power of locomotion,

So is it to destroy these Precepts;

¹ By the great kindness of Dr. Rost, of Canterbury, I have been able to compare this translation with that of Mr. Gogerly, at the last hour.

² *Vide* Jul. iii. p. 563.

³ *Viz.*: the 4 Po-lo-i or Parajika. (1)

⁴ *Viz.*: the 30 Nissagrya pachittiya Laws. (1)

For how then could one be born in the world of Devas?¹
 Let all those, therefore, who desire to be born in Heaven,
 Who are now living in the world of men,
 Always preserve and guard these precepts (which are to them
 as) feet.

Beware of injuring or mutilating them!

For as a chariot which has entered on a narrow and dangerous
 road,

And (suddenly) loses the linch-pin, or breaks its axle-tree!

So is he who destroys these precepts!

At the time of Death what forebodings! what anxious fears!

For as a man viewing himself in a bright mirror (lit. "himself
 brightly mirroring"),

(As he sees himself) graceful in appearance or deformed, so
 feels joy or dismay.

So, in like manner, is the effect produced by the declaration of
 this law.²

Has the Law been observed, then what joy! Has it been
 neglected—ah! what dismay!

So is it also, when two hostile forces promiscuously contend,
 The brave advance, the cowards retreat.

Thus also it is at the declaration of this Law:

The pure in heart find rest (and advance boldly); the trans-
 gressors, overcome with shame (retire)!

As a King is Supreme among men;

As the Ocean is chief of the Seas;

As the Moon is principal of all the Stars;

So is Buddha pre-eminent over all Sages.

Amongst all the Treatises on discipline (all the works of the
 Vinaya),

This perfect Sutra is the very first.

Tathágata has established that these precepts

Should be read every half month.

PREPARATORY QUESTIONS.

Q. Are the priests assembled?

A. They are assembled.

Q. Are all properly arranged?

A. All (things) are properly arranged.

¹ Jul. ii. 200 n.

² Compare St. James, cap. i. v. 23.

Q. Let all those depart who have not yet undertaken to observe all the precepts.

A. If there be any such, let them at once be dismissed, and then reply, "All those who have not received the whole precepts are gone." If there be none such present, then say, "In this assembly there are none who have not received all the precepts."

Q. Of all the Bikshus now present does any one seek for absolution?

A. If there be any one present who desires absolution let them say so—if not, let them say, there is no one.

Q. Who is there would (or will) forbid a Bikshuni coming to learn the precepts?

A. In this assembly there is no Bikshuni who has come to learn the precepts.

Q. Have the priests now agreed what is our present business?

A. It is to repeat the precepts, Ki-ma;¹ (Ki-ma is probably a form of Karma-dana, i.e., director of a convent. Jul. iii, *sub. voc.*)

Worthy sirs! let the priests therefore listen on this 15th day of the white² month [or, as the case may be, the dark month (krishnapakcha), or the 14th day]; let all the priests recite the precepts, and if they be assembled at that time [or if a priest or priests arrive at that time], let them listen attentively and patiently whilst the precepts be thus distinctly repeated.

COMMENCEMENT.

* Worthy sirs! I now desire to repeat the Po-lo-ti-muh-sha (Prátimoksha). Bikshus! being thus assembled in one place, ye ought now to consider thoughtfully and devoutly reflect on these precepts. If there be any who have transgressed them they ought to repent; if there be none who have transgressed, then silently! silently! (let us stand), so that it may be known that all ye, worthy sirs! are free from stain!

Now, if a stranger ask one of us a question we are bound to answer him truthfully; so, likewise, all ye Bikshus, residing in one community, on being questioned thrice, remembering that ye have incurred guilt, and not divulging it, ye certainly will be guilty of

¹ Ki-mo is evidently an equivalent of Mr. Gogorly's, "by general agreement."

² Couklapakcha, Jul. ii. 61.

³ Vide Jul. iii. 79, and also Shanghai Almanac.

the crime of false speech. But Buddha has declared that the guilt of falsehood effectually impedes the Law of Supreme Reason. That brother, therefore, who on reflection remembers that he has been guilty of transgression, and is desirous of absolution, ought at once to repent of his crime, after due repentance he shall then have rest and peace!

Worthy sirs! having thus repeated the preface to this Sutra, I now demand of you all, is this assembly pure or not? [let this be repeated three times]. Worthy sirs! this assembly is pure: Silent, therefore, we stand! So let it continue to be!

Worthy sirs! I now proceed to declare the 4 Po-lo-i Laws (*pārājiká*) to be repeated bi-monthly, according to the Book of Precepts.

THE REV. MR. GOGERLY'S PREFATORY REMARKS.

THE writings of Budha are divided into three divisions named Pitakas, viz.: 1, the Winiya Pitaka, or division respecting discipline, which is addressed solely to the priests; 2, the Sutra Pitaka, or discourses addressed some to the priests, others to laics; and 3, the Abhidharma Pitaka, or explanations of the more abstruse doctrines of Budha, but not addressed to any persons specifically. It is to the first division respecting discipline that I wish to direct attention. It consists of five books: 1, *Pārājika*, containing regulations concerning serious crimes. 2, *Pāchiti*, concerning minor transgressions; 3 and 4, *Maha Wagga* and *Chula Wagga*, containing a kind of journalized account of the rules, regulations, &c., connected with the priesthood; and 5, *Pariwāna pāta*, being a recapitulation of the first four books. In general the contents of these books are kept secret by the priests, they being prohibited by Budha from communicating them to laymen. They say, however, that they are permitted to declare them to persons high in authority, and therefore they have sold the books to Europeans, and some of the learned will read them, explaining the difficult parts.

In the institutes of Budha it is ordered that a book called *Pātimokkhan*, shall be recited twice every month in a congregated assembly of the priests, consisting of not less than four individuals. This book contains all the precepts recorded in the *Pārājika* and *Pāchiti*, but without any of the details respecting their enactment found in those works. The details omitted in the small work are

1, a history of the circumstances which led to the enactment of the law, and the mode in which it was enacted, whether at once, or by degrees. Thus, in the first law, the transgression of which permanently excludes from the priesthood, there are three enactments: one prohibiting sexual intercourse; the second adding to the former "even with an animal," and the third making a provision that priests not guilty of the crime but feeling unable or unwilling to keep the vow of chastity, may secede from the priesthood without any bar to their re-admission when they feel able to keep the vow; so that a priest who wishes to marry may, according to a stated form, acknowledge his inability or unwillingness to keep the precept, lay aside his robes, and become a layman; he may then marry without dishonour, and if at any future period he wishes again to become a priest he may be re-admitted; but if he commit the act prior to putting off his robes, he can never be re-admitted. Besides this detail there are in the larger works, after the precept has been fully enacted, 2, an explanation of each word in the command; 3, a further explanation of the actions prohibited; and 4, a collection of cases, with the decisions of Budha upon them. The record of cases is copious respecting the four crimes punished by exclusion, and the 13 subjecting the offender to suspension, but concerning the minor offences only such cases are recorded as led to a modification of the precept. In the *Pātimokkhan* all detail is omitted, and the precept, in its complete state is inserted. Its general design appears to be the preservation of morality and discipline among the priests. It contains the following precepts, viz.: four *pārājikā*, punished with permanent exclusion; thirteen *sanghādisesā*, punished with suspension and penances, the offender not to be restored except by an assembly of twenty priests; two *aniyatā dammā*, in which the penalty may be either exclusion, suspension, or censure, according to circumstances; thirty *nisaggiya pachittiya dammā*, involving forfeiture of the robe, carpet, bowl, &c.; ninety-two *pāchittiya dammā*, requiring confession and absolution; four *pātidēsani dammā*, involving reprimand; seventy-five *sekhiyā dammā*, or resolutions to omit improprieties and perform the opposite virtues: and seven *adhikarana samatā dammā* or rules for judging.

When the time for the meeting has arrived the priests are seated in a circle on low cushions, having a space of two cubits and a-half between each priest, and at its commencement two priests officiate, but when the introductory service is over only one priest continues to recite the precepts and question the assembly. The

following is a translation of the book which is named *Introductory Ceremonial of the Pāli version, pātimokkhan, or Supreme Perfection.*

1st. Priest. Adoration to the blessed, the holy, the all perfect Budha. Let the honourable meeting listen to me; if the time for the meeting be arrived I will question such a venerable one respecting the discipline.

2nd Priest. Adoration to the blessed, the holy, the all-perfect Budha. Let the honourable meeting listen to me: if the time for the meeting be arrived, I being questioned by such a venerable one respecting the discipline will explain it.

1st Priest. Sweeping, and a lamp, and water with the seats, are named the preceding performances.

[A pause] 1st Priest: Sweeping—2nd Priest. The act of sweeping.¹

1st Priest. And a lamp.—2nd Priest. The lighting a lamp; but having now the light of the sun, the lamp is not prepared.

1st Priest. And water with the seats—2nd Priest. The seats, and water placed for refreshment by drinking.

1st Priest. Those are named the preceding performances of the Uposat'ha.—2nd Priest. The four things, sweeping, &c., are called the preceding performances of the Uposat'ha and of the duties of the Uposat'ha; as they must be done prior to the assembling of the priests, they are named preceding performances.

1st Priest. The concurring in the meeting being held, non-liability to ecclesiastical censure, the season of the year, numbering the priests and exhortation, are called the first acts of the Uposat'ha.

1st Priest. The concurring in the meeting being held and non-liability to ecclesiastical censure.—2nd Priest. Reporting the concurrence of the priests, and their freedom from ecclesiastical censure. This is not (done) here (all the priests being present, and therefore no report being necessary).

1st Priest. The season.—2nd Priest. Three seasons, the winter, &c., such are passed (mentioning them) and such remain. Thus the seasons are named: in this religion three are recognised, the cold, the hot, and the rainy. This is the cold season: and in this season are eight Uposat'has. At this time one Uposat'ha has commenced, one Uposat'ha is passed, and six Uposat'has remain to come.

1st Priest. The number of the priests.—2nd Priest. The number of priests assembled in the Uposat'ha hall are so many priests.

¹ That is, sweeping the hall of assembly.

1st Priest. Exhortation. Exhortation (or advice) must be given to the priestesses: but at present there are no priestesses, and therefore there is now no exhortation.

1st Priest. These are named the first acts of the Uposat'ha; 2nd Priest. The five things, viz., ascertaining the concurrence of the priests, &c., as they are to be done previously to the Pātimokhan being recited, are called the first acts of the Uposat'ha and of the duties thereof: therefore they are named "First acts."

1st Priest. The Uposat'ha day, the assembly of a sufficient number of priests, the freedom from anything which would subject the whole assembly to ecclesiastical censure, the absence of all improper persons, are called (or constitute) the time for the meeting.

1st Priest. The Uposat'ha day—2nd Priest. There are three kinds of Uposat'ha days, the 14th day, the 15th day (counting from the last Uposat'ha), and the friendly meeting (for which no specific day is appointed) to day is the Uposat'ha of the 15th day.

1st Priest. The assembly of a sufficient number of priests.—2nd Priest. As many priests who are assembled for the duties of the Uposat'ha, who are suitable and fit for it, being at least four in number, who are within the boundaries assigned by a Sangha as the limits for an Uposat'ha (not three cubits exceeding the limit).

1st Priest. The freedom from anything which would subject the whole assembly to ecclesiastical censure.¹—2nd Priest. The whole of the assembled not having eaten out of the proper hours, &c.

1st Priest. The absence of all improper persons.—2nd Priest. Laymen, eunuchs, &c., being the twenty-one classes of men improper (to take part in the meeting) must be placed a short distance outside. None such are here.

1st Priest. Is called the time for the meeting.—2nd Priest. The combination of these four preparatives constitutes the time for commencing the meeting. It is therefore called the Time of Meeting.

1st Priest. The preceding performances, and the first acts

¹ If the whole of the Priests have been guilty of the same crime, such as eating at improper hours, they cannot hold an Uposat'ha till some one not guilty of the same shall absolve them; but if they are guilty of different crimes, such, as one having eaten out of the proper hours, and another having received gold or silver, they may confess and absolve each other.

being completed, with the permission of the peaceful priests assembled for the purpose, I will commence reciting the Patimokhan.

Let the honourable assembly hear me; to-day is the Uposat'ha of the 15th day, if the time for the meeting be arrived, the assembly will keep the Uposat'ha and recite the Patimokhan.

What is the first act of the meeting? To declare the purity of the venerable ones.

I will recite the Patimokhan, let every one of us hear attentively and consider it; if any one is guilty of a fault, let him confess it; if not guilty he must remain silent, I shall conclude from the silence that the venerable ones are pure. Thus when the question is put respecting each several precept it will be explained, and in such an assembly as this the question will be put thrice. Any priest when the question has been put three times, if he remember that he has committed any crime and does not confess it, becomes guilty of a wilful lie; and it has been declared, venerable ones, by Bagawā (*i. e.* Budha), that a wilful lie is dangerous (or is an obstruction in the path to purity), and therefore it is necessary that a priest desirous of obtaining Nirwana (or attaining purity) should make confession if he is guilty of any fault, and by confession he will become tranquil.

Venerable ones, the Introduction has been recited; therefore, I ask if the venerable ones present are pure? A second time I ask if the venerable ones present are pure? A third time I ask if the venerable ones present are pure? Ye are pure, venerable ones, therefore ye are silent, and even thus I receive it.

VERSIONS OF THE RITUAL.

(Chinese.)

I. THE 4 PO-LO-I

(Parajika).

1. If a Bikshu holding the precepts and agreeing therewith, without leaving the community, act in opposition to the precepts, and repent not, wickedly practising all sorts of impure conduct, till he come to live in common with the brute beasts, this Bikshu shall be

(Pali.)

And now the four Parājikā are to be recited.

1. Any priest, who has engaged to live according to the precepts delivered to the priesthood, who has not confessed his weakness and left the precepts (returned to lay life), if he have carnal intercourse even with an animal, he is Parājiko (overcome) and excluded.

(Chinese.)

excluded (Po-lo-i) and cut off from the assembly.

2. If a Bikshu living in a village, or an uninhabited place (quiet place), encouraging a thievish disposition, take goods which are not given him, and if in accordance with the laws which respect those who take that which is not given, a king or his minister take this man and imprison, banish, or kill him (saying), You are a thief, or you are a fool, or you are besotted! This Bikshu shall be excluded, and separated from the community.

3. If a Bikshu cause a man's death, or hold a weapon and give it a man (for the purpose), or if he speak of the advantages of death, or if he ceaselessly exhort one to meet death (saying), "Tush! you are a brave man," or use such wicked speech as this, "It is far better to die and not to live," using such considerations as these, bringing every sort of expedient into use, praising death, exhorting to death. This Bikshu ought to be excluded and cut off.

4. If a Bikshu, having no true knowledge, speak of himself in these words, "I have attained perfection (lit. the law above men), I have entered on the most excellent law of holy or sacred wisdom, I know this (I know what 'Is' = ॐ ॐ); I see

(Pali.)

2. If any priest shall, in an inhabited or uninhabited place, take with a thievish intent any thing which is not given to him, and if for such a theft a king having the thief caught will cause him to be corporally punished, or imprisoned or banished; or say to him, Thou art a thief; thou art foolish; thou hast erred; thou art dishonest; a priest taking any such kind of ungiven thing is Pārājiko and excluded.

3. If any priest shall wilfully take away the life from the body of a man, or if he procure for a man a weapon for the purpose, or if he speak of the advantages of death, or teach how death may be procured, saying, O man, what dost thou derive from this sinful and miserable life; death is more excellent for thee than life; thus thoughtful and designing if he in various modes celebrate the advantages of death, or teach how death may be procured, he is Pārājiko and excluded.

4. If any priest who has not experienced supreme human perfection, shall profess to have attained the excellent perception of perfect wisdom, saying thus I know, or thus I see, he is guilty, whether after that period he shall be questioned on the

(Chinese.)

this; and if that man at another time, whether asked or unasked, desiring absolution, shall speak thus: In truth I neither know nor see, and when I said I saw, and when I said I knew, it was but vain, wild and false language, in order to exclude the necessity of further advance, and to encourage my idle disposition." This Bikshu ought to be excluded and cut off.

Worthy Sirs! I have thus delivered the 4 Po-lo-i rules. If there be any Bikshu who has transgressed either one or other of them, it is impossible for such a man to live in the community after his sin as he was before. That man has acquired the guilt which demands exclusion (Po-lo-i), and ought not to live as a member of the priesthood. I demand, therefore, worthy Sirs! Are ye all in this assembly pure [3 times]. Worthy Sirs! This assembly is pure! Silently, therefore, ye stand! So let it be!

(Pali.)

subject or not: and if, when seeking purity, he shall say, Friend, I said that I knew that of which I was ignorant, and that I saw what I did not see, speaking boastfully that which was false and vain, except he did so from too high an estimate of himself (*i. e.*, believing what he said to be true, although he was self-deceived) he is Pārājiko and is excluded.

Venerable ones, the four Pārājikā have been recited; if any priest has been guilty of any one of them, he can no longer remain associated with the priests, but becomes as he was before (*i. e.*, a layman): he has been overcome and he is excluded.

Therefore, venerable ones, I inquire, are ye pure respecting these things? A second time I inquire, are ye pure respecting these things? A third time I inquire, are ye pure respecting these things? Ye are pure, venerable ones, therefore ye are silent; and thus I receive it.

Venerable ones, the Introduction and the four Pārājika have been declared. The venerable ones have still to hear the thirteen Sanghādisesā, the two Aniyatā dammā, the thirty Nissaggiyā pācittiya dammā, the ninety-two Pācittiya dammā, the four Patidesaniya dammā, the seventy-five Sekhiya dammā, and the seven Adhikarana samatā

(Chinese.)

Worthy Sirs! I now proceed to recite the 13 Sang-ka-hi-shi-sha Rules.

THE 13 SANGHADISASA RULES
(Suspension and Penance).

1. If a Bikshu by pampering lustful thoughts be conquered by them (*semine emisso*), except in his dreams, let him be suspended (Sang-ka-hi-shi-sha).

2. If a Bikshu, encouraging lustful desires, bring his body into contact with that of a woman, whatever part of her body it be, let him be suspended (Sang-ka-hi-shi-sha).

3. If a Bikshu, encouraging lustful thoughts, talk lewdly with a woman, let him be suspended (Sang-ka-hi-shi-sha).

4. If a Bikshu, encouraging lustful thoughts, magnifying himself over woman (giving himself pre-eminence in the presence of a woman), pampering his body, say, "Honourable sis-

(Pali.)

dammā.¹ These precepts, which are contained in the discourses of Budha, and selected from them, are to be declared twice in each month. All of us, therefore, should study them in peace, with unanimity and free from contention.

The thirteen Sanghadisesā *dammā*, venerable ones, are now to be declared.

1. If any priest shall, except during sleep, wilfully pollute himself: he is guilty of Sanghādiseso.

2. Any priest who shall so lower himself, as with a perturbed mind to come into personal contact with a woman, either by seizing her hand, grasping the hair of her head, or who shall in any other way touch her person, he is guilty of Sanghādiseso.

3. Any priest who shall so lower himself as with a perturbed mind to hold libidinous discourse with a woman, such as a youth would hold with a damsel for sensual purposes, he is guilty of Sanghādiseso.

4. Any priest who shall so lower himself, as with a perturbed mind, to praise sensual pursuits in the presence of a woman saying, Sister, the most meritorious action a woman can

(Chinese.)

ter, I am preparing myself by the¹ *discipline of the Brahmin*, holding the precepts in their fullest perfection (tsing chan, the paramita of energy (vinja, poramita)), preparing myself in the law of perfect virtue,² which admits of holding these laws of lustful desires, (come) minister to me!" and being thus ministered to by the woman, let him be suspended and undergo the highest penance.

5. If a Bikshu, in his journeyings, busying himself as a match-maker between this one and another, and being the confidant of a man, talk with the woman on these points, or being the confidant of a woman, talk with the man on this subject; and if he thus complete arrangements so that there be intercourse between the two, whether for marriage or the occasion only, let him be suspended.

6. If a Bikshu seek to make a house for himself, without a householder, on his own account alone, he must take care to observe the proper measurements; the mean measurements are these, 12 of Buddha's spans in length, and within, 7 of these spans broad. He ought also to take the body of the Bikshus, and point out the position of the place given (him for his house), they must observe the character of the place, that it be not either dangerous of approach

(Pal.)

perform is to gratify by such means so virtuous, excellent, and pure a person as I am, thus exciting to sensuality, he is guilty of Sanghādiseso.

5. Any priest who shall become a messenger, making known the desires of a woman to the man, or the desires of a man to the woman, whether for marriage, or for illicit intercourse, or even for procuring a courtesan, he is guilty of Sanghādiseso.

6. If any priest shall, by his own request, procure a house to be built for himself, it not being the property of any other person, he must have it built according to measurement; that is, twelve spans, of the spans of Buddha, in length, and seven spans in breadth, in the inside. He must call priests to consecrate a site; and they shall consecrate ground for the purpose free from danger,² and with a path around it.³ But if a priest shall cause a house to be built at his own request in a

(Chinese.)

or difficult of access; if the Bikshu, notwithstanding the illegal position, still build his house, or if he take not the Bikshus to inspect it, or if it exceed the lawful measurement, let him be suspended.

7. If a Bikshu desire to construct a large house in which there shall be a resident householder, but for himself, he ought to take certain of the Bikshus to inspect the character of the site, that it is a place without any difficulty of approach, and not in a dangerous neighbourhood; if he do not observe these regulations, let him be suspended.

8. If a Bikshu, from the blind effects of angry resentment, vilify a Bikshu (as worthy of being) Po-lo-i (*i. e.*, guilty of a crime meriting expulsion), whereas his assertion is mere slander, wishing to remove that man from his purity, and at another time, solicited or not, he confess that his charge resulted from anger, let him be suspended.

9. If a Bikshu, because he is angry,³ *owing to the different distribution of commodities amongst the fraternity* (? this is doubtful), slander a Bikshu as Po-lo-i, with-

(Pali.)

dangerous place, or without a path round it, or shall not call priests to consecrate the ground,⁴ or shall exceed the prescribed measurement, he is guilty of Sanghādiseso.

7. If a priest shall cause a large Wihara to be built for his residence, it being the property of another person, priests must be called to consecrate a site; and they shall consecrate ground for the purpose free from danger, and with a path around it. But if a priest shall cause a large Wihara⁵ to be built in a dangerous place, or without a path round it, or shall neglect to call priests to consecrate the ground, he is guilty of Sanghādiseso.

8. If any priest being ill-disposed towards another priest, shall from malice and hatred bring a groundless charge against him respecting anything involving Pārājika (*i. e.*, exclusion from the priesthood), thinking "Perhaps I may remove him from this course of purity" (*i. e.*, the priesthood), whether the charge shall be further investigated or not; if it have been preferred from malice, without any foundation; he is guilty of Sanghādiseso.

9. If any priest being ill-disposed towards another priest shall, from malice and hatred, take any little thing from a foreign subject, and frame upon

(Chinese.)

out cause, and if at another time, solicited or not, he confess that he did so through anger, let him be suspended.

10. If a Bikshu, wishing to break the harmony among the community, plot and consider how to accomplish this, firmly holding to his intention and not relinquishing it, another Bikshu (acquainted with his purpose) ought to expostulate with this Bikshu, and say, "Brother (virtuous one!) do not interrupt the harmony of the assembly! do not devise expedients for this purpose! do not consider the best means of doing this mischief! holding to it and persevering in it. Brother! *There ought to be harmony*⁸ in the community, peace and not wrangling, as the learner of one master; agreeing, as milk combines with water; so combining in the law of Buddha! There is profit and rest in so doing!" If the (wicked) Bikshu, at the time of being thus exhorted, still keep to his purpose, and relinquish it not, the other must expostulate three times, in order to induce the first to lay aside his purpose; if, after the third warning, he give up his intention, it

VOL. XIX.

(Pali.)

it a charge against him involving expulsion, thinking "Perhaps I may remove him from this course of purity;" whether the charge shall be further investigated or not, if it have been preferred from malice, and has been founded upon some little thing taken from a foreign subject, he is guilty of Sanghādiseso.⁸

10. If any priest shall endeavour to sow dissension among the peaceably associated priesthood, or shall continue to bring forward things to perpetuate existing divisions, the priests must thus address him: Venerable one, strive not to sow dissensions among the peaceably associated priesthood, and bring not forward things to perpetuate existing divisions: Live tranquilly, venerable one, with the priesthood: the associated priests are peaceful, happy, free from disputations, and being fellow-students live happily together. When the priests have thus spoken to him, if he still continue the same practices they must thrice advise him to forsake them. If upon being thrice advised he forsake them, it will be well: but if not, he is guilty of Sanghādiseso.

(Chinese.)

is well! but if not, let him be suspended.

11. If a Bikshu have formed a cabal, say of one, two, or three, or more (brothers), and if he shall thus address the other (who has been expostulating with some offender), "Brother, do not chide this Bikshu, he is a good man and speaks according to the law and precepts. What he says I and others approve of and rejoice at." Then the first shall reply, expostulating, thus, "Brother! say not so! say not that this Bikshu is in agreement with the law and precepts; say not you approve and rejoice at what he says, for in truth this Bikshu is an opposer of the law in saying what he does; he is a transgressor of the precepts! Brother! do not desire thus to break the harmony of the community! you ought, indeed, to rejoice at, and desire to see harmony amongst the brethren. Brother! amongst priests there should be peace and not wrangling! learners of one master, as milk mingles with water, so should it be in the law of Buddha, having peace there is great prosperity!" If, at the time of this warning, the other still hold his resolve, let the expostulation be repeated three times, &c.; if he hear, well! if not, let him be suspended!

12. 'If a Bikshu, depending on (or attached to) a certain convent

(Pali.)

11. If there should be one, two, or three priests who are associated with a priest thus sowing divisions, aiding and abetting him, saying Venerable ones, speak nothing against this priest, for he speaks according to true doctrine and discipline; he declares our views and feelings, he knows and speaks our sentiments; and we approve of his conduct. The other priests shall then speak to them and say, Speak not thus, venerable ones, that priest does not speak according to true doctrine and discipline. Be not desirous, venerable ones, of fomenting divisions among the associated priests, but live tranquilly with them. The associated priests are peaceful, happy, free from disputations, and being fellow-students live happily together. When the priests have thus spoken to them, if they still continue the same practices, they must thrice advise them to forsake them. If upon being thrice advised they forsake them, it will be well; but if not, they are guilty of Sanghādiseso.

12. If a priest use improper language, and when spoken to

(Chinese.)

(assembly), live (in a fixed habitation) in a city or town, and pollute the house in which he lives, walking disorderly, so that all see it and hear it, all the Bikshus ought to converse with this Bikshu, and say, "Brother! you have polluted the family in which you reside; your conduct is disorderly; all men see it, and talk of it. Now, you are able to leave this monastery (assembly) and go elsewhere; you may not live in this community." These Bikshus so speaking, and that one replying, says, "Brothers! This community (or these priests) are one-sided (through love); are full of anger, *are frightened,*" are foolish; there are other priests guilty of this same fault, some are expelled, and some not." Then all the Bikshus, chiding him, shall say, "Brother! say not so, that in this community there are priests of such character, whereas it is not the case. Brother, it is your disorderly conduct which all men see and talk about (that is the cause of our speaking as we did)." Thus if he, at the time of this warning, still hold his opinion, let it be repeated three times; if he retract and repent, well! if not, let him be suspended.

13. If a Bikshu, of a bad disposition, will not bear being spoken to, according to the direction of the law of precepts, all the Bikshus, when they have expostulated with him on this

(Pali.)

by the other priests respecting the commands contained in the doctrines and precepts (of Budha), shall speak as he ought not, saying, Speak nothing to me, venerable ones, whether good or bad, and I will speak nothing, good or bad, to you: Abstain from conversing with me: the priests shall then address him, saying, Speak not, venerable one, in a manner so unbecoming in you, but use proper language. Converse, venerable one, with the priests respecting the things commanded, and they will also converse with you on the commandments. Thus the followers of Budha will prosper if they thus mutually converse with and exhort each other. If when he is thus spoken to by the priests, he still continue the same practices, they must thrice advise him to forsake them. If upon being thrice advised he forsake them, it will be well, but if not, he is guilty of Sanghādiseso.

13. If a priest residing near (or for the benefit of) a town or village, shall be a corrupter of the people, an evil liver, and his evil conduct shall be seen or heard of; and it shall be seen or

(Chinese.)

account, and he reply, "Brother, do not talk thus at me! whether I am right or wrong! I also will say nothing to you, whether right or wrong. Brother, be agreed (or satisfied), do not find fault!" Those Bikshus, addressing him, shall say, "Brother! refuse not to receive our appeal! a brother ought to receive the word of (kind) expostulation. Brother! as the law corrects all the Bikshus, so would all the Bikshus, according to the law, expostulate with our brother. So the disciples of Buddha shall all receive profit, correcting each other in turn for their faults, and mutually inviting each other to further repentance." These Bikshus, thus speaking to him, if he still hold by his opinion, after three warnings, so let him be suspended.

Priests! thus have I repeated the 13 Sang-ka-pi-shi-sha ordinances: the first nine (to be in-

(Pali.)

heard that the public are corrupted thereby, the priests shall thus address him: Venerable one, you are a corrupter of the people, an evil liver. Your evil conduct is seen and heard, and it is seen and heard that the public are corrupted thereby. Depart hence, venerable one, this is not a proper place for you to reside in. If when thus spoken to the priest should reply, The priests are captious, malicious, stupid, and wish to terrify; for the same offence they remove one and do not remove another: then the priests shall say to him, Speak not thus, venerable one, the priests are not captious, nor malicious, nor stupid, neither do they wish to terrify; the venerable one is a public corrupter, an evil liver; the venerable one's evil conduct is seen and heard of; and it is seen and heard that the public is corrupted by the venerable one. Depart from this dwelling, venerable one, this is not a proper place for you to reside in. If when he is thus spoken to by the priests he continue in the same disposition, they shall speak to him thrice to abandon it. If upon being thrice admonished he abandon it, it will be well; if not, he is guilty of Sanghādiseso.

Venerable ones, the thirteen Sanghādisesā Dammā have been declared. Of these, guilt is con-

(Chinese.)

flicted) for the first offence, the remaining after three warnings. He who wilfully conceals his fault ought to be compelled to undergo Pa-li-po-sha⁶ (Praba-sha? but is this the name of a place of confinement? see a hint on the subject in East. Monach., p. 145). This being past, he shall endure moreover six nights (of the penance) called *ma-na-to*⁷(?). This past, he ought to be acquitted from guilt; twenty priests being assembled may absolve him, but if there fail one only, so that the assembly of twenty be not fully complete, then his guilt shall not be passed over, and all the Bikshus, if they attempt to absolve him, shall be blameworthy. This is the law. I now demand, therefore, of all the priests: is this assembly pure or not? [repeat this three times]. Priests, this assembly is pure; be silently grateful, therefore! So let it be.

Priests! these two puh-teng laws (Anitya-dhammā, E. M. 9), as they are found in the midst of

(Pali.)

tracted respecting the first nine immediately on the performance of the action, and respecting the other four, after having been three times admonished. If a priest has been guilty of any one of these, and, knowing it, shall conceal the fact, for as many days as he has concealed it he shall be placed under restraint (and be under the inspection and direction of a priest). At the expiration of this period, he shall for six nights be subject to Bikkhu mānatta (apparently a kind of penance), and at the expiration of that penance he may obtain absolution (or restoration to his priestly functions and privileges) from a Sangho (or assembly) consisting of not less than twenty priests. If there be but one less than the twenty present, and the Sangho shall absolve him, it will be dishonourable to them and the absolution will not be valid. This is the law of the case.

Therefore, venerable ones, I inquire, are ye pure respecting these things? A second time I inquire, are ye pure respecting these things? A third time I inquire, are ye pure respecting these things? Ye are pure, venerable ones, therefore you are silent, and thus I receive it.

Venerable ones, the two Aniyatā Dammā are now to be declared.

(Chinese.)

the Book of Precepts, I now proceed to declare.

(Pāli.)

III. PUH-TENG-FAH.

(*Exclusion, Suspension, or Penance, according to the case.*)

1. If a Bikshu⁶ associates with a woman in a screened, covered, or out-of-the-way place, sitting in a place fit for the commission of crime, and converse on illegal subjects, having (for instance) in his company a believing u-po-i (upasikāwa), they speak of the three laws, whether of po-lo-i (parajikā), or sang-ka-po-shi-sha (sanghadisesa), or po-yeh-ti (phātehittiya), and he says thus of himself as he sits: "I have offended in all these laws, and ought to receive this or that punishment, whether po-lo-i, or sang-ka-po-shi-sha, or po-yeh-ti;" and thus the upasikāwa who hears come and bear witness that he has broken any of these laws; this Bikshu (is one worthy of the punishment) attached to puh-teng.

2. If a Bikshu, associating with a woman, inhabit a place which is exposed and open, unfit for the commission of a crime, but converse wickedly and obscenely with her, as for instance with an upasikāwa, (he converse) on the two laws, viz., sang-ka-po-shi-sha (sanghadisesa) or po-yeh-ti (phātehittiya), and speak of himself thus: "I have offended in

If a priest shall sit privately with a woman on a seat secluded from observation, and fit for criminal intercourse, and if he shall be seen by any truth-telling Upāsikā,⁷ and if she shall charge him with being guilty of one of three crimes, involving Pārājiko,⁸ Sanghādiseso,⁹ or Pāchitti,¹⁰ and if the priest shall acknowledge the act of sitting, he shall be found guilty either of Pārājiko, of Sanghādiseso, or of Pāchitti. It shall be decided with respect to that priest according to the evidence of the truth-telling Upāsikā. This is an Aniyato Dammo.

But if the seat be not secluded from observation, and not fit for criminal intercourse, but suitable for holding libidinous conversation with a woman, if any priest shall privately sit with a woman on such a seat, and a truth-telling Upāsikā seeing him, shall charge him with being guilty of one of two crimes involving Sanghādiseso or Pāchitti, and if

(Chinese.)

these two laws, and deserve such and such punishment," and thus the believing upasikawa bear witness against him, this Bikshu is guilty of puh-teng.

Priests! I have thus recited these two puh-teng ordinances, I now demand of you all,—is this assembly pure? (three times). Priests! this assembly is pure; let us silently (be grateful). So let it be.

Priests! I now proceed to recite, from the midst of the law of precepts, to be said bi-monthly, the thirty Ni-sah-ohé-hi-jih-ti ordinances (Nissigeyah Pachittiyah).

IV. NI-SA-CHI-PO-YEH-TO.

[*Nissaggiya-pachittiya damma, requiring forfeiture of goods. E. M., 9.*]

1. If a Bikshu, the robes being now made, and the distribution completed (observe, that the Chinese characters form the word ka-tish-na, and this is explained in the glossary as a term signifying "the robes of conspicuous merit," it seems to be the same as the Katina cloth mentioned by Spence Hardy, E. M., 121)—obtain an extra garment, and

(Pali.)

the priest shall acknowledge the act of sitting, he shall be found guilty either of Sanghādiseso or of Pachitti. It shall be decided with respect to that priest according to the evidence of that truth-telling Upāsikā. This is an Aniyato Dhammo.¹¹

Venerable ones, the Aniyatā Dammā have been declared. I therefore, venerable ones, inquire, are ye pure respecting these things? A second time I inquire, are ye pure respecting these things? A third time I inquire, are ye pure respecting these things? Ye are pure, venerable ones, therefore ye are silent, and thus I receive it.

Venerable ones, the thirty Nissaggiyan Pāchittayā Dammā are now to be declared.

1. When a priest has a finished set of robes,¹² and the katina (or cloth for the purpose) has been consecrated, he may retain an extra robe ten days, but if it is retained a longer period, it is Nissaggiyan Pāchittiyān.¹³

(Chinese.)

keep it beyond ten days, he is guilty of ni-sa-chi-po-sih-to.

2. If a Bikshu, the robes being made, and the time of distribution past, if, out of all the three robes allowed, he leave one or other in different places of call, except the Sang-ki-mo⁹ (the, head of the fraternity), he is guilty of, &c.

3. If a Bikshu, the robes being made, and the distribution completed, having received an unseasonable robe (*i. e.*, a robe either too slight or too short), and desiring to obtain in addition that which is wanting to make it serviceable, having received the surplusage, if sufficient, well! (let him make his robe); if not enough, he may keep it by him for one month, in order to complete the desired quantity; but if he exceeds the limit of the month, he is guilty of, &c.

4. ¹⁰If a Bikshu take the robes of a Bikshuni not related to him, except for the purpose of exchange (or except he exchange them), he is guilty of, &c.

5. ¹¹If a Bikshu send his robes, because they are soiled, to be washed by a Bikshuni, not his relative, let him be, &c.

6. ¹²If a Bikshu, living with a householder, not of his family, and his wife present, by way of charity, a robe to the Bikshu (which he receives), except at

(Pali.)

2. When a priest has a finished set of robes and the *katina* has been consecrated, if he shall be without the three, even for the period of a complete night, it is Nissaggiyan Pāchittian, unless he have previously obtained the permission of the priests.

3. When a priest has a finished set of robes and the *katina* has been consecrated, if the priests be presented with an extra one (one out of the regular time for receiving a robe), the priest, if he desire it, may take it: and having taken it he shall have it made up with speed. But if it be defective, and he desires to obtain that which is necessary to perfect it, he may keep it by him for that purpose for a month; but if he retain it for a longer period, it is Nissaggiyan Pāchittian.

5. If any priest shall receive a robe from the hands of a priestess, except the kind called Pāriwat-takā, it is Nissaggiyan Pāchittian.

4. If any priest shall cause a robe he has worn to be washed or smoothed by a priestess who is not a relative, it is Nissaggiyan Pāchittian.

6. If any priest shall ask a robe from a male or female lay person, who is not related to him, except under certain circumstances, it is Nissaggiyan

(Chinese.)

extraordinary occasions, let him be, &c.

The extraordinary occasions are, when his robe has been stolen, burnt, lost, or blown away.

7. If a Bikshu, having lost his garments (by any of the accidents just mentioned) acquaints a householder of the circumstance, not a relative of his (obs. I have translated by "acquaints" the Chinese character which means "that which is," hence it may signify "states that which is"), and if the wife of this householder, through his request (obs. the Chinese character here translated has a peculiar meaning, but I do not know what, it is put down in the glossary for explanation, but all remarks on it omitted, as though the Chinese translator or editor did not understand it himself), present him with a garment, this Bikshu ought to know what he may receive in sufficiency (of that which he has lost) if he exceeds this, he is guilty of, &c.

8. If a Bikshu, a householder, or his wife, having collected money for the purpose of giving him a robe, he not having yet received the garments which he had asked for (owing to the emergency before detailed), go to the householder's abode, and say something of this sort, "Excellent householder, provide

(Pali.)

Pāchittiyan. The circumstances are when the robes have been stolen or destroyed (by fire or otherwise).

7. If a priest under these circumstances shall by any intimation of his wishes cause a male or female lay person, who is not related to him, to offer him many robes, he may receive two (an under and a middle garment); but if he take more it is Nissaggiyan Pāchittiyan.

8. If any male or female lay person, not related to a priest, shall collect money to make a robe for him, saying with this purchase money I will buy a robe and invest such a priest with it; if that priest before he is invited shall go to the party and persuading them procure it to be presented, saying, Friend,

(Chinese.)

me, I pray you, with such and such a garment, because it is good (for me),” and if he obtain it, let him be, &c.

9. If a Bikshu, being acquainted that two householders, or their wives, have collected money for the purchase of robes for his use, and he, in consequence (not having received yet the gift he desires,) go to these two householders’ abodes, and say “Excellent householders! give me such and such garments, that I may out of them make one convenient robe for myself,” and so obtain his request, let him be, &c.

10. If a Bikshu, a king, minister, or Brahmin householder, or his wife, having sent him, as a present, means to provide himself with a robe, and if the messenger come to the Bikshu, and say, “Virtuous sir, may you now receive (the present which is sent) for providing you with a robe;” to which the Bikshu reply, “I cannot (now) receive this robe, but at an allowed time I might receive it;” to which the messenger reply, “Virtuous sir! is there here a man who will keep it in store for you?” and the Bikshu say “there is;” whether it be one belonging to the

(Pali.)

it will be good if with this purchase money you procure such or such a robe and invest me with it, it is Nissaggiyan Pāchittiyan.

9. If two lay persons, male or female, who are not related to a priest, shall collect money for the purchase of sundry robes for a priest, saying with this our money for purchasing robes we will buy a certain robe and give it to such a priest; and if that priest, prior to his being invited for the purpose, shall go to the parties and persuade them to have it presented, saying, Friends, it will be good if with this money for purchasing robes you procure such or such a robe and invest me with it, when it is presented it will be Nissaggiyan Pāchittiyan.

10. If any king, or chief minister of a king, or Bramin, or householder, shall send by a messenger the money to purchase a robe for a priest, saying, With this money for purchasing a robe buy one and invest such a priest with it, and the messenger shall come to the priest and say, My Lord, here is the purchase money for a robe brought for the venerable one, receive, venerable one, the purchase money for a robe. The priest must then speak thus to the messenger, Friend, we do not receive the purchase money for robes; when the necessary

(Chinese.)

Sang-ka-lam (Sangharama), or a Yo-po-sak (Upasaka), and if the messenger have given the robe in charge to this person, according to the direction of the Bikshu, and return and say, "Virtuous sir! I have given the robe (or the price of the robe) to such or such a man whom you appointed as your trustee, at the proper time, excellent sir, you must go and claim it as your own." If, after one, two, three visits for the purpose of reminding him, the Bikshu obtain the robe from his trustee,—well! but if not, he should go a fourth, fifth, and sixth time, and standing before him, silently remain there, causing him to recollect (the debt); if he thus obtain it,—well! if not, and he go still oftener for the purpose of recovering the gift, he is guilty of, &c. If he obtain not the robe, he may either go himself or send a messenger to the person or place who sent the gift, and say, "The gift which you sent by a certain messenger, and deposited with such and such a man for a certain Bikshu, that present the Bikshu has not succeeded in obtaining, return, therefore, and take it, lest it be lost."

(Pali.)

time comes we receive a consecrated robe. If the messenger shall then say to the priest, Venerable one, have you any person who attends to your concerns? The priest, if desirous, Priests, to obtain a robe, may point out such a person, the garden keeper, or an Upasaka,¹⁴ saying, Such a person, friend, attends to the concerns of the priests. The messenger having intrusted that person with the money will come to the priest and say, My Lord, the person whom the venerable one pointed out to me has been intrusted with the money by me; Go to him, venerable one, when you need a robe, and he will invest you with it. Priests, when that priest shall need a robe he may go to the person and speak to him twice or thrice, reminding him of it, and saying, Friend, I have need of a robe. If upon being spoken to and reminded two or three times the robe is procured it will be well, but if not, he may strive to get it by going a fourth, a fifth, or a sixth time, and standing in silence. If upon going and appearing before him in silence the fourth, fifth, or sixth time the robe is produced it will be well; but if by striving further the robe is procured it will be Nissaggiyān Pachittiyan.

If the robe should not be furnished, he may either go or

(Chinese.)

11. If a Bikshu take the various cones of the silk-worm, and from the raw material weave for himself a bed-cover, let him be, &c.

12. If a Bikshu use the fresh wool of the black Tartar sheep, for the purpose of making himself a bed-cover, let him, &c.

13. If a Bikshu make himself a new bed-cover (or sleeping robe), he ought to make it from two parts of the wool of the black sheep, three parts of the white, and four parts of the shaggy dog,¹³ (p'ong—a shaggy dog—or mixed, variegated, vid. Williams sub. voce.), not using these proportions and making himself a sleeping robe, let him, &c.

14. If a Bikshu make a new bed-cover (or night or sleeping dress), he ought to keep it fully 6 years, if within the 6 years there be none other given him, and so he set to make a new one for himself, he is guilty of, &c., except the Sang-ki-mo¹⁴ (the chief priest?).

15. If a Bikshu make a new

(Pali.)

send to the person who brought the purchase money for the robe, and say, You, venerable one, sent the purchase money for a robe for a priest, but the priest has derived no advantage from it. Claim, venerable one, your own property, and let it not be destroyed. This is the law of the case.

11. If a priest shall cause a carpet (or coverlet) to be made with a mixture of silk, it shall be Nissaggiyan Pāchittiyan.

12. If a priest shall cause a woollen coverlet to be made all of a black colour it shall be Nissaggiyan Pāchittiyan.

13. When a priest shall procure a new coverlet to be made, there shall be taken two parts of black wool, one part of white, and a fourth part brown (or tawny). Should the priest not take two parts of black, a third of white, and a fourth of tawny-coloured wool for the making of a new coverlet, it shall be Nissaggiyan Pāchittiyan.

14. If a priest cause a new coverlet to be made he shall use it six years; if during the period of six years he should give the coverlet away, or not give it away, and have a new one made, except by the permission of the priests (in convocation) it shall be Nissaggiyan Pāchittiyan.

15. When a priest procures a

(Chinese.)

seat (or stool) for himself, he ought to take the old frame (or body) and add to it for the new part, one span in depth and breadth, and thus repair it in consideration of the part destroyed; if he exceed this limit, let him, &c.

16. If a Bikshu, going along the way, find a sheep fleece¹⁶ (or skin), he may take it, or so much of it as is useful, if no man carry it, then he may remove it for 3 yojanas (15 miles); if he exceed this distance, let, &c.

17. If a Bikshu send to a Bikshuni, not a relative, a skin or fleece of a sheep to disentangle (card?), to wash or dye, let him, &c.

18. If a Bikshu receive in his own hand either gold, silver, or coin (copper coin), or if he instruct others to take it (for him), or if he directs one who has received it how to use it (this is a hazardous translation; it is literally, "if the mouth be able (to be) the recipient"), let him, &c.

19. If a Bikshu engage in any description of purchase and sale with money, let, &c.

(Pali.)

sitting carpet to be made, he shall, in order to disfigure it, take a span, of the span of Budha, of an old carpet to join to it. Should a priest not take a span of an old carpet, of the span of Budha, in causing a new sitting carpet to be made, it shall be Nissaggiyan Pāchittiyan.

16. If a priest travelling on a long road should be offered a fleece of wool, if he be desirous of it he may receive it, and if there be no person to carry it for him, he may carry it with his own hands a distance of three yoduns;¹⁶ but if when there is no other person to carry it he should carry it a greater distance, it shall be Nissaggiyan Pāchittiyan.

17. If a priest should procure a fleece of wool to be washed, dyed, or disentangled by a priestess who is not related to him, it shall be Nissaggiyan Pāchittiyan.

18. If any priest shall receive coined gold or silver, or cause it to be received, or use it if deposited for him, it shall be Nissaggiyan Pāchittiyan.

19. If any priest shall have dealings in (or use) various kinds of bullion, it shall be Nissaggiyan Pāchittiyan.

(Chinese.)

20. If a Bikshu engage in bartering and selling, let, &c.

21. If a Bikshu keep an extra rice bowl (*patra*), or if it be given him and he store it up more than ten days, let him, &c.

22. If a Bikshu store up or keep a rice bowl (alms bowl, *patara*), (and if this) want the five fractures and do not leak (*vid. Spence Hardy, E. M. 70*), and yet he seek a new one, because he prefers it, let him be, &c.

23. If a Bikshu himself beg for some raw hemp (or cotton), and send it to a person not related to him, who is a weaver, to weave it into a garment for him, let him, &c.

24.¹⁶ If a Bikshu (a householder or his wife, having sent for a weaver to make a garment for the Bikshu) go before the garment is made¹⁷ (?), and speak thus to the weaver: "This robe you are making is for me, you must make it the best possible; let it be wide and long, strong,

(Pali.)

20. If a priest shall be engaged in mercantile transactions, it shall be *Nissaggiyan Pachittiyan*.

21. An extra bowl¹⁶ may be used for ten days, but if that period be exceeded it shall be *Nissaggiyan Pachittiyan*.

22. If any priest shall procure a new bowl while the old one has fewer than five ligatures (to prevent its falling to pieces) it shall be *Nissaggiyan Pachittiyan*. The bowl must be given up by the priest in an assembly of priests in the following manner. In that assembly of the priests each is to bring his bowl, and if the bowl be, at the last, not appropriated, it shall be given to that priest (whose bowl had the four cracks), saying, Priest, this is your bowl, use it until it breaks. This is the law of the case.

26. If any priest shall request cotton thread for himself, and shall give it to a weaver, and have it made into cloth for a robe, it shall be *Nissaggiyan Pachittiyan*.

27. If any lay person, male or female, not related to a priest, shall cause a weaver to weave cloth to make that priest a robe, and if that priest, prior to being invited, shall go to the weaver, saying to him, Friend, this cloth for a robe is being weaved for me; make it long, and broad,

(Chinese.)

and of a fine texture, and I will reward you for your trouble." This Bikshu, agreeing thus for the price of the robe, if it be even a single meal of rice, is guilty of, &c.

25. If a Bikshu first of all give a garment to another Bikshu, and then, angry with him, go and take it away, or send some one else to take it, this Bikshu ought to return the garment; but if he take it (for good), let him, &c.

26.¹⁹ If a Bikshu have in store the diet for sick people, viz., cream, ghee, butter, honey, sugar, he may keep it for 7 days; if beyond this, he is guilty of, &c.

27.¹⁹ If a Bikshu come to the last month at the end of spring, he ought to seek the garments fit for the rainy season, and he may begin to wear them in the middle of the month; if he seek or wear these garments before this, let him, &c.

(Pali.)

and stout, and well wove with an even thread, equal in all its parts, and without knots, and perhaps we will give you some little matter; and if the robe comes to be dedicated; and if the priest having said this shall give anything to the weaver, if it be only a mouthful of his food, it shall be Nissaggiyan Pāchittiyan.

25. If any priest shall give his robe to another, and afterwards being angry and displeased shall take it away from him, or cause it to be taken away, it shall be Nissaggiyan Pāchittiyan.

23. If there are any medicines fit for the use of sick priests, such as ghee, butter, oil, honey, sugar, they may be accepted and kept in store for use seven days, but if that time be exceeded it shall be Nissaggiyan Pāchittiyan.

24. When there is only one month remaining of the four hot months, a priest may seek the extra robe allowed during the rainy months, and when only half a month remains of the hot season it may be made up and worn. If prior to the last month of the hot season the robes for the rainy months be sought, or prior to the last half month of the hot season it be made up and worn, it shall be Nissaggiyan Pāchittiyan.

(Chinese.)

28. If a Bikshu, the three months of summer (*i. e.*, the rainy season. Varchas, vid. Jul. II. 64), not being yet complete by 10 days, be offered a robe as a present, he may accept it and keep it stored up till the time of the robes (*i. e.*, *chīwara-masa*, or robe-month, vid. Spence Hardy, E. M. 121,) arrive; but if he keep it longer (or accept it before), let him, &c.

29. If a Bikshu, the 3 months of summer, during which people live in fixed habitations, being now at an end, and the 15th day of the 8th month being fully come, remove to a distance, and if this Bikshu have some doubt or fear with respect to the place he occupies, fearing some danger of an accident happening to him, and therefore leave either of his robes in a house of some village for safety, and as occasion requires (*lit.* as he is moved), retires to a distance himself, he may do so even for 6 nights; but beyond this, if he absents himself, he is guilty, &c.

30. If a Bikshu, knowing that a certain person has an intention of bestowing charity on the priesthood, himself go and enter in and take the gift, let him, &c.

Priests, I have thus recited the 30 *ni-sah-che-po-yih-ti* laws, I now ask you all, is this assembly pure [3 times].

Priests! this assembly is pure! silently, therefore (adore)!. So

(Pali.)

28. Ten days prior to the completion of the month Kattika (November), if a robe is presented to a priest it may be received by him, and be kept in reserve till the time for presenting the robe (at the termination of the rains), but if kept longer in reserve, it shall be Nissaggiyan Pāchittiyan.

29. During the month Kattika, if living with the laity, a residence in a forest is exposed to danger and fear; a priest living in such a residence, if he be desirous of so doing, may leave one of his three robes in the village, and live without it, and when there is any necessity may remain without it six nights, but if he remain longer without it, except by the consent of the priests, it shall be Nissaggiyan Pāchittiyan.

30. If any priest shall knowingly appropriate to his own private use property given to the general fund, it shall be Nissaggiyan Pāchittiyan.

Venerable ones, the thirty Nissaggiyā Pāchittiya Dammā have been declared; therefore, venerable ones, I inquire, Are ye pure respecting these things? A second time I inquire are ye

(Chinese.)

let it be!

Priests! These 90 Pi-yih-ti laws (Pachit-taya dammá) are to be recited bi-monthly as they are found in the book of the Precepts.

V. 90 PI-YIH-TI LAWS.

[*Pachittiya requiring confession and absolution*].²⁰

1. If a Bikshu knowingly equivocate, let, &c.

2. If a Bikshu be guilty of any sort of slander or contemptuous speech, let, &c.

3. If a Bikshu be double-tongued, let, &c.

4.²¹ If a Bikshu occupy the same house with a married woman, let, &c.

5. If a Bikshu occupy the same house with a man who has not yet received the great precepts, more than 2 nights, let him, &c.

6.²² If a Bikshu recite (prayers) with a man who has not yet received the great precepts, let, &c.

7.²³ If a Bikshu, knowing that another Bikshu has been guilty of any impure or disgraceful act, go to a man who has not received the great precepts, and converse with him on the sub-

(Pali.)

pure respecting these things? A third time I inquire are ye pure respecting these things? Ye are pure, venerable ones, therefore you are silent, and thus I receive it.

Venerable ones, the ninety-two Pachittiya Dammā²⁴ are to be declared.

1. A wilful lie is Pāchittiyan.

2. Contemptuous speech is Pāchittiyan.

3. To slander the priests (or destroy their happiness by back-biting) is Pāchittiyan.

6. If any priest shall recline on the same place together with a woman, it is Pāchittiyan.

5. If any priest shall lie in company with a person not ordained priest more than two or three nights, it is Pāchittiyan.

4. If any priest shall jointly recite the discourses of Budha with one not ordained priest, it is Pāchittiyan.

9. If any priest shall declare to one not ordained priest the crimes (as Sanghādiseso, &c.) of other priests, unless with the permission of the priesthood, it is Pāchittiyan.

(Chinese)

ject, except by dispensation, let, &c.

8. If a Bikshu go to a man who has not yet received the great precepts, and speak of having attained to a law beyond men, such as "I know this; I have seen this;" although what he knows and has seen be nothing but true, let him, &c.

9.²⁴ If a Bikshu talk with a woman on the law more than 5 or 6 sentences, except a discreet man be present, let, &c.

10. If a Bikshu with his own hand dig the earth, or instruct some one else to do so, let, &c.

11. If a Bikshu destroy a settlement of evil spirits,²⁵ let, &c. [This translation is uncertain, the original is obscure.]

12. If a Bikshu falsely use prevaricating words, so as to vex another, let, &c.

13. If a Bikshu rail at and abuse a priest (?), let him, &c.

14. If a Bikshu take a priest's mattress, or wooden bed, or sleeping materials, or chair-cushion, and, laying it on the earth, himself spread it out, or instruct another to do so, and then go away and leave it so, not himself restoring it or instructing another to do so, let him, &c.

15. If a Bikshu, living within a priest's apartment, take another's sleeping materials or his

(Pali.)

8. If any priest shall declare to one not ordained priest that he (or any other person) has attained to supernatural wisdom (as the *Dyāna*), it is *Pāchittiyan*, even if his statement be true.²⁶

7. If any priest shall preach more than five or six sentences to a woman, except in the presence of a man who can understand what is said, it is *Pāchittiyan*.

10. If any priest shall dig the ground, or cause it to be dug, it is *Pāchittiyan*.

11. The cutting, &c., of trees, grass, &c., is *Pāchittiyan*.

12. The annoying by prevarication is *Pāchittiyan*.

13. Murmuring and complaining are *Pāchittiyan*.

14. If any priest having put out into the open air, or caused to be put out, any bed, stool, seat, &c., the general property of the community, and going away shall leave them without taking them in, or causing them to be taken in, or without giving directions for that purpose, it is *Pāchittiyan*.

15. If any priest shall spread out, or cause to be spread out, a mattress, &c., in the general resi-

(Chinese.)

chair-cushion, and himself spread them out or instruct some one else to do so; and if he sit or sleep, and then go away and leave them so, without returning them, properly arranged, himself or by another person, let him, &c.

16. If a Bikshu, having formerly known a Bikshu dwelling in a particular place, afterwards come and live with him, constantly using his bedding and fixing himself in his abode, thinking thus: "If he is angry, let him tell me to go." Encouraging such unseemly ideas as this, let him, &c.¹⁶

17. If one Bikshu, angry with another, and not liking him to dwell within the priest's abode, himself force him out, or teach another to do so, let, &c.

18. If a Bikshu (on the top of) the priests' abode or belfry, sit or sleep on a chair or bed with a free or loose leg, let, &c. (E. M. 150).

19.¹⁷ If a Bikshu, knowing water to have insects in it, himself use the same for laying the dust, or watering shrubs, or instruct others to do so, let, &c.

20.¹⁸ If a Bikshu be making a door for the principal dwelling of the priests, or a window, or engaged in any other work of this character, and receive into his hands, more than two or three of the pieces intended for

(Pali.)

dence, and shall go away and leave it without taking it up, or causing it to be taken up, or without giving directions for its being taken up, it is Pāchittiyan.

16. If any priest in the common residence (or Wihara) shall go into a place previously occupied by another priest, and lay down there, thinking that he who is annoyed will go away, unless it be in consequence of some improper act done by the previously occupying priest, it is Pāchittiyan.

17. If any priest being angry and displeased with another shall expel him from the common residence, or cause him to be expelled, it is Pāchittiyan.

18. If the common residence be a house with an upper story, if any priest shall place a bed or stool with unfastened legs upon the upper terrace, and lie or sit upon it, it is Pāchittiyan.¹⁹

20. If any priest knowing insects to be in water shall sprinkle it (or pour it) or cause it to be sprinkled upon grass or clay, it is Pāchittiyan.

19. When a priest procures a residence, the original property of the builders, to be erected for him, for such extra work about the doorway as may be necessary to give stability to the bolts, and also for such extra

(Chinese.)

the construction (so as to endanger life or limb), let him, &c.

21. If a Bikshu, when the priests are not near to observe (not discriminating), teach the Bikshunis any particular subject or occupation, let, &c.

22. If a Bikshu occupy himself all day long³⁹ with the Bikshunis, though the priests be aware of it, let, &c.

23. If a Bikshu speak thus to some one or two of the others: "The priests give instruction to the Bikshunis for the sake of meat and drink, let, &c.

24. If a Bikshu give a Bikshuni, not his relative, clothes, except in exchange, let, &c.

25. If a Bikshu give a Bikshuni, not a relative, clothes to make [this is doubtful; it may be, "make clothes for a Bikshuni," or "give a Bikshuni clothes already made"], let him, &c.

26. If a Bikshu with a Bikshuni dwell together, sitting in a covered place, let, &c.

(Pali.)

thickness of the walls about the windows as may be requisite to give them their finishing, he may two or three times direct materials to be brought from grounds not under immediate cultivation, but if he exceed this it is Pāchittiyan.

21. If any priest shall, without the permission of the assembled priests, deliver exhortations to the priestesses, it is Pāchittiyan.⁴⁰

22. Even if thus permitted by the priesthood, if he give his exhortation after sunset, it is Pāchittiyan.

24. If any priest shall say, The priest gives exhortations to the priestesses from interested motives, it is Pāchittiyan.

25. If any priest shall give a robe to a priestess, who is not related to him, except the kind called Pāriwattaka,⁴¹ it is Pāchittiyan.

26. If any priest shall sew, or cause to be sewed the robe of a priestess who is not related to him, it is Pāchittiyan.

23. If any priest, except on an allowed occasion, shall go to the residence of the priestesses to deliver exhortations to them, it is Pāchittiyan. The allowed occasion is, when the priestess is sick.

(Chinese.)

27. If a Bikshu engage to walk on the same road with a Bikshuni, and enter a village thus, except on specified occasions, let, &c. The special occasions are: when his companion (*i. e.*, the Bikshuni) has either fear of any particular place, or in doubt about the way.²⁰

28. If a Bikshu agree to go with a Bikshuni in a boat, either up or down a stream (?), except in a ferry boat, let, &c.

29. If a Bikshu, knowing that a Bikshuni has used flattering or insincere language, so as to influence one to give food to him, except already designed for him by a householder, let, &c. [Doubtful].

30. If a Bikshu accompany a married woman to a religious assembly, let, &c.

31. If a Bikshu ask alms at a place of eating (*i. e.*, an eating-house), supposing him to be free from sickness, he may receive (food) for one day; but if beyond (this once), let &c.

32. If a Bikshu *turn and separate his food*,²¹ except at special times, let, &c. The special times are, (1) when he is sick; (2)

(Pali.)

27. If any priest shall by appointment travel in company with a priestess, on a long road (*i. e.*, road between principal towns), or even from one village to another, except on an allowed occasion, it is Pāchittiyan. The allowed occasion is, when travelling with a caravan, or when danger is apprehended.

28. If any priest shall by appointment enter a vessel in company with a priestess, to proceed either up or down a river, except for the passing from the one bank to the other, it is Pāchittiyan.

29. If any priest shall eat food offered to him in consequence of the request of a priestess, except when it had previously been prepared for him by a laic (*i. e.*, except where the provider had either previously invited him or was a relative), it is Pāchittiyan.²²

30. If a priest sit in private with a priestess it is Pāchittiyan.

31. A priest, who is not sick, may eat food received at a place where provision is made for many persons (*i. e.*, for a number of persons engaged in any common business, a mess-house, &c.) for one day; but if more than one day it is Pāchittiyan.

33. If a priest eat his ordinary meal when under an invitation to dine, except on allowed occasions, it is Pāchittiyan. The

(Chinese.)

at the time of giving (or asking) clothes; (3) at the time of making clothes.

33.³³ If a Bikshu select food from that which is prepared for the community, except at special times, let, &c. The special times are, (1) when sick; (2) at the time of contribution for clothes; (3) at the time of making clothes; (4) when travelling by road; (5) when travelling by water; (6) at the time of a great assembly; (7) when food is given in charity to Sha-mans.

34. If a Bikshu, arriving at the house of a Tan-yu (Danapati, *i. e.*, benefactor, *vid.* Jul. III. p. 563), be pressed to receive various kinds of food as cakes (?), or cooked rice, the Bikshu ought not to receive more than 2 or 3 bowlfuls; and having received it, he ought to take it to the monastery, and there divide it with the other Bikshus; if a Bikshu who is not sick, take more than 2 or 3 bowlfuls, let him, &c.

35. If a Bikshu, having taken sufficient food, go at some other time to beg food [go afterwards to receive food at another place by invitation] (?), and do not dispose of the remnants according to the rules, eating them at another time, let, &c.

36. If a Bikshu, knowing that

(Pali.)

occasions are when sick, upon the presentation of robes, or upon the making of robes.³³

32. The eating of food prepared for several priests (as a joint meal), except on authorized occasions, is Pāchittiyan; those occasions are when sick, upon the presentation of robes, upon the making of robes, while on a long journey, while on board ship, on great occasions, or upon a general invitation.

34. If a priest upon going to a house, should have rice or other grain brought and offered to him, he may, if he please, accept two or three bowlfuls, but if he receive more, it is Pāchittiyan.—When he has accepted the two or three bowlfuls, he must share it with the other priests; this is the law of the case.

35. If any priest (having accepted an invitation to dine at a person's house) after having eaten, shall take any other refreshment (from other people) that did not form part of the meal provided for him by the inviter, it is Pāchittiyan. (As it implies that the inviter is either unable or unwilling to give him a sufficiency.)

36. If any priest, knowing

(Chinese.)

another Bikshu has taken food enough, go to another place to receive food by invitation, and observe not the rules which respect the remnants, and then press the other Bikshu to receive this food, saying, "Brother, take this food, it is agreeable, reject those remnants," and desiring to cause him to err, let, &c.

37. If a Bikshu eat at a forbidden time, let, &c.

38. If a Bikshu eat food taken (or received) at a house of ill repute, let, &c.

39. If a Bikshu, not having received any food, take any other medicament (to appease his appetite?), except water with the twigs of the yeung (willow?) tree,²⁰ let, &c.

40. ²¹If a Bikshu receive delicate food, curds, butter, fish, flesh, when not sick (and use them) for himself, let, &c.

41. If a Bikshu, with his own hand, give food to a heretic (unbeliever), male or female, let, &c.

42. If a Bikshu, having been previously invited to receive food, go either before or after the meal (he have thus received, or is

(Pali.)

that another priest has accepted an invitation for dinner and eaten his meal, shall bring any food or refreshment except the remnants of that meal, and say to him, Come priest, eat and take refreshment, seeking occasion to bring him into trouble, when he eats it is (to the inviting priest) Pāchittiyan.

37. If any priest shall eat or take food (as rice, &c.) at an improper hour (*i. e.*, after mid-day), it is Pāchittiyan.²²

38. If any priest shall eat the food which he had reserved from the previous day, it is Pāchittiyan.²³

40. If any priest shall bring within the door of his mouth any food which has not been given to him in alms, excepting water, and any substance for cleansing the teeth, it is Pāchittiyan.

39. If any priest, who is not sick, shall solicit for his own use luxuries, such as ghee, butter, oil, honey, sugar, fish and flesh, milk or curds, and eat of them, it is Pāchittiyan.

41. If any priest shall, with his own hand give any kind of food to a naked ascetic, or to a male or female wandering ascetic (mendicants of a Braminical order), it is Pāchittiyan.

46. If any priest who has been invited to dine, shall go to the house of the inviter before or after the time for dining without

(Chinese.)

about to receive), to various other houses (to beg), without telling the other priests, let him, &c. Except on these special occasions, viz., when sick, at the time of making clothes, and at the time of giving clothes.

43. If a Bikshu, eating food in a house known to contain wealth, sit there too long, let, &c.

44. If a Bikshu, eating in a house known to contain riches, sit in a secret or concealed part of the house, let, &c.

45. If a Bikshu sit alone on the public ground (on a private couch), with a woman, let, &c.

46. If a Bikshu, conversing with the other Bikshus (of one monastery), say thus, "Excellent friends! come, let us go together to such or such a village and eat food together;" and if that Bikshu, notwithstanding the result, giving his friend food, do eat, shall say thus, "Now you go! I would rather neither talk nor sit with you, I prefer sitting alone, and talking by myself;" and thus disturb the harmony of the assembly (?), let, &c.

47. If a Bikshu be offered a four months' supply of medicines he may accept it, though not sick; but if he receive more than this quantity, except he be constantly requested, or earnestly begged, or asked to take a

(Pali.)

giving information to the priests, who have been jointly invited with him, except on allowed occasions, it is Pāchittiyan. The allowed occasions are when a robe is to be given, or a robe to be made.

43. If any priest shall enter inside a house when he goes to obtain food, and sit down there, it is Pāchittiyan.

44. If any priest shall sit on a private secluded couch with a woman, it is Pāchittiyan.

45. If a priest being alone with a woman shall sit down with her, it is Pāchittiyan.

46. If any priest shall say to another priest, Come, friend, let us go to the town or village to beg food, and afterwards, whether anything has been given or not, shall send him away, saying, Go friend, it is unpleasant for me to speak with you or sit with you, it is more pleasant for me to speak and sit alone, unless it be on account of some improper act he has done, it is Pāchittiyan.

47. A priest, when in health, may accept an invitation to receive such things as a sick priest needs for four months (i. e., during any part of that period, when he is unwell, to call and receive them), but unless the

(Chinese.)

part (?),²⁶ or (?) . . . , let him, &c.

48. If a Bikshu go to see the evolutions of an army, except he have real cause to go, let, &c.

49. If a Bikshu, having cause to go (as above), stop more than two or three nights, let, &c.

50. If a Bikshu, living in the place where an army (is met), and, stopping for two or three nights, go to see the warlike evolutions of the men, elephants, horses, &c., let him, &c.

51. If a Bikshu drink wine, let, &c.

52. ²⁶If a Bikshu gambol in the water, let, &c.

53. If a Bikshu strike another²⁷ man with his fist or a stick, let, &c.

54. If a Bikshu will not receive reproof (or suffer expostulation), let, &c.

55. If a Bikshu terrify another Bikshu (so as to be deterred from doing his duty), let, &c.

56. If a Bikshu, not being sick, bathe oftener than twice a month, except on special occasions, let, &c.

The special occasions are—during the very hot season, during sickness (or time of sickness,

(Pali.)

invitation be renewed, or the original invitation be to receive such things in perpetuity, if after that period he should go and receive them, it is Pāchittiyan.

48. If any priest shall go to view an army, except he have a sufficient reason, it is Pāchittiyan.

49. If the priest should have a proper reason for going to the army, he may remain there two or three nights, but if he remain longer, it is Pāchittiyan.

50. If during the two or three nights he may remain there he should go to the place of combat, or to the muster of troops, or to the encampment, or to see any sight connected with the army, it is Pāchittiyan.

51. The drinking fermented or distilled liquors is Pāchittiyan.

53. To sport in the water is Pāchittiyan.

52. To tickle with the fingers is Pāchittiyan.

54. Unkindness is Pāchittiyan.

55. If any priest shall terrify (or annoy) another priest, it is Pāchittiyan.

57. If any priest shall bathe more frequently than once a fortnight, except on allowed occasions, it is Pāchittiyan. The allowed occasions are two months and a-half; namely, one month and a-half during the summer

(Chinese.)

i. e., epidemic), when he is working, the windy season, the rainy season, after a long journey.

57. If a Bikshu, not being sick, for the purpose of warming his person, make a fire on the ground, either with his own hands or by instructing another to do so, except from some cause of the season, let, &c.

58. ²²If a Bikshu hide another Bikshu's clothes, rice-bowl, chair-materials, needle, or holder, either with his own hand or by causing another to do so, in order to make sport of the Bikshu, let, &c.

59. If a Bikshu present clothes to a Bikshu, Bikshuni, *Shi-chamo-na*, Shami, Shamini,²³ and do not ask permission (?), let, &c.

60. ²⁴If a Bikshu receive new garments, he ought to dye them (make them) of the three earthy colours, viz., dark blue (i. e., the colour of nature, either blue or green, vid. Williams, sub. voc.), dark, or muh-lau (?); if he do not do so, let, &c.

61. If a Bikshu cause an animal to be deprived of life, let, &c.

62. If a Bikshu, knowing water

(Pali.)

and the first month of the rainy season, which two and a-half months are the hot season; also during fever or other sickness, when engaged in work, or when on a journey, or in the time of rain accompanied with wind.

56. If any priest, who is in health, being desirous of warming himself shall kindle a fire, or cause one to be kindled, except it be the mere lighting a lamp, or a similar act, it is Pāchittiyan.

60. If any priest shall hide or cause to be hid, the bowl, robe, carpet, needlecase, or girdle of another priest, it is Pāchittiyan, even if it be done only in sport.

59. If any priest shall apportion a robe of his own to any other priest, or to a priestess, or to a person under instruction, or to a male or female during their novitiate, without the regular form of investiture, it is Pāchittiyan.

58. When a priest obtains a new robe he must put upon it either green spots, or mud, or black marks to disfigure it. If he wear the new robe without disfiguring it with one of these three it is Pāchittiyan.

61. If any priest shall wilfully take the life of any being it is Pāchittiyan.²⁵

62. If any priest shall know-

(Chinese.)

to have insects in it, use it for drink, let, &c.

63. If a Bikshu give cause of complaint (vexation) to another Bikshu, for even a short time, let, &c.

64. If a Bikshu, knowing another to be guilty of uncleanness or wicked conduct, conceal it, let, &c.

65. "When fully twenty years of age, a man may undertake the great obligations (lit. great precepts). If a Bikshu, knowing his age to be under twenty, offers to receive the great precepts, this man (on account of his age) not being allowed to undertake them, and thus making himself a subject of ridicule to the other Bikshus, as a silly, foolish fellow, he is guilty of, &c.

66. If a Bikshu, knowing that a cause of complaint had been given, and that after expostulation, according to the four laws (viz. 10, 11, 12, 13 of the Sanghadiscsa †), the cause has been removed, yet raise the subject as topic of conversation, let, &c.

67. If a Bikshu, knowing another man to be a companion of robbers, travel on the same road with him,⁶⁸ in going to the assembly, let, &c.

68. If a Bikshu speak in some such way as this, "I know the laws spoken by Buddha, (and I say that) a man indulging in lustful practices does not oppose the

(Pali.)

ingly drink water containing insects, it is Pāchittiyan.

63. If any priest shall knowingly bring forward again a cause which has already been decided, it is Pāchittiyan.

64. If any priest shall intentionally conceal any serious crime committed by another priest, it is Pāchittiyan.

65. If any priest shall admit into full priest's orders any man under twenty years of age, the ordination is invalid, the presiding priest is disgraced, and the performance of the act is Pāchittiyan.

67. If any priest shall by engagement accompany a woman on a journey, if it be only to the end of the village, it is Pāchittiyan.

66. If any priest shall by engagement accompany a person, whom he knows to be a thief, on a journey, if it be only to the end of the village it is Pāchittiyan.

68. If any priest shall say, This I know of the doctrines preached by Buddha, that those things which he has declared to be dangerous (to the attainment

(Chinese.)

laws of reason," another Bikshu ought to expostulate with this one, and say, "Excellent brother, do not make such an assertion as this, do not thus calumniate the world-honoured one, it is not right (or good) thus to calumniate him; the world-honoured one has made no such an assertion as this; in all his methods of salvation has he said, 'Practice of lust is an obstacle to the observance of the laws of reason.'" This Bikshu thus expostulating, if the other still clings to his error, should repeat his protest three times; if the first then retract, well; if not, let, &c.

69. If a Bikshu, knowing a man to speak in this manner, who has not yet received the law, and holding these views, still to adhere to them, either bestow food on him as he requires it, or associate with him *under the same superior*⁴³ (Kie-mo), or converses with him, stopping in the same house, let, &c.

70. If a Bikshu know a *Shaman*⁴⁴ who has expressed himself in a manner similar to the case just considered (68), he ought to expostulate with him in the same manner (68). If the Shaman do not forsake his error, let the Bikshu address him thus: "From this time henceforth you are not a disciple of Buddha; you may not follow with the other Bikshus

(Pali.)

of future happiness and final emancipation from existence) will not prove so to the persons who practise them. The other priests shall reply, Speak not thus, venerable one, defame not Budha; it is not proper thus to censure him, for he has not thus spoken. In various ways, friend, Budha has declared dangerous things to be dangerous, and they will prove dangerous to those who practise them. When the priests have thus spoken to him, if he retain his sentiments, they must thrice repeat their admonitions to forsake them. If, after the third admonition he do so, it will be well, but if not it is Pāchittiyan.

69. If any priest shall encourage, associate with, or maintain communion with a priest who holds these obnoxious sentiments and refuses to abandon them, it is Pāchittiyan.

70. If any priest in his novitiate shall say, This I know of the doctrines preached by Budha, that those things which he has declared to be dangerous will not prove so to the persons who practise them, the other priest must say to this priest still in his novitiate, Friend novice, speak not thus, defame not Budha; it is not proper thus to censure

(Chinese.)

as other Shamans do, or remain with the great Bikshus, at their several abodes; you have now nothing to do with these things: go, then! depart! depart for good (or, lost as you are! go!); you cannot live here!" If the Bikshu, knowing the Shaman to be guilty as above, still associate and talk with him, then he is guilty, &c.

71. "If a Bikshu, at a time, for instance, when the other Bikshus are expostulating with a transgressor, speak thus: "Excellent brethren, I cannot now learn these precepts, and yet I may arrive at complete wisdom; with respect to those who keep these commands, I would wish to put some difficulties," let him, &c. If a man desire to have an explanation he may then put his difficulties.

72. If a Bikshu, at a time when the precepts are read, make some such speech as this: "Excellent friends! what use is there in repeating these troublesomely minute commands. Every time

(Pali.)

him, for he has not thus spoken. In various ways, friend novice, Budha has declared dangerous things to be dangerous, and they will prove dangerous to those who practise them. When the priests have thus spoken to the novice, if he still maintain his sentiments they must further say, From this day, friend novice, it is not proper for you to say of Budha, He is our teacher: neither have you longer the privilege of other novices of remaining two or three nights with the priest. Depart, you are no longer recognised. If any priest, knowing that the novice has been thus rejected, shall aid, maintain, or support him, or suffer him to dwell with him, it is Pāchittian.

71. If any priest shall say concerning the precepts named by the priests Sahadamman (laws binding all the priests), Friend, I shall not attend to that precept until I have inquired of some other skilful priest, learned in the law, it is Pāchittian. Priests, this is the law: a priest, desirous of obeying the precepts must know, inquire, and consult respecting them.

72. If any priest shall say while the Pātimokhan is being read, Where is the utility of declaring these great and small precepts; they tend to engender doubts, anxieties, and mental per-

(Chinese.)

they are repeated they do but harass a man's mind and fill him with doubts; pass them over lightly then!" Let him, &c.

73. If a Bikshu, at the time of repeating the precepts, speak thus: "Excellent brethren! I now begin to know these precepts, this book of commands, to be repeated bi-monthly, taken from the midst of the Sutra;" "If the other Bikshus know that this one,—or two or three,—sit down at the time of repeating these commands,—how much more if there are many such!—(showing) his ignorance and want of understanding; should he therefore (thus) transgress, he ought to be dealt with according to the law (of expostulation), for (thus causing) the crime of ignorance to extend more widely, (and should be addressed in this manner), "Excellent brother! it is no profit to you, it is not right for you, to hear so negligently and carelessly the precepts recited at the appointed times." This Bikshu, on account of his ignorance, incurs the guilt of, &c. [This translation doubtful.]

74. "If a Bikshu, after having lived together with others under the same superior, speak thus of the rest of the Bikshus, "Those priests regarded all their things and possessions as if they were relations and friends," let him, &c.

(Pali.)

plexity; this contempt of the precepts is Pāchittiyan.

73. If any priest shall say when the Pātimokhan is being read each successive fortnight, I now know these doctrines: they are contained in the discourses of Budha, are extracted from them, and are appointed to be read every fortnight. If the other priests know that this priest is very unwilling to sit while the Pātimokhan is being declared two or three times, they must conclude. This priest is not delivered from evil for he is unwise. If he has been guilty of any crime they must deal with him according to law. In addition to which they must (by a formal act of the assembly) convict him of folly, and censure him saying, Friend you derive no advantage from this; it is difficult for you to profit by it. After this censure the offending priest is to be regarded as guilty of Pāchittiyan.

74. If any priest shall wilfully suggest unnecessary doubt to another priest, if it be only to give him a moment's uneasiness, and from no other motive, it is Pāchittiyan.

(Chinese.)

75. "If a Bikshu, the priests having decided a matter, or being engaged in deciding a matter, depart from their midst, through disagreement (or without being desired), let, &c.

76. "Or if he were desired (or satisfied), and afterwards revile the priests, let, &c.

77. "If a Bikshu, knowing that one Bikshu has quarrelled (with another), and hearing this one converse (on the subject), he go and tell the other, let, &c.

78. "If a Bikshu, angry and out of temper, strike another Bikshu, let, &c.

79. "If a Bikshu, angry and out of temper, with his hand lay hold of another Bikshu, let, &c.

80. "If a Bikshu, angry and out of temper, charge groundlessly another priest, with disregarding the Sanghidasesa rules, let, &c.

81. "If a Bikshu, at the time of pouring water on the head of a Tchatraya King—(the order here is confusing, it might, perhaps, be rendered "the water used by Tchatrayas being poured on a king")—before the king comes forth (or out), or the treasures are stored, enter into the chief minister's apartment, beyond the threshold, let, &c.

(Pali.)

80. When a case is under the consideration of a regularly constituted assembly, if any priest leave the meeting without giving his vote, it is Pāchittiyan.

79. If any priest shall give his consent to an ecclesiastical procedure, and afterwards complains of it, he is guilty of Pāchittiyan.

78. If any quarrel, or noise, or debate arise among the priests, if a priest perceiving this shall stand, thinking, I will hear what they have to say; if he do this and no more it is Pāchittiyan.

74. If any priest being offended and angry with another shall strike him, it is Pāchittiyan.

75. If any priest being offended and angry with another shall push against him, it is Pāchittiyan.

76. If any priest shall bring a groundless charge of Saughādiseso⁷ against another, it is Pāchittiyan.

83. If any priest shall even step over the threshold of the sleeping apartments of an anointed king without previous inquiry whether the king or the women of his harem are within (and thus announcing his arrival), it is Pāchittiyan.⁸

(Chinese.)

82. If a Bikshu himself take up a bundle of precious gems, or the fittings of such gems, or instruct another to do so, except in a Sangharana, or a place of abode,²⁸ let, &c.

83. If a Bikshu enter an assembly (or a village) of religious at prohibited hours, except at the desire of the other Bikshus, let, &c.

84. If a Bikshu make a couch or bed, it should not be more than eight of Buddha's fingers in height, except to adapt it to the shape of the wall, or other fixture; if he make it more, let, &c.

85. If a Bikshu take the silk of Tou-lo²⁹ (Taras or Tara (?) vid. Jul., 474, sub. voc., III.) and store it up to make a mattress, couch, seat, or cushion, let, &c.

86. If a Bikshu use either bone, tooth, or horn needle-case,

(Pali.)

81. When any priest in a regularly constituted assembly has given a robe, if he shall afterwards complain saying the public property has been given with partiality, it is Pāchittiyan.

82. If a priest shall knowingly give to a laic any property which has been presented to the priesthood in common, it is Pāchittiyan.

84. If any priest shall pick up or cause to be picked up any jewel or ornament, except in a garden or dwelling-house, it is Pāchittiyan. The law is, that in a garden or house a priest may pick up or cause to be picked up any jewel or an ornament and put it by that it may be restored to the owner.³⁰

85. If any priest not having a sufficient reason shall enter a village at an unseasonable hour, without giving information to the priests who may reside with him, it is Pāchittiyan.

87. If a new bed or chair be made by a priest it shall have legs eight inches high, of the inches of Buddha; if the legs are higher than this the bed shall be broken, and the priest is guilty of Pāchittiyan.

88. If any priest shall cause a bed or chair to be made stuffed with cotton, it is Pāchittiyan.

86. If any priest shall have a needle case made of bone, ivory,

(Chinese.)

or scraper,^m let, &c.

87. If a Bikshu make a hi-sse-tan—(this expression is obscure, it may mean a place of offering for a female devotee)—let it be the orthodox size, viz., two of Buddha's spans in length, one and a-half in breadth, or at most not more than half a span more each way; if he exceed this limit, let, &c.

88. If a Bikshu use a piece of cloth to cover a sore, it ought to be the proper size; this is the medium size, four of Buddha's spans in length, and in breadth two; if beyond this, let, &c.

89. If a Bikshu make a rain garment, it ought to be the proper size; the mean size is six of Buddha's spans in length, two and a-half in breadth; if beyond this, &c.

90. If a Bikshu make his garments larger than those used by Buddha, let him, &c. This is the mean measurement, nine of Buddha's spans in length, six in breadth; this is called the measurement of Buddha's garments.

Great Sirs! I have thus recited the 90 Pi-yi-ti laws (Pāchittiya); I now demand of ye

VOL. XIX.

(Pali.)

or horn, it shall be broken, and the priest is guilty of Pāchittiyan.

89. If any priest shall make a coverlet to sit on (either for chair or bed), it shall be made within the following size, namely, two spans, of the span of Budha, in length, and one and a-half in breadth; if it be larger than this it shall be torn, and the priest who made it be guilty of Pāchittiyan.

90. If a priest make any cloth into a covering for a cutaneous disease (or for boils, &c.), it must not be larger than four spans, of the span of Budha, in length, and two in breadth; if it exceed this measurement it shall be torn, and the priest be guilty of Pāchittiyan.

91. If any priest shall make a robe allowed to be worn during the rainy season, it must not be larger than six spans, of the span of Budha, in length, and two and a-half in breadth; if it exceed this size it shall be torn, and the priest be guilty of Pāchittiyan.

92. If any priest shall make a robe as large or larger than that used by Budha, it shall be torn, and the priest be guilty of Pāchittiyan. The size of the robe used by Budha is nine spans long, of the span of Budha, and six spans broad.

Venerable ones, the ninety-two Pāchittiyā Dammā have been declared; I inquire, therefore,

2 I

(Chinese.)

all, Is this assembly pure throughout or not? [3 times]. All ye, Sirs! this assembly is pure; silently, therefore! So let it be!

Excellent Sirs! these (following) are the four Pi-lo-ti-ti-sha-ni laws (Patidesani dhamma) taken from the midst of the Sutra of Precepts.

4 PATIDESANI DHAMMA

Requiring reprimand.

1. If a Bikshu, not being sick, enter a village and accept food from a Bikshuni, not of his own family, receive it into his own hand and eat it, he ought to go to the other Bikshus and say with sorrowful contrition, "Excellent Sirs! I have broken such and a law" (?), which I ought not to have done, and now I come to confess it to you, Excellent Sirs, with contrition." This is called Patilesani dhamma.

2. If a Bikshu dwell in a white robe house (?) for the purpose of eating, and amongst the people there, there be a Bikshuni who comes and points out a particular person, saying, "Give so and so gruel; give so and so rice," all the Bikshus ought to speak to that Bikshuni, saying, "Stop, worthy sister! properly

(Pali.)

venerable ones, whether ye be pure respecting these things. A second time I inquire whether ye be pure respecting these things. A third time I inquire whether ye are pure respecting these things. Ye are pure, venerable ones, and therefore ye are silent, and I thus receive it.

Venerable ones, the four Pātidēsaniya Dammā are now to be declared.

1. If any priestess entering into a village shall obtain (in alms) solid food or lighter refreshments, and if a priest, not related to her, shall take these at her hands and eat of them, it must be confessed, and the priest must say (to the one who receives the confession), Friend, I have been guilty of a very unbecoming and disgraceful act, and which ought to be confessed; I do accordingly confess it.

2. When priests are invited by the families which support them, and eat food (at the house of the inviter), if any priestess shall be present and acting authoritatively say, Give gruel here, or give rice there, the priests shall order her to depart, saying, Sister, depart until the priests have eaten. Should they

(Chinese.)

all the Bikshus should finish eating first, then you" [doubtful]. If there be no Bikshu who would speak thus to that Bikshuni, then the Bikshu (who thus neglects his duty) ought to go and confess to the other Bikshus, saying, "I have broken such and such a law," &c.

3. If there be certain families of distinction so constituted by an express act of the priesthood, and a Bikshu knowing the place of their abode, not having previously received an invitation, and being in good health (go there), and in his own hand receive food to eat, this Bikshu ought to go to the other Bikshus, and with contrition say: "Excellent Sirs, I have broken such and such a law, which I ought not to have done. I now come with contrition and confess my crime to you, Excellent Sirs!" This man ought to receive reprimand.

4. If a Bikshu be living in the forest as an Aranyaka (A-lan-jo) in a place at a long distance, and which people fear to approach, and if the Bikshu living thus, not having first told the Danapati, that no gifts should be given outside the limits of the Sangharama, come and reside within the Sangharama, being in good health, and there take food with his own hand and eat it, this Bikshu ought to

(Pali.)

neglect to order the priestess to depart, saying, Sister, depart till the priests have finished eating, it must be confessed, and and the priests shall say, Friend, We have been guilty of a very unbecoming and disgraceful act, which ought to be confessed, and we accordingly confess it.

3. If there be any families privileged (in consequence of their piety and wealth) to supply the wants of the priests, should any priest who is not afflicted by sickness go to them prior to receiving an invitation and obtain food or other refreshments, and eat of what he receives, it must be confessed, and the priest shall say, Friend, I have been guilty of a very unbecoming and disgraceful act, which ought to be confessed, and I accordingly confess it.

4. If any priest live in a desert place, dangerous from being frequented by robbers, and shall receive in his garden any food or other refreshments brought to him by persons whom he has neglected to warn of the dangers connected with the place, and, except in case of sickness, shall eat of them, it must be confessed and the priest shall say, Friend, I have been guilty of a very unbecoming and disgraceful act

(Chinese.)

repent and confess, &c.

Excellent Sirs! I have thus recited the four Pi-lo-ti-ti-she-ni laws; I now ask this assembly, Are you pure of these offences [3 times]? This assembly is pure; silently, therefore! So let it be!

Excellent Sirs! These Chung-kioh laws (Sekhiyá-damma), taken from the midst of the Sutra of Precepts, I now proceed to recite.

100 CHUNG-KIOH LAWS.

[*Sekhiya damma, inculcating certain proprieties. The Senghalese only has 75*].

1. He ought to learn to use proper arrangement in putting on his inner garments.

2. Also in putting on the 3 (outer) robes.

3. Not to disarrange his garments, on entering a white-robe dwelling.²¹

4. Not to disarrange his garments when taking his seat in a white-robe dwelling.

(Pati.)

which ought to be confessed, and I accordingly confess it.²²

Venerable ones, the four Pátidesaniya Dammā have been declared; I therefore ask if the venerable ones are pure respecting these things? a second time I ask are ye pure? a third time I ask are ye pure! The venerable ones are pure, and therefore they are silent, and as such I receive it.

Venerable ones, the Sekkhiya Dammā (rules for purity of conduct) are to be declared.

1. The precept ought to be observed to wear the robes so as perfectly to clothe the body. (With the under robes so to cover the body that no part from the navel to the knee should be exposed.)

2. The precept ought to be observed that I should wear (the upper robe) so as to envelop the body (from the shoulders to the heels being covered by the upper robe).

3. Well covered²¹ (with my robes) will I enter the village (or house).²²

4. Well covered will I sit down in the village.

(Chinese.)

5. Not to have his robes (carelessly) entangled round his neck on entering, &c.

6. Not to have his robes so on sitting down in, &c.

7. Not to have his head covered on entering in, &c.

8. Nor on sitting down in a, &c.

9. Not to enter a white-robe dwelling with a bouncing (careless) gait.

10. Nor to take his seat in one, similarly.

11. Not to sit cuddled up (*i. e.*, negligently) in a white-robe dwelling.

12. Not to enter a white-robe dwelling with a slouching (drooping) neck.

13. Nor to sit down in the same way.

14. Not to enter ditto with a swaggering gait.

15. Nor to sit down with a restless body.

16. Not to enter a white-robe residence swinging one's arms about.

17. Nor to do so when sitting in ditto.

18. To have his body discreetly covered on entering, &c.

19. And also on sitting down in ditto.

20. Not to turn his head to the right and left to look about on entering, &c.

(Pali.)

5. With my senses under strict control will I enter the village.

6. With my senses under strict control will I sit down in the village.

7. With downcast eyes (not staring about) will I enter the village.

8. With downcast eyes will I sit down in the village.

9. I will not enter the village with my robes flaunting about.

10. I will not sit down in the village with my robes raised.

15. With a steady gait (without bodily contortions) will I enter the village.

16. With a steady gait will I sit down in the village.

17. Without swinging the arms about will I enter the village.

18. Without swinging the arms about will I sit down in the village.

19. Without shaking the head (turning from side to side) will I enter the village.

(Chinese.)

21. Nor on taking his seat to ditto.

22. Silently and softly to enter a white-robe residence.

23. Ditto on sitting down in, &c.

24. Nor to be joking or laughing on entering a ditto.

25. Nor on sitting down in one.

26. To receive food with a staid mind.

27. To receive rice in a bowl equally balanced.

28. To receive rice-broth in a similar way.

29. To eat the rice-broth and the rice altogether.

(Pali.)

20. Without shaking the head will I sit down in the village.

21. I will not enter the village with my arms placed on my hips.

22. I will not sit in the village with my arms placed on my hips.

23. I will not enter the village with my head covered.

24. I will not sit in the village with my head covered.

25. I will not sit upon my heels in the village.

26. I will not sit leaning (or lolling) in the village.

13. Speaking in a low tone will I enter the village.

14. Speaking in a low tone will I sit down in the village.

11. I will not enter the village loudly laughing.

12. I will not sit down in the village loudly laughing.

27. Meditatively will I receive the food given me in alms.

28. I will receive food in alms regarding the bowl (*i. e.*, carefully receiving it in the bowl or begging dish: the precept was given in consequence of some of the priests looking about them at the time of receiving alms, and spilling it over the sides of the bowl).

29. I will receive the gruel with the food given in alms.

30. I will receive alms with the bowl not quite filled (*i. e.*, not piled up with food).

34. I will eat the food received in alms together with the gruel (or curry).

(Chinese.)

30. To eat in a regular manner.

31. Not to eat from the middle of his alms-bowl, the rice being heaped up in the centre.

32. When in good health, not to seek for any particular portion of rice or broth.

33. Not to look for more by covering the broth with the rice.

34. Not to feel envy or anger because his bowl does not appear equally full. [The expression literally means "not to be angry at not seeing an equal share in his alms-bowl." I am at a loss how to explain it; the translation given above is hazardous.]

35. To hold his bowl and eat thoughtfully (or carefully).

36. Not to eat greedily (lit. not taking great handfuls to eat rice).

(Pali.)

33. I will eat the food given in alms as it may stand next me in the bowl (not choosing the best parts).

35. I will not in eating the food given in alms begin at the centre, and heap it up.

37. Unless when sick I will not ask for either rice or curry to eat.

36. I will not from a greedy desire of food cover the curry or gruel with rice (that the solid food may be first eaten).

38. I will not look with envy into the bowl of another (desiring the food he may have procured).

31. Meditatively will I eat the food I have received in alms.

32. Regarding the bowl will I eat the food received in alms (not spilling it).

39. I will not eat large mouthfuls. (A large mouthful is defined to be one of the size of a peacock's egg.)

40. I will make the food (to be eaten) into small round balls (making a moderate mouthful).

41. I will not open the door of my mouth to receive food not made into a small ball. (The priests always eat with the hand, and these regulations are formed to preserve decency in their mode of taking food, they not being

(Chinese.)

37. Not to open his mouth wide to take in the rice.

38. Not to speak with rice in his mouth.

39. Not to let the rice fall out of his mouth from overfilling.

40. Not in eating rice to have a portion left behind, (*i. e.*, I suppose, in the handful, not to have too much for one mouthful).

41. Not to crack his teeth together in eating rice.

42. Not to munch or make a munching noise in eating his rice.

43. Not to make a grunting noise in, &c.

44. Not to make a lapping noise with his tongue in eating rice.

45. Not to shake his head (perhaps for the purpose of keeping the rice in his mouth) when eating rice.

46. Not to use his hand for the purpose of spreading out the rice in eating.

(Pali.)

allowed to take up a handful of rice and fill their mouths, but making it into small balls eat it leisurely.)

42. I will not put the hand into the mouth with the food while eating.

43. I will not talk with my mouth full.

44. I will not eat dropping particles of food from my mouth.

45. I will eat masticating the food (not swallowing it greedily and unchewed).

46. I will not eat putting more than one mouthful (one of the moderately sized balls before ordered) into my mouth at the same time. (He must first masticate and swallow completely one mouthful before he takes another.)

47. I will not eat shaking my hands (to disengage them from particles of food).

48. I will not eat scattering the food about.

49. I will not put my tongue out while eating.

50. I will not smack my lips while eating.

51. I will not eat sucking up the food. (A Bramin had brought a quantity of milk for the priests, and instead of drinking it, they sucked it up with an audible sound. A priest who stood by jeered them and said, Surely the assembled priests are suffering from cold, referring to the sound they uttered. Budha

(*Chiness.*)

47. Not with defiled hands to take hold of a vessel.

48. Not to fling the water within the white robe building, with which he has washed his rice-bowl.

49. Not to ease nature over any living herb; nor to cry or spit over the same.—[Except when ill.]

50. Nor in the middle of clean water, ditto.

51. Not to stand upright in casing nature—(*uterque modus*)—except when ill.

52. Not to repeat the law (say bana), on account of a man whose garments are ill arranged,—except when he is ill.

53. Not to say bana on account of a man whose robes are negligently heaped round his neck—except when ill.

54. Not to say bana on account (or behalf) of a man whose head is covered—except, &c.

55. Not to say bana on behalf

(*Pali.*)

severely reprimanded the jester, and to prevent a recurrence prohibited that mode of taking either fluids or solids.)

52. I will not lick my hands when I eat.

53. I will not lick the bowl when I eat.

54. I will not lick my lips when I eat.

55. I will not take a vessel of water (in order to drink) into the hand soiled by food.

56. I will not throw the rinsing of the bowl, with grains of rice mixed therewith, in the house (or compound).

74. Unless from sickness I will neither urine, void excrement, nor spit upon growing vegetable substance.

75. Unless from sickness I will neither urine, void excrement, nor spit in water.

73. Unless I be sick, I will neither urine, nor void excrement standing.

67. I will not preach to any person whose head is covered (by a cloth, handkerchief, or other thing thrown over it), except he be sick.

66. I will not preach to any

(Chinese.)

of a man whose head is wrapped up—except he is ill.

56. Not to say bana on behalf of a man with a crooked neck—except, &c.

57. Not to say bana on account of a man wearing leather shoes—except, &c.

58. Not to say bana on behalf of a man wearing wooden pattens—except, &c.

59. Not to say bana on behalf of a man on horseback—except he be sick, (and therefore unable to dismount?).

60. Not to live within a pagoda (Fuh-Tah), except to guard it.

61. Not to conceal precious articles or money within a pagoda, except to protect them.

62. Not to enter a pagoda with leather shoes on.

63. Nor to enter a pagoda carrying leather shoes.

64. Not to go round a pagoda with leather shoes on.

65. Not to enter within a pagoda wearing fu-lo (the glossary explains fu-lo, as short hunting boots, *i. e.*, boots with the tops turning over).

66. Not to enter a pagoda carrying his fu-lo (boots).

67. Not to eat underneath a pagoda, spreading out on the grass, or defiling the earth.

68. Not to pass under a pa-

(Pali.)

person, whose head is covered with a turban (hat, &c.), except he be sick.

61. I will not preach to a person, except he be sick, who has slippers on.

62. I will not preach to a person, except he be sick, who has sandals on.

63. I will not preach to a person, except he be sick, who is in a conveyance (*i. e.*, in a chariot, or palanquin; or on a horse, elephant, &c.).

*(Chinese.)**(Pali.)*

goda in going on, conveying the coffin or bier of a dead man.

69. Not to secrete a coffin or bier under a pagoda.

70. Not to burn a corpse or coffin under a pagoda.

71. Nor to burn one in front of a pagoda.

72. Not to carry a corpse round a pagoda, and burn it at any of the four sides, so that the scent may enter the building.

73. Not to take the clothes or bed of a dead man under and beyond a pagoda, except they have been washed from all impurity and properly perfumed.

74. Not to ease nature beneath a pagoda.

75. Nor to do so looking towards one.

76. Nor to do so at any of the four sides of a pagoda, so that any bad scent may enter it.

77. Not to enter a place of convenience (cloacus) with a figure of Buddha.

78. Not to chew the leaves of the white willow tree⁶⁸ under a pagoda.

79. Not to do so in going towards a pagoda.

80. Nor to do so in going round at any of the four sides of a pagoda.

81. Not to spit or cry beneath a pagoda.

82. Nor in going toward a pagoda.

83. Nor at either of the four sides in going round a pagoda.

*(Chinese.)**(Pali.)*

84. Not to squat down on one's heels in the direction of a pagoda.

85. Not to place (a figure of) Buddha in a lower chamber, when it has once been fixed in an upper one^{es} (?).

86. Not to say bana on behalf of a man who is sitting whilst I stand, unless sick.

87. Nor ditto whilst he is lying and I sitting, except sick.

88. Nor ditto from any position not sitting to a sitting posture, except sick.

89. Nor ditto from a low seat to a high seat, unless sick.

90. Nor ditto from being in front to going behind (or turning his body from front to back), except sick.

57. I will not preach to a person, except he be sick, who holds an umbrella in his hand.

58. I will not preach to a person, except he be sick, who holds a staff in his hand.

59. I will not preach to a person, except he be sick, who has a sword in his hand.

60. I will not preach to a person, except he be sick, who has any weapon in his hand.

70. I will not, while standing, preach to a person lying down, except he be sick.

64. I will not preach to a person who is lying down, except he be sick.

65. I will not preach to a person who is in a lounging or leaning posture, except he be sick.

68. I will not, sitting on the ground, preach to any person sitting on a chair (stool, or any elevated seat), unless he be sick.

69. I will not, sitting on a low seat, preach to a person sitting on a higher seat, except he be sick.

71. I will not preach to a person walking before me and I following, except he be sick.

*(Chinese.)**(Pali.)*

91. Nor ditto going up to a higher place from a lower, except sick.

92.^a Nor for one who changes his place from that which is not the road to that which is. [Perhaps it means going from any place, not on the highway, to some place on the highway; but all the above from 85 downwards are difficult to understand without a commentary.]

93. Not to join hands when walking along the road.

94. Not to place or erect (boughs of) trees over men's heads, except on occasion of (severe heat of) weather.

95. Not to wrap up the alms-bowl (*patra*) in a cotton covering and tie it to the top of the staff, but to carry it fastened over the shoulder in travelling.

96. A man holding a staff ought not to have *bana* said on his account, except sick.

97. Nor holding a sword (? in what case can sickness necessitate a man to hold a sword).

98. Nor holding a spear, except sick.

99. Nor holding a knife, except sick.

100. Nor holding a covering of any sort, except sick.

Excellent Sirs! I have thus recited the chung kioh laws (*Sekhiyā damma*); I now ask you all if this assembly is pure [3 times]. Great Sirs! this as-

72. I will not preach to a person who is walking in a road if I be not walking in the same road, unless he be sick.

Venerable ones, the seventy-five *Sekkiyā dammā* have been declared. I inquire of the venerable ones whether they be pure respecting these things. A se-

(Chinese.)

sembly is pure! silently, therefore! so let it be.

Excellent Sirs! these seven "mieh tsang" laws (laws which destroy litigation. Adhikarana-samatá-dhamma) taken from the middle of the Book of Precepts, are to be recited bi-monthly.

If a Bikshu be embroiled in a subject or business leading to litigation, he ought to suppress and put an end to it.

1. If it be a case that requires the presence of the parties, let the parties be present. (Obs. the literal translation would be this: if properly the Pi-ni (Vinaya) requires those should be present (who are concerned), then let the Pi-ni (Vinaya or law) (be administered) with these people present).

2. If the case requires thought and deliberation, let there be, &c.

3. If the case require plain and exact sentences, then, &c.

4. If the case requires independent decision, then let there be, &c.

5. If the case may be decided by precedent, then let, &c.

6. If the case may be decided by a majority, then let, &c.

7. If it be a case which resembles the grass that covers the

(Pali.)

cond time I inquire if they be pure. A third time I inquire if they be pure. The venerable ones are silent, and therefore they are pure, and thus I receive it.

Venerable ones, the seven Adhikarana Samat'ha dhammā are now to be declared, which are for the tranquillizing and appeasing of all disputes which may arise.

1. The subject should be examined in the presence of the parties.

2. It should be deliberately investigated.

3. The law should be laid down with precision (free from error).

4. A sentence should be determined on.

6. Such as shall apply to the case under consideration.

5. By the majority.

7. And after it has been three times proposed.

(Chinese.)

earth (*i. e.*, plain and manifest to all?), let it be so decided.

Excellent Sirs! I have thus repeated the 7 Mieh-Tsang laws (*adhikarana-samatá*); I now demand of you all, Is this assembly pure? [3 times]. Brethren! this assembly is pure; silently, therefore, ye stand. So let it be.

Worthy Sirs! I have thus recited the Preface to the Sutra of Precepts; I have repeated the 4 Po-lo-i rules (*Párájiká*), the 13 Sang-ka-pi-shi-sha (*Sangádisesá*) laws, the 2 Puh-teng laws (*Aniyata dhámma*), the 30 Ni-sah-che-po-yih-ti laws (*nisiagryápachittyá-dhamma*), the 90 Po-gi-ti laws (*Pachittiya dhamma*) the 4 Po-lo-ti-ti-shi-ni laws (*Patidesani dhamma*), the 100 Kioh laws (*sekhiya dhamma*), the 7 Mieh-tsang laws (*adhikarana samatá dhamma*). These, all taken from the Sutra of Precepts, are those which Buddha has declared ought to be repeated bi-monthly.

If there be any other laws of Buddha not herein contained,—this assembly is well agreed,—they ought to be observed.

(Pali.)

Venerable ones, the seven *Adhikarana Samat'ha dammá* have been declared. I inquire therefore of the venerable ones if they be pure respecting these things. A second time I inquire if they be pure. A third time I inquire if they be pure. The venerable ones are silent, therefore they are pure, and thus I receive it.

CONCLUDING STANZAS (from the Chinese).

(Gāthas).

Patience and resignation is the one road (to perfection).

Buddha has declared there is no more excellent road.

The disciple (Mawarjika, E. M. 11) who is angry or impatient with another,

He cannot be regularly called a Sha-mūn (novice).

This which follows is what Pi-po-shi Juloi (Wipassi Tathāgata) has said¹ respecting the way of unsurpassed wisdom (Anoutara samyak Sambodhi).

“As a man whose eyes are enlightened

“Is able to clear away all the obstructions in a rough road;

“So that man who has attained to a state of mental illumination,

“Is able to avoid and remove the evils which beset him in the world.”

This is what Shi-hi Juloi (Sikhi Tathagata) has said² respecting the unsurpassable wisdom (Anoutara samyak Sambodhi).

“Uncomplaining and without envy,

“A man ought to persevere in practising the precepts,

“Knowing how to moderate his appetites;

“Ever joyful, dwelling in unconcern (emptiness).

“His heart fixed, joyously progressing in the exercise of virtue;

“This is, indeed, the doctrine of all the Buddhas!”

The following is what Pi-hi Juloi (Wessabhu Tathagata) has delivered on the same subject.

“Just as a butterfly alights on a flower,

“And destroys not its substance or its sweetness,

“But taking a sip, then departs;

“So the Bikshu, entering the busy world,

“Takes not nor molests another’s possessions;

“Sees not what one does or leaves undone;

¹ Or, Wipassi Tath., *possessed* of the unsurpassed wisdom, has said.

² Or, Sikhi Tath., *possessed* of the unsurpassed wisdom, has said.

- “ Looks only to his own conduct ;
 - “ Takes care to observe whether that be right or not.”
-

The following is what Kin-lin-sim Juloi, possessed of the unsurpassed wisdom, &c. (Kakusanda Tathagata) has delivered.

- “ The heart scrupulously avoiding all idle dissipation,
 - “ Diligently applying itself to the Holy Law (of Buddha);
 - “ Thus letting go all lust and (consequent) disappointment,
 - “ Fixed and immovable enters on Nirvana.”
-

The following is what Ku-na-hom-mu-ni-Juloi (Konagamana Tathagata) has declared.

- “ Practising no evil way ;
 - “ Advancing in the exercise of every virtue ;
 - “ Purifying oneself in mind and will ;
 - “ This is, indeed, the doctrine of all the Buddhas.”
-

The following is what Ka-ih Juloi, possessed of unsurpassed wisdom, &c. (Kasyapa Tathagata) has delivered.

- “ The man who guards his mouth, from love of virtue,
 - “ And cleanses himself in mind and will,
 - “ Permits his body to do no ill.
 - “ This is indeed the way to purify the three ‘ nieh ’ (viz., mouth, body, and mind, or thoughts).
 - “ To attain this state of discipline
 - “ Is the full doctrine of all the great Rishis.”
-

The following is what Shih-kia Juloi (Sakya Muni Tathagata), possessing the unsurpassed wisdom, has delivered during the twelve years he preached to the unworldly priesthood ; whereas afterwards his law was corrupted and divided, the Bikshus imposing on themselves a self-made and pleasant code, but one which brings shame and disgrace ! the only true law is this we now give :

- “ A man instructed in the way of observing the precepts,
- “ Is able to participate in the three species of joy,
- “ His name in honour, and himself reaping profit.

“ After death among the Devas born.

“ A man taking this standing ground,

“ Having wisdom to observe the precepts diligently ;

“ Purified thus he attains supreme wisdom.

“ And so arrives at the supreme road of excellence (*viz.* Prâjña).

“ Thus it is all the past Buddhas, and so likewise those yet to come ;

“ All the venerable ones of the present age ;

“ Have been enabled to triumph over every sorrow.

“ He, therefore, who is able to follow their example in observing the precepts,

“ This man has accomplished the law of all the Buddhas.

“ A man, therefore, concerned for his own welfare,

“ Desiring to become acquainted with the way of Buddha,

“ Ought to reverence all these holy laws.

“ This is the doctrine of all the Buddhas.

“ The seven Buddhas Lôkadjyêcthas (*i. e.*, the seven Manushi Buddhas),

“ Having destroyed and renewed all the trammels of this world's wisdom ;

“ Having uttered these seven sections of precepts ;

“ Having obtained deliverance, and entered Nirvana ;

“ There all delusive pleasures end !

“ So likewise the disciple who practises

“ What the venerable ones themselves performed, and the Great Rishis taught, the precepts proclaimed and honoured by sages and illustrious men ;

“ He also shall enter Nirvana !

“ The world-honoured one, at the time of his Nirvana,

“ Excited by his infinite love,

“ Having assembled round him all the Bikshus,

“ Taught them thus :

“ Say not that after my Nirvana,

“ My disciples will be without protection.

“ I now give you these precepts,

“ And deliver you this pure law ;

“ Which after my Nirvana,

“ You should regard as myself.

“ This Book of Precepts enduring long in the world.

“ The law of Buddha, whilst it flourishes, will owe its existence to this.

" And so men may attain Nirvana.
 " But if ye hold not by these laws,
 " Repeating them in due order (by way of response),
 " Then it will be as when the sun is dark, the universe obscured with gloom ;
 " So ye ought to observe and keep these laws,
 " As the spotted cow covers up and preserves its tail ;
 " Sitting down harmoniously in one place.
 " Now, then, I have repeated the precepts,
 " As they were spoken by Buddha.
 " All the priests having responded in order.
 " Whatever merit therefore attaches
 " To the due observance of this regulation,
 " That I bequeath to the world at large !
 " May all men attain to the complete accomplishment of the way of Buddha."

NOTES TO THE REV. MR. BEAL'S VERSION.

¹ Requiring entire separation from the community. The glossary explains Po-lo-i thus : " This word is equivalent to the Chinese ' extremely wicked,' "—those guilty of this must fall when dead into Hell. It is (according to the Vinaya) like a man losing his head, he cannot then possibly be restored to life again ; so those guilty of crimes under this class cannot be recovered from their sin.

² Literally " from the midst of a different subject taking a little." Mr. Gogerly translates this, " take any little thing from a foreign subject."

³ Or, you ought to live in harmony with the priesthood.

⁴ Mr. Gogerly, from the Pali, makes this 13.

⁵ Or, wish to terrify me.—Gogerly.

⁶ According to Gogerly, this is the punishment of restraint for as many days as the crime has been concealed.

⁷ Mānatta, a kind of penance.—Gogerly.

⁸ This translation differs from that of Mr. Gogerly. In this case the upasikāva is the companion of the Bikahu and sitting with him ; but in the Pali translation she is merely a third party and a witness.

⁹ I know not how to explain this phrase. Mr. Gogerly translates from the Pali thus : " Except by permission of the fraternity, in which case the Chinese characters forming the word Ki-mo would signify an ' authoritative dispensation,' " and the remaining character or word would as usual be Sanga, or the community.

¹⁰ This is 5 in the Pali version.

¹¹ This is 4 in the Pali version.

¹² This translation differs from Mr. Gogerly's.

¹³ Mr. Gogerly says a third part and a fourth part, contrary to the Chinese.

¹⁴ Except by permission of the priests in convocation.—Gogerly.

¹⁵ Or obtain a fleece of wool; the Chinese leave it uncertain whether it be given him or he find it.

¹⁶ This is 27 in the Pali version.

¹⁷ Before the invitation is given.—Gogerly.

¹⁸ In the Pali version this is 23.

¹⁹ In the Pali version this is 24.

²⁰ Obs. The Singhalese list is 92. *Vide* Spence Hardy and Tarnour, referred to by Burnouf.—Introd. p. 303 n.

²¹ Pali version 6.

²² Pali version 4.

²³ Pali version 9.

²⁴ In the Pali version this is 7.

²⁵ The cutting &c. of trees, grass, &c.—Gogerly.

²⁶ This differs from Mr. Gogerly's translation, but I cannot vouch for the whole meaning.

²⁷ In the Pali this is 20.

²⁸ This translation differs from the Pali, and is difficult.

²⁹ *i. e.* after sunset.

³⁰ This differs from Gogerly, who renders it "when travelling with a caravan or when danger is apprehended."

³¹ This is the literal translation. Mr. Gogerly renders it thus: "if a priest eat his ordinary food when under an invitation to dine."

³² 32 in the Pali.

³³ *Viz.*, for cleansing the teeth.

³⁴ 39 in the Pali.

³⁵ "Unless the invitation be renewed, or the original invitation be to receive such things in perpetuity if after that period he should go and receive them," &c.—Gogerly.

³⁶ 53 in the Pali.

³⁷ Tickle another.—Gogerly.

³⁸ 60 in the Pali.

³⁹ A person under instruction. (*Gramans?*).—Gogerly.

⁴⁰ 58 in the Pali.

⁴¹ Otherwise thus:

65. When fully twenty years of age a man may undertake (or have given him to receive) the great Precepts (*i. e.* may be ordained to the Priesthood). But if the Bikshus, knowing a man not to be 20 years of age, still lay upon him these Precepts (*i. e.* ordain him), this man's ordination is not good; and all the priests shall be disgraced, because they have acted foolishly, and they shall be subject to Pāchittiyan.

⁴² Or, even to the end of the village.—Gogerly.

⁴³ In any act of the Priestly office.

⁴⁴ *i. e.* a novice.

⁴⁵ Or thus:

71. If a Bikshu, at a time when the other priests have declared certain laws which bind all the fraternity (called Sabhadammikan), shall say "Brethren! I shall not attend to these precepts! but will go to some learned disciple and inquire respecting some difficulties I have," let &c.

⁴⁶ The following is an attempt to translate a very difficult part of 73:

If the other Bikshus, knowing that this one, or it may be two or three, during

the recital of the law, prefer sitting (how much more if there be many such), (they must conclude) that such priests are foolish and understand nothing; and if they are guilty of transgression, they ought to be punished. Moreover the priests ought to reprehend their folly in some such way as this.

⁷ 74. If a Bikahu having taken part in any ecclesiastical business, afterwards go away and say: "The priests are partial and careless about the common property," let him, &c. (In the Pali this is 81 or 82).

The two in excess in the Pali version are 77 and 81 (or 82).

⁸⁰ Pali 80.

⁸¹ Pali 79.

⁸² This translation differs from Mr. Gogerly's (78, Pali).

⁸³ Pali 74.

⁸⁴ Pali 75.

⁸⁵ Pali 76.

⁸⁶ Pali 83.

⁸⁷ The rule is he may pick them up to restore them to their owner.

⁸⁸ *Cotton*.—Gogerly.

⁸⁹ Cut out, polished, and finished.

⁹⁰ A *coverlet*.—Gogerly.

⁹¹ Obs. This differs slightly from the Pali.

⁹² I have transgressed the law by which disgrace is incurred by the Priesthood.

⁹³ A "white-robe dwelling" is evidently the house of a laic, or, a community of laymen.

⁹⁴ The boughs of the yeung are used for cleaning the teeth.—Julien.

⁹⁵ 85. Not to have a figure of Buddha placed in a lower room, whilst I myself reside in an upper one.

⁹⁶ 92. I will not read Bana to a person on a high road, I myself being on ground not in the high road.

NOTES TO THE REV. MR. GOGERLY'S EDITION..

¹ For the meaning of these terms see p. 416.

² That is a site not infested with vermin, snakes, wild beasts, &c., which might either endanger the priest or annoy him; or be the cause, by the building of the house, of the destruction of animal life.

³ Wide enough for a bullock cart to pass round it.

⁴ That is, to mark the site of the building with certain prescribed rites.

⁵ The difference appears to be, that the first or small house is for the residence of a single priest, and being erected partly by his own labour and partly by subscription, the property never vested in any other person: it is therefore called *assāmikan*, *without a proprietor*. The second, or large building, may be for the residence of one or more priests, built at the expense of one or more persons, who are the proprietors until they convey it by gift in perpetuity to the priests: it is therefore called *sassāmikan* or *belonging to a proprietor*.

⁶ The history of these two enactments is found in the *Pārājika* division of the *Vinaya Pitaka* as follows:—A priest named Dabbo Mallaputto was regarded by another priest named Mettiya bhummajakā as the cause of his having been

treated with disrespect at a house where he went to obtain food. The suspicion was unfounded, yet influenced by it he persuaded a priestess named Mettiya, a friend of his, to prefer a charge before Budha against Dabbo, which would exclude him from the priesthood; namely, that he had violated her. She did so; and upon the case being investigated by Budha the charge was proved to be groundless, and she was excluded. Her instigator, Mettiya bhummajakā, however, persisted in the accusation, and declared that the priestess had been unjustly excluded by the influence of their common enemy Dabbo, because she was friendly disposed towards him. The case was brought before Budha who enacted the law No. 8, that bringing a groundless charge against another of a crime involving expulsion should be Sanghādiseso.

After this, the priest Mettiya bhummajakā retaining his determination, if possible, to ruin Dabbo, meditated how he might accomplish his design, so that he might safely aver that his charge was not groundless; but as Dabbo's conduct was blameless he was compelled to have recourse to an equivocation. Walking with some of his fellow priests one day they passed a flock of goats, and he then said, we will give to this he-goat the name of Dabbo, and to this female the name of Mettiya; and now we can truly say that we saw Dabbo and Mettiya guilty of criminal conduct. He did so accordingly, and when the charge was investigated it being found that it was grounded on an equivocation, the real circumstance being quite foreign to the charge, Budha enacted the law No. 9.

⁷ A woman who has embraced the doctrines of Budha and submits to the five precepts enjoined by him.

⁸ Accuse him of incontinence.

⁹ Accuse him of coming into personal contact, or of holding libidinous discourse.

¹⁰ Accuse him of sitting with the woman without touching her, and without improper conversation.

¹¹ That is, a case where the decisions may be variable according to circumstances.

¹² Three in number, named Sanghātiya, Uttarāsaṅgaya and Antarawāsakaya.

¹³ The robe must be given up, with a certain form, to the priesthood. The following is the ritual when delivered up to the priests in convocation. The priest shall approach the assembly, and baring one of his shoulders, shall worship the feet of the elder priests; and kneeling down (or sitting on his heels) shall raise his clasped hands to his forehead, and say, this robe, my lord, has been kept by me more than ten days, and has become forfeited. I now deliver it up to the Sanghi (or priests in convocation). When it has been delivered up, it shall be announced to the meeting by a skilful priest, who taking the robe shall say, Let, my Lords, the Sanghi hear me, this robe has been forfeited by such a priest, if this be the proper time for the meeting I will deliver it to such a priest.

¹⁴ A man who has embraced the religion of Budha and submitted to the five precepts.

¹⁵ A Yodun is four gows or 16 Singhalese miles.

¹⁶ One that has not been consecrated and delivered officially to the priests for his use.

¹⁷ Faults requiring confession and absolution.

¹⁸ Otherwise, if false, it is Pārājiko.

¹⁹ The law was enacted because the leg gave way and fell upon a priest below and injured him materially.

²⁰ The order of priestesses has long ceased to exist.

²¹ This appears to be a robe merely lent, to be again returned.

²² A priestess who constantly received her food from a family, going one morning to the house saw a large quantity of food prepared, and asked the reason. The master of the house replied that he had invited a number of priests to dine there: she inquired who they were, and he mentioned their names. Why, says she, have you not invited such and such learned priests, mentioning their names. He immediately dispatched a messenger and invited them, and they accepted the invitation. The accepting an invitation so procured is the thing prohibited in this regulation. The exception originated thus: A priest came to the house of a relative: they seeing him at a distance carefully provided food for him. A priestess was in the house when he came, and said, Give the Venerable priest food: but although it had been prepared for him, he refused to receive it because a priestess had requested it to be given, and he conceived it would be a breach of Budha's command. To remedy such inconveniences Budha made the exception.

²³ The following are the circumstances under which this law was enacted. In a town where Budha resided there were many rich men who fared sumptuously every day. In the same town there was a poor serving man, who looked with a desiring eye upon their luxurious living, and despairing of attaining to any thing of the kind during his present residence in the world, desired to secure such a state in the next transmigration, and regarded the most effectual way to be the inviting Budha, attended by all his priests, to dinner. He went to his master and begged his aid, who being a good man, and being pleased with his design, promised to afford him the means of accomplishing his wishes. He accordingly waited upon Budha and requested that he and all the priests living with him would dine with him the next day. Budha observed to him that there were a great number of priests, but he assured him he was able to entertain them, upon which Budha, in his usual manner, accepted the invitation in silence. The poor man immediately returned to make preparations, when his wealthy neighbour, approving of his object, sent him in provisions in abundance. A number of the priests who knew of the invitation contemned it because the inviter was poor, and although they were compelled to attend Budha to the place, expecting only a scanty provision, they went out in the morning as usual to collect food and ate their meal. When it was announced to Budha that all was ready, he put on his robes, took his bowl in his hand, and followed by all his priests went to the poor man's residence and partook of his alms. When the food was being distributed to the priests, those who had eaten previously said, Give us only a little. Why, my Lords, was the reply, do you fear that there is not a sufficiency: there is abundance of provision, eat heartily. They answered, it is not on that account, but we went out this morning for food as usual, and have dined already. The poor man was much displeased at this, and gave utterance to his complaints, which were reported to Budha, upon which he collected the priests, severely reproved the offenders, and prohibited the use of the customary food on similar occasions.

²⁴ Solid food, as cakes, rice, rice-gruel, &c., are here prohibited, but liquid refreshments are permitted after mid-day.

²⁵ i.e. Cooked food: two kinds are mentioned; Khādaniyan, which appears to signify made dishes as cakes, bread, &c., and Bhojaniyan, which includes flesh, rice and other grains, rice gruel, &c.

²⁶ That is, kill any animal, insect, &c. ; the killing a human being is Pārājiko, involving permanent exclusion from the priesthood.

²⁷ A crime involving suspension. If the groundless charge be respecting a crime involving exclusion, the offence is not Pācittiyan but Sanghādisesa.

²⁸ This was enacted in consequence of Ananda, the personal attendant upon Budha, having been invited by the king of Kosol to visit the apartments of the women and instruct them in religion. He went for the purpose, and not having sent in a message that he was there, inadvertently entered the apartment at an improper time. Budha assigns ten reasons why this should be avoided.

²⁹ A priest was bathing in a river, and a Bramin who was also bathing there, went away leaving a purse of 500 pieces on the bank. The priest thinking "this ought not to be lost" picked it up, and when the owner inquired for it delivered it to him. In order to avoid making him even a slight compensation, he feigned that a large sum had been abstracted. Budha therefore commanded that whatever property a priest might see, jewels, money, &c., &c., he should pass on without noticing it.

The exceptions were made on the following occasions. A female adherent of Budha, of large property, visited him, while he was in a garden, and prior to entering into his presence, took off some ornaments and left them in care of a slave girl, who dropt them, and went away. To prevent its being lost he allowed his priests to pick up and secure any property which might be dropt in a garden where they were residing. The husband of the lady above-mentioned invited some priests to dine, and losing his signet ring gave them the food. Being much occupied he dropt it and went away. Under similar circumstances the priests were allowed to preserve such property for the owners.

³⁰ This precept was given in consequence of some females who carried food to a priest living in a dangerous neighbourhood, of which they were not aware, being stript and violated by robbers. They complained that the priest who knew the danger had not warned them : to prevent a repetition of such events Budha enacted the above law.

³¹ As the phrase sikkhā karaniya, the precept should be obeyed, is appended to each article, it will be omitted in the translation and can be supplied by the reader.

³² The term rendered village may be applied to a single house with its offices ; what is frequently called "the compound : " and the whole of these rules appear to refer to the manner in which the priests are to approach the residences of laics or enter into their houses.

INDEX.

	Page		Page
ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR, on the Gymnosophists	277, 279	Dharwar, cultivation of cotton in	351
Allobioi	276	Dio Cassius on the Gymnosophists	279
Aristobulus	283	Emsika, expedition against, by Idris, Sultan of Burnu	219
Ashurakbal, inscription of	124	Expeditions of Idris, Sultan of Burnu 43, 199, 207, 219, 226, 228,	238
Ashur-bani-pal, inscription of	271	Ghizim, expedition against tribes of	235
Assam, on the production of tea in	315	Gogerly, Rev. D. J., translation from the Pali of the Patimokhan	415
Assyrian texts translated, by H. F. Talbot, Esq. 124, 135, 181, 187, 193, 251, 271		Gymnosophists, Clemens Alex- andrinus on the	276
Ayodhyakanda, translation from the	308	the	280
Bardasanes, extract from, by Polyhistor	280	Hezekiah	146, 147, 148
Barake	294	Idris, son of Ali, Sultan of Burnu, expeditions of	44, 199
Bangalore, meteorological observa- tions at	350	— character of	251
Beal, Rev. S., the Sutra of the 42 sections, translated from the Chinese, by	337	— date of reign of	258
the Chinese of the Pratimo- ksha, by	407	Imphee, on the cultivation of, in Bombay	39
Berenice	294	Indian Embassies to Rome, by O. de B. Prialux, Esq.	274
Brahmans	280	Indian Materialists, on, by J. Muir, Esq.	299
Bruce, C., Esq., on the Vedic conception of the Earth	321	Juliopolis	294
Bulala, expeditions against the tribes of, by the Sultan of Burnu	43	Kafira, on the language of, by Dr. Trumpp	1
Burnes, Sir A., list of Kafir words, by	23	Kafir words, list of, by Sir A. Burnes	23
Burnu, Idris, Sultan of, expedi- tions of 43, 199, 207, 219, 226, 228, 238		— by E. Norris, Esq.	27
Cane	294	Kuhistani words, list of	26
Chārvākas, tenets of the	299	Kunu, or Kunuh, expedition against	226
Clemens Alexandrinus, on the Gymnosophists	276	Lake of Probation	288
Constantinople, temperature of ...	30	Marahman, J. C., Esq., on the production of tea in Assam ...	315
Coptos	294	— on the cultivation of cotton in Dharwar	351
Cotton, cultivation of, in Dharwar	351		
Dalzell, N. A., Esq., on Imphee	39		
Darius, Nakshi Rustam, inscrip- tion of	261		

	Page		Page
Materialists, on Indian, by J. Muir, Esq.	299	Sew-Gafata, expeditions against tribe of....	207
Magasthenes, on the Gymnosophists	277, 283	Shamans	281
Menahem	144	Slates in India, by T. Oldham, Esq.	31
Mendersa, expedition against	234	Sutra of the 42 Sections, translated from the Chinese, by the Rev. S. Beal	32
Merghi, expedition against	233	Syagrus	294
Merodach-Baladan	136, 150	Talbot, H. F., Esq., translations of Assyrian texts by 124, 135, 181, 187, 193, 261, 271	
Muir, J., Esq., on Indian Materialists	299	_____ additional notes by ...	133, 171, 273
Muziris	294	Tea, on the production of, in Assam	315
Nabonidus, inscription of	193	Temperature of Constantinople	30
Nakshi Rustam inscription	261	_____ of Bangalore	350
Nearchus	283	Teredon	295
Necanedon (Nelyndon)	294	Tetala, expedition against tribe of Tewarik Berbers, expedition against....	228
Norris, E., Esq., list of Kafir words, by	27	Translation from the Chinese of the Pratimoksha	407
North Indian vernaculars, on the declensional features of	361	_____ of the Sutra of the 42 Sections	337
Ocelis	294	_____ from the Pali of the Patimokhan	415
Odenatus	295	Trumpp, Rev. Dr., on the language of the Kafirs	1
Oldham, T., Esq., on true slates in India	31	_____ on the declensional features of North Indian vernaculars	361
Palmyra	295	Vedic conception of the Earth, on the, by C. Bruce, Esq.	331
Patimokhan, translation of, from the Pali, by Gogerly	415	Vologesia....	295
Philostratus	279	Zedekiah	145
Pratimoksha, translation of, from the Chinese, by Beal	407	Zenobia	295
Priault, O de B., Esq., on Indian embassies to Rome	274		
Probation, Lake of	288		
Pul, inscription of	181		
Sāntiparva, translation from	308		
Sarmanai	276		
Semnoi	277		
Senkereb, inscription of	187		
Sennacherib, inscription of	136		

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

THIRTY-NINTH ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

Held on the 24th May, 1862.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD VISCOUNT STRANGFORD,

PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

THE following Report of the Council was read by the Secretary :—

At the period of our last anniversary, the Council felt it their duty to report the difficulties under which they were labouring in respect of the Society's finances, through the withdrawal of one-half of the yearly donation formerly given by the Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company ; and of mentioning that, unless some other mode could be found to improve the Society's financial condition, the necessity might arise for letting off a portion of the house.

At the date in question, certain communications had taken place, between the Council of the Society and the Secretary of State for India, involving the subject of an amalgamation of the Society's Library with those of the India House, Haileybury, and the Board of Control. Shortly afterwards, the Council having been led to infer that this question of amalgamating the Libraries was not likely to be soon settled, it was resolved, before deciding on the measure of sub-letting a portion of our house, to make a fresh application to Sir Charles Wood for a renewal of the annual grant from his Department in the full amount of two hundred guineas.

Later in the month of June, however, and before an answer was received to this application, fresh knowledge was acquired, which induced the Council to draw up and forward to the India Office a proposal to take charge of its amalgamated Libraries, and to keep

a

them in the Society's house, paying the Librarian's present salary of £500 per annum, and furnishing attendance and facilities for consulting the books and manuscripts according to the regulations formerly in use in Leadenhall Street, on condition that the Society should receive an annual grant of £1000 from the India Office, and that the first cost of removing the books and setting up the book-cases in the Society's house should be borne by the India Office.

About the middle of July, an answer was received from the Earl de Grey and Ripon, in which no notice was taken of the last-mentioned proposal of the Council in respect of our taking charge of the East India Libraries; but his Lordship informed the President that Sir Charles Wood, in consideration of the circumstances stated in the application for increased assistance, had sanctioned the donation annually granted from the revenues of India in aid of the funds of the Society being increased to £210; adding that, in the event of the Society being accommodated with apartments in any Government building, the donation would be again reduced. The full sum of two hundred guineas was accordingly paid to the Society last November, from the India Office, as will be seen in the appended Abstract of Receipts and Expenditure.

In consequence of this increase in the means of the Society, the question of sub-letting any portion of the house was dropped. Up to the present time, the subject of the future disposal of the East India Libraries does not appear to have been definitively settled. The custody of so important a national treasure would add to the stability of the Society; but to enable us to receive so large a collection of books into this house, it would be necessary to give up the rooms now occupied by our Museum; and a careful comparison of catalogues would also be requisite, so as to avoid a superabundance of duplicates.

The organization of the Society's Committee of Agriculture and Commerce, on a plan somewhat different to that formerly adopted, was mentioned in last year's Report. Shortly afterwards, J. C. Marshman, Esq., volunteered his services to this Committee for a twelve-month, as its Honorary Secretary. The Council passed a Resolution, appropriating the sum of £100 to the use of the Committee, for its various expenses, and arranging for the publication, in the Society's Journal, from time to time, of such papers of interest as might be deemed admissible by the Council. During the present session, the Committee has been actively engaged in the investigation of various questions of importance in relation to the productive industry and resources of India, and to the extension of British commerce in that portion of Her Majesty's dominions, as is more fully explained in the Report of the Committee.

The quarterly publication of the Society's Journal has been carried on during the past year; and on the 1st of July the last part of Vol. XIX. will be delivered. It is the earnest wish of the Council to continue the work on this plan; but, without a sufficient supply of good material, it is evident that the Journal cannot be carried on regularly; and without regularity of publication, the Journal must cease to be an eligible vehicle for placing before the learned world and the general public the investigations of those observers from whose writings it can alone derive interest and authority. The Council hope, therefore, that members will redouble their exertions in this cause, by contributing such papers as they may have been enabled to draw up, and by inviting such of their friends to do the same as have the best opportunities and fitting talent to investigate questions of Oriental interest.

With a view further to increase the value and interest of the Journal, the Council, taking into consideration the recommendation of a Committee specially named to deliberate on the subject, adopted a resolution to the effect that notices should henceforth be inserted in its pages of works which may be published on the various Asiatic subjects falling within the scope of the Society. This resolution will be carried out as opportunities occur, and as works of merit are brought to the notice of the Society by members, authors, or publishers.

During the year, besides the presentation by various learned Societies at home and abroad of commencements or continuations of their Transactions or Journals, our Library has, through the liberality of H. F. Talbot, Esq., been enriched with a copy of the magnificent work of Botta on his Assyrian discoveries. The Government of H.M. the Emperor of the French has also presented a copy of M. Oppert's work on Assyrian Inscriptions. The authorities of the British Museum have given a copy of the Cuneiform texts of Assyrian inscriptions published under the superintendence of Sir H. Rawlinson and E. Norris, Esq. The Arabic text of El-Makkari's "History of the Muhammedan Rule in Spain" has also been completed in five quarto parts, copies of which have been presented by the Government of H.M. the King of the Netherlands and by one of the joint-editors, Wm. Wright, Esq.

The Rev. S. Beal, chaplain of Her Majesty's frigate "Shannon," has presented a beautiful specimen of Chinese industry and devotion, as displayed in the preparation of a copy of the Buddhist work "Kin-Kong-King," or Chinese version of the Vajrachedidika Sutra, the whole of the text being embroidered in silk letters on a satin ground, and the covers being similarly worked in embroidery. It is, in these respects, a perfect work of art, and a great curiosity. Mr. Beal

has also presented a copy of the Chinese version of the Buddhist work, "The Sutra of the Forty-two Sections." Translations made by Mr. Beal accompany both the works, and one of them has already been published in the Society's Journal.

Captain Raverty has also presented copies of his four works on the Pushto, or Afghan language and literature—viz., the Grammar (second edition), a Dictionary, a Selection of Prose and Poetry, and a Selection of Translated Pieces.

The Governments of the Australian Colonies and of the Mauritius, as well as the Board of Trade, have promised to communicate to the Society, in future, such papers and returns as may be useful or interesting in connexion with the objects of the Society.

During the past year, proposals for the exchange of publications have been received from the following British and Continental Societies, and have been acceded to by the Council—viz., the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool; the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; and the Imperial Archæological Society of St. Petersburg, for its Oriental Section. Our Society, therefore, now presents its publications to more than one hundred different Societies or public institutions, from many of which we receive Journals, Transactions, &c., in return.

Our numismatic cabinet has received a valuable addition of seventy-seven Indian coins, selected by E. Thomas, Esq., from the collection of His Highness the late Rao of Kutch, which had been confided to General Jacob for the purpose. A few other coins have also been presented by members of the Society; and it is much to be desired that our cabinet should receive further contributions, so as gradually to be placed in a position of completeness that might render it worthy the attention and study of numismatists.

Two inscriptions on copper-plate have been presented to the Society by Mr. Roberts, which have been transmitted to Professor Dowson for decipherment and translation. These were found in the neighbourhood of Manikyala, in the Upper Punjab. They are written in the so-called Aryan or Cabul numismatic character, and in a language intermediate between Sanskrit and Pali, but nearer to the former. A memoir on the subject by the Professor will appear in the Society's Journal.

The Government of Mysore has directed that a large number of articles sent by it to the Great Exhibition shall be offered to this Society at the close thereof. Upon examination, it will most likely be possible to select a certain number for our museum; but a perusal of the catalogue is sufficient to show that many of the objects are, from their nature and bulk, unsuited for the limited accommodation at our command.

It will be in the recollection of the meeting, that in the year 1857, a distinguished member of our Society, J. Muir, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., offered a prize of £300 for the best History and Exposition of the Vedanta System, both as a Philosophy and a Religion. The essay was to be written in either German or French; and the money was placed in the hands of this Society, to be paid to the successful competitor. The period fixed for the delivery of the compositions expired on the 1st of April, 1860; but no treatise having been given in by any candidate, Mr. Muir repeated his offer last June, and added English as one of the languages in which the essay might be written. The period fixed for giving in any compositions intended to compete for Mr. Muir's prize is the 1st of October, 1864; Professor Lassen, of Bonn; M. Regnier, of Paris; and Professor Goldstücker, of London, having consented to act as examiners, and to decide on the merits of the treatises. The money is placed in the London and Westminster Bank, in the names of four trustees, Members of the Society, selected by the Council.

The Council have much gratification in announcing to the meeting that the progress of the Society in point of the number of Members, which was stated at the last Anniversary to be not altogether unsatisfactory, has, thanks to the spirited exertions of some of our fellow-members, continued to be favourable. During the past twelve months the accession to our numbers consists of thirty-four Resident and twenty Non-Resident Members, while our loss from deaths, retirements, and exclusions by reason of non-payments, amounts to eighteen Resident and seven Non-Resident Members.* The balance in numbers is, therefore, a gain of sixteen Resident and thirteen Non-Resident Members. Again, of those lost to us three had

* *Elections.*—*Residents*: Major-General Anstruther; the Earl of Powis; Major-General Sir A. S. Waugh; Sir F. J. Halliday, K.C.B.; Sir J. Lawrence, Bart. G.C.B.; Major-General G. A. Malcolm; H. D. Seymour, Esq., M.P.; Arthur Russell, Esq., M.P.; H. W. Freeland, Esq., M.P.; W. E. Forster, Esq., M.P.; Lieutenant-Colonel Rigby; Colonel Baker; Sir H. Montgomery; Major Showers; J. W. Kaye, Esq.; Dr. Burzorjee; J. Scarth, Esq.; Murray Gladstone, Esq.; Malcolm Lewin, Esq.; J. G. Frith, Esq.; Rev. W. J. Beaumont; Rev. J. Mills; Charles Wells, Esq.; John Westwood, Esq.; Daniel D. Dymes, Esq.; C. P. Modeliar, Esq.; A. Bellasis, Esq.; William Macpherson, Esq.; Captain J. Miles; H. L. Anderson, Esq.; W. P. Adams, Esq.; F. W. Prideaux, Esq.; J. Borradaile, Esq.; Rev. S. Beal. *Non-Residents*: G. K. Nieman, Esq.; Honourable Arthur Gordon; J. H. Macalister, Esq.; H. S. Freeman, Esq.; J. E. Blunt, Esq.; Henry A. Churchill, Esq.; Niven Moore, Esq.; J. Milligan, Esq.; Captain James Puckle; Lieutenant R. A. Cole; Captain C. L. R. Glasford; J. G. Taylor, Esq.; Captain H. G. Raverty;

compounded for their subscriptions, and eleven—viz., seven Resident and four Non-Resident—have either never paid a subscription or have allowed their arrears to accumulate for four, five, or six years, inclusive of the present. Although the apparent gain of the Society in the amount of subscriptions is, therefore, only sixty-one guineas, it will be seen by reckoning those non-paying Members as such, that the true yearly gain amounts to ninety-five guineas. Satisfactory as these numbers may be esteemed on the whole, the Council must still press it on the consideration of Members to make all possible efforts to bring fresh additions to our ranks, so that, with increased means, we may adopt a more energetic course of action, and be enabled not only to purchase such works as we do not possess, and without which our library is sometimes found deficient by inquiring scholars, but further, to resume the very necessary work of binding hundreds of valuable volumes of which we are already the owners,

The first among our deceased Members whom it is our sad duty to mention is the late Prince Consort, the loss of whose manifold and unobtrusive virtues all England deploras. His Royal Highness, united in marriage to our beloved Queen in 1840, became a Member and Vice-Patron of the Society on the 8th of May, 1841. His education had been most carefully conducted, so that his knowledge of languages, and of various arts and sciences, was known to be great. He had been the pupil of Professor Lassen, of Bonn, one of our Foreign Members, and also one of the most learned and distinguished Oriental scholars in Europe; and on his joining the Society a lively hope was felt and expressed that the pursuits in which we are

Major R. N. Trouson; Sir J. H. D. Hay, K.C.B.; Colonel St. John Neale; R. A. O. Dalryell, Esq.; Colonel Hamilton; James Zohrab; G. C. P. Braune, Esq.

Deaths.—Compounded: H.R.H. the Prince Consort, 1841; Colonel Sir Claude Wade, 1846; Samuel Ware, Esq., 1824. *Resident:* Robert Alexander, Esq., 1834; Lieutenant-General De la Motts, 1847; Rev. Dr. Donaldson, 1838; Thomas Newnham, Esq., 1833. *Non-Resident:* H. G. Freeling, Esq., 1856.

Retirements.—Resident: Lieutenant-Colonel Bush, 1858; Rev. Dr. Hessey, 1844; N. B. Edmonstone, Esq., 1849; William Rothery, Esq., 1833. *Non-Resident:* C. Newton, Esq., 1852; H. Sandwith, Esq., 1852.

Exclusions.—Resident: K. R. H. Mackenzie, Esq.; William Balston, Esq.; R. Dalglish, Esq., M.P.; R. W. Duggan, Esq.; Theodore Harden, Esq.; J. W. Pycroft, Esq.; Viscount Pevensey. *Non-Resident:* Hyder Jung Bahadoor; E. C. Murray, Esq.; Nasif Mallouf; L. Oliphant, Esq.

engaged would meet with especial regard and encouragement at the hands of His Royal Highness.

To say that this hope was not fulfilled to the letter is merely to assert that the Prince's time was limited. Ever taking the warmest interest in all social questions, and occupying himself with those pursuits that tend most truly to increase British happiness and influence, he found but little time left to give to this Society. At the time when Sir Henry Rawlinson's discoveries in the decipherment and translation of the ancient Achemenian and Assyrian records were most strongly attracting the attention of the learned world, His Royal Highness evinced the interest he took in the subject by presiding at the General Meeting of the Society held in the evening of the 16th of February, 1850, when the concluding part of Sir Henry's paper "On the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Nimrud and Khorsabad" was read.

On the occasion of the sudden bereavement by which the nation was deprived of a wise councillor, the Queen of her Consort, the Royal Family of a father, and the Society of a Vice-Patron, the Council felt it incumbent on them to follow the example of the numerous public bodies who then approached the throne with their assurances of dutiful and affectionate sympathy. An address of condolence was accordingly presented to the Queen by the Council in the name of the Society, through the Home Secretary, Sir George Grey, and an answer was received to the effect that Her Majesty had been pleased to receive the address very graciously.

The family of **NEWHAM** is of Saxon origin, and one of great antiquity, being mentioned in Domesday Book. Sir Fulk de Newnham founded a nunnery near Faversham, in Kent; and another of the family, Sir John de Newnham, was one of the Knights Crusaders, under the banner of Odo, Earl of Albermarle. Sir John afterwards attended Edward the First into Scotland, and was made a Knight Banneret at the siege of Carlaverock.

The subject of the present notice was the second son of Thomas Newnham, Esq., of Southborough, county Kent; and was born 24th December, 1777. At an early age he entered the naval service of the Honourable East India Company, but subsequently received an appointment to the Civil Service on the Madras establishment, which he joined in 1800. After the usual course of training in subordinate offices, he was, in 1808, sent to take charge, as British Commissioner, of the Danish settlement of Tranquebar, which had recently been captured. The flattering testimonials which he received from the Danish inhabitants of every class, when he quitted that appointment, about two years afterwards, showed with what tact and kindness he

had succeeded in reconciling the duty he owed to his own Government with the feelings and interests of a people irritated in no small degree by the policy of England towards Denmark. The subsequent offices which he filled during a long career were all in the judicial branch of the service. He was for upwards of ten years Judge and Criminal Judge at Cuddapah, where his name is still remembered with great respect and attachment, owing to the interest he took in the welfare of the people, and to the self-sacrificing benevolence with which he devoted his entire means to feeding the poor during one of those severe famines which have from time to time visited that part of the country.

In 1821 he was promoted to the Court of Appeal and Circuit in the Centre Division, in which he rose gradually from third to first judge. He was thence transferred to the corresponding position in the Circuit Court of the Western Division at Tellichery, where he remained until 1833. He then resigned the service, and returned to England, after an uninterrupted residence in India of thirty-five years. He has since, for a period of nearly equal duration, passed the remainder of his life principally in London, devoting his time to literary pursuits, and to a course of active benevolence, of the extent of which few are aware except his humbler neighbours. He died, after a short illness unattended with pain, at his residence, in Chapel-street, on the 29th September last, in the 84th year of his age.

SIR CLAUDE WADE, born in Bengal, 1794, entered the military service of the East India Company in 1809, and arrived in India in the following year, where he soon distinguished himself by proficiency in the native languages.

In 1812, the young ensign saw some severe service in Bundelcund; and in 1814, he was one of the first to enter the new College established at Fort William for the study of Languages and Laws; but was soon obliged to leave for active service in the field against the Mahrattas and Pindarrees, where, during an almost incessant warfare of three years, suffering much from constant exposure under tents, with severe privations and losses in camp equipage, cattle, &c., the young officer learnt a lesson of military duties which proved invaluable towards the close of his diplomatic career.

In 1820, he was appointed Brigade Major in Oude, and being deputed to Calcutta in 1822, Lord Hastings retained him for employment in the Map and Survey Department; and, in consequence of his expressed wish, his successor, the Honourable J. Adam, nominated him, in 1823, to the political station at Loodiana, then under the Agent of the Governor-General at Delhi.

To understand the critical circumstances under which Lieutenant

Wade entered on his new functions, it is necessary to glance at the state of our relations with Runjeet Singh, and other native Powers, at that period.

The intercourse with the Sikh chieftain had hitherto been confined to the exchange of a ceremonious letter of inquiry once or twice a year; but as, from 1809 to 1819, this had been conducted by the master-hand of a Metcalfe, the most amicable relations had been maintained until the latter year. Circumstances had since occurred which had shaken the Maharajah's faith in our professions and deeply wounded his pride; and in the years 1823 and 1824, he was strongly tempted by the usurper of Bhurtpore, and the emissaries of other States, to attack us after the reverses we sustained in the first Burmese war. He accordingly assembled his army, and appeared disposed to take advantage of any disastrous turn in our affairs; and for a while it required no little address to remove his doubts and suspicions, and confirm his confidence in the resources of our Government.

In 1825, the danger was partially removed by the restoration of peace with Ava; but in the following year, Sir Charles Metcalfe, being re-appointed Agent at Delhi, enabled Captain Wade to restore perfect harmony between the Sikh and British Governments, by revoking the obnoxious act of interference by which we had given the Maharajah just cause of offence.

It may be worth while to state here, in his own words, those simple principles by which Sir Claude Wade achieved such extraordinary success in all his future intercourse with the "Lion of the Punjab:"—"I used my best endeavours," he said, "to follow the example of Lord Metcalfe in balancing the interests of the two States, and identifying their policy, as paramount to every other object. In India, it is essential to the proper care and preservation of our system of alliances, that the British Agent should be regarded as a friend of the chiefs among whom he resides, rather than as a mere instrument for conveying the instructions or enforcing the policy of their foreign masters. Our rigid rule is not congenial with their national habits, and a softening agency may wisely be exercised to inspire the confidence of our Indian allies, without losing sight of the views and interests of our own country."

In 1827, on the occasion of Lord Amherst's tour, Runjeet Singh having sent a complimentary mission and presents to the Governor-General, Captain Wade was deputed to return with corresponding presents to Amritsar, and impress our allies with the sincerity of our friendship towards them; in which he succeeded so well, that he was appointed, in the following year, to the charge of our political relations with Runjeet Singh, connected with his territory south of

the Sutlej, including the settlement of disputes between the protected Sikh States and those of His Highness—the limit of his authority on the left bank of the Sutlej having been left unsettled by the Treaty of 1809, and this omission having given rise to dangerous disputes.

In 1830, some horses arrived from England as a return present from the King to Runjeet Singh, and Lord William Bentinck wished to send them up the Indus, but was at first deterred by the refusal of the Amirs of Sind to grant them a passage. The difficulty was removed by Captain Wade's influence with the Maharajah, who stopped the Amirs' objections by his language to their Envoys at his Court, and a warlike demonstration on their frontier; and afterwards even consented to allow Lieutenant Burns to visit Cashmere, &c., on his way to Bokhara, though very averse to the proposal at first, and suspicious of our coveting his possession of Cashmere.

In 1831, on the occasion of Lord William Bentinck's tour, Captain Wade succeeded, not without extreme difficulty, in inducing the Maharajah to consent to an interview with the Governor-General, on his own terms, at Ropur, which had a decisive effect on all the other chiefs in India, and on its frontiers, lowering the tone of the boldest among them by a conviction of the identity of interests between the British and Sikh States.

In 1832 he was again dispatched to Runjeet Singh by Lord William Bentinck, to reconcile him to the opening of the Indus; and during the two following years he was incessantly engaged in negotiations with the Maharajah and other chiefs, in carrying out this important object, by securing commerce against the predatory tribes on the banks of the river, persuading the native Courts to permit the establishment of a British Agent at the confluence of the Indus and Punjab Rivers, and settling all disputes between the Bhawalpore, Rajpoot, and protected Sikh States, which had compromised the safety of the land routes; until at length, in 1834, he succeeded, in conjunction with Colonel Pottinger, in concluding treaties with the riveraine States on the Indus and the Sutlej, establishing the freedom of the navigation, and substituting tolls on boats for the vexatious *ad valorem* duties previously levied.

In expressing its great satisfaction at this result, the Home Government remarked on "the tried judgment and high diplomatic ability" of Captain Wade, and confirmed his appointment, in 1835, to the exclusive charge of our relations with the Court of Lahore and the States across the Indus.

In 1836, serious difficulties arose with regard to the succession in the Jheend and Ferozepore States, between Runjeet Singh and the British Government, which Captain Wade ultimately settled to the satisfaction of both, after a tedious process of ascertaining rights

and surveying the territory, by dividing it between the two Governments ; securing for us the ferry opposite Loodiana, which proved of vital consequence to our army in the subsequent Sikh campaign. And, immediately afterwards, the still more difficult task was imposed on him, of checking the ambitious views of Runjeet Singh, and arresting his conquests in Sind and Afghanistan, which he succeeded in effecting by negotiation, although a rupture was imminent, and prepared for on both sides. On this event, the Maharajah's friendship disclosed to him the intrigues of Louis Philippe to establish French influence in the Punjab, and enabled him to defeat them.

In 1837, he induced the Maharajah to co-operate in establishing fairs on the Indus, and to desist from subjugating the Afghans in revenge for their attack on Jumrood. But in 1838, Dost Muhammed having insisted on Peshawur's being given to him by our Government, Burns's mission was withdrawn from Cabul, and Major Wade was ordered to take part, with the local rank of colonel during this service, in the expedition resolved upon for the following year, by forcing the Khyber Pass, to create a diversion in favour of the army of the Indus, invading through Candahar. The military means granted him for this operation were—5000 Sikh auxiliaries, regular troops, about 5000 Afghan levies, and a small detachment of British native infantry and horse artillery. But Runjeet Singh, who was to have accompanied him, was then prostrated by illness at Lahore, and his Durbar were hostile to the success of the enterprise ; so that when Colonel Wade reached Peshawur, he found, to his intense disappointment, that no Sikhs were collected, no preparations were made, and he had to indent on the Sikh arsenals for powder and shot, and to establish manufactories to arm and clothe his Afghan levies, which took three months to accomplish ; Runjeet Singh dying in the midst of his work, to the immense increase of his difficulties. He succeeded, however, by great efforts, in organizing his miscellaneous force, and then encamped for two months at the mouth of the Pass, practising the men by constant skirmishing, until the Army of the Indus was ready to move, which was to be the signal for his attack ; meanwhile, he gained over the Afghan tribes between the Khyber Pass and Cabul, by negotiation. On July the 23rd he entered the Pass, captured the Fort of Ali Mesjid, and opened the passage, with a loss in killed and wounded equal to that of the Army of the Indus before Ghuznee ; and Lord Auckland stated, in his despatch on the subject, that " it was not upon record that the celebrated Khyber Pass had ever previously been forced."

For this brilliant achievement, performed with such heterogeneous materials, Major Wade was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and created a K.C.B. ; and his military duties being ended by the

triumphant march to Cabul, and the transfer of his Afghan levies to the Shah's Government, he returned to Loodiana, from which station he was transferred to the Agency of Malwa, in the following year, 1840.

At this period, the predatory system, put down by the Mahratta war, had revived in this Province, and seriously disturbed the whole social condition of the country, divided as it was between mixed, distant, and conflicting jurisdictions. Sir Claude Wade succeeded, however, in effecting its pacification, including the settlement of the Bheel tribes, who were more numerous in Malwa than in any other part of India; and it is worthy of remark that, although dealing, throughout the greater part of his career, with men of the sword, who appeared to recognise no authority but that of force, he never had occasion to employ military means to effect his objects during the whole course of his agencies at Loodiana or Indore.

During the brief remainder of his agency, till 1844, when failing health compelled him to return to Europe, he devoted himself to the promotion of education, road-making, &c., and those active investigations into the trade and products of the country, by which he had previously supplied the Government with such full information respecting the resources of the Punjab. On his return to England, he married, in 1845, the eldest daughter of the late Colonel Nicholl, of the Bengal Horse Artillery, by whom he was blessed with a numerous issue; but his constitution had been injured by exposure under tents at all seasons of the year, during his missions to the Punjab; and after fifteen years of rare domestic felicity, he gradually succumbed to an old complaint, on the 21st October, 1861, leaving his family to mourn the loss of one of the kindest and most estimable of men.

The Rev. JOHN WILLIAM DONALDSON, D.D., elected a Member of the Society, on the 9th of June, 1838, was born in 1811, and entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1830, where he soon distinguished himself by his talents and classical acquirements, taking a high place in honours and being ultimately placed among the Fellows of the College. He was also chosen to assist in the tuition of the Under-graduates, and during this time produced his "New Cratylus," besides superintending the compilation of the "Theatre of the Greeks." After a few years Dr. Donaldson was appointed Head Master of the Public School at Bury St. Edmunds. While there he published a complete edition of Pindar, a translation and commentary on the Antigone of Sophocles, some works on the Hebrew language, and his treatise on the Latin tongue, entitled "Varronianus," which ranks among works on Latin as high as the "New Cratylus" does

among works on Greek philology. In 1855, Dr. Donaldson returned to Cambridge, was soon after appointed one of the Classical Examiners of the University of London, and subsequently an Examiner for the Civil service. His completion of Ottfried Müller's "Literature of Greece," and his publication of two very complete grammars of the Greek and Latin languages, evince the untiring energy with which he devoted himself to the study of comparative philology, and to the facilitating for others the pursuit of that rising science until he was, at the early age of fifty, carried away by death from the field of his labours.

GEORGE WILLIAM FREDERICK FREYTAG was born at Lüneburg, on the 19th September, 1788. He became a Member of the University of Göttingen in 1807, where he devoted himself successfully to the study of theology and of Oriental languages. In 1811 he obtained an appointment in the University Library, which, it is stated, he was compelled to resign in consequence of his profession of patriotic sentiments opposed to French domination. On this he went to Prussia, and obtained a chaplaincy in a Prussian regiment, which he accompanied to Paris with the Allied Army, at the fall of Napoleon in 1815. In that capital he became acquainted with the celebrated De Sacy, who strongly advised him to resume his application to Oriental languages, and offered to assist him in the prosecution of studies for which he had already shown so much aptitude. Freytag eagerly embraced the offer, and the Prussian Government relieved him of his military appointment, supplying him with the means of continuing his studies and defraying his expenses in Paris. Freytag profited greatly by the instructions of De Sacy, and in 1819 he received the appointment of Professor in the University of Bonn, where he published most of the works by which he is known to Arabic scholars. His death took place in the early part of the present year. The work by which Freytag is best known is the "Arabic Lexicon," in 4 vols. 4to., published at Halle, in 1830-37. An abridgment of this work appeared at Halle, in 1837.

A number of works on Arabic poets and literary editions of Arabic poets, historians, and other writers, were produced by Freytag at different times. His first work, an edition and translation of Arabic poetry, appeared at Göttingen, in 1814. Most of his works subsequently issued were printed at Bonn or at Halle. The following is a list of them :—

Fakihat Aleholafa. Bonn : 1837.

Lexicon Arabico-Latinum. 4 vols. Halis : 1830-37. 4to.

Lexicon Arabico-Latinum ex majori excerptum. Halis : 1837. 4to.

Darstellung der Arab. Verskunst, &c. Bonn : 1831. 8vo.

- Orchestomathia Arabica Grammatica Historica.* Lipsiæ: 1834. 8vo.
- أمثال العرب *Arabum Proverbia*, ed. G. W. F. 3 vols. Bonnæ: 1838-42. 8vo.
- Caab b. Zoheif carmen .. cum Carminè Motânebbil, &c. Bonnæ: 1822. 8vo.
- اشعار الحماسة *Hamassæ Carmine cum Tebrisiî scholiis.* 2 pts. Bonnæ: 1828-47. 4to.
- Lokmani Fabulæ, &c. Bonnæ: 1823. 8vo.
- ناكبة الخلفاء و مفاكحة الظرفاء *Fructus Imperitatorum et Jocosæ Ingeniosorum auctore.. Ebn Arabschah, &c.* 2 pts. Bonnæ: 1832-52. 4to.
- Selecta ex Historia Halebi.* Paris and Argent: 1819. 8vo.
- Regierung des Saad-Aldaula zu Aleppo, Arab. mit Uebersetzg. Bonn: 1820. 4to.
- Carmen Arabicum perpetuo Commentario et versione.* Illustravit. Fr., Gottingæ: 1814. 4to.
- Kurzgefasste Hebr. Grammatik. Halle: 1835.

The incomplete condition of the XIth and XIVth volumes of the Journal has been several times brought to the notice of the Council by members desirous of having their copies bound. The first-mentioned volume, containing the ancient Persian work by Sir H. C. Rawlinson, was left unfinished in consequence of the important discoveries made at Nineveh, which placed in that gentleman's hands an immense amount of new material in a language and character which had hitherto been almost wholly unattempted, and gave promise of affording an insight into the history of ages far more remote than any thing discoverable in the Persian inscriptions; and moreover, these last had already been fully investigated, so that any further interest in them would be philological only. The great amount of labour requisite for the investigation of this new material has hitherto prevented our learned Member from continuing the interrupted volume, and he is now of opinion that the subject has been exhausted by other investigators, who have left him nothing to communicate.

The XIVth volume, on the Assyrian and Babylonian Inscriptions, was interrupted by the departure of Sir H. Rawlinson from England on the important mission intrusted to him by Her Majesty's Government. The duties connected with the mission, followed by the laborious task of editing and publishing the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions in the British Museum, have proved an irremovable obstacle to continuing the volume. Sir H. Rawlinson is now persuaded that, considering the very great advances made in the study since the first part was printed, any attempt to complete the

volume would result in a patchwork of which one half would be very unequal to the other.

The Council have therefore decided on issuing printed notices, to be bound up with the published parts of these two volumes, giving the reasons why they have been left incomplete.

Since the decease of our lamented Director, Professor Wilson, the Council has had under consideration the selection of a gentleman qualified by superior Oriental knowledge for undertaking the duties of an office of so peculiar a nature, which has been held in succession by Sir T. Colebrooke and Professor Wilson from the very beginning of the Society's existence. They have now the gratification to announce to the meeting that Sir Henry Rawlinson has signified his readiness to be put in nomination for election to that office. His name appears, therefore, in the balloting lists submitted for your consideration to-day, and if adopted by you, the vacancy will henceforward be filled by our distinguished Member.

The Committee of the Oriental Translation Fund have been occupied during the year in the consideration of the best means for invigorating and extending their operations. The propositions for this object were embodied in a Report published last autumn, to which they beg to refer. One of the proposals—that referring to reduced terms of subscription by future supporters of the Fund—can only be carried out if additional means be thereby obtained. The Committee have requested M. de Slane to proceed with the translation of Ibnu-Khallikān, suspended during his absence in Algeria. They propose to publish a volume of Miscellaneous Translations, consisting of extracts from interesting works, and similar matter; and they invite the aid of Orientalists in effecting this design.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE.

Towards the close of the last session, the Council determined to revive the Committee of Trade and Agriculture, with the view of collecting, digesting, and diffusing information regarding the productive resources of the East generally, and of India in particular. A Committee, consisting of fifteen members, was accordingly formed, and J. C. Marshman, Esq., one of the members of the Council, offered his services as Honorary Secretary. Information of the establishment of the Committee was sent to those in England and abroad who were likely to assist in promoting the object; and the Committee have the prospect of receiving valuable papers from parties in India who take

an interest in these subjects, and are in a position to communicate intelligence on them. A Statistical Society has recently been formed in Calcutta with a kindred design, and there is every reason to hope that the object in view will be forwarded by an interchange of communications.

The Committee have held nine meetings, corresponding with the meetings of the Council, at which various topics connected with the resources and the progress of improvement in India have been brought under discussion. A variety of documents connected with the questions of inquiry have been collected together, or presented by different individuals. Four papers have been read and discussed at the meetings, on the following subjects:—the Progress of the Culture of Tea in Assam, and other localities in India—the Production of Cotton in the District of Dharwar, Past, Present, and Prospective—the Means and the Cost of conveying Cotton in India, more especially as compared with America—and the Waste Lands in India, in reference to the recent Proclamation of Government for the Sale of them in Fee-simple. Other papers are in course of preparation by the Honorary Secretary, and some have been promised by members of the Committee. The paper on the Cultivation of Cotton in Dharwar was read at an evening meeting of the Society, on the 22nd of March, to a numerous auditory, and elicited an animated discussion, which showed the importance of the question and the interest taken in it. The paper appears in the last quarterly part of the Society's Journal.

The Committee have to state that of the sum of £100 which the Council voted last year to meet their expenses, they have required to spend less than one-half, and that no farther appropriation will be requisite for the ensuing year.

AUDITORS' REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1861.

Your Auditors have carefully examined the accounts of the past year, and are happy to report that, notwithstanding the sudden death of your late clerk and collector, Mr. Neal, they have been found quite correct.

In the Report of the past year the accumulated outstanding liabilities were £380 6s. 7d., which were liquidated by the sale of £806 19s. 5d., realizing £552 0s. 4d., thereby reducing the Society's funded property from £1,806 19s. 5d. to £1,200 Consols.

Since the last anniversary, 34 Resident and 20 Non-Resident Members have been added to the Society's list, representing an increase to their annual income of £99 15s., in addition to sundry donations £62, and compositions £31 10s.

The total income of the Society was £972 15s. 5d., and the gross expenditure was £848 15s. 8d., against £885 18s. 1d. in 1860.

The balance in the Banker's and Treasurer's hands on the 31st December, 1861, was £323 8s. 4d., which would more than cover all the outstanding liabilities—viz., Printers, £216 0s. 8d., and Stationer, £14 17s. 9d.; total, £230 18s. 5d.—leaving a clear balance of £92 9s. 11d. Thus the whole of the current year's income will be applicable to its expenses; and, from the continued increase in the number of Members, there will be no necessity for any farther call on the funded property of the Society.

FRED. FINCHAM, *Auditor for the Council.*
 J. W. BOSANQUET, } *Auditors for the Society.*
 J. GREGSON, }

3rd of May, 1862.

The reading of the Reports being concluded, LORD STRANGFORD rose and addressed the meeting as follows:

Gentlemen,—It is with sincere satisfaction that I congratulate you upon the improvement in the society's condition and prospects, which is announced in the Report now laid before you. For several years past the Council has had the painful task of presenting you at each anniversary with nothing but a melancholy record of diminishing numbers and financial struggles. It is a welcome novelty to be able this year to state that not only are we relieved from our temporary embarrassments, and from the necessity, which would have been almost a humiliation, of having recourse to such shifts as that of sub-letting half of our house in order to enable us to hold our own and pay our way; but we have a most decided increase both in the number of our Members and in the activity of our operations. For the most essential part of this relief we are indebted to the sanction by Her Majesty's Government of the renewal to us of the full annual grant of 200 guineas, formerly bestowed upon us by the East India Company. For this our thanks and grateful acknowledgments are due, in the first instance, to Sir Charles Wood. It must be remembered, however, that this was no spontaneous recognition of our claims and merits, but the result of the deliberations of the East India Council, upon repeated applications made by ourselves upon the subject; and we should be wanting in gratitude and right feeling if we failed to convey and record our especial acknowledgments to the members of that Council, and most particularly to those who are also members of this Society, whose support and advocacy have proved of such great service to ourselves and to the cause of Oriental

study and research in this country. Neither must we forget those public spirited Members who have consented to forego the advantages they have obtained by compounding for their subscriptions, and have re constituted themselves subscribers; nor those to whose assiduous exertions among their friends we owe our present large, and, I trust, permanent, increase in the numbers of our associates.

But, gentlemen, forgive me if I remind you of the obligations which accompany these advantages. Grants of this kind are not conferred upon public bodies for nothing, and their bestowal upon us not only confers benefits, but imposes serious duties and responsibilities. They constitute, and recognise in us, the central and, so to speak, the official organ and exponent of Oriental scholarship, and generally of all branches of literary and scientific investigation having reference to Asia. It behoves us, consequently, to spare no effort to fulfil these duties, and to render ourselves worthy of the distinction conferred upon us. In this spirit we have undertaken, during the past year, to revive the so-called Committee of Agriculture and Commerce, which in past years formed, under the very able and efficient superintendence of the late Dr. Royle, an important branch of our researches. We are greatly indebted to Mr. Marshman for the zeal and ability with which he has devoted himself to the labours of this committee, over which he has presided during the late year, and to which he has contributed most valuable papers upon the productive resources upon India. This committee had been revived for the purpose of affording the political and commercial portion of the public the best information, under the sanction of the highest available authorities, upon the all-important subjects of the agriculture, commerce, and general industrial products and capabilities of our Eastern empire, and of Asia generally. It is in the prosecution of these researches that a true and legitimate source of popularity lies before us, and I earnestly invite Members present to co-operate with us for this most useful and practical purpose by securing additional contributions for the Committee, and calling public attention to it as much as lies in their power.

With regard to the general and miscellaneous transactions of the Society, we have succeeded in obtaining an increase in the number of contributions to the Journal, and in redeeming our pledge of regular quarterly publication. This last most desirable result, I am bound to say, is mainly owing to the untiring exertions and unremitting industry of our Secretary, Mr. Redhouse, to which I have great pleasure in bearing testimony, from constant observation. It is unreasonable to expect scholars to contribute the valued fruits of their thought and labour to journals only appearing at irregular intervals, and sometimes ceasing to appear for years together, as has

been the case more than once with our own Journal. It is most certain that irregularity of this kind is highly injurious and detrimental to the character and authority of any society, and I can bear witness to having heard it made matter of complaint and unfavourable comment among Continental Orientalists. All ground for such complaint is now fortunately removed; yet it is well once more to place it upon record that the chief cause of such irregularity lay in our poverty and our inability to meet the expense of frequent publication, in consequence of the serious reduction of our annual subsidy.

This is a favourable occasion for advertizing briefly to the present somewhat depressed condition of Oriental studies and scholarship in England. That condition does not arise from any diminution in the numbers, or deterioration in the character of our Orientalists, or from any abstract want of interest shown by the public in the results of their labours. It is, rather, a temporary depression arising out of the annihilation of the munificent patronage of the East India Company, which necessarily followed the extinction of that body.

The merits and demerits of that measure have been canvassed in every conceivable aspect except one. It has been truly said by a former President that we cease to be politicians in this room, and we have nothing, therefore, to say upon the political bearings of the case; but from our own point of view, as representing English Orientalism, we cannot but acknowledge and deplore the great loss which it has sustained by being deprived at one blow of a patronage most liberally and on the whole most judiciously exercised, and without which it is not too much to say that the great bulk of those important and standard works, which constitute the record of English Oriental study, would never have seen the light.

To take the one name which may, perhaps, be considered that of the most prominent and typical Orientalist at present before the public, that of Professor Müller; had it not been for the Company's patronage and support, his brilliant talents and vast erudition and critical acumen would have been totally lost to this country. Oriental studies in this country, mainly supported by the East India Company, have been, and are now, almost entirely dependent upon patronage of some sort or another; if not that of the Company, it is that of University foundations or of British Museum grants. We all remember Macaulay's eloquent description of the depressed state of general literature during part of last century, when the poet or historian had ceased to find countenance and support in the patronage of individual great men, and had not yet found the means of independence and remuneration in the demand for his works, as at the

present day, by a large and intelligent reading public. I think we Orientalists are in the same condition. It is essential that such a work as Mr. Redhouse's new and most valuable Anglo-Turkish Dictionary should have been written. It is impossible that its author would have been—I don't say recompensed for time and labour, but even indemnified for its expenses—by the proceeds arising out of the sale of a work for which the demand must for the present, and perhaps always, be limited. It could, therefore, never have appeared had it not been for the liberality of a private American gentleman. The support, then, of Government, of public bodies, or of individuals, is vitally necessary to the existence of genuine Orientalism in this country, and this principle is the motive and the justification of the grant conferred upon ourselves. I say genuine Orientalism, because there is no lack of the spurious article in the present state of things, in which there is every temptation for an author to stimulate the sale of his work among a general public, imperfectly instructed on special points, by encouraging and falling in with popular fallacies, and by addressing highly seasoned and rarely unconscious appeals to popular prejudices, when it is to that sale alone that he can look for remuneration.

It would be wrong to leave this subject without taking notice of a peculiar condition of the public mind at the present moment with reference to some important branches of inquiry which come within the scope of this Society's operations. In these matters a reaction appears to be setting in, the ultimate result of which, I need hardly say, will certainly not be to invalidate the genuineness and truth of the processes with which we have identified ourselves, and the discoveries and results we have obtained and proclaimed. But, if allowed to continue, it is not difficult to foresee that it may have the effect of temporarily affecting our position and lowering our scientific character before the public. On the one hand, we have the President of a flourishing and influential society committing himself, and, incidentally, the society in whose transactions his opinions are recorded, to the doctrine that there is no such thing as a science of comparative philology based upon the structural and verbal affinities between the Arian languages proper and the principal European languages; that no such affinities exist; that the Gothic *quinó* has no connection with the Sanscrit *janá*, because they have only one letter in common; and a deal more to the same effect. Whether all this be true or false—whether you or I think it true or false—is not the question, and does not matter to us just now; but it is evident that there are many people who do believe it to be true, and that their aggregate opinion may affect our position unfavourably. It is clear that if such opinion should come to be received as

an established truth in this country, we may sell one-half of our Journal for waste paper. Again, most of us are familiar with the searching criticism which has recently been applied by a scholar of high authority to the various systems of Egyptian history and chronology, to the evidences upon which the interpretation of hieroglyphic inscriptions is said to be based, and to the chronology of Assyria as handed down to us by ancient classical authors. Criticism of this sort, which doubts rather than denies, and which wisely contents itself with destroying the rash uncritical affirmations of other scholars, is of the greatest use, if only to encourage and stimulate research, independently of its own intrinsic truth and value. It puts the defenders of new theories and discoveries on their mettle, and tends to create a useful class of writers, who act as a medium of communication between the man of science and the general public, by explaining and keeping up with his labours, and popularising their results. Not that there is any novelty in the Egyptian part of Sir Cornwall Lewis's arguments. He has simply included the researches of Bunsen in the application of the forcible arguments and trenchant criticism employed by Klaproth against Champollion, as published by him in his famous "Lettre à M. Champollion," and made known in this country by articles in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, and in vol. 57 of the *Edinburgh Review*. This great English scholar is an old and seasoned critic, and cautiously abstains from committing himself to any distinct denial of the truth of hieroglyphic interpretation, while upon the subject of Assyrian or other cuneiform interpretation he maintains an entire and absolute silence. Yet there can be no doubt in the mind of any one who converses on the subject in general society, or who watches the tendency of public opinion as exhibited in the leading organs of literary and scientific criticism, that the passive acquiescence with which we have accepted the results of Rawlinson, Norris, and Hincks, of Lassen, Oppert, and Westergaard, has been roused by the appearance of Sir Cornwall's work into open defiance and disbelief. His intelligent scepticism is in no way responsible for the ignorant and uncritical language of denial used by people who talk of "the cuneiform language" as a single unity, yet it may be said to have been the means of calling it forth and determining the period of its appearance. It will not be long, in all probability, before the controversy, if such it can be called, will be settled once for all. This is not the time or the place to discuss the question in detail, or to venture to anticipate those who have most right to speak with decision and authority on the subject; but I cannot help remarking that, if the interpretation of the Persian text of the Behistun inscription, which has been universally recognised for the last fifteen years as correct, which has never been con-

troverted or disturbed otherwise than by perfectly worthless and ridiculous criticism, and which furnishes us with a complete and invaluable basis from which to investigate the other more difficult languages and more complex writings; if this be a mere farrago of wild guesses and random nonsense, I can only say that the perfect identity—the verbal and almost literal identity—of Professor Lassen's nonsense, worked out by him at Bonn in 1836, and of Rawlinson's nonsense, which we possess in the original Baghdad manuscripts of the same period, constitutes the most remarkable literary event of the century. The coincidence is as strange and marvellous as if two bags full of letters in two separate places were to be turned out into a heap, and in each case were to form a book of Milton or a play of Shakspeare. It is more worthy of being called the great discovery of the century than Champollion's discoveries, so called generally, according to Sir G. Lewis, or than the great discovery of the identity of Phœnician and Irish, actually so called in a recent work by a member of a learned society. I have trespassed far too long on your time and patience, gentlemen, in dwelling on these points; but I have done so with the sole view of drawing your attention to the actual and prospective difficulties arising out of the fluctuations of public opinion upon these questions, which we may be called upon to encounter. In conclusion, I must reiterate my exhortation to members of this Society, and Orientalists in general, to exert their utmost efforts in order to secure a full and permanent supply of contributions to our Journal. There is, perhaps, as much good and accurate Oriental scholarship in this country as anywhere else; if there be an exception it is in favour of Germany, the great modern *officina doctorum*, and it is a matter of unquestionable credit to ourselves that it should exist with any thing like vigour at present, when it has so little direct encouragement. But it would be infinitely more effectual in its results, and would occupy a far more commanding position if it were concentrated in one or two special publications, instead of being diffused throughout the whole vast mass of our periodical literature. Undoubtedly, a far greater number of general readers have Oriental information brought under their eyes in the latter case, a greater momentary impression is produced; and, what is of more immediate consequence to writers, the one kind of contribution is remunerative, and may constitute the chief means of support to its author, while the other is rarely or never so. But it must always be remembered that a special organ, such as the Journal of this Society, affords by far the best means of permanent publicity to those whose contributions are of a special nature and scientific value, and who destine them not only for the perusal of their living fellow-countrymen, but for the benefit of foreign readers,

and the easy and natural reference of posterity. Whatever may be lost in the extent of immediate fame, will be amply rewarded by the certainty of permanent utility and future reputation. I earnestly hope, therefore, gentlemen, that you will spare no exertions on behalf of our Journal, and, meanwhile, I can only express to you my best thanks for the patience and attention with which you have favoured me.

At the conclusion of the President's address, it was proposed by M. LEWIS, Esq., seconded by P. B. SMOLLER, Esq., M.P., and unanimously adopted :

" That the Report of the Council, that of the Committee of Agriculture and Commerce, with those of the Committee of the Oriental Translation Fund and of the Auditors, be accepted, printed, and distributed ; also, that the thanks of the meeting be expressed to the Auditors for their examination into the accounts of the Society for the past year."

Thanks having been returned on part of the Auditors, his lordship the PRESIDENT next introduced the subject of the changes recommended by the Council to be made in the rules of the Society, moving, in the first instance,

" That, in future, the general meetings of the Society be held on Mondays instead of Saturdays, and that Article XLVI of the ' Rules and Regulations ' be altered in this sense."

The motion having been seconded, was opposed by M. LEWIS, Esq., who proposed, as an amendment,

" That Tuesday be substituted for Monday ; remarking that " The members of the Oriental Club, on whom the Royal Asiatic Society chiefly depends, will seldom be able to attend Monday meetings. Monday is a business day, and unsuitable for a *dilettante* society, such as the Royal Asiatic Society. A ballot takes place at the Oriental Club at 4 o'clock on every Monday throughout the year, and the Committee of the Club sit at 3 o'clock on every Monday. The selection of Monday will probably lead to a secession of members from the Society, and I think it may be regarded as a slight."

This amendment was seconded, but, on proceeding to the vote, the original proposal was carried by a large majority. The General Meetings of the Society will, therefore, after the present session, be held on Mondays, alternately with those of the Royal Geographical Society.

The PRESIDENT then proposed, and the RIGHT HON. HOLT

MACKENZIE seconded, the alteration of Rules VII and XVIII, so as to admit Honorary Members to the Council and offices of the Society, and to entitle them to receive copies of the Society's Journal.

GENERAL BRIGGS rose, and, in the following terms, proposed an amendment :

My Lord and President.—Though in an infirm state of health, I have felt it my duty to come to London, at great inconvenience, principally on account of the motion just proposed, and of which I had received notice in the circular that has been distributed to Members. It is painful for me, who have so frequently served on the Council of the Society, and have been one of its Members almost from its first formation, to come forward to oppose a motion emanating from the Council. Not content with the privileges that Honorary Members already possess by our rules, of attending the meetings, of having access to the Library and Museum at all times when they are open, and of having the benefit of receiving gratis, at the pleasure of the Council, all our Journals and proceedings, the Council now proposes to admit them as members of the Council itself—to have a voice in the regulation of our affairs, to legislate for our finances, and even to dispose of our property in the Library and Museum. I hold that this motion is altogether novel and unprecedented in other societies, has a tendency to confer powers on parties who are unwilling or unable to pay their contributions for the Society's support, and may at some future period lead to serious embarrassments. I know it will be stated that there are at present two or three eminent Oriental scholars in London who would be most useful in the Council, by aiding it in the elucidation of complicated literary questions occurring in documents presented to the Society, but which could not be printed without such commentaries as these learned gentlemen could supply. My answer to that is, that if these learned gentlemen could afford to devote their time to such purposes, they might do so without being members of the Council—a position which I hold to be at variance with the good of the Society. The Society is always open to receive from Honorary Members any papers they may desire to bring before the public ; and if they were received and passed by the Committee of Papers, these gentlemen would have the advantage of their papers being brought before the public and the learned societies of Europe without the expense of printing them." With these views, the gallant and honourable Member felt he could not conscientiously allow the motion to pass without being bound to oppose it. He therefore proposed, as an amendment, "That Article VII of the 'Regulations' stand as it is, without the proposed alteration."

M. LEWIN, Esq., having seconded the amendment as follows :

“ I agree with General Briggs in his objection to conferring on Honorary Members of the Council the rights and privileges of ordinary and paying members, and I think the measure is unnecessary, as the Council has a discretion to do all that can be required, whether in supplying copies of its proceedings or in availing itself of the services of Honorary Members, as at present constituted. I also think that according all the rights of paying members to honorary members is without precedent in any public institution, and that it is against all principle that an honorary member should have a control over the funds of the society to which he does not contribute. I think no sufficient reason has been shown for subverting the fundamental rules of the Society.”

THE RIGHT HON. HOLT MACKENZIE, GENERAL SIR H. C. RAWLINSON, K.C.B., and W. SPOTTISWOODE, Esq., rose and explained the several advantages hoped for in admitting honorary members to office, the proposal having for its object to do away with the anomaly now existing, and through which the Society, by conferring on any distinguished Orientalist the highest honour in its power, deprives itself of the benefit of his services on the Council.

On proceeding to the vote, the proposal of the Council was carried by a large majority.

M. GORE, Esq., then proposed, W. ELLIOTT, Esq., seconded, and it was unanimously adopted :

“ That the Society offer the expression of its deep sense of obligation to the President, Lord Strangford, for the able and zealous manner in which he has evinced the interest he takes in the welfare of the Society.”

LORD STRANGFORD briefly expressed his unwillingness further to occupy the time of Members present, and offered his thanks for the honour done him by their vote.

C. GRAHAM, Esq., proposed, C. WELLS, Esq., seconded, and it was unanimously adopted :

“ That the best thanks of the meeting be offered to the Vice-Presidents and Council for their efficient co-operation in conducting the affairs and forwarding the interests of the Society during the past year.”

THE RIGHT HON. HOLT MACKENZIE rose to return thanks on behalf of the Vice-Presidents and Council. He need not, he felt assured, use many words to satisfy the Society that their Council very highly

valued this expression of their approbation, and the hour warned him not to trespass on their time with any unnecessary comments. But he rejoiced in the opportunity of congratulating the meeting on the improved circumstances of the Society; and as he could for himself claim but little share in the work done by their Council, he had no hesitation in stating that the great devotion of that body to the interests of the Society, which they trusted had not been altogether unfruitful, justly entitled them to the compliment which the vote of thanks implied. He would venture, however, to add that the advancement of the Society must, after all, mostly depend on the Members themselves, to whose exertions and contributions alone they must chiefly look for an increase to their numbers, and an extension of their usefulness and influence.

It was then proposed by R. HUNTER, Esq., seconded by A. B. HILL, Esq., and adopted *nem. con.* :

“That the thanks of the Society be tendered to the Committee of Agriculture and Commerce, also to J. C. Marshman, Esq., for his voluntary and zealous services as its Honorary Secretary, during the past year.”

The RIGHT HON. HOLT MACKENZIE, on the part of the Committee, and, in the absence of Mr. Marshman, on his part also, returned thanks, and stated that he had been commissioned by Mr. Marshman, who was compelled to leave London at an early hour, to express to the meeting the high value which he attached to the approbation of the Society, and to assure them that it would afford him a lively satisfaction to continue those labours which had been justly recognised by their present vote. Having presided at the meeting of the Committee of Agriculture and Commerce, Mr. Mackenzie felt himself entitled to bear his testimony to the great importance of the services rendered by Mr. Marshman, to whom, indeed, he might say the Committee owed its vitality. He trusted, however, that, in the coming year, more of the individual members would afford their aid in carrying out the objects of that Committee. And there was especially one subject on which many of the retired officers of the Government could communicate invaluable information. He meant the rights, institutions, interests, and feelings of the natives in the various provinces of our vast Indian empire, in relation to the land, a minute knowledge of which seemed to him quite essential in order to the happy result of any measures for introducing into that country European skill and capital, and our ignorance or neglect of which appeared to be the cause of most of the difficulties that had beset the British planter. We must especially

avoid hasty generalization ; a full and accurate detail of the circumstances of a few villages, selected in different quarters, occupied by different castes and classes, and exhibiting the rights and obligations of the people, from the man who held the plough to the officer who collected the Government dues, would do more to enlighten public men, and safely to guide public opinion, than a world of blue books containing crude opinions and statements resting on vague assertions or on ill ascertained facts.

GENERAL BRIGGS next proposed, THOMAS OGILVY, Esq., seconded and it was adopted :

“That the thanks of the meeting be returned to the Treasurer, Librarian and Honorary Secretary, and to the Secretary, for their services in their respective departments.”

E. NORRIS, Esq., Librarian and Honorary Secretary, returned thanks in the name of the Officers of the Society.

M. GORE, Esq., and A. B. HILL, Esq., were requested to act as scrutineers, and the ballot being proceeded with, the following result was announced :

Director—Major-Gen. Sir H. C. Rawlinson, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S.

Treasurer—Edward Thomas, Esq.

Secretary—James Wm. Redhouse, Esq.

Honorary Secretary and Librarian—Edwin Norris, Esq.

Council—Thomas Bazley, Esq. M.P. ; J. W. Bosanquet, Esq. ; John Dickinson, Esq. ; Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff, Esq., M.P. ; M. P. Edgeworth, Esq. ; James Fergusson, Esq. ; Frederick Fincham, Esq. ; Professor T. Goldstücker ; Sir Frederick Halliday ; John C. Marshman, Esq. ; Edward Stanley Poole, Esq. ; Patrick Boyle Smollett, Esq., M.P. ; Col. W. H. Sykes, M.P., F.R.S. ; Dr. Forbes Watson ; Major-Gen. Sir A. S. Waugh, C.B.

A vote of thanks was unanimously offered to the President for his services in conducting the meeting, and his lordship announced the next ordinary General Meeting of the Society to be fixed for the evening of Saturday, the 21st June.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR 1861.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
161 Resident Members, at 3 guineas	475 13 0	House Rent for 1 year	880 0 0
41 Non-Resident Members, at 1 guinea	43 1 0	Assessed Taxes, ditto	19 17 2
7 Original Members, at 2 guineas	14 14 0	Parochial Rates, ditto	36 9 2
Arrears paid up	58 10 0	Water Rate, ditto	5 19 0
Compositions:—H. Fox Talbot, Esq.	91 0 0	Fire Insurance	5 15 6
B. H. Hodgson, Esq.	10 10 0	House Expenses, 261. 0s. 3d., Housekeeper's Wages, 36l.	69 0 3
Donations:—India Council	310 0 0	Coal, 8l. 8s.; Gas, 2l. 7s.	10 15 0
B. Boddid, Esq.	31 10 0	Re-building Chimneys, 40l. 2s.; Surveyor's Fee, 7s. 6d.	40 9 6
Wm. Spottiswoode, Esq.	10 10 0	Mr. Quallette for Survey of House and Report	5 5 0
B. H. Hodgson, Esq.	10 0 0	Mr. Mason for sundry House Repairs	5 8 6
W. Platt, Esq.	5 0 0	Salaries:—Secretary, 90l.; Clerks, 53l. 17s.;	188 9 0
O. de B. Friaux, Esq.	5 0 0	Porter, 54l. 12s.	50 15 9
Dividends on Consols	47 13 8	Commission to Collectors	57 11 0
Sale of Publications	59 14 9	Lithographer's Bill	6 0 8
Sale of 608l. 19s. 5d. Consols	77 7 5	Periodicals	14 8 1
Balance at Bankers, 1st January, 1861	552 0 4	Binding Journal—Parker and Son	14 6 6
Ditto in Treasurer's hands	98 8 6	B. Quaritch	58 6 6
	1 6 4	Home and Foreign Postage	11 13 2
		Sundries	5 8 11
		Transfer and Sale of Stock	50 0 0
		Advances to Committee of Agriculture and Commerce	70 0 0
		Liabilities of 1860 paid off:—1 Quarter's Rent	35 8 4
		Parochial Rates	209 8 3
		Printer's Bill	20 9 0
		Lithographer's Bill	36 17 8
		Painter's Bill	9 6 9
		Stationer's Bill	310 14 8
		Balance at Banker's (less outstanding cheque for	13 13 8
		18l. 4s. 7d.) 31st December, 1861	...
		Ditto in Treasurer's hands	...
Amount of Society's Fund, Three	£1,558 10 7		380 6 7
per Cent. Consols	£1,900		338 8 4
			£1,553 10 7

We, the undersigned, have audited these Accounts, and are satisfied with their correctness.

YRECK. FINCHAM, Auditor for the Council.
S. GREGSON,
J. W. BOSANQUET, } Auditors for the Society.

April 29, 1862.

LIST OF THE MEMBERS
OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND:

5, NEW BURLINGTON STREET, W.

CORRECTED TO MAY, M.DCCC.LXI.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY,
BY HARRISON AND SONS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, W.C.

1862.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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HER MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

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THE CHAIRMAN OF THE HON. EAST INDIA COMPANY.

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- † Members who have compounded for their Subscriptions.
- †† Members who, having compounded, have again renewed their subscriptions, or given donations.
- ‡ Members whose Subscriptions are in abeyance during absence.

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